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THE NOBLES OF HYDERABAD

A STUDY IN SOCIAL CHANGE

BY

MOHAMED ABDUL KADER IMADI

M. A. (Osm.) M. S. S. (The Hague)

THE NOBLES OF HYDERABAD:
A Study in Social Change

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A Study in Social Change

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
AT THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
OSMANIA UNIVERSITY, HYDERABAD
UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF

Dr. C. LAKSHMANNA
PROFESSOR AND HEAD
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

BY

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C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "THE NOBLES OF HYDERABAD: A STUDY IN SOCIAL CHANGE" submitted by Shri Mohamed Abdul Kader Imadi for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology is an original work carried by him under my guidance. The thesis or a part thereof has not been submitted for any other degree.

Hyderabad:
May 2nd, 1977.

(C. LAKSHMANNA)
Professor and Head
Department of Sociology,
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****

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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

The presence of social stratification in one form or the other in all societies at all stages of evolution leads one to presume that it must be an inevitable[1] and universal phenomenon. The argument in favour of this contention has been that no society can survive and function without some form of institutionalised inequality in social gradation. Without such stratification management of any multi-person enterprise is not possible. History provides a continuous process of such formulations and reformulations of social classes and groups with varied emphasis on statuses and roles. Every society has been characterised by its division into different forms of social hierarchy and social stratification.

Social hierarchy and stratification have been, in most cases, significantly related to political power. The group which holds this power in any society at any time in the past or present is termed as power elite. A study of such groups can reveal many points of sociological importance. This power may be attained by a group by various means. It may be through the use of force and power or by traditional rights or by virtue of superior knowledge.[2]

A study of such groups or classes is bound to draw freely from history. Since every social reality is a concomittant understanding of the past and present we cannot understand it without delving into the past. At the same time no socio-historical reality can be adequately understood without a keen insight into its traditional and cultural complex. As Mukherjee pointed out, without a deep knowledge of folkways, mores, customs and traditions[3] of a people, their study is bound to be superficial and the conclusions drawn unsound and unreliable.

In this study of social change of the Nobles of Hyderabad we do not intend to indulge in the discussions of the various theories of social evolution, simple relativism or functional equilibrium. We also do not propose to deal with the various models of social change. However attention is focussed on four dimensions of the changing reality:[4] (1) the point of departure, (2) differences noted through the process of change from the point of departure to the present position, (3) the emerging pattern from the process of this change and, (4) the factors responsible for these changes.

It should be remembered that there are multilinear directions of change. Although Toynbee's theory of challenge and response is significant in our study, it

cannot exclusively explain social behaviour and change.[5] Every social reality, which is the reflection of the behaviour of the members who create this reality, consists of certain 'soft spots'.[6] These soft spots are the manifestations and expressions of a culture. Without a deep insight into these forces which motivate social behaviour, no study can be comprehensive and conclusive.

We are interested here in a sociological study of the Nobles of Hyderabad as one of the last survivals of the feudal type, which is as of now passing through a transitional stage of change; exhibiting various dimensions of withdrawal, resistance, adaptation and change. Nobility in general has been a persistent social group almost in all civilized societies with despotic forms of government. This has been a group of people who were next only to the royal family at the helm of affairs looking into military, administrative and judicial affairs of the state. Many thinkers and sociologists like Karl Marx and Gaetano Mosca recognised the existence of the ruling class in all pre-industrial societies. This ruling class is identified as the class of Nobles in the historical context. To give it a more sociological and universal expression, Pareto and C. Wright Mills preferred to call this group as Elites or Power Elites, respectively, meaning thereby the same group of people who enjoyed the privileges of authority and

took active part in decision making. The concept of the elites, however, is too general and though it is inclusive of Nobility, yet it implies in addition, such other groups which fall out side the scope of the present study.

The nobility, therefore, constituted a specific group of people who ranked high in the social hierarchy with definite powers and privileges. There had been Nobles in ancient Egypt, The Roman Empire, all the European countries, Central Asia, Iran, India, China, Japan etc. The universality of this institution limits the possibilities of generalisation of common features and characteristics. In Europe for instance, Historians preferred to call it the feudal system, although the term itself was coined after the disintegration of the feudal society in Europe. In fact the feudal types in different countries of Europe itself varied from one another. Feudalism was a convenient term to explain a phenomenalogical type in mind. The Japanese system of social stratification until the Tokugawa period is also identified as feudal. In some other countries of central Asia and India it is termed as quasi-feudal. In yet other cases this ruling class is also identified as an aristocracy. All these concepts of feudal, quasifeudal and aristocratic nobility are subjects of theoretical controversies and historical interpretations.

Notwithstanding these theoretical discussions, which we leave for the historians, we prefer to confine our study to the institution of Nobility with reference to the group of Nobles of Hyderabad; as such this is a study of Historical Sociology. In the words of Morris Ginsberg the two disciplines are "Hilfswissenschaften"[7] to each other; that is they are complementary for each other. The moment we use the term social it warrants culture; and both by their very nature fall into the purview of history. The study of nobility therefore is bound to be a sociological study of a historical institution.

In order to treat the subject in the historical perspective, we have first traced the sociological features of Nobility as it existed in Europe, Central Asia and Mughal India, because the nobility of Hyderabad is historically linked up with the nobility under the Mughals and the nobility in Central Asia. A comparative study of some of the features of the European and Asian nobility help us in discovering certain common characteristics which may characterise the class category of this institution as such.

MAIN SOURCES:-

In the historical part of our study we have benefitted from a large number of sources some of which have been cited throughout this work while others have helped us in

developing the general argument. However, three sources books form the basis of our discussion. They are: For the European Nobility: "The Feudal Society" by Marc Bloch;(1971), for the Mughal Nobility: "The Mughal Kingship and Nobility" by R.P. Khosla: and for the Nizam's Nobility:"Atiyat-e-Sultani" (Urdu) by Aziz Jung. While giving these three titles we certainly do not mean to imply that there are no other writers who have dealt with this subject exhaustively. Impact Ganshof, Joseph Strayers and Rushton Coulborn, Ather Ali and Cheragh Ali have also very ably and intensively studied the European, the Mughal and the Nizam's nobility.

Marc Bloch has given a very vivid sociological description of the nobles as a de facto class, and has described the life of the nobility in Europe in all its details, political, social and cultural. His discussion of nobility as it developed in Europe, helps us in assessing the different roles it played and the positions it occupied in the social hierarchy in Europe during the middle ages. The gradations of power and rank, honours and privileges, in essence, corresponds to the nobility of the Mughals and the Nizams. The institutional components and the structural differences are historical realities emerging from local developments but the sociological placement of the ruling class, as such, does not vary much from the Indian situation. That is why we felt it relevant to give a

historical link to the sociological phenomenon as obtainable in the East as well as the West.

Ram Prasad Khosla's "Mughal Kingship and Nobility" (1934) is a very interesting study of the Mughal kingship and Mughal Nobility. In this book Khosla has drawn a very detailed picture of the Mughal feudal aristocracy, their ranks, titles, honours, privileges, institutions, roles and functions. In dealing with this subject he has drawn from large number of original sources covering the entire period of the nobles of the Mughals, even trying to link it with the evolutionary stages of the Islamic theory of state. We have given much space to the discussion of Mughal Nobility because it forms the basis of Nizam's nobility and the latter is in great measure a continuation of the Mughal system as described in detail by Khosla. However Ather Ali's "The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb" is another important work in this connection without which the Mughal Mansabdari system cannot be fully comprehended. As regards the Nizam's nobility, besides other works, we have drawn freely from Aziz Jung's Atiyat-e-Sultani, in which the author has tried to give a very exhaustive portrait of the system of Atiyats (Grants). This book deals with the concept and the components of the jagirdari system in a very elaborate manner which helps us in getting

a clear picture of the whole institution. Cheragh Ali's "Hyderabad Under Sir Salar Jung" (four volumes) is a masterpiece published in 1884. This is a detailed description of the entire administration of the Nizam's government in the last quarter of the 19th century. Apart from these books, we have benefitted from the writings of the authors of the 18th and the 19th centuries who have worked on this subject in English, Persian and Urdu. Some of the references have been acknowledged in the study.

The above mentioned books help us in getting a clear idea about the class of nobles in Europe, Central Asia, India and Hyderabad. Nobility has practically disappeared in almost all the countries of the world with the exception of a few, where democratic institutions and industrialization have yet to find their place. Where ever the remnants of this institution are surviving, they offer interesting scope of study for sociologists and historians. Nobility did not only constitute a class but it had also a culture of its own with a long historical tradition. Nobility everywhere was characterised by rich tradition and rigid code of conduct with a very elaborate system of sophisticated manners. Whether in Europe or in Hyderabad, the nobility comprised of a preconceived system of expected

patterns of behaviour. The nobles experienced considerable stress and strain in the process of transformation in Europe. Nevertheless, the process of charge in Europe with the exception of a few countries like France and Russia, was never abrupt and sudden. The result was that the European Nobility slowly transformed into the newly emerging elite and conveniently became capitalist in the course of time.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY:-

In the case of Hyderabad, however, the breakdown was so sudden that the nobles found themselves in a state of utter despair. The Jagirdari Abolition Act dispensed with their socio-political and economical base, as a result of which the entire class was confronted with serious challenges, which they could not face for quite a few years. Most of the nobles withdrew themselves into total retirement. It is unfortunate that the situation did not attract the attention of sociologists in the early fifties; otherwise they could have analysed a situation of total crisis -- social, political, economic and cultural -- with which this class was confronted. However, the situation was not to remain so distressing for long. In the terminology of Arnold Toynbee, after the stage of withdrawal, there came the 'stage of return' to the life of struggle and

restabilising their lost power and position. There is every reason to believe that after a lapse of a quarter century they are staging a gradual come back from their earlier retirement. This situation is of great sociological significance.

The social milieu of the nobles can be studied from various angles, because on the one hand it presents a social complex with its deep roots in the historical past, and on the other, it denotes the problems of adjustment and accommodation with the new ways of life to which the nobles are subjected. It is for these reasons that we decided to make a sociological study of the nobility and their changing pattern of behaviour. The subject is not only historical; it is a living subject. This is not a historical dissection of the dead past; but a study of a class which is confronted with baffling problems of adjustment and rehabilitation. The nobles are as of now standing on the cross-roads of tradition and modernity. Furthermore, it is an unexplored area in the sense that no sociologists or anthropoligists have so far studied the nobles of Hyderabad. This in turn presents certain risks and hazards for the researcher, because he has to work out his own design without any preceding experience based guidelines to fall back upon. Nevertheless, the

importance of the subject can hardly be underrated and this modest attempt is to highlight some of the complex aspects, which may be of some value and interest to other sociologists.

So far as the historical sources and materials are concerned there is no scarcity of data. A number of books, biographies, letters, diaries and Archival records and documents are available, spread over the whole period of the Nizam's regime. But the difficulty is that most of the material, particularly in Persian and Urdu, deals mostly with the historical and geneological data about the nobles. The relations of the nobles with the common man are not given in proportionate detail. As a result of this approach of old historical writings we have to link facts and collect relevant material after surveying a large number of contemporary source books, relating to each Nizam's period.

However, the greater difficulty in studying the Nobility lies with the living members of this class, because firstly the nobles lost their prestigious position and, therefore, feel themselves in such embarassment that they prefer not to indulge in any discussion regarding their past and present. Secondly having high positions in the social hierarchy, they feel hurt in reviving the controversy or justifying their past actions or present

position. Thirdly they have been the target of ridicule and attack from the enthusiastic socialistic elite of the present society, which they cannot swallow with the image of their past glory and with their contention of having been humanistic and philanthropic in the past. Fourthly the economic crisis has forced them to accommodate with the middle and lower classes which they find quite distressing because they are not accustomed to the life pattern of the masses. All this has created great frustration in the minds of the nobles.

This doveloped an attitude of disinterest, quietude and even distress when we approached them for interviews. We have the feeling that inspite of the fact that more than a quarter century has passed, still most of them are living in an atmosphere of suspicion, doubt and, despair. However, this is the stage when their state of mind and behaviour should be studied and recorded, so as to find out how far they have recovered from the historical shock as they take it to be, and how far they have regathered their energies and abilities to rejoin the new course of national life.

FOCUS OF STUDY:-

At the time of the abolition of the jagirdari system there were fifteen hundred jagirdars and a large number of Hissedars (co-sharers) and Guzarayabs (Pensioners). But our

study does not cover the whole universe. We have confined our investigation to the highest hundred families who wielded real political and economic power in the erstwhile Hyderabad state. We have limited our study to these one hundred families of the nobles because the remaining jagirdars were petty jagirdars and do not qualify, in the real sense, for the characteristics of the nobles as a distinct class which we intend to proble into. The remaining Jagirdars are not very different socially, politically and economically from the middle and upper middle classes of the society. Further, we have confined our study mostly to the Muslim Nobles, although we have interviewed some Hindu Nobles also. Limiting the study to Muslim Nobility was for the reason that it is this section of the nobility that was most affected economically, politically, and above all emotionally.

The one hundred families which we have studied are comprised of three categories:-

1. The Paigah Nobles.
2. The Premier Nobles or the Umra-e-Uzzam.
3. Other Jagirdars.

The first two categories, namely, the Paigah Nobles and the Premier Nobles, in fact belong to the same category.

All of them, numbering seventeen families, including the Hindu Nobles, are called Exempted Jagirdars. They were autonomous within their estates. They had their own judiciary and administration and actually enjoyed the privileges of states within the state of the Nizams. The Paigah Nobles have been separated as a distinct group from the general category of the Premier Nobles, because they held a unique and enviable position right from the time of the second Nizam. The Paigah Nobles had matrimonial relations with the royal family and, as such, enjoyed special privileges. They were considered most loyal and they were given the highest honours. That is why the Paigah and the Premier Nobles are categorised separately.

The term Other Nobles is used for the remaining Jagirdars next only to the Premier Nobles, but not below the first hundred big jagirdars. These jagirdars constituted the second line of the nobles and always tried to identify themselves with the image, traits and behaviour of the Nobles' class. During the course of our investigation it has been felt that it is this class of one hundred families which reflects the characteristics and responses which are attributed to the nobles or Jagirdars of Hyderabad. The number of one hundred, however, has been taken arbitrarily so as to confine our study to a limited number who, we think, represent the views and values of

the distingerating nobility of Hyderabad.

METHODOLOGY:-

Besides (i) the printed books in English, Persian and Urdu, (ii) the Correspondences available in the State Archives, Hyderabad, (iii) the Manuscripts, Asnad (Certificates) and Documents available in the above mentioned Archives as well as at the National Archives, Delhi, the study has been based on field work of the nobles, who are passing through the process of change. In the analysis of the data we have referred to them as the descendant nobles, because not all of them are title (Khitab) holders. Of course some of the nobles who are title holders and are alive have also been interviewed. Most of them respondents to our questionnaire are the descendants of the nobles, hence the use of this term.

We have approached the nobles and their descendants through two methods.

(1) Case Studies.
(2) Structured Questionnaire.

(1) The case studies were conducted with a view to make an in-depth study of a few nobles. Though we collected a detailed information from more than 6 nobles, we have included only four cases in this study for the sake of

brevity. In the case studies we had to approach the nobles a number of times. In each sitting the conversation invariably digressed into various directions because we had planned to allow free expression in the interviews to make the outcome unrestricted and all pervasive. In at least one case 9 sittings could make the findings relevant and conclusive. In the course of discussions, notes were taken, which were later on integrated and analysed. One noble, however, gave his statement in writing after we have had a few general discussions.

One of the nobles has maintained regular annual diaries. Though some of these diaries have been lost in the shifting from his father's palace to various houses, still more than 20 diaries are in possession. We have carefully studied them and made use of the same in the relevant case.

Among the four cases studied, one belongs to the Paigah category, two to the Premier Nobles, and one to the Other Nobles' category.

At the end of each case, a few sociological inferences have been made, and at the end of all the four cases general observations have been given. The case studies reflect the views and attitudes more pointedly than the questions asked, because here they had a chance to speak out what was not covered in the questionnaire directly.

THE HYPOTHESES:-

The questionnaire was prepared and the nobles interviewed with certain hypotheses before us. Our hypotheses, however, were rather vague in the beginning, but by our personal contact and pretesting we have been able to give them a rough hewn shape. They may be stated here, under the captions of our four chapters of the analysis of the questionnaire, as follows:

I. NATURE AND IMAGE OF NOBILITY:-

(1) The older nobles had high notions of their group though this may not be equally upheld by their descendants with the changed circumstances.

(2) The differences between the predecessor nobles and the descendant nobles with regard to the nature and image of nobility may not be equally strong, particularly with regard to: (a) association of nobility with religion and community, (b) their social, racial and ancestral superiority, (c) regarding social stratification to be natural, inherent and rather permanent.

II. TRAITS AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR:-

(1) Attachment and loyalty to the State power was a trait of the nobility. The descendant nobles also uphold this characteristic of their class.

(2) The superiority complex of the predecessor nobles stood in their way of accepting ordinary jobs and services; the descendant nobles also follow the same practice.

(3) The predecessor nobles looked upon the masses as low and unreliable; their descendants also believe in this 'permanent' division of the society in high and low.

III. VALUES AND VIEWS:-

(1) The predecessor nobles took life easy. The descendant nobles are also inclined to take it the same way.

(2) The predecessor nobles regarded the jagirdari system as historically and logically sound and just. Their descendants also maintain this conviction.

(3) The attitude of the predecessor nobles was discriminatory towards the women. The descendant nobles also believe in the segregation of women in the purdah system.

IV. CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES:-

(1) The cultural changes have been more distressing for the descendant nobles than the political and the economic changes.

(2) The predecessor nobles were committed to monarchy as the just form of government. As such their descendants also cannot reconcile with the democratic form of the modern times.

(3) The descendant nobles, in the background of their sense of superiority as a privileged class, are not inclined to take resort to democratic ways in order to remedy some of the ills that have befallen their class as a consequence of the changes that have taken place.

The above are some of the hypotheses which have been studied through a set of statements and questions in the four chapters (VI, VII, VIII & IX). Subsequent observations have been made at the end of each statement and question. The final conclusions, however, have been drawn in the last chapter.

(2) Next to the case studies, the main tool of our field investigation has been a structured questionnaire. The questionnaire has been broadly divided into the following parts:-

(I) (a) Bio-Historical data covering the particulars about age, marital status, family structure, children etc.

(b) Economic status and nobility status.

(c) Educational qualifications.

(II) Questions about the Nature and Image of Nobility (12).

(III) Questions about the Traits and Social Behaviour of Nobility (16).

(IV) Questions about the views and values of nobility (16).

(V) Questions about the Socio-political changes and challenges.

The detailed questionnaire which was originally prepared was tried out in the pretesting. On the basis of the pretesting the questionnaire was altered with considerable pruning, so as to make it practical and acceptable to the respondents. The reactions to the questions, and the statements, in particular, have been tabulated and analysed in detail under the specific chapters, namely:

(1) Nature and Image of Nobility

(2) Traits and Social Behaviour

(3) Views and Values, and

(4) Challenges and Responses.

In our observations we have also drawn from our general inferences of the longer set of the questionnaire, which we have administered orally which helped us in forming our conclusions. This has been adopted in order to supplement the tabulated conclusions and to reinforce them by the inferences drawn from interview notes.

This survey through the questionnaire has been the major instrument but not the only one. We have depended haavily upon the social meets, personal relationships, confident revelations and cross checking with different categories of the descendants of the nobles about their mutual relationship and reactions.

As will be seen from the questionnaire given in the appendix and its application in the relevant chapters, it is divided into:

(1) Statements, and (2) Questions

The statements are so framed as to invite clear responses in terms of agreement or disagreement. In putting the statements before the intervlewees, we first explained the statement in detail, so that they may first understand it fully and then respond.

BREAK UP OF THE TABLES:-

All the responses to the statements have been classified and tabulated under four inuependent variables. The break up of the tables has been as follows:

(A) Age Groups

(B) Educational Levels.

(C) Income Groups.

(D) Categories of Nobles.

The above independent variables are significant. For example the older the descendant nobles the greater is their attachment to their traditional past and as such they are more inclined to identify themselves with the cultural heritage and image of the nobility. The educational level on the other hand reveals another important trend. The more they are educated in the modern pattern of education, the more they are relaxed and liberal towards the new national trends of democracy and secularism. Education, however, tends to make them conscious of their past glory, and this has quite often been reflected in their responses. The income group has created real problem in our analysis. The nobles were quite well off economically before the abolition of the Jagirdari system. Their present income groups, therefore have become insignificant particularly with regard to their responses in connection with image, views and values; and in spite of present low income position they were found inclined to respond in the manner of old prestigious status. Hence the income groups have presented a very vagrant picture in the sense that present income variations have not significantly affected their deep rooted convictions. One thing that pervades them all is the substream of the income having ceased to be of much impact on their views, as they are now drawing these incomes as a result of the changes, but actually they had large estates

in the background of which they were born, bred and brought up. Having thus once imbibed the pattern of life of high income group, they often do not easily change their views, though in our tables they may be classified in low income groups. The categories of the nobles, however, reveal responses true to the attributes attached to the various ranks of the nobility. The higher the rank of the interviewee the stronger is his loyalty to the older values and tradition and the more is he askance to the modern trends of change; although the members of this class also have realised the inevitability of change and are equipping and preparing themselves fast to find new place in society.

In dealing with the statements and the questions, we have given general percentages of each table. The tables are given in Appendix-A.

Observation of each break up of the table has been made. After all the four independent variables have been explained, we have given general observation. At the end of the chapter we have tried to sum up the responses to the statements and the questions. Some relevant details, lists of nobles and the Bibliography have been given as Appendices to substantiate the argument discussed in the main body of the study.

The treatment of the whole subject has been based, in short, on drawing historical background, and then investigating the descendant nobles to see how far they have been able to adjust themselves with the general trends of change inspite of their traditional past and its historical breakdown.

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C H A P T E R - II.

SOCIO-HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF NOBILITY (European, West Asian and the Mughal Nobility)

FEUDALISM AND NOBILITY - THE WESTERN EXPRESSION:-

The Western expression of feudalism and nobility is neither simple nor consistent. For some it is the basic type in terms of which expressions of feudalism in other countries should be explained;[1] for others it is more a historic and specific event, more or less confined to the West, "which will perhaps never happen again".[2] The general Western trend seems more to agree with Voltaire who oregarded feudalism, not as an event but as a form; believed that similar forms could be identified in other regional and national contexts also.[3] One should, however, agree with Marc Bloch that granting the difficulties in identifying the phenomenon of feudalism in the Western civilization, it cannot be gainsaid that it was a very important and strong institution. It was this institution which the National Assembly of France decreed on 11th August, 1789 "to abolish totally". How could one thenceforth deny the reality of a system which it had caused so much to destroy.[4]

It should, however, be remembered that the European feudalism seems to be the outcome of the violent dissolution of the older societies. It is not purely and

exclusively based so much on kinship as on the rigorous economic subjugation of a host of people by a few powerful men. They symbolise the virtual identity of a class of chiefs with a class of warriors.[5]

DEFINITIONS OF FEUDALISM:-

Ganshof writes: "feudalism may be regarded as a body of institutions creating and regulating the obligations of obedience and service - mainly military service - on the part of a free man (the vassal) towards another free man (the lord), and the obligations of protection and maintenance on the part of the lord with regard to his vassal. The obligation of maintenance had usually as one of its effects the grant by the lord to his vassal of a unit of real property known as a fief. This sense of the word feudalism is obviously more restricted and more technical than the other".[6] It is a concept of obligation freely entered into by the feudal lords which results in the notion of one's dignity as a free man. In other words one is not bound to obey an order which is incompatible with one's dignity.[7] Strayer and Coulborn also, though they are more interested in the political functions of feudalism, place emphasis on the basic importance of personal agreements, reflecting feudalism as a concern for individual freedom and worth.[8] Marc Bloch says:

" A subject peasantry; widespread use of the service tenement (i.e. the fief) instead of a salary which was out of the question; the supremacy of a class of specialised warriors; ties of obedience and protection which bind man to man and, within the warrior class, assume the distinctive form called vassalage; fragmentation of authority - leading inevitably to disorder; and; in the midst of all this, the survival of other forms of association, family and State, of which the latter, during the second feudal age, was to acquire renewed strength - such then seem to be the fundamental features of European feudalism"[9].

It has a few very significant features. First of all it breaks away from the orthodox equation between feudalism and fief. Bloch himself does not lay much stress on the etymology of the concept and does not regard it as very decisive for historical analysis.[10] Secondly, he does not hold that each component of feudalism should be ontologically bound up with the totality of feudalism. Each component can continue with or without a feudal situation. Thirdly, Bloch makes subject peasantry as the first characteristic of feudalism. He maintains a clear distinction between a tenant and a slave. He agrees with other scholars pertaining to the supremacy of the warrior class, bonds of

obedience and protection and fragmentation of authority. He is, however, unique in discerning the survival of the family and state as other forms of association within and after the feudal age.

ORIGINS OF FEUDALISM IN THE WEST:-

Feudalism in the West, owes its origin to both the economic and political conditions prevalent in Europe from the early nineth century down to the thirteenth.[11] It was also stated that it was more a historical response to the breakup of old loyalties and systems and as such it was an evolutionary factor. The early phase of feudalism comprised of overlapping spheres of influence each centred around some local lord. Later feudalism was more like a set of holding corporations in which the local lord was still important but was controlled by a higher authority.[12] Both in the first and later phases feudalism was far from involving an efficient government, "but its very imperfections encouraged the experiments, which kept it from being a stagnant form of government".[13] Strayer is of the opinion that though feudalism was unlike a just form of government, yet "it was the flexibility of its institutions and the loyalty of their subjects which enabled the kings of the West to create the first modern States".[14]

Ganshof treats the subject from a different angle emphasising personal dependence and a specialised military class as a phenomena favourable to and characteristic of feudalism.[15] Strayer and Coulborn also refer to personal contracts as basic to feudal structure wherein political power is personal rather than institutional involving no separation of functions.[16] The central figures in this personal nextus are the lord and the vassal and it is only when the union of these two relationships is complete, one can speak of a fully developed feudalism in Western Europe.[17] It is needless to add that the lord-vassal group possesses a monopoly or near monopoly of military power in a feudal society.[18]

IDENTIFICATION OF NOBILITY:-

Coulborn hesitates to equate feudal nobility with aristocracy. They are not, according to him, necessarily concurrent, though they are soon recognised as such. It is primarily an aristocracy of ability but there has always been a tendency towards hybridity of functions.[19] Bloch holds the view that feudalism and nobility are not primarily linked together. The feudal revolution in its violent attack on nobility, was not capable of an analytical judgment. It looks only to social privileges and hereditary succession as the characteristics of the

nobility. Bloch sees the emergence of nobility relatively late in Western Europe, because it took a very long time to give social privileges and hereditary succession a legal status. In other words the legal status, according to Bloch is an essential part of the concept of nobility, particularly in the late and more developed stage of feudalism.

If one is to learn from the Latin word, 'nobilis', one may tend to regard the noble as one who is pre-eminent, and this then meant distinction of birth. It was based on the confidence that one, in order to have a title to nobility, should have in his ancesters, no one who was a slave. As far as the measure of wealth was concerned, the noble was one who derived his riches not by work but by privilege and authority. It was in this context that a hierarchy of status could develop. According to Bloch, before nobility became a legal class, it was known more by its ancestry, its wealth, its exercise of authority and its social habits.[20]

It was with the identity of power, status of birth, wealth, mode of life and morals that the nobility of the twelfth century, in Europe, was on its way to become, according to Marc Bloch, a legal and hereditary class.[21] The legal identification was facilitated on three levels:

(i) practice of the order of the Knights, bestowing upon men of distinction, both of the nobility and sometimes outside the nobility, the title of distinction, (ii) growing solidarity of the Empire or a state as a source of legal sanction and award, and (iii) the heightening tensions in the European society, whose cleavages were further widened by legal and imperial decrees. It was in this shape that the European nobility existed, though degenerated and decadent, on the eve of the French revolution. Barring the case of England, which has its distinct peculiarities, the origin and development of nobility followed the lines which we have referred to in this brief account.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WESTERN SYSTEM FOR THE INDIAN SYSTEM OF FEUDALISM AND NOBILITY :-

We would immediately make a few tentative observations which will be examined in detail as we progress in this study.

First and foremost, the Western feudalism, if we take Marc Bloch's summary definition as representative, seems to be legally similar to the Indian context.[22] But we should however limit what we imply here by the Indian context as such. It will refer only to that feudalism and that nobility which could be identified during the Muslim rule in India roughly from the fourteenth century down to the middle of the twentieth. It covers the Delhi Sultanate

before the advent of Mughals, the Bahmani Kingdom, the five kingdoms of the Deccan after the break-down of the Bahmani Kingdom, later Mughal regime, and Asafjahi Kingdom during the disintegration of the Mughal Empire and the consolidation of the British Rule in India. The period covers more than six hundred years with fourteen ruling dynasties,[23] four eithnic groups,[24] two linguistic traditions[25] and a territory equal to that of Europe exluding Russia. Any social phenomenon within this broad and complex framework can neither be uniform nor susceptible to a tenable generalization. The economic and the political history of India during this period cannot be supposed to have followed the same line as the European history. There are other features which are peculiar to the Indian scene and absent in the European period particularly in its early medieval centuries. They are;

1. A highly developed monarchy.
2. The ruling dynasties as immigrant settlers.
3. The absence of any religious organization like Church.
4. The copresence of two acutely different religious traditions.
5. The literate and the sophisticated character of the Muslim nobility particularly in the pre-Mughal times as the result of a massive migration of the intellectual and a cultural elite from West Asia after the fall of Baghdad and the Mongol devastation;
6. A highly developed religious legal ethics derived from Islam;

7. Presence of highly influential sufi or mystic leaders, sometimes challenging the very authority of the monarch, and

8. The concept of Islamic equality between men and men regarding rights and duties.

There was, besides these peculiarities, the Hindu social structure enveloping the civil subjects and the subject peasantry, which in its intricacy and traditionalism did not have any parallel in the Western Society. There is in the Indian context a subject peasantry, a wide spread use of the service tenament, the confusing supremacy of race, demands of obedience and protection, and a lord - Vassal relationship, though not exactly similar to the Western type. But these are mere generalizations. It requires a thorough sociological and comparative study to demonstrate how far Bloch's definition of European feudalism could be applicable in the Indian Muslim context.

Our study is not about feudalism. It is about Nobility during its last historical phase in Hyderabad. We shall soon see that the Nobility as such could have derived its status and authority from many sources. The feudal was one of them. It was not all as the studies of the Western expression seem to uphold.

The description of the nobility, again to refer to Marc Bloch's account, is not fully applicable to the Indian

scene. The reasons are obvious. They are two different phenomena belonging to two different civilizations. But Marc Bloch's account is significant and instructive. We can use his emphasis and pursue them in our study. His emphases are: (1) a distinction is made between the pre-legal and the legal status of nobility, (2) the nobility in the West is regarded more as a warrior class in contradistinction with the peasant and the merchant. This is identified as an ancient source of cleavage in society, (3) the nobility is described as a culture, more as a culture in capsule, practising its own occupations and destructions and holding the rest of society in disregard and contempt ,(4) the nobility is seen as practising, without realising, a double morality, the morality of oppression and the morality of courtesy, (5) the nobility is seen by Marc Bloch, as his account of feudal society offers, as an autonomy of behaviour and culture whose usefulness in the evolution of society, particularly regarding such institutions as family, state and religion, may be inferred but cannot be clearly established. These emphases in Marc Bloch, keeping in view the terms of their statement and theorization will be recalled as we proceed to examine the Mughal nobility and later the Nobility under the Nizams.

FEUDALISM AND NOBILITY - CENTRAL ASIAN EXPRESSION:-

We now turn to the Central Asian institution of nobility. There is, however, one difference between the statement of Central Asian expression and the account of the Western expression, particularly by Marc Bloch. The latter, as we have just seen, is available in a more systematic and conceptualised form, whereas the evidences of the Central Asian nobility are more in terms of simple historical and literary character. We shall be relying more on the 'Tora' of Changiz Khan and Tuzukat' of Taimur, the two most important and decisive documents pertaining the art of government and the strategy of controlling groups of diverse ethic and cultural origins. The historians of the Mughal rule in India seem to rightly hold that the Mughals in India tended to recall and imitate their ancestors from Central Asia and Trans-Oxiana. Hence the need to retrace them here.

Jadunath Sarkar describes the Mughal government and administration as a Persio-Arabic system in the Indian setting.[26] But it was not simply a Persian and Arabic heritage, in addition to it, the Mughals in India claimed to be the heirs of Changiz Khan and Taimur, who were not only conquerors but were statesmen and administrators of high order.[27]

THE ORIGINS OF MUGHAL SANCTIONS:-

The legal code of the Mughals called Tora, formulated by Changiz Khan was a manual of the rules and the regulations of the military and political organization of the Empire. Babar often refers to the Tora in his Memoirs and says, "Our forefathers through a long space of time, have respected the Changiz Tora, doing nothing opposed to it, whether in assembly or Court, in sitting down or rising up, "and adds, "though the Tora has not the divine authority, so that a man obeys it of necessity, still good rules of conduct must be obeyed by whomsoever they are left".[28] Babar adds further, "Precisely as Changiz laid down his rules, so the Mughals still observe them," and referring to the arrangement of the Mughal army in the battlefield, he writes; "Each man has his place, just where his ancestors had it; right, right; left, left; centre, centre".[29] Taimur, Babar's great ancestor derived a great deal from the Changiz Tora and added to it his own code, Tuzuk-e-Taimuri.

CHANGIZ KHAN'S ARISTOCRATIC BASE:-

The great task of Changiz Khan was to bring under his sway all the tribes of Mongolistan and to unite them. He laid down a constitution "on a strictly aristocratic basis". In the same way as an aristocratic family or class is the

head of a tribe, so, in the system of Changiz Khan the Golden Clan (Altan Uruk), with its vassals and followers, is the head of all peoples, of all the world. At the head of the imperial clan is the Emperor, who is the head of his own clan and of the aristocracy that has joined him, rather than the head of the people, or of the nation. Changiz Khan never conceived of himself as a popular leader. His messages, decrees and statutes are never addressed to the people, but always to the princes, Noyans and Legaturs.[30] The strategy of Changiz Khan could be summed up in the following terms. The individual clans or tribes were grouped for military purposes, capable to muster the required army at the shortest notice. At the head of each group, Changiz Khan placed such men as he trusted personally. Those chiefs constituted the "Kurultai" or assembly of the nobles, which was called every year, and at other times as well, when the Emperor wished to take any important decision. It was one such assembly, which had elected Taimur as the supreme head.[31]

ECONOMIC STRANGLE-HOLDS:-

A structure like this did not encourage private property, as the nobles, and their tribal followers, were in fact enterpreneurs employed by the supreme head of the tribe as the Emperor. As long as they were in the service of the

emperor, they were assured of means of liveli-hood, security and status; and also the share in the plunder and other benefits of the conquests, such as assignment of the revenues of the territories they conquered or exclusive rights to graze their cattle and horses in certain areas. But the ownership of such lands and assets did not belong to them and remained only at the disposal of the emperor. It is therefore not at all surprising that the custom of transferring nobles from one province to another or to different jagirs and of taking over of the property of the nobles on their death, as followed by Changiz Khan and Taimur, was practised by their successors in Central Asia and India. Clavijo, the Spanish ambassador, who was for some time at Taimur's Court tells us that if a noble became an object of displeasure of the Emperor, "His Highness will seize whatever that lord may possess, and very probably in addition put him to death, for such is the rule and ordinance".[32]

TAIMUR'S STRATEGY:-

The nobles and the tribal chiefs, brought together under Taimur, were not really his mere subordinates. The institution of the royal court employing a graded authority and status of the nobility had not yet taken shape. There was always a precarious equilibrium between the tribal chiefs

and the Emperor. The former regarded themselves more in shares of Taimur's fortunes, and Taimur in his term refers to them as "guardians of kingdom","friends, brothers", or "companions and partners" of his fortune".[33]

But this brotherhood of nobility was fundamentally qualified by the rivalries of the different tribes and tribal chiefs, and Taimur capitalised over their disunity. To give stability to his image and to keep the nobles in order and submission, and to unite them under his banner, Taimur adopted different means of both power and persuasion. He says: "And those who are dissatisfied, I called each of them separately..... those who were cautious and avaracious, I tempted them by wealth and riches, and those who fixed their eyes on dignities and command and government, among them I shared out the countries and provinces, which I had subdued..... and my words with them were these, that I had made them the partners of my fortunes, and they united firmly in my designs".[34] Whenever a powerful noble refused to submit, Taimur used to intrigue with the other chiefs of his tribe, thus making them seek his support. When their strength was thus exhausted, they both yielded to Taimur, who could then be in a position to send them against some other noble who had not submitted. Thus, he "sowed animosities among the princes of Badakshan until they disputed among themselves", and looked towards Taimur for

support and protection.[35]

In addition to this principle of divide and rule, Taimur did evolve the symbols of authority and status. First among them was the concept of the crown and the Emperor, a symbol which transcended the tribal authority and which brought about within the tribal consciousness a norm and a value which gave them a sense of destiny and sublimation. Taimur used the symbol and related to it the tribal emotions through his strategy of distinctions, honours and rewards. " I won their attachment", says Taimur "by kind words and open countenance and by gifts and presents".[36] The nobles, who had distinguished themselves in the hour of battle were generously rewarded and elevated by various titles, flags and drums.[37]

A CRITICAL REVIEW: : NO CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS:-

Whatever unity Taimur had brought about among the tribal chiefs, who constituted the ranks of the nobility under him, did not rest on any stable and abiding foundation. As soon as Taimur passed away, and the authority of the Emperor vanished, the tribal conflicts led to the disintegration of the empire. The description of the Mongol princes at the time of Babar's ascension to the throne of Farghana (1494) given by Lanepole attests the fact that Trans-Oxiana was a cockpit of jealousy and strife.[38] We are not, however, interested in the actual phenomenon of

conflict among the tribal chiefs and nobles of the Mongols. What is striking in all this is that the nobles were not class conscious and were not united even to protect their own interest as a class. Each tribal chief or noble looked after his own personal interests and looked upon another tribal chief as his rival and enemy. This was contradictory to the entire concept of a class or class consciousness.

A LOOSE BUT PERSISTENT FRAMEWORK:-

But what is more striking is the creation of a framework within which the nobility as a whole acted and behaved. This framework was a creation of both Changiz and Taimur. It can be abstracted in terms of monarchy, royal identity, and nobility as a body. The very foundation of an Empire was an improvement upon the tribal system. It was through the empire that each individual tribe became a historically evolved community. Even when the Empire disintegrated, the conflicting tribal chiefs struggled to attain the position of the dominant authority, over other tribal chiefs. This very tendency to bring others under one banner, was a residue of the experience of the Empire.

THE CONCEPT OF ROYAL BLOOD:-

The concept of royal blood or Taimuri blood was another forceful or powerful norm to which the tribal chiefs subscribe even after the disintegration of the

Empire of Taimur. They continued, though rent by rivalry and jealousy, to espouse a cause of one or another prince of Taimuri blood. The nobility under Changiz Khan is said to have taken an oath that "so long as there remains of thy posterity a morsel of flesh we will not place on the throne a prince of any other branch".[39] The eldest son of a ruler was generally considered the rightful heir to the throne. Even when the cause of his other sons was upheld, it was a further proof of the supremacy of the royal identity. During the shapeless period of the disintegration of the Empire, the nobles, independent and more powerful than the princes, did not call themselves, rulers or successors of Taimur's Empire. The idea that a ruler must be a prince of royal blood seemed to be ingrained in them. The nobles were of course king makers, but never became Mirzas, the traditional title of the persons belonging to the princely class. The nobility as a body was a creation of the framework of the empire.

ASSEMBLY OF NOBLES:-

It was Changiz Khan who, as we have said earlier, instituted 'Kurultai', the Assembly of the Nobles, who used to meet normally every year, and Changiz Khan presided over them as their supreme head. Apart from the tradition that the eldest son of a ruler should be the rightful heir of the throne, there was an equally important tradition

that the nobility could elect a ruler. Taimur was elected by the nobles and so also his predecessor Kabulshah.[40] Section III of the Tora forbids any Prince under pain of death to cause himself to be proclaimed Khan without having first being elected by a general assembly formed of the chiefs of nations. These three (components of the framework of the empire, viz; the emperor, the house of the emperor, the norm of the royal blood), and the nobility as a body were responsible in transforming the tribal chiefs into a different group, not a tribe, not a class, but something between them.

A MIX OF CLAN AND CLASS:-

The Mongol nobility was thus a mediating agency between two sociological and evolutionary identities, tribe and class. The latter pulled them towards a transcendental dimension, one which asked for a loyalty beyond the tribe, the former linked them to their heritage, and was thus a moral and cultural content of the very transcendence which seemed to supersede their tribal morality and culture. These two factors, tribe and class continued to determine the behaviour of the nobility when the central scene of the Mughal history shifted to India.

BABER'S LEGACY :: A CAULDRON OF CONFLICT AMONG NOBLES:-

Baber brought the legacy of Central Asia to India

a legacy based on the conflicts of the tribal chiefs of the nobles. Being a keen and experienced observer of life and events, he seems to be painfully aware of the nature and the challenge of this legacy. Many nobles had joined him in his Conquest of India. Many had also deserted him after getting their share in the wealth that the Indian compaign provided and others were compelling him to go back to Kabul. Baber did not have time to organise the nobility which accompanied him on his Indian compaign nor his son Humayun, could effect it. The sad period of Humayun's exile from India is an evidence of how the Mughal nobility did not unite under him to fight for him against Sher Shah. Sher Shah who had served Baber for more than a year seems to complain rightly of the disunity and the disorder in the Mughal camp. He says: "Since I have been among the Mughals and know their conduct in action, I see that they have no order or discipline".[41] It was not until the last years of Akbar that the Mughal nobility acquired the character of an organized and hierarchical body.

The West Asian records of nobility are quite different from the European, wherein we have found that the feudalism prepared the props on which the European nobility evolved. Then also we find some attempts at the theorization. The West Asian heritage is that of the Mongols from when the

Mughals, before they arrived in India, drew a lot. It is out of the Mughals, that the Nizam nobility grew. So for us here, it is a double stack backward look.

The loose nix of clan and class took a definite shape under the Mughals and this stirred consciousness descended down to the nobles of Hyderabad. Though the hostalgic remembrances of the Mughals are not perceived in them the ancient heritage is not forgotten by them.

The Assemblage of Nobles, could not continue among the Mughals. The formal loose structure, passed through different forms and worked in percolating persistance in the framework of common head the Emperor and near to that a class of persons, playing their roles in the make and unmake of powers that be. The bonds of union were varried; mostly the blue blood running in them and econoric concessions granted to them from the top. The Hyderabad nobles accepted the monarchichal form, prided over their blue blood running in their viens, craved for economic concessions, indulged in political manooverings and enjoyed a share in the exercise of powers of the state through direct participation and indirect distant but effective influences.

A clear picture of the power of the nobility, as a class developed during the Mughal regime, that too when it reaches its zenith and maturity. It is from the Mughals in their prime and decadence that Hyderabad Nobles derived

their main roots.

FEUDALISM AND NOBILITY - THE MUGHAL EXPRESSION

SOCIO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:-

By the Mughal rule in India we mean both the power and the image (even without power) that rested with a particular Mughal group which claimed the racial descent from time of Changiz Khan and which started its regime in India with Babar (1526) lasting through different vicissitudes of power and glory until the fall of Bahadur Shah Zafer (1857). The Mughals could expend and stabilise their hegemony in India by evolving an intricate pattern of military and civil administration. The Mughal nobility constituted the most important part of this pattern. It was a body of officers of the state whose role was decisive in such crucial historical hours as succession to the throne, the minority of the emperor or his sickness and inability to rule. The normal functions were, however, based on the stability of mutual trust and expectations between them and the Emperor, particularly concerning the raising and the inavailability of the fighting forces.

RANKS OF NOBILITY:-

A noble is identifiable in terms of his rank, and here we come across a very rich and also basic historical evidence handed down to us by the contemporary writers and

travellers. Samsam-ud Daula, the author of Ma'asirul Umara, includes in his biographies of the nobles from the reign of Shah Jahan only those who held the rank of 3000 and above. Abul Fazl the official historian of Akbar's reign includes in his list the nobles even down to the rank of 200.[42] William Hawkins who served the East India Company during Jahangir's time mentions the peers upto the rank of 1000 only.[43] Bermier, who had come to India at the end of Shah Jahan's reign did not mention the nobles below the rank of 1000 horses.[44] It is obvious from these varying numerical values as we proceed from the early Mughal times to the later Mughals that there was a gradual increase in the number of the officers of the state and this perhaps led to the limitation of the rank of nobility in terms of a greater number of horsemen. In other words the status of the nobility as a whole should also show a gradual fall in order to cause the increase of rank.[45] But the rank was not the only criterion. Family connections, high lineage, royal favouritism and tribal leadership constituted other strong elements in the status of nobility. The latter elements could even outweigh the specific rank. Abul Fazl, to whom we have already referred and who held the rank of 4000, was a great confident of Akbar; was feared even by Prince Saleem, the heir apparent.[46]

MILITARY CHARACTER OF THE NOBILITY:-

The nobility was, however, military in its character.[47] The fundamental object of the Mughal state was to recruit and maintain for the land revenue and other sources of state income a large army to uphold its supremacy against the native population, ambitious and rebellious Rajahs and even nobles, Hence all the officials whether employed for Civil, Judicial or Police duties were officers of the army, they all maintained a certain number of soldiers or their tribal followers ready for any military service. It was as leaders of the army that the nobles occupied a great position in the state. They were called upon to defend the territories of the Empire and upheld its supremacy. Besides the military duty, which was central to their identity and rank, the nobles were, however, engaged in the economic and civil administration. They were bound to the emperor by loyalty and fear and also by extreme affection and devotion. As a reward for their services the nobles were paid very high salaries which varied from Rs.30,000/- to Rs.8,000/- per month.[48]

JAGIRS OF THE NOBLES:-

The salaries were officially fixed but were not necessarily paid in cash. They were generally paid by an assignment of the revenues of a portion of land; such

lands were called the Jagirs.[49] The system of payment in this way, however, was more usual and convenient both for the Emperor and the nobles. The nobles by possessing a Jagir were sure of regular income without either depending on the memory of the King or on the efficiency of the clerks of the state treasury for the payment of their salaries, while the King without taking pains secured the maintenance of order, the collection of revenue and the suppression of the rebellions. This system gave the nobility a feudal character, but it was not quite similar to the feudalism of France or England. The Jagirs were never acquired by the sons of the nobles as their hereditary rights, nor did the nobles held one and the same jagir for life.[50] All the lands were considered as the property of the ruler and the king could shift the nobles from one jagir to another.[51] The custom might appear strange from a European point of view, but this was an accepted practice with the Mughals both in India and Central Asia. Bernier explains the system as unlike Europe and says "The land throughout the empire is considered the property of the sovereign, there can be no earldoms, marquisates or duchies. The royal grants consist only of pension either in land or money which the king gives, auguments, retrenches or takes away at pleasure.[52]

This must immediately lead us to further examine the

consideration that the Jagir and the rank of the noble, even his personal and private property were not hereditary.[53] Thomas Roe says, "He (the king) is every man's heir when he dieth".[54] As the nobles died their property returned to the King, like rivers to the sea.[55] Similarly Hawkins writes, "The custom of the Mughal Emperors was to take possession of his nobleman's treasures when they died and to bestow on his children what he pleaseth".[56] Bernier's account also does not essentially differ from Hawkins' But it must, however, be observed that the European travellers' accounts have made too much of the underlined principle of the non-hereditary character of the rights of the nobles, while we have evidence of the rights of the sons being not really ignored. It is common knowledge for the students of Mughal history that the families of Bairam Khan, Etemadud Dowla and Shamsuddin had enjoyed one generation after another, the favours of the Mughal Court. The qualification of birth and hereditary were respected and the sons of the nobles generally received favours soon after the death of their father. Their later advancement, however, depended on their loyalty and service and also on the capacity and willingness to administer successful manoeuring. Thus it can be fairly observed that though no hereditary rights were acknowledged concerning the nobility yet the emperor could not always ignore the claims of the sons and the relations of the nobles, nor was he

expected to do so.

ZAMINDARI STRUCTURE:-

Our discussion of the Mughal Jagirdari system will remain incomplete if we do not offer a brief account of what the Zamindari structure was, and how it was related to the Jagirdari System under the Mughals. The author of Miratul Istelah,[57] an eighteenth century work, defines the term Zamindari as "literally meaning master of the land, but now (it means) the proprietor of the land of a village or township who also carries on cultivation".[58] On one extreme stood these Zamindars who either directly cultivated or leased the land for cultivation and on the other extreme stood the customary Rajahs, who were also called Zamindars by the Mughals. Every locality had some land under Zamindars and the rest was under the peasants. If this was true, then the Jagirdar had normally to deal with both peasants and the Zamindars in his Jagir. It could then be normal for a Jagirdar to summarily assess the land in the possession of a Zamindar and collect the revenue from him without having anything to do with the peasants. This should have greatly simplified the task of the Jagirdar and the agents. The tendency to give a heavy assessment of land was exactly the point at which the Jagirdars encountered opposition and hostility of the

Zamindars, some of whom were backed by their armed retainers and sometimes also by the peasants. In some cases a Jagirdar might be made by the court, the Zamindar of an area, but this did not make that area his 'Watan' Jagir. The Jagir was always transferable while the Zamindari was a permanent hereditary institution. The contradiction of the system began expressing itself more clearly during Aurangzeb's reign which was marked by an increasing pressure of the State and of the Jagirdars upon the Zamindars as a class.[59] The conflict of the state and the Zamindars over the payment of the land revenue was however regular feature of the medieval society. There was always a latent revolt at the basis of the society however hidden under the powerful hegemony of the Mughals in India.

NOBILITY AS A HETEROGENEOUS BODY:-

The next important feature of the Mughal nobility was that it was not a homogeneous body.[60] The tribal and the clannish character was deep rooted. Blood, family and tribal connections were perceived and maintained. The Turanis, the Uzbaks, and the Mughals, belonged to the ethnic stock of the Mughal emperors and enjoyed a special status. The nobles of the Persian origin, particularly due to their cultural and intellectual background, were always favoured at the Mughal court. Then came the Afghan nobles and the Syeds of Barha who were strong force, simultaneously

favoured and suspected by the Mughal Kings. The Hindu Rajput nobles formed another important group and they were distinguished from other groups in terms of the sanctions they received from the Emperor. They were already rulers in their ancestral lands and succeeded to their thrones according to their own customs. Their personal property and hereditary lands were an exception to the conditions applicable to the other nobles. The Hindu Rajahs recognised the authority of the Emperor but were independent in their own territories. The nobility was, however, divided further by racial and religious affinities. Besides the Arabs, the Africans and the Europeans, who were few in number and far less influential, there was a mixture of different ethnic groups which however continued to associate itself with one or another important racial and clannish divisions. The Muslim sectarian divisions of the Sunnites and the Shiites were, however, a very well known and acknowledged fact. Their divisions provided the bases of dissension and disunity among the nobles.[61]

SYSTEM OF PRESENTS:-

The emperor and the nobility were bound together, as we have said earlier, by imperial and military, racial and ethnic network of loyalty and devotion which was, however, not always free from tension and conflict. One of the most intriguing institutions that bound the emperor and the

nobility pertained to the presents, which the nobility offered to the emperor; and the presents which the Emperor gave in turn to the nobles. The Mughal amirs were bound by custom to make suitable offerings to the Emperor on various occasions and nobody could dare disregard this institution.[62] The nobles, the governors of the provinces, the princes and whomsoever the Emperor granted audience were expected to bring in presents in accordance with the giver's status and in keeping with the Emperor's honour. The nobles in particular, ostentatious as they were, tried to excel each other in getting the rarest and the costliest presents possible. The birthday of the Emperor, the coronation day, the new year day and the other festival days were a few chief occasions of regular audience with the Emperor calling forth every attendant in the royal court to come forward with suitable presents of 'Ashrafis' (gold coins) and precious stones. Whenever a person was appointed by the Emperor for any special service or whenever the Emperor visited the house of a noble, the latter was expected to offer an appropriate 'Nazar' (present). Bernier's "Travels in the Mughal Empire" and Jahangir's Memoirs offer highly fascinating details of the occasions and the categories of presents which the emperors received from their noble gentry. It should, however, be noted that the presents were concrete expressions of the loyalty to

the emperor, and did not go under bribery, because they were made in public and were regarded as investment based on the expectations to receive the rewards from the Emperor, who gave them titles, jewels, elephants, horses and sets of robes.[63] Abul Fazl's Ain-e-Akbari is one of the authentic sources dealing with the Mughal Emperor's liberal behaviour concerning rewards which the nobles received.[64] One should include in the emperor's rewards to his nobles the granting of a Jagir as a very important and elaborate institution.[65]

CULTURE OF THE NOBLES:-

The culture of the nobility would mean how they lived, what their values were, and how they realized them in their behaviour. This will immediately lead us to demarcate the areas wherein the nobles were independant having autonomy. One having fulfilled the state duties of maintaining men, material and services required by the Emperor, and having acted in proper and expected terms concerning the rules of etiquette in relation to the Royal Court and the Emperor, they were free to run their affairs as they liked. They thus had autonomous "Sarkars" (establishments) which were comprised of their military contingent, officials, household staff, harem, servants, and hangers on.[66] The most important department in this establishment was one

which pertained to the financial side of collecting revenue from the Jagir, and the officer, who was in charge of the finances was called 'Diwan'. A versified panegyric of a saint of Punjab contains a description of the various officers in a noble's Sarkar.[67] Apart from the 'Diwan', there were other officers: Khazina-dar (Treasurer), Mushrif-i-Khazana (Chief Accountant), Mushrif-i-Sarkar (Chief Purchase Officer), Khan-i-Saman and Khwan-Salar (Officer in charge of the household and the Stores).

One of the striking features of the Mughal nobility, was their peculiar view of public welfare. Most of them had built numerous buildings of public activity, "Sarais" (traveller's inns), mosques, public gardens, market-places, tanks, water-falls, canals, residences for the poor, wells, Khankhahs (Saint's Shrines), kitchens during the period of famine, and Madrasahs. Bakhtawar Khan, Shaista Khan, and Mir Jumla of Aurangzeb's time were famous builders.[68] They also patronized arts, literature, medicine and alchemy.[69] But such works as involved sustained and collective institutionalization of welfare and research, creative and critical disciplines did not figure much in the Mughal times. Works of large scale irrigation, hospitals, and academic institutions did not seem to have developed.

The household of the nobility consisted of wives and servants. A noble had three to four wives and sometimes more, the daughters of worthy and wealthymen, living in a luxurious palace surrounded by high walls, attended by slave girls (from 10 to 100 sometimes), "toothless old women and beardless eunuchs".[70] Inside the palace luxury prevailed -- gardens, waterfalls, perfumes, fountains, costly furnitures, wine, dance, and music. Besides these the nobles had their animals including tigers, hawks, and falcons. Out of doors they presented themselves in gorgeous display of pomp and power riding on elephant or horse or 'palki' attended by their cavalry and servants on foot brushing off dust with peacock tails.[71]

THE COURT ETIQUETTE:-

Nobles were required to appear twice a day morning and evening before the Emperor. During the proceedings of the Darbar, different rows were fixed for the nobles of different ranks, and every noble had to stand at his appointed place. No noble was permitted to sit in the Darbar. Nobody was to leave the Darbar without the Emperor's permission. No one could come to the Royal Court or the Emperor's private residence wearing arms. It was forbidden to come in a carriage to the enclosure of the Emperor's house. The colours of the garments were prescribed by the Emperor. Nobody was to be admitted to

the Royal Court in half sleeves. To offer anything to one another, as the nobles stand in the court, was strictly prohibited. Each Mansabdar or noble was expected to mount on guard with his regiment at the palace of the Emperor on days appointed for him. When the Emperor went in procession and rode on an elephant, the nobles followed him on horses, and when the Emperor was on horse back, they were supposed to be on foot. M. Athar Ali, while commenting on these forms of etiquette, says: "The real object of these detailed rules of the court etiquette was to impress upon the nobles the magnitude of the imperial prestige and authority. To a cynical observer of the 20th century all this paraphernalia may seem ridiculous and absurd, but in the medieval ages it was considered an essential instrument of government. It was the policy of the medieval emperors to maintain their pomp and splendour as zealously as possible, so that nobles be made to realize that, however great and powerful they may be, they are nothing when compared with the Emperor, and that their authority, power and greatness depended entirely on his sweet will. At the same time the Emperor also wanted to impress the mass of the people in order that they may realize that even the greatest nobles and amirs were merely his servants and that the loyalty of his subjects was commanded by him alone."[72]

SUMMARY AND RESTATEMENT FROM A SOCIOLOGICAL VIEW-POINT:-

It is an arduous task to recall all the features and the functions of the Mughal nobility, nor is it easy to state them with the help of a few generalizations. Any attempt at a sociological appraisal is thwarted at the very outset as the studies made on the Mughal Kingship and the Mughal nobility are all written in a non-sociological medium and metaphor. There is no single sociological analysis of the Mughal period. The modern studies done on the history, the politics and the economic life during the Mughal period do indeed improve upon the medieval and the late medieval art of historiography, but they fall short of the sociological expectations. Ibn Hasan, Khosla, Irfan Habeeb and Athar Ali are, of course, great departures in Mughal studies, but without any sociological arrivals. Ibn Hasan's insight is limited to the structure of the Mughal Kingship. Khosla resembles Ibn Hasan's study but with less analytical appreciation of the Mughal institutions. Irfan Habeeb appears to be the only solitary instance of using a pseudo-sociological approach with a predominant emphasis on the economic structure. Both his analysis and diagnosis of the economic crisis of the Mughal Empire rests on the trust in the economic dialectics of the age, with the nobles, Zamindars and peasants as hall marks of social contradiction. Ather Ali's structural and

institutional treatment of the Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb is a very well documented attempt, relying with scientific care on the studies, seems to offer a sociological statement of the Mughal institutions. They do not use the categories of social forms and social processes. They seem to ignore the study of the social norms which might have held, however arbitrarily, the edifice of the Mughal society. The political and the economic emphasis of the studies mentioned above do not therefore constitute a meaningful whole. Strangely most studies so far done bring out the image of the Mughal social order as perpetually insecure and threatened. It is therefore understandable that the studies in question refer more to the racial and the ethnic conflicts, the struggles between princes for political supremacy, the rivalry of the nobles, the precarious position of the Emperor, the alienation of the indigineous population, the oppression of the peasants and the radical economic contradictions. But the question remains unanswered how a society so widely and deeply threatened could not only survive for a fairly long period but also had an identity and created energies of its own.

The subject of Mughal nobility suffers similarly from sociological neglect. The rules and the functions of nobles are however studied in detail but the institution,

per se of nobility is not defined and discussed. We learn more about the individual nobles, their activities, their privileges, their political and economic behaviour, but very much less about the institution which sanctioned and controlled the individual persons and their behaviour. We shall thereby tentatively attempt at identifying the institution of Mughal nobility in sociological terms.

We should, however, first recognise what emphasis did prevent an institutional understanding of the nobility. The first obstacle in all studies was the preoccupation with the facial structure with which the nobility was always identified. This is slightly by passed in Irfan Habeeb's otherwise excellent work. The second obstacle was the great amount of attention paid in all studies towards the Mughal Kingship. Ibn Hasan's well known work is an example of this emphasis at the cost of proper attention to the institution of nobility. The other major reason for not having adequate conceptual definition of the nobility is the disposition in almost all studies to take the question of rank as exhaustive of the question of nobility. Abdul Aziz's work on Mansabdari system is a detailed proof of this claim.

What we are looking for is to identify the institution of nobility which in our view seems to possess an autonomy

of its own, related though it was to the feudal, the aristocratic and the hierarchy of rank, and yet having its independent existence. The king gives the Jagir, grants the title, specifies the rank and expects from the recipient certain military and civil obligations. The recipient in his turn offers, presents and wins the favours of the Emperor by actually or pretentiously fulfilling his obligations. Does this structure of awards, obligations and presents constitute the whole of nobility? Our answer is: not quite so. Similarly the noble is a holder of a rank measured in terms of the number of his cavalry and also in terms of his salary and revenue measured and fixed by the imperial administration. The rank is both a measure of his functions and also of his formal proximity with the Emperor. Does a lesser or a greater rank lead to lesser or greater nobility? Our answer again is in the negative. The noble is also a holder and a master of his Jagir from which he draws both for his personal and official requirements, annual revenues which, as experts on the agrarian system of the Mughal period consider, were heavy and oppressive. Does this oppressive and exploitative feudal system corrupt the noble ethically or give him a moral autonomy? Our answer is that the nobles were both ethically insensitive and sensitive. One should ask in the case of the latter what really vouchsafed

their moral sensitivity and alertness. In other words what were the sources of their integrity?

We have answered the foregoing questions in the negative saying that the nobility was not the entire creation of the King and the feudal structure nor could it be equated with rank. To bring about the institution of nobility as it was, one should suppose that the nobles as they entered into the fold of nobility should undergo a transformation. The more this transformation takes place the more is the autonomy of the nobility as a class and as an institution. The transformation, as such, involves a twofold process of giving up of something they originally were and to uphold something which comes about in the act of giving up the former. Let us take two cases wherein this did happen. We are told that the Mughal nobility was drawn from several racial stocks, the Mughal, the Turks, the Iranis, the Afghans, the Uzbeks, the Arabs, etc. We are further told that one of the sources of rivalries among the nobles was their racial self consciousness. But it is not noticed that the persons drawn from different racial stocks extend into a new solidarity of status and function vis-a-vis the Emperor and also among themselves. It is the birth of a new community out of this solidarity which transcends the difference of the racial background. The second is regarding the different sectarian backgrounds of their

nobles. It is also obvious but again not noticed that this new solidarity helped them transcend their sectarian differences as well. The institution thus engendered on the basis of a new solidarity could function even in the independence of or indifference to even the explicit injunctions of the laws of religion. It is this solidarity which from within created for the nobility a spontaneous urge to be both elaborate and precise, inventive and perceptive of a vast range of cultural and personal values relating to art, sex and power. It is in the nature of this autonomy of the nobility to create a structural difference between power and people. Whether the nobility possessed any absolute ethical standards or not cannot be ascertained but one can explain both their moral and immoral excesses in terms of structural differences between power and people. The structural distance was not the explicit intention in the structure of rank and Jagir. It can be better explained by the development of the institution of nobility. Whenever the nobles went beyond the institutional frontiers of their own class, either by involvements in commerce or religious faction, they tended to destroy their original solidarity as nobles. Whenever they, either out of ambition or interplay of purely political factors, were tempted to share the very authority of the Emperor, they again contradicted the

principle of solidarity as nobility. Both in the late Mughal period and also under the Nizam's it so happened that Jagirs, titles and ranks were often awarded injudiciously and nobility thus created could not really partake in the solidarity of the class and institution. This was one of the causes of the disintegration of both the empire and the nobility.

There are other evidences which help us to persist in the thesis of the nobility as an autonomous institution. The Mughal conception of Kingships eloquently and vividly developed by Abul Fazl had brought about both in theory and practice divine infallibility on the part of the Emperor and entire dependence upon his personal disposition. There is no evidence in the literature of the period that any noble, however great and strong he might have been, was ever given a divine title of status or of authority, nor was any noble, however trusted by the Emperor, could take his own personal opinion absolutely. There was further the phenomenon of a respectable distance between the Emperor and the nobility, however, qualified by the system of gifts and presents and by matrimonial associations with the Emperor's family. The distance between the Emperor and the nobility on one side and between the nobility and the common subjects on the other gave to the institution of nobility both a position of responsibility and a considerable

degree of freedom.

Ibn Hasan's masterly treatment of the Mughal king as a protector and guardian, and also as above religious and ethnic differences makes us consider that the Mughal Kingship atleast theoretically rested on a natural accesses between the crown and the people. These accesses between the Emperor and the people seemed to by pass the entire nobility. But in practice each noble represented the emperor's authority and mercy and evolved a relationship between his noble identity and his moral responsibility. By functioning as the representative and a symbol of the Emperor, the noble was made to complement his rank and title with a larger moral and political obligation. It is in this process that he became more a Mughal noble than a mere Turk or Uzbek or Iranian.

One of the strangely neglected facts about the Mughal nobility, is that the nobles have been one of the major sources in the development of our urban civilization. Between the scattered rural masses and the royal contanment which later became the 'Qila' (fort) the 'Mahal' (palace), the mediating society was that of the nobles with their complexes of palaces, households, dependants, servants, Karkhanas, and traders whose main client was the nobility. It is this urban civilization which became the centre of

attention for the nobles, the home of the medieval arts and crafts, the occasion for the scholar and the priest to pursue their vocations, the recreation spots for the armed forces, the market for the caravans and the travellers, the landscape for the architects and the gardeners, the attraction for the indigenous plunderers and the foreign invaders. The Emperor did not create this urban civilization; he was only benefitted by it or was ultimately undone by it. The feudal structure was responsible for the urban wealth but was not its enterprenour and manager. The medieval city owes its existence and glory to the institution of the nobility. It is in this framework that we perceive the medeival culture. One of the serious shortcomings of the earlier studies is that inspite of their masterly analysis of the institutions of Kingship and feudalism, of Mansabdari system and of agrarian structure, they do not offer any theory of medeival culture. They only mention in a literary manner the custom and the etiquette of the nobility and do not offer an explanation of their origin and expression.

The Mughal nobility offers a background to the institutions that sprang up or continued to develop in different forms in the princely states of India when the Mughal authority was done away with by the British. We shall know more about it as we examine its evolution and

expression in a different context and under different conditions. Hyderabad offers this opportunity in its fulness.

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45. M. Ather Ali, in the Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, Asia Publishing House, 1966 - p.40, confirm this view as he discovers that during the second half of Aurangzeb's reign there were quite large number of Mansabdars whose Sawar rank was higher than their Zat rank.

46. Ain-e-Akbari - pp.XLVI, XLIX

47. Both W.Irwin in the Army of the Indian Mughal - p.6 and R.P. Khosla in Mughal Kingship and Nobility - p.31 agree that every Mughal noble was a military officer.

48. Ain-e-Akbari - p.257

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50. R.P. Khosla, The Mughal Kingship and Nobility - pp.234-35

51. There were infact two types of Jagirs
    (i) one that was assigned in lieu of the salary due to a Mansabdar which could be transferred or terminated and
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CHAPTER - III.

NOBILITY UNDER THE NIZAMS

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:-

The history of the erstwhile Hyderabad State begins from 1724, when Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah I, decided to settle down in the Deccan, where he carved out a state within the greater dominion of the Mughal Empire. It is neither possible nor relevant here to go into the historical details. However, a passing mention may be made of the extraordinary personality of the first Nizam who was "endowed with sagacity and statesmenship, dignity and poise, he was no mean scholar and poet, no less administrator in peace than a general in war".[1]

Asaf Jah I, was counted among the nobles of the first rank. After the death of Aurangazeb, the political disintegration of the Mughal Empire led him to the conviction that the political situation could not be repaired because of the deep and dangerous intrigues prevailing at the court of Delhi. The weakness of the emperors, the rise of the Syed Brothers and the dissensions in the ranks of the nobility shook the very foundations of the Empire. The keen eyes of Asaf Jah I, could see far into the process of disintegration wherein he saw his own fall if he had decided to remain involved. He, therefore, preferred to leave the

state of affairs to take its own course and marched towards the Deccan. The Syed Brothers very much wanted him to get out of the picture and would have even preferred to get rid of him, but he was too strong to be dispensed away with.

Consequently he started concentrating on the 'Subedari' of the Deccan. From 1724 onwards he devoted his time and energies for the consolidation and administration of the Deccan Suba (Province). This never meant that for any moment in his life he became disloyal to his Royal Masters in Delhi. For example, Asaf Jah I, did not hesitate to march to Delhi for the defence of the Emperor when Nadir Jah Durrani rode with blood and thunder into Hindustan. Nevertheless he knew the tottering state of the Mughal Empire and could not stand by it. So, he came back to the Deccan. The principality of the Deccan was virtually independent. Ali Yaver Jung says: "he may never have 'declared' his independance; but he was independent, and he had the stature and the sinews to maintain it".[2]

The origin of Hyderabad State owes the appointment of Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah I, as the Subedar (Governor) of the Deccan by the emperors of Delhi who directed him "to settle the country, repress the turbulent and cherish the people".[3]

To achieve this end "Asaf Jah I, had brought with him from Malwa a number of followers, Mohammedans and Hindus,

who were attached to his person and fortune. To the Mohammedan Nobles he granted Jagirs or estates on military tenure and employed them as his generals. The Hindus - he employed principally in administrative work in the departments of Revenue and Finance. To them also he granted Jagirs as a remuneration for their services, and all these Jagirs whether granted for Civil or Military purposes, came to be considered as hereditary in different families .... scattered over the country were a large number of indigenous Rajahs and Chiefs who held, most of them, 'Sanads' or grants from former Kings, many of which had been confirmed subsequently by the Delhi Emperors. The Rajahs were all recognised or confirmed in their possessions on payment of tribute, being allowed to exercise a kind of semi-independent jurisdiction within the limits of their estates. The whole of Hyderabad country was thus divided into three distinct portions, consisting first, of these feudal Jagirs, secondly of portions of territory reserved for the Nizam's private purse, now known as 'Sarfe-Khas' lands and thirdly of the so-called Divani or Government lands, the revenues of which were devoted to the expenses of administration".[4]

Like all expeditions conducted by the Mughal rulers and their commanders, as also by the earlier Muslim rulers in India, Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah I, was also held and supported in all his expeditions by his able lieutenants

who were promptly and richly rewarded by him. Whether in Delhi, Malwa or the Deccan, he was accompanied by valient fighters and trust-worthy nobles, who helped him in all his endeavours. History is full of records of these nobles both Hindus and Muslims who trusted him and he trusted them. It was because of these nobles that he occupied large territories and maintained them until death. "When Nizamul Mulk .... died in 1748, his authority extended from the Nerbadda to Trichnopoly, and from Masulipatam to Beejapoor; but his death was immediately followed by domestic dissensions".[5]

THE STATUS OF ASAF JAHI NOBILITY:-

The Jagirdari System was an ancient institution with its variable character in different parts of the Eastern and Western countries. It underwent drastic changes through the ages. Asaf Jah I, who was himself one of the Mughal Nobles of very high rank, had a host of Jagirdars either officially under him or politically in alliance with him. In the year 1724, he was able to establish himself as a powerful Subedar of the Mughal Subas of the Deccan. It was not only a simple official action taken by the Mughal Monarch in favour of Asaf Jah, but it was the result of a complicated political strategy pushed forward through a series of military operations. The parties and politics of the Mughal Court especially during the reign of Mohammad Shah made Asaf Jah I, to lose his interest in the Prime-ministership and divert to

the Deccan. It was again the same party politics which weakened the imperial government at Delhi and not only provided chances of autonomy to the provincial governors but it rather left them independent and autonomous.[6] It has always happened in Indian History that despite a great number of independent native states, internationally India was recognised as one political entity, generally with its capital at Delhi. It was not possible for the native governors to create an independent State of an international recognition out of the territories held by them. Virtually they enjoyed every freedom which was not restricted by any central institution. Yet historical traditions and the political conventions placed them in such a position that they submitted just for name sake their formal allegiance to Delhi. Still they were taking every care to keep their autonomy uninterfered by the Centre. The first Asaf Jah who was among the greatest of the nobles of his time having entire Deccan peninsula under his political suzerainty, was economically not only stronger than other provincial nobles, but also stronger than the Central Government itself.[7] Mughal nobles who had their Jagirs and other economic interests in the Deccan, had to fall in his retinue. Though all the Jagirs, titles and honours were granted by the Mughal court at the recommendations of Asaf Jah, but it was a mere shallow formality.[8] The nobles having their Jagirs and Mansabs in the dominions of Asaf Jah

were so loyal to him that they could be conveniently called better as Asaf Jahi Nobles than the Mughal nobles. As a matter of fact all of them fought against the imperial forces in favour of Asaf Jah. The dilemma, how after such series of warfare, the formal recognition of the Deccan by the Centre could continue, is a peculiar feature of the tottering Mughal empire which was succeeded by weak, inept and capricious successors of the Delhi throne, who were till 1724, puppets in the hands of Syed Brothers.[9]

Thus the Mughal nobility in the camp of Asaf Jah I, can conveniently be distinguished as the Asaf Jahi or Nizam's Nobility.

Before we proceed into the details of the structure and composition of the Nizam's nobility, it seems necessary to give a brief account of the nature and kinds of the Jagirs as the system was borrowed from the Mughals and as it continued under the Nizams.

THE JAGIRDARI SYSTEM:-

The 'Jagir' was a tenement in which the revenue of a piece of land was generally assigned to a servant of the government or a person who had somehow won the favour of his master, who empowered him to control, collect and appropriate the yields or the revenues of the territory so assigned to him. The assignment was either conditional or otherwise. It was

conditional when some public service, such as the levy and maintenance of troops or some fixed duty was enjoined to it, while it was otherwise when the land was left wholly at the disposal of the grantee.

Various definitions have been offered of this system of assignment of land to a grantee who had to perform some conspicuous service against the assignment placed at his disposal as a gesture of courtesy.

The persons who enjoyed grants of landed property, called Atiyat-e-Arzi, or grants in cash payment called Atiyat-e-Naqdi, were generally known under the appellation of 'Jagirdars' and their holdings were called 'Jagirs'.[10]

A Jagir is defined as "a free grant of one or more villages from the ruler of a state to the grantee as a reward for some conspicuous service either military or otherwise".[11]

"The Mansabdars of the Mughal Empire received their pay either in cash (Naqd) or in the form of assignments of areas of land from which they were entitled to collect the land revenue and all other taxes imposed or sanctioned by the Emperor. These assignments were known as Jagirs and Tuyuls".[12]

In Bahar-e-Ajam 'Jagir' is defined as a piece of land given by a king to his nobles or 'Mansabdars' or to some other person in order to enable him to utilise its proceeds by cultivation whatsoever.[13]

The author Nafa'is-e-Lughat defines 'Jagir' as a portion of land or village which a king or an Amir grants to a person who does not belong to the family of nobles. Such a grant was called 'Qatiyya' in Arabic, or 'Tiwal' (Tuyul) in Turkey. In the courts of the Indian Sultans the word 'Tiwal' indicated a particular piece of land bestowed upon princes, while by 'Jagir' was meant a tenament given to a noble or even to a person not belonging to this section. In Iran for 'Jagir' the term 'Iqta' was used.[14]

Aziz Jung adds: "A 'Jagir' (or a temure) is in fact a reward in lieu of cash payment which a king awards not only to honour but also to induce a 'Jagirdar' to administer the area assigned to him satisfactorily and bring prosperity to the people placed under his administration. For holding a 'Jagir' the assignee must secure a Royal Firman or a certificate, or atleast the official record should show his title to the possession as such".[15]

To sum up these definitions, Choragh Ali, a remarkable Scholar and administrator of the Nizam's State, may be quoted from his famous work "Hyderabad Under Sir Salar Jung". He says:

"The 'Jagir' was a tenure common among the Mohammadan Governments, under the general appellations of Inam-al-Tamgha and Madad-e-Ma'ash, in which the public revenue of a given tract of land was made over to a servant of the state, together with the powers requisite to enable him to collect and appropriate such revenue and to administer the Government of the territory so assigned. The assignment was either conditional or otherwise; in the former case some public service, as the levy and maintenance of troops or some other specific duty was engaged for; while in the latter case the land was left entirely at the disposal of the grantee. The assignment was either for a stated term, or more usually for the life time of the holder lapsing on his death to the state, although frequently renewed to his heir on payment of Nazrana, and sometimes, specified to be a hereditary assignment, without which specification it was held to be a life time tenure".[16]

The 'Jagirdari System' in Hyderabad though in some respects akin to, was yet, largely, dissimilar to the feudalism of the West. Besides some common feudal patterns of the organization of the Mughal nobility, it had its own distinctive features in Hyderabad. In the first place the grant of a Jagir here was not entirely limited to the performance of either military or some other conspicuous service but also it could be granted otherwise. Although

critically the 'Jagirdars' were not the owners of the land, they were, however, empowered with rights not only to collect the land revenue of the territory without passing any portion of it to the State, but they could also create ownership right in their own tract by conferring land on others without interference of the State. The owner of a 'Jagir' could cultivate the land himself or under his supervision or lease it out to a different tenant for a rent. The 'Jagirs' could, therefore, be likened to states within the State.[17]

A close perusal of the documentary evidences would reveal that the main object of the 'Attyats' or grants (of 'Mansabs' or 'Jagirs') was to establish military forces on one hand, and to bring stability to the state administration on the other; and since in most cases the grants were subjected to the performance of special services, in case of the demise of the grantee a transfer of service from one hand to another was invariably followed by a transfer of the captioned grant, possession of property or maintenance allowance simultaneously. Grants were also terminated and lands resumed by the State due to certain irregularities on the part of the grantee which could take anyone of the following shapes:

1. A subsistenance or maintenance allowance was terminated as a matter of punishment to the grantee on his failure to establish the claim, or with-held till his right to it was established.

2. Due to dispute among the heirs of the deceased grantee to a landed property or other.

3. Where it was detected that the occupation or possession was forced, unauthorised, or deceptive and no proper title deed was forthcoming.

There have been several instances in which on the demise of a grantee his title has been passed on to quite a different person without ascertaining the existence of his legal heirs, a case which affirms the conclusion that at times no proper records of the Firman or Sanads of the bestowals were maintained, the compilation of which was felt more acute when the sanctioning authority was inclined or induced to take an antagonistic attitude. On erraneous report too, that the grantee was far well-to-do to be beneficiary of a grant, or that he was dead, grants could be terminated though actually the facts were in reverse order. Such circumstances were however exceptional, for in general, the rulers being considerate the beneficiaries and even some of their descendants were allowed to enjoy the grants. In case of disputes among the claimants, where confiscation of a 'Jagir' became pertinent, the aggrieved parties were always recompensed by cash payment for the loss of a Jagir which also did not damage their prestige.[18]

ATIYATS, INAM AND TYPES OF JAGIR:-

The Jagirs were of several kinds. These grants were also indicated by the word Inam and 'Atiyats'. Inam as long as it existed was of several kinds:

'MAUZA INAM' : A village granted to a beneficiary for his living.

'MAZRA INAM' : A pasture of land given with the right of grazing cattle upon it.

'ZAMEEN INAM' : A piece of land given for the use of the grantee.

'ATIYATS' : On the whole these were divided into two kinds - first of these was without any reservation, that is entirely free of any claim by the ruler or the State while the holders enjoyed its yield and revenue to the full. Examples of these may be traced in the grant of 'Jagirs' and 'Inams'.

In the second instance, 'Atiyats' were granted subject to certain reservations by the State and the grantee was bound to surrender a certain portion of the proceeds to the State Treasury.

The issue of these grants was based upon royal orders, called 'Sanad' which the grantee was bound to possess for taking advantage of the 'Atiyats'. The 'Sanad' could be either a 'Firman', order of the ruler under his seal, or a Sanad in the nature of a certificate to the same effect attested or endorsed by the Chief Minister of the State. There were cases where a Sanad could not be traced out and

its benefit was lost to the grantee. However, if it was found out on proper investigation that the claim was antique and there was no intention of cheating on the part of the claimant, his right was admitted as a gesture of courtesy and favour by the State.[19]

All the 'Atiyats' (Grants) were sub-divided into three:-

(1) Permanent,

(2) Those which were to continue during the life time of the grantee,

(3) those stipulated for a certain fixed period.

Again, the 'Atiyats' were subjected either to a certain performance of service or wholly unconditional. It was a special feature in the Nizam's Dominions that some conditional grants were mainly for encouragement, development and maintenance of certain secular and non-secular institutions of all communities in the State without a distinction of caste or creed which could be placed in five categories:-

(1) Grants for the maintenance of places of worship, both mosques and temples.

(2) Grants to meet expenses of religious ceremonies of both Hindus and Muslims, such as Urs and Jataras;

(3) Grants for the performance of worship, such as Chillas (a Muslim worship of forty days' abstinence), and Agni-hoter or Nanda-dip (Hindu worships).

(4) Grants for Langer Khana or maintenance of Varsa Shan for the Hindus;

(5) Finally, encouragement of those services which were coupled with the administration of the State, for example the institutions of Kadi and Mufti, Deshmukh and Sir-Deshmukh, Deshpande and Sir-Deshpande, Patel and Patwari etc.[20]

The Jagir lands were of five kinds:-

(1) Al-Tamgha Jagirs or Inam-al-Tamgha.

(2) Zat Jagirs or lands for personal maintenance.

(3) Jagir Nigahdasht Jamiat or Paigah.

(4) Tankhahi Mahalat - assignment of villages or Talukas in lieu of advances made to the State.

(5) Sarf-e-Khas or Crown Jagirs.

AL-TAMGHA JAGIRS OR INAM-AL-TAMGHA:-

The word Al-Tamgha in Turkish means seal of king and with the Indian Sultans whose ancestors were Turks, Al-Tamgha was a grant of land to their sons.[21] In a verse of Mohammed Jan Qudsi, the word 'Al' stands for sons and Tamgha for a seal.[22] While according to Maulana Katibi, the term Al-Tamgha is a bestowal of land. In the Farhang-e-Asfia it stands for a red seal or king's seal on a document of a grant of Jagir.[23] The writer of the Atiyat-e-Sultani describes Al-Tamgha seals of which he had seen one of the Qutub Shahi Period, impressed with the name of the King on a red sealing-wax on a Firman granting a Jagir.[24] He is also confident that documents or Firmans bearing the endorsement "granted by way of Al-Tamgha" are more authentic as they legalise the utilisation of the land granted by the coming generations of the grantee.[25]

According to Maulvi Cheragh Ali "it is difficult to say when "Al-Tamgha" was introduced in the terminology of India, in the sense of either a seal or grant. It certainly does not appear to have been in common use in the fiscal language of the country in Akbar's time. In the 'Institutes' (A'in) of Akbar, 'Sayurghal', a Chaghattai word, is used for free grants of land as Madad-e-Ma'ash. This latter term signifies "means of subsistence" and differs for this reason from Jagir or Tuyul lands which were conferred for a specified time, on Mansabdars in lieu of salaries.[26]

In all appearance the Al-Tamgha Jagir was hereditary and permanent and by the very nature of its grant it was not transferable by sale, gift or bequest or by adopting any other mode of transfer, and this view corresponds with the understanding and practice prevalent during the Mughal period. The 'Al-Tamgha' was thus for the benefit of the grantee or his heirs and in default of heirs, the Jagir was to revert to the State. The nature of the 'Al-Tamgha' Jagirs, particularly during the period of the Nizams being hereditary, on some of the Sanads of such Jagirs they were specified as "Ta Qiyam-e-Shams-o-Qamar" meaning as long as the sun and the moon exist. Some of these Sanads are preserved in original in the State Archives, Hyderabad.

ZAT JAGIR:-

These were grants of lands usually of large portions, "for the maintenance of the grantee and mostly personal".[27] 'Zat-Jagir' was next to 'Al-Tamgha' and for the personal use of the assignee. Its documents did not bear any specification of it being given on a permanent basis or that it would continue after the grantee. The personal Jagir was of two kinds: one for the maintenance of the grantee, and the other, on the document of which an endorsement of the words 'Tan Shuda'[28] (fixed as pay), was added to indicate the stipulated pay of the grantee.

JAGIR NIGHDASHT JAMIAT OR PAIGAH:-

These were often groups of villages or Parganas in the form of an assignment made to the nobility or gentry of the State for levying a Jamiat or a certain number of troops whose expenses were met with from the proceeds of the villages assigned for the purpose.

TANKHAHI MAHALAT OR PAY JAGIR:-

The Tankhahi or pay Jagir resembled the third kind but was of later origin, not so legitimate in its nature. The stipend was nicknamed 'Tanka' (an abbreviation of Tan-Kha, Tan, per head or per capita and khah, wanted) and was paid in kind. In so far as the villages or a set of Mahalat were given to military officers to defray expenses of maintaining

certain number of horses, who were also called 'Mansabdars', the system resulted in the strengthening of the Jagirdars and weakening of the State.[29] With regard to these Mahalat, Maulavi Cherag Ali has remarked: "These had their origin in the times when the state was involved in pecuniary difficulties, when the 'Jamadars' or military chiefs lost no opportunity of taking charge of 'Khalisa' talukas as guarantee for the regular payment of their establishments, and paid their troops from the proceeds thereof .... In this sense the 'Tankha Jagir' was no more than an assignment of villages, parganahs or Talukas in lieu of certain state debts or advances made to government or for the pay of offices, establishment or troops".[30]

MOKASA AND CHAUTH JAGIRS:-

'Mokasa' Jagir has been described as those lands a portion of the revenue of which was collected by the Peshwas for their government treasury. The word 'Mokasa' in Persian means a tribute less than a quarter of an income, which was realised from a land or village granted as 'Jagir'.

The 'Chauth' was in the nature of 'Mokasa Jagirs'. The government collection being in charge of the Marathas, they claimed one-fourth of it as their 'Chauth'. The chiefs of the Mughal Emperors who were left in the Deccan at first opposed to the above payment but finally seeing no way out

of it conciliated the Marathas by concluding a truce in 1710. There was a sub-division effected in this 'Chauth', according to which 25 per cent of it was collected by the Priti Nidhi, the Peshwa and the Punt Suchew which was generally called the 'Babti', while the remaining 75 per cent was called 'Mokasa' or 'Mokassa' and was appropriated by the Sardars subject to their levying of troops and meeting certain other expenses. The 'Mokasa' was further sub-divided into two heads; one being called 'Sahotra' and the other 'Ain Mokasa'. 'Sahotra' or six per cent of the 'Chauth' was apportioned for Punt Suchew while 'Ain Mokasa' (real Mokasa) was collected by the Sardars.

There were some Jagirdars who were formerly bound to pay a 'Chauth' to the Maratha government and after its dismemberment to the government of High Highness the Nizam.

JAGIRS AS FREE GRANTS:-

There were a large number of Jagirdars in Hyderabad who held free grant of lands and generally did not pay any amount of annual tribute, Nazrana or fee, either directly to His Highness or to the Government. With the exception of these there were other Jagirdars too who were bound to pay the 'Chauth' to the government treasury.

SARFKHAS OR CROWN JAGIRS:-

These were territories assigned to the Nizam of Hyderabad in lieu of cash payment from the Public Treasury. In addition to this High Highness had also personal Jagirs which were free of any State burden.

The term 'Judi Jagir' (combined Jagir) was also current in those days though this name is not traceable in documents.[31] It referred to a village in which portions were granted both as 'Mokasa' and 'Chauth' Jagirs to two different persons. The system was adopted by the Peshwas for establishing ownership and strengthening their administration.[32]

The grants of the above description were of immovable properties but there were also annual grants of fixed amounts called Naqdi Ma'ash (cash subsistence) which the claimant was allowed to collect at the end of the year both at the metropolitan and the district treasuries, but those enjoined with the performance of certain services could be drawn from the particular treasuries only.

NATURE OF JAGIRS AND TYPES OF JAGIRDARS:-

With regard to the nature of Jagirs in general and in Hyderabad in particular, the following conclusion can be deducted and arrived at:

(1) The Jagirdars, with a few hereditary exceptions and estates of Premier nobles, had no proprietory right over their Jagirs.

(2) The Jagir was mostly inalienable and the Jagirdars were entitled only to the revenue accruing from the land over which they had supervisory power.

(3) The state was founded on the principle of despotism of autocracy the whole being considered as the private property of the ruler.

(4) Theoretically, the ruler could grant or terminate the grant of a 'Jagir' at his own absolute discretion.

(5) However, under the Nizams, the heirs of a deceased 'Jagirdar' were generally favoured with a renewal of the 'Jagir' and a special court 'Atiyat Court' looked into succession cases.

(6) Jagirs were 'exempted' or 'non-exempted'. Exemption signified freedom from 'Diwani' Jurisdiction in as much as the Jagirdar could have his own arrangement for the Judiciary, Police etc. Under this category could be placed 17 major Jagirs under the Nizams viz; 3 Paigahs, 5 Samasthans and 9 Ilaqas and estates of premier nobles.

(7) Jagirs also could be 'Mashrut' (conditional) or 'Ghair Mashrut' (un-conditional); conditional — when followed by some kind of service such as maintaining of a temple or mosque, and 'unconditional' — when no restriction was imposed, the purpose of the grant being to enhance the personal prestige of the grantee.

(8) Jagirs could also be absolutely rent free or otherwise. In the latter case, a specified amount which was termed variously, such as, 'Peish-Kash', 'Nazrana', 'Pan', 'Chauth', etc. was to be subscribed by the grantee.

(9) In the 'Mokasa Jagir', the 'Jagirdar' could enjoy only a portion of the revenue, such as, three-fourth, half or one-fourth. Towards the close of the Jagirdari System, a kind of royalty called 'Haq-e-Malikana' (right of ownership) was also collected from the Jagirdars.

The above classification establishes to some extent the

status of the Jagirdar and his position in the feudal hierarchy. But material and economic significance of the system showing the socio-economic differences of various units requires no less attention and in this context the administrative differences which divided the Jagir villages according to socio-economic variation have been classed into units of Sarfe-Khas, Paigah, Ilaqas, Samasthans, other Jagirs and sub-jagirs, each of which has its own significance.

1. SARFE-KHAS:-

Sarfe-Khas or the privy purse, were those undisputed lands or Jagirs which were under the sole control of the crown and the proceeds of which went to the private purse of the Nizam in lieu of cash payment from the public treasury. Out of the revenues of the Sarfe-Khas were met the expenses of the house-hold and retinue of the ruler, but it also covered the expenditure of maintaining an army, partly regular and partly irregular, in addition to the State forces, the burden of the latter being borne out of the revenue from the Diwani or State areas. The Sarfe-Khas Jagirs were scattered all over the State but with regard to administration and control it formed a signle unit, the efficiency of which was second only to the Diwani areas.

2. P A I G A H :-

It would be useful to look into the origin and nature of the Paigah with a short retrospect, in view of its historical significance.

The Nizam's Dominions were divided into Khalisa (of the State) and Ghair-Khalisa (non-governmental). One-third of the Dominions was allotted as Gahir-Khalisa which was again sub-divided into Sarfe-Khas (land or Jagir of the Crown) and Jagirs (feudal estates). There was a further division of the Jagirs, into Paigah, Samastham and other Jagirs.

The term 'Paigah', of Persian origin, has been differently interpreted as meaning 'foot' or 'stable'[33] Aziz Jung gives it a singular meaning: "the word Paigah or more correctly Pagah which signified pomp and high rank of great nobles is of Persian origin and by it was meant a place of cattle or stable for horses including the magnificent grants or pensions for maintaining a cavalry which the noble grantees were expected to furnish during military operations"[34]. We first hear of this honour during the reign of His Highness, Nawab Nizam Ali Khan, Asaf Jah I, conferring it upon one of his promising nobles, Abul Fateh Khan, and ceremonising the same with the title of Tegh Jung Bahadur in recognition of his meritorious services both civil and military which the noble man well deserved[35]. The conferring of the title was based upon the traditional

practice of the Mughals showering favours upon a noble for maintenance of his family as well as keeping a standing army, the services of which could be requisitioned at the bid and call of the emperor during emergency. The grant was made by issuing a 'Sanad' under seal and signature of Nawab Nizam Ali Khan in which the above conditions were well stipulated. Morally and in principle, these grantees were bound to be the faithful, friendly and loyal nobles of the ruler and the state, and first to be truly helpful in matters of peace and war. It may be attributed to an additional qualification to the nobility of Hyderabad, with particular reference to the Amirs and Chiefs of the Paigah, that in prestige the nobles of the Paigah always claimed a place next to the ruler, and have had the privilege of linking their families by matrimonial ties with the Nizam's family.[36]

The ancestral history of the Paigah nobles is linked with Baba Faridud-Din Ganj Shakar who was a pious saint of high repute and on the assent side was related to Hazrat Omar (Farooq-e-Azam) the second Caliph of Islam. Shaik Baha'ud-Din Khan stood 12th in line of the above saint and was governor of Shikohabad and Chief Treasury Officer at Akbarabad during the reign of Emperor Akbar. To him was born Mohammed Abul Khair Imam Jung I, at Shikohabad who grew up to be young man of talent possessing soldier-like qualities and dignified scholar in art and literature. While he was at Delhi, the Emperor Mohammed Shah honoured him with the

title of 'Khan Bahadur' and placed him at the head of the cavalry consisting of 200 horse and 500 foot. His behaviour and achievements fascinated Nawab Asaf Jah Nizamul-Mulk I (then the Minister of Emperor Mohammed Shah), who conferred upon him a mansab of 2000 Zat and 500 Sawars with a vast Jagir into the bargain,[37] and at the time of his expedition to the Deccan, appointed him (Mohammed Abul Khair Khan) deputy governor of Malwa and Khandesh.[38] Later, when he joined Asaf Jah Nizamul-Mulk in the Deccan, his mansab was raised to 4000 Zat and 2000 Sawars and the title of 'Bahadur' was bestowed upon him with Kettle-drum, standard etc.[39] His singular exploit was the defeat which he brought upon Babu Naik, a great Maratha Chief, in 1745 (1158 H.), who had aggressively forced his way into the territory for the collection of Chauth.[40] When Muzaffar Jung resumed power, he gave Mohammed Abul Khair Khan the prosperous territory of Burhanpur as Jagir, and when Salabat Jung stepped in his place, he showered upon Abul Khair more honours with the title of Imam Jung. After a long and honourable life he died at Burhanpur in 1752. His son Abul Fateh Khan Taigh Jung (Shamsul Omara I), who as we have already seen, was honoured by Nizam Ali Khan with the above title. Later, his son Abul Fakhr Mohammed Fakhruddin Khan, Shamsul Omara II, was granted a Sanad by Nizam Ali Khan by which the Paigah estate of Taigh Jung was declared to be given to him and to his successors in perpetuity and with the express

concession that the grantees were no more liable to surreder one-fourth revenue of their estate to the sovereign state to which the Paigah was subject under the former Chauth System and further, the later Sanad freedthem from all other liabilities. Thus the Paigah became an exempted estate and by virtue of the Sanad the grantee and his lawful heirs were to inherit and administer it without outside interference. There remained no necessity of keeping any military force with the result that ~~now~~ no troops were kept except a few hundred persons on guard, often irregularly and sparingly armed, just to keep up the honour and dignity of the family.

Later, the Paigah was divided among three different branches of the family and came to be known as the three Paigahs: (1) Paigah Asmanjahi, (2) Paigah Khurshid Jahi, (3) Paigah Vicarul-Omara. The holders of these Paigahs had unrivalled powers, with full control of revenue and judiciary, and had instituted their own departments of education, health, Public Works, Survey and settlement, which though vied with the Diwani administration of the State were much lower in worth and efficiency. The area of the Paigahs was 4,352 sq. miles with a total number of 1,194 villages scattered throughout the State.

III. THE ILAQAS AND OTHER EXEMPTED ESTATES:-

The Omara-e-Uzzam (Premier nobles), ranked just below the nobles of the Paigah. Though their annual income was

comparatively smaller, they too had full control of revenue and judicial administration in their estates with the privilege of enjoying enormous authority over their Ilaqas (Jagirs) which were rent-free and exempted from Diwani or State control.

The following is the list of the Exempted Jagirdars who were regarded as the Premier Nobles (Omara-e-Uzzam). These Jagirdars had autonomous position within their estates with complete judicial, police and administrative rights and machinery; in fact a parallel government within their limits alongside the Nizams.[41]

(1) Asman Jahi Paigah
(2) Khurshid Jahi Paigah
(3) Vicarul Omara Paigah
(4) Estate of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur
(5) Estate of Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur
(6) Estate of Nawab Khan Khanan Bahadur
(7) Estate of Nawab Fakhrul Mulk Bahadur
(8) Samasthan of Gadwal
(9) Samasthan of Wanparthi
(10) Samasthan of Jatprole
(11) Estate of Maharaja Dharam Karan Bahadur
(12) Estate of Raja Sham Raj Bahadur.
(13) Estate of Nawab of Kalyani
(14) Samasthan of Amarchinta

(15) Samasthan of Palwancha

(16) Estate of Nawab Mehdi Jung Bahadur

(17) Estate of Nawab Suriya Jung Bahadur

IV. SAMASTHANS:-

The Samasthans were large tracts of Jagirs but, unlike other Jagirs, compact areas of lands forming homogenous administrative units. One thing notable about these Samasthans was their antiquity for they had a history of their own even prior to the coming of the first Nizam, and had been exclusively held by Hindu Rajas who were later invariably recognised by the Nizams. The Samasthans were not rent-free Jagirs and were subject to payment called 'Peshkash', but otherwise they too had vast administrative, police and other powers. One significant thing about the Samasthans was the compactness of area which made their administration free from those irksome difficulties which beset other jagirs as well as their ryots or subjects. The Samasthans were fourteen in number but only the following five were exempted Jagirs free from Diwani jurisdiction: (1) Samasthan Gadwal; Samasthan Wanparthi; Samasthan Jatprole; Samasthan Amarchinta; Samasthan Palvancha. These Samasthans held an area of 5,030 sq. miles containing 497 villages.[42]

V. OTHER JAGIRS:-

The remaining Samasthans may also be included in this

category. The other Jagirs, much smaller units, and their sizes and income varying, retained their judicial and police power but majority of them had only revenue jurisdiction. As the Jagirdars in this category held only a few villages each, sometime not exceeding one, their administration too was proportionately no better, with hardly any sign of social service observable in their area, and if there was any welfare activity it was just a gratis. Almost all the Jagirs of this category were non-exempted and conditional upon service paying the so called 'Haq-e-Malikana', 'Pan' or 'Peshkash'. But together they formed the largest category of Jagirs, spread out over an area of 11,619 sq. miles and enclosing 3,122 villages.

VI. Lastly, there were the sub-jagirs, granted by the bigger Jagirdars to the lesser in return for service or in lieu of money payment therefor. Numerically the sub-jagirdars were 376, and exhibited mostly the numerous characteristics of 'other jagirs', mentioned above.

THE NIZAM'S DARBAR AND THE CONFERMENT OF HONOURS:-

With the Nizam of Hyderabad a Darbar was not held to inaugurate an issue of political importance only, but occasionally to ceremonise festivals, like the Holi, Basanth, Dessera-h, Ramzan, Baqrid and the Nauroz, when the Nobles and dignitaries attended these functions with every pomp and show. The Darbar presented a surprisingly picturesque scene where

proud nobles and state dignitaries appeared in gorgeous attires each trying to surpass the other in matters of decency and etiqutte mainly to arrest the attention of the most illustrious and luminous person of the Ruler whose satellites they vied to be, and to whom they paid their homages and from whom they received favours, honours, titles, jewels and ornaments without distinction of caste or creed. On these occasions Hindus and Muslims alike, exchanged greetings, feasted on the same table in the spirit of brotherhood which was a common social pattern of tolerance among the people of Hyderabad and has partially come down to this day.

It was not only a thing of traditional gesture, but an historical event for the ruler to bestow upon nobles of his choice, titles, honours and various awards of Jagirs and Mansabs, which for the interest of the public were announced in open Durbars. The bestowal of these honours was generally on an occasion when a noble returned after winning a battle, or repaired to the court after conducting a successful mission or when he appeared for the first time before the king. The rulers of Hyderabad conferred titles like the British who generally bestowed titles such as Maharaja, Raja, Khan Bahadur, Khan Sahib, Diwan Bahadur, Rao Bahadur, Rai Sahib, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., etc. However, in Hyderabad these awards were of the following nature:-

I. Awards of titles: There were various orders into which titles were classified and bestowed on occasions of the Nizams' birthday, and festivals like Nauroz etc. Titles were conferred through a document generally known as a 'tajwiz namah' (Endorsement). It contained all the details of recommendations by the provincial authority and the final assignment by the Mughal Court.

The hierarchical order of the honours was as follows:-

(a) The title of Jah was monopolised for the Princes and members of the Nizams' family and sparingly for the nobles of top rank. The following are some of the instances:-

Asaf Jah -- restricted to the Nizams' family.

Khurshid Jah and Asman Jah } Relations of the rulers, nobles of top rank and Chiefs of Paigah.

Arastu Jah -- Prime Minister.

(b) Titles bestowed on higher nobility were:

Maharaja, Raja-i-Rajayan, Amir, Omara, Amir-i-Azam, Amir-i-Kabir, Shamsul-Omara, Amirul-Omara, Maharaja Raj Rajinder, Raja-i-Rayan Maharaja Narender.

(c) For the nobility of ranks below the above, the titles were -- Mulk, Daula, Vant etc. for example Fakhrul Mulk; Muhtashmud Daula, Diyanat Vant.

(d) In recognition of services primary titles were conferred, like Jang, Raja, Raja Bahadur and Khan Bahadur etc.

II. Emblems of distinction were also granted along with the foregoing titles of high rank:

Mahi-o-Maratib -- was the fish standard, the highest distinction reserved for persons of royalty and high merit. Palki Jhalardar -- decorated and frilled Palanquin conferred on highest nobility as a mark of distinction. Alam--standard and flag meant for the retinue of the nobles exhibited and carried with the honoured recipient particularly on public functions. Naqqara -- the kettle-drum which the honoured noble was allowed to have beaten at the entrance of his residence at fixed intervals. With this he was awarded Morchal and Aftabgiri also.

III. Grant of Jwellery -- With the grant of titles in lieu of meritorious services jewelled Serpech, Sarpathi (a kind of tuban), Dastar and Bhujband etc. were also awarded. It was also customary for the rulers to give jewels to the nobles on the occasion of marriage and such other functions. A full set of royal award of paraphernalia or ensigns was deemed to be the highest honour while award of Sarpathi was lowest of the order.

IV. There were also awards of cash e.g., Ashrafis or Gold Mohurs; Mansabs, Yomia -- representing daily payments and Saliyana -- annual grants.

V. Awards of lands -- grants of a village, Taluka or Mahal etc., in the nature of a Jagir for personal maintenance, or sometimes in recognition of military service, or at times for the purpose of farming facilities.

VI. Robes of Honour -- these were unmade pieces of cloth or Parcha sometimes a shawl or turban conferred on a person according to the degree of his rank. The number

of pieces of cloth pointed to the degrees of the honour of the recipient e.g., Khilat-i-yek Parcha (award of one piece of Robe), Seh Parcha (Robe of three pieces), or Haft Parcha (Robe of seven pieces), etc.

As may well be conjectured, it was customary to grant the above honours on ceremonial occasions, such as the ruler's birthday or public festivals. One significant point about these honours was that they were graded into destinguished rank and status of the nobles. Except in cases where the grant was made in perpetuity by the ruler, only the recepient was entitled to enjoy the honours and the awards.

To cite an instance of the issue of a Farkhah (emolument) with reference to a Jagir, an order dated 29th Ramzan in the 32nd year of the accession of Shah Alam, bearing seals of Mir Nizam Ali Khan and Munirud-Daula Bahadur, Shaukat Jung, 1205 A.H. (1799 A.D.) is reproduced below:

1. Seal Mir Nizam Ali Khan

2. Seal Munirud Daula Bahadur 1205

Be it known to the Deshmukhan,
Despandiyan, Muqaddaman, to the
subjects and the pasture holders
of Pargana Kundark, Sarkar (Govt.)
of Dewarkunda in the Suba of
Farkhunda Buniyad (Hyderabad).

An amount of 3,53,280 dam from the above Pargana, Mahal of the late Nawab etc., has been sanctioned by way of Tankhah (emolument) for the Jagir of Hisamud Daula Jaffer Ali Khan Bahadur Zargham Jung as shown in the supplement. After the issue of a certificate of emolument according to the rules, action be taken for allowing the above Mahal to be utilized by the agents of afore-said Khan.

Written on 29th Ramzan in the 32nd year of ascension.

This was followed by a written supplement in which the amount of 3,53,280 was shown as:

Original grant	Additional grant
3,49,100 dam	4,180 dam

This was further subdivided into:

Towards Mahal	Hisamud Daula	64,000 dam.
" "	The Nawab	2,01,100 "
" "	Govind Rao	84,000 "
		3,49,100 dam

A receipt followed the above supplement according to which action was taken. (See photo copies of the Tajwiz Nama and its supplement in the next two pages.)

ADMINISTRATION AND FUNCTIONS OF A JAGIRDAR IN HIS OWN JAGIR:-

Apart from military or State service which was conditioned to his appointment, a Jagirdar had not much to do in his own Jagir and his business was carried on by agents employed by





him, which diferred in degree of systematic working according to the size of the assigned lands. The administration of the Jagirs worked on the same pattern as that of the 'Khalisa' or Crown Lands, and for this purpose 'Amils' (revenue collectors) were appointed in the Parganas or villages of the Jagirs who were otherwise called 'karoris', revenue collectors. There were also Karkuns (accountants), who assisted and associated with them in the administration of the Jagirs, sometimes independently. Occasionally these offices were combined and placed in the hands of one person only.

The agent of the ordinary 'Jagirdar' who served him as 'amil' was called 'gumashta', sometimes, known as 'shiqdar', and it was not uncommon to assign to him the duties of an 'amin', treasurer as well. These appointments were made on execution of a bond by the 'amils' ensuring regular collection of revenue which was usually finalised on payment of a 'qabz' to the Jagirdar, in favour of the highest bidder.[43] "As a rule, the Jagirdar appointed only those persons as his agents and officers in his Jagir who had no vested interest in the locality, for his officers, and in particular the 'amils', who had local connections were likely to work in collusion with the 'zamindars' and others to the detriment of the interests of the Jagirdar.[44]" Inspite of such precautions the Jagirs were put to enormous difficulties of management particularly with 'amils' posted in distant lands against whom misappropriation was a common complaint.

The Jagirdars had devised another system of getting revenue from their Jagirs without shouldering the responsibility of its collection in a way so notorious that it hardly could be looked upon with any appreciation. This was by allowing their troopers to patrol through their Jagirs recklessly for collection of revenue for their master and exacting from the peasants their own share of pay unscrupulously. This practice was especially adopted by the smaller Jagirdars who could not afford to have their own agents for collection of revenue at far off places. From this sprung up the practice of 'ijara', which was to let the land be farmed by the highest bidder who were mostly merchants and to whom it was left to collect the revenue with greatest oppression.[45] These 'ijaras' were of course a scourge for the peasantry and though not legally forbidden were morally disapproved at the Court.

Unlike the land holders in U.P. and elsewhere in India, the Jagirdars of Hyderabad were not required to collect land revenue and surrender it to the State, and in majority of cases they kept the entire revenue of their Jagirs to themselves and exercised vast judicial, police and administrative powers vis-a-vis the State. They not only had their own revenue, judicial police and departments of developmental service but maintained their own forces which added to their status and enviable prestige. For organisation

and collection of revenue in their Jagirs these high headed dignitaries appointed their own 'tahsildars' and 'taluqdars' (collectors of revenue), and their authority was unquestionably competent in matters of approval or dismissals of their employees, village Patwaris or Patels etc. A large number of the big Jagirdars had their own Survey and settlement departments and though their efficiency was looked at with suspicion by the State, they persistantly maintained that their machinery was nevertheless in working order.

The civil and criminal code of the Jagirs was the same as of the Diwani or State but the effect of the seperation of powers between the judiciary and executive which was so prominent in the State, was not apparent in the Jagirs as here both the tahsildars and the taluqdars discharged the duties of munsifs and magistrates as well, and it was alleged that favouritism came in the way of dispensation of justice by them.

But it may not be overlooked that Jagirs of even big Jagirdars were not compact and were scattered all over Hyderabad, sometimes separated in distances of hundreds of miles and this fact alone was sufficient to disrupt any unity in administration. The Jagirdars who held their heads high and the nobles who were still more proud found it hard to leave their grand palaces and tour through the vast

sequestered areas of their dispersed Jagirs on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the Jagirs, to lay their many grievances before their masters, had to travel such long distances that they were often led to abandon the idea of seeking redress. On the other hand, it being customary not to transfer old officials, which perhaps would have improved the situation, depressed conditions continued to prevail in the Jagirs, with the result that any measure for progress, even if conjectured, lagged behind. However, even in their discontent, it was strange, the people remained peaceful.

RANK AND NUMBER OF THE JAGIRDARS:-

A study of the archival records shows that a very large number of people were inducted into the ranks of nobility from the time of Asaf Jah I, down to the last Nizam. Their number runs into thousands. We prepared a list of only those nobles who held the rank of 1000 Zat (personal rank) and above. Even in these higher categories of the nobles we find as many as 2578[46] nobles who held 1000 Zat and above during the whole of the Nizams' regime. The highest rank was however, 17000 Zat, though in a few exceptional cases the rank was even higher than that. But it should be noted that the higher ranks above 7000 Zat were granted only to either, the princes or such few nobles who were in matrimonial alliance with the Royal family of the Nizam.

A glance through the grant of Jagirs as given in the reference cited above reveals that out of 2578 Jagirs granted during the whole period 1355 were granted in the period of Asaf Jah I, himself. New Jagirs were not instituted in large number later on, and with the march of time, the number became smaller and smaller. In later times Jagirs were generally renewed in the name of the progeny of the deceased Jagirdars. It should be noted here that the Jagirdars of Hyderabad usually received the sat rank whereas the nobles under the Mughals were given Sawar ranks also in correspondence with their power and position. This may be due to the fact that the military function of the class of nobility gradually declined and this once active force turned into a privileged aristocracy retiring into life of peace and indolence particularly after the end of the 18th century which consequently created a new pattern of socio-cultural life for this class leading ultimately to its devitalisation and disintegration in the present century.

The Chronology of Modern Hyderabad (1720-1890), published by the Central Records Office, Hyderabad Government 1964, is a very important document which gives a complete picture of the Nizam's Court and the socio-economic and military undertakings that took place through out this period. This diary shows that during the period of Nizamul-Mulk Asaf Jah I, (1720-1748), five battles took place. In the time of

Nasir Jung (1748-1750), two battles took place. During the time of Salabat Jung (1750-1761), eight battles were fought and during the period of Nizam Ali Khan (1762-1803), nine battles were fought. After this we hear of one more minor clash in the time of Sikander Jah Nizam III, in which the nobility played its role. There after there is no mention of any battle which took place under the command of the nobles as such. This clearly reveals the turn of events in the life of nobility that took place from the beginning of the 19th century itself.

The daily routine and movements of the Nizams as noted in the diaries preserved in the State Archives also disclose the significant fact that the earlier Nizams along with their nobility were frequently moving from place to place camping at different forts and head-quarters from time to time. This physical mobility with their soldiers and retinue kept the nobles as well as the Nizams alert and active. This practice of movement was inherited from the earlier Emperors and their class of nobles; but after Nizam Ali Khan, the Nizams as well as the nobles chose to confine their life to the capital city and the Deodhies (palaces) within the city walls of Hyderabad. This was also the case after the death of Aurangzeb. In both the instances the King and the nobility both followed the steep fall of retirement and degeneration.

PERIODWISE CLASSIFICATION:-

The Asaf Jahi or the Nizams nobility may be studied in the following periods of its changing character.

1. The period of formation 1724-1748
2. The period of confusion 1748-1761
3. The period of alliance with the British 1761-1798
4. The period of idlesse from 1798-1853
5. The period of modernisation 1853-1911
6. The last phase

(1) THE PERIOD OF FORMATION:-

The conduct of this nobility developed in a particular environment of the 18th century Deccan. This environment was shaped with a series of challenges for Asaf Jahi nobility. These were:

1. The Maratha challange.
2. The English challenge.
3. The French challenge.
4. The Portuguese challenge.
5. The challenge of the old potentates and Jagirdars of Telangana, and Karnataka.

Besides, there were natural challenges as linguistic challenge, the economic challenge, the racial and religious challenges. The society which was sustained by the dominions

of Asaf Jah I, comprised people speaking Marathi, Telugu, Canarese, Tamil, Oria and Gujarathi. The indigenous population generally known as Hindus of Saivites and Vaishnavites order consisted of the Brahmins, Hindus, Lingayaths, Jains and perhaps, Buddhists. That was generally the urban situation. The rural Deccan was populated with a myriad number of tribes, speaking different dialects and adhereing to religions of obscure origin.

The ownership of the agricultural land was mostly traditional coming down from ancient times. The Agricultural and revenue administration was in the hands of Deshmukhs, Deshpandyas, Desais, the Muqaddams, Patwaris and a good number of subordinate officers. These institutions were native and existed in the Deccan even before the advent of the Muslims. They plugged the possibility of the access of the Mughal or of the Nizams' nobility direct to the land and the land revenue administration. The nobles therefore had their Jagirs stretched over large tracts of land comprising hundreds of villages. But they never had the ownership of the land. The ownership in its ideal sense was with the monarch. Practically it was with the peasantry. But really it was usurped by the intermediate village officers listed above. The Jagirdar could collect some amount by way of certain formal and certain informal taxes to be remitted to the State Treasury. A particular amount sanctioned by way

of Mansabs and other unlawful exactions was made by him, since the Jagirdar was also made responsible ∅for the prosperity and more so for maintaining law and order in his Jagir. The scope of unlawful exploitation was naturally changed. This natural check was more effective during the early career of the Nizams' nobility. But subsequently it was demoralised into heedless attitude. There are very few instances of coercion of Jagirdars in the 18th century.[47]

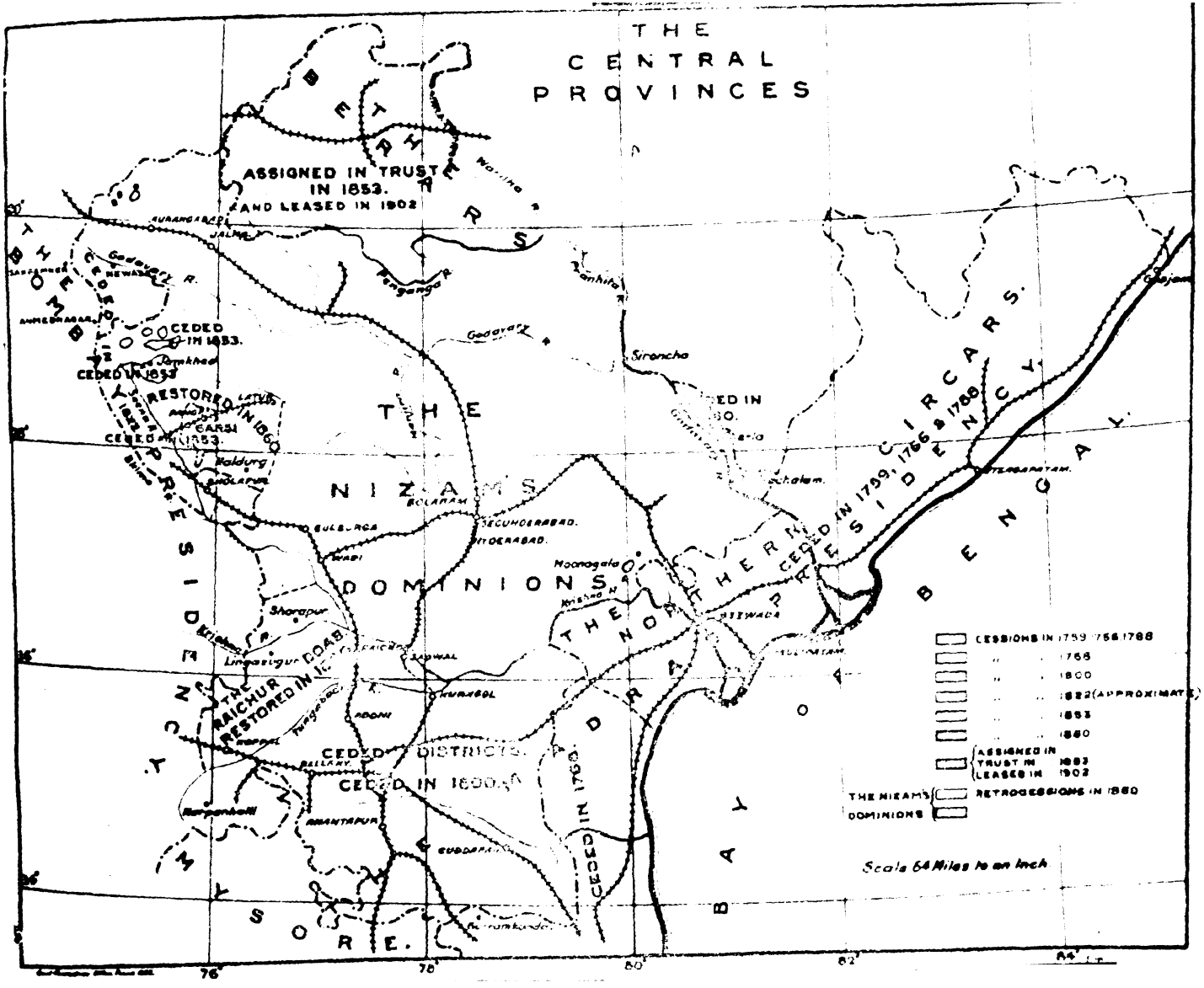
(2) PERIOD OF CONFUSION:--

All the provinces of the Deccan at least on one side flanked into the Indian Ocean and had important harbours. The coastal south was already in the grip of the Europeans. The Western coast of Malabar was virtually a part of the oceanic empire of the Portuguese.[48] The Eastern coast of Coromandal was occupied by the French, the English and the Dutch. These European forces controlled the overseas trade of the Deccan and most of the industries and seafaring was possible almost through them. They had effected the structure of the bazar and the standard of money. Their economic domination had taken place with the beginning of the 17th century and by the time of Asaf Jah I, they were rising with the quest for political domination. The European politics especially in the context of Anglo-French relations considerably affected the politics of the Deccan and hence the conduct of nobility. The old established Deccan Nobles/

Chieftains included the native elite of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Telangana as well as the Deccanis. They had been changing sides to gain authority. Asaf Jah I, who had attempted at reconstructing the administration of the Deccan divided it into six 'subas' (provinces), could have succeeded to a considerable extent, but his successors fell victims to Anglo-French politics. Muzaffar Jung, Nasir Jung and Salabat Jung were more influenced by the French.

(3) THE PERIOD OF ALLIANCE WITH THE BRITISH:-

The 5th successor and the 2nd Asaf Jah, Mir Nizam Ali Khan decided to enter into alliance with the British. This also affected the character of the nobility. Nizam Ali Khan concluded a series of treaties with the British and consequent on each treaty he had to cede a part of his dominions. (See the map of Hyderabad on the next page). It may be noted that Asaf Jah I, and all the successors of Nizam Ali Khan had a complicated situation of relations with the Marathas and though they were successful in gaining friendship with one group of Marathas, they were always at war with their other political group.[49] The rising Mysore under the strong leadership of Tipu was another menance to the Nizam who was seeking his survival by providing a strong footing to the British in South India. The Nizam however could overthrow the Maratha regime and the Mysore Government under Tipu, as well as the French interference by joining


THE
CENTRAL
PROVINCES
BERARS
ASSIGNED IN TRUST
IN 1853.
AND LEASED IN 1902
CEDED
IN 1853.
RESTORED IN 1860
THE
NIZAMS
DOMINIONS
CEDED IN 1800
CEDED DISTRICTS
CEDED IN 1765
CEDED IN 1759, 1766 & 1788
THE NORTHERN CIRCARS.
PRESIDENCY
BENGAL
BAY OF
MYSORE.
Scale 64 Miles to an Inch
CESSIONS IN 1759 1765 1788
1765
1800
1822 (APPROXIMATE)
1853
1860
ASSIGNED IN TRUST IN 1853 LEASED IN 1902
RETROCESSIONS IN 1860
THE NIZAMS DOMINIONS

hands with the British. By 1897, the entire Deccan was surrendered to the British and out of the 6 subas he could retain for himself 9 districts of Telangana, 5 of Maharashtra and 3 of Karnataka. The territorial expanse of Asaf Jah dominions shrank almost by 85 per cent. But the size of the nobility could have hardly been reduced. He had to accommodate almost his entire nobility within his 17 districts. Nizam's State had virtually become very weak. In fact, the English-French politics during the period of Nizam Ali Khan itself had weakened but after the death of Sikandar Jah in 1829, the supremacy of the English became very prominant. For example, though the Nizams had ceded large parts of the territories of their dominions to the English under pressures and strains, still, the relations between the British Governor General of India and the Nizams were more or less on equal footing. Till the time of Sikandar Jah, the Nizam spoke of himself in correspondence with the Governor General as 'Ma'ba Daulat', meaning our 'Royal Self', while the Governor General spoke as 'Niyazmand'[50] the well wisher. This equal term of reference between the English and the Nizams was done away with by the Britishers after the death of the third Nizam.

In the earlier phase of the British-Nizams' relations, not only the two stood on more or less equal terms but even the British Residents at Hyderabad considered it a pride and privilege to be called by the titles conferred upon them by

the Nizams of Hyderabad. For example, Sir John Kennaway (1788-1793), the Fourth Resident, was given the title of Dilawar Jung. Colonel Achilles Kirl Patrick, the 6th Resident (1797-1805), was given the title of Hashmat Jung Farzande Muhabbat Paiwand. Sir Henry Russel the 8th Resident (1810-1920), was honoured by the title of Sabit Jung. Similarly Sir Charles Metcalfe the 9th Resident (1820-25), was given the title of Muntazim-ud-Daula.[51]

Of course, in the case of the Nizams of Hyderabad the incident was involuntary on the part of the Nizams because right from the time of Sikandar Jah Nizam III, and more clearly in the time of Nasirud Daula Nizam IV, the position of the Nizam's State had virtually become very weak. In fact, the English-French politics during the period of Nizam Ali Khan itself had weakened but after the death of Sikandar Jah in 1829, the supremacy of the English became very prominant. For example, though the Nizams had ceded large parts of the territories of their dominions to the English under political pressures and strains, still the relations between the British Governor General of India and the Nizams were more or less on equal terms.

As mentioned earlier this process of honouring the British Residents coincided with the position of the Nizams which was more or less on equal terms with the Britishers till the death of Sikander Jah in 1829. That is why we see

that no Englishman aspires to get this honour in later times. Almost after 100 years the situation is found completely changed. The Diwans or Prime Ministers of Hyderabad starting from Sir Khursheed Jah through Sir Vicarul-Omara and Sir Asman Jah onwards the honour of knight-hood is bestowed by the British Crown on the nobility of Hyderabad and the Nobles vied with each other to be inducted into the regalia of the British stars and Honours. By this time the supremacy of the Mughals was completely taken charge of by the Britishers. The position of the Nizams more or less remained the same. Originally they were the subservients of the Mughals but ultimately became the Faithful Ally of the British Power.

It is also interesting to note that even though the Nizams enjoyed de facto autonomy from the time of Asaf Jah I, they never hesitated in showing and professing their allegiance to the Mughal throne till the fall of the Mughal Kingship in 1857. Every Mughal King continued sending his Firmans (Royal Order) to the Nizams even though it must have been only a formality. In turn all the Nizams marched out of the city to receive the Firmans on their heads sent from Delhi. The last Firman was sent by the Bahadur Shah Zafar in 1838, in the time of Nasirud-Daula. By this time the tottering process of the Mughal edifice was complete and by this time the British had dug deep their foundation on which they built

a mighty empire after 1857, and the Nizams became their Faithful Ally.

THE PERIOD OF IDLESSE:-

By the end of the 18th century, the nobles who were busy in war fare with the Marathas and the Europeans and with the Mysore State between Narmada and Cauvery for over half a century, had to sheathe their swords once for all. Beautiful arms imported from European countries and the Middle East turned into articles of decoration in drawing rooms or when the nobles were moving out from their homes. The energetic nobles who had abandoned their Jagirs and immovable property in Northern India received fresh grants in the Deccan. They delegated the responsibility of administration of Jagirs to their representatives because they had to be busy with the court affairs, or in the battle field. When their old traditional and military functions ceased to continue, the immediate thing to which they could divert was luxury.

This was a period when the capital of the Nizam's dominions was shifted from Aurangabad to Hyderabad and by 1803, a British cantonment was established at Secunderabad a few miles in the north of the Moosi river with the palace of residence immediately on the northern bank of the Moosi. The city of Hyderabad, which was stretched from Golconda in the West to Saidabad in the East, had developed mostly on

the South of the Moosi. After the fall of Golconda and particularly after the death of Aurangazeb the city of Hyderabad was badly plundered during the wars of succession. There was an atmosphere of awe and fear prevailing over it. The Mughal Subedar Mubariz Khan started to build up a wall around the city of Hyderabad which was later on completed by the first Nizam. The walled city developed around Charminar in the South of the Moosi and all the nobles coming from Aurangabad built their palaces in the walled city. The rule of Nizams' Nobles can be seen in the development of urban culture in the first half of the 19th century. The houses constructed in the walled city were enormous complex to accommodate families and dependents numbering over hundreds (for details see Appendix-B:A Deochi and the life inside). The construction material was simple, the architectural pattern were native mostly borrowed from Rajasthan. The city had little influence of the West. The ideas of life were Mughal. Traditionalism was supposed to be the hall-mark of the Nobility.

The love of traditions, the narrow scope of personality to come to its full play slowed down the creative progress of society. It was during this period that prositution obtained official sanction and a department entitled 'Arbab-i-Nishat' was established.[52] That department took care of the prostitutes and thus attached to them men like songsters, musicians and

others. The enormous collection of records of the Daftar-i-Arabab-i-Nishat preserved in the State Archives of Andhra Pradesh indicates how much the Nobility was involved with such institutions. The next important subject of attraction was the Memu.[53] A good number of Memu and recipes preserved in the Archives indicate that various Noble families had developed a special taste for a variety of dishes which led them to a sort of gluttony. The Fifth Nizam was well-known for his enormous eating habit.

Some attention was paid to religion, art and literature. There were but very few nobles like Mir Alam and Chandulal who took direct interest in making a contribution to literature. However, poets and artists both native and those from other parts of the country were entertained with warmth and provided with emoluments to live with comfort. This was the period when the Deccani and Rajasthani painting developed into its last phase in the Deccan. So was the case with architecture.[54] The religious attitude was very traditional and the Nobility never felt any need for revision or renovation. Of course, some of them maintained sizeable libraries which had manuscripts of all the Islamic classics from the Middle East and different parts of India. Calligraphy was, of course a branch of artistic expression in which some of the Nobles took keen interest.[55] One Nawab Jamshid Ali, a relative of Mukarramud Daula has alone presented more than 300

varieties of Kufi Calligraphy done by him. It appears that generally the standard of education in Noble families was very low during this period.

This period of Idlesse was the period of demoralising for the Nobles. They had been a troublesome burden on the State revenue and administration. The administration was being formed out but adversely it got deteriorated. The British resident who was living with his army had all formal respect for the Nizams and his great Nobles but practically interfered with a high handed policy in the affairs of the State.

THE PERIOD OF MODERNISATION:-

The presence of residents on the northern bank of the Moosi river and that of Cantonment in Secunderabad still farther North, created a sense of awe and hatred among the masses residing in the walled City. But the Nobles right from Chandulal tended to have secret relations with them. Chandulal's secret correspondence with the residents reveals that it was he who was responsible for declaring Nasirud-Daula as the successor of Sikander Jah (d. 1829).[56] But in 1853 when Sir Salar Jung was appointed as the Prime Minister, the attitude towards British was not that of fear and hatred; it became an attitude of awe and respect. The nobles residing in the walled city who used to live in a Mughal way developed

a fancy for modernity. The young men of the noble families liked to go over to Secunderabad for participating with the British in their games and club activities. They desired to live like the Britishers but it was not possible in the society of the walled City to put on English suites, take food with spoon and fork and move with ladies without purdah. It was during this period that the children of most of the Nobles were sent to England for their education. The Nobility started moving out from the walled City, constructing their new palaces on the northern side of the Moosi which was broadly called Chaderghat and stretched from the banks of the Moosi to Secunderabad. Fakhrul Mulk was, perhaps the first person to have his palace Asad Bagh, (the present Nizam College), in Chaderghat. His second palace was Erammanzil. Shamsul Omara renovated his traditional palace in Lingampally. Bashirud Daula constructed his famous Bashir Bagh in the new City. All these constructions were of European style. The architectural pattern was either French, English or Italian. The way of living to the extent of male members of the family was European. Thus the new city of Hyderabad on the North of the Moosi developed on modern lines or with a taste of modernity by these Nobles. The nobles took keen interest in the modern educational system both within the state and outside.

It was in this City that the Grammar School, the Convent, the Nizam's College and all important centres of modern

education were established. The only modernity which could enter the walled City was the architectural patt-ern. The Nobles, particularly of highest orqer were having their palaces both in the new city as well as in the old city. Even in the old city, the architectural pattern of this period was remarkably European. The palaces of Iqbalud-Daula, Waliud-Daula, Shahab Jung and many others were thoroughly Western in their architectural style and very beautiful. But actual modernity flourished in the new City where the Nobles idealised the Western way of living to such an extent that Mrs. Lynton remarked that their taste of refined way of living had become a sort of fine art.[57]

Another important aspect of this period of modernisation is a sort of awakening under the superb leadership of Sir Salar Jung. The youth of the Nobles who were degenerating into Idlesse a generation back, were awakened. The new generation was given modern education and was quick to takeup growing responsibilities in the new administrative setup designed and introduced by Sir Salar Jung. T-he Nobles were capable to head all the important departments of administration. This headship was not merely formal, it was drastically practical. The State Government did not have a constitution and detailed set of rules for departmental aspects of administration. But the conventions and traditions were sound and strong. Salar Jung's reforms provided scope

for hiring services from outside the Nobility, if capable hands were available. But the Nobles could afford all capable hands, and hired employees from outside the Nobility could not gain any high hand over the Nobles.

An incident of the Sixth Nizam and his Prime Minister Shahab Jung may well explain the strength of conventions and the constitutional sense of the Nobles. The Young Nizam was to preside over a meeting of the grand nobles. But out of carelessness on the eleventh moment, he ordered his Peshi Secretary Sir Amin Jung, who was an employee and not a Noble, to preside over the meeting of the grand Nobles in lieu of the Nizam. Sir Amin Jung obtained a Firman issued to that effect and read it out to the grand nobles before the commencement of the meeting. It was extremely surprising for them all. Shahab Jung boldly declared that a hired servant even of the calibre of Sir Amin Jung was not competent to preside over the meeting of the Nobles. Sir Amin Jung read out the Firman more than ones and Shahab Jung repeatedly opposed his Chairmanship with the result that the meeting could not be convened. The next day Sir Amin Jung made a detailed complaint about the disobedience and arrogant attitude of Shahab Jung to the Nizam. The Nizam was much provoked to anger and when Shahab Jung appeared before him he seriously interrogated about his attitude of disobedience.

"Shahab Jung, you have disobeyed my Firman"

"No your Highness, I have not disobeyed"

"You have not allowed Amin Jung to preside over the meeting"

"Yes, Your Highness, Amin Jung cannot preside over the meeting of the Nobles"

"Why Not?"

"Because Amin Jung is a servant. A servant is not authorised to preside over such a meeting"

"I had issued a Firman to that effect and that you know"

"Yes your Highness, inspite of this"

The Nizam burst out in anger and said:

"If I put my slipper on ones head one is authorised"

"Yes your Highness, that is true, but you cannot put your slipper anywhere you like. The correct place for it is the head of Shahab Jung"

The Nobles who were the backbone of the Nizam's dominions were very much conscious of the role of their ancestors in building up the State and careful in seeing that the State authority was guarded by them. During this period the Jagir administration was also revised on modern lines by all the Jagirdars of High order. No doubt most of the posts in the Jagirs were given to the families which were traditionally attached to the Jagirdars. Yet even in the Jagirs employees were hired from outside on payment of salaries. In most of the Jagirs, the work of land survey was done quite perfectly. Jagirs were divided in suitable administrative divisions.

The administration was run on the lines of the general administration of the Nizam's Government on a miniature scale. The office records and the administrative reports of the Jagirs of Sir Salar Jung and Paigahs indicate the new systems of estate administration adopted by them. During this period the society of Hyderabad had received some waves of political and religious movements of country-wide interest which were initiated generally in north India. Some of these religious movements were puritanical and revivalists like the Wahabi Movement, while some movements were modernistic like the Aligarh Movement of Sir Syed. The Nobles of the first rank found themselves in a dilemma between the old and the new situations. Tempermentally idealistic as they were, they attempted at retaining best of the old and obtaining best of the new. In that they were able to contribute to the development of education, judicial system, revenue system, general and technical administration and legislation in Hyderabad. The rules framed by Hyderabad legislature and the constitutional provisions made were more idealistic than realistic.[58]

The growth of Secretariat and planned departmentalisation has specified clarifications for services and methodical recruitments and set of rules. The Jagirdars other than those of highest order were rendered without function. The Jagirdars on secondary level down to the smallest of them grew economic parasites consequently nurturing many social evils. The community

which was engaged in economic and productive activities was that of peasantry. It provided revenue to all the Jagirdars who were just consumers. The peasantry was directly victim of the usurpation of the Jagirdars. There are instances showing that as the population of certain Jagirs grew, the land productivity fell short. The Jagirdar still coerced the peasant to feed him more. The ryot and peasantry made serious representations to the Nizams. In one case they represented against such coercion saying that 'ma hama dar arzu-i-marg be mirem' (we are all dying with a desire to die).[59]

THE LAST PHASE:-

The Jagirdars of secondary level lagged behind and the administrative personnel was hired at a large scale not only from the non-jagirdar community but also from outside the State. The Jagirdar element in administration especially after 1930 was very much ruled out and even the Prime Ministers were invited from Non-Jagirdar community and from outside the State. The Jagirdars even under these stress and strain never thought of becoming producers. Their economic consciousness was dull and obscure. Their idealism was unrealistic and imaginary based on such conventions which had no practical value. They lacked foresight, especially the economic foresight. They failed to gain the collaboration of the ryot in their Jagirs to come forward with greater economic plan. The peasantry started reacting against them

from 1940. The Telangana movement was the first big challenge. But the challenges could not mould the character of Jagirs and the Jagirdars as the institution had become so defunct that it could hardly be renovated.

PRESENT SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITION:-

The Jagirdars of Hyderabad whose brief socio-historical background is given above continued to remain in that position till the police action which took place in 1948, after which the erstwhile Hyderabad State was merged in the Indian Union. On 15th August, 1949, the Jagirdari System was abolished.

This was a turning point in the life of the Nobles of Hyderabad who were subsequently confronted with new problems and situations; social, economic and political. When we took up the subject for investigation the first part of our questionnaire was to study their family structure, household pattern, educational level and general economic condition, as obtainable in 1975.

We had also prepared a questionnaire separately to take note of these items as they were found in 1948. An analysis of these data reveals that the size of the family has become much smaller in 1975 than what it was in 1948. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, previously many close blood relatives used to stay in the house of the noble and all those who lived in the palace were counted as members of the

family and enjoyed full protection of the noble. Secondly, each noble had a large number of paid and dependent servants. The dependent servants were those, who were the sons and daughters and near relatives of the servants. The numbers of such servants and dependents easily ran into tens and twenties. All these belonged to the family in the wider sense of the term. The servants' children were also protected by the Jagirdars and their marriages were financially supported by them in full. All the residents within the four walls of the Palace belonged to one family also, in the sense that all of them received their livelihood from the noble's treasury and all of them got their food from the same kitchen. After the abolition of the Jagirs, however, the large and extended family broke down. The number of the servants and their dependents, in particular, dropped down to insignificance. When we take an average of the family size in the two years, 1948 and 1975, we find that the size in the latter year became one third of what it was in 1948. The average family size in 1975 being of 9 members inclusive of husband and wife, children, father and/or mother if alive, and one or two servants.

In the field of education, there does not seem to be any major change. Before the abolition of the Jagirdari System also, it was customary for all the nobles to send their children to the Jagirdar College or some other reputed

institution of Hyderabad for education. There was no illiteracy in the nobility class in general, although they had, by and large, no attraction to go in for higher education. There is no big change in 1975, because most of the nobles were so hardly hit economically, that the past quarter century was not enough for them to regain even partially their lost economic position. Even if more children have started going to the schools during the last few years, they have not yet completed their College or University Education and therefore we can not get the exact number of such people who have accomplished themselves into higher scales of learning.

So far as economic change is concerned the change is spectacular. All the nobles and their descendants in our study held at least a Jagir of the value of Rs.50,000 and above per annum. The richest Paigah yielded more than 30 lakhs of rupees per annum. This economic condition in general continued till 1948. Some of the Jagirdars had more than one palace in the capital city itself, besides the rural Deodhis and Shikar houses. Very few nobles, included in our study, lived in rented houses, and could be counted on fingers. In 1975, however, the picture changed dramatically. Most of the Jagirdars have left their old palaces, mansions, or houses. Either the palaces have been sold out into portions, or mortgaged, or in a very few cases rented out. Most of the nobles and their descendants, 87% of the interviewees, are

living in rented houses, sometimes the present houses are poor apologies for a bearable residence. This is obviously the result of their economic down fash. When we compare the economic condition between 1948 and 1975 we find that the present economic level is not more than one-tenth of what it was in 1948. This accompanied by heavy liabilities, commitments and loans has made their economic life most miserable. We have met some of the descendants of the nobles of a big Jagir who were getting as mere shareholders around Rs.1000 per month in 1948, and who are now living almost on the footpath. The value of Rs.1000 in terms of its purchasing power was more than 10 times higher in 1948 and now they are in the income group of Rs.100 or 200 per month. This can indicate the steep fall in the level of their income and its subsequent effect on their social, economic and emotional life in general. Although a few nobles are in Government service and a few others have started business and industries also, but most of the older Jagirdars are yet out of the run in the economic race. The only thing most of them are struggling hard to do is to prepare their children, under great economic stress and strain though, for future return to normal economic and social life.

Surrounded in wealth and luxury, the Jagirdars standing at a high pedestal of power and prestige lived a life of alienation in the midst of a few confidants only. After the

breakdown of the system they were thrown into the multitudes of the masses accompanied by high degree of frustration, poverty, misery and above all with incapacity to adjust. This total crisis of the image and reality created a new type of alienation. Their frame of reference, mental and historical, was incompatible with the inevitable and bitter reality around. This created a challenge of unprecedented magnitude for them. But man perhaps is one of the most adaptive creatures. Within a short span of less than 30 years, it seems, the nobles and their descendants have regathered their ancestral fighting spirit. Formerly they had shown their mental in the battlefield; now they have to channelise their energies in the modern life of socio-economic warfare. The situation is quite fascinating to invite our probe. It seems the trend of change is toward a reconstruction and restructuring of their pattern of life and behaviour.

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2. Ibid - p.53

3. Mc Auliffe: "Origin and Future of Hyderabad" - Cambridge 1904 - p.22

4. Gribble: "History of the Deccan" - Vol.II - p.5

5. Hyderabad Papers, letters from A. Russel resident to Marquis of Hastings - p.90

6. For the party politics of the period and growing provincial autonomy at the death of Aurangzeb and specially during the period of this study, see the masterly work of Dr. Satish Chandra: "Parties and Politics in the Mughal Court"; also see Irvin: Later Mughals (2 Vols.)

7. Junaidi: "Hayat-i-Asaf" - p.303; Yusuf Hussain: "The First Nizam" - p.174

8. The general political circumstances indicate that Delhi had virtually no control over the Deccan but still the Nizam was taking all administrative actions in the name of the Mughal Monarch. It is not known how so efficiently hundreds of documents from the Deccan could be disposed off by the Delhi Administration with all favours while generally the Delhi Administration was not happy with Asaf Jah I. Yet it is a fact that most of the details of administration have had the approval of Delhi. The good number of Tajweez Namajat preserved in the State Archives, Andhra Pradesh and elsewhere afford evidence to such situations.

9. For the rule of Syed brothers best study has been made by Dr. Satish Chandra Op,cit. Also see Junaidi - p.116; Dr. Yusuf Hussain - p.66

10. Aziz Jung - Atiyat-e-Sultani - p.11

11. Dr. A.M. Khusro - Economic and Social Effects of Jagir Abolition and Land Reforms in Hyderabad - p.1

12. M. Athar Ali - The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb - p.74

13. Atiyat-e-Sultani - p.30

14. Ibid - p.30

15. Ibid - p.30

16. Cherag Ali - "Hyderabad under Sir Salar Jung" - p.3

17. Economic and Social Effects of Jagirdari Abolition - p.1 - Dr. A.M. Khusro

18. Aziz Jung - Atiyat-e-Sultani - p.27

19. Ibid - p.12-13

20. Ibid - p.13

21. Aziz Jung - Atiyat-e-Sultani - p.34

22. The verse says that the king granted to his sons lands by a sealed Firman.

23. Ibid - p.34

24. Ibid - pp.35-36

25. Ibid - p.36

26. Hyderabad under Sir Salar Jung - 1884 - p.4 Cherag Ali

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28. Aziz Jung - Atiyat-e-Sultani - p.41

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32. Ibid - p.43

33. Ibid - p.43

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37. Ghulam Samdani - Tuzuk-e-Mahboobia - Vol.2 - p.2

38. Ibid - Vol.2 - p.2 Also see Mudiraj - Pictorial Hyderabad - Vol.II - p.48

39. Ghulam Samdani - Tuzuk-e-Mahboobia - Vol.II - p.2; Also see Abdur Raoof - Dabdaba-e-Asafia - Vol.I Chapter - 2, p.18

40. Ghulam Samdani - Tuzuk-e-Mahboobia - Vol.II - p.2

41. Describing the power and position of the Premier Nobles, Hyderabad Affairs notes: "The great Jagirdars, such as Shamsool Omrah, Sir Salar Jung, Muckerramud-Daula, Nizam Yar Jung, Shamsheer Jung, Basheerud Daula, Mohtashamud Daula, and a lot of other Jungs and Daulahs, have almost sovereign power in their own Jagirs, and it is very certain they are as tenacious of their rights and privileges as were the barons of old (European). The exclusive exercise of original judicature in their own lands is one of their greatest powers, and is exercised by them at the present day". Hyderabad Affairs: Complied by Mehdi Ali, 1883 - Vol.III - p.428

42. Samsam Shirazi: Yadgar Silver Jubilee (Vol.I - pp.243-280; Vol.V - pp.313-424) Hyderabad, 1362 A.H. 1943.

43. Dilkusha, f. 139 a

44. The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb - p.83

45. Akhbarat, 39th R.P. 144

46. Ms. list of Nobles of the Nizam's regime prepared by Mohammad Ashraf in alphabetical order is preserved in the State Archives, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad - Vols. I-VI

47. There are quite a few documents preserved in State Archives, Andhra Pradesh which reflect on this aspect of the conduct of Jagirdars.

For the remedial measures respecting such coercion see Aziz Jung - Atiyat-e-Sultani - pp.40-41

48. For details see Danvers, F.C. : The Portuguese in India (2 Vols.) London, 1894

49. The best account of Nizam Maratha relations has been given by Lachmi Narayan Shafeeq in his Ma'asr-i-Asafi. The present writer has made use of its critical edition prepared by Dr. Yusuf Ali Khan (2 Vols.) in the Department of Persian, Osmania University. Also see Nizam Ally's Relations with the Marathas by Kasim Ali (Ms. thesis preserved in the Library of State Archives, Andhra Pradesh - Dr. Yusuf Hussain: The First Nizam; Kaigani, S: Nizam British relations.

50. Bilgrami, S.H. and Wilmot, C. Historical and Descreptive sketch of High Highness the Nizams' Dominions, Bombay 1883, Vol.I - p.108

51. Ibid - p.122-126

52. The records of 'Dafter-i-Arbab-i-Nishat are preserved in the State Archives, Andhra Pradesh. The collection shows a fantastic role of prostitutes in the social life of nobles.

53. A good number of the Menus of the noble families are preserved in various family and private collections particularly in Salar Jung Collection preserved by the State Archives, Andhra Pradesh.

54. The Bhagwandas palace located in Karawan Sahu may be taken as best example of such architectural monuments which have survived. The style of balconies and Jharokas was mainly of Rajasthani pattern. The interior wooden structure and false ceiling in Malwala palace in the palace of Rai Rayan in Salar Jung Dewdi represent the same style. The style of dome structure in Paigah tombs is after Rajasthani architectural pattern.

55. There are several pieces of noble's calligraphy preserved in different families, Manuscript Libraries and Museums of Hyderabad. The calligraphic works of Maharaja Kishan Pershad, Nawab Moinuddin Ali Khan and Nawab Jamsheed Ali Khan are remarkably excellent.

56. Document No.59, Hamid Siddiqui Collection; State Archives, Andhra Pradesh.

57. Lynton: The Days of Beloved

58. The Proceedings of Hyderabad Legislative Council preserved in State Archives amply reveal this aspect. It may not be overlooked that the theory of separation of power was implemented by the State. The Proceedings of the constitutional reforms committee preserved by the State Archives, Andhra Pradesh indicate an idealistic trend.

59. For such representation see Maktubat-i-Omra-e-Deccan (Vol.I) - p.3, 5, 150, 151.

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CHAPTER - IV

SOME CONCEPTUAL FORMS AND HYDERABAD NOBILITY

THE CHANGING MEANING:-

The concept of nobility signifies a social status which has passed through various vicissitudes of change during the course of history, both in its context and connotation. Essentially it is a socio-political concept usually followed and supported by an economic status which more often than not became its necessary corollary. Until recently every society, which attained a certain degree of civilization, had in its social stratification, a class of people who were popularly called nobles. A noble was one who wielded political power, enjoyed a social position next only to the Royal family and was provided with economic security strong enough to support his socio-political status. As such nobility has been a purely sociological concept in the social configuration of the societies which were particularly marked by monarchical forms of government.

We have chosen the term nobility to describe the Jagirdars of Hyderabad as it is taken to be a synonym of 'Omarah' in Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages. The class of nobles, called 'Omarah', formed the ruling class of all Muslim societies. The word 'Omarah' is the plural of 'Amir' which is etymologically derived from the word 'Amr', meaning

authority. As such an amir is one who commands authority. The 'Omarah' therefore, comprised the class of people who wielded authority, held high social position and possessed vast estates to support their power and position.

EUROPEAN NOBILITIES:-

In European countries, as elsewhere, the meaning and contents of nobility changed from time to time. Though its definition is difficult to make, the people who belonged to this class were always distinct and visible.[1] In France, for instance, there was the feudal nobility' as well as the non-feudal nobility on the eve of the French Revolution of 1789. There was 'noblesse de race', hereditary nobility; 'noblesse de lettres', nobles requiring registration in the Chambre des Comptes; and 'noblesse de dignite'.[2] In England the class of nobles and aristocrate broadly corresponded to each other till capitalism started creating its own aristocracy. In Russia the meaning and content of nobility were clearly defined in the code of laws of the Russian Empire by Catherine II, this very nearly comes to the meaning of the concept, it had in India under the Mughals. In the words of the Code of Laws: "the appellation of nobility is the result of qualities and virtues of men who having been foremost in the past, distinguished themselves by their services and turning their very services into merits, acquired for their descendants the distinction of nobles birth;

are treated as nobles all those who either descend from noble ancestors or have received the titles from the monorachs in recognition of their deserts".[3] It is interesting to note that, whereas the European nobility laid more emphasis on blood and landed property, the Russian nobility gave more importance to personal merit and service to the state which is identical to the position of the nobles under the Mughal rulers who granted 'Mansabs' and 'Jagirs' usually on the basis of merit and service to the persons close to them.

A SOCIOLOGICAL PHENOMENON:-

The expression of nobility, as mentioned above, symbolises a sociological phenomenon underlined by political authority. Historically speaking the institution of nobility has been existing in almost all societies with a certain degree of social and political complexity. Inspite of the fact that nobility could never be defined in precise terms; and inspite of the fact that the legal privileges of the nobility have disappeared in our modern democratic societies, nonetheless, the people who trace their descent from noble ancestors, still continue to keep their class consciousness alive. This according to Marc Bloch is a very significant sociological fact which gives them an independent identity and social significance. As such there is no wonder that the nobles of Hyderabad who have been stripped off their privileges should feel socially dislocated and alienated.

Thinkers like Marx, Mosca and Pareto have explained the complex phenomenon of nobility with the help of different terms and concepts.

MOSCA'S VIEWS:-

Gaetano Mosca strongly believed that actual power in every society was neither held by one person at any time in history nor was it ever shared by the whole community of citizens. In fact the authority was always exercised by a small minority[4] of the population almost everywhere in the world. In arriving at this conclusion Mosca was perhaps inspired by Taine. Mosca believed that a group of men can rule when it is able to control the social forces of its time. By social forces he meant any human activity having some social significance. It may include money, land, military power, religion, education etc. Any group that commands these social forces can rule. Such a group can be termed as 'the ruling class'. This ruling class is never the same in the course of history. It undergoes changes according to civilization and periods of history. Mosca and Pareto both seem to agree with Taine and Tocqueville that "ruling classes succumb because of neglecting their duties".[5]

A RULING CLASS:-

The ruling class has been a prominent element in almost all political organisms. As Mosca says: "In all societies

two classes of people appear - a class that rules and a class that is ruled".[6] This is a universal phenomenon. Since the medieval ages down to our times the ruling warrior class has played a prominent role in China, India, Japan, Poland, Russia, and Western Europe.

ITS ASSOCIATION WITH LAND:-

These ruling classes derived their subsistence for the maintenance of their armies from the land. Therefore, this class concommittantly came to be linked up with the land. This further resulted into hereditary nobility and aristocracy.

In order to maintain and perpetuate the ruling class, its members invented religious sanction and moral justification of their existence and importance. However, as it happens with all group formations and institutions, it can survive only as long as it can fulfil its commitments and promises. But as Mirabeau remarked,[7] that every climb in the social order is attended by achievements as well as its own weaknesses simultaneously. In the words of Mosca "ruling classes decline inevitably when they cease to find scope for the capacities through which they rose to power, when they can no longer render the social services which they once rendered, or when their talents and the services they rendered lose its importance in the social environment in which they live".[8]

According to Mosca every ruling class rationalises its prominence on the basis of a political formula supported by religious beliefs, sentiments and even superstitions.[9] The religious and sentimental bases provided security and support of the masses to such a class even in moments of crisis.

But ruling classes also have their rises and falls. Their traditional importance and group superiority cannot guarantee their continuation when they fall into the abyss of lethargy and sensuality. Their leisured existence stimulates frivolousness of mind and leads to a life of pleasure unaccompanied by duties. When there is no inward pressure to an obligation and when the habit of work has not been formed in early years, it is hard to escape from idleness. "Yet aristocracies that cannot defend themselves adequately from idleness decline rapidly. They may succeed in retaining their ranks and offices nominally for sometime, but when such functions are actually exercised by subalterns, the subalterns soon become the actual masters. It can only turn out that the man who acts, and knows how to act, will eventually succeed in commanding".[10] This description of the rise and fall of the ruling class is evident almost in every society where one group is replaced by the other as a result of degeneration and incapacity of the former (ruling) group to maintain and justify its socio-political position.

PARETO'S VIEWS:-

Another important thinker, who was also a contemporary of Gaetano Mosca was Vilfredo Pareto. He has also dealt with the same issue of the ruling class but the term that he used for it, namely, the elite, implies wider meaning and connotation. Pareto says: "I use the word elite (Italian aristocrazia) in its etymological sense, meaning the strongest, the most energetic, and most capable - for good as well as evil".[11] He further says "..... the history of man is the history of the continuous replacement of certain elites, as one ascends, another declines. Such is the real phenomenon, though to us it may often appear under another form".[12] Pareto also felt that in the course of history the elites, whom C. Wright Mills prefers to call 'power elites', go on changing with the tides of time. This he calls 'circulation of the elites'. But in this process of change of elites neither reason nor sentiment alone works. In fact entire human history is underlined by the strange combination of reason and sentimentality working more or less together. As to the causes of decline of a particular elite Pareto believes that efficiency alone can guarantee the continuity of an elite in power. Where this efficiency is lost another group of elites takes over.

NOBLES AND ELITE:-

As long as the democratic forms of government had not found vogue, this place of pride was held by the nobles, which acquired a more general form later on in the terminology of a more general nature that is the elite. However it is interesting to note that even the elite class has a tendency to "regard itself as a natural, rather than as a historical elite".[13] Pareto held that "Every people is governed by an elite, by a chosen element in the population..... an elite can change with changes in the individuals composing it or in their descendants, or even through the infiltration of extraneous elements, which may come from the same country or from some other country".[14]

THE TERM ELITE:-

The term elite appeared for the first time in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1823. In the 19th century it was used for the group of superior individuals who were believed to possess the capacity to rule a people. This doctrine was encompassed in Carlyle's philosophy of the Hero and Nietzsche's vision of the Superman and later on came to be used in the more prosaic studies of Mosca, Pareto, and Burckhardt. This concept, however, was meant to explain and justify the feudal remnants of the old nobility slowly blending in the newly emerging political and economic power magnates. Even Marx

could not deny the existence of such a ruling class or power elite although he explained the existence of such a class as the result of economic exploitation. Such a class under one name or the other has always dominated the course of history at least in the past. As Pareto said "history is the graveyard of aristocracies",[15] which also evidently explains his theory of the circulation of elites.

VEBLEN'S VIEWS:-

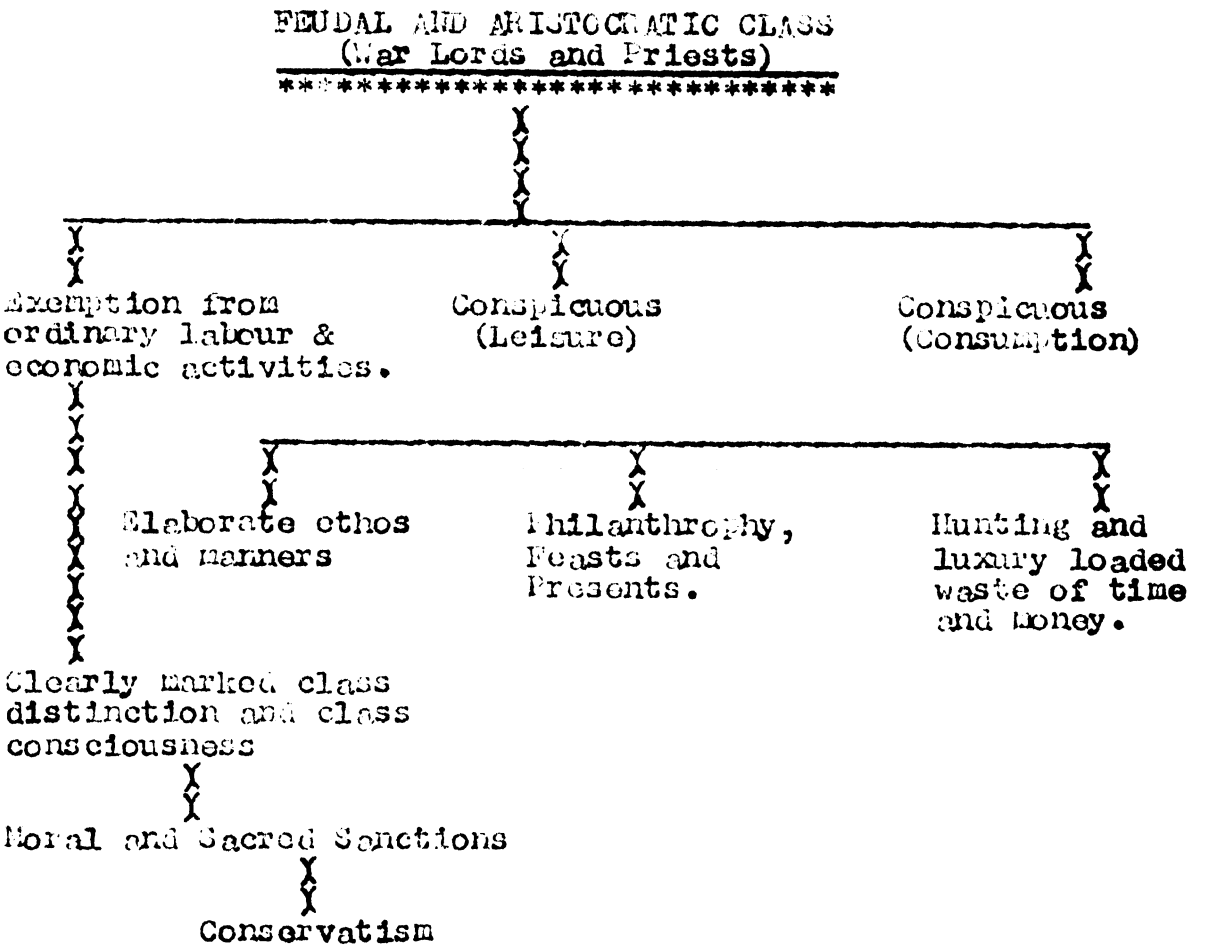
So far we have surveyed the theories of some of the important thinkers who have tried to explain the nobility, the aristocracy or the elite groups in various societies. This may suffice as far as the political status and function of such a class is concerned. But from sociological point of view it is important to analyse the whole pattern of the life of such a people which distinguishes them as a class by itself with a unique pattern of relationship and behaviour. This has been very ably done by Thorstein Veblen in his wonderful work: "The Theory of the Leisure Class".

A LEISURED CLASS:-

In his theory Veblen found a horde of sociological characteristics, which in his opinion is historically undisputable and which are the result of a class of people who had immense leisure at their disposal and consequently developed an ethos peculiar to their class. This leisure class has been identified with the nobility of feudal Europe,

feudal Japan and elsewhere in the world where similar societies have existed. In such societies class distinction is well marked out and the upper classes in particular possess extraordinary rights and privileges and are exempted from industrial occupations and manual labour. Generally this class which is next only to the King performs two important functions in the society and these two duties are considered most honourable. These duties are warfare and priestly service. In most cases the warrior class held the highest position but instances are not lacking when the priestly class superseded the warlords. "But the rule holds with but slight exception that, whether warriors or priests, the upper classes are exempt from industrial employments, and this exemption is the economic expression of their superior rank."[16] In this class Veblen includes the nobles, the priests and their retinue. The people of this class take pride in their 'honourable' engagements and despise all other ordinary activities such as manual labour and industry which are left to be taken care of by the people of the 'inferior' classes. In the words of Veblen "Abstention from labour is not only a honorific or meritorious act but it presently comes to be a requisite of decency..... abstention from labour is the conventional evidence of wealth and is therefore the conventional mark of social standing; and this insistence on the meritoriousness of wealth leads to a more

strenuous insistence on leisure".[17] In the light of the analytical exposition of Veblen the main characteristics of the leisure class can be classified in the following form:



In order to maintain a separate identity as well as to add sophistication, the class exhibited delicate sensibility and gentle manners. This resulted in fineness of culture which could get along only with a class which could afford conspicuous leisure and conspicuous consumption.

but leisure never meant that they had nothing to do. What it implies is non-productive consumption of time. The nobles and the aristocrats are in Veblen's terms the members of the leisure class who could afford this type of life because economically they enjoyed complete security. In order to create an image of loftiness they indulged in double waste, both of time and money.

In order to justify their leisure the people of this class concentrated on the acquisition of some proficiency in decorum and manners so as to arouse a feeling of awe and admiration in the minds of those who stood outside this class, the commoners. In the words of Veblen, "High-bred manners and ways of living are items of conformity to the norm of conspicous leisure and conspicuous consumption."[13] The members of this class, further, take delight in giving away valuable gifts and presents as a means of reputability and a token of generosity. They are therefore always surrounded by a large number of admirers and courtiers waiting on them for their turn of receiving valuable goods.

The leisure class being sheltered from the strains of economic exigencies becomes least responsive to the pressures of rapidly changing economic challenges outside their class. This develops among its members an attitude of orthodoxy and conservatism.

Another important feature of this class of nobles or aristocrats is their elaborate system of etiquettes and manners. These are symbolical and conventional traits which exhibit their higher position of domination and superiority. "In large part they are an expression of the relation of status, a symbolic pantomime of mastery on the one hand and of subservience on the other".[19]

In short the leisure class as elucidated by Veblen, which corresponds to the class of nobles and aristocrats is characterised by abundant leisure, extravagance, sophisticated manners, artificiality, sense of class superiority and an attitude of conservatism. This class has been the product of pre-industrial societies which managed to survive in some of the countries down to the modern times, but is not capable of maintaining its image and identity in the face of the industrial shake up and democratic forces of the modern age. But as an institution and as a class it was an important sociological reality which helps in understanding the socio-economic complex phenomenon which were responsible for the emergence and survival of such a class through long vicissitudes of history.

FEUDALISM AND NOBILITY:-

The above mentioned sociological analyses of Gaetano Mosca, Vilfredo Pareto, and Thorstein Veblen help us in understanding feudalism and nobility as an institution and

a class of society. The nobles of Hyderabad are perhaps one of the last survivals of this social type. It is not our intention here to indulge in the technical controversy as to whether the nobles of Hyderabad can be called as feudal or not. What is important for us from the sociological point of view is that there are significant similarities which have promoted many writers of our time including such scholars as Doctor A.R. Khusro to consider the two as identical in many ways.

The Western expression of feudalism and nobility, as elsewhere, is neither simple nor consistent. For some it is the basic type in terms of which the expression of feudalism should be explained,[20] for others it is more a historic and specific event more or less confined to the West, "which will perhaps never happen again".[21] The general Western trend seems more to agree with Voltaire who regarded feudalism not as an event but as a form; and as such could be identified in other regional and national contexts. What is significant is that the term, in spite of its ambiguity, did symbolise a great step in social classification. The term feudalism actually came in popular use long after the institution it described had faded out. Since the concept tried to encompass a vast and divergent phenomenon it could never be defined clearly. For Marc Bloch it dates back to the 17th century,[22] whereas for Joseph R. Strayer and Rushton Coulborn, it was an invention of the scholars of the 18th century.[23] "These

scholars, looking at certain peculiar institutions, which had survived to their own day, and looking back to the period when these institutions had originated and flourished coined the word feudalism to sum up a long series of loosely related facts".[24]

AN APPRAISAL AND APPLICABILITY TO HYDERABAD:-

The foregoing introduction to some of the modern theories should help us to proceed with the ultimate question as to how far these theories are applicable to the phenomenon under study, namely, the nobility under the Nizams. Apparently there seem to be some easy and simple resemblances between the nobility under the Nizams and what Mosca, Pareto and Veblen identify under varying terminologies. For instance, Veblen's concept of the leisure class is easily identifiable with the nobility of Hyderabad. Similar is the case with Pareto's term of elites. Such again is the case with Mosca's ruling class. But there are certain difficulties in extending these apparent resemblances. Firstly, the theoreticians referred to, have taken Western models as the point of departure. They are, however, not totally ignorant of the oriental forms. But their basic preoccupation is with the Western cultural history. Hence, we should take care while applying these Western theories to a typically oriental form of nobility under the Nizams. Secondly, most of the theories reconstruct the Western cultural history in terms of cultural series, say,

from feudalism to capitalism and later intra-capitalistic and post-capitalistic developments. Such a linear representation of culture is difficult to apply to the East, because in the East one is struck more by cultural discontinuities than continuities. Hence the Western theories based on a particular view of cultural history are not totally applicable to the East, where relationship between history and culture is not the same.

Let us take the example of Mosca. Besides the most obvious dictum that there are two classes in every society, one ruling and the other ruled, Mosca is helpful to us as far as his analysis of the relationship between work and aristocracy is concerned. For him the decreasing degree of work reaching the ultimate degree of idleness threatens and ultimately destroys the nobility. Its application to the nobility of Hyderabad brings out certain very interesting facts. The Hyderabad nobility, (Infra Chapter-III) had acquired many a characteristics of the Mughal nobility. One of their major functions was military. They had to obey the call of the King to lead or participate in any military exploit. The military function symbolises the highest degree of work for nobility. One of the last major wars in which the Hyderabad nobility was involved was in 1799. From this date to 1948 there seems to be no major military occasion in which the nobility participated. The British

had taken over the responsibility of peace in the region. The nobility was thereafter associated with the following functions and practices:

(1) Administration and maintenance of their Jagirs including both revenue and law and order.

(2) Participation in government by the highest ranks of nobility at the will and wish of the Nizam.

(3) Patronage of religion, arts, and letters.

(4) Construction of palaces, gardens and summer houses.

(5) Indulgence in hunting and other sports.

(6) Collection of antiques and libraries.

(7) Indulgence in extravangance and luxury.

The activist principle of participation in military exploits was substituted by a passive and yet not totally uncreative participation in developing a peace time culture. What we now-a-days call the culture of the nobility, whose breakdown is one of the subjects of the present study, was a creation of the 19th century, a century of peace restored by the British ascedency in the region. Thus secure from external threats and responsible only for their Jagirs, the nobility of Hyderabad could have both resources and leisure to evolve a culture which was, though a continuation of the Mughal nobility, distinct and even different from it.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MUGHAL & HYDERABAD NOBILITIES:-

The differences were as follows:

(a) Unlike the Mughal nobility which was never free from the duty of participating in the military exploits, the Hyderabad nobility was free from this task for more than a century.

(b) Unlike the Mughal nobility which was always having an unclear and even estranged relationship with the ascendant British authority and influence in Eastern India during the last quarter of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century, the Hyderabad nobility barring a few noble families, was having a very good support in the British power and culture.

(c) Unlike the Mughal nobility which was never free from racial tensions (Afghan, Turkish and Iranian), the Hyderabad nobility developed on identity and the autonomy of a particular class whose internal religious, racial and family differences were subsumed in one supreme consciousness of possessing a distinct and privileged position in the region.

SOME CONSEQUENTIAL VARIATIONS WORK & LEISURE:-

A few important things follow from the comparison between the Mughal and the Hyderabad nobility. Generally, the Hyderabad nobility was a peace cherishing class involved more in building a culture than conquering territories. So the relationship between work and aristocracy is of different sort from what Veblen and Mosca envisaged. The difference lies in the high priority given to culture by the Hyderabad nobility. For Veblen feudal and aristocratic class is exempt from ordinary labour and economic activity possessing conspicuous leisure and indulging in conspicuous

consumption. Veblen is no doubt correct while he concedes a clearly marked class distinction and class consciousness to the nobility. But as he emphasises exemption from labour and economic activity and equates it with leisure and consumption, he seems to understate the cultural activism of the nobility by first, referring to it as elaborate ethos and manners. It was this very exemption from work and economic activity that brought out the focus on culture and on the promise of happiness which was not merely a matter of extravagance, luxury, and comfort but a very important component of the creative aspect of the life of nobility. It is the Western concept of work associated only with labour and economic activity that makes us ignore another connotation of work exclusively cultural and ethical. It is in this new orientation of work in the framework of the cultural activism of the nobility of Hyderabad that we seek the modification of Veblen's concept of leisure class. Again, Veblen is pushing the modern notions further beyond what is to be restricted to a specific industrial situation of the recent times wherein leisure is a product of two concommitant processes technology and capitalism. Conspicuous leisure naturally seeks for its own content, and Veblen answers it in his concept of 'Conspicuous consumption'. Conspicuous consumption is a trait of all developed and capitalistic societies today. This is reflected in consumption of

commodities, services, information, and recreation produced at a mass level. This concept of 'consumption' which appears to be Veblen's chief emphasis, cannot be the only cultural context of the feudal leisure. Therefore, the 'conspicuous consumption' of the nobility having a different cultural content cannot be uncritically applied to the Hyderabad nobility. The cultural content of both leisure and consumption of the Hyderabad nobility is the point of departure for this critical analysis, and search for reconceptualising the data in this regard. The attempt to identify the cultural content will also have its consequences for a concept of work with the nobility.

CULTURAL SPHERE:-

We have already stated that freedom from labour and economic activity and also from war shifted the emphasis from the military and the productive and the economic sphere to the cultural sphere, whose chief norms were fullness of life and whose social values were status and privilege. What Veblen identifies as manners should be linked with status and privilege and what he regards as ethos should be linked with fullness of life. The latter was having its both creative and destructive poles. The destrictive pole was symbolised in extravagance, luxury and comfort resembling in "idleness" which Mosca tends to identify as a chief cause for the breakdown of the nobility. The creative pole was

sympolised in the patronage of religion, arts and letters, construction of palaces and gardens, patronage of sports, collection of antiques and libraries, and high value placed on order and symmetry in interpersonal relations, hierarchy and expectations. It is this creative pole of the fullness of life or the cultural content of the feudal leisure which was earlier defined in the course of this analysis as cultural activism. This would lead us to redefine the concepts of work and idleness.

The creative and the destructive poles of the culture content of the nobility constitute the dialectics of feudal life. It is in the ratio of these two poles that we should see the redefinitions of work and idleness. All work for the nobility was linked with status and privilege. Total abstention from physical work was a mark of the highest status but work is not always physical. The non-physical work could be defined in leisure of mental engagement with three pursuits: recreational, aesthetic and supra-administrative. It is a work which entertains a sharp division between the mental and the manmual forms of labour and thereby the Marxian criticism of feudalism holds good for the feudal societies, of course, including the Hyderabad example. The mental work thus obtained an autonomy of its own and it is this autonomy of mental work deprived of all physical labour which led to the destructive pole of idleness. But the ratio

of work and idleness was not always the same. The ratio differs from one to another in the course of history of the Hyderabad nobility.

INVOLVEMENT IN ADMINISTRATION:-

It was about the later half of the last century that the nobility under the leadership of Salar Jung I started getting associated with the reorganised administration of the Nizam's State. One of the principles of the reorganisation was the extension of the administrative activity for which efficiency more than status was required. The nobility was, therefore, set to a new task. This was the first transformation of the nobility into a bureaucratic leadership which was also shared by persons brought from outside Hyderabad. We are more concerned here with how the principle of work got transformed by the emergency of the bureaucratic elite. The new elite consisting both of the local nobility and also of persons brought from outside were called upon for new proficiencies. These proficiencies covered the new manners and ceremonious conduct of proceeding, lay in learning, the rules of administration, in acquiring official and bureaucratic use of the Urdu language, particularly in dispensing justice, and in adopting the rule of law along side the rules of feudal hierarchy. Therefore, the destructive pole of idleness was modified in favour of the emergence of the new administrative tasks and

responsibilities. One should, however, take note that the destructive pole of idleness was also channelled through the indulgence in sports particularly, hunting. We can say on this basis that Mosca's concept of idleness is acceptable only when we keep in view the ratio of work and idleness in the feudal order and this ratio is never the same.

Moreover, the opposite of idleness is not always work but also vigilance and this was practised by the nobility both in their framework of inter-nobility rivalries for power, and also with regard to the challenges of the new bureaucratic elite that shared power and prestige with the nobles. But one should not ignore the fact that unlike the Western nobility in the eighteenth century, the Hyderabad nobility was markedly indifferent to participation in industry and new capital formation, and therefore, the Hyderabad nobility was not transformed into the bourgeoisie class until very late in the second quarter of the twentieth century, and this too was a very slow, halting and hesitant process.

MODIFICATION OF THEORETICAL FORMULATIONS:-

On the basis of the foregoing analysis the tentative observations can briefly be:

(1) Veblen's concept of the leisure class is equally applicable to Hyderabad nobility.

(2) Mosca's concept of idleness as a threatening principle is universally applicable including Hyderabad nobility.

(3) The cultural content of the feudal leisure in terms of conspicuous consumption without reference to the cultural roles, practices and values is inapplicable to the Hyderabad situation.

(4) The cultural content of the feudal leisure can be defined in terms of a cultural activism resulting through peace, security and protection, differing from Veblen, in Hyderabad.

(5) Mosca's concept of relationship between work and aristocracy is admissible in Hyderabad as well as far as we keep in view the ratio of work and idleness.

(6) The ratio of work and idleness is never the same; it changes with the varying relationship between nobility, feudal state and new administration and social challenges, so well expressed in Hyderabad case.

(7) The shift from nobility to bourgeoisie is a chequered one as far as Hyderabad nobility is concerned.

(8) The observance of double standards of morality as per Bloch may be applicable to Hyderabad nobles generally, but the conflict between church and the state as in the West, is not truly reflected in Hyderabad situation, when influence of Islam was so evident.

(9) Agreeing with Bloch, it can be observed that the Hyderabad Nobles also played their role as the change agents or catalysts of cultural evolution.

Marc Bloch was keen to observe that the nobility practised a double morality without witnessing the morality of oppression and the morality of courtesy. This observation of Bloch is generally true in the case of Hyderabad but with a very important qualification. It is again in the Western context

of the cleavage between the Church and the State that Marc Bloch makes this reference to the double morality. In Hyderabad under a broad Islamic situation such a cleavage did not obtain; and moreover the Islamic consciousnous of the nobility, though feudal in expression, was strong enough to make them skip over the conflict between an Amir and a Muslim. This conflict was never expressed in sharp terms and was submerged under, particularly in their participation in popular ceremonies of religious significance. The resolution of the conflict was also at times secular involving both the Hindus and the Muslims.

The second concept of Marc Bloch which we should take up again is his reference to the role of nobility in the evolution of society. Therefore it is pertinent to ask what role did Hyderabad nobility perform in social evolution? One of the most conspicuous contributions of the nobility was the creation and enrichment of certain religious and cultural forms particularly associated with Dargahs (the tombs of Muslim saints) and Moharrum. The nobility is gone but these socio-religious forms have persisted. These forms involved a broadening of the popular base of religion and a humanizing of the powerful and the dominant classes in terms of higher aesthetic and ethical principles. The relationship between the religious leadership and the nobility was very close and in fact the former was given

so much recognition that even after the passing of the nobility, the religious authority which rested on feudal support became autonomous later and could survive on its own. Similarly the Hyderabad nobility was instrumental in creating salutary forms of social conduct, norms of hospitality and customs of marriage, which became a part and parcel of the society of Hyderabad. This is only to show the validity of Marc Bloch's contention that the nobility, and in this case, the Hyderabad nobility as well, was instrumental in furthering the evolution of total culture.

POLITICAL ROLE OF NOBILITY:-

Let us now finally proceed to examine the concepts relating to the political roles and bases of the nobility. There are, however, two major issues: (1) the definition of power in feudal society and (2) the behaviour of power elites in a feudal order. These two questions will ultimately lead us to the question of circulation of elites and then we shall examine how far Pareto and Karl Marx are useful in explaining both identity and change in the context of the present theory.

Power in a feudal society is basically inherent in the hereditary status whether of the king or of the feudal nobles. The hereditary status is also the means by which all arbitrary and uncertain competitions to possess and share power are in principle abolished. In other words power is restricted to a

particular group or class. The hereditary status again is a means to preserve power in one particular class or group, irrespective of the individual's worth and competence. The only qualification to this scheme of power is the contingencies arising out of external or internal wars in which the fortunes of the feudal nobility might differ and wherein the principle of merit of luck in terms of success in war or in internal conspiracy might unsettle the principle of hereditary status. The second qualification to the hereditary status and source of power is the very absolute power of the king, who can withdraw both status and wealth from the nobles. But when there is an external threat and when there is a long supression of internal strife, the hereditary status again has the upper hand and power is fully equated with it. The Mughal nobility was an intermediate institution between hereditary status and status gained on the strength of individual merit. The Hyderabad nobility in the eighteenth century resembles the Mughal nobility in this respect. But from very early times in the nineteenth century onwards, the hereditary status became the sole principle of power and privilege. As there was no challenge to status so there was no challenge to power. The question, however, existed of more or less power resting with one or another noble family depending upon the relationship with the king. The fact that for a considerable period of time the Prime Ministership of Hyderabad rested with the family of Salar Jung

showed that even in pure administration of the State the hereditary principle played no less an important part.

FUNCTIONS OF HYDERABAD NOBILITY:-

The Hyderabad nobility drawing its power from hereditary status exercised the following functions:

(1) Administration of the Jagirs of which they were internal lords. Between them and the people there was a relationship of the rulers and the ruled.

(2) Maintenance of armed forces by the Premier nobles as a remnant of the old military function of the nobility. The forces now served only as ceremonious expression of the power.

(3) Association with the administration of the State as and when the Nizam wished.

The first and the third were the concrete expressions of aspects of the political power. This power is called political in the sense that it was one of the forms in which the feudal state functioned. The authority over the Jagirs was permanent and therefore the partial political power vis-a-vis the Jagirs was always secure. But this political power derived from the authority over the jagirs was not something which the nobility was worried about. Being centred in the city of Hyderabad where they could show off their status and wealth, the nobility looked more towards the favours of the Nizam as a source of their share in political power. This power was more visible, more an object of rivalry between the nobles and more real in terms

of being directly related to the person of Nizam. So it was in terms of the association with the administration and with the royal court that the nobility defined its political power. The highest jobs were in the areas of being ministers of State and also to be in the Peshi of the Nizam. These jobs provided frequent contacts with the Nizam and symbolised great influence which was different from status. Therefore, it is from within the general feudal structure of power that the dialectics of status and influence functioned. The chief competitors for influence were of course drawn from the very class of nobility, but the factor of influence was the principle of dynamics of power within that one class.

As the Nizam's State expanded in terms of administrative spheres of action and acquired modern functions like education, public health and transport, it could not rely only on the talents available within the class of the nobility and had to gather the required personnel from outside the ranks of the nobles either from Hyderabad or from outside. It was the beginning of a very major modification of the power and influence held by the nobility. Several persons drawn from Madras, Bombay and U.P. due to their better education and merits were not only appointed in important government positions but gained both access and resultant acceptance and influence at the Royal Court. Some of them became the recipients of the noble titles, of course without any Jagirs.

A new power elite was thereby created. The basic factor that led to this new power elite should be seen within the institution of the Nizam's State itself which was overgrowing its feudal character and was becoming a modern State. The new power elite was an expression of this transformation in the body politics of Hyderabad. This process was also assisted by another important factor. It was a convention that the Prime Minister of Hyderabad should be appointed in consultation with the British Resident. The British resident made his recommendations keeping in view first the British interest and secondly the power balance in Hyderabad which should however be favourable to the British and the demands of administration which were beyond the competence of most of the nobles. After the illustrious example of Salar Jung I, who, though a high rank noble himself, was not happy with the administrative efficiency of the nobility in general, was instrumental in having persons from outside, and keeping them in key positions. After about 30 years Maharaja Kishen Pershad followed the same policy and after him no Prime Minister was appointed from the ranks of the nobility. The position of the new power elite was thus fairly entrenched in Hyderabad as early as 1930's.

EMERGENCY NEW POWER ELITE:-

We can, therefore, conjecture that the feudal power as associated with hereditary status was structurally transformed

by the transformation of the Nizam's State into a modern State. This was effected by the growing number and influence of the new power elite that was drawn from outside the ranks of nobility. Therefore, the most important expression of basic social change in Hyderabad should be traced to this phenomenal development.

THE VERNACULAR ELITE:-

It was this new power elite,[25] which became leaders of thought; education and administration. It was they who founded the Osmania University and staffed it and were instrumental in creating the first generation of intelligentsia in Hyderabad.

The Hyderabad nobility thus faced the challenge from three sides, from its own internal rivalries and influence with the Nizam, from the new power elite, and from the intelligentsia. The closed circle of power circulation of elites became an open arena. Whatever happened in 1940's in Hyderabad was more a work of the new power elite and the intelligentsia than that of the nobility.

The new power elite was the first group to strike at the feudal order. They could not do it as far as the formal political and economic structure was concerned but they generated a culture of enlightenment, efficiency and enterprise. Hyderabad attained the stage of a natural

transition from a feudal society to an open liberal culture society in which the masses also could participate. The Urdu language, being a language of the State and the people, became the most important vehicle of consolidating new cultural trends. Its most crucial expressions were fourfold:

(a) Urdu as a medium of higher instruction.

(b) Urdu as a medium of general transactions of law and trade.

(c) Urdu literature, chiefly poetry, brought out from the courts and the noble households created the general literary audience. To this should be related the birth of Urdu Journalism in Hyderabad.

(d) Promotion of public oratory mostly rhetorical addressed to the new intelligentsia.

This massive cultural explosion which was taking place outside the cultural bonds of the nobility asked for a self re-organisation. This evolved a principle which was nearly at hand in the grand formulation of Islamic identity. The general political situation of the country pushed this principle into the forefront. Some of the new power elites were intellectually nourished in the ideas of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Hali and Iqbal. The public leadership in Hyderabad was schooled in the idealogy of Islam as a principle of social and political organisation. Islam projected as an ideology upheld the values of equality over and against the principles of status and rank and was in total contrast with power derived from the hereditary status. The Islamic ideology as handed down

by the new power elite, the new public leadership, and the new intelligentsia was another severe blow to the tottering edifice of the nobility. For them Islam was more a civilization, and an inspiration for individual acts of devotion, generosity and charity. They could not envisage in Islam a principle for their own destruction and loss of identity. It was this internal cultural dynamics in forties that led soon to the finale of the Nizam's State.

The nobility was estranged in another point. The Nizam then was clever enough to discover the change of times, the strength of the people and perceived the new sources of his power and popularity. Being a feudal sovereign, he was suspicious of the cultural explosion of the rise of the intelligentsia, of the growing influence of public leaders and of the general political environment within and outside the State. The new cultural forces spearheaded by Islamic ideology, though in principle not in agreement with hereditary monarchy, saw in the person of the Nizam the means of integration and central authority. The ideas of Islamic State of Hyderabad and the Nizam being the head of the State was broadcast both in sincerity and as a strategy. The nobility was psychologically, culturally and politically concerned with it.

The social change that took place in Hyderabad towards

the close of the nineteenth century, had started moving earlier to politics, law, education and religion. The basic economic structure did not much alter and it was this cleavage between the supra and the infra structure that offers one of the crucial challenges for the study of this period. It is really strange how such an extraordinary event as the fall of Hyderabad was more a function of the dynamics of the superstructure than of any basic structural changes in the modes of production according to the Marxian stand point. The communist movement at the close of forties of the century in certain eastern districts of Hyderabad which took the shape of an armed struggle known as Telangana Movement was not without significance but its role in changing the history of Hyderabad was not decisive. With the intervention of the government of India and the ultimate collapse of Hyderabad and the eventual abolition of the Jagirdari System in 1949, Hyderabad nobility received its final death blow.

How this group behaved and thought after this transformation and shock is one of the major points of the present study. We now turn to examine this in the following chapters. The forthcoming enquiry will give an empirical evidence of the present day crisis and will not be indifferent to the fact that it is an enquiry of a group of people who have lost every thing, both security and power, and more than anything else, ambition and hope. Such an experience of loss

as a social event requires a fresh theorisation in the field of social change. Social change as understood in contemporary sociology is restricted to the ideas of transition, transformation, evolution and progress. The reality of total loss which in the sociological sense is discontinuity does not fit in the modern thesis of social change. The present study is a moderate attempt at highlighting this reality of loss. Its close relationship is with, what in Western intellectualism, is called the cultural failure as applied to the totality of the Western civilization. The nobility of Hyderabad in a very restricted sense is an example of this cultural failure. How this group defines this failure and what avenues it explores to adopt in the changed conditions will be put forth in the account that follows.

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17. Ibid - p.41
18. Ibid - p.75
19. Ibid - p.47
20. Marc Bloch: Feudal Society, Vol.II - p.441
21. Montesquieu, cited by Marc Bloch: Feudal Society - p.441

22. Marc Bloch: Introduction - p.XVII -
"In its Latin form, 'feudalis', it dates from the Middle Ages. The French noun 'Feodalite', feudalism, though of more recent origin, goes back at least to the seventeenth century".

23. Joseph R. Strayer and Rushton Coulborn: Feudalism in History - p.3

24. Ibid - p.6

25. This new elite can be termed as "Vernacular elite" the term used by Rounaq Jehan Begum in her book - Disintegration of Pakistan.

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CASE STUDIES

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INTRODUCTION:-

From the time of the publication of the Polish Peasant until recent times, the usefulness of the case study method is being more and more emphasised. Both anthropoligists and psychologists have been using personal documents as a source of valuable data. The central principle has been the fact that personal documents represent a continuity of experience. This continuity as represented by the subject and later conceptualized by the investigator goes a long way to provide information on the structure and dynamics of the subject's mental life. Each personal document is a convergence of an individual biography and a cultural history of the group. Burgess, therefore, rightly refers to personal documents as a 'social microscope'.

A personal document may be a letter or a diary or confession or an autobiography or a recollection. However, representative these personal documents might be, their value as scientific materials, is not entirely unquestionable. The subject may write what the investigator wants. Greater the rapport between the subject and the investigator, greater is this danger, for through such a rapport an investigator

might unconsciously put his own suggestions into the subject's mind. Moreover, the subject may be more self-justificatory than factual. The literary style in the personal documents leads the data to be more like a story than a collection of facts. The greater limitation, however, is that a personal document may be critically valid for only a comparatively small group. The case studies are, therefore, problematic documents whose compatability is reduced in a framework of complex variables. Finally, the investigator himself will tend to see what he is looking for. This is very obvious in terms of psychoanalytical schools of Adler, Jung and Freud. The problem of analysis in a case study is further complicated by the facts that the subject tells his own story in his own words. This offers the problem of abstracting some logical extracts from the case report. Nevertheless case studies being depth studies are recognised as a very useful and important instrument of sociological analysis.

The case studies offered in this chapter fall under the category of reminiscences dictated by the subjects to the investigator. These reminiscences obtain a form of an autobiographical notes. It is probable that the subjects were self-conscious while narrating their life histories, but the degree of their informal recollection suggests that most of the time they were unconsciously absorbed in recalling

some of the events of their past lives.

The analysis of these case studies will observe the criteria offered by John Dollard in his "Criteria for the Life History". We shall be using more the following three criteria:

(1) The subject must be used as a specimen in a cultural series.

(2) The continuous related character of experience from childhood through adulthood must be stressed.

(3) The life history material must be organised and conceptualised.

Now we shall refer to the case studies in question. Each life history will be followed by a statement of analysis and at the end of these case studies we shall attempt an analysis generally applicable to all of them.

CASE STUDY No.1

INTRODUCTION:-

The subject of the first case study, Nawab Mir Mahmood Ali Khan, aged 60 years, is the eldest son of a Premier Noble. The Premier Nobles were hereditary exempted Jagirdars. They held the highest position in the nobility. The subject was educated in India as well as in England. He is very much interested in art and literature and has translated Iqbal's poetry into English. After the abolition of the Jagirdari system he switched over to simpler ways of

life. Although he could maintain a high standard of living, he preferred his children not to indulge in the extravagance which was the way of nobility in the past. So he disposed off the motor cars and other luxury goods. Though he holds the life of the nobles as high, he is realistic enough to consider it a thing of the past.

The subject being a link between the past and the present finds it at times a bit too difficult to adjust with the changed circumstances. Nevertheless, he has educated his children in the modern way and has carefully kept them unaware of the pride and privileges of his ancestors, so that they may not pass through the same conflicts and frustrations which he had to undergo himself.

HIS STATEMENT:

A phenomenon of wealth and authority coming down from generations, produces its own culture and refinement. An atmosphere of saturation of needs and a state of complete tranquillity keeps a man safe from mean and base endeavours. In high families, fully equipped with all and immediate requirements, wealth and honour, whose mansions are becomingly furnished and watched by sufficient number of attendants, the necessity of getting in touch with the outside public was rarely necessary; in fact it was discouraged and considered undesirable. Such a family consequently retained its closed culture. The youth of a noble family, as was

customary, were placed under the tutelage of highly efficient tutors and experienced trainers, whose duty it was to instruct and educate them on sound basis. It was also usual to appoint a well qualified English governess, who, in addition to the giving of general training, instructed children, particularly in pronouncing English words correctly, even before they were sent to school. It was a common practice that for instruction in Persian, Arabic and Urdu such tutors were appointed, whose mother tongues were the respective language and were also recognised as proficient in their literatures. While lessons in text books and readers were done by the children of the noblemen in schools, the princes, on the other hand, were educated in palaces; as it was deemed below dignity to send them to school. Thus in the youth they got little chance of getting in touch with the public, and their contact with the common man was never encouraged. Even standing in the portico for a look around was much detested in the big noble families. I myself could never do it in my early days.

A casual talk with the 'worthy' and 'reliable' domestic servants only was permissible, but no word was to pass on with watchmen, footmen, etc. Discharge of duty by a trained skilful household servant, appropriate to the occasion, was much appreciated and attributed to the eminence of his master. The servants of Nawab Mehdi Jung were held in high esteem

and many rich men were ready with bribes to drag them into their own service. Mr. Crofton, an Englishman, who was at the time Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department, was said to have remarked that it appeared angels were serving on Nawab Mehdi Jung Bahadur.

How to receive a guest of honour, how to pay respect, and how to behave on different occasions, was taught from the very beginning and every one of the family was sufficiently instructed in the ways of presenting a warm welcome to a visitor high in social status. Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad, who was a man of ideal noble character, was perhaps responsible for richly adding to polished manners among some of the men of high status in Hyderabad. Although he was the Prime Minister of the State, he had made it a point to receive or meet noblemen fully dressed along with the 'dastar' and the 'girdle'.

Once Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad was expected at Nawab Khan Khanan's palace. The latter in 'dastar' and 'girdle' reached the portico at the appointed hour to receive the Maharaja, for it was considered discourteous either to be late or wait ahead of time. In the meanwhile the Maharaja's motor car drove up, but instead of stopping in the portico it moved away further and halted at a little distance. His staff car, which was behind, on receiving a signal moved up to the Maharaja's car, and after getting

some whispered instructions silently went away. Nawab Khan Khanan was much surprised at this and directed his personal secretary to enquire into this strange behaviour. It transpired that the Maharaja had forgotten to bring his 'girdle', and his staff car was on its way to fetch the same. On Nawab Khan Khanan's insistance, pleading the Maharaja to meet him without the 'girdle', it was finally decided that Khan Khanan should first cast away his own girdle.

After the elders had paid respects and offered the customary 'salams' to the Maharaja, it was the turn of the children to present to him their 'salam' and respects. The Maharaja went on bowing ceremoniously and saying salam till the youngsters finished and were pressed into bowing position by their elders to the end of the ceremony.

The response of the salam of servants was by repetition of the word without any movement of the head or hand; while reply to the compliments of other persons was made with an imperceptible gesture or slight movement of the head. But a salam to the elders or men equal in the status was always quite ceremonious attended by clear bowing. A salam to the prince or ruler of the state was always of a longer duration, during which time the person paying respect had to stoop low, his body half bent in a bow; while the palms of his hands were kept joined in a respectable manner during conversation with the prince.

It goes without saying that in one's struggle for existence one meets or comes in contact with people of different standings in life, high and low, good and bad, and not infrequently contacts with men of doubtful character do affect one's behaviour adversely. In such cases absence of polished etiquette or gentlemanly behaviour can easily be detected. The vulgar man on the street, whose manners are coarse, language abusive, and appearance rustic presents a specimen of primitiveness, unnecessary contacts with whom would only mar one's character and conversation by introducing into it impolite and rude expressions or infection of degraded manners common among clumsy rustic people. To get in touch with people of higher level is by no means an easy task; generally one falls back into the lower society where one must reconcile with people of coarse manners often offending and abhorring good taste such as likely to destroy decency, politeness or seemliness of behaviour.

It was customary for the sons of the nobles to appear before their parents humbly or in quite unassuming manner with marked respect for old age and elderly position. It was also traditional to address one's father as 'Sarkar', (master). Above all no one dared address one's wife or children in the presence of one's parents.

When it was deemed fit to send children to school, a separate house furnished with all the necessities of life and primary education was provided for them. They were placed under the supervision of an able tutor and an establishment of servants was also provided to attend on them. But the school going children were particularly instructed to go on foot and to hold umbrellas themselves over their head to escape heat of the sun and rain. They were also to carry books in their own hands though a servant was always there to attend on them whose duty was to see that the children reach the school just at the time of going on of the bell and that they do not get into conversation with anyone either on the street or in the school. One particular duty which the servant was to perform was to stand and wait outside the class room. During the interval time, the children were to join him without talking to anyone else; and in case the teacher was late in coming to the class or was absent, the servant was to take them outside the class and to watch and see that the children of his charge do not get free or boisterous with their classmates. They were to leave the school for home immediately after the classes were over and on their way home they were not to meet or converse with anybody.

Later, when the Jagirdar College was established, these restrictions were relaxed or even found unnecessary,

particularly as the children of Jagirdars or upper classes alone were given admission into this college. However, here one thing was ignored, and that was the erroneous assumption that the desirable atmosphere created by the entire community of Jagirdars was alone possible and that, there was no marked difference between the behaviour of the low and high Jagirdars.

Moving in the society of the Jagirdar community alone was appreciated by the nobility. If it became unavoidable to come in contact with persons who were in station of life below the social status of the nobility, the superiority of the one over the other was evidenced clearly in the respective refined or impoverished conduct of each. In the festivals which were held, it was usual to invite only nobles of equal status or high officials of the state.

There were embarassing reception formalities and it was always a tense moment when a guest of honour was to be welcomed or said adieu; for to be slightly late in getting a guest or being absent at the time of his leaving, both were detested as against conventional etiquette. Once on the occasion of the reception of Mr. Crofton, who was then Secretary to Government, Revenue Department, Nawab Kamal Yar Jung forgetfully rose up before time but he soon made up by turning round as if to examine the paintings, and by drawing the Secretary into conversation till he was led to the portico.

The Jagirdars maintained their status and dignity under pretence of self respect which at times looked vain but even this was regarded good and was tolerated. Once Sir Akbar Hyderi, the Prime Minister of the state called a meeting of the Council of Jagirdars. Telephones were immediately put through among the Jagirdars; and it was unanimously decided on the line that Sir Akbar Hyderi, though the President of the Council of State, was not the man in status to call a meeting of the nobles and Jagirdars at his place. It would have been different if Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad, Nawab Moinud Daula or Salar Jung[1] had called a meeting. Later a similar call of meeting of the nobles by Sir Amin Jung was also resisted.

With the passing of time, several changes were brought about but the Jagirdar class remained conspicuously conscious of its identity and self respect. The English were mindful of their dignity and the pattern was kept up by them right upto the last Resident of Hyderabad, i.e. Mr. Herbert.

The Nawab further says: Under orders of H.E.H. the Nizam, I went to see the Resident. As soon as my car entered the Resident's portico, his Secretary, Mr. Maunsel, who was already there came forward to receive me and conducted me to the visiting hall; here before I had taken my seat the Resident himself entered to greet me. Sir Akbar Hyderi was also received with equally courteous formalities when

he called at the President's place a little later.

It can hardly be contested that one's persistence in being at an arm's length from the public, or continued refusal to get in touch with the common man very likely creates social complications, for one should generously respond to the new values, meet the challenges of social life, and submit to the reformative changes brought about in a developing society. No one is expected to disregard the society of the learned men or abhor the educated class, or the intellectuals who are the source of knowledge and progress.

But among the nobles also there were some highly educated persons, who were straight and honest, dressed simply and lived simply. Although their dinner tables were full with varieties of food, they chose to feast on simple dishes. Guards and watchmen posted around the mansion of such a noble man could be no hindrance between the noble and the subjects whom they ruled. Favouritism was not allowed and a smooth pattern of life was kept up. Most of time he was devoted to useful studies. Going to Europe and America was also cherished by quite a few. There were a few who had established industries and schools for public welfare.

Some liked on their death to be buried in their

own land (unlike others who willed their corpse to be sent to Karbala), and that their funeral ceremony be performed quite simply, the shrouds being of Khadi only. They also desired that larger portion of the estimated expenditure be distributed among orphans and the needy.

The Nawab further says: When I was ten, I desired to be given a motor car with permission to drive it myself. I was told that a motor car could be placed at my disposal, provided I promised to run it, dashing anywhere I linked, within the boundry of my own building, and on no account to take it outside my premises. On my representation, it was explained to me that inspite of all care taken, a brat rushing carelessly on the street could be crushed under the wheels. In that event perhaps money could avoid penalising in this world but on the day of Resurrection and Judgment I would not escape. So an able and licensed drive was appointed.

The above events relate to my grandfather. My father, Nawab Mehdi Jung too, loved simplicity which was his second nature. But he was a man of refined tastes which frequently led him to expend more on race horses which were sent to several places in India. He was also very fond of Tennis, a spacious Stadium for which was built and even to this day is known as the Mehdi Jung Stadium. Here famous tennis players from Europe were invited and considerable amount on

their travel, boarding and lodging was lavishly expended. All this could be placed under the minor head of reception of honoured guests.

On the other hand there were nobles like my maternal grandfather, Nawab Fakhrul Mulk, who were vain and proud of their riches and wedded to luxury and so profusely extravagant were they that their clothes were sent to Paris for washing and dry cleaning. Above all, they were surrounded by courtiers and other high officials, who strove for gaining favour which resultantly encouraged pernicious intrigues, and which like a malady spread into the zenana, where it engendered still more under-hand plotting, kindling hatred and anguish. This was the outcome of unlimited power and riches which these nobles wielded. Added to all this was the unhealthy practice of having a large 'harem', which caused hell of troubles; particularly when it was designed to have a whole army of concubines quartered in the same mansion. Such circumstances brought to the fore complicated problems of unequal treatment which blazed into unextinguished fire of jealousy. Preference was given to the children of lawfully married wives while the issues of the conbubines were greatly ill treated, which created in them feelings of inferiority complex, for indeed they were kept no better than children of the lowest servants. This, of course, begot a highly suspicious and threatening atmosphere for the father; the result of which could be imagined.

ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDY No.1 :-

One of the most conspicuous features of this report is its intellectual and reflective approach. The subject is very much aware of his own identity and reflects upon it as a distinct civilization. The second feature of this report particularly as it comes out towards its conclusion, is the subject's awareness of the passing away of the culture of the nobility. The third feature is his ability and willingness not to ignore the evils of the system particularly when he refers to extravagance, polygamy, (harem) intrigue and arrogance. The fourth feature of the report which is a consequence of the first feature, is that it is very subdued in terms of the subject's personal life.

The general references to education of the children of the nobles, rules of reception and farewell, cleavage between the noble and 'vulguar' classes in society, differences of behaviour between high and low jagirdars and general regard for self respect make the subject's report a part of the cultural series which constituted the nobility.

The biographical content is very much subdued in the report, it may not help to construct the picture of the subject's personality through the vicissitudes of social change. The only glimpse he allows us about his

personality is when he sharply criticises the neglect of good manners by the persons who came to rule Hyderabad after 1948.

In order to conceptualise the report, we take a few clues from the subject himself. As his report is more reflective, it possesses its own terminology and formulations. The subject refers to "culture" which for him is an insolated system of security, power, integrity and honour. This concept, as restricted to nobility does not include the people, whose manners according to him are coarse, their language abusive and their appearance rustic. The second important concept which the subject seems to imply is of isolation, which for him is a preservation of noble culture from the 'uncultured' and 'vulgar' masses. The subject does not see any contradiction in the feudal society. His perception of the problems in the feudal society is restricted to the excess of luxury and pride in certain individuals. The reflective aspect of the report is at times didactic, at other times apologetic but hardly at any time analytical. There is, however, an implication that the subject suffers from a discontinuity of experience in the objective world which he combats by insisting on the unity of his own self. The subject is a man of letters and through literature painting and arts he seems to try to resolve the conflict between self and history.

CASE STUDY No.2

INTRODUCTION:-

The subject of the second case study, aged 52 years, is the third son of Nawab Qudrat Nawaz Jung. On the maternal side he is a descendant of Nawab Nasirud Daula Nizam IV. He himself is one of the sons-in-law of Nizam VII. The value of his father's Jagir was Rupees One Lakh Fifty Thousand per annum before the abolition of Jagirs. Its quarterly compensation was Twenty Thousand from 1950 to 1965. He was educated at the Aliya School and was socialized in the manners of nobility. At the time of the interview he was living a retired life often recalling the glories and peace that pervailed in the class of the nobles 30 years before. His present passtime is reading books, going to the races and enjoying making 'Sohan Halva' (sweets) which was a speciality of his family.

HIS STATEMENT

I am a Jagirdar related on the maternal side to Nawab Roshamud Daula Bahadur, who was the younger brother of Nawab Afzalud Daula Bahadur, Nizam V. My aunt was married to Nizam VII and I am one of his sons-in-law. The value of our family Jagir was 1,50,000/- per annum on the eve of abolition. The value of the annual compensation paid by the government after abolition was Rs.20,000/- per quarter which continued from 1950 to 1965.

I was educated at the Aliya School and passed Matriculation in 1940. Whenever the children of the nobles went to school, they were accompanied by two tutors. Ordinary Jagirdars sent at least one tutor. We used to go either by motor car or by a horse-coach. We were allowed to play within the premises of the school, but under the supervision and care of the school teachers. Full care was taken in developing manners and teaching nuances of respectability.

I remember the way Maharaja Kir Kishan Pershad used to offer Salams to different members of the Royal Family. He used to offer 11 Salams to the H.E.H., 9 Salams to the queen, 7 Salams to the heir apparent, Prince Azam Jah, 5 Salams to Moazzam Jah, the second Prince and the same to Prince Basalat Jah, the younger brother of the H.E.H., 4 Salams to Salabat Jah. Similarly he used to offer 4 Salams to all the nobles of his category, that is to the Premier Nobles. The institution of Salams was very elaborate and exhibited the beauty of unique manners observed on all such occasions when the Nobles meet each other. It always used to be very picturesque and courteous.

The Nobles never met each other without putting on Dastar. The Aizza School was meant for the Sahibzadas, that is the progeny of the Royal blood. In the Aliya School, uniform was introduced for the children of the Nobles. Both in

the Jagirdar College as well as in the Aizza School, the teachers were required to put on Dastars. The Jagirdars used to visit the houses of other nobles on festivals, parties or dinners.

We lived in our ancestral mansion, which is known as the Deodhi of Roshanud Daula.

Whenever epidemics spread out, we used to go away to our Jagirs, so also during the mango season. My father Nawab Qudrat Nawaz Jung never accepted free gifts or presents from any one. My father gave away the Annajiguda as a Jagir to his Anna, i.e., the woman servant who had nursed him on his birth. Eversince this locality came to be called Annajiguda.

After the abolition of the Jagirs, there is a common feeling that the people of the ex-Jagir areas are happy over getting rid of their Jagirdars, and that most of them show disrespect and disregard for their old masters. It may be so in some cases, but certainly it is not always the case. Once I needed some big leaves (Phades) for making a shed. It occured to me to go to my old Jagir area and fetch it from there. However, I was in two minds and was not sure what response I would get there. However, I went to my Jagir. Hardly had I reached there that the Patwari came running to receive me. All the old people of the Jagir gathered around me and introduced me to the younger people as their old master.

Their feelings were deep and sincere, full with regard and respect; so much so that I cannot forget it even today, although many years have passed since this event took place. Of course, in no time my jeep was filled to the capacity with the leaves that I had gone for.

At the age of 22 my father was appointed as the Deputy of the Sarfe Khas. Later on, I was also appointed on the same post.

After the abolition of Jagirs, descended the period of depression and crisis for all of us. Most of the Jagirdars have not as yet recovered from this shock.

On the side of games and sports we took part in Cricket, Hockey, Polo, Shikar etc. We have always had great fascination and attraction for races.

I am confident and convinced that the old society and the pattern of living was far better than the present one. Economically as well as culturally it was better and more peace giving than the modern one.

I have made several tours in India. I was a member of the Secunderabad Club, Nizam Club and the Fateh Maidan Club. But since 1974 I have relinquished my membership of all. The way we were brought up was quite different from the present mode of life. It is too late for us to change our attitudes

and habits. That is why we prefer to retire in solitude. Now I spend most of my time with my old timer, Mr. Firasat Ali Khan who knows and understands my ways and expectations. I am an early riser and spend most of my time in reading books, mostly religious. Making Sohan Halwa is a speciality of our family. At times I busy myself with this delicacy.

ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDY No. 2 :-

This report is more biographical and thereby gives the continuity of the subject's life and attitudes, except while referring to the education of children of the nobles and to the intricate rules of etiquette, the subject relates most of the time his own life. Though kept apart from the lower classes, the nobles did not look upon their household servants with any contempt. This is brought out by the subject's reference to how his father granted a jagir to one of his women servants, called Anna, who had nursed him in childhood. The name of the place thereafter was called Annajiguda.

The subject offers his own conception about the people in the jagirs as not happy with the abolition of the feudal system and show respect and affection for their old masters, the jagirdars. The subject is, however, careful not to generalize his personal experience in this regard.

The report ends with a clear emphasis on the fact of

alienation of the nobles in the contemporary times. Another important factor, which the report brings out towards its end is that even with the rich classes of today, the nobles do not feel adjusted. There is a cultural gap between the rich of the present and the rich of the past.

The most important conceptual implication of this report is that the nobility as a group cannot be identified with an economic class.

CASE STUDY No.3

INTRODUCTION:-

The subject of the third case study, aged 53 years, is the eldest son of the Nawab of Kalyani who was a Premier Noble. This was one of the exempted jagirs. The subject himself was educated at the Aliya School as well as at Aligarh Muslim University from where he passed his Intermediate. He still takes pleasure in reading books on history. His other hobbies are stamp collection and photo collection. Other members of his family have entered in business and, as such, the family is maintaining its economic standard without serious setback. He himself has taken to a simple and unsophisticated way of life. His attitude towards life seems to be matter of fact and realistic. He seems to believe in secularism and democracy inspite of

long feudal past.

HIS STATEMENT

Before the independence of the country most of the Jagirdars believed that the Jagirs would never come to an end. They believed so, because in their certificates, at least in case of some of the big jagirdars, the jagirs were originally granted with the remark: (ta qiyam-e-Shams-o-Qamar), which meant 'as long as the Sun and the Moon exist'. This notification was highly flattering and was a guarantee in perpetuity. This never let them feel the impracticability of the contention. However, when the Jagirs did come to an end, they, the Jagirdars, again started dreaming that at least they will get 25 years' income in lump sum, without deduction of expenditures etc. This would again make a very handsome amount. But this dream was also shattered. Overnight the royal canopy was removed and all of them were exposed to the usual heat and cold of this life.

Although the big Jagirdars held ce-rtain high traditions and very often exhibited generosity and kindliness, the smaller Jagirdars were no better than ordinary people. They exacted money under various pretexts from the people in their jagirs on various occasions, such as marriage, Bismillah ceremony,[2] birth of a child, etc. These amounts were collected under the names of 'nazar', etc. Some of them

can even be called as cruel in their dealings with their subjects. I think the attitude of the majority of the Jagirdars were uncharitable. They exploited the people. Most of the nobles were uneducated and even illiterate. But their servants were generally very well looked after, because on their good mood depended the smooth luxurious life of the nobles. The common people had easy access to the smaller Jagirdars but it was not equally easy in the case of big Jagirdars.

The jagirdars always went out on Shikars and pleasure trips with their retinue and courtiers. The number of these followers used to be quite big in the case of big Jagirdars.

Before 1913 when my grandfather, Syed Mohamed Anwar Ihusain Khan Qiyam Jung Ghazanfarud Daula used to come out of the Kalyani Fort he was always attended and followed by 50 to 100 officials, sawars, valets etc., who used to be formally dressed with Dastar, 'girdle', etc. If he had to go by a motor car or a coach, these people followed him upto the carriage. Four sawars accompanied the coach. By temperament he was kind, but if infuriated on some account he used to be furious. He had a stubborn nature. He used to get up early in the morning. Everyday he went for riding. Mostly he lived in Kalyani along with his courtiers. After riding he used to take bath and then he sat down for breakfast.

About 20 to 25 people used to be with him on the breakfast table. Sometimes he used to take his breakfast in the ladies apartment also.

During the time of Tipu Sultan, on account of misrepresentation, our forefathers were ordered to be confined to our Jagir only. As a result of this my grandfather even in his time was accustomed to spend most of his time at his Jagir, although the old conditions had completely changed.

.At the time of the Police Action the population of Kalyani was 25000. Now the township has developed. There are 200 Leyland lorries. The general profession of the people is handloom industry.

Formerly the Nawab of Kalyani struck his own coin. They had full powers of judiciary. This was the only Jagir among all the Muslim Jagirs which was compact. All the other Muslim Jagirs were spread over distant areas; and no other Muslim Jagirdar had his entire Jagir in one contiguous area. In our Jagir were included 64 villages. Besides these villages there were also 8 villages for military maintenance. We were given those Jagirs in the time of the Nizam II Nawab Nizam Ali Khan. Before that, our ancestors were the Qiladars of Bidar. The Qiladari of Bidar was granted to our ancestors before the second arrival of Nawab Nizamul Mulk

Asaf Jah I, directly by the Emperor Farrukh Siyer. The striking of our separate coin was stopped in the time of our ancestor Mumtazul Umara II in the reign of Nawab Nasirud Daula, Nizam IV.

In Kalyani, as in the case of Paigah, we had 3 sub-jagirdars also. In the beginning we had the right to grant sub-jagirs. In our Jagir there was a Primary School from olden days, which was upgraded into a recognized High School in time under the patronage of my father. A students hostel was also established in 1936.

The Jagir was released from the Court of Wards in 1939. My father himself used to conduct the legal cases pertaining to revenue. He passed judgments. He was a matriculate and had passed examinations in law and revenue. He reformed the local police and revenue system. He completely stopped the age old practice of 'nazar' and other similar gifts and presents. Before the Police Action he spent most of his time on the Jagir, but after the Police Action he stayed in Hyderabad and only occasionally went there.

My father also used to go for riding every morning. After breakfast he attended to law suits from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. In the afternoon he used to give audience to the common people. People had complete freedom to express their problems and difficulties. Their problems were solved as early as

possible. He was known for dispensing justice, that is why he was granted the right of managing the Jagir although he was not the eldest son of his father. My father was very fond of Shikar.

After the Police Action and the Abolition of the Jagirdari system my father used to get a quarterly compensation of Rs.40,000/- which continued upto 1956. After this, since my father had died, this compensation was divided among the children. I have attended the court of the H.E.H. several times and offered 'nazar' there.

As I was born in 1925, when the Jagir was under the Court of Wards, no special celebrations were made. But my Bismillah was held in 1929 in a grand way. The Bismillah was celebrated in Hyderabad.

Our Jagir had all the honours of big Jagirs, namely Kettle Drum, Palanquin, Fish Standard etc.

After Bismillah I was admitted in the Aliya School. A governess was appointed for me. She was a Scott lady, Mrs. Brawley was her name. She remained in my service for four years.

From 1935 to 1943 I stayed at the house of Mr. Philip, who was the Principal and Warden of St. George's Grammer School. I have always been interested in History, stamp and

photo collections. I was married in July, 1943. I used to spend only my holidays at the Jagir. The Jagir abolition did not come as a shock to me because our monthly income was still tolerably good.

The present day society is no better than the former society. People of high class are not trying to maintain their identity and old values. The general moral condition of the people has deteriorated. Muslims are no exception in this case. In my opinion democracy is a good system of life provided it is practised in a fair manner. I believe in secularism. In my view the Muslims never gave a realistic thought to the problems of life. In fact they very often avoided the real issues. For instance the educated Jagirdars were usually ease loving. Unless this irresponsible attitude towards the realities of life is given up there can be little hope of a bright future.

ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDY No. 3 :-

This report is surprisingly self critical, more inclined to uncover the contradictions in the feudal system and offers a short commentary on the unrealistic and wishful thinking of the Jagirdars. This aspect of the report is brought out in the following formulation:

(a) the subject mocks at the feeling of the perpetuity of the possession which the nobles pursued, (b) the subject again

mocks at the incapacity of the nobles to read the writing on the wall at the time of the Police Action, (c) he makes explicit references to the forms of exploitation, which the Jagirdars resorted to against the people of their Jagirs. He, however, makes a distinction between small and big Jagirdars and he thinks that the small Jagirdars were more selfish and more cruel.

The subject combines in the report both the autobiographical and the reflective elements. While recalling both his grand father and father, he lays emphasis on their dispensation to justice and fair play. Their Jagir was, however, different from other Jagirs in the sense that it was compact and not spread over distanct areas. This made the subject's father to concentrate on his Jagir, its development and welfare.

As far as the autobiographical aspects are concerned the subject, as is customary with all the nobles, makes a special mention of the ceremonies associated with Bismillah Khani. The report also brings out the typical fact that in most of the cases the children of the nobles had English or Scottish governesses.

This report is again exceptional because the subject talks favourably about secularism and democracy and complains of lack of orientation to realities among the Jagirdars.

The report is a balanced combination of personal and reflective attitude combining criticisms with apologies.

CASE STUDY No. 4

INTRODUCTION:-

The subject of case study No.4, aged 54 years, is the 8th son of Nawab Moinud Daula Bahadur, who was a Paigah noble. The Paigah was the biggest Jagir in rank and status and was next only to the Royal family. Marriages between the Paigah nobles and the Royal family were common during the whole reign of the Nizams. As such, this distinguished family maintained a high sense of pride, loyalty and superiority. Brought up in such an atmosphere, the subject developed an attitude towards life which proved to be completely incompatible with the situation that emerged after the break-down of the nobility.

Presently the subject is living a life of dejection and despair in complete isolation and retirement. His diary is an interesting account of his sojourn through life underlined by imaginativeness, emotionality and frustration. By temperament he is unassuming, sincere and true, but under the stress and strain of the changed circumstances he is a total wreck. His thought symbolises the glory that was, and his present person symbolises the total disintegration of the bygone noble personality.

HIS STATEMENT

My birth was regarded very auspicious for the family, because it was on the very next day of my birth that our Estate was released by the Court of Wards. I was born on 14th December 1922. My name was given by my father. I am the eight issue of Nawab Moinud Daula Bahadur. Myself and my eldest brother Nawab Zaheer Yar Jung were conferred with titles on the same day in 1941. It was on the occasion of the birthday Durbar of the H.E.H. Since my two brothers-in-law, namely Nawab Ahmed Yar Jung and Nawab Himayat Nawaz Jung, sons of Nawab Lutfud Daula Bahadur, were title holders, and I alone was without a title, so I also got it. My mother-in-law, that is Begum Lutfud Daula Bahadur was instrumental in getting me this honour.

My birthday and the release of the Estate from the Court of Wards were celebrated in a big way. The celebrations included grand dinners, music and dance parties. I was born in the Jaroornagar Palace. I was brought up under the care of my mother assisted by two governesses. These two governesses belonged to Hyderabad and were Muslims. They were paid 50 and 75 rupees per month, besides free quarters and boarding arrangements in our Palace.

My Bismillah ceremony was held when I was four years old. In this festivity Nawab Lutfud Daula and Nawab Waliud Daula

Bahadur were also invited. Nawab Lutfud Daula Bahadur was probably the Minister for Health and Medical Services at that time. Nawab Waliud Daula Bahadur was the 'Samdhi' (i.e., the son of one was married to the daughter of the other) of my father. It was customary in those days to physically carry the Bismillah bridegroom. On question as to who should carry me, there was a serious dispute between Nawab Lutfud Daula Bahadur and Nawab Waliud Daula Bahadur. So much so that they took out their swords. Nawab Lutfud Daula Bahadur was a more accommodating and simpler person. About 500 people were invited in this party. Members of the Paigah families and high officials were among the important invitees. Eight days before the Bismillah, guests had started coming and elaborate arrangements for their stay and dinners were made. Approximately Rs.25,000/- were spent on these festivities. The celebrations included grand dinners, music and dance parties as well as fireworks. My Bismillah was initiated by Maulana Ghulam Khwaja alias Nawab Saheb.

During childhood also we were not allowed to go out of the Deodhi (Palace). Children of the household servants used to play with us. Arrangements for games such as Tennis, Cricket and Croquet were made inside the Deodhi itself. Approximately Rs.100/- per month were spent on games and sports. Our brothers and sisters also joined in these games.

Tutors were summoned at the Deodhi to teach us till the age of seven. Seven teachers taught us different subjects. A separate teacher was appointed for each subject. Each teacher was paid Rs.50/- per month. Two of our teachers namely Ghulam Khwaja Nawab and Mr. Alfred Strettle were prominent among them. Before going to the school we were taught alphabets in a peculiar manner. One man for each alphabet (both in English and Urdu separately) was appointed. Whenever we made a word or a sentence, the servants bearing the names of the alphabets lined up. We knew them by the names of the alphabets only. My father Nawab Moinud Daula Bahadur was also educated in the same manner.

Since the members and nobles of the Asman Jahi Paigah were always on cross and antagonistic terms with the English, English could not become popular in this line. On the contrary the nobles of Khursheed Jahi Paigah were on good and friendly terms with the English, so English education was more popular in that branch of the Paigah.

I was sent to the Aliya School at the age of seven. In the beginning we used to go to the school in coaches. All our brothers used to go in two such coaches. But since 1930 we started going by motor cars. We were accompanied by two valets and one discipline caretaker to the school. The lunch was brought to the school in 3 Khwans (arranged and covered

set of meals). A separate room was provided only for the children of the Asman Jahi Paigah for lunch in the Aliya School. The children of the Vicarul Omara family stayed in the Hostel, hence they knew more about common life. This practice was not accepted by our family. When Nawab Waliud Daula Bahadur returned from London after completing his education, he addressed his father Nawab Sir Vicarul Omara as 'Hello Dad'. This highly displeased Nawab Vicarul Omara Bahadur.

Our social relations were confined to very few pupils of the school, who hailed from high and respectable families. The standard of our education in the school was satisfactory. Teachers did not show any discriminatory behaviour toward any of the students.

On very special occasions we used to go to the houses of other nobles. It was, however, not very common or frequent. For the first time at the age of 6 or 7, I accompanied my father for hunting. I killed the first tiger at the age of 13. I have killed 6 tigers in all. Besides, I have also killed about 1000 animals including Sambar, Leopards, Panthers, Spotted deers, Bisons etc. Lakhs of rupees were spent on these hunting expeditions. I was always accompanied by 5 to 7 persons on each occasion. My father, however, was accompanied by a retinue of 150 persons. On such occasion

roads were cleared up and camps installed on the hunting sites. The District Collectors were informed well in advance and made the necessary arrangements.

After the marriage, even I had to take the permission of the H.E.H. for leaving the capital. In hunting, my marksmanship was very good; but my father was excellent in marksmanship and never missed a target.

We practically lived in complete seclusion from the common and public life in our Deodhis. We knew nothing about the world outside. Whatever purchases we made were usually from the two famous shops of M/s. Mir Hasan and M/s. Mohd. Yunus at Abids Road. The bills were either paid in cash by our managers or they were sent to our Deodhi for settlement. During our school days my mother used to give me four annas every day.

We just expressed our needs and desires, but knew absolutely nothing about how they were fulfilled. The means were unknown to us. When my father, Nawab Moinud Daula, passed away I had two children. It was then that for the first time in my life, I came to know about the salary of the Dhobi. After his death there was a big cut in the expenditure. It fell to one tenth of the previous budget. This steep fall in the pattern of expenditure caused a crisis for the first time in my life. This resulted in a bewildering

experience: Ignorance regarding economic pattern of life was a part privilege of the nobles. Even then I could not find a single soul who could warn me about the problems of future. I think the age between 8 to 22 years lays down the course of future life and this period in my life was spent in total ignorance and slumber. During this period no one guided, no one could help us pop into the future. After the marriage I was living in Phisal Banda house.

So after 1942 began the era of economic crisis in my life; a little too late to learn much. It became very difficult to maintain my status and position, and before we could recover, came down us the abolition of Jagirdari. A final blow blasting our boat.

During my father's time I had seven guns. The first jeep in the family was purchased by me. This was the jeep which was used as a pilot car when Qaide Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah came to Hyderabad. My acquaintance with political life started after the world war II. During my father's time I wanted to get into Forest or Police service chiefly to fulfil my hunting pursuits, but my father strongly opposed it. No member of the Paigah family could enter into government service below the rank of a Minister.

Our attitude towards our servants was always patronizing. We were generous towards the families of our servants also.

When new clothes were made for us, all our used and old clothes, even if they were used only a few times, were given away to the servants. They enjoyed all the privileges except eating with us. We, however, had no contacts with the common people. We entered into this brave new world after 1942.

In this way our awakened and pragmatic part of life started after 1942.

We were fed on opinions and advices, but had no experience behind to test and decide about their verity. This often landed us into confusion. The better half, that is my wife, was no better in these worldly matters. The money that comes easy way is not taken with needed seriousness and due care. Inspite of all this, though I may need money very badly today, even then I have failed to develop any greed or desire for money, as such. Value may be the cause of desire. But we knew nothing about the value of money, because our desires were fulfilled without knowing its value.

The old value system being incompatible with the present times, we prefer our children not to know about the old attitudes and values; out of tune out of time, as they have become. Out present compromise with time, if any, is a compromise under pressure and helplesness without any option on our part whatsoever. At times we pass through grave moments of agony and helplessness, which cause us immense

spiritual torture.

For us life has become like walking on a tight rope. However, if we cannot live like Paigah nobles, we will at least try to die like our forefathers by resigning and retiring into oblivion though.

During my father's time every servant thought that he was loved most by him. There are a number of instances which can be quoted to show how favours were showered on the servants, which created this impression, resulting in deep devotion and love for us.

After the abolition of Jagirdari, we passed through strange mental experiences mixed with agony, sense of alienation dislocation and estrongements. For the first time the sense dawned on us that whatever course we would adopt now would decide our place and position in future life. Consequently we started looking askance towards our friends and acquaintances for guidance. We looked for it, but could not ask for it. We were in a most strange position. Completely lost and bewildered; still unable to ask for any advice or help. However, contacts started increasing. Among the people with whom contacts increased, there were old companions of our good old days including some 'respectable' people and smaller Jagirdars. Some of them were businessmen also.

One of them, a district Forest Officer, advised me to take a forest on contract, which was going cheap. But he put a condition for that. That is, while cutting the trees I should cut one foot beyond the area of my contract and give away its sale proceeds to him. At that time I got very angry on this suggestion. This hint of fraud and bribery came as a shock to me. It was an unthinkable suggestion for a man like me. I had never dreamt of any such ting in life. The result was that I withdrew from the bargain although I had already spent a considerable amount on this enterprise. This happened immediately after the Police Action. After this I never thought of entering into any sort of business. During the same period I also entered into partnership with a textile merchant, but in this venture also I ran into heavy losses.

After 1962 I started getting quarterly compensation of Rs.1,760/- This continued till 1967. Whenever I trusted people, I had to pay heavily for the confidence imposed in them. All cheated me. The reason was that I trusted them thinking that they were in close contacts with us from long time and will not betray me in my hard days. But I was too simple to think so. The life outside the Deodhis was of a different complexion and make.

In those days I used to smoke Three Castle cigarettes. Once these cigarettes ran out of market. But a friend of

mine somehow managed to get me Three Castle cigarettes on black rates. Later on I came to know that all the packets that he supplied to me were the same which he had pocketed from my drawing room previously. These were the people with whom we were surrounded in the inner circle of our contacts after entering into the open arena of life.

One great weakness with the nobles was that they always tried to avoid the bare realities of life. Today also this tendency continued particularly in the older generation. This habit of avoidance and keeping distance was more obvious in the families of the bigger nobles.

In my circle of friends and companions, there were usually 6 people after the abolition of Jagirdari. They were my companions of adversity being losers in the gamble games. They in turn tried to capitalise on the last remains. None of these six people were sincere. But I could never make out till the very end. When my condition became absolutely compelling, all of them left me one by one. Now on 10th of April 1976, a new hope of getting some good money from one of our properties has become prospectively possible. One of the old guards is again out to get into my circle.

There was however one gentleman who was sincere. He was really concerned about my affairs and wanted to pull me

out of the mess, but my other friends conspired against him and saw to it that he gets out of the ring. They made me dismiss him from my circle.

The servants, however, are more sincere than the friends. Some of them really feel the change and are grieved on this account. But of course they are themselves in helpless position. After 1953 I completely broke this circle of friends.

Alcohol is a great enemy and a curse on a man's life. This can however get along when there is ample money. Even then it does not help in any way except in helping in squandering away the money. Only wealth can cover this weakness. I had started feeling this thing quite early. One of my birthday celebrations I completely gave up drinking. For about 4 to 5 days after this I suffered from cold and fever, but I did not touch wine. At that time I was living in Deodhi. Some people advised me to drink occasionally, but I used to say:
i.e., occasionally also you should not drink, lest it become a habit.

After this circle of friendship was broken, I never made new friends. My relations with old school mates and others remained only formal.

From 1939 to 1952 I was a member of the Secunderabad Club. Its monthly fees was Rs.200/- .

During childhood days we used to reserve the Excelsior Theatre for seeing movies. The whole theatre used to be reserved for our family. Nawab Moinud Daula also used to go there. After 1936 when we bought a film projector we started seeing movies at home in our own Deodhi.

In 1945 I was camping with my group for purposes of hunting in the forest guest house near North Chanda (then Central Provinces). At that time Mr. Robison, an Englishman, was the District Forest Officer of Chanda. Incidently Mr. Agni Bhoj, Minister of Forest, the then Central Provinces, was also to visit that place at the time while we were staying in the Guest House. Our programme was for three weeks. Mr. Robison asked us to vacate the Guest House on the plea that the Minister was coming over there. But we had booked it in advance. However, it was a delicate problem. The English always looked for opportunities when they could flare up the hostilities between the Hindus and the Muslims. And here was one such opportunity. He wanted to capitalise on this opportunity. However, we only agreed to confine ourselves to one room for the day when the Minister was to pass from there. In fact, we spread our tents etc. under the trees nearby. When the Minister arrived there and came

to know about the whole thing, he was sorry. He, in fact, came out and met me. We sat and ate together. The trick of Mr. Robison did not work. On this hunting expedition Rs.7,000/- (Indian Currency) were spent in those days. Such was the extravagant way, which we could conveniently afford in those days. We used to get ice for Rs.4/- to Rs.5/- per pound from Wardha for our daily consumption.

. For Shikar and such other sports, we had just to inform our father, who would forthwith instruct the managers to advance appropriate amounts. Things came our way. We lived life in full measure completely unaware of the turn of the tide that was waiting just round the corner.

ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDY NO.4 :-

The subject is one of the members of the highest noble families of Hyderabad. He was born in 1922. He was a Paigah noble, the Paigah family being next only to the royal household of the Nizam. The general features of the report are as follows:

(a) The report is more detailed than the other reports, and more personal.

(b) The report gives a very elaborate description of the customs and manners of the nobility and thereby is a very prescious document.

(c) The report, while referring to the general features of the nobility, involves the subject's personality in depth and thereby runs as a personal confession of the problems and the crisis through which the subject has passed.

(d) The report makes within this personal structure certain highly significant observations on the values of the feudal order.

(e) Unlike other reports it gives a very pointed expression of the agony registered by the changed circumstances in the life of the subject; particularly more by the experience of betrayal and deceit on the part of his old friends and associates.

(f) The report is further more significant by the subject's awareness of his own transformation as a person.

The report in the light of the aforesaid features offers enough scope for conceptualization. The subject is deeply conscious of the fact of his ownself, like most of the nobles, being cut away from reality. Ignorance or indifference towards reality is a hall mark of the noble culture. This is brought about by the protection, isolation, sophistication, and self-adequacy which the nobility rested on.

The second important concept that the subject himself talks about is the 'ignorance regarding economic pattern of life'. The noble child learnt how to acquire desires, but was totally ignorant of the means and the resources which fulfilled them. The world of means was unknown to him. The world was only a stage but its problems and tragedies were always kept hidden to touch the consciousness of the noble class.

The third concept which the subject implies is that of trust—not always real, but as a function of the culture of nobility. This trust was fed only by opinions and advice, luxury and privileges but not by direct contact with life and the world. The most significant implication of the foregoing aspect of the culture of nobility was that the possibility of change as a part of life was totally blocked. When change came the entire edifice of the feudal culture collapsed. The subject deals more with the personal consequences of this collapse. The most obvious consequence was economic, but more unbearable for him is the emotional consequence--of total loss of direction and orientation and of bewilderment. Besides this shock, the traditional trust in old values made him incapable of adjusting to changed economic and political conditions.

The views expressed by the subject as detailed above are further supported by the diaries maintained by the Nawab under study. He is a regular writer of diary. As such he has written more than 25 diaries, one for each calender year. Some of these diaries have, however, been lost in the course of the changes that he had to make from one residence to another, several times, of course, under the pressure of circumstances. Nevertheless, the diaries available are very valuable, original documents of his impressions and

expressions. After the death of his father, Nawab Moinud Daula Bahadur, he was exposed to the unruly weather of time, soon to be followed by the cloud burst in the abolition of Jagirdari System in 1949. Ever since then he has felt the rigours of economic stringency, not knowing how to meet it. Used to easy income of money on the one hand and lavish expenditure on the other, he could never know how to adjust. This led to terrible frustration, further multiplied by the betrayal of his old friends and associates. Making a note of his feelings of intense disgust and dejection, he writes in his diary, for instance, concluding the experiences of the previous years, at the end of the year 1975: "these three years that have passed, each and every day of the years have given me more prudence than all the rest of the wasted years. And particularly this 1975 has given the final 'ultimatum' to be on guard even from your own self".

"If your life isn't stable, and you are not secured financially, you are of no consequence, whatever your family standing may have been. So much so, that you have no value in your own home. You are neglected, disobeyed and maltreated.... It becomes so humiliating that one tries oneself to beguile at first. But the awful morbid effects crush your soul slowly and surely, as the molten lava spreads gradually and distroys everything in its course.

I am writing this because I am going through it day and night. I assure you, this is more terrifying than death. I am just abiding with the times, and this has left me culpable in the eyes of my most 'Dear Ones'."

All his diaries are eloquent expressions of similar feelings of total loss of his socio-cultural personality.

The subject unlike other nobles seems to possess a high degree of sensitivity regarding his own internal state of mind and is thereby more conscious of betrayal by friends and relatives. He seems to be a modest man given to melancholy but honorably bearing the burden of change.

In general framework as a part of the cultural series, the report is not a typical one, except in terms of the deep sensitivity of the subject.

S U M M A R Y :-

Before we sum up the findings of the case studies it would be useful to recall some of the important points that emerge from the subjects' statements. The first report supported the conviction in the distinct culture of the nobility. Although the subject did not ignore the weakness of the system, he was firm in asserting the superiority of manners and behaviour of the nobility in general. The course

of conduct of the nobility is presented with a sense of satisfaction and pride. The isolation of the nobility from the general masses created, in the opinion of the subjects, the higher culture. However, they also agree that the excesses of luxury and pride led to the downfall of the noble class.

In the second case study the subject expresses the view that the alienation of the nobility from the masses created an environment which socialises the total personality of the group. After the breakdown of the noble class, its members are exposed to a climate which is unfavourable to their temperament and mental make up. The nobles have also failed to adjust with the new rich class because there is a cultural gap between the rich of the present and the nobility of the past.

The subject of the third case study criticises the views of the nobles who considered their Jagirs to be perpetual. He is realistic in his approach and lashes out at the indolence and carelessness of the Jagirdars for having ignored the forebodings of time. However, he does not say much against the nobility as a class, although he severely attacks the Jagirdars who did not fulfil their responsibilities arising out of their status and power. He seems to be agreeing with the changing trend of time and is in favour of secularism and democracy.

The fourth report is very exhaustive, wherein the subject narrates his personal experiences of failures and disappointments. He is however, convinced of the cultural worth of nobility as a class. The abolition of the Jagirdari System has uprooted the very basis of the nobility. The total personality of the nobles is there-by cut away from the general mass of life. The social and economic life of the nobles was entirely different from the life's modern ways. This has created unimaginable complications in the way of adjustment of the nobles with the present set up. The subject is highly sensitive and seems to have suffered immensely by the betrayal of his friends and relatives.

SOCIOLOGICAL APPRAISAL:-

The foregoing analysis of the case studies could further be explored in terms of two sociological perspectives, framework of reference and definiton of the situation.

(1) Framework of reference: By this we imply the totality of values, standards and views, which consciously or unconsciously determined the mental and social life of the nobility. Each case study was in one way or the other involving this framework of reference. As the culture which was identified with this framework of reference collapsed, the framework became more visible as it contrasted with the popular culture that follows the feudal breakdown. Hence, the degree of awareness of the feudal values present in the

case studies is more a depiction of the loss of those values.

The framework of reference is used by the subjects of the case studies both subjectively and objectively. The subjective use is to ensure for themselves their own psychological identity and also the sense of heritage as a basis of their emotional strength. The objective use of the framework of reference is more in terms of becoming aware of the feudal system as a complex of power and luxury unrelated to the changing political and economic conditions. When the subjects recall the past they recall it in these two subjective and objective forms. More desperate is a situation, more inclined is the subject to the subjective use of the framework of reference.

The case studies shed another light on the framework of values, standards and rules of nobility. The sorrow over the loss of the framework does not allow the subject to clearly perceive that the framework as an objective reality was more a harmonious system from which all the notions of conflict were systematically abolished. Rivalries and jealousies did exist but they did not point to conflict per se. The nobility, therefore, was one of the most systematic social organisations to suppress or set aside conflict as a social form. This was one of the reasons why the nobles, in spite of the individual perceptions,

could not see the social contradictions in the feudal order.

The framework of reference of the feudal values is more of leisure and consumption. The subjects of the case studies were doted in luxury and recreation. These are indirect expressions of the vast leisure the nobility had and also the vast extent they demanded utilities and services. The subjects, again, from within the framework are unable to conceive its elements. Only with the loss of the framework they obtain an arbitrary awareness of the system and its major features. The case studies are a mixture of personal and general account. The relationship between them is brought about by the common framework of reference.

(2) Definition of the situation: The subjects define their present situation in terms of their past framework of reference, but relationship between the two is not simple. It is not that their feudal values make them reject the contemporary values. The relationship between the past and the present is brought about by the subjects in the following ways:

(a) The subjects regard the present situation as different, unrelated and contradictory of their past culture.

(b) They also tend to see a vague connection between the two by referring to the defects of the feudal system as responsible for its collapse and the eventual coming in of the new society.

(c) The relationship between the feudal culture and the new popular culture is through the continuity of the individual lives of the ex-nobles, who vascillate between alienation and maladjustment.

(d) Both alienation and maladjustment are made problematic, because of the economic crisis of the nobility.

Therefore the subjects define the contemporary situation through their own self made images, which conveniently select the aesthetic aspects of culture and the humanitarian content of the feudal ethics to preserve their superiority in the age to which they do not belong. It was as if one age that was dying was facing another that was born and growing fast on them.

The general features of the case studies are as follows:-

(1) More serious is the economic situation of the subject, more is he inclined to recall in detail the past culture and its benefits; and also more easily is he led to complain of betrayal.

(2) More educated and attached to Arts and Letters a subject is, more is he inclined to regard his biography as a material for objective reflection.

(3) More a subject is involved in the practical affairs of his Jagir, more is he inclined to evolve a pragmatic acceptance of the changed conditions.

We can say on the basis of the case studies presented here that the nobility under the Nizams, as it went through economic and political shocks, did not easily surrender its cultural identity and even paid a heavy economic price to

preserve it. It was perhaps a case of psychological satisfaction inward, in the fall of outward economic collapse.

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REFERENCES

1. Maharaja Sri Kishen Pershad was a Premier Noble and former Prime Minister. Nawab Moinud Daula was the noble of the biggest Paigah and Nawab Salar Jung was also a Premier Noble and a former Prime Minister. Whereas Sir Akbar Hyderi was not even a Jagirdar.

2. This is the ceremony of initiation into education in Muslim families. This is started in the name of God by reading a few verses from the first revelation of the Holy Quran.

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NATURE AND IMAGE OF THE NOBILITY

Every social group is a congregation of persons who have a common identity, some feeling of unity and certain goals and norms. The composition of a social group becomes all the more defined, when it takes the form of a social class. As has been discussed in IV Chapter nobility is identified as a class. This is not only economic in nature, although some sociologists give more importance to the economic basis of a social class as its raison d'etre, most of the sociologists, however, attach more importance to other factors of a social class, such as prestige, style of life, attitudes, identification, code of conduct, norms and behaviour etc. It is in this sense that we have to look at the class of nobles under the Nizams.

A study in line with the above warrants us first to probe into the nature and image of nobility as a class and as an institution. By nature we mean those characteristics of the nobility which are associated with its 'pristine' condition.[1] This is to find out what the nobles and the descendant nobles regard as the basic and essential attributes of nobility in the historical perspective, so that we may be able to know its shape and substance before it has come under the pressures of the present forces of change.

The fundamental features of every institution and class, in turn, create their own image in the minds of its members. An image is a mental conception held in common by members of a group. This image is symbolic of basic attitudes and set of values.

While dealing with the image of nobility, we shall try to find out how the descendant nobles recapitulate their traits and behaviour. In doing so it should be remembered that though images are based on past perceptions, they are not simple reflections on these perceptions. They may be based on information as well as imagination underlined by their value expectations. As in case of any other group or class, the nature and image of nobility is bound to be more reflective and subjective than real. It is in this broad connotation that we propose to look at the picture of nobility as depicted by the descendants of the nobles of Hyderabad.

A study of human groups makes us realize that they are the most persistant formations despite the accidents of history. They not only enclose in themselves the energies of society but are also the causes for channelizing these energies for stabilizing or destablizing the social institutions. Any group has its own set of attitudes and predilections, a sort of a belief system, which unites

them and on which they build their own social structure.

The nobles of Hyderabad, as described in Chapter III are born out of a long Muslim Rule established as a distant cousin of the Mughal Rule. These nobles held certain sets of beliefs about themselves. We have taken some of them for our probe. We have prepared six statements along with questions on which the nobles are asked to give their reactions.

These statements cover their images about their own group, which should help us in getting a picture and image of the nobility.

IMAGES OF THE NOBILITY:-

I. STATEMENT:-

Nobility can be regarded as above religion and community.

EXPLANATION:-

This statement aims to know how far the nobility and religion along with community are linked. This is to check if the nobles of Hyderabad, because of the extension of the Mughal Muslim rule in the Deccan continued to derive the strength of their nobility from Muslim religious sources.

BREAK UP OF THE TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

Our survey analysis (see Appendix-A, Table I, Item-1), shows that irrespective of the various age groups, the predominant view is that the nobility is subordinate to religion and community. It signifies that the nobility owes certain responsibility towards religion and community, because perhaps of their being the causes of its emergance and perhaps also because they play an important part in making the mental make up of the nobles. Hence the nobles in return owe something to them.

With regard to the percentage of agreement on this point, it is highest in the case of the youngest, 92.4% (20-30) and lowest in the case of the last but one age group, 80% (41-50). In between come the group second lowest 87.5% (31-40) and 89.6% (above 50). This variation shows the tenacity of the youngest and the oldest groups more towards religion; and the middle ranges are diluted in their attachment to religion as both of them are above 80%.

With regard to those who consider nobility to be above religion and community, the percentage varies from 7.6% in the youngest category to 20% in the last but one highest category. The maximum percentage of 12.5% belongs to the

last but one youngest category. This variation shows that the more experienced in life are tending to subordinate religion and community to nobility taking it to be an elite group emerging over religion and community. Though in the particular stress atmosphere the opposite view seems to prevail in majority, but with the growing of time they tend to be modified in favour of disconnecting nobility from religion.

In total the percentages of disagreement for regarding nobility as above religion and community stands at 87.4% and agreement at 12.6% .

Those percentages in general, combining all age groups, lead us to the conclusion that irrespective of their ages, the nobility in general is highly charged with their attachment to religion and community. Those who wish to keep nobility above religion and community form about one tenth (12.6%) of the total nobles. This is a fraction which should not be regarded as negligible and may gather strength and increase in percentages with the more activist among them.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

Our study of the above statement (Statement-I) as applied to different educationally graded groups (see Appendix-A, Table-II, Item-I) within the same nobility,

we find that the most educated (95%) among them accept nobility to be part and parcel of religion and community. Next to them comes the school educated group (92.5%) and the last are the ordinary literates (66.6%). This in general shows the overtone among the educated of religion in their mental make up.

Those who wish to separate religion from nobility seem to vary between 4.1% (college educated) and 33.4% (ordinary literates). In the middle come the school educated (7.5%). This tendency indicates that the ordinary literates being more associated with the general mass of the people in their life are inclined to dissociate religion from nobility.

In total the percentage of 85.1 is predominantly in favour of mixing nobility with religion, while 14.9% hold the other view. Reviewing our assesment in general it can be said that the more the noble is educated the more he is inclined to recline on religion to strengthen his own position, as religion can be a good emotional instrument to do so. Those who wish to dissociate religion from nobility form more than one tenth of the total. But it should not be forgotten that among this one tenth the major constituents are the less literate. So it can be assumed that the more educated are alienated from the

society, as the general trend in their social behaviour appears to be. Hence their opinion also cannot be regarded to be predominently prevailing.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

Our study of the above statement (I) as applied to income groups within the nobility (see Appendix-A, Table-III, Item-I) reveals that all the six brackets in which the income groups are divided accept the linkage between nobility and religion. In our further analysis it is found that the percentage (100%) seems to be the highest in the third group of the less income groups (100 to 500). Next to that (93.3%) is in the second group of the less income group. In the upper income groups ranging from 500 to above 900 the percentage does not exceed beyond 85.7% . This high percentage of various income groups covering both less income groups and upper income groups apparently display the association of nobility with income and their attitude linking nobility with religion.

With regard to those who wish to delink religion from nobility, our study reveals that the percentage varies from nil and 6.6% to 14.2% . This is really descending to such a low percentage as not revealed earlier. The lowest percentages are in the third and second groups of the less income groups. While in the upper income groups the

percentage varies from 14.2% to 25%, the lowest of the upper income groups and the highest of the same bear the same percentage (14.2%). The middle group and the upper income groups are about one-fourth of their total. Their persuasions to delink religion and nobility are quite weak and perhaps are influenced by their main prop with which they are associated; and from which they draw their main subsistence, that is the state based upon Muslim persuasions.

In total all the six grades of the two income group agree in the percentage 83.4 to link religion with nobility; and 16.6% hold to delink religion from nobility. The latter is slightly more than one-tenth, but it is generally the permanent fraction of the nobility which disagrees with the general trend as we have noticed in the earlier two analysis.

D. CATEGORY OF THE NOBLES:-

Our study of the statement-I, as applied to the categories of nobles (Appendix-A, Table-IV, Item-I) reveals that all the three grades of nobles are of the same view as revealed in the last three independent variables. The percentages vary from 92.3% to 87.5%. Such a predominant view prevailing in all the three categories shows the impact of religion over nobility. The highest percentage of 92.3 is in the middle category, and the

lowest is in Other Jagirdars. This explains that the higher the nobles are in their categories (Paigah and Premier Nobles), the nearer they are to the seats of power associating religion with the State. Descending in the order are the Other Jagirdars, away from the levers of power.

Coming to those who wish to delink religion from nobility, the percentage is lowest in the Premier Nobles, 7.6% through 11.7% (Paigah) to 12.5% (Other Jagirdars). Thus the one-tenth fraction continues to be away from the prevalent trend.

In total the percentage reaches 89.3% associating religion with nobility and descending to 10.6% in disagreement with the above. This is to be noted that the percentage has fallen to 10.6% as distinct from the other lowest percentages revealed in the last three independent variables. It means that this fraction falls mostly in the higher income groups and the higher grades of nobles.

OBSERVATION:-

It is quite clear from the above analysis of the four independent variables that religion and nobility go together in the minds of the nobles of Hyderabad irrespective of their age, education, income and status. One persistent element within them constituting about

one-tenth is persuasive of delinking religion from nobility.

The close relation between the institution of nobility and religion was further checked up by another subsidiary question whereby the descendants of the nobles were asked if they regarded nobility as God given (Table-V, Item-I). The idea was to find out their belief in religion and destiny. As many as 77% of the interviewers agreed with the premise and only 23% did not link up worldly positions with Divine designs. This again confirms their image of nobility as a reflection of religion.

The attitudes of the nobles in this regard became very clear when another similar question was put in a slightly indirect manner. When we tried to find out whether they are more conscious now of their religious identity than they were in the feudal times (Table-V, Item-2), it came to light that 83% respondents disagreed with the question and only 17% agreed with it. This highlights a very important view of the nobles. They seem to link nobility and religion so much with one another that they are inclined to feel that the disintegration or abolition of the Jagirdari System has adversely affected the atmosphere of their faith and belief also. It seems that the changed circumstances, in their opinion of course, are not equally favourable for religious consciousness.

The above statement and subsidiary questions point to the fact that in the minds of the nobles, nobility and religion are linked with one another; and the nobles in the past as well as their descendants at present derive inspiration and strength from the sources of religion.

SOME CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN RELIGION & NOBILITY BEHAVIOUR:

II. STATEMENT:-

If nobility is regarded to be linked with historical origins mixed with religion, it may be possible that in the frame of working behaviour of the nobles some contradictions may arise, because of certain tenets of religion not being observed in practice.

EXPLANATION:-

The statement is particularly posed to expose a contradiction that may arise when the nobility, linked with religion, as expressed in the earlier statement, may lead to certain deviation from the tenets of religion in actual practices of the nobles. This is stated particularly to examine certain religious principles relating to inheritance and other aspects of life, wherein the nobles in practice do not abide by them. For instance, the eldest son of a noble gets the largest share and not equal share with other brothers. This may be to stabilise the continuity of the estate, though at the same time, it may not be in full agreement with the Muslim laws of inheritance.

BREAK UP OF THE TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

Analysing the statement and applying it to the age groups (Table-I, Item-II) we find that all the four groups express their disagreement, holding that there is no contradiction between nobility and religious frame of working. The disagreement is the highest in the age group (20-30) 92.8%, through (31-40) 81.2%, (41-50) 83.3%, to above 50 (85.7%). This means that in all they are in agreement in large percentages and see no contradiction between the nobles' practices and religious beliefs. This may be true and they are not so careful about small practices of day today life, which are more determined by economic factors rather than religious. As long as they continue to have their faith in religion in outer whole they do not mind some deviations within, as they seem to be more interested in the continuity and stability of the noble social structure.

With regard to agreement the maximum percentage is 18.7% in the age group (31-40) through 16.6% (41-50) and 14.2% above 50 to 7.1% (20-30). The minimum percentage of agreement is in the age group (20-30). This may be because they are not yet acquainted with the problem in their working frame. They take both religion and nobility

to be part and parcel without qualms. But as we proceed we find that the percentage in agreement increases more so in the middle ranges who are more in confrontation with the problems of adjustment and where the deprivations are more keenly felt. In the age group above 50 the percentage is again reduced to 14.2% which can be explained as the elders are now fully integrated into the social structure and the thought process of the nobility.

In totality the general adherence in large percentage (86%) appears to find no distinction by contrast between the practices of the nobles and religious tenets upholding the stability of nobility to be more important than the persuance of strict religious principles subject to modification under socio-economic circumstances. The presence of near one-fifth of the nobles holding the opposite view means that the contradictions are seen though not noted and are apparently glossed over by the compulsions of socio-economic living.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL :-

Applying the statement to educational level (Table-II, Item-II) we find that all the three see no contradiction between the practices of nobility and religious belief. The percentages range from the maximum 100% (literates) through 87.8% (school educated) to 79.2% (college educated). This

heavy disagreement is evident of the fact that the less literate deliberately do not see any contradiction though few among the school and college educated find some. The more educated one is, the more he sees of the other side and hence the difference in percentages. The more educated may also be aware of the difficulties that may arise in conciliating the two, the religious practices and noble behaviour.

With regard to the agreement the percentage varies from nil (literates) through 12.2% (school educated) to 20.8% (college educated). This clearly indicates the rising in number of those who see contradiction more as they are more educated. This small number, about one-fifth, is indicative of the awareness of possible differences in theory and practice between the two.

In totality the percentage (86%) is heavy in not seeing any contradiction, supporting with additional intellectual argument their own economic stability and subordinating or modifying their religious belief. The small group of less than one-fifth (14%) may still see the contradiction but they are muffled over by the stream roller majority. But the presence of this minority of opinion, however small, may explain the presence of the contradiction.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

Looking into the income groups table (Table-II,Item-II), we find the disagreement start with 100% with the lowest income and rise to 75% with the highest income. In the midrange the middle income group varies from 68.8% to 100%. In the three grades, in general, the percentages appear to be definitely titled on the side of no contradiction between nobility and religious belief with 88%. This is very remarkable in the sense that the income plays an important part in their belief, because in their economic community life the religious differences are mixed and sometimes even compromised to maintain the economic gains. This is more prominently visible as we descend down to lower income groups. The percentage of agreement with the statement is the lowest in the highest group with 25% .

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

Applying the statement to the categories of nobles (Table-IV, Item-II), we find that the Other Jagirdars to the extent of 90.6% disagree, the Paigah nobles have 85.7% disagreement and the Premier Nobles 76.9% . In general the percentage of disagreement comes to 84% .

In analysing the agreement the lowest is 9.4% in case of the Other Jagirdars and the highest is 23.1% in the case of the Premier Nobles. In general it comes to about 16%.

Putting both the disagreement and agreement together we can confirm the general disagreement with mixing religious belief and nobility. This leads to a fair assessment where we can see the subordination of religious belief to nobility, which is predominantly based on their economic power.

OBSERVATION:-

Surveying all the four tables, just studied in detail in this particular statement, we find a total disregard towards mixing religion with nobility. Our object was to find out possible contradictions in their behaviour from the prescribed tenets of religion. This may be because some of the practices adopted in the behaviour of the nobles, though deviating from religion are entrenched enough in social practices, so as to see no deviation or they may be finding support in their behaviour from socio-religious practices as prevalent in their like groups of nobles, particularly we were concerned with the inheritance laws of the Muslims, wherein the property is to be distributed in fixed proportions among the children according to the sexes. In the case of the nobles it appears that they rigidly observe the allocation of largest share to the eldest among the brothers. In our further probe we have not been able to find them deviating from the observance of religious beliefs in their social practices. But it cannot be denied

that the religion was only an aid so long as it continued to permit the flow of income in their hands. It was often seen that the nobles differed in their social behaviour irrespective of religious beliefs from other members of the community, particularly in the form of demonstrative observances of religious festivities and other religious ceremonies that are usually performed throughout the year.

SUPERIORITY OF ANCESTRAL STATUS:

III. STATEMENT:-

Nobility is based on the superiority of ancestral status.

EXPLANATION:-

This statement is drafted to know how far the present members of the nobility have belief and faith that their present superiority is derived from the superiority in status of their ancestors. This concept of superiority is not further broken into its inner components of racial, cultural, political, feudal or any other factor, but the total composite concept of superiority, that is passed on from generation to generation.

BREAK UP OF THE TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

Our analysis of the above statement (Appendix-A, Table-I, Item-III), shows that in all the age groups, the

nobles regard the superiority of their ancestral status as a part of their nobility. The percentage varies from 100% in (20-30) to 80% in (41-50) group. The highest percentages are in the two lowest groups 100% and 93.3% . The lowest percentage is in the middle range, that is 80%. In general, to cover all the age groups, it can be said that they all regard present nobility to be an outgrowth of their ancestral noble roots. This also indicates that they have more to drive from the past than from the present. This may be also because their faith in superior ancestral status is not merely a historical growth, but also a sustaining force in the present.

Analysing the disagreement with the statement, we find that the highest is in above 50 age group (27.5%), and the lowest is nil in (20-30) group. It means that their disagreement begins with zero and rises to the maximum of 27.5% with midranges of 20% and 6.6% . This disagreement is more in the above 50 age group and may be born of the outworn faith in the past yielding nothing in substance. The below 30 group may begin with more faith in the past, which gradually dries up as they grow up.

In the total percentages, the agreement amounts to 86.4% and disagreement to 13.6% . This, in short, keeps up with the trend that over 10% still continue to be out

of tune with the major trend within the community. This may be regarded as submerged under the mighty iceberg.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

Continuing the probe and applying it to educational level (Table-II, Item-III), we find that all the three grades of the three levels of education predominantly have faith in the superiority of ancestral status. The percentages varying from 85.7% to 68% . The school educated group bear 76.8% . This is no new revelation, though it is clear that the percentage of the highest educated group is less than the percentage of the mere literates. This means that education does not make a great dent in the belief heritage of the nobility having faith in the superiority of their ancestral status. This is borne of their awareness of the exploits of their ancestors recorded in history.

With regard to the disagreement the percentage varies from 14.3% in the literates to 32% in college educated, with the school educated having 23.2% . This disagreement has remarkably higher percentage in the highest educated, which declines with less and less educated. This may be because the college educated start knowing about the new components coming in the formation of superior status like intellectual abilities, manipulative skills, political linkages and other factors.

Analysing the statement in total covering all the three levels of education, we find that the percentage with agreement is 76.8% and the disagreement is 23.2% . For the first time we find that disagreement with a statement is ranging near one-fourth and crossed over the usual one-tenth and even the one-fifth. This is manifest only because of the spread of education among the nobles, though education has not been able to change the reliance of the predominant among the community on the past achievements.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

All the six groups agree (Table-III, Item-III), that they derive their superiority from their ancestral status. The percentages range from 100% to 66.6%. The percentage in the lower income groups are higher (100% in below 100 group, and 87.5% in 101 to 300 group and 100% again in 301 to 500 group.) The percentages are lower in the upper income groups 83.3%, 66.6% and 66.6%. The lower income groups having faith in their ancestral superior status is quite natural because the scarce economic resources cannot sustain them in the position of superiority without being supplemented by their faith in ancestral status. The lesser percentages in the upper income group can be explained as they have been able to supplement their resources and are in a position to put less and less reliance

on their ancestral heritage of status.

With regard to the disagreement, we find it is almost nil in the lesser income group and in the upper income group the disagreement varies from 16.6% to 33.3%. The maximum disagreement of 12.5% in the middle of the less income group (101-300) is not very significant in view of the nil disagreement of the other two groups of the less income groups. What is significant to us is the disagreement rising to one-third (33.3%) in the two upper groups of upper income group. The group 501-700 bearing 16.6% is more in line with the less income group. So we can say that gradually the disagreement with the reliance on ancestral status increases in this study in line with the other two, which we have just made.

In total the percentage comes with the agreement to 84% and with disagreement to 16% . More than four-fifth of the nobility rely on the superiority of their ancestral status, while nearly one-fifth do not rely on it. This fraction is indicative of a brewing dissatisfaction which is yet to boil up.

D. CATEGORY OF THE NOBLES:-

In all the three categories (Table-IV, Item-III), the agreement with the statement varies between 91.1% (Ordinary Jagirdars) through 100% (Premier Nobles) to 58.8% (Paigah Nobles).

It can be explained that the Other Jagirdars with ordinary status cannot [illegible] cling to the superiority of their ancestral status. The Paigah Nobles cannot rely wholly on that alone as they have already enhanced their own status through other resources.

The disagreement varies from 8.8% (Ordinary Jagirdars) to 41.2% (Paigah Nobles). This disagreement is a natural consequence of their economic resources which play a large part in categorisation of the nobles. The largest percentage of disagreement came from the Paigah Nobles, who are very largely breaking away from the ancient forms and norms of nobility to the new ways of living, which have played a great part in reinforcing their higher status.

In totality the percentage with agreement of the statement is 83.3% and disagreement is 16.7%. This again confirms that more than one-tenth fraction disagrees with the main trend. It is in line with the studies of the other three independent variables.

OBSERVATION:-

In analysis of all the four independent variables the reliance on superiority of ancestral status is quite manifest. We should not ignore an important fraction of the nobility ranging from not less than one-tenth in any case and ranging almost to one-fourth which persists in disagreeing

with the main trend. Though overlaid it is not fully dead.

This belief in ancestral superiority was further subjected to two subsidiary questions:

(1) Do you regard nobility as socially superior? (Table-I, Item.3).

(2) Do you regard nobility as racially superior? (Table-V, Item.4).

In the case of the former about 66% agreed and in the case of the latter 60% agreed to strengthen their belief in the superiority of nobility. These two subsidiary answers to the questions add further into the weight of their belief. Though the predominence is quite prominent, we cannot ignore the dissent of 34% in the first and 40% in the latter.

On the whole it is quite imminent from the three aspects: ancestral, social and racial, that the nobility emerges out to be at the pedestal quite above the other groups in belief as well as in position.

MAN TO MAN EQUALITY:

IV. STATEMENT:-

A child born is endowed with certain human qualities; as such, men are basically equal in themselves and should be regarded as equal.

EXPLANATION:-

This statement is placed before the interviewees to know how far they can reconcile themselves with man to man equality on one hand and the concept of nobility on the other hand, which places them as members of the group above others in graded superior position.

A. AGE GROUP:-

Taking the age group table (Appendix-A, Table-I, Item-IV), we find that the agreement with the statement is quite apparent in all the four groups; with the highest percentage (86.6%) of last but one group (41-50) and the lowest (78.6%), in the earliest age group (20-30). The oldest age group has a percentage of 82.8% and the group above the youngest has 81.3% .

Dealing with the disagreement we find that it is the lowest (13.3%) in the group (41-50) just above the oldest (above 50), and the highest disagreement comes in the youngest group with 21.4% . In the middle are two groups:

(i) with 18.7% (31-40) one above the youngest,
(ii) with 13.3% (41-50) one above the oldest.

In general the agreement percentage is as high as 82.4% and disagreement comes to 17.6%.

In explaining the agreement with the statement it can be said that basically the concept of equality of man is accepted but as the young in their own atmosphere regard themselves to be different from others, the sense of equality is not strong. So the percentage is low. As they grow up they realise that mere sense of difference and inequality would not work. So by their sheer sense of reality they conform with the universal sense of equality. The disagreement seems to be quite low and gradually diminishes to a low percentage amounting to almost a little more than one-seventh. This is natural in a society when belief and behaviour do not coincide.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

With regard to the educational levels (Table-II, Item-II), the agreement with the statement is the highest (87.8%) among the school educated and the lowest (66.6%) with the literates. The college educated have 80%.

With regard to disagreement with the statement the highest percentage (33.4%) is with the literates and the lowest (12.2%) is with the school educated. With the college educated the disagreement is limited to 20%.

In general the agreement amounts to 78.2% and disagreement to 21.8% .

The agreement with the statement is widely spread in all the three groups and with high percentages. This shows that the knowledgeable among the nobles accept the equality of men in basic terms. As they are educated in higher grade the disagreement is reduced, showing that the education improved their understanding to accept the equality of man. With the college education the descendant nobles acquire not only more stock of knowledge but also greater experience with life. Hence the agreement is slightly reduced in percentage and disagreement rises in percentage. Looking at the same thing from another angle it can be said that the descendant nobles, whatever may be their inward inhibitions, cannot but accept the basic equality of man in terms of humanity and also in social understanding. It is not necessary that this acceptance of basic equality because of education would always be reflected in action, but it can be generally expected of them to behave according to their belief.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

When we apply this to the income groups (Table-III, Item-II), we find that the two lowest groups (below 100 and 100 to 300) have 100% agreement. Among the rest the agreement of the same order comes with the last but one income group (701-900). Among the rest the agreement varies between 73.4%

(above 900), 85.7% (501-700) and 66.6% (301-500). Among the disagreement the nil is presented by three groups with 100% agreement as given above. The highest disagreement comes from the group of 301-500 and the lowest next to that 500 to 700. The highest group (above 900) presents disagreement of 26.6%.

In general the agreement is as high as 87.6% and disagreement is as low as 12.4%.

As in the case of age group and educational levels, income groups also present a widely spread agreement with the statement. This is to be noted as the percentage in all the groups are quite high. The disagreement coming to one-third (33.4%) is in the income group 301-500. This means that the real tussle starts in the third income group (301-500) when the ideals of nobility grapple with the economic compulsion. But as they rise in income group they soon realize that mere adherence to social terms of nobility would not do. Hence the disagreement falls down to the extent of being insignificant (0%) in the income group 701 to 900. But as they rise in income they begin to assume economic power and acquire social superiority thereby to some extent. Hence the disagreement rises to about one-fourth from almost zero.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

If the same statement is applied to the categories of nobles (Table-IV, Item-IV), the agreement is lowest in the case of the Ordinary Jagirdars (77.7%), and the highest in the Premier Nobles (92.4%), and in the middle come the Paigah Nobles with 84.6%.

The disagreement is the lowest among the Premier Nobles (7.6%), and the highest among the Ordinary Jagirdars (22.3%), and in the middle come the Paigah Nobles with 15.4%.

In total the agreement percentage is 84.9% and disagreement comes to 15.1% .

Thus in general it can be said that all the categories of nobles in high percentages agree with the statement. The disagreement of the Other Jagirdars is the highest because in this economic position it is difficult for them to hold a rigid and strong position, as they are confronted with the economic deals in every day of their life more than the other two categories, where economic power coincides with the social position. Hence the disagreement among them comes to very low percentage. The categories of nobles and the economic income groups are the same, one representing the combination of economic and social status and the other determined merely by economic income. The differences altogether disappear.

OBSERVATION:-

The descendants of the nobles have found it difficult to differentiate between man and man in theory. Their socio-religious consciousness is embeded in the thought that all men are equal and as such it is difficult for them to recoil from the concept. How far this may be true in their behaviour is not their concern at present, though instances of deviation from this can be shown oft and on. It cannot be denied that initially they are moved by the concept of man as man and regard man and man to be equal, but when the tussle between the nobles' ideal and economic position comes in, compromises have to be made. Hence we find the dissent percentages increasing as the economic position improves. However much they may be moved by theoretical concept in their social behaviour, they are bound by their manners, habits and family constraints and they have found it difficult to observe the theory in practice. Sometimes they are compelled by the secular law around, which regards all men in principle to be equal before law.

In our subsidiary question (Appendix-A, Table-V, Item-6), regarding this there has been about 97% agreement and only 3% disagreement. This shows that their concept of equality is equally derived from social, moral, religious and juristic sources, wherein equality concept is quite entrenched.

If deviations have come in they are no aspersions on them, as their behaviour are bound by social environment in which they are bred and brought up.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION - MAN MADE:

V. STATEMENT:-

Ours is a society graded with stratification. These differences of high and low are determined by the social circumstances and economic factors. Hence they are man made; as such, organised by men.

EXPLANATION:-

This statement is aimed to confront the interviewees with the main problem of social stratification in which they and their predecessors have an important place and role in stabilising the stratification. The descendants of the nobles have inherited these differences and abide by them in practice. The question is posed before them to examine if they accept such stratification to be man made.

A. AGE GROUP:-

Among the age groups (Table-I, Item-V), the analysis shows that the highest percentage of acceptance (92.4%) is in the two age groups (20-30, 31-40). The lowest percentage is in the highest group (above 50). With regard to disagreement the lowest is (7.6%) in the last age group (above 50).

In general the acceptance percentage is 85.2% and that of disagreement is 14.8%.

Though there is a general agreement spread over in all the groups with regard to the statement, one significant note may be made of the age group above 50 with 59.3% as a percentage of agreement. The decline from 92.4% is significant. As the descendants of nobles grow in age they begin to discard the old beliefs and begin to imbibe the new trends, where manipulation of high and low positions in society do come in. The older seem to be not sure of the ethics of manipulated social positions wherein high and low are determined for ever irrespective of other factors. The older the nobles are, the greater is the percentage of disagreement and the greatest is in the age group above 50 confirming the conflict that is raging in their minds between the old tenets and the new trends about which they have not been able to take a firm stand.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

The agreement with the statement (Table-II, Item-V), is the highest among the literates 100% with school educated 75.6% and college education 75%.

The disagreement rises from zero in the literates through 24.4% in the school educated to 25% in the college educated.

In general the percentage of acceptance is 83.6% and non-acceptance is 16.4%.

The less educated accept what has been inherent in the social order without much questioning. With more of education the substance of the social order is put to scrutiny. Hence the acceptance falls down, though not considerably. There is little difference between the school educated and the college educated as the social gradation is reflected also in their schools and colleges in which they were educated (The Aliya School or the Jagirdar College). Education seems to have no impact on their attitude of change with regard to the social order in which they were born, bred and brought up, though one-fourth of them persisted to disagree.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The highest percentage of agreement (Table-III, Item-V), (100%) with the statement comes from the two income groups (301-500 and 501-700). The lowest (66.6%) is in the income group below 100. The other groups come in the order 73.4% (101-300), 75% (701-900) and 71.4% (above 900).

The disagreement is highest (33.4%) in the income group below 100 descending to 28.6% in above 900, 26.6% in 101-300, 25% in 701-900 and ultimately to zero in the two income groups (301-500 and 501-700).

In general there appears to be a widely spread acceptance of the statement in all the income groups with the real centpercent support coming in from the middle income groups (301-500, 501-700). The percentage of acceptance rises with the rise in income in a wider sense though not in strict graph rise. But it is apparent that the income determines the position which they hold in society. The change is perceptible in the middle groups and it is maintained broadly in the later higher income groups though with dissent also. To regard social position as organised coincides with the opinion of the higher income brackets, as it suits them and mixes the one with the other.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

In the categories of nobles (Table-IV, Item-V), the highest percentage of acceptance is 85.4% in the case of the Ordinary Jagirdars and the lowest 54.6% in the case of the Premier Nobles, with the Paigah Nobles having 73.4%.

With regard to the dissent the highest percentage (45.4%) is with the Premier Nobles and the lowest (14.6%) with the Ordinary Jagirdars, and the Paigah Nobles having 26.6% .

In general the agreement percentage is 71.2% and disagreement is 28.8% .

The significant fact to be noted is that the Premier Nobles are rather divided over the statement, because it is they who lie in the middle position in which they gain and lose equality in abiding by the statement, because they feel that they have inherited something, which may not be sustainable in the pressure of economics and may be continued only by compromises between the two. The Ordinary Jagirdars are definitely of the view that these differences are organised and they need to be changed as they are at the loser's end. The Paigah Nobles are speaking from their entrenched position in which they feel secure and safe to say that the differences are organised by men and it may not be easy for others to change the position as the economic power may not permit the changes to upset them. The percentage of dissent among the Paigah Nobles has risen considerably from the Other Jagirdars' dissent showing the conflict in their mind because of the changed circumstances which is also quite confirmed by the higher age group and also by those in the higher income groups.

OBSERVATION:-

It appears that in all the four breaks up of the table, there is a common stand towards regarding the social stratification as made by men. This is easy for them to take the stand as such in theory. This is also strengthened by the prevalent social consciousness which has accepted

these stratifications to be part and parcel of the social structure, resigning themselves to the fate and sharing the consequent responsibility without probing into the causes and without any qualms of conscience. This is perhaps beyond them and it would not be proper morally also to blame them for not taking steps to unmake what can be regarded as already given to them.

This has been subsequently confirmed by a subsidiary question put to them. In the question: Do you regard social differences among men as natural? (Table-V, Item-6), 56% of them have disagreed. This means that they take the social gradation to be a part of their heritage, supported by social consciousness accepting such gradation.

In another question: Do you regard the social differences among men to be caused by an acquisition of .roperty? (Table-V, Item-7). It is interesting to find that the descendant nobles have not been able to make up their mind definitely as the percentages are 50:50% for yes as well as for no. This means they are too much in doubt to disown what they have; and at the same time they are not ready to be dispossessed of what they have acquired. This is quite a queer position indicative of the situation in which they are poised, when the Jagirdari System is abolished and in its insecurity they have to depend upon the little they are left with to subsist on.

This is quite clear that a very strong element among them is thrown into the open society to face the situation on the concept of equality in belief as well as in behaviour.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION - NATURAL AND PERMANENT:

VI. STATEMENT:-

The values associated with old social stratification were regarded by predecessor nobles as natural and permanent. The descendants of the nobles now aspire to uphold them.

EXPLANATION:-

This statement is an attempt to know the mind of the descendant nobles about the hierarchical values in which the social status of a person in a society is determined according to the various grades of high and low that are recognised and followed in every day life. There are certain values associated with this concept which influence their social behaviour. The predecessor nobles strictly followed them. This statement attempts to know if the descedant nobles also accept them and practice them.

BREAK UP OF TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

In the age group (Table-I, Item-II), the highest disagreement comes from the youngest (20-30) and also the oldest (above 50) with equal percentages of 76.9%. In the

middle come the two age groups of 31-40 with 61.5% and 41-50 with 60%.

In agreement the highest percentage (40%) comes from the age group 41-50 followed by the age group 31-40 with 38.5% and the youngest and the oldest having 23.1%.

In general the disagreement percentage is 68.8% and of agreement is 31.2%.

In all the age groups the disagreement is quite apparent regarding the hierarchical values to be natural and permanent. It is interesting that the youngest still hold on to hierarchical values in spite of the changed circumstances, thinking perhaps that this attitude will enable them to linger on. But the oldest are now matured enough to regard these values to be subject to change. What are more important are the middle groups, who appear to be more influenced and not so much inclined to regard these hierarchical values to be natural and permanent. The youngest who have disagreed in larger percentage are bound to be influenced by the higher age groups as they grow in age.

The dissenting element in the middle range of age groups rise to 40% approximately, which is strong enough to change the trends in favour of change in the old hierarchical values. In general also the core for change remains strong enough.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

In the educational level (Table-II, Item-VI), the disagreement percentage is highest (100%) among the literates and the lowest among the college educated (62.5%), with school educated having 75%.

The assent rises from zero percent among the literates to 37.5% among the college educated and 25% among the school educated.

In general the percentage of disagreement is 79.5% and of agreement is 20.5% .

The disagreement with regard to the permanancy of hierarchical values is generally applicable in all the three educational levels. The literates are more widely spread and contacting among the people; so they are definitely out for change. The same also are the school educated. The college educated seem to be inclined more towards the permanancy though not in higher percentage. It may be, because they wish to strengthen their stand because of their wider knowledge and the inspirations derived from historical antecedants, favouring such differences. In general it can be safely said that the descendant nobles are set on the road to change.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The highest percentage of disagreement (Table-III,Item-VI), comes from the middle range groups of 301-500 and 501-700 with 93.7% followed by the higher income groups of 701-900 and above 900 with 75%, and the lower groups 101-300 with 68.7% and below 100 with 66.6% .

The agreement percentage is highest (33.4%) in the income group below 100 followed by the income group 101-300 with 31.3% and the higher income groups of 701-900 and above 900 with 25% in each. The lowest agreement percentage is 6.3% in the middle range income group of 301-500 and 501-700.

In general the disagreement percentage is 64.5% and agreement is 35.5% . It can be said that generally all income groups are disagreeing with the hierarchical values to be natural and permanent. The middle range groups hold the key towards change with their highest percentages. It is they who really feel the pinch of the changes around. The lower income groups appear to be rather still traditional and holding on the old values, perhaps, because of a vain hope to get more from the old status. The higher income groups are stable in their opinion because of secure economic position, which is not likely to be shaken by the changes at least for the present. In general it can be said that the descendant nobles' society in all income groups is

ready to regard the hierarchical values to be not natural and permanent.

D. CATEGORIES OF NOBLES:-

Among the categories of nobles (Table-IV, Item-VI), the highest percentage (85%) of disagreement comes from the Other Jagirdars and the middle (61.5%) among the Premier Nobles and the lowest (38.4%) among the Paigah Nobles.

The agreement percentage is highest (61.6%) among the Paigah Nobles and the lowest (15%) among the Other Jagirdars and 38.5% among the Premier Nobles in the middle.

In general the percentage of disagreement is 61.6% and agreement is 38.4% .

In general it can be said that disagreement is predominantly among the two groups, the Other Jagirdars and the Premier Nobles, with a significant difference of opinion among the Paigah Nobles regarding the hierarchical values to be natural and permanent. This indicates the formulation of opinion to be conditioned by the socio-economic position which they held in society. The Paigah Nobles with a long history and economic security find it easy to hold on to the old values which is not the case with the Premier Nobles and the Other Jagirdars. The Other Jagirdars are the most affected of the three, both economically and socially.

They look towards the future for a change, hoping for the better. The Premier Nobles also feel for a change though not so intensively in percentage.

In general it can be said that it is the predominant number of the Other Jagirdars and the Premier Nobles that sets the trend for the changeability in the hierarchical values in future.

OBSERVATION:-

It is very interesting to note and it is in line with the other stands which they have taken in our study. The descendant nobles do not agree with the statement in general covering almost all the groups in four independant variables. This is again to accept the change in attitude in theory and to be prepared to meet the changes in society that have overtaken them. No longer is their social and economic position entitling them an apex status as a permanent feature of the society. Hence, perhaps, they are decided in their mind to regard such differences and hierarchical values as artificial and not natural and also to feel that they are not to last long even if they were very persistent in the past.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS:-

In our survey study we have concentrated our attention

on the nature and image of nobility. We have taken in all six statements with subsidiary questions to have the prevailing view of the descendants of nobles on the nature and image of nobility in their mind. These six statements can be broadly divided into two: (1) a set of them covering the nature of nobility as prevalent among the nobles under the Nizams' regime; (2) a set of statements probing the main feature of the sense of superiority as an important element in the image of nobility.

In the first set of questions, the association of religion and community seemed to be quite clear in their mind, derived from the origins and sources of the Muslim Mughal nobility. This is a significant part of the nobility under the Nizams. Our questionnaire was also aimed at the Muslim nobles who formed the predominant majority, though a springling of Hindu nobles were included in the Nizam nobility. We are unable to get their reaction over religion as a component of nobility. To regard religion to be a part of the Nizam's nobility was easy for them, as religion was the binding element between the Nizam as almost the ruling sovereign and the nobility. Its continuous sustenance depended upon the continuity of the Nizam's regime.

With regard to another important element in the nature of nobility was the possible contradiction between belief and behaviour. Our study has revealed that though religion

was regarded as a part of nobility, the precepts of religion in strict detail were not binding. Hence, there was apparent acceptance of religion mixed with nobility on one hand and the performance of its precepts on the other. The gaps between the two were glossed over by social practices, ignoring the tenets of religion and obtaining sanctions for their social behaviour from age old practices, incorporated to be part and parcel of the social structure.

With regard to the second set of statements concerning the superior image of nobility based on ancestral status, it has been continuously supported through acceptance of social and racial superiority. In principle basic equality of man has been accepted as drawn from socio-religious sanctions, this has glided them into the acceptance of the principle of equality before law as well. This basic equality is merely an affirmation in principle which may or may not always be followed in practice.

That is why perhaps they accept social stratification to be not only man made but also natural. An interesting strain in this study has been to regard social differences among men to be caused by acquisition of property, though with regard to this the opinion was equally divided.

The most over-laying opinion has been the acceptance of old social stratification as natural and permanent. This is

really the main tenet of nobility, whereby they occupy the apex position in the social order of things. One point should not be ignored. Apart from these seeming combinations of religion with noble community and the acceptance of superiority of nobles within it, there has consistantly been an important fraction, though not an overwhelming one disagreeing with the above stand. They dissociate religion from nobility and regard the social stratification not to be natural and permanent. This persistent disagreement with the main trend, continuously present in our study, shows that the consensus and the dissensus co-exist, though the former is overwhelmingly predominant and the latter is significantly small. To us its very presence is important, because it can be taken as a seed which in the present circumstances may be nursed into a sappling and may sprout to spread over the likely changes that may occur in the values and behaviour of the descendant nobles.

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REFERENCE

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TRAITS AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Human beings live in the realms of action and end;[1] and the interplay between the two directs and determines their social behaviour. This process helps in the formation of the entire network of human relations underlined by norms, values and cultural traits. Human action is motivated by mutual interest and it is in this context that human personality develops. Beside psychologists like Mead, Max Weber used and emphasized social action as the basis for his theory of the social type. In all types social behaviour implies the response of one or more persons towards others. These responses are in consonance with the challenges of time, which again are guided and designed by the values held and traditions followed by the individuals or groups. The entire fabric of social behaviour evolves the network of social relationships in a given social system.

Social behaviour is a very general term but when we look at it in the back ground of a particular cultural system we find that they are in line with the continuity of a specific cultural trait held by an individual or a group. A trait is the simplest and the most significant action unit

of a culture. Every culture complex constitutes a whole network of traits. Many traits may be common to different cultures but they have certainly varying degrees of importance in each culture complex, and it is this position of a trait in a given group life that gives traits their contextual importance. Each culture has such a large number of traits that it is very difficult to encompass even the most important ones in any analysis and discussion. However one has to be selective keeping in view the total social milieu so as to describe the whole situation without distorting the picture and image of groups as visualised by the members of the group. An understanding of a culture, therefore, depends on the analysis of its traits[2] and behaviour of the members of the group.

In the present chapter we have tried to probe into the traits and social behaviour which are predominently present in the descendants of the nobles of Hyderabad. It could not be possible, however, to go into the detail of all the traits, therefore, we have taken a select few that we consider relevant to the needs of our study, particularly in their process of change over from old to the new system of arrangements. We have taken some statements eliciting their views on them in order to trace the traits.

These traits are traced because they confirm the nobles'

behaviour in society and gauge their withdrawal or participation in general social intercourse. They also confirm their group behaviour. They are also indicative of their strength as a group through their repeated actions in the society in the same manner.

LOYALTY OF NOBLES:-

I. STATEMENT:-

Among the traits of nobility are attachment and loyalty to the state power structure emphasizing the status quo. The descendant nobles also follow their predecessors in this respect.

EXPLANATION:-

This statement is placed before the interviewees to enquire if this trait of loyalty which is commonly associated with the nobles, particularly to the state which is usually responsible for, stabilising the situation, the power balance as well as the continuity of their position is a constant in their behaviour. This trait of attachment and loyalty is a natural consequence of their power sharing position which these nobles usually enjoyed.

BREAK UP OF THE TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

Our study of the statement as applied to the age groups (Appendix-A, Table-VI, Item-I), reveals that there is a general disagreement with the statement in the first three age groups (20-30, 31-40, 41-50) with varying percentages in a declining order (81.4%, 78.5%, 66.6% respectively). This is noticeable because it indicates to regard loyalty to be associated with state power and status quo as a permanent trait among them.

There is a definite change in the age group above 50 with regard to their percentage being only 35.8% . This is a reversal of the trend in the earlier three groups. It may be because this age group is sufficiently old to be grounded into the state power structure and to hold the view of loyalty to the state as a permanent trait. Their percentage of agreement comes to about 64.2% . A further analysis may also indicate that the element of agreement in this group has jumped up to almost double (from 33.3% to 64.2%) in percentage with the previous group in the order (41-50). It may be because the earlier group or groups were not drawn into the process of power and decision making being younger in age and being away from the change and being distant witnesses to the take over that took place in 1948. They were further shaken by the abolition of the Jagirdari System that

overwhelmed them in 1949.

Dealing with agreement with the statement we find that the percentage increases from 11.5% through 21.4% to 33.3% in the age groups 20-30, 31-40 and 41-50 respectively. This increase is indicative of the fact that as the nobles grew in age, they became closer witnesses to the power politics of the state and gradually were imbibing these traits of the nobles, though not in a matured manner, which we have seen in the case of the matured nobles above the age of 50.

The analysis in totality indicates the percentage of disagreement to be 67.3% and agreement to be 32.7%. This heavy percentage of disagreement is the result of a large number drawn from the earlier three groups who have joined and turned the balance in favour of disagreement, though there is one significant exception of the age group of above 50.

The agreement percentage remains 32.7% which is almost one-third and confirms the general trend associating loyalty of the nobles to the state power. This may be a small number, but it no doubt reaffirms the presence of this trait of loyalty among the nobles.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVELS:-

Applying the educational level (Appendix-A, Table-VII, Item-I), our study reveals that both the literates and the school educated disagree and do not regard loyalty to the state power as a trait of nobility. Considering this along with our age group study, previously done, we can say that their disagreement is a result of their being out of the main turn of events with which they were not fully acquainted and could not perceive their effects on them as a class.

With regard to agreement with the statement both the literates and the school educated are, in the percentage of 33.4% and 29.3% respectively. The same one-third still believe loyalty to be a trait of nobility.

This grows into a higher percentage of 54.6% in the college educated level. This group roughly coincides with the earlier age group of above 50, who were really affected by the tremendous change that took place and overwhelmed them. What is significant of this group is that about 45.4% disagree with the statement, indicating that loyalty may not pay them, as it did before, in return.

In totality the percentage of disagreement is 60.9% and agreement is 39.1% . Roughly agreeing with the main trend as indicated in the studies of age group and educational

level, what is to be noted is the persistent agreement with the commonly believed loyalty of the nobles to the State as the main trend in their traits.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The study of the income groups (Table-VII, Item-I), shows that the trend of disagreement spreads over all the five income groups, with percentages varying from 100%, 58.8%, 100%, 60% to 75%, respectively, dissociating loyalty from the trait of nobility. This means that less the income the less is the attachment to state power, as they may be feeling that they are more hit by the power that be in their economic deals. The only group that really has its percentage reduced to 21.5%, is that of the income group above 900 .

The study of the agreement makes an interesting reading with the percentages ranging from nil, 41.2%, nil, 40% and 25% in the respective groups of the first five. This taken in general may be explained by their distance from the state power politics. Though two significant omissions are to be noted in cases of income groups 101-300 (41.2%) and income group 501-700 (40%). This may be the result of some personal benefits that the persons concerned might have derived and in no way it affects the main trend prevalent in all the five income groups. The most significant agreement trend

is quite manifest in the case of the income group above 90C with percentage of 78.5%. This is the group which can roughly correspond with our previous studies of age group above 50 and college educated in the educational level. And the reasons stated earlier in the first two cases may also be relevant in explaining the stand taken by the persons in this income group.

In totality the percentages that accrue for disagreement are 69.3% and for agreement 30.7% respectively. This agrees with the general trend excepting the last income group. The presence of 30.7% of persons agreeing with the statement confirms the commonly accepted trend associated with the nobility.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

The Raigan Nobles could not make up their mind with regard to loyalty as a trait of nobility (Table-IA, Item-I), being in 50:50 on both sides. This is a group of the real upper rich, more close to the seats of power and yet be also distant from them. It may be because they stand for stability of the state which will enable them to continue with the facilities available to them. The other half of them may be rather hesitant about this trait as it may not give them all that they want and they may be not sure to retain what they have even with loyalty shown.

The Premier Nobles have switched over to the side of loyalty as a trait of nobility in the percentage of 76.9%. These are the persons who are drawn nearer to the state in the hope that they may be able to resuscitate whatever they may get out of the loss inflicted on them by their outward loyalty to the State. However almost one-fourth of them (23.1%) do not regard loyalty to be a trait of nobility, keeping to themselves the right to disagree with the State, as the situation still does not insure them an assured future.

The most interesting is the study of the Other Jagirdars who have disagreed in the percentage of 85.4%, emphasizing their awareness of the change in the situation, which has, in turn, lined them up with the ordinary masses. Thus they wish to reserve for themselves the right to protest and the right to protect their own interests in times of need without avowing their loyalty to the state in manifest manner. The minority of 14.6% stand for loyalty as their main trait indicating that a small element among the nobles, however they may be placed in whatever category, still confirms the main commonly held association of nobility with the trait.

In totality the figures of disagreement are 52.8% and of agreement 47.2% . It means that the nobles in all categories in total are in double mind being confronted with the baffling situation that has dazzled them. The situation

is such that it has not totally dismantled them nor kept them on the mantle.

OBSERVATION:-

The observations which can be made may be a little digression from the generally held belief that loyalty and nobility go together. We on our side continue to hold that both are associated with each other, but the views indicated in our study are the consequence of the stress in which the present noble personnel are placed. Irrespective of their age group, educational level, income group and their category, it can be generally presumed, excepting perhaps the above 50 age group, the college educated and the above 900 income group, that almost all of them wish to be free and break the old bonds with the State, that now may not bestow on them the benefits that they once enjoyed. Hence they wish to loosen the old state's hold over them. This is very well indicated by the agree-disagree attitude as obtained in our study.

EQUANIMITY OF BEHAVIOUR:-

II. STATEMENT:-

The predecessor nobles were noted for equanimity in their behaviour in general. The descendant nobles continue to retain this equality even under stress circumstances.

EXPLANATION:-

This statement is intended to detect how far the old equanimous behaviour noted as a trait of the nobles still persists among their descendants. Equanimity is meant here to emphasize steadiness, evenness, unpurtability, in which there is absence of sudden and jerky decisions and presence of a cool, stable way of behaviour. This trait was particularly found among the nobles in their decisions making process in the management of their estates though not necessarily in their day today social behaviour although their steadiness was always all pervading. We wish to know from their descendants whether this quality which was developed among their predecessors in the days of secure living, is still retained and respected by them in their behaviour.

BREAK UP OF TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

The highest percentage of disagreement (79%) (Table-VI, Item-II), is in the age group 20-30, next highest is 77% in age group 41-50, next to that is 48% in age group above 50, and the lowest is 31% in the age group 31-40.

In the case of agreement the percentage is highest (69%) in the age group 31-40 and next to that is 52% in the age group above 50. The last but one is 23% in the age group 41-50, and the last is 21% in the age group 20-30.

The general percentage of disagreement is 56% and that of agreement is 44%.

It is natural for the young age group 20-30 to disagree with the equanimous behaviour in large percentage but it is somewhat inexplicable for the age group 41-50 to have 77% disagreement. It may be because in this age perhaps the problems they are confronted with may be more baffling to maintain their equanimity. The 58% in the age group above 50 is relevant for their agreement with the statement. The age group 31-40 has shown acceptance of equanimous behaviour in a high percentage. This is perhaps because of adjustment with the situation after attainment of certain maturity. In general the disagreement of 56% is an indication of a trend that evenness of behaviour is not possible under the changing circumstances permitting some flexibility to meet with the situation.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

The highest percentage (62%) of disagreement (Table-VII, Item-II), comes from the school educated, and 50% is presented by both the literates and the college educated.

With regard to agreement both the literates and the college educated yield 50% and the school educated to only to the extent of 38% .

In total the disagreement percentage is 57% as agreement is 43% .

The literates and the college educated have not been able to make up their mind with regard to retaining this quality of equanimity among them. The first, the literates, are still to be in the full grasp of the situation. But when the college educated are also doubtful, it means that they have sometimes to take unexpected decisions in order to meet with the situation. The school educated seem to be slightly definite about the absence of equanimity because they feel that each situation requires its own strategy in which evenness may not be possible to retain. In general it appears that the disagreement bent is quite evident.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The highest percentage (100%) of disagreement (Table-VIII, Item-II), comes from income group below 100, next to that 75% comes from 701-900, after that 58% is from 301-500, then comes 54% from above 900, then comes 50% from 101-300, and last is 43% from 501-700.

The agreement percentage rises from zero in below 100 group to 57% is 501-700 group, passing through 50% in 101-300, 46% in above 900, 42% in 301-500, ending with 25% in 701-900 income group.

In total the percentage of disagreement is 56% and that of agreement is 44%.

As in all income groups we are confronted with a vagrant table. The 100% disagreement in below 100 group is quite relevant where the problem of scarcity is more acute. The income group 701-900 expresses disagreement in large number perhaps because the problems confronting them may be the clash between their increasing wants because of the higher income group and the dry supply of income. So they are not able to maintain equanimity expected of them. So also in the case of above 900 group, though in reduced percentage of 54%. The lower income group percentages are quite indicative of the same tension as explained in the lowest income group of below 100 earlier. The only group to be explained is 501-700, in which only 40% disagree. It is a middle range group where perhaps they have some control over their wants and are able to satisfy them to some extent through the available income. As such their agreement (57%) with the statement may be justified. In general the percentage of 56% maintains the trend of disagreement as in the previous tables.

D. CATEGORY OF JOBLESS:-

The percentage of disagreement (64%) (Table-IX,Item-II), is highest in case of the Other Jagirdars and lowest 46% in

the case of the Premier Nobles with 47% with the Paigah Nobles.

The agreement percentage is highest (54%) in the case of Premier Nobles and lowest (36%) in the case of the Ordinary Jagirdars and 53% in the middle is that of the Paigah Nobles.

The total percentage of disagreement is 57% and that of agreement is 43%.

It is apparent that the Other Jagirdars feel the difficulty of maintaining that equanimity which is expected of them, because when the income is less the problems become more baffling; though both the Paigah and the Premier nobles are in favour of retaining the equanimity; the percentage is a little more than half. It is because of this that the general trend appears to be more for disagreement than for agreement in line with the conclusions of the previous table.

OBSERVATIONS:-

In our explanation we have taken care to point out that this equanimity of behaviour is limited to decision making process with regard to their management of estate affairs. It was somewhat also extended into other spheres. We find in our study that under the stress circumstances the descendant

nobles are finding it difficult to retain that quantum of equanimity which was so predominantly present in the case of their predecessors. This quality is a loss to the nobles, but they have no regret for it. They are now mauled by the economic stress, emotional imbalance and total change in the atmosphere around and these are not conducive to maintain that equanimity in their decision making process which was once a distinctive trait of the culture of the predecessor nobles.

FALL IN CULTURAL GRACES:-

III. STATEMENT:-

The predecessor nobles had a culture of their own in which refinement in manners had preceding excellence. The descendant nobles are feeling for their gradual loss and disappearance.

EXPLANATION:-

Human relations have their own nuances dictated by the degree of social distance emerging between those who behave and with whom they behave. These manners of behaviour attain their sophistication because of their continuity through a course of time and they are incorporated in the established code of behaviour. The nobility had always refined ways of behaviour among themselves and with others. Those manners were born of their leisurely existence and the circumstances

of secure living. The sanctions behind this unwritten code are more moral and social and quite exacting.

The manners governed all phases of social contacts including: (1) greeting, (2) reception and escorting, (3) manners of communication (direct and indirect), (4) continuity of conversation, (5) expression of pleasure and displeasure (use of soft words even in displeasure), (6) indication of closure of conversation, (7) manner of parting, and (8) talking of persons in their absence and at their back; and many other aspects of life. These manners were differing from person to person and group to group according to their social hierarchy and maturity applicable to the various categories of nobles as well as to the commoners. These various phases are not fully exhaustive. The manners are quite detailed and even penetrating into the inner circles and close and confidential relationships.

Keeping all these manners of the predecessor nobles in view we have asked the descendant nobles to express how far the sophistication in manners is wearing out and how do they feel about it?

BREAK UP OF TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

The highest percentage of agreement 80% (Table-VI,Item-III) is in the age group 31-40, descending through 73% in the age

group 41-50, 62.1% in age group above 50 to 21.5% in age group 20-30.

The percentage of disagreement is highest (78.5%) in the age group 20-30, descending through (37.9%) in age group above 50, 27.0% in the age groups 41-50 to 20% in the age group 31-40.

In total the percentage of agreement is 59% and that of disagreement is 41%.

It is very interesting that in the very first column we are informed about the young element not at all sorry over the loss of refinement in manners. Henceforth, from the age group 31-40, the agreement percentage descends from 80% to 62% indicating that though they feel over the loss, but the feelings gradually wear out with the advancing age. This means that they become more aware of the conflicts between the old refined manners and the new rough and ready ways of behaviour. In general 59% confirm the trend but we cannot ignore that over 40% do not feel about the decline in manners.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

The percentage of agreement is highest (68%) (Table-VII, Item-III) in the case of the college educated. In the case of literates it is 50:50. In the case of school educated there

is a reversal and the agreement percentage is reduced to 47.5%.

The highest percentage of disagreement (52.5%) is from the school educated, and it is 50% in the case of literates and 32% with the college educated.

In total the percentage of agreement is 55% and that of disagreement is 45%.

It appears that the literates have not been able to make up their mind, because, both the rough and the refined manners are co-existing. The school educated with slightly more education, but still raw, seem to disagree with slightly more than 50%. The college educated with greater maturity and wider experience feel the decline, and the loss of refinement. The general percentage of 55% in favour of the statement should not lead us to assume that the educated among the nobles are feeling for the loss of good manners because there is a substantial minority of 45% following them and may overwhelm them later.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The highest percentage of agreement (100%) (Table-VIII, Item-III), with the statement is in the income group 701-900, next is 80% in the income group above 900, next is 68.7% in the income group 101-300, then is 57.2% in the income group

501-700, next is 50% in 301-500 and last is 25% in the income group below 100.

The highest percentage of disagreement (75%) is from the income group below 100, next is 50% in the income group 301-500, then 42.8% in 501-700 group, last is 20% in the income group above 900.

In general total the agreement percentage is 62% and that of disagreement is 38%.

Those in the income group below 100 are not at all sorry for the loss of refinement because they have to meet with the people who are not bred in the same atmosphere and who are not amenable to refined manners. Another column that needs attention is the income group 301-500 indicating the undecidedness on their part. This in other words may also mean that they belong to the marginal group lying between lower income groups on one hand and higher income groups on the other, wherein both types of behaviour are needed to cope up with the situation in which they are in. One observation that emerges in the study of higher income groups is that they generally feel the loss of good manners in varying percentages, but in definite direction. There seems to be a persistent minority in all columns excepting the first in varying percentages (with a maximum of 50%) disagreeing with the statement indicating that they are not

sorry over lessening of refinement. This is also indicated with 38% in the total percentage of disagreement. However 62% in the total for agreement shows that the nobles in their income groups mourn over the loss of refinement.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

The highest percentage of agreement (94.2%) (Table-IA, Item-III), with the statement is among the Paigah nobles, though 58.4% among the Premier Nobles to 44.5% among the Other Jagirdars.

The percentage of disagreement starts from 55.5% among the Other Jagirdars, runs through 41.6% among the Premier Nobles and ends up with 5.8% among the Paigah Nobles.

In total the percentage of agreement is 66% and that of disagreement is 34%.

The Paigah Nobles really in a block mourn over the loss of refinement in manners, because they were the main custodians of the conventions embodied in the unwritten code of social behaviour. Next to them among the mourners are the Premier Nobles with nearly 60%. The significant disagreement comes from the Other Jagirdars, who are keen to loosen themselves from the finer threads of refined manners to mix freely with general mass of people in their own ways of behaviour. The general percentage of 66% indicates that the nobles in general

are sorry for the gradual decline in manners but there is a persistant minority of one third disagreeing.

OBSERVATION:-

One thing that emerges from the study of all the four tables is that there is a substantial disagreement and the nobles though in minority, which is as much as 45%, are beginning to realise that the days of refined manners are gradually dying out.

The second thing which can be safely said is that in the lower columns of age (20-30), of educational level (school educated), of the income group (below 100) and of the category of nobles (Other Jagirdars) are definitely and in overwhelming numbers, (in one column the percentage goes as high as 78.5%), out to reconcile themselves with the changing manners leaving behind their old refinement. Once we exclude the earlier columns we find in older age groups, in college educated, in higher income groups, and in higher category of nobles that there is a sorry feeling of decline in social graces. In general the percentages in all the tables are indicative of the feeling of loss over the refinement in manners, but the percentage does not go beyond 66%. It will be safe to say that in the present phase of development the refined manners may continue but with days counted.

GOVERNMENT SERVICES:

IV. STATEMENT:-

The predecessor nobles preferred higher government services. Their descendants may not mind joining lower grades of services.

EXPLANATION:-

This statement is particularly placed before the interviewees keeping in view the large number of descendant nobles that were drafted into the higher civil services in the erstwhile Hyderabad State. This was predominantly the case with the Paigah and the Premier Nobles. The question is that if they do not get into the higher government services now under the changed circumstances, particularly when their Jagirs are also gone, will they condescend to accept to be in the lower rungs in services? This puts them in a situation to realize the gap between what they would like to have, because of their higher position in society, and what is possible for them to obtain under the circumstances that have overtaken them.

BREAK UP OF THE TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

The disagreement with the statement (Table-VI, Item-IV), that government service is against their prestige as a noble, is highest 89.3% in the age group above 50. Next to that comes

the age group 41-50 with 88.6% and then the age group 20-30 with 84.6%, and the last is the age group 31-40 with 81.2%.

With regard to the agreement with the statement the highest percentage is 18.8% in the age group 31-40 and next to that is the age group 20-30 with 15.4% and then comes the age group 41-50 with 11.4% and last is the age group above 50 with 10.7%.

In general total the percentage of disagreement is 85.6% and that of agreement is 14.4%.

There is a general agreement with a very high percentage of above 80 in all the age groups towards the Government services being not below their dignity. Those in the age group above 50 and 41-50 hold the Government services to be linked with nobility more strongly; though the other two age groups do not lag far behind. Those who regard Government services below their prestige do not go beyond 15% which is a little more than one-sixth.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

The highest percentage (100%) (Table-VII, Item-IV), disagreeing with the statement is among the literates. Next to that comes the college educated with 91.4% and last are the school educated with 83.7%.

Among those who agree with the statement the percentage rises from zero among the literates to 16.3% in the school educated and falls to 8.6% among the college educated.

In total the disagreement percentage is 91.8% and that of agreement is 8.2%.

Thus it is quite clear that those who are educated, however low, are inclined towards acceptance of Government services. There is a slight fall among the collegeeducated and still more in the school educated. But the predominance of acceptance is overwhelming to ignore the small percentage which regard Government service as against the prestige of the noble.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

Among the five income groups (Table-VIII, Item-IV), the three are (below 100, 501-700 and 701-900) cent per cent in favour of acceptance of Government services. Those who fall short of it are: (1) above 900 with 92.4%,
(2) 101-300 with 87.5% (3) 301-500 with 83.4%

Among those who regard Government service against their prestige, the percentage rises from zero to highest 16.6% in the income group 301-500 followed by income group 101-300 with 12.5% and the last in the line is the income group above 900 with 7.6%.

The disagreement percentage in general comes to 93.8% and the agreement percentage is 6.2%.

The three important income groups that accept Government service are those who are on one hand below and on the other between 500 and 900 (501-700, 701-900).

The highest income group (above 900) has the next highest percentage of acceptance. The other two groups that lie in the middle (101-300, 301-500) have slight agreement, but they constitute about one-sixth of the total and can be ignored, but one thing which should be noted is that this group may not be looking for Government services as the only avenue of employment. They may in their adventurous spirit look towards commercial enterprises, which spirit may be lacking among those in the higher income groups. The latter may have become accustomed to secure living and may be looking more for secure services, wherein not much of spirit of adventure is needed.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

Among the categories of nobles (Table-IX, Item-IV), the highest percentage (100%) of disagreement is among the Paigah Nobles, and the next are the Premier Nobles, with 92.4% and last are the other Jagirdars with 81.8% in their descending order.

The agreement with the statement rises, from zero percent in the Paigah Nobles to 18.2% in Other Jagirdars and falls to 7.6% in the Premier Nobles.

The disagreement percentage in general is 91.5% and agreement is 8.5%.

In line with the other independent variables and particularly with the income groups, the higher the category the more inclined are the nobles to accept Government services. What is to be noted is the highest percentage of agreement prevalent among the Other Jagirdars delinking Government services with nobility. This can be explained by stating that they are the most displaced and the most affected of the Jagirdars, who have lesser reliance on Government services and more on other sources of income in other commercial enterprises.

OBSERVATIONS:-

The study clearly reveals that the descendants of the nobles are out to accept any Government service irrespective of high or low grades. This is the result of economic compulsions under which they are now placed. This may also be, because of the change in their attitude. Perhaps also this may be the result of the social intermingling and intermarriages that have taken place in between them and the middle classes that predominantly respect the value of

Government service; and the services are also largely recruited from them these day. This change in attitude is quite clear specially, when the predecessor nobles and their descendants have not cared to build up certain investments or trusts under which their descendants could make their living as securely as their predecessors did when land ownership was the main source of income. They never anticipated that the eclipse of feudalism would be dismantled so abruptly and that it would place them with no alternative except to seek economic security through the Government services alone.

To check up the above statement further we put some subsidiary questions to the descendant nobles. We have found that about 85% of them do not regard working by hand as a violation of nobility (Table-A, Item-I). This explains their position now as different from their predecessors who never liked to spoil their hands by taking up professions involving physical labour.

It was generally regarded that the routine work like that of clerks was incompatible with the nobility, but in answer to our question (Table-A, Item-2), about 77% of them do not regard routine work as a burden. This is a significant switch over from the views of their predecessors.

The predecessor nobles were generally regarded to be careless about time and regarded punctuality to be a mark of middle class society. But in our survey (Table-X,Item-3), we find that 77% of them disagreed and are definitely inclined towards punctuality and respect for time. This attitude suits the service behaviour in which they are now keenly interested to join.

The predecessor nobles were known to be disinclined towards any adventure involving profit making and often kept themselves aloof from such commercial leanings. But the descendant nobles whom we have approached, 84% of them (Table-X, Item-4), have owned that profit making is not against the nature of nobility. It means that they are ready to invest in various avenues which would yield profits and we have noticed this trend to be quite evident in the case of Other Jagirdars and no less among the Premier Nobles.

EXPENSIVE LIVING:-

V. STATEMENT:-

Continuing the inherited habit, the descendant nobles are now inclined to be expensive beyond their income.

EXPLANATION:-

The statement is to check up if the old habit of predecessor nobles to be unmindful of income and to indulge in expenses is present in their descendants with whom we are

here concerned. This habit is a consequence of particular assured economic security protected by the state. Now under the changed circumstances we would like to know if the descendant nobles continue to behave in the same habitual manner.

BREAK UP OF THE TABLES:

A. AGE GROUP:-

The highest percentage of disagreement (89.2%) (Table-VI, Item-V), is in the age group of above 50 and the lowest (78.5%) is in the lowest age group of 20-30 with 87.5% in the age group of 31-40 and 86.6% in 41-50 age group.

The agreement percentage is highest (21.5%) in the age group 20-30 and the lowest (10.8%) is in the age group of above 50, with 13.4% in the age group 41-50 and 12.5% in 31-40 age group.

In general the total percentage of disagreement is 85.6% and the percentage of agreement is 14.4%.

The disagreement is broadly spread over in all the age groups with a very high percentage not below 78%. This shows that the descendant nobles are quite conscious of the money they spend. The more mature they are, the more careful they are in the ascending order. This amply reflects the economic compulsion and the needed carefulness acquired by the descendant

nobles in all age groups.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

The highest percentage of disagreement (Table-VII,Item-V), with the statement (92%) is from the college educated. Next are the literates with 83.4% and the last are the school educated with 80.4%.

The agreement with the statement comes in highest percentage (19.6%) among the school educated and descends to 16.6% among the literates with 8% among the college educated.

In general the disagreement percentage is 85.2% and the percentage of agreement is 14.8%.

There is a general agreement among all the educated towards money saving and asserting it as a part of the descendant nobility behaviour. The most educated are less so. Between the literates and the school educated the percentage of difference is very minor, so we can easily assume that education has helped them in matters of monetary deals.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The highest percentage (100%) of disagreement (Table-VIII, Item-V), with the statement comes from the two income groups 501-700 and 701-900. Next to that the percentage is 86.6% in the income group above 900, and then come 83.4% in the income

group 301-500 and 75% in the income group 101-300 and the last 66% in the income group below 100.

The percentage of agreement rises from zero in the income groups 501-700, 701-900 to 33.4% in the income group below 100. In between are the 25% in the income group 101-300, 16.6% in the income group 301-500 and 13.4% in the income group above 900.

In total the percentage of disagreement is 85.2% and that of agreement is 14.8%.

In general in all the income groups there is a total disagreement with the statement. Even the income group above 900 has a high percentage of 86.6%. This means that money has been the main concern of the descendant nobles and economic compulsions have affected most the higher income groups. In the three lower income groups the percentages of agreement with the statement rise to one-third in the case of income group below 100 and descends to about one-fourth and one-sixth in the other two. This can be explained not in terms of carelessness so much as in terms of holding a nominal position of nobility and trying to rise to it. But as they grow up in age, as we have noticed earlier, they begin to realise the scarcity of money and try to be careful in spending.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

The highest percentage of disagreement (100%) (Table-IX, Item-V), is in the middle (Premier Nobles) and the lowest 75% in the Paigah Nobles and the least in the Other Jagirdars that is 82.2%.

The highest percentage (25%) of agreement with the statement is among the Paigah Nobles and the next is 17.8% among the Other Jagirdars and zero among the Premier Nobles.

In general the percentage of disagreement is 85.7% and that of agreement is 14.3%.

So we find that all the three categories of nobles and particularly the Premier Nobles are opposed to money spending. The percentages of agreement among the Other Jagirdars and among the Paigah Nobles are about one-fourth of the total, which indicates that the habit of expenditure is not completely eliminated, though the market conditions have compelled them to save and uphold money saving. This is quite encouraging to notice, particularly when their sources of income are drying up and they are faced with difficult monetary situation.

OBSERVATION:-

It appears that all the descendant nobles do not accept to behave in the same manner as their predecessor nobles in total disregard of income. Perhaps there is a silent denial of the presence of the habit in their predecessors as the

money matter should have been talked about in the family circles oft and on. It cannot be gainsaid that the ideas of income and expenditure should have come in the discussions. But the facts, as they are, show that the predecessor nobles' expenses were related to the status, prestige and even boastings of their position; and claiming that their expenses should be equal to them. The descendant nobles do not find the secure atmosphere around. There has been apparently lowering of the commanding heights of expenditure in persons of their own status as dictated by the economic repression and political deprivation. It appears that this change of attitude of the descendant nobles is not only to conserve what little they are left with them but also to limit their expenditure so as to keep their position intact in society as well as to make their living quite consonant with the prevailing tendencies without completely denying themselves the minimum needs of life and leaving something behind for their progeny to prosper in future.

When the descendant nobles are subjected to further probe through subsidiary questions we find them to confirm with the stand taken by them in the independent variable tables.

They in general with 86% in number, have denied that the nobles as such are carefree (Table-X, Item-5), and

worry-less. This means that the descendant nobles are now mentally crowded with the money worries of living more so when their hands are emptier and emptier.

The general assumption about the old nobles has been that they are wreckless and unmindful of the future. Our descendant nobles interviewees have denied it in 87%. (Table-A, Item-6). This means that the nobles are not merely indulging in the present but are also careful to conserve for the future. However, compelling may be the present, the dread of the unknown future is always weighing on them. This is more so when they have seen the unexpected crash of the feudal system before their own eyes.

The predecessor nobles' behaviour has been regarded as irresponsible, particularly when they insisted on their own good, regardless of the good of the family and the community. The descendant nobles of our universe in 93% (Table-A,Item-7), have disowned this. It means that they henceforth do look around and respond to the situation in a responsible manner keeping in view the good of themselves, their community and the society around.

FAULT FINDING AMONG MEMBERS:

VI. STATEMENT:-

The descendants of a category of nobles, regarding themselves as equals, are prone to fault finding with other members of the same category.

EXPLANATION:-

This statement is posed to identify the trait which is usually present as a part of unwritten code of behaviour among the members of the nobility. It is to find if they are mutually responsible in their behaviour and do not indulge in fault finding in others of the same category, though they are not above reproach. Though they may hear criticism of a member of the same category from others, we wish to know if they do not criticise each other in spite of a substream of jealousy and rivalry among them. It is also to know if one category of nobles may criticise the members of other categories, particularly those in the lower order.

BREAK UP OF THE TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

In our analysis of the age group (Table-VI, Item-VI), we find that the three age groups above 30 are predominantly abiding by the code of ethics in their behaviour with percentages of 79.9% , 73.4% and 60% respectively, by emphasising their disagreement with the statement. The highest percentage (79.9%) is from the oldest above 50 age group, showing how the behaviour is hardened as one grows old in the same group and how the social code influences them as they grow. The lowest percentage of disagreement is 60% in the age group 31-40 indicating that they are yet

in the process of formulation. This is further confirmed in the age group 41-50 as the percentage is raised to 73.4%. In the age group 20-30 the disagreement percentage is 35.7% which is more than one-third. This low percentage is, however, energetic enough to gather strength as it grows up into the higher age group.

The last mentioned group of 20-30 agrees with the statement in the percentage of 64.3%. This shows that the first entrants in the group are raw and yet to be initiated in the social code. They are critical of individual members irrespective of the group. As shown above they are gradually pressed into the social mould by and by.

Analysing further those, who agree with the statement in the three age groups 30, we find that the percentage varies from 20.1% (above 50) through 26.6% (41-50) to 40% (31-40). This agreement with the statement seems to decline roughly as the years in age pile up. The highest percentage of 40%, in the age group 31-40, clearly shows that the entrants in the society are still not fully adapted to the moral code, as they are in the process of making. Nevertheless, the percentage falls from 64.3% as indicated in the age group 20-30.

In totality the percentage of disagreement comes to 62.5% and the agreement to 37.5%. The tendency to criticize

persons irrespective of their social categorization with 37.5% which is more than one-third is quite evident and it is born out of the natural urge to treat human beings across the social boundaries. But the high percentage of (62.5%) also shows the strength and influence of the social code over the members of the nobility.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVELS:-

In our analysis of the educational levels (Table-VII, Item-VI), we find that in the two groups of the school educated and the college educated there is a predominant element of disagreement with the statement. The disagreement is higher in percentage (77.7%) with the college educated and lower (67.5%) in the school educated. This shows that as the members are more educated and grow up in age they become more acclimitized to social environment and imbibe the social code of behaviour.

The only group which largely agrees (60%) with the statement is of the literate. This combined with the previous study of the age group 20-30 reveals that members younger in age and lesser in education are prone to be deviating from the social code of not casting aspersion on members of their own group.

In the other two groups of the school educated and the college educated the percentages of agreement are 32.5% and

22.3% respectively. This shows that the number gradually decreases as they are more educated and also grow in age.

In totality the percentage of disagreement is 61.7% and agreement is 38.3%. This on reflection can also be indicative of the human urge to criticize persons. It is present though in a minority, but a quite evident minority, of more than one-third. The social code of ethics appears to be still overpowering in spite of the influence of education. Perhaps the formal education has not been able to penetrate the informal education imparted through homes and social circles.

C. INCOME LEVELS:-

In analysing the income levels, (Table-VIII, Item-VI), we find that in the three lower income levels the statement is disagreed by the early two (i.e., below 100 and 101-300) with percentages of 66.7% and 68.8% respectively. The third group of the lesser income level stands at the watershed of 50:50 with regard to the statement.

In the upper income levels the trend of disagreement increases with higher percentage of 71.5% in income group 501-700 and above 900, with 701-900 group having 100% disagreement. This shows that the income has no particular relevance with regard to the social code of behaviour in this particular respect though the percentages increase with the increase in income, with slight breaks in between.

With regard to agreement, the percentage starts with the maximum of 33.3% in below 100 income group to 28.5% in 501-700 income group. This agreement over the statement decreases in percentages as the income increases with small breaks in between. The only thing to be noted is that however small may be the percentage of agreement it is almost one-third persistently present to make a dent in the social code with the changing situation.

In totality the percentage of disagreement is 71.3% and agreement is 28.7%. The income groups line up with the other three studies of independent variables in indicating the common social behaviour of the nobles with regard to mutual respect for each other. But it cannot be gainsaid and avoided that over one-fourth of the nobles are still itching to break away, moved by their human weaknesses of reproaching persons irrespective of their social groups.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

In analysing the categories of nobles (Table-IX, Item-VI), we find that the percentage of disagreement varies from 55.8% (Other Jagirdars) through 34.6% (Premier Nobles) to 76.5% (Paigah Nobles). Though the majority of nobles abide by the social code of behaviour, the percentage of abiding nobles is lowest in the Other Jagirdars, and the next lowest is with the Paigah Nobles, whereas the highest percentage is in the

middle with the Premier Nobles. It is easier for the fewer Paigah and the Premier Nobles to be known to each other personally and to be understandable to each other. It is not so easily abiding in the case of numerous Other Jagirdars loosely connected and widely variant.

In the case of agreement with the statement, the percentage is lowest in the Premier Nobles 15.4%, through 23.5% in the Paigah Nobles to 44.2% in the Other Jagirdars. This is coherent with the above indications in disagreement. The percentage is highest in the Other Jagirdars and next highest in the Paigah Nobles and the lowest in the Premier Nobles. This is explainable. The Other Jagirdars seem to be divided almost equally by the forces other than being subjected to socialisation in streams of the society. While the fewer nobles, the Paigah and the Premier Nobles, are still enclosed in their shells and agreement with the statement is less as they are yet to be drawn out from their sheltered shells.

In totality the percentages for disagreement are 72.4% and for agreement 27.6%. In total the disagreement seems to be overwhelming, though agreement is not to be ignored. This one-fourth fraction of the nobility is still purging to deviate from the social code and refuses to be submerged in the iceberg of predominant nobles' behaviour. This element is evident of

the fact that all among the nobles are not immune from other social factors, some of them, though in a small number, are still susceptible to forces outside the social group to which they belong.

OBSERVATION:-

An overview of the study of social behaviour of the nobles towards the members of their own category indicates that the large majority in all four independent variables, except perhaps in the age group 20-30 and literates are in disagreement with the statement that members of the same category of nobles regarding themselves as equals are prone to fault finding with other members of the same category. It means that the social code of behaviour has its control over the members in their mutual behaviour towards each other.

But it is also to be noted that the members in the age group 20-30 and the less educated, as the early entrants into the nobility, take time to be welded into the social mould. The persistent one-fourth, and sometimes more than that, of members in all grades agree with the statement and are prone to deviate from the social code. They are indicative of various outside factors that strike on the social shells of the group and in time to come the former may prevail over the latter.

BEHAVIOUR WITH NON-MEMBERS:-

VII. STATEMENT:-

The behaviour of the predecessor nobles, with those not within their folds, was different from those within, particularly regarding those without their fold as suspicious, unreliable and unworthy. The descendant nobles continue to behave with those without their folds in the same manner.

EXPLANATION:-

Having studies the social behaviour of the descendant nobles with those within their own categories of nobles, we now wish to enter into the study of their contact with those outside the categories of nobles. This study will complete the probe in their social behaviour both from within and without.

The three aspects of suspicion, reliability and worthiness are taken to study their social outlook towards the non-members.

In methodology, we wish to depart from the old four independent variables like age group, educational level, income groups and categories of nobles together with their break up. This will save us from ultiplication of tables which it will lead to.

Hence our study now is directed to probe their social behaviour with others through four questions in order to form an estimate of their social outlook, which may help us to know about their social behaviour in particular with those outside their categories and in general with the members of the society which enclose them as well.

(i) In making a start of our study in this sphere we wished to know how a member of the nobility reacts when he meets a stranger, particularly a non-member, whether he trusts him in the first instance or he suspects him. This is asked to know if a descendant of the noble treats a stranger with a confidence of expecting good behaviour or moves continuously being suspicious (Table-X, Item-8), of betrayal from him. To this question we find that 64% of them have accepted first to trust a non-member rather than suspecting him of betrayal. Those who suspect him first and may trust him later form 36%.

This confirms the prevailing trend of the predecessor nobles, who always trusted the non-members expecting that trust would beget trust, and did not suspect any betrayal from him as the confidence imposed would inspire confidence in return.

SUSPICIOUS LOOK OVER NON-MEMBERS:-

(ii) In order to evaluate their social behaviour further with the non-members, we have tried to know their approach towards the non-members as a whole. Here we have pointedly asked them whether they look upon the non-members as a whole with suspicious eyes (Table-A, Item-9). This differs from the first question approach, wherein we have kept in view the individual person of the non-member category with whom the descendants of the nobles come in contact first. In this question the approach is towards the non-member community as a whole.

It is interesting to note that 88% of the descendant nobles do not make a suspicious approach towards the non-members, only 12% of them have a lurking suspicion towards the non-members as a whole.

It is worth noting that nobility as a class harbours no suspicion about non-nobility. This may be because the nobles feel rather more secure to deal with the non-nobles. It may be also because they feel them to be harmless creatures, unable to strike back even if they wish to do so. But in general we must pay them the tribute of being noble in their approach and catholic in their outlook towards the non-members. The few that harbour suspicion are too insignificant and may be regarded as waywards from the main trend.

(iii) We now proceed to go into the mutual relationship between the nobles and the non-nobles. Our concern here is (Table-X, Item-10), to measure how far the nobles regard non-nobles to be reliable to establish and stabilise further relations. This is being put to test the mutual dependence upon each other and further sustenance of social relations between them.

Our test reveals that 78% of the descendant nobles depend upon non-members with confidence of reliability, 22% of them do not wish to rely fully upon non-members.

This reliance of the nobles on other members of the society is the real life sap of sustenance of nobility itself. It provides a support as well as continuity to nobility from the sources besides their own. This is a trait that the descendant nobles have well inherited from their predecessors, but we should not ignore the past that the percentage of descendant nobles of having non-reliance on non-members has increased from the previous approach of suspicious nature which we have studies just before. This is because the nobles have now to mix with all sorts of persons as different from earlier state of affairs. This might have compelled quite a few of them to be cautious in putting reliance on all and sundry.

This behaviour of the nobles both in their descendants and the predecessors is the gilded part of their character which distinguishes them from other classes though not so exclusively as in the past historical days.

NON-NOBLES WORTHY:-

(iv) Here in the sphere of social relations between the nobles and non-nobles, we wish to know whether the nobles feel hesitant to mix with the non-nobles and regard them to be unworthy of continuing contacts (Table-A,Item-11), with them. The nobles in general limit their social relations to their own class of persons unless compelled to do otherwise. This behaviour may be because of various reasons. We are here concerned with only the unworthiness of such meetings in their mind.

Almost all of the descendant nobles (91%) do not feel the members outside their community are unworthy. A nominal element of disagreement constituting 9% is, however, present.

In appreciation of the nobles' social behaviour it can be said that they may be having fewer contacts with the non-members but it may not be because of any lingering doubt of the worthiness of the non-members. This coincides with the previous studies of ours in which the nobles have already expressed their acceptance of the concept of equality of man and disowning of any social or racial superiority of the individual members.

A SUM UP:-

Let us now sum up the social behaviour of the descendant nobles as we have found in our study. With regard to their behaviour with other members we have noted that they are not prone to fault finding and regard themselves equal in behaviour with other members of the same category. With regard to their behaviour with the non-members we have found that they first trust them more than suspecting them. In general they repose confidence in the non-members also, unless they prove otherwise. They accept the non-members to be worthy of contact and believe in widening of social relations without any inhibitions.

A RE-STATEMENT:-

In our study of the traits and social behaviour of the descendant nobles we have tried to identify the change that has crept in between the predecessor nobles and the descendant nobles. Hence our statements and questions have been framed accordingly.

Among the traits of nobility we have placed first their attachment and loyalty to the state power structure, which lends support to their stability. The descendant nobles have rather kept their option widely open and have not shown definite signs of permanent attachment and loyalty, though not to the extent of being disloyal to the country. Among the

various break ups we find the tendency to disagree most among those who are younger, less educated, drawing less income and belonging to higher category of nobles.

Second trait that we took up for our study is the equanimity of behaviour. We find that this quality is gradually on the decline. The nobles seem to have no regret over it as in their decision making processes they are confronted with situations that disturb their usual quiet even behaviour which they could maintain in earlier years, when the situation was not so complex.

The next trait that comes under our purview is the feeling of the descendant nobles over the loss of refinement in manners which was once the acme of their culture. Here, though our finding, is indicative that they feel for the decline in the graces that once adorned their society, but there seems to be a persistent core which may not mind the adoption of rough and ready mechanical manners to expeditiously realize their objective whatever may be the expediency.

Another trait traced is to explore if they would prefer higher Government services. We find that the descendant nobles in all variations are out to accept Government services whether high or low, with scant consideration for working by hand, disregarding routine nature of work, accepting

punctuality and venturing into profit making enterprises.

The third trait probed into is to know if they are inclined to be expensive beyond their income. We find that the nobles in all independent variables have denied the general assumption about their class to be expensive beyond limit. Together they have also reasserted that they are not carefree, wreckless and irresponsible.

With regard to their social behaviour we have studied in two spheres of within and without. In the sphere within they are not prone to fault finding among the members of the same category of nobles. Thus abiding by the unwritten social ethics of behaviour.

In the sphere without, the nobles are found to initiate relations with the non-members with trust rather than with suspicion. They do not approach the non-members as a community with inhibitions and suspicions. In their wider social relations they repose their confidence with reliance upon the non-members. Lastly they, as a community, do not feel it to be unworthy to establish contacts with the members of non-nobility.

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R E F E R E N C E S

1. Kenneth Burke: "Permanence and Change", New York 1965 - p.274

2. For a detailed discussion of the concept Please see Chapter VI of M.J. Herskovits 'Cultural Dynamics' pp.85-108, New York 1964.

VALUES AND VIEWS

Nobility as a class has not only certain traits and trends of social behaviour but also has values and views which like thin threads join them together in the community. These values and views are certain moral principles mentally acceptable and outwardly practised to strengthen the community ways of working. They are like binding elements that cement the commonality of outlook and communality in behaviour. We are trying to trace these values and views as prevalent in the descendant nobles.

The network of social relationships in any group is formed on the basis and structure of its value system. The value system provides an organized framework of social norms, ideals, beliefs and behaviour. It is an abstract, generalized principle of behaviour with which people have emotional and sentimental attachment. Individuals in all groups internalize them in their process of socialization. In the words of R.K. Mukerjee: "Each social culture has its distinctive ethos or structuralization of value systems. The ranking of values is divergant in different culture, giving rise to distinctive status-power-prestige systems that nurture divergent personality traits and virtues of people".[1] These values bring about uniformities in social

behaviour. It is on the basis of these vlues that view and outlook on life are formed by a group.

They form an important part of our study, because they reveal their general outlook on life within the community; and life in the society, without. They expose the motivations behind their behaviour particularly their pro-action and reaction to the scheme of things around. They also explain the moral guideline which they follow with regard to their behaviour among the members of their own family, particularly women and children. This study of values and view is attempted to have a picture of the invisible motivating factors underlying their behaviour, manifested in their character, which determines most of their decisions in day to day life.

For the purpose of our study we have classified the values and views under the following heads:

(1) General Outlook on life.
(2) Values and views regarding feudalism.
(3) Views on education for boys.
(4) Views on status of women.

(1) GENERAL OUTLOOK ON LIFE:-

We begin with this general outlook which governs the pattern of their living. It is something inside and invisible, manifesting significantly in the outside behaviour. It is studied through three statements.

EASY LIVING:-

I. STATEMENT:-

Nobles under the assured security were prone to take life easy as the things were managed for them. The descendant nobles are also not much concerned with the life process in general and economic order in particular.

EXPLANATION:-

This statement is drafted to elicit the reaction of the descendant nobles with regard to their life that is now crowded with changes, which are sudden and subduing them particularly in matters economic. This is to notice the change in their outlook from their predecessors towards the economic aspect of life if not the total life itself.

BREAK UP OF TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

The highest percentage of disagreement (82%), (Table-AI, Item-I), is in the age group 41-50. Next to that is (53%) in the age group 20-30, followed by 52% in the age group above 50, and the last is 50% in the age group 31-40.

In the case of agreement with the statement the highest (50%) is in the age group 31-40, next is 48% in above 50, then 47% in 20-30 and 18% in 41-50.

In general percentage of disagreement is 57% and that of agreement is 43% .

The disagreement is spread over in all age groups slightly over 50%, excepting in the age group 41-50 (82%). This is not a definite indication to say that the descendant nobles do not take life as easy excepting those in the last but one age group. This may be because the attitude on life has not taken a definite turn as it is in the process of change. Though the sense of economic security is being eroded, it has not brought about a change in all groups in a large manner.

In the study of the agreement statement we find a significant 50:50 position in the age group 31-40, that means attitude is set for a change which tends towards disagreement in larger proportion in the next age group.

In total the trend is nearing 60% to consider life not so easy and this may be more intensifying with the economic pincers closing in.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

With the literates there is cent per cent disagreement (Table-XI, Item-I), with the statement. The college educated are 59% and the school educated are 52% in matter of disagreement.

The agreement rises from zero (literates) to 48% (school educated) with college educated having 41%.

In total the disagreement percentage is 57% and the agreement percentage is 43%.

It appears that the least educated and the most educated are inclined to take life seriously with school educated not far lagging behind.

The agreement percentage is unexpectedly high in both school and college educated to make its presence felt. But the general trend among the educated low or high is towards the acceptance of life to be lived with all determination and struggle.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The highest percentage of disagreement (Table-XII, Item-I), (100%), is in the income group 501-700, next to that are two groups with 67% (below 100 and 701-900), then comes the income group 301-500 with 63%, above 900 with 60% and 101-300 with 53%.

In case of agreement with the statement the highest percentage is 47% in the income group 101-300, then comes income group above 900 with 40%, after that comes income group 301-500 with 37% and then are two income groups with 33% (below 100 and 701-900); and the last is 501-700 with zero percent.

In general the percentage of disagreement is 54% and that of agreement is 46%.

Looking into the table it can be said that the disagreement is widely spread over in all income groups, with almost over 60% in all. The significant percentage of 100 is in the income group 501-700 which lies in the middle range of the income groups, showing the rise in seriousness with which the life is taken when the means fall short of the wants. In general it can be said that all the income groups are said to take life in monetary matters more seriously than hitherto.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

The disagreement with the statement (Table-XIII,Item-I), is the highest (62%) with the Premier Nobles, then come the Other Jagirdars with 56% and the Paigah Nobles with 53%.

In the case of agreement the percentage of 47% is the highest in the case of the Paigah Nobles and the lowest 38% among the Premier Nobles, and the Other Jagirdars having 44%.

In general the percentage of disagreement is 56% and that of agreement is 44%.

As in the case of the middle income group (501-700), so in the case of the middle Premier Nobles, the disagreement rises to the highest in comparison to others. It is this group of persons along with the Other Jagirdars that are feeling the pinch of life most; and since they are listless take life more seriously than the other category of nobles. In general the trend is definitely to regard life as a serious matter in matters economic.

OBSERVATIONS:-

The statement has definitely provoked them to react to the probe in a serious manner. When asked of the economic matters the reaction of the descendant nobles is definitely revealing to show when the wnats are increasing, the means are decreasing. Hence life cannot be let loose and should be taken in the strides and struggle that lie before them. They are forthright in rejecting the assumption of easy living associated with them.

USE OF MAN AS INSTRUMENT:-

II. STATEMENT:-

In the scheme of things the predecessor nobles were regarding other men, particularly those of lower order, as instruments to be used for their own life purposes. The descendant nobles do not feel the need to change that outlook.

EXPLANATION:-

This statement is placed before the interviewees, particularly to evoke from them their attitude towards the lower order people to serve the higher order people more for the latter's benefits. This has been the working scheme of things under the feudalistic system. The descendant nobles are asked to show if they feel the need to change that attitude when the things are changing around them.

BREAK UP OF TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

There seems to be a distinct disagreement (Table-XI, Item-II), with the statement with the percentages being above 60% in all cases, with 69% in the age group 31-40, 68% in above 50, 67% in the age group 41-50 and 64% in 20-30.

Accordingly the agreement with the statement has the percentages of not more than 36% in the age group 20-30 and not less than 31% in age group 31-40 with 32% in above 50 and 33% in 41-50.

In general the percentage for disagreement is 67% and for agreement it is 33%.

A glance over the table clearly shows that the descendant nobles do not regard men as instruments for exploitation in life. This is something acquired by experience. The percentages go on increasing as they grow in age. Their behaviour is influenced by the circumstances around. There may be some variation in behaviour depending upon particular circumstances but in general they do not believe in the statement nor possibly they can act upon it.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

The highest percentage of disagreement (74%) (Table-XII, Item-II), with the statement comes from the college educated

followed by 64% in school educated and 60% among the literates.

The agreement with the statement draws the largest percentage (40%) from the literates, 36% from the school educated and 26% from the college educated.

In general the disagreement percentage is 68% and that of agreement is 32%.

The highest percentage of the college educated are naturally enlightened and more human in their belief and behaviour towards other men. The school educated are also in sufficient percentage to follow the same line. The literates also, though start with 60% gradually increase and learn to be in the same order of belief and behaviour. The general trend is quite set to accept that men can no longer be used by others as instruments for their own life purposes.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The largest disagreement with the statement (100%), (Table-XIII, Item-II), comes from 501-700 income groups, next to that is above 900 (75%) and next to that 701-900 (71%) and then come the two income groups with 67% (below 100 and 101-300) and the last comes 301-500 with 33%.

The largest agreement with the statement comes from 301-500 with 67% and the lowest is zero in the income group 501-700 followed by two income groups of below 100 and 101-300 with 33%, 701-900 with 29% and above 900 with 25%.

In general the perdentage of disagreement comes to 70% and that of agreement to 30%.

Though the table columns vary in a haphazard manner, it is quite evident that in general the descendant nobles in all income groups do not regard men as instruments to be used for their life purpose. This is more true as we ascend up to the higher income groups. The general trend is quite evident. The agreement with the statement has the same vagrancy, but without any definite change in the trend. The less is the income there is greater tension among them to find a place by whatever means; hence perhaps lesser income groups in about one third of the agreement with the statement persist. In general it can be safely said that the trend is definite.

D. THE CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

In disagreement the Premier Nobles carry the highest percentage (75%), (Table-XIV, Item-II), followed by the Paigah Nobles (67%) and Other Jagirdars (65%).

In the same way the agreement with the statement is highest with the Other Jagirdars 35%, Paigah Nobles 33% and the Premier Nobles 25%.

In general the percentage of disagreement is 67% and that of agreement is 33%.

The disagreement is generally spread over in all the categories indicating that the nobles in general and the Premier Nobles in particular are dead against human beings to be used as instrument for life purposes. This trend is quite consonant with the main stand which the descendant nobles had taken. It is not surprising that some of them still persist in the agreement with the statement, but with the turn of events they tend to be definitely towards acceptance of man as man and to build relationship among men, only mutual understanding counts and men are not meant to be used for dubious purposes.

OBSERVATIONS:-

This statement is very significant in the sense that the nobles as a community have always been associated with the establishment of an order in society in which the elevated exploit the many down-trodden for their own benefits, without human considerations. This apparent charge against them is vague and the descendant nobles have vehemently denied that they are accustomed to that way of behaviour. This forms a part of their belief which may not be strictly followed in practice, but it would be uncharitable on our part to say that they as a class have exploited men and do so still. The exploitation of men by men is not confined to the nobles alone, and the descendant nobles cannot alone be regarded as the main culprits. More so they cannot possibly do so under the present changed circumstances.

MIS USE OF POWER :-

III. STATEMENT:-

Nobility and power have always gone together. The predecessor nobles have used this power for good as well as for bad purposes, even to the extent of being injudicious at times. The descendant nobles look upon the use of power in the same manner.

EXPLANATION:-

This statement is directed towards the descendant nobles to know their mind about the use of power so much associated with them in the past, however less it may be now left with them in the present. Power was regarded among the predecessor nobles as a part of their culture and was used both discriminately and indiscriminately. The descendant nobles are asked to look upon this way of behaviour and to indicate their reaction towards the responsibility involved in the use of power.

BREAK UP OF TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

In the age group (Table-XI, Item-III), 31-40 the percentage of disagreement comes to 93% with 2 age groups, 20-30 and 41-50 having 79% each and above 50 has 64%, the lowest.

The agreement with the statement rises from the lowest 7% in 31-40 age group to 36% in the age group above 50 with

21% in the age group 20-30 and 41-50.

In general the percentage of disagreement is 76% and that of agreement is 24%.

The descendant nobles are quite awakened to the situation and do not believe in power to be used in wreckless and licentious manner. The highest age group seems to be still addicted to the old habit and hence is having lowest percentage, but the general trend of the judicious use of power is spread over all age groups. The agreement with the statement is quite insignificant in percentage except that of the age group above 50 which is over one-third. But this is a fading element and will not reverse the trend.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

The disagreement is the highest (77%), (Table-XII,Item-III), among the school educated with the literates having 75% and the college educated having 73%.

The agreement with the statement is largest (27%) among the college educated, the literates have 25% and the school educated have 23%.

In general the percentage of disagreement is 76% and that of agreement is 24%.

The disagreement with the indiscriminate use of power is spread over in all the educational levels. Even the college

educated who are having the lowest percentage in the table are as high as 73%. So it can be generally assumed that the educated descendant nobles are not inclined towards the indiscriminate use of power.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The highest percentage of disagreement (100%), (Table-XIII, Item-III), comes from the two income groups below 100 and 501-700. Next to that is 301-500 with 86%, 101-300 with 80%, 701-900 75% and above 900, 50%.

The agreement percentage table rises from zero in two groups below 100 and 501-700, to 50% in the above 900 group, with 25% in 701-900, 20% in 101-300 and 14% in 301-500.

In general the percentage of disagreement is 76% and that of agreement is 24%.

The disagreement is significantly spread over in all income groups with the lowest percentage of 75%, except in the case of above 900. This income group seems to be divided equally from within. This may be because it is this group, which belong to two worlds, of having once enjoyed, power and now deprived of it. Moreover, they are in a secured position to use power in their own whim without being dislocated. Except perhaps this group the agreement with the statement is significantly low in percentages to be ignored altogether. In general we can safely say that the descendant nobles in all

income groups are for the use of power in a judicious manner.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

The highest percentage (91%), (Table-XIV, Item-III), of disagreement is from the Premier Nobles, next to that come the Other Jagirdars (77%) and the last come the Paigah Nobles with 62%.

The agreement percentage (9%) is lowest in the case of Premier Nobles and highest (38%) in the case of Paigah Nobles, with the Other Jagirdars having 23% in the middle.

In general the percentage of disagreement is 76% and that of agreement is 24%.

It is worth noting that the Paigah Nobles have the lowest percentage of disagreement in the table coinciding with the income group above 900 in the previous table. This confirms our previous observation about this group of persons belonging to the two worlds of having once enjoyed the power in their own manner, but it would be wrong to assume that the descendant nobles in general are in the same line, because the predominant, among them, the Premier Nobles and the Other Jagirdars set the trends.

OBSERVATIONS:-

This statement is rather intriguing, because the descendant nobles are assumed to have some craze of power

left in them as inherited part of their culture. Though the circumstances around them do not permit any opportunity for them to exercise whatever power is left with them in the same manner as their predecessors did, but they have responded in a responsible manner to our statement indicating the awareness that has come to them now. After general reading of all the four tables we can be quite clear in our mind that the descendant nobles have lost the power of the predecessor nobles and have no craze for it, and that they are for the proper use of power.

A SUM UP OF THE GENERAL OUTLOOK IN LIFE:-

In restating the general outlook on life of the descendant nobles, we have to recapitulate in short what we have studies in the three statements before. In all the three statements the general tendency has been heavily on the side of disagreement, because our statements were drafted in a manner to see if the old outlook on life still prevails over the descendant nobles. It is heartening to note that the present descendants take life seriously particularly in economic matters in different age groups, educational levels, income groups and categories of nobles.

They have also definitely denied the exploitation of man by man and have disowned the practice even if they were indulging in it in the past. This is supported by all the four independent variables also.

In our study of the use of power by the descendant nobles, there is a definite trend to use it with discretion and with sense of propriety and not indiscriminately in a luxurious manner.

(2) VALUES AND VIEWS REGARDING FEUDALISM:-

The framework in which the nobles have lived has been the feudal system, in which the nobles occupied the pedestal position with a large number of retinue below and owing allegiance to the monarch above, depending upon the land which they exploited for their material sources. Under this framework it is proper for us to enquire from their descendants how they now look at the system that has gone.

Hence we have asked the descendant nobles four significant questions to know their reactions towards the system that sustained them till recently and which is now surrendered under the pressure of circumstances leaving them to live on themselves.

(1) FEUDALISM NATURAL:-

To our first question (Table-XV, Item-I), whether the feudal system was basically unnatural, 87% of them have disagreed thinking it to be something as naturally evolved and part of natural evolution in socio-economic system. They are right in thinking so, because they have had no hand in its framing and it came to them as a part of their heritage.

(ii) FEUDAL CHANGE - A HISTORICAL PROCESS:-

This idea of feudalism to be natural is further checked up by our second question (Table-AV, Item-2), when we asked the descendant nobles, whether they regard the present change in their status as a part of historical process. They have responded in the affirmative to the extent of 96%. This agreement expresses the views of the descendant nobles that the fall of feudalism has been a part of the natural and historical process.

(iii) FEUDALISM - LOGICAL:-

To our third question (Table-AV, Item-3), to test the illogicity of the feudal order the percentage of disagreement has increased to 91%. This is something which formed an integral part of their rationality which did not see any black spot in the system in which they were born and brought up. Whether it is logical or not is determined here by the way in which you look at the same thing. It was logical to them because they found nothing wrong in it, if a few owned the land and the many tilled them. But in the changed circumstances it became illogical, but it cannot be so to those who have been hit hard by its crumbling and are left with the few crumbs.

(iv) FEUDALISM - JUST:-

To our fourth question (Table-AV, Item-4), if the feudal

system was unjust the percentage of disagreement has jumped to 92%. Perhaps the descendant nobles wish to impart some vehemence to say that the old order.was not only natural, logical but also, judicially sound. The justice of the cause of feudalism is apparent to those who have been greatly benefitted by it; and perhaps also to a large number of persons it may be justifiable when the fringe benefits are thinly spread over them as well. The descendant nobles look upon the old system to be just perhaps because the whole framework of judiciary, the revenue system and the law and order arrangements had drawn their sustenance from it. They were empowered to impart justice and justice was 'evenly' dispensed. The judicacy of the feudal system upheld by the descendant nobles is justifiable and acceptable. It is in the large terms that the feudal order has failed to extend equal benefits to all. We may now say that the democratic principles have taken over and in their predominance the feudal system has no place. That the feudal system has lived through the history in wide areas and has been able to sustain itself till recently, its survival by itself, perhaps contains germs of justiciability.

CAUSES OF THE FALL OF FEUDALISM:-

After establishing the naturality, logicity and justness of feudalism in the minds of the descendant nobles as per our previous study, we now enter into another probe to know

from them the causes of the fall of feudalism. For this we presented before them one statement and one question to know their reactions with regard to the causes of the fall of feudalism.

FALL OF FEUDALISM - FATALISTIC:-

IV. STATEMENT:-

The demise of feudalism under the new dispensation was a crushing below to the nobles and their descendants now regard the occurance of the event to be a part of their destiny.

EXPLANATION:-

This statement is simply worded and has plainly located the fall of feudalism to be a part of destined events that have overtaken the nobles of Hyderabad. We wish to know whether the descendant nobles believe in the destiny of the event that has overtaken them. The concept of destiny as the controlling force in the life of the nobles has been an accepted part of their belief system.

BREAK UP OF TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

The highest percentage of agreement (92.4%) (Table-XI, Item-IV), with the statement is in the age group 20-30 descending to 86.6% in the age group 41-50 through 71.5% in the age group 31-40 to 70.4% in the age group above 50.

The disagreement percentage (29.6%) is highest in the case of age groups above 50, descending to 28.5% in the age group 31-40, through 13.4% in the age group 41-50 to 7.6% in the age group 20-30.

The general percentage comes to 80% in the case of agreement and 20% in the case of disagreement.

Bred in the laps of their mother the youngest seem to imbibe in the easiest manner that feudalism is the gift of destiny. As they grow in age the faith in the concept wavers. When they come in conflict of life they begin to have faith in their own and when they have assumed authority they believe that both destiny and personal designs mixed together are responsible for the fall of feudalism. The disagreement with the statement is the highest in the age group above 50 when the authority and maturity of thinking are at their prime. This does not mean that with the growth in age the faith in destiny totally disappears.

In totality the trend is overwhelmingly in favour of destiny playing the controlling hand in the decline of feudalism.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

The highest percentage of agreement (86.2%) (Table-XII, Item-IV), with the statement is in the school educated, through 83.4% in the literates to 66.6% in the college educated.

The percentage of disagreement 33.4% is in the college educated, 16.6% in the literates and 13.8% in the school educated.

In totality the percentage of agreement is 78% and that of disagreement is 22%.

In general the trend is towards the acceptance of destiny alone to be responsible for the fall of feudalism. The faith in it declines as they become more educated; particularly it is indicative more from school educated to college educated. The disagreement percentage also confirms that the more educated they are, they are more inclined to acknowledge their partial responsibility in the state of affairs. It becomes all the more confirmed with growing age. The trend is definitely tilted towards more faith in destiny with a mixture of their own role in it.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The highest percentage of agreement (100%), (Table-XIII, Item-IV), is in the two income groups of below 100 and 301-500, descending through 87.5% in 101-300, 66.6% in two groups 501-700, 701-900 and ending with 53.8% in above 900.

The disagreement rises from zero in the group below 100 and 301-500, through 12.5% in 101-300, 33.4% in two groups 501-700, 701-900 to 46.2% in the above 900 group.

In totality the percentage of agreement is 79% and that of disagreement is 21%.

Ignoring one middle range in the lower groups, we can say that the faith in destiny to be the main instrument for the decline of feudalism is strange as their income is lower. The realization of their low income by the fall of feudalism rises as the income increases. It comes to a great mix of destiny and personal role in the fall of feudalism in almost significant segments in the higher income groups (53.8% and 46.2%). Though the general trend is definitely towards destiny the thing to be noted in this table is that the more secure economically they are, the more thoughtful they are about the role of destiny as well as of their own responsibility in the fall of feudalism.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

The highest percentage of agreement with the statement (Table-XIV, Item-IV), is (81.4%) in the Other Jagirdars through 76.9% in the Premier Nobles to 61.5% in the Paigah Nobles.

The disagreement percentage runs from 38.5% in the Paigah Nobles, through 23.1% in the Premier Nobles to 18.6% in the Other Jagirdars.

In total the percentage of agreement is 73% and that of disagreement is 27%.

Looking through the previous tables we find that this table agrees with the income groups in which the Paigah Nobles and the Premier Nobles can be coupled with higher income groups where the faith in destiny is greatly mixed with their own share of responsibility in the decline of feudalism. As the income declines there is a greater increase in the faith in destiny and lesser awareness of their share of responsibility in the fall of feudalism, as we noticed in the case of Other Jagirdars. The general trend is the same though greater faith in the mixture is noticeable.

OBSERVATIONS:-

One general observation that emerges from the study of the four independent variables, is the part that destiny has played in the decline of feudalism, which was the main framework under which the nobles flourished. The descendant nobles are definitely for throwing the responsibility more on destiny than on their own role. Another significant trend noticed is that as they grow in age, education, income and in status, the realization of their own role in the decline dawns on them, though it does not go to the extent of turning the trend of their faith in destiny not only for the decline of feudalism but also for overwhelming events that have overtaken them. This faith in destiny for this particular event of decline of feudalism is an important part of their general belief system in which destiny always plays

the controlling role and their reliance on their own efforts is not always complete.

THE QUESTION OF PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY:-

In order to check this statement further we undertook the study to locate their personal responsibility in the fall of feudalism, because of various reasons like negligence of their duties, disregard of the interests of tenants, laxity in supervision and the like. This role of responsibility has already appeared as an opposite in the destiny statement though partially. We have already covered this aspect in the four independent variables in detail. It will amount to superfluity if we go into the four tables again in all their variables. Hence we propose to check them up through their total percentages to know the degree of responsibility actually owned by the respondents. The picture would be made clear, if presented thus (Table-XV, Item-5).

In the age group it appears that the percentage of disagreement with the acceptance of responsibility for the decline of feudalism is 84% and of agreement is 16%. The trend within the table also confirms that acceptance for the degree of share of responsibility increases with age.

With regard to the educational level, the general disagreement with the acceptance of responsibility for the decline comes to 80% and acceptance percentage is 20%. In this

also the more educated they are, the more ready they are to accept their own share of responsibility.

In the income groups the disagreement about their responsibility in the decline of feudalism is 76% and the acceptance percentage comes to 24%. In this also the lower income groups are not ready and in some instances absolutely not ready to accept their share of responsibility in the decline. As they go up in the income group they are reconciled to accept their larger share in the fall of feudalism, whatever may be the other causes.

Among the category of nobles the denial of responsibility for the fall of feudalism goes to the extent of 77% on their part; while 23% are ready to accept their own share in the turn of events. The disagreement is highest in the Other Jagirdars through the Premier Nobles and least in the Paigah Nobles. This agrees with the general observation that those who are higher in status and better in economic security are more inclined to accept a greater share of their responsibility in the decline of feudalism, because of their larger awareness of the things around and maturer experiences.

OBSERVATIONS:-

We find that the descendants gradually get awakened to the acceptance of their personal responsibility involved in the decline of feudalism. The degree of acceptance increases

with the growing age and education, and higher income and status. Though they are ready to accept their share of responsibility but it is apparent that ithe quantum of personal responsibility and the exact proportions of destiny and personal contribution to the demise of feudalism, is not and perhaps cannot be finally determined. When destiny encourages an attitude of resignation to the Great Will, the faith in personal efforts cannot be envisaged to be equal to it. This is bound to affect the course of reconstruction in which the descendants are at present engaged.

A SUM UP OF VALUES AND VIEWS REGARDING FEUDALISM:-

In this section we have surveyed the values and views of the descendant nobles regarding feudalism which was their protecting shelter. We start with asking about the accepted values of feudalism to be natural, logical and just. The descendant nobles in larger percentages have taken feudalism to be a part of their natural heritage and fitting well in the logic of the system in which they lived and to be comparatively just in its dispensation. That feudalism is regarded by the descendant nobles to be natural has been further scrutinized and it is found that they regard the fall of feudalism to be a part of the historical process in which they were so adversely involved.

Then we covered the study of the causes for the fall of feudalism. Here we have confined ourselves to the location of

of the cause in destiny of the events that were bound to occur. Along with this we have tried also to know if they themselves were also responsible for the fall of the system. We find that destiny is accepted to be the main cause for the decline of feudalism and it has fitted well with their belief system. With regard to their share of responsibility in the decline of feudalism they are inclined to accept this in a partial manner and not at all ready to accept that they alone are responsible for the event that has overtaken them.

(3) VIEWS ON EDUCATION OF BOYS:-

One of the main props of the continuity of any system from generation to generation has been the instrument of education. Education as a medium not only passed the values and views of one generation to another but also contributes to its vitality and vigour. No system can subsist long without taking care of the young ideas and without nursing them to grow according to its own values and ideals. Education is the channel through which a generation of nobles has been able to pass on to the succeeding generations its own methods, manners, meanings of life and meanderings into it.

The nobility has been very particular about the preservation of its exclusiveness. Their ways of life have been limited into small circles. They have been keen also to see that they maintain its prestine purity from possible pollution from external sources. Hence it has been found in

general that they had been careful about educating their young in a manner that suited their proper murture into the society which they wished to preserve.

Hence we are here concerned with the views of the descendant nobles about the ordinary commonly prevalent education system now working in contrast to the exclusive system of education they once had.

To probe into their views we have asked them three questions. We do not wish to go into the details about their responses in the four independent variables in a detailed manner as we find that the variations are not so much as to be taken notice of, but we do take into account the total trend, which helps us to know their views about education with which we are mainly concerned here.

(1) COMMON EDUCATION - SUITABLE:-

In response to our first question, (Table-XV, Item-6), if the ordinary common system of education is unsuitable to the descendants of the nobles, we find them to disagree with it in a heavy percentage of 94%. When we analyse the age group table we find the same trend in all age groups with the percentages never falling below 86%. In the educational standard as well, the percentage is heavily in favour of the present system and does not fall below approximately 84%. In the income groups as well, the total percentage goes upto 97%

and does not fall below 87% approximately. In the categories of nobles the percentage is about 94% and is never below 86%.

Thus it is a clear break of the descendant nobles from the old idea of exclusive education. The change in circumstances, the economic cost of old Jagirdar College (now turned into a Public School), the fragility of maintaining the exclusiveness and above all the urge to reconcile with the prevailing trend may be some of the factors compelling the descendants not to regard the present ordinary common system of education to be unsuitable for them. This does not mean that they have completely discarded the old Jagirdar College converted into a Public School from their ideas of excellence and also in their practice of admitting their own children into them. They have also not dissociated themselves from the management of such a school. Thus their linkages with the old order are lingerly alive.

(ii) COMMON EDUCATION - NON-CONFLICTING:-

In continuing our probe we asked the descendant nobles a second question (Table-XV, Item-7), if the present ordinary and common system of education is not conflicting with the higher ideals of nobility as a class. This question is posed to know the tension in the minds of the descendant nobles that may possibly arise because of the two sets of values within the family and without in the schools. Within the family the values may be of social graces, mild manners,

exclusive class life, family gradations and conversational delicacies in contrast with the uniform democratic process levelling down of distinctions, extra emphasis on merit, extreme attention to studies alone prevailing in the present school system of education. In this tensious atmosphere the descendant nobles are now placed. Even then 94% of them have denied the prevalence of any conflict between the ideals of nobility and the common process of education.

In the brief survey of the four independent variables regarding this question we find that in all the age groups the percentage has not fallen below 62% and has gone high upto 100%. In the educational level the most educated have disagreed with 100% and the percentage has not fallen below about 84%, and in all income groups the percentage is almost 100%. In the categories of nobles the percentage has not fallen below approximately 93%. Thus the widely spread trends in the tables agree with the totality of the percentage (94%).

This reconciliation with the inevitable is more an acceptance of what they cannot undo than a positive assertion of the ideals which they may be secretly nursing. The conflict as we have shown earlier is a conflict of mind. It is not a courageous expression of the debates and doubts within them, but we must appreciate the views expressed by the descendant nobles for their adaptation to the changed

order. It can only be possible because of the pliability and flexibility, which have developed in them, as a result of the new awakening.

(iii) COMMON EDUCATION - NOT ADVERSELY EFFECTING:-

In deepening our probe further we asked the descendant nobles the third question (Table-XV, Item-8), if the descendant nobles think that the present general system of education would adversely affect them.

In asking this we have in mind to know the view of the descendant nobles about the effect which the present system of education would have on them in future, if their children are educated in the common ordinary schools. It is generally assumed that exclusiveness of the nobles would be adversely affected by this common educational process; and levelling down of the upper classes would not only be first made theoretically acceptable through the emphasis on equality, but also would be realised in practice through the process of socialization.

To our surprise the descendant nobles have disagreed with a vehemance of 94% that this system of education would not adversely affect them. This is a queer finding. Breaking this disagreement into the four independent variables we find that in the age group table there are 100% in two columns and the disagreement percentage has not fallen below approximately

86%. In the educational level table the college educated have disagreed to the extent of about 96% and the lowest percentage of disagreement is about 93% with one column of 100%. In the income group table there are about 4 columns with 100% and the percentage of disagreement has not fallen below approximately 94%. In the category of nobles the Other Jagirdars have about 98% disagreement and the percentage has not fallen below approximately 86% with one column of 100%. So the variants in the different tables agree with the general percentage closely.

This disagreement may be perhaps, because the descendants are now so much dazed by the situation th t they do not wish to look upon the impact of this sytem of education on nobility as a class. But they seem to rely on a lingering hope that through cheaper and thereby wider education they would be able to procure some economic security and thereby may be able to protect their own class, if not nobility as such. This view of the descendant nobles indicates the effect also of the changes that have made their dent not only in their ways of life but also in their mental make up.

A SUM UP OF VIEWS ON EDUCATION FOR BOYS:-

We have started to study the views of descendant nobles on the present commonly placed system of education which was meant to be for the commoners, as distinct from the exclusive Jagirdar College where most of the children of the nobles were

educationally initiated. The descendant nobles have agreed in general with the suitability of this system to their own sons as well, perhaps to help their progeny to gradually glide into the process of socialisation in the prevailing atmosphere. They have also disagreed that the common system of education would conflict with the class ideals of nobility. It is perhaps a reconciliation with the inevitable. Further they have also disagreed with the idea that this common system of education would adversely affect them. Perhaps in this case they show more keenness for their individual preservation with the opening of opportunities for employment through education than for their preservation as a class.

(4) VIEWS ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN:-

The position of women in society has been varying. The weaker and the nobler section has always been applauded in theory but often has not been able to find equal position in society according to the appreciation that is bestowed on them. The equality of sex has long been preached and often breached in practice. There has never been an occasion when professions and practices about women have been in equal balance.

Within the class of nobility women have been accorded a place in the same varying manner. Nobles' behaviour towards women is generally talked about and woman is pointed out to be their greatest weakness among others.

Hence it is relevant for us to probe their views about the status of women in the working frame of nobility. For this we have arranged our study as follows:-

(i) Equality of Women.
(ii) Sex life.
(iii) 'Harem'.
(iv) Segregation of Women.
(v) Religious and General Education of Women.

(i) EQUALITY OF WOMEN:-

The first question taken for our probe is about equality of women, which is also, currently covered under the womens' liberation year. For this, we have approached our respondents through a statement in four independent variables.

V. STATEMENT:-

The predessor nobles were not much concerned about the problem of equality and emancipation of women. The descendant nobles are equally unconcerned.

EXPLANATION:-

This statement aims to know the mind of the descendant nobles as to how they accord a status to women under the changed circumstances. In particular we wish to detect the change in their views from those of their predecessors. The changed circumstances are demanding enough to effect the involvement not only of the male members, but also of the women associates in the struggle of life.

BREAK UP OF TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

The highest percentage of disagreement (100%) (Table-XI, Item-V), is in the age groups 20-30 and 31-40 through 92.4% in the age group 41-50 to 85.8% in the age group above 50.

The agreement percentage rises from zero in the first two age groups through 14.2% in above 50 group and falls to 7.6% in the age group 41-50.

The total percentage of disagreement is 94.5% and agreement is 5.5%.

The study of the table shows almost a total disagreement of the descendant nobles indicating that they are out to improve the condition and status of women. The first two groups are 100% in disagreement as their ages demand them to look upon the women as copartners to be lifted from their derogatory position. This is quite consistent with the modern trend towards raising the status of women by which the younger elements are greatly influenced. In the advance age group the percentage falls down but it does not go below 86% and agreement does not go beyond approximately 15%. So in general it can be said that the descendant nobles in all age groups are decided to be concerned about improving the status of women.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

The highest percentage of disagreement (97.5%), (Table-XII, Item-V), comes from the school educated through 91.4% college educated to 80% in the literates.

The percentage of agreement is highest (20%) among the literates through 8.6% in the college educated to 2.5% in the school educated.

The general percentage of disagreement is 89.6% and that of agreement is 10.4%.

The literates seem to be most conservative of the lot but their percentage is quite high in disagreement. With education the volume of concern about women increases. There is a slight fall in percentage among the college educated. It may be because the wider reading has brought them in contact with the ancient debate about the status of women in Islamic history. The agreement with the statement does not rise beyond one-fifth in the column and not beyond one-tenth in the general total. So it can be said that the educated nobles are out to raise the position of women.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The percentage of disagreement is 100% (Table-XIII, Item-V), in three columns (below 100, 101-300 and above 900), next to that comes 83.4% (301-500), 75% there in 701-900 and then comes 66.6% (501-700).

The percentage of agreement rises from zero in the above mentioned three income groups through 33.4% in (501-700), to 25% in (701-900) to 16.6% in (301-500).

The general percentage of disagreement is 87.7% and that of agreement is 12.3%.

The disagreement with the statement comes mostly from those who belong to lower income groups where the tussle of life is the keenest. One hundred percent disagreement comes from the age group above 900. It is perhaps because with the economic security, liberalism has descended in the group. The middle range income groups are more variant. But the percentage of disagreement does not fall below 66.6%. Thus the trend seems to be towards more concern about the higher status of women in all income groups.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES: -

The highest percentage of disagreement (100%) (Table-AIV, Item-V), is among the Premier Nobles, next come the Other Jagirdars with 95.3% and last come the Paigah Nobles with 85.7%.

Accordingly the agreement percentage descends from 14.3% in the Paigah Nobles to 4.7% through Other Jagirdars to zero with the Premier Nobles.

In general the percentage of disagreement is 93.6% and that of agreement is 6.4%.

The lower is the status of the nobles the greater seems to be adaptation to change. The largest percentage of agreement with the traditional position of women in society is acceptable among the Paigah Nobles, though the heavy trend is towards equality and emancipation of women. The tradition seems to be still persisting to some extent among the economically secure Paigah Nobles. The general trend towards, however, change is quite perceptible. The slight set back still persisting is very low and weak.

OBSERVATIONS:-

Observing over the tables we can confidently surmise that the descendant nobles are concerned about the equality and emancipation of women. The younger are keener than the older. The more educated are more enthusiastic than the less educated. The low income groups are more inclined than the higher income groups. The Other Jagirdars and the Premier Nobles are more tended than the Paigah Nobles to raise the status of women and to bring them into the main stream of life as equal and emancipated partners in the hard struggle ahead.

The misconception long prevailing about the status of women is Muslim society, has been that their role is home confined and limited and segregated. This is rather an unjust picture. All societies are man dominated. In Muslim society there has been an initial struggle pointed towards the

particular direction for raising the status of women. These attempts have been overlaid by other social traditions. The Muslims have also been influenced by the changing vicissitudes of strife and struggle in which they were involved in the long process of history. It is worthy to note that the nobles never accorded a low position to women and in their social behaviour they have never disrespected them. Though the women in the social traditions of the nobles never enjoyed equal and emancipated position, professed in other societies and not practised, they had their influences in the different courses of life of the nobles' society and can be regarded as having a position of significance though not dominance.

(11) SEX LIFE:-

Prolonging our probe further we wish to investigate certain allegations generally made against the nobles with regard to their behaviour particularly about their laxity in sex life.

We have asked the descendant nobles about its three aspects: (a) whether lax in sex can be regarded as a hall mark of nobility, (b) whether it is the weakness of weaknesses among them, and (c) whether it is a stigma on nobility.

These three aspects are particularly taken into account to know the views of the descendant nobles about the world generally talked about outside, without an inside peep into it. In order to have a correct estimate of this known-unknown inside world of man-woman relations in the nobles' society, we wish to have about it an authenticated picture with the help of the descendant nobles.

(a) SEX LIFE - HALL MARK:-

To our first question (Table-XV, Item-9), whether laxity in sex life can be regarded as a hall mark of nobility, the descendants have disagreed to the extent of 90%, with only 10% accepting it. This is a denial, which is coming from those who have seen and even peeped through this world of nobles. They refuse to accept it as a distinctive behaviour of nobles alone. They wish to draw our attention on various other virtues associated with nobility which should not be submerged under this supposed hall mark which may paint them all black. They do not wish to deny that some laxity in sex may be noticed under the circumstances of secure living, with plenty of time to spare, leisurely existence, and surplus wealth. But on that account it should not be forgotten that the nobles had enough to worry about and all categories of them do not often indulge in these laxes alone. They had enough worries to think about and keep them occupied. Let us be charitable to them in not attaching

this lax behaviour to be the 'hall mark' of nobility alone, as any group of the upper class, economically well placed in society, may develop such tendencies under different and more sophisticated modern masks.

(b) SEX LIFE - THE WEAKNESS:-

Our second question (Table-XV, Item-10), to them is if they regard this laxity in sex to be the weakness of weaknesses. On it 58% of them have disagreed while 42% have agreed. This is an interesting reaction of the descendant nobles and we must say it is a frank expression in which as many as 42% of them accept it as a part of truth. This stand of the descendants is on the basis of the circumstances and the type of life which they lead. Among other weaknesses of the nobles like the false sense of superiority, pride, arrogant behaviour, self-indulgence and the like, this weakness may be distinctively noticeable and perhaps permissive in the social conditions of the walled existence (Deodhi) in which they lived almost cut off from the outside world. The presence of this weakness does not mean that the sex life was all in all for them. The nobles have had a share of it and might be more in comparison with other sections of the society. But in the protected phase of life in which they had assured security, sustained continuity, ample comfort and limited outside social contacts, this indulgence is a likely lapse. It is interesting to note that while they refuse to regard

it as a hall mark of nobility, they are partially ready to accept it as a weakness among the predecessor nobles, which according to them was a behaviour born of circumstances in which they lived.

(c) SEX LIFE - A STIGMA :-

In answer to our third question (Table-XV, Item-II), if the laxity in sex is a stigma on nobility, about 87% of them have disagreed and only 13% have agreed. This patch on nobility is not acceptable to them, may be, because they do not want that it should be sticked on to them as the stigma. They are keen that they should be looked upon in proper perspective. Nobility and sex life may go together as a temporary phase of their life but not as something permanent. The nobles have had a share of the pomp and grandeur of the state and along with it had a large share in the pleasures of life in which sex had a large proportion. But to say that it is the stigma of nobility alone may not be quite justifiable. Hence the descendant nobles are not ready to agree with the blame apportioned to them.

OBSERVATIONS:-

It is necessary for us here to consider the three questions together. Looking into the laxity in sex life the descendant nobles are not to accept it as a distinctive mark of nobility, though they are inclined to take it as a

weakness on their part, still not agreeing to regard it as a stigma, something to be permanently patched with them.

(iii) " H A R E M " :-

A significant association with the nobles has long been the maintenance of Harem as a part of their family life. This is a continuation of our investigation into the sex world of the nobles. This gathering together of women with whom they were sexually associated under the same roof in a protected existence is generally regarded as a practice which has developed into an institution in the social life of the nobles.

We have approached the descendant nobles to express their views about this institution and asked them three questions about the institution of the Harem:
(a) if it is a natural part of the behaviour of the nobles,
(b) if Harem is a customary practice among the nobles, and
(c) if it is an essential part of the nobles' life.

(a) HAREM - A NATURAL WAY OF LIFE:-

In answer to the first question (Table-XV, Item-12), if Harem is natural to nobility, the disagreement of the descendant nobles is 93%. This is a denial to regard Harem as a part of the natural life of the nobles. This is to say that Harem was an institution not generally present in all sections of nobility at all times. This is also to assert

that the nobility in general did not always adopt to Harem life. The descendant nobles are quite clear in their minds that Harem was a passing institution which was once a patch on the nobles life when they had a protected existence in the prime of security. The descendant nobles take it that they have not inherited it in their natural course. It is something which is possible under a conspiracy of circumstances and not in the usual life of the nobles. The descendant nobles have definitely not resorted to it and are not in a position to afford it. What is more important here is that they have no inclinations also to revive it even if they find themselves in similar position, because of the change in outlook.

(b) HAREM - TO BE CUSTOMARY:-

To the second question (Table-XV, Item-13), if the Harem is customary, the disagreement with it 62% and agreement with it is 38%. There is slight variation different from the other stand taken by the respondents. This 62:38 position indicates that it was customary though not widely prevalent in all categories of nobles. To say that it is customary means that it is a social habit of the nobles confined to certain sections among them so as to be distinctively regarded as a part of social behaviour of that section. It is different from being natural, which is rather universal and applicable, to all. That is why perhaps, quite a few (38%) among the

descendant nobles regard it as customary because they must have seen their own counterparts indulging in it though in a limited manner within some limited groups. The descendant nobles in large number appear to be against this custom and we can safely say that the Harem as a customary institution may never be adopted by them.

(c) HAREM - AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT:-

To our third question (Table-XV, Item-14), if Harem is an essential element of the nobility, disagreement percentage is 88% and agreement percentage is that of 12%. The descendant nobles do not regard Harem to be one of the essential ingredients of the life of nobility. It means that nobility and Harem do not necessarily go together. If Harem is associated with nobility it may be a break away social behaviour supposedly overshadowing other parts of nobles' life. To regard Harem as an essential part of nobility would be to ignore other important elements and virtues for which nobility is known and noted in history. The descendant nobles wish to assert that it is not an element out of which the behaviour of the nobles alone is determined nor they have adopted it in their course of life. This is to say that the predecessor nobles' Harem life was a social behaviour vagrantly present but not a permanent feature. Hence the descendant nobles are free from it.

OBSERVATIONS:-

Combining the three aspects of our enquiry about Harem, we can surmise that the descendant nobles do not regard it as natural, taking it to be an institution which was a product of certain secured circumstances. They are not so equally decided about Harem to be customary; most of them disagree and say that it was not a widely prevalent custom but quite a few have found it to be a custom noticeably present in some sections of their predecessors' society. The descendant nobles have also denied that Harem is an essential form of nobility and the two do not necessarily often go together.

(iv) SEGREGATION OF WOMEN:-

Segregation of women through purdah is a social habit alleged to be more rigidly followed among the Muslims than in any other community. Nobility is regarded to be the custodian of a community's culture. This custom of segregation of women needs to be examined about its continued prevalence among the descendant nobles. It is studied through one statement in four independent variables.

VI. STATEMENT:-

The nobles were strict about the segregation of women through the Purdah System. Their descendants are also keen to maintain the same system.

EXPLANATION:-

Muslims have been observing Purdah since long time. This system leads to segregation and avoids free contact between man and woman beyond a circle of near relations. Without going into the origin of the system we are concerned to know from the descendant nobles if this practice of segregating women in the Purdah System is still followed by them under the changed circumstances.

BREAK UP OF TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

The highest percentage of disagreement is (66.6%), (Table-AI, Item-VI), in age group 31-40, descending through 50% in the age group 20-30, to 46.6% in the age group 41-50 ending with 20% in the age group above 50.

The agreement percentage is highest (80%) in the age group above 50 descending through the 53.4% in the age group 41-50, through 50% in the age group 20-30, ending with 33.4% in the age group 31-40.

The total percentage of agreement is 54.2% and that of disagreement is 45.8%.

So we are now placed to observe an interesting position with regard to the views of the descendant nobles about the Purdah System. The youngest see to be equi-poised with 50:50

for and against. As they grow in age the increase in percentage of agreement increases going up to 80% in the oldest. The disagreement is somewhat high in the age group 31-40 which is the middle age group breaking away from the youngest, but it soon falls in line with the attitude of the growing age.

In total the trend does not seem to be very definite with a near 10% of difference for and against the Purdah System. This reflects the presence of doubting Thomases who seem to persist even in the case of nobility as in general in the Muslim Community.

b. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

The highest percentage of agreement (100%) (Table-XII, Item-VI), with the statement is among the literates with 51.2% among the school educated and 32% among the college educated.

The disagreement percentage rises from zero among the literates, through 48.8% among the school educated to 68% among the college educated.

In total the percentage of agreement is 71.5% and disagreement is 28.5%.

Here the ordinary literates seem to stick to the tradition of Purdah System. The school educated are in a

dubious mood with a small difference of mere 2% between for and against Purdah System. As the literates have merely followed the tradition, the school educated with some wider knowledge have tried to break away but can not cross the fence all over. But the college educated have definitely taken for breaking of Purdah System with 68%. This shows the impact of college education on the views of the descendant nobles. As they are small in number, they have not succeeded in turning the tide in favour of the abolition of the Purdah System, because the ultimate percentage of agreement in favour of Purdah is as high as 71.5%.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The percentage of agreement begins with 66.6% (Table-XIII, Item-VI), from the income group below 100 and passes through 62.5% (101-300) to 57.2% (301-500) to 43% (501-700) to 40% (701-900) to 35% (above 900).

The percentage of disagreement with the statement is in the reverse order with the high percentage of 65% (above 900), 60% (701-900), 57% (501-700), 42.8% (301-500), 37.5% (101-300) to 33.4% (below 100).

The total percentage of agreement is 51.0% and that of disagreement is 49%. Thus the former is skipping over the latter by merely 2%.

We can broadly divide the six income groups into two groups of lower and higher. The watershed being at the income of 500. In the lower income groups the trend is definitely for the preservation of Purdah, though the percentages are in descending order. This means that the lower rungs of the nobility are the main sustainers of the old tradition as also in the larger Muslim Community. The three higher income groups show a definite trend towards the abolition of Purdah in an ascending order of percentages. This means that with more income and economic security, which gives abundance of leisure it is difficult to keep women within strict bounds of Purdah. Moreover the higher income groups imbibe a liberal outlook and permit free living. As the two lower and higher income groups are almost equi-poised, the final and ultimate percentage in total does not give us a definite trend for either for or against Purdah with the percentage of 51:49. So the nobility in income groups is yet to make up its mind for the abolition of Purdah.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

The highest percentage of agreement 62.5% (Table-XIV, Item-VI), is among the Paigah Nobles through 53.8% among the Premier Nobles and 46.5% among the Other Jagirdars.

The percentage of disagreement starts in its height with 53.5% among the Other Jagirdars descending through 46.2% among the Premier Nobles, ending with 37.5% among the Paigah Nobles.

In total the percentage of agreement is 54.4% and that of disagreement is 45.6%.

Here as in other tables the higher income groups and the Paigah and Premier Nobles stick to the preservation of Purdah. The Other Jagirdars, who may be classed in the lower income groups with a slight increase of 6% are in favour of the abolition of Purdah. Though the percentage in favour of Purdah is nearly 54%, there is a heavy disagreement in the percentage of nearly 46%.

So it cannot be said that the categories of nobles are set to break Purdah.

OBSERVATIONS:-

If in the process of socialisation, Purdah is regarded to be an institution of traditional variety, we can say that the descendant nobles are yet to be modernized, but the turbulence in their mind is indicated by their agreement - disagreement attitudes quite evident in all the four independent variables. In justice to the descendant nobles it should be noted that this is not their state of mind alone, but this love-hate attitude towards Purdah is widely spread among the Muslim Community in general. This attitude in the Muslim Community is the result of continuing debate among their social, political and even religious leaders about the ethicacy of the Purdah System.

(v) RELIGIOUS AND GENERAL EDUCATION OF WOMEN:-

Women are regarded to be the main core stabilisers of social customs. They are often alleged to be more conversative than man. Education as the medium of transmission of ideas of one generation to another, is particularly taken care of in the case of women who constitute the main transmission belt. Hence nobles had differing views about the education for boys and education for girls. The descendant nobles are asked to express their opinions on this aspect of education. It is studied through one statement in four independent variables.

VII. STATEMENT:-

The nobles were imparting religious and general education to their daughters within the confines of their homes and were generally unfavourable to giving higher education to them. The descendant nobles under the changed circumstances are inclined to promote higher education among girls along with the traditional, religious and general education at home.

EXPLANATION:-

In the case of nobles the education of the girls was attended to on a different pattern than that of the boys, though in early stages both boys and girls were educated in the family through the informal process till they attained

a particular age, when the boys were sent to the regular schools and the girls were retained at home. The pattern of the girls education was to acquaint them first with the religious norms and the reading of the Holy Quran in Arabic and the reading and writing in Urdu together with general education about the life around. After this process is over some of them were also sent to the girls school (Mahboobia Girls School) where mostly the daughters of the nobles were admitted. This pattern with some modification continued till the abolition of the Jagirdari System. The descendant nobles are asked to review this pattern and to express their opinion about it. This is particularly asked to evoke from them their views on the exclusive education of the girls in the former pattern under the changed circumstances. This is also to elicit from them their reaction to imparting their daughters higher education in colleges and universities.

BREAK UP OF TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

The highest percentage of agreement (100%) (Table-XI, Item-VI), with the statement is in the age group 20-30, Next to that comes 93.4% in the age group 41-50 and 85.7% in the age group above 50 with 81.3% in the age group 31-40.

The disagreement percentage is zero in the age group 20-30 and highest (18.7%) in the age group 31-40 with 14.3%

in the age group above 50 and 6.6% in the age group 41-50.

In total the percentage of agreement is 90.2% and that of disagreement is 9.8%.

With a slight variance in the age group 31-40 the percentage of agreement decreases as they grow in age, but it does not fall below 81% in any case. The percentage of disagreement attains the maximum of about 19% that too in the variant case of 31-40. This means that broadly in all age groups the opinion is formulated for higher education for girls, after the traditional process is over. This is confirmed by heavy percentage of 90% for agreement with the statement with disagreement going not beyond 10%. This is justified in view of the situation that demands education of girls as of boys.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

The percentage of agreement with the statement (91.6%) (Table-XII, Item-VII), among the college educated is the highest, through 88.4% with the school educated, 60% with the literates.

The percentage of disagreement is highest (40%) in the case of literates and falls to 8.4% in the case of college educated with 11.6% with the school educated.

In total the percentage of agreement comes to 80.1% and that of disagreement is 19.9%.

In this table also we find a general tendency towards higher education for girls, with college educated leading, followed by the school educated and the literates in descending percentages. The table is self explanatory. The more educated they are, the more inclined they are towards higher education of girls. The only significant disagreement (40%) comes from the literates. It can be explained as they are not fully aware of the needs of the growing society because of lack of education. The general percentage of 80% is quite heavy enough to establish the trend towards higher education of girls among the nobles.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The highest percentage of agreement (Table-XIII,Item-VII), with the statement (100%) comes from the higher groups of 501-700 and above 900, skipping over the group 701-900 which has 75% towards agreement. In the lower groups the percentages are slightly variant with regard to agreement. They are 75% in the case of below 100, 73.4% in the income group 101-300 and 66.6% in 301-500. This is rather in a reverse order. The lower is the income the more inclined they are towards higher education of girls, but however the percentage is descending upto 301-500 income group. It takes an upward turn after 500. Linking higher education with lower income groups can be explained by a desire to place their daughters as working girls in the changing society. The trend is quite

definite as the percentage even in the lower income groups with fall below 66.6%. The total percentage of approximately 82% confirms the acceptance of the benefits of higher education to girls by the descendants of the nobles in general.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

The higher percentage of agreement (Table-XIV, Item-VII), with the statement (100%), is from the Paigah Nobles and the lowest 75% is from the Premier Nobles with the Other Jagirdars having 88.4%.

The disagreement increases from zero in the Paigah Nobles to 25% among the Premier Nobles with Other Jagirdars having 11.6%.

In total the percentage of agreement is 87.7% and that of disagreement is 12.3%.

The general trend in all the categories is towards higher education for girls. The Paigah Nobles in cent percent are for it because they are better acquainted with the needs of the time and the resultant liberalism on account of economic security. The trend among the Other Jagirdars can be explained in terms of the economic pinch which they feel and for which they need supplementary support which can be had through the employable educated daughters. The Premier Nobles have the largest disagreement but their agreement percentage is

sufficiently high (75%) to strengthen the main trend. The general percentage of about 88% is a definite indication of all categories of nobles to be decided about higher education for girls.

OBSERVATIONS:-

Looking at all the four independent variables we can say that in all age groups, educational standards, and even in the lower and higher income groups with alight variations, and in all categories of nobles, the tendency is towards imparting higher education to girls along with traditional type of religious and general education at home during their tender ages. This liking is not merely an outgrowth of the changed circumstances, but the seed of this tendency was already sown during the prime days of nobility when they did not neglect attention towards higher education of girls though in a limited manner. The descendant nobles have developed this extra liking for higher education of girls as a compelling need in order to meet with the changing times.

A SUM UP OF VIEWS ON STATUS OF WOMEN:-

Let us recapitulate the survey which we have made so far of the views of the descendant nobles on the status of women in the nobles' society. In this we have covered three statements and six questions. With regard to the problem of equality and emancipation of women the descendant nobles have disagreed with their predecessors and are now set to be more

concerned about the improvement in the status of women in their section of society. Their concern for the improvement of women's status may not be as liberal as the current trends of liberation movement, but there is apparent relaxation and flexibility in their views now different from those of their predecessors.

We made interesting inroads into the known-unknown world of the sex life among the nobles. To our first question whether it is the hall mark of nobility, the descendant nobles have denied it seeking support from the life as prevalent in the upper classes elsewhere and regarding it as an overpainted black on them. To our second question if sex life is the weakness of weaknesses they are rather prone to find its presence in significant sections of their society though not a generally adopted behaviour among them all. They are inclined to defend it as a likely lapse in the circumstances in which their predecessors lived. To our third question if sex life is a stigma on nobility, they refused to take it as the stigma, pointing out that their social behaviour should be looked upon in proper perspective. A temporary phase in certain circumstances should not be taken as a permanent feature.

We further investigated about the much talked of Harems generally associated with the nobles' family behaviour. The descendant nobles are decided that it is not the natural way

of life among the nobles; and they have definitely not resorted to it in the present circumstances which are quite different from those under which Harem flourished. To our second question if Harem was customary among the nobles the descendant nobles have noted the prevalence of the custom among quite a few sections of their predecessors' society. Like other customs this is on the fade-out among the descendant nobles. To our last question if Harem is an essential part of nobility, the descendant nobles have taken a stand that it is, not an essential ingredient of nobles' society. It was a breakaway social behaviour supposedly overshadowing other parts of nobles' life.

Continuing our study of the status of women we posed before the descendant nobles a statement about the Purdah System. On this they have not been able to say very clearly if they have adopted or discarded Purdah reflecting the love-hate attitude present in their mind.

The third statement placed before the descendant nobles is about the higher education among their girls along with the traditional and general education at home. On this they have made a departure from their predecessors among whom higher education for girls was not so prevalent and they now regard it as not so objectionable under the changed circumstances.

A RESTATEMENT:-

In this chapter we studied the values and views of nobility. We divide it into four heads: (1) General outlook on life, (2) Values and views regarding feudalism, (3) Views on education, (4) Views on status of women.

(1) In the study of general outlook on life, three statements are taken for consideration. In the first the descendant nobles are asked if they take life easy. We find that they are now seriously concerned with the matters economic, and life is sufficiently hard for them. In the second they are asked whether they use persons of lower order as instrument for their life purposes. The descendant nobles have apparently changed from the old outlook, and feel that they cannot possibly do so under the changed circumstances. In the third statement we have asked the descendant nobles about their manner of the use of power. They have responded in a responsible manner indicating that they have no craze for power and are inclined to use it in a propitious manner.

(2) With regard to their values and views pertaining to feudalism we have asked them four questions. To the first they have said that feudalism was natural. To the second they regarded the present change in their status as a historical process. To the third they have pronounced feudalism a logical system of order. To the fourth they have finally passed feudalism as a just order

To our statement if the fall of feudalism is a part of their destiny they have responded in the affirmative resigning themselves to the decisions of the Almighty. In order to check this up we asked them about their personal responsibility in the decline of feudalism. They are inclined to accept their partial responsibility in the process, though claiming that they alone cannot be held responsible for the event that has overtaken them.

(3) In response to the first question if the ordinary common system of education is suitable to them, they are persuaded to accept its suitability. To the second question whether this common system of education would be conflicting with the ideals of nobility, they see no conflict. To our third question if the present general system of education would adversely affect them, they disagree with it looking into it new opportunities to be open for their own betterment.

(4) With regard to the status of women, the descendant nobles seem to be more concerned than their predecessors regarding the problems of equality and emancipation of women. In the sphere of sex life we put some probing questions. To our first they have answered that laxity in sex is not the hall mark of nobility alone. To our second question they have said that sex life is not the weakness of weaknesses among the nobles, but it may be a likely lapse on their part under the circumstances in which their predecessors lived. To the third

they said that sex life should not be sticked on them as the stigma, as they alone do not bear the cross in this regard.

With regard to Harem they have said that it is not natural for nobility. To our second question they said that it might have been customary in a limited manner in limited groups. To the third they have definitely said that Harem is not an essential ingredient in the life of the nobility.

With regard to the Purdah System, there seems to be a tensous position, in which, though they are partially inclined towards its abolition, the determination may be not so strong.

With regard to the higher education of girls they seem to be inclined to permit their daughters for admission in higher educational institutions after the completion of traditional and religious education at home.

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C H A P T E R - IX.

CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES

Change is a universal cultural phenomenon,[1] and the process of these changes constitutes the dynamics of culture. Changes are inherent in the very nature of human evolution, every situation poses new problems and evokes new responses. Marx, Weber, Sorokin, Parsons and others have given various interpretations to explain the complex phenomena of change. But in analysing a phenomenon of basically historical nature, Toynbee's theory of 'challenge and responses' seems to be most appropriate.

Toynbee himself agreed that he borrowed this phrase from the Old Testament, which later on became the source of his great historical theory of change. He believed that even Hegel's dialectics, Malthus' struggle for existence and Darwin's concept of evolution[2] must have been derived from this basic concept of the Bible. Toynbee does not see the growth of human society in terms of a scientific mechanism, articulated by rational and predictable behaviour. In fact, individuals and groups face unforseen situations of crises; and in each situation individuals and groups react at times in spontaneous manner, while on other occasions they react in quite well conceived way.

When social institutions cease to fulfil their responsibility of catering to the needs of the group and the society, they begin to deteriorate. Individuals on their part either fail to carry out their functions, or the forces of change wash away their existence. In either case the old order crumbles giving place to a new order. This change is accompanied by challenges. The future of the historically existing groups and institutions is restructed and redefined in the light of the challenges and that of the responses of the vulnerable individuals and groups. Toynbee observes in his classical study of history that at times such individuals and groups resort to the strategy of withdrawal-and-return. He observes: "I have suggested that one of the agencies of social change has been the withdrawal of an individual or a group from its social milieu, followed by a period of aloofness, during which time the temporarily retiring group or individual inculcates something new. This period of withdrawal is eventually followed by a third stage, in which the party in question re-enters the society from which it has retired, but re-enters it in a new role, acquired during its temporary absence."[3]

The nobles of Hyderabad were confronted with an alarming situation of total crisis and breakdown. They were surrounded by a sea of challenges. Consequently, as a first response most of them preferred to retire from the scene, but

gradually they seem to be re-entering the arena of social life. It is proposed to study here how the descendant nobles are responding to the challenges of their time.

Nobility at present is under clouds. They have not only fallen from their once strong socio-political position, but they have also been hit hard in all aspects of their life. The changes that have taken place have been overwhelming. They constitute challenges for them.

We now propose to study their responses to these challenges. In history challenges have led to responses and those who could respond to their challenges in proper manner have alone been able to survive. In this study, though it is not concerntrated on the survival of nobility, we propose to study the nature of the changes and how the descendant nobles have responded to them.

For the purpose of our study we divide the subject into two main heads:

I. The attitude towards the changes.

II. Effects of changes.
   (a) Social sphere.
   (b) Political sphere.

I. THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CHANGES:-

Changes are part and parcel of social living. No society could maintain an even stability in the process of history.

The changes have always come in the form of some movement from one direction to another affecting their socio-economic and political positions. Some alterations in the prevailing conditions of society have always been effected. The changes that have taken place in the old State of Hyderabad have been overwhelming, not only leading to the disintegration of the state, political changeover in the power structure, but also in the socio-economic field hard hitting and displacing the nobility which was once the power that be.

We now want to study the responses of the descendant nobles in order to know their reactions to the changes around.

We study their responses under the following four heads:

(i) Changes - natural
(ii) Changes - smooth
(iii) Changes - not a conspiracy
(iv) Tenants Revolt.

(i) CHANGES - NATURAL:-

To our first question (TableXX, Item-1), if the changes are natural 69.5% have agreed and 30.5% have disagreed. Probing further into the various tables of the independent variables, we find that in the age group the percentages are 66:34% and in the educational level they are 72:28% and in the income groups 66:34% and in the category of nobles 74:26%.

Thus the nobles in general regard the changes to be in the natural process of things. We may recall here about their reaction to the fall of feudalism in which also they have taken it to be natural and to be a part of the historical process. This mental attitude makes them prepared to meet with the changes as much as possible.

(ii) CHANGES - SMOOTH:-

When we asked the second question (Table-XX, Item-2), if they regard the changes to have been in the smooth run of things, we want(ed) to know if the descendant nobles were really disturbed and dislocated by the changes. We find that 76.8% are really disturbed while 23.2% feel that the changes have not seriously dislocated them. In the age group 77% are affected and 23% not much affected by the changes. In the education level 81% feel it to be a disorder in things and 19% do not. In the income group 74% regard it to be upsetting and 26% take it in their strides. In the category of nobles the percentage of 75% is of those who feel it to be distressing and 25% feel the stress loss. The changes have really affected adversely the smooth run of things in the life of the nobles and their reactions are quite relevant and there are obvious reasons for them.

(iii) CHANGES - NOT A CONSPIRACY:-

When the things around the nobles were crumbling, in their situation the chips were down. We find it proper to

enquire from the descendant nobles if they regard the situation to be a sort of conspiracy of forces against them (Table-XX, Item-3). The respondents have disagreed in the percentage of 81.5% indicating that they do not regard the turn of events to be generated by an organized conspiracy directed particularly against them. There is little variation in percentages of the four independant variables. In the age groups they are 81:19% in educational level and the category of nobles the same percentages are maintained, with the income groups having 83:17%. The general total percentage of 81:19% is broadly maintained.

Though they deny any conspiracy against them, they are not definite about the forces involved and do not wish to be concerned about them. This has enabled them to meet with the situation as they do not allege any one in particular to be responsible for the event and bear no grudge against any. The break up of the four independent tables is not very revealingly deviating from the general percentage and thus does not deserve further deliberation.

(iv) TENANTS REVOLT:-

The feudal system involved the land lord and the tenant relationship. There are often many ups and down in it. We want to know from the descendant nobles if there were occasions for tension amounting to a revolt from their tenants resulting in the changes that have now taken place.

The respondents (Table-XX, Item-4), in 66.5% have not attributed the changes to be any sort of revolt from the tenants against them. The percentages in the independent variables are 66:34% in the case of age groups and of the category of nobles, in the educational level they are 65:35% and income groups 69:31%. Thus they broadly agree with the general percentage of 66.5:33.5%. It can be broadly assumed that the land lord tenants relationship are not the cause of the changes. The descendant nobles are sure of their clean record with them.

A SUM UP OF THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHANGES:-

In order to sum up the attitudes towards changes, in the mind of the descendant nobles, we can briefly restate it here. They regard these changes to be in the natural process of history. Though they are disturbed and dislocated by these changes, they do not attribute the change to be a conspiracy of forces, nor also as a revolt from their tenants. Such a mental attitude is really creditable on the part of the descendant nobles, who in the course of 30 years are in a position to look back coolly on the events, which uprooted the nobles in general and consequently harshly affected their descendants. It is a tribute to a generous and charitable demeanour which they have been able to maintain inspite of the events. It recalls the noble's noble heritage.

EFFECTS OF CHANGES:-

The concept of change shows only the mental make up of the descendant nobles towards the changes. It indicates only the attitude with which they looked at the changes. We now wish to enter into the field of the effects which the changes have bought about. These changes starting with the crush blow of the abolition of the Jagirdari System have spread over the entire fabric of life about them. They are cumulative and additive slow and simple changes may interact with rapid and complex transformation.

It would help us to know the views of the descendant nobles how these changes have penetrated into these spheres and how they have caused variations in their even tenor of life which they led before. This will help us in understanding the influence of these changes in non-economic matters more vividly from their reaction to our statements and questions that we propose to place before them.

EFFECT OF ECONOMIC CHANGE:-

Our study of the effects of these changes is broadly divided into (a) social and (b) political spheres of life. Before we take up a detailed study of both these aspects, it may be noted that out of all the changes that have greatly hit them have been the economic. To our question as to which of the changes have pained most (Table-XX, Item-5), the

respondents in 84% have pointed out that economically they are the hardest hit. The study of the four independent variables in this sphere has the percentages: age group 88:12%, educational level 87:13%, income groups 76:24% and in the category of noble 85:15%. The heavy support for the same is also evident in the different columns within the tables.

The economic background should be kept in view in our fruther probe into the social and political effects of the changes, which we now propose to take up.

EFFECTS OF CHANGES IN SOCIAL SPHERE:-

This is being studied through two statements and five questions as our media of enquiry.

IMPACT ON CULTURE:-

I. STATEMENT:-

Among the changes that have overtaken the nobles those which have impinged the cultural aspects of life have been rather discomforting.

EXPLANATION:-

The nobility, as such, develops a culture of its own. It regulates certain ways of behaviour spreading over various spheres of their mostly social life and also spreading into other spheres. Culture in their limited sense of usage of

the term usually includes the ways of social contact, special phraseology in language, observance of festivals, participation in social activities and other social graces and norms of behaviour. We are here interested to know the reactions of the descendant nobles to the variations that they are compelled to adopt in view of changing political power structure as well as in the deprivation of their steady economic resources. We are not concerned with the details of changes in all the spheres of cultural living, but we wish to know the discomfort which they may be feeling in seeing the deviations that have now crept into the regular ways of living.

BREAK UP OF TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

The highest percentage of agreement with statement (75%) (Table-XVI, Item-I), is from the age group 31-40. Next is 66.6% in the age group above 50. Next to that is 57.2% in the age group 41-50, and the last is 21.5% in the age group 20-30.

The percentage of disagreement is the highest (78.5%) in the age group 20-30, falls deeply to 42.8% in the age group 41-50 through 33.4% in the age group above 50, and ends with 25% in the age group 31-40.

In total the percentage of agreement is 55% and that of disagreement is 45%.

With the exception of divergence in the very first column (20-30) there is a general agreement in the other three age groups with the percentage falling not below 50%. This shows that they do feel discomfort over the cultural changes. The disagreement is the highest only in one group (20-30) with a very high percentage of 78.5%. But there is a sufficient percentage of people although in low percentages to support the stand taken by the earliest group (20-30), that is why the general percentage ratio of agreement and disagreement is 55:45%. This definite bent in the earliest age group may be because they are born and brought up in the changed environments of culture, and they take it for granted without any discomfort. It means that there is a strive to reconcile with the change in cultural pattern, but the discomfort over it is sufficiently noticeable.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

The highest percentage of agreement with the statement (Table-XVII, Item-I), (60%) is among the college educated as well as the literates, the school educated having 45%.

The disagreement percentage (55%) is highest among the school educated, with 40% among the literates and the college educated.

The general percentage of agreement is 55% and that of disagreement is 45%.

The literates feel the discomfort over the change in cultural behaviour, may be because their stock comes from the older elements who because of the circumstances in which they lived could not go to school. The college educated are aware of the changes and feel for them. The school educated come in contact with the general school population wherein the mould is already changed, so they do not mind to be fitted into it. But the percentage of variation, who feel over the change, is sufficient. On the whole it appears that a definite turn is yet to take place. The feeling of comfort and discomfort seems to co-exist.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The highest percentage of agreement (85.7%) (Table-XVIII, Item-I), is with income group 501-700, next to that come the income groups 101-300 and above 900, with 60%. Then is the income group 701-900 with 50% and below 100 with 25% and lastly 301-500 with 20%.

The percentage of disagreement is the highest(80%) in the income group 301-500, followed by 75% in below 100, then 50% in 701-900, then come 40% in 101-300 and above 900 and last is 14.3% in 501-700.

The total disagreement and agreement percentages are 50:50%.

It is a table with the most vagrant columns. The

discomfort is felt most in the higher income groups continued with the income group 101-300. They may be dissatisfied with the cultural change because of their established ways of behaviour, resulting from monetarily secure position. The high disagreement percentage of 75% and 80% in below 100 and 301-500 income groups can be explained because both of them belong to lower income groups. The low income group 101-300 is having agreement in percentage of 60%. All these can alone be explained by the incoherence that arises from the fact of past higher income category now dissolved into the present low income group, and the thoughts bred in the old category continue to prevail however low may be the present income group.

In ultimate analysis the position comes to agreement -- disagreement attitude of the income groups towards the cultural change. This in general may be the position of mental make up of the nobles, where the process of reconciliation with the present is on and is yet to be completed.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

The highest percentage of agreement (81.3%) (Table-XIX, Item-1), with the statement is from the Paigah Nobles followed by the Premier Nobles 76.9% descending to 36.4% among the Other Jagirdars.

The highest percentage of disagreement (63.6%) is from the Other Jagirdars through 23.1% among the Premier Nobles to 18.7% among the Paigah Nobles.

In general the percentage for agreement is 65% and for disagreement is 35%.

The Paigah and the Premier Nobles are naturally discomforted over the inroads in their cultural pattern in which they had lived so far. The Other Jagirdars mixing with the mass of the people and also being larger in number are not so discomforted. They are in the speedier process of reconciliation. In general though the trend towards discomfiture over the cultural change is high in percentage, we should not ignore that more than one-third are set to be reconciled with the changing situation and may grow in number later.

OBSERVATIONS:-

In reading through the four tables it appears that no definite trend towards discomfiture is noticeable . So it can be said that the changes in the cultural pattern are set into motion and are enfolding larger and larger age groups, educated and income groups within their fold. There is definitely a feeling of discomfort over the variation of cultural ways of life, because the nobles look upon it as a sort of impropriety and a fall from social graces which no

doubt have polish of their own, though they are now fading out.

UNPREPAREDNESS OF CHILDREN:-

II. STATEMENT:-

The descendants of the nobles feel that their children are unprepared to face these changes.

EXPLANATION:-

Parents are always anxious to see that their children are properly placed and also well equipped to meet with the problems likely to confront them in the life ahead. The nobles in their role of parents are usually concerned about their children. In the general pattern under secure position they were not so much worried about their initial status in life, but they always wished to see that their children progressed as high as possible.

The onslaught of the abolition of Jagirdari has been a sudden event for which perhaps the nobles were not fully prepared. Hence it can be said that their children were not properly equipped to meet with the situation.

Now after the lapse of a quarter century we asked the descendant nobles to let us know if their children are prepared to meet the changed circumstances.

BREAK UP OF TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

The percentage of agreement is highest (64.3%), (Table-XVI, Item-II), in 31-40 group, through 50% in 41-50 group, to 45.8% in the age group above 50, and ends with 35% in the age group 20-30.

The highest percentage of disagreement (65%) is in 20-30 age group, next come above 50 age group with 54.2% and then 41-50 with 50% and last 31-40 with 35.7%.

In total the percentage of agreement is 51.2% and of disagreement is 48.8%.

The youngest group has grown in the changing times and so they have prepared their children to meet them. The 41-50 group is in a position when they are still grappling and are not sure if their children are prepared for the situation because their hopes might be high and some of their children might not have come to their expectation. The age group above 50, because of their maturity has been able to bestow proper attention on their children to prepare them for the life ahead. The only significant agreement (64.3%) with the statement is from the age group 31-40. It is the age when their children might have been initiated in the early stages of growth and they are yet to rise to their expectations. Hence the uncertainity might have led them to hold an attitude of unpreparedness.

In general though the descendant nobles feel that their children are unprepared, there is a large percentage of 48.8% having the opinion that their children are prepared. So this position reflects the troubled mind of descendant nobles about the prospects of their children.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

The highest percentage of disagreement (56.6%) (Table-XVII, Item-II), comes from the college educated, through 50% in the literates to 43.4% in the school educated.

The highest percentage of agreement (56.6%) comes from the school educated through 50% in the literates to 43.4% in the college educated.

The general percentage of agreement and disagreement is 50:50

The disagreement of college educated is indication of the confidence which they could instill in their children to meet with the situation. The literates are still in a position to agree - disagree, because opportunities open to their children are yet to be determined by them because of their low standard of education. It is the school educated who feel that their children may not get opportunities for their promotion in life. The agreement is really substantial and not falling below 43.4%. Moreover, the highest percentage

of agreement (56.6%) is equal to that of disagreement (56.6%). Hence perhaps the final agreement - disagreement ratio is 50:50%. It means that the educated among the descendant nobles are not sure and also not positive about the changes for their children in their life ahead, and also the adequacy of their preparation for it.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The highest percentage of agreement (71.5%) (Table-XVIII, Item-II), in the income group 501-700 passing through 66.6% in 701-900, to 60% in 101-300, to 50% in below 100, and 40% in 301-500.

The highest percentage of disagreement (66.6%) is in above 900 group, then comes 60% in 301-500, then 50% in below 100, then 40% in 101-300, and 33.4% in 701-900, and last is the 28.5% in 501-700.

The general percentage of agreement is 52.7% and that of disagreement is 47.3%.

The descendant nobles in the higher groups (501-700 and 701-900) are definite that their children are not prepared. It may be a case of crisis of rising expectations, as the highest income group above 900 feels their children to be prepared for the situation. The lower income groups (below 100, 101-300) are towards the view that their children are more or less prepared, thinking that they may

be able to cope with the situation better than themselves because their expectations may be moderate. The only vagrant column is the 301-500 group where they feel that their children are not prepared. It may be because they belong to the middle range where expectation may be more then their actual income which may not afford to prepare their children adequately. Though there is a general attitude of unpreparedness of their children there is a substantial trend to support that the children are in the process of preparation and may be able to cope with the situation according to the general level of acceptance. The low margin of about 53:47% is not sufficient to establish a trend. This is quite reflective of the mental situation among the descendant nobles.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

The highest percentage of agreement (72.7%) (Table-XIX, Item-II), is from the Premier Nobles followed by the Paigah 53.4%, ending with the Other Jagirdars 45.5%.

The percentage of disagreement is highest (54.5%) in the Other Jagirdars descending through 46.6% in the Paigah Nobles to 27.3% in the Premier Nobles.

In general the agreement percentage is 57.2% and disagreement is that of 42.8%.

The higher ranks of nobles are definitely of opinion that their children are unprepared because they do not see their

gilded chances to rise to the positions which their predecessors occupied. The Other Jagirdars, large in number and large in percentage, feel that their children are prepared to find place under the sun according to their needs and according to their merits. In general the trend towards unpreparedness is more than half (57%), but less than half (43%) is confident about the preparedness of their children.

OBSERVATIONS:-

This question of the preparedness of the children of the descendant nobles to meet with the changing times is asked through their parents who are expected to estimate the prospects of their own progeny. So the answers are more on the side of probability. Moreover, there are sufficient signs of unpreparedness within the minds of the parents themselves about their children's preparedness. That is why perhaps the agreement - disagreement proportions are so narrowly apart. Hence, looking into the tables we have not been able to establish a definite trend though the percentages indicate the unpreparedness of the children of the nobles. We find there is sufficient positive attitude towards the preparedness of their children. It would be perhaps right to take the stand that the future of the children would depend upon their own personal propensities and also upon the opportunities that would come their way in the course

of time that lie ahead. At present hope and fear of disappointment coexist.

Continuing our study of effects of changes on social life, after the study of the above two statements, we propose to probe into the matter through five questions hereafter without going into the details of the independent variables, as we have done in the case of the above two statements.

(i) THE QUESTION OF FAMILY FREEDOM:-

Our first question to the descendant nobles is : Do you feel less free now to lead your personal and family life than under the older regime? (Table-XX, Item-6). With the establishment of the Welfare State the area of States' interference has tremendously increased and often affects the old concept of exclusive freedom which the nobles once enjoyed. We want to know from the descendant nobles the impact of widening activities of the state on their personal and family life. It may be stated here that the nobles in their private life inside the high walled Deodhis were enjoying uninterrupted freedom from all sorts of indulgences. Though the welfare laws do not directly aim at the deprivation of individual freedom, but they do effect directly or indirectly the sphere of this area of life as well.

In answer to the question stated above the descendant nobles have disagreed to the extent of 59% meaning thereby that their freedom is not affected adversely, and 41% of them agree saying that it is somewhat affected.

In the age group table the percentage variation is 60:40%, in the educational level it is 58:42%, in the income groups it is 58:42% and in the category of nobles it is 60:40%. This answer to the question is no doubt an expression of feeling that their family freedom remains intact. If we scratch the surface we may come across some sort of resentment against interferences indicated in the 41% of the descendant nobles who feel about it. One thing particularly to be kept in view is that the Raigah Nobles seem to be greatly affected as their percentage in the table goes high up to 64%. In general we must say that the nobles are reconciling with the situation when the new laws around them are positively restricting their old unbridled freedom. A substantial resentment within is simmering in a subdued manner. In future, perhaps, the descendants of the descendant nobles will be more reconciled with the situation.

(11) FREE CHOICE OF FRIENDS:-

Our second question (Table-XX, Item-7), to the descendant nobles is: Do you allow your children a free choice in picking their friends?

This question is asked to investigate further the grant of freedom to their children under the changed circumstances. According to the conventions of nobility their children were restricted in picking their friends from outside their own ranks. The descendant nobles have answered that they do grant this freedom of choice to their children in picking up their friends in the percentage of 65.2% and the nobles who do not do so are in the percentage of 34.8%. The choice of friends is no doubt dependent upon mutuality of interest, contact opportunities, mental adjustment and other factors, but with the change in the environment we wanted to test the breaking of the convention, so long prevailing. It appears that the convention is gradually being eroded, though in practice there may be still a large number of nobles' children limiting their friendship to their own class kindreds.

(iii) FREE CHOICE OF CAREER:-

Extending this further we asked the third question (Table-XX, Item-8), to know if they permit their children freedom to choose their own careers. We asked this, because the careers open to the children of nobility in the past were limited by the notion of dignified professions, which alone they were permitted to join. This concept of dignity was varying from family to family, but in general they were not to opt for manual work or such other work which may be socially ranked low. For example, the top jobs in all professions like Civil Service, Medicine, Engineering and

the like were preferred by the nobles.

Earlier in our study we have already probed about their proneness towards higher Government Services. The answer to the question is in favour of greater freedom to the extent of 91.9% and in families where restrictions still continue the percentage is 7.1%. This tendency now on one hand indicates greater freedom of choice of career and on the other also removal of rigid restrictions on the list of the careers to be preferred. So there is a widening area of choice of careers.

(iv) FREE CHOICE OF SPOUSES:-

We now enter further through the fourth question (Table-XX, Item-9), into the inner areas of choices regarding the choosing of bride or bridegroom. Our question is : Do you let your children select their own spouses? This is asked in view of the tradition in the families of the nobles with regard to marriage relations. They usually limit such relations within their rank, seats, status and also to some extent to high families.

In answer to the question, 61.7% of the descendant nobles agree to grant the choice of spouses to their children while 38.3% among them still reserve to exercise the traditional right to pick the spouses for their children. If we analyse further we may find that comparatively there

are larger number of nobles, who hesitate to grant this freedom to their children. It may be because the social norms regarding this are being observed broadly all over the country and in all communities. In nobles particularly much concern has been shown in this area where preservation of purity of blood, consideration of religion and other factors are largely kept in view. Though the percentage in favour of such freedom may be verbally accepted, it may be restricted in actual practice on various considerations.

(v) INTER-SECTIONAL MARRIAGES:-

After the freedom to select spouse is explored a further area to be covered lies in the field of intersectional marriages. Hence we put to the descendant nobles the fifth question (Table-XX, Item-10). Under the present ethos of freedom would you regard intersectional marriages to be: (a) below status, (b) against family tradition, (c) against religious sanction.

The question arises because of the prevalent convention among the nobles of Hyderabad regarding intersectional marriages. The Hyderabad nobles are drawn predominantly from Muslims, who are comprised of Sunnis and Shias, the former constituting the majority of the Jagirdars in general and the latter holding this majority only among the Premier Nobles group. Shia - Sunni inter-sectional marriages are rare occurances. We wish now to know if the descendant

nobles would break the convention and permit such inter-sectional integration.

In answer to the question in three sections, we find in section (a) that the descendant nobles do not regard intersectional marriages as below status to the extent of 55% and 45% among them still hold on to the old tradition.

To our section (b) of the question the descendant nobles regard it against family tradition to the extent of 71% and 29% among them do not think so.

To our section (c) of the question, the descendant nobles regard intersectional marriages as against religious sanctions to the extent of 62% while 38% from them do not think so.

In analysing the three sections of the question, we can say that intersectional marriage is a far off event, in spite of the new ethos of freedom around them. The greatest obstacle against it seems to be the family traditions which are abounding in the nobility and are also equally exacting. The sectional handicap appears to be religious, particularly in sections which are mainly family-oriented and dogma bound. The only relaxation in the picture seems to be that they now do not regard intersectional marriages to be below status.

In general we can say that the intersectional marriage among the nobility is not a proper index to judge the personal freedom permitted within the family life. In matters of marriage many things are taken into account, except perhaps the personal choice of the bride and the bridegroom which is overlaid with family traditions, respect for elders, mother's emotional appeals, mutual brother - sister cross - marriages and other factors. So it will not be right if we dispose off the traditional limitations on intersectional marriages to be restrictions on personal choices in marriage matters.

A SUM UP OF EFFECTS OF CHANGES IN SOCIAL SPHERE:-

Social sphere is explored through four statements and five questions.

We started the study by placing a statement before the descendant nobles that the changes, that have impinged the cultural aspects of their life have been rather discomforting. In this it can be said that it is a concurrent trend of feeling for the change and also overcoming the feeling of change by adaptation.

With regard to the second statement concerning the unpreparedness of their children to face the changes the trend appears to be towards unpreparedness slightly displacing the attitude of preparedness with regard their children.

Probing further we put to the descendant nobles five

questions. The first is : If they feel less free now to lead their personal and family life. It appears that in answers they feel that they have enough freedom, but sufficient resentment over encroachment into their personal freedom is also noted. The second question is to investigate the grant of freedom to their children to choose their friends. Here, also the definite answer is that they are free to choose their friends though in practice they may be bound by social bounds and conventions. The third question is about the children's freedom to choose their own careers. The answer is quite in the affirmative with a very high percentage. It may be largely true on account of economic pressure compelling them to seek new pastures. The fourth question is regarding the childrens' choice of their spouses. Here also a large number of them answered for liberal permission granted to their children to choose their spouses, though family traditions invisibly limit their choices. A further exploration in this area is made in the fifth question regarding intersectional marriages. To the question if they are considered below status, we find that half of them do not regard them to be so. With regard to another side question if they are against family traditions, they in large numbers agree with it. And the third side question, if such marriages are against religious sanctions, they seem to accept it in high percentage.

Thus in surmise we can say that the descendant nobles

have been affected by the cultural changes and feel about it. They do not regard their personal freedom, freedom of their children in the choice of their companions, careers and life partners to be restricted, and they are yet not prepared for intersectional marriages on various grounds which cannot rationally stand the test.

EFFECTS OF CHANGES IN POLITICAL SPHERE:-

We have covered economic and social spheres. We now come to the study of political changes, which have really upset the power structure in which the nobles have had their significant share in the old regime. Political power is usually the mightiest of all, and its effects, are widely felt. The act of economic deprivation of the nobles had the sanction of political authority. The political power has a legitimacy which is usually denied to other forces in the society, however much they may be influencing the course of events.

In order to study the effects of the political changes we have posed before the descendant nobles six statements and seven questions.

We have studied them in the following order:-

(A) Statements - Four

(B) Questions - Seven

(A) Statements divided into

(i) Political changes distressing
(ii) Democracy better form of government
(iii) Political freedom
(iv) Legal system

(B) Questions are subdivided into

(a) Political participation - divided into four

(i) Casting of vote
(ii) Joining a political party
(iii) Contesting election
(iv) Membership of voluntary organisation.

(b) Political safeguards - divided into three

(i) Formation of association
(ii) Representation
(iii) Special safeguards

(i) POLITICAL CHANGES DISTRESSING:-

III. STATEMENT:-

Political changes overtaking the nobles have been most distressing to the descendant nobles as well.

EXPLANATION:-

Our political system works under a constitution, which provides for fundamental rights to the citizens and a democratic set up in which Parliamentary type of executive functions with an independent judiciary under the supremacy of the Parliament. This democratic political set up displaced the old regime in Hyderabad in which power was concentrated in the hands of the Nizam who exercised it with the aid and advice of a Council of Ministers with a nominated legislature.

In the Council of Ministers, nominations in Legislature, appointment of judges, and the recruitment of the higher civil services, the nobles were predominantly represented and thus had a big share in the power structure of the old regime. Along with this, the Paigah, and Premier Nobles had autonomous authority over the areas under their jurisdication.

We now ask the descendant nobles about the impact of their displacement from the position of authority to ordinary citizens limited to enjoying the fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution.

BREAK UP OF TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

The highest percentage of agreement with the statement (Table-XVI, Item-III), (60%), is in the age group above 50 and next to that is 56.3% in the age group 31-40, next is 50% in the age group 41-50 and the last is 42.8% in the age group 20-30.

The percentage of disagreement is highest (57.2%) in the age group 20-30, next is 50% in the age group 41-50, next is 43.7% in the age group 31-40 ending with 40% in the age group above 50.

In general the percentage of agreement is 52% and that of disagreement is 48%.

The significant disagreement is found in the age group 20-30. This is the generation that has grown under the constitutional set up. The disagreement percentage does not go below 40% in any of the columns. The agreement is highest in the matured age groups above 50 and also in the other two groups above the lowest. Though the percentage shows the trend that the nobles are distressed over the political changes, those who are reconciling with the changes are close behind with barely 4% margin. So it can be said that the changes no doubt affect the nobles distressingly but the forces of reconciliation are almost equally active.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

The highest percentage of agreement (83.4%) (Table-XVI, Item-III), is from the literates, descending through 65.1% among the school educated to 48% among the college educated.

The percentage of disagreement is the highest (52%) among the college educated, descending through 34.9% in the school educated to 16.6% among the literates.

The general percentage of agreement comes to 65% and that of disagreement is 35%.

The most interesting feature of this table is the large amount of disagreement expressed by the college educated. Perhaps they are well acquainted with the futility of any effort for change over and also the inevitability of the

supremacy of the political power. Another feature of the table is an overwhelming number among the literates agreeing with the feeling of distress. Perhaps this may be, not because they have lost political power which they never had but because the benefits, which were accruing to them from the higher ranks of power, have come down to a trickle. The school educated are the most distressed, next to the literates, may be because of large number of big Jagirdars is covered by this group and they feel about the deprivation more acutely. In general the trend is towards the feeling of distress among the nobles with one third of them actively engaged in the reconciliation process.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The highest percentage of agreement (81.3%) (Table-XVIII, Item-III), is in the income group 101-300, next comes 75% in 701-900, followed by 50% in two income groups, 301-500 and below 100, ending with 40% in above 900.

The percentage of disagreement has maximum of 60% in above 900, followed by 50% in two income group below 100 and 301-500, through 42.8% in the income group 501-700, then 25% in 701-900 ending with 18.7% in the income group 101-300.

The general percentage of agreement is 59% and of disagreement is 41%.

The most interesting disagreement is in the 'above 900' income group, which can alone be explained by the fact that though they have a large income, a substantial number of them may not belong to the higher category of nobles who are really stripped of the political power. Same can also be said for very large percentage of disagreement as prevalent in three columns below 100, 101-300 and 501-700. The percentage of agreement in general is more in the lower groups. The only higher group that has a large percentage of agreement (75%) is in the income group 701-900. This may be because they really feel the economic pinch of the loss of political power in the upper ranks of the nobles. The trend seems to be towards distress over the loss of political power with one-fourth minority striving to reconcile with the situation.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

The highest percentage of agreement (76.5%) (Table-XLA, Item-III), is with the Paigah Nobles, through 69.3% with the Premier Nobles to 51.2% in Other Jagirdars.

The highest percentage of disagreement is 48.8% among the Other Jagirdars through 30.7% among the Premier Nobles to 23.5% among the Paigah Nobles.

The general percentage of agreement is 66% and that of disagreement is 34%.

In all the three ranks of the nobles the feeling of distress is evident in the degree of ascending order from the lowest to the highest. It is they who are largely deprived of their share in the political structure under the new dispensation. The percentage of disagreement is the largest among the Other Jagirdars as they are not so much affected with the change in the power structure at the top. The general trend seems to be in favour of distress prevailing in all ranks of the nobles, but there are about one-third of the nobles trying to adjust in the new set up.

OBSERVATIONS:-

In general it can be said that the most distressing event in the life of the nobility is this political change which has deprived them of age old traditionally located authority in their hands. This feeling of deprivation is evident in the various columns of age group, educational standard, income groups and most visibly evident in the categories of nobles, where all the three unitedly have expressed their distress in loud figures. However, there is a persistent one-third among the nobles who are less distressed over the change.

(11) DEMOCRACY BETTER FORM OF GOVERNMENT:-

IV. STATEMENT:-

The descendant nobles consider democracy to be a better substitute to the older regime.

EXPLANATION:-

The nobles are accustomed to a political set up in which they usually have a large share of political power supported by a social graded order with constant interflorm between them. Now under democracy the people have the power and the old oligarchy is abolished. The descendant nobles are asked to express if they find this democratic structure superseding the old regime to be a better substitute.

BREAK UP OF TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

The highest percentage of agreement (78.5%) (Table-XVI, Item-IV), is in the age group 20-30, through (64.3%) in the age group 31-40, (60%) in the age group 41-50 and ending with (57.6%) in the age group above 50.

The highest percentage of disagreement is 42.4% in the age group above 50, descending through (40%) in the age group 41-50, to (35.7%), in the age group 31-40, and ending (21.5%), in the age group 20-30.

The total percentage of agreement is 65.2%, and that of disagreement is 34.8%.

The age group table is very interesting and expressive. It is abundantly clear that the youngest group has the maximum

faith in democracy, and with advancing age this percentage of agreement is found gradually declining. This is a pointer towards the fact that the oldest people who were born and brought up in an age of feudal regime have not completely shaken off their old beliefs and ideas. That is why they are not so convinced about the benefits of democracy. Even though with growing age, the faith in democracy seems to be declining, it is important to note that in all the age groups the maximum diagreement is not above 42.4%. That is to say that the general trend is in favour of democracy. This fact is further strengthened by the total percentages where almost two-third of the descendants of nobles have voiced their preference for democracy. The one-third that has not yet supported the ideals of democracy may belong to that group of the people whose views and images of life are still fascinated by feudal whims and ideas.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

The highest percentage of agreement 61.9% (Table-XVII, Item-IV), is in the college educated, descending to 53.5% in the school educated and 33.4% among the literates.

The highest percentage of disagreement is 66.6% among the literates, through 46.5% among the school educated to 38% among the college educated.

The total percentage of agreement is 52.9% whereas that of disagreement is 47.1%.

The analysis of the educational level table reveals that two-third of the descendant nobles who are not educated beyond ordinary literacy are not in favour of democracy, and their big disagreement has heavily affected the total percentage analysis also. This also shows that with more and more education, the descendant nobles have learnt to appreciate the values of inevitability of democracy. The school educated and the college educated with percentage agreement 53.5% and 61.9% are very close to each other and have very vocally sounded their preference for democracy. The fact that the college educated are below the school educated marginally may be due to the fact that the school educated being younger in age and excited by the new mode of life are found to be slightly ahead of the college educated in expressing their approbation of democracy. The marginal difference in total agreement and disagreement 52.9%:47.1% is owing to the fact that only one-third of the literates have voiced for democracy. In sum total the majority has preferred democracy as a better substitute which means that the bulk of the nobility is fast reconciling with the modern trends of social and political ideas and realities. But it should not be forgotten that still there are almost 47% descendants of the nobles who are yet to be initiated into the realm of democratic life.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The highest percentage of agreement is 78.5% (Table-XVIII,

Item-IV), in the income group 101-300, through 75% in the below 100 group to 66.6% in two groups of 301-500 and 501-700, ending with only 46.2% of agreement in the above 900 income group.

The percentage of disagreement is 53.8% in the above 900 group, through 66.6% in the age group of 501-700, to 33.4% in two age groups 301-500 and 501-700, to 25% in the below 100 income group ending with 21.5% in the income group 101 to 300.

The total percentage of agreement is 61.1% and that of disagreement is (38.9%).

The analysis of the above table clearly shows that the lower the income, the greater is the option for democracy with very slight difference in the lowest two income groups. As the income is increasing there seems to be increasing leaning towards the feudal system of the past. The above 900 group clearly indicates its disagreement with democracy to the tune of 53.8% reflecting their sense of satisfaction and pride in the bygone system. What is most significant to note is that the poorest and the least income group descendants have come to realise that democracy alone can salvage them from desparate conditions of economic plight. This trend is clearly apparent, though in descending order, through all the income groups. However, the majority in

total is in favour of democracy, though still more than one third have yet to accommodate themselves with the democratic pattern of life.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

The highest percentage of agreement with the statement is 83.4% (Table-XIX, Item-IV), among the Premier Nobles through 67.5% among the Other Jagirdars ending with a mere 21.5% among the Paigah Nobles.

The highest percentage of disagreement is 78.5% among the Paigah Nobles through 32.5% among the Other Jagirdars to 16.6% among the Premier Nobles.

The total percentage of agreement with the statement is 57.5%, while disagreement is (42.5%).

It is worth noting that the Paigah Nobles who were closest to the seats of power and who held the highest position in the nobility throughout the old regime, are still mentally living in their world of imagination and do not seem to realise the benefits of inevitability of democracy. A very overwhelming majority of them are still wedded to the pattern of feudal ways of life, and perhaps they are dreading that the disowning of their old image will shatter their cultural and ideological base. That is why they do not agree with democracy as a better substitute to Monarchy. The Premier Nobles on the other hand have surprisingly preferred

democracy. This may be because they never clung to the enviable position of the Paigah Nobles at any time and have therefore readily compromised with the changed circumstances in a resounding fashion. The Ordinary Jagirdars are not too far behind. In total however more than 57% have preferred democracy to a Monarchy. The large bulk of the disagreeing descendants is on account of the overwhelming percentage of the Paigah Nobles who still seem to cherish the ideas of the feudal life. Even so the majority has come to realise the advantages of democracy over Monarchy.

OBSERVATIONS:-

The study of the four independent variables regarding the descendant nobles' opinion about democracy reveals that they regard it as a better substitute of the old regime. It is very interesting to find that the nobles who are really deprived of the political power under democracy are ready to embrace it as a better substitute. Excepting the higher groups and the Paigah Nobles, there seems to be a general approbation for the democratic process. One thing that we may note is that the expression of this opinion may not be truly reflective of the situation. In our study of earlier statement the deprivation of the political power has pained them most. This statement being directly projected

to them at a time when the political power is set space, there is no alternative but to accept it and under this stress perhaps they regard it as a better alternative. It may be also that the larger number among them along with the younger generation and the lower income groups and more enlightened. They gradually realize the inevitability and superiority of democracy in terms of wider dispersal of power and wider extension of benefits to the larger community. The trend is set towards the acceptance of democracy, though there is one-fourth to one-third section of the nobles still disliking it. It is likely that they will fall in line in course of time.

(iii) POLITICAL FREEDOM:-

V. STATEMENT:-

The descendant nobles now comparatively feel politically more free than in the older regime.

EXPLANATION:-

In placing this statement before the respondents we have in our mind the part the nobles have played in the past political life of Hyderabad. Their share in the political structure though confined to the upper ranks largely, was determined by various norms of behaviour applicable to all the nobles. The powers that be, have always used the various categories of nobles for their own purposes,

sometimes even creating rifts in them to weaken them and to realize their own objectives. Till the recent past there were certain restrictions on their movements and a sort of vigilance was supposed to be kept over them so as to see that they do not disturb the balance of power.

With the changeover, the nobles are now ordinary citizens of the state enjoying all the rights of political participation plus continuing to have the old influences over the authorities, however diminishing it may have become now. Hence we wish to confirm from the descendant nobles how they react to the present position in which they are now placed; and if they do really feel comparatively more free to participate in the political field depending upon their inclinations.

BREAK UP OF TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

The highest percentage of agreement (Table-VI,Item-V) with the statement is 57.2% in the age group 20-30, through 50% in the age group 31-40, to 46.6% in the age group 41-50, ending with 44.5% in the age group above 50.

The highest percentage of disagreement is 55.6% in the age group above 50, through 53.4% in the age group 41-50 to 50% in the age group 31-40, and 42.8% in the age group 20-30.

The total percentage of agreement with the statement is 51.7% and that of disagreement is 48.3%.

It is clear from the table that the younger descendants of the nobles are inclined to feel themselves more free now than what they were before. And as their age is growing their percentage of agreement is gradually declining; so much so that in the second age group of 31-40, they are equally devided in their opinion 50:50. In the later age group the balance of agreement - disagreement has turned the other way around with more and more disagreement with the statement. This clearly shows that the bigger they are in age, the more they are emotionally and sentimentally attached to their former way of life, whereas the younger generation is in clear appreciation of the present day freedom provided by democracy. It is not unnatural however, that the older people should still be leaning towards their past. On the whole the margin of agreement and disagreement is very negligible. This signifies the fact that even today a large number of descendant nobles still cherishes the old political system and particularly the older people with their rigid and stiff attitude are far from recognising the modern atmosphere of freedom obtainable around.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

The highest percentage of agreement with the statement

is 60% (Table-XVII, Item-V), among the literates through 48% among the college educated to 47.5% among the school educated.

The highest percentage of disagreement with the statement is 52.5% among the school educated through 52% among the college educated, and 40% among the literates.

The total percentage of agreement is 51.2% and that of disagreement is 48.8%.

The analysis shows that the literates who are the least educated feel themselves more free now than before. This may be because most of them perhaps belong to the category of the Other Jagirdars, and as such did not hold much political power, privilege and freedom attached with their ranks. This is further testified when we look at the table of the category of nobles. The margin of agreement and disagreement between the college educated and school educated is less than (1%). Though on the whole about 51% feel more free, it should not be forgotten that the total percentage of agreement is heavily affected by the percentage of agreement 60% among the literates. Otherwise the majority would have definitely expressed greater freedom in the past as is evident from the next two tables. It is significant to note that the agreement - disagreement margin is very narrow. This means that the norms and values as well as the memories of bygone privileges are not yet washed out from the minds of the descendant nobles.

In spite of the onrush of democracy it may take another decade or two before the balance is turned in favour of democratic ideals.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The highest percentage of agreement with the statement (Table-XVIII, Item-V), is 57.2% in the income group 501-700, through 50% in the income group below 100 to 48% in two income groups 101-300 and 301-500, to 46% in the income group 701-900 ending with 46.2% in the income group above 900.

The highest percentage of disagreement is 54% in the income group 701-900, followed by 53.8% in the income group above 900 through 52% in two income groups 101-300 and 301-500, to 50% in the income group below 100, ending with 42.8% in the income group 501-700.

The total percentage of agreement with the statement is 49.2% whereas the percentage of disagreement is 50.8%.

Generally it is found that with increasing income there is a growing tendency of having greater sense of freedom attached to the past, with the exception of the income group 501-700 in which it seems that greater number of the descendants in spite of higher income slab feel more free now, which is contrary to the general trend. This may be as we have pointed out before in similar cases of abrupt variation in percentage because of the fact that a rise in

income does not always and necessarily coincide with higher rank in nobility. Barring this, with growing income which generally is likely to have positive correlation with increasing status, the descendant nobles still feel by and large, less free now than what they were before. The margin of difference between agreement and disagreement clearly illustrates the real state of affairs with almost 50% on each side of the balance.

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

The highest percentage of disagreement with the statement (Table-XIX, Item-II), is 91.6% among the Paigah Nobles, through 53.8% among the Premier Nobles to 38.1% among the Other Jagirdars.

The highest percentage of agreement with the statement is 61.9% among the Other Jagirdars through 46.2% among the Premier Nobles to 8.4% among the Paigah Nobles.

The total percentage of disagreement with the statement is 61.2% and that of agreement is 38.8%.

The table of the category of nobles is very expressive and truly depicts the real feelings of the nobles. As has been noted before, time and again, the Paigah Nobles were nearest to the seats of power and enjoyed maximum rights and privileges. As such with their place of pride and authority

at their command, they naturally felt very secure and free in the older system of life. That is why perhaps more than 91% of the Paigah respondents have disagreed with the statement. This percentage of disagreement has sharply fallen down in the case of the Premier Nobles but still the balance is not less than almost 54% towards disagreement with the statement. But when we look at the figures of the Other Jagirdars we notice a big change because almost 62% of them feel more free now. This is because they did not have the privilege of the Exempted Jagirdars, for whose loss they could have any reason to feel sorry today. That is why they are clearly finding themselves in a more free and open society. The total analysis shows that the higher the rank of the nobles, the more they are attached to the norms and values of the older system and less free they feel themselves to be in the modern set of life in spite of democratic freedom and choice.

OBSERVATIONS:-

We are now to study the political participation of the nobles then and now. This reveals a very interesting position. Perhaps the statement has cut the Nobles to the quick. Particularly the Nobles of the higher ranks and those in the higher income groups, along with those of maturer age and school and college educated comparatively feel the loss of their own freedom and the image they had

of the powers they once enjoyed. Analysing the tables let us take the table of the category of nobles where the Paigah and the Premier Nobles in heavy numbers have overwhelmed the Other Jagirdars in their disagreement to assert how they feel generally about the loss of power they once had in this field. Their views are really significant, because it is they who are the most affected. The highest two income groups give their solid support in this attitude of the higher nobles, so also the school and the college educated and those who are above 40 in age.

This clear expression of opinion on the part of the nobles that they feel less free now than under the older regime may not be true from the democratic angle but we are here concerned with their real feeling, and we find that the feeling of the loss of old freedom still persists in their mind meaning thereby that either they are not yet fully inclined to join the main stream of democratic life wherein definitely the expanse of freedom is greater or it may be because at present they are only mourning over the loss of the imaginary freedom associated with the privileges and perks linked with their ranks.

Here we think th t we should compare their views on democracy with this reaction to the statement. The latter seems to be coming from their heart, while the former was somewhat a reconciliation with the inevitable and was a

superficial expression just to keep themselves with the general opinion around.

This need to be scrutinized to know the real mind of the nobles psychologically. It is difficult for them not to feel the loss of the position which they have once held so near to the seats of power. Under the present circumstances though the quantum of freedom may be greater on paper, it is of no value for them, as they seem to have no inclination to mix with the masses and share the tiniest fraction of power with them. In the earlier stage the power in much more quantum was reposed conventionally in their hands and they were drafted into the sharing and exercising of that power in the course of their ordinary life, as these privileges were enjoyed by them in their day to day life. It is this feeling of the loss that perhaps has made them to react to the statement in the manner they have done.

(iv) LEGAL SYSTEM:-

VI. STATEMENT:-

The descendant nobles regard the present legal system more dependable than that of the older regime.

EXPLANATION:-

Judicial decisions touch the life of ordinary man in his personal racesses and often influences his relationship with other men. The emphasis has always been on the

independence and impartiality of the Judiciary. Keeping this in view we have placed this statement before the descendant nobles to know how they feel about the change in the dispensation of justice then and now.

It was generally held under the old regime, and historically also it is true, that the judiciary in Hyderabad was comparatively independent as the earliest separation of the Judiciary from the executive had taken place in the Nizams' Administration. Another feature of the Nizams' Judiciary was the influence of the Muslim conception of law and the observance of Muslim Personal Law in thorough detail.

After the changeover the emphases have also changed and we want to know the views of the descendant nobles, if they regard the present legal system more dependable than the one under the old regime.

BREAK UP OF TABLES:-

A. AGE GROUP:-

The highest percentage of disagreement is 80% (Table-XVI, Item-VI), in the age group 31-40 through 68% in the age group above 50 to 58.4% in the age group 41-50 and 57.2% in the age group 20-30.

The highest percentage of agreement is 42.8% in the age group 20-30 through 41.6% in the age group 41-50 to 32%

in the age group above 50, ending with 20% in the age group 31-40.

The total percentage of disagreement is 65.8% and that of agreement is 34.2%.

The above figures reveal that there is a gradual increase in the percentage of disagreement from the lower age group to the highest with a high degree of disagreement in the age group 31-40. This shows that the older the people are the greater is their attachment with the bygone legal system. And whether real or imaginery or sentimental leaning towards the older system is noted in the older groups. The high percentage of disagreement(80%) in the age group 31-40 reflects perhaps the frustration of the group who were among the last to be born in the dying moments of the Jagirdari System, and who, when they opened their eyes, found that the whole ground of economic security had slipped away from under their feet. It may be because of this that they show strong resentment towards the present legal system. However, the considerable percentage of agreement ranging between 20% to 42.8% shows that larger number of the descendants are realizing the importance of the present legal system. In general, however, 65.8% that is about two-third still believe in the older legal system. Though only one-third have voiced for the present legal system, this is a significant change indicative of better

accommodation and adaptation to the changing mode of life.

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:-

The highest percentage of disagreement is 71.1% (Table-XVII, Item-VI), among the school educated through 66.6% among the college educated to 60% among the literates.

The highest percentage of agreement is 40% among the literates through 33.4% among the college educated to 28.9% among the school educated.

The total the percentage of disagreement is 65.9% and that of agreement is 34.1%.

The analysis shows that the percentages of disagreement vary between 60% and 71.1% wherein the literates have the lowest percentage of 60%, the school educated show high percentage of disagreement. This may be because the school educated must have heard fascinating stories about the justness of the past legal system. But when they enter into the colleges they come to know more about the glorified myth of the past and their high appreciation slightly tends to decrease. On the reverse side the literates show the highest percentage of agreement (40%), and the next come the college educated followed by the school educated. In total almost two-third still prefer the old legal system. But the one-third agreement is however of great significance keeping in view the fact that the uprooted noble class has yet to

adjust and find its place in the changed circumstances, both economic and legal.

C. INCOME GROUPS:-

The highest percentage of disagreement is 100% (Table-XVIII, Item-VI), in the income group 701-900, through 75% in the income group above 900 to 71% in the income group 101-300, 57.2% in the income group 501-700, to 50% in the income group 301-500.

The highest percentage of agreement is 100% in the income group below 100 descending through 50% in the income group 301-500, to 42.8% in the income group 501-700, to 28.5% in the income group 101-300, to 25% in the income group above 900, ending with 0% in the income group 701-900.

The total percentage of disagreement is 58.9% and that of agreement is 41.1%.

It is clear from the above that generally with rising income; (that is with greater economic security) there is a deeper attachment with the past legal system whereas the poorer members of the descendant nobles are completely disillusioned about the past and see greater hope in the present legal system, which alone can reinstate them in the present society. The variations of high and low percentages in between the income groups, may be due to the fact that the present income slabs do not necessarily

coincide with the old ranking in the hierarchy of nobles. However, in total very near two-third still feel that the old legal system was more just. The 41.1% agreement with the statement shows the increasing popularity and reliability of the present legal system which is in its essence democratic and secular.

D. THE CATEGORY OF NOBLES:-

The highest percentage of disagreement is 100% (Table-XIX, Item-VI), among the Paigah Nobles through 75% among the Premier Nobles, to 55% among the Other Jagirdars.

The highest percentage of agreement with the statement is 45% among the Other Jagirdars through 25% among the Premier Nobles, to 0% among the Paigah Nobles.

The total percentage of disagreement with the statement is 76.6% and that of agreement is 23.4%.

The table of the category of Nobles is very expressive. The Paigah Nobles who held the highest position in the hierarchy next only to the Nizams, are fully committed to the old legal system; next come the Premier Nobles and last the Other Jagirdars. It is quite natural that the highest nobles, who were infact the makers of the old law and the dispensers of justice, should try to justify the old legal system, as against the new system which has yet

to settle a number member of their legal disputes pending in the courts. Inspite of this 25% among the Premier Nobles and 45% among the Other Jagirdars have come to realise the soundness and superiority of the present legal system. However more than three-fourth of the total descendants of the nobles still seem to be lured by the old legal system and only one-fourth have come to realise change in law to be better.

OBSERVATIONS:-

Our study of the four tables is really revealing. In all of them the opinion seems to be that of disagreement indicating thereby that they feel that the present system is not so dependable as the earlier one. It is surprising that in all the columns in the age group, educational levels and in the categories of nobles they are for the old system as more dependable. In the income groups also, with slight variance, the main trend remains the same, particularly so, as we move towards the higher income groups.

This stand of the nobles is really something to be worth probing further. The dependability of the older legal system may be because of the nobles closeness with the working of the system, more awareness of the prevalent laws and expeditious dispensation. Moreover the higher ranks of the nobles (Exmpted Jagirdars) had the judicial

powers in their Jagirs to deal all the Civil and Criminal Cases with a few exceptions. They are now deprived of it.

In the present regime strict equality of all before law reduces their ranks to a single low level. The complexity and the incomprehensibility of the present laws may also be a contributing cause. Moreover the present system is overlaid with large mass of cases in which justice is delayed and in the process is also denied. The dissatisfaction of the nobles with the legal system can also be looked at from yet another angle. The problems which brought them in contact with the judiciary in the past were mostly by the staff employed for the purpose by them; and they were, particularly the Exempted Jagirdars, not much drawn into the judicial proceedings and their complications. But now under the changed circumstances they are in the position of the clients and complainants or defendants in matters that personally affect them. The pinch of personal loss is more acute now than before. The phase through which they have recently passed has really been a nightmare for them. In this the Democles' sword is hanging over them and their drying resources have disabled them to follow the detailed process of justice and they are not accustomed to have patience to deal with the details with elaborate care needed for the purpose.

The trend of opinion seems to be that the present legal

system does not come up to the nobles' expectation of dependability. One-third of the nobles are, perhaps, finding that they cannot go out of it and have to accept its dependability because they are now subjected to its dependence.

(a) POLITICAL PARTICIPATION:-

In the last three statements we tried to probe into the political and legal views of the descendant nobles. In order to get a deeper insight into a political sphere of their life, we further asked some questions to test and confirm the opinions expressed by them in the foregoing discussion. They are studied as follows:-

(1) CASTING OF VOTE:-

Our first question (Table-AA, Item-11), was whether they cast their vote in the previous elections for Municipality/ Assembly/Parliament. Of the respondents, 80.2% replied in the affirmative, while 19.8% said that they did not cast their votes. This clearly indicates that the overwhelming majority of the descendant nobles has joined the democratic trend by exercising franchise. This also reaffirms their faith in democracy, although they have a long standing feudal background. Almost one-fifth (19.8%) who replied in the negative may not be necessarily against democracy, because in the most democratic atmosphere also all people do not

necessarily cast their vote. In any case, most of the descendant nobles have used their right to vote at one time or the other.

(ii) JOINING A POLITICAL PARTY:-

In the second question (Table-XX, Item-12), as to whether they ever joined any political party as a member, 10.4% answered in the affirmative while 89.6% replied in the negative. Though the percentage of those who joined in the political party as a member is small, it is quite significant, because, 10% of a class taking such active part is good enough. This shows their political consciousness and interest in political participation. This may be because they belong to a class which was always in the political arena of life, and after the changeover they have decided to play their role in the new pattern of political life, however less it may be comparatively. That 89.6% did not join in any political party is not surprising, because according to the old conventions those who weilded political power were supposed to be beyond party policies or above parties.

(iii) CONTESTING ELECTIONS:-

We further asked a third question (Table-XX, Item-13), to find out whether some of them, contested for any of the Municipal/Assembly/Parliament elections? The response revealed

that whereas 3% of them did contest, (97%) did not. This again is very interesting to note that 3% of them have aspired to gain political positions in the new form of democratic Government, inspite of the fact that their old political powers and privileges were completely done away with. In the gap of a little more than a quarter century they are found again struggling for political power. This is exactly what Toynbee meant when he described his theory of withdrawal-and-return, mentioned in the introductory part of this chapter. That is to say, after the abolishing of Jagirdary System, the descendant nobles are once again struggling to regain power and position in the new set up of things.

(iv) MEMBERSHIP OF VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS:-

In order to see how far the descendant nobles are active in other social spheres of life, we asked them fourth question (Table-[illegible], Item-14), whether they were members of any voluntary association, Of the descendants 12.2% replied in the affirmative and 87.8% replied in the native. This means that about one-eight are members of some voluntary associations. When we compare this with the question of their political party membership asked above, we find that there is hardly a difference of 2%. Whereas 10.4% of the descendant nobles are members of some political party, 12.2% are members of some voluntary associations. This shows their extent of social

and political participation in life which is more than what is generally believed to be by the people. As in other sections of the society, 87.8% of the descendant nobles are also not members of any voluntary association.

(b) POLITICAL SAFEGUARDS:-

After asking the above questions regarding their political participation, we were interested to know their views with regard to their own political safeguards and protection.

(i) FORMATION OF ASSOCIATION:-

To a question (Table-XX, Item-15), do you consider the formation of a Jagirdar's Association necessary or below your dignity, 60.5% consider it necessary whereas 39.5% consider it below their dignity. That is to say almost two-third of the descendant nobles feel the need of the formation of a Jagirdar's Association. About 40% however still consider it below their dignity. This means that though quite a large number are still suffering from the sense of deprivation of their power and position, they do not wish to beg for it. Nevertheless majority of them believe in mobilising their activities for safeguarding their political and economic position.

(ii) REPRESENTATION:-

To another question (Table-XX, Item-16), whether they

made or were a party to any representation to the Government for the redress of their grievances, 28.7% answered in the affirmative and 71.3% in the negative. It means that a little less than 29% took active part in representing their grievances before the Government. This shows on the one hand their sense of loss and on the other their consciousness and determination of protest and to seek a solution of their problems. However, as many as 71.3% kept out of the picture. This large number as in any other class which is not fully politically conscious is neither strange nor surprising. It is all the more understandable in the case of the descendant nobles who have yet to fully recover from the loss of their social and political powers and privileges.

(iii) SPECIAL SAFEGUARDS:-

It has been discussed in the chapter III that the abolition of the Jagirdari System completely uprooted the class of nobles. However just the decision of abolition may be it cannot be sociologically denied that it created havoc for the class of the nobles and their descendants. This resulted in complete impoverishment of a large number of the member of this group. A considerable number of even the highest ranks of the nobility was forced to take to the poorest ways of life. This caused utter desperation and frustration. It is not possible to go into the causes of this position, but one important cause seems to be that

the end of the system came abruptly and they were most unprepared for this situation. Whereas in the case of European Nobility, with the exception of a few countries, the nobility got a chance to get absorbed in the new elite and the business class slowly and gradually. In the case of Hyderabad nobles they did not get this opportunity. Keeping this in view we wanted to know whether they feel the need of some special safeguard to protect the interests of the Jagirdars as a class (Table-X.., Item-17), 37.4% answered in the affirmative, while 62.6% responded in the negative. This means that a little more than one-third feel that they deserve some special safeguards and protection while about two-third seem to have surrendered before the subverting course of history. In any case about one-third voicing their demand for safeguard and protection is quite significant which clearly speaks for their class consciousness as well as for their awareness of rights and privileges in the face of the total collapse of their socio-economic and political bases.

A SUM UP OF THE EFFECTS OF CHANGES IN POLITICAL SPHERE:-

The political sphere is explored through six statements and seven questions.

Their reaction to the first statement if the political changes were most distressing, they have lined in columns to let out their discontent over them.

With regard to the second statement about the merits of democracy over the old regime, it appears that their acquired consciousness has overcome their inherited consciousness, the former favouring democracy. This may be because of all round acceptance of democracy and it is difficult for them to be out of steps with the times outwardly.

The third statement about political freedom has evoked a forthright answer, wherein they mourned over loss of freedom they once have had. This deviates from the earlier expression over the merits of democracy wherein, they have sung the peeans of praises in favour of democracy. It is here that real truth comes in conflict with factual truth as revealed through our tables. They are the greatest losers in democracy, they cannot truly uphold it.

Our fourth statement is with regard to the superiority of the present legal system which the descendant nobles are not ready to accept. They have been emasculated through the procedure established by law of the present system and cannot be expected to expound it.

To study their participation in political sphere, we asked them about casting of vote - the first step in active awareness. They say that they have. With regard to joining of political party, they are yet to overcome their moral convention that they belong to all and not to a segment of society

They have also not contested any election where unanimity is dissolved in fractions and factions. Similarly they have not membered any voluntary organization, whose cadre they could adorn as patrons only to suit their status.

Cornered by political compulsions they are inclined to form their own associations to protect their interests as other groups are doing, though a part of them still feel it to be a degrading act. They are also not inclined to submit any representation to the government which should consider their case of its own accord without any goading as the former governments did. Hence they are also not out to seek safeguards for the protection of their interests.

Thus we can say that while in social life, they are tortured, in political sphere, they are tormented by changes that are apparently meant to be for the good of all, but in reality they are the Peters who are being robbed to pay the Pauls.

A RESTATEMENT:-

The historic abolition of the Jagirdari System and its effects on the nobles of Hyderabad have been studies in the light of Toynbee's theory of 'challenge and response'. The disintegration of the nobility of Hyderabad posed a number of challenges before the descendant nobles to which they responded in different ways at different times. This process

of change again can be understood through Toynbee's theory of 'withdrawal-and-return'.

In order to find out how far the nobles have adjusted with the present set up of things, we applied six statements and seventeen questions. These statements (two in social and four in political sphere) and questions were intended to ascertain the nature and effects of changes in the social five and political seven spheres of life.

The nobles regard changes as a natural process of history and they seem to have withstood the challenges bravely in spite of serious set backs. The response shows that the cultural changes have pained them immensely. Culture to them, as to any other group was the image of life and its breakdown has made them discomfortable. With regard to the preparedness of the children to face the new challenges of time the agreement - disagreement difference has been very narrow which is truly descriptive of their uncertainity about future in spite of their efforts to meet with the situation. It is interesting to note that they hold the opinion that they are more free now to lead their personal and family life than under the Nizam 's regime. It may be because of the vast scope of individual liberty guaranteed by the democratic precepts obtainable now.

Whereas the nobles of the past had imposed restrictions on their children in matters of choice of friends, career

and spouse, the descendant nobles have given these choices to their children. This again shows the process of modern trend to change penetrating through their tradition-bound society. This further reveals that they are very much in the current of changes trying to adjust with the modern challenges of time. They however do not seem to encourage inter-sectional marriages.

Further we tried to study their responses in the sphere of political activity. The political changes which have completely deprived them of their age old authority, have naturally distressed them very much. However they could not shut their eyes to the course of history and have begun to realise that democracy is a better substitute of the older regime. The political freedom allowed in democracy has also appealed to them. Though the descendant nobles in general have preferred democracy over the old regime, the higher ranks of nobility, the Paigah and the Premier Nobles still cannot reconcile with the new state of affairs. Their emotional attachment with the old system of legal and political life is still so strong that they consider the old legal system to be more dependable than the present one. This may be the result of political and economic deprivations.

With regard to political participation of the descendant nobles, it came to light that in spite of feudal background they have joined the rest of the society in actual democratic

participation around. Nevertheless, still they have not forgotten the loss of their power and position and at least one-third of them feel that their grievances should be redressed and some special safeguards be provided for them to save them from further disintegration.

Looking at the over all picture of the responses it is noticeable that after initial setbacks and withdrawals the descendant nobles are trying to remodel their social and political strategies so as to meet the challenges of the present day society. The whole trend is still in the process of reformulation. Whatever shape it may take in future, the process of change has in any case been set at work.

The flow of events that have brought about these changes has now slowed down. The time gap has enabled the descendents to be tuned to the turn of changes. They are now being drawn into the main stream after their temporary withdrawal. It is a case of return from almost the point of no return in which the nobles were steam rollered. They have lingered through the stress. They are alive to the changed situation around. They have surfaced their qualities to sustain. They are zigzagging through the meanderings of changes in their life and may not be fully submerged under. They may not in future be identified in old

terms. They survive and may be subserved under the substreams of new groups and classes that have emerged under the circumstances. On their ashes, a new phonix is born again and in the embers perhaps they live again.

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CHAPTER - X

CONCLUSION

I

The nobles who constituted a distinct class in the society of erstwhile Hyderabad Dominions had evolved a culture and tradition of their own which was deeply rooted in a long history of the Muslim rule in India. As such this is a study of Historical Sociology. The main focus of our study, however, has been on the various aspects of social change that are taking place particularly after the independence of India. The independence of the country had initiated as an unprecedented momentum of change in every aspect of Indian Society. The nobles of Hyderabad could not remain unaffected by them. The nobles did not only constitute a class; in fact more than that, the nobility had become an institution. The accession of Hyderabad in the Indian Union was a turning point in the socio-cultural life of the nobles. This was a new point of departure. We have tried to observe how the nobles emerged out of the baffling problems of change with which they were confronted in 1948. This was a time when they were standing on the cross-roads of traditionalism and modernity.

In the psedo-feudal society of Hyderabad, the Jagirdars or the Nobles occupied the position at the apex, next only to

the Royal family of the Nizams. They enjoyed an enviable position of power and prestige with rich economic background which provided them immense leisure and a care-free life. During a long period of more than two hundred years of the Nizams' rule they practically lived an unperturbed life of socio-economic tranquility. In this long period they developed rigid norms, values, manners, code of behaviour and attitudes which corresponded with the socio-cultural types obtainable in the society of the medieval times. The flood of democratic ideas rocked the very foundations of the feudal aristocracy. This class of people were consequently faced with gigantic problems of adjustment and change. The challenges of the new age did not warrant simple responses of accommodation and adjustment. Although Arnold Toynbee's 'theory of challenge and response' is quite relevant in our study of the Nobles of Hyderabad, yet it cannot exclusively explain the whole phenomenon of change completely, because a study of change, particularly of a society which has its deep roots in traditions and values cannot be adequately interprated without a careful analysis of the 'soft spots' of their socio-cultural reality. That is why we have persistently tried to compare and contrast the old image with the new reality, the old traits and the new patterns of behaviour, the old values and views and the newly emerging pattern of norms and behaviour. It is interesting to note that inspite of the

conflicting situations, the nobles have shown a positive trend in the direction of modernity and change.

The subject of this study is a 'virgin' subject in the sense that it has not been explored by Sociologists and Anthropologists so far. This has its own advantages and disadvantages; the advantage is that it is a study of a live group of people and not a matter of mere historical interpretations. The disadvantage is that this being a pioneer effort in the case of the nobles of Hyderabad, it has many hazards and risks for the investigator. It is but natural, therefore, that it cannot pretend to cover all the aspects of the complete phenomenon of the nobles' life.

As has been mentioned in our study, the Nobles of Hyderabad are one of the last survivals of the feudal type which has been a consistent group in all societies with despotic forms of the government in Europe, Central Asia, Japan, India and elsewhere. This universality of the phenomenon necessesitated a peep through history into some of the feudal societies found in the various countries so as to deduce some of the common features and attributes associated with the socio-cultural life of the nobility.

II

The main characteristics of European feudalism were

obedience to the crown accompanied by military service in lieu whereof the feudal lords were granted fiefs. These fiefs became hereditary as feudalism got established in the various countries of Europe. The permanent nature of the fiefs made the feudal lords autonomous within their estates with vast military, administrative and judicial powers. Within the bounds of these estates the nobles of European countries developed an eloborate custom of socio-cultural life. The vassal-lord relationship, the system of benefice, homage and of offering presents was identical to its counterpart in Asian and Far-East Asian Countries. The stratification of the society was also similar in Europe and Asia during the medieval periods.

Though independent in existence, the Central Asian and the Mughal Nobility had several similarities. We have given a description of the Central Asian nobility, particularly under Changiz Khan and Taimur, because the Mughal Nobility is in many respects a continuity of the same. The nobility under Changiz Khan and Taimur had an aristorocatic base wherein the nobles formed the pillars of the edifice of the Mongol Empire. That is why, perhaps, Taimur referred to them as 'guardians of Kingdom', 'friends', 'brothers' or 'companions and partners' of his fortune. The nobles during the time enjoyed unparalelled position in the social hierarchy and although they rivalled with each other, their

loyalty to the crown remained always undisputed. It is this feature of loyalty to the crown which runs as a common thread through out the history of the Mughals and the Nizams, even in situations when the monarch was a puppet and a big mis-fit in his position.

An important feature of the Central Asian nobility, in contradistinction to its counterpart in Europe was its lifetime peerage, at times even confined to just a few years of tenure. It is for this reason that some historians prefer to call it a military bureaucracy, nevertheless, it was a nobility that constituted the backbone of the Central Asian Kingdoms.

The Mughals, the successors to the line of Changiz and Taimur continued with the institution. Although, the Mughals did not continue with the Assembly of Nobles, as it was found in the time of Taimur, still the nobles constituted the strong group of supporters of the Mughal Empire. The Mughal Nobility comprised a body of officers of the state who played a decisive role in the continuation of the empire and the administration of the government. Whereas, in the time of Taimur and his ancestors, the Jagirs were granted for a short period of three years or more, it became a life tenure under the Mughals. More often than not, at least a part of the Jagir was regranted to the successors of the deceased nobles. Since the nobles under the Mughals stood on a high

pedestal in the social hierarchy, and since they represented at least symbolically the crown, they displayed great pomp and show and an elaborate regalia around them. It was this feature of the Mughal Nobility which inspite of many differences from its European counterpart was responsible for the growth of a whole network of values, traditions and a culture.

Unlike the European nobility, the Mughal Nobility was a hetrogeneous group. It comprised several ethnic groups such as the Iranian, the Turanian, the Arab, the Pathan, the Indian Muslims and the Rajput components of the Mughal Nobility. This diversity of ethnic type created a remarkable socio-cultural unity in diversity. The Mughal Emperors were always actively engaged in maintaining balance and discipline in their diverse noble ranks both by fair and foul means. It was, when they failed to do so, that besides other reasons, the tottering of the Empire began. The Nobles under the Mughals held vast estates according to the ranks and slowly but persistently developed a culture which in a great measure passed on to the Nizams after the fall of the Mughal Empire. The higher ranks of nobility in particular inherited great measure of privileges and obligations.

The Mughal Nobility was responsible for the development of an urban civilization with forts, military cantonments,

palaces, gardens, 'karkhanas' and 'bazars' around. This automatically developed a whole network of relationships marked by clear cut divisions of social hierarchy and stratification.

III

The weakening of the Mughal Empire resulted in the emergence of a number of princely states within the nominal territories of the Mughal Emperors soon after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. The founders of these princely states were no other than the former nobles of the Mughal Empire. The bigger princely states had become autonomous although most of them continued to show their allegiance to the Delhi throne till its final fall in 1857. These nobles-turned-rulers continued the pattern of life and form of government of the Mughals to a very great extent. Most of the institutions and ways of life perpetuated in great measure both in the north and south India.

The Nizams' Dominions comprised the southern part of the Indian Peninsula which was carved out as an independent territory by Asaf Jah, the first Nizam, although he never declared his independence. As long as the Mughal emperors survived, the 'firmans' were received from Delhi with traditional honour. Big Jagirs were granted directly by the Mughal Emperors at the recommendation of the Nizam, and even

when they were granted by the Nizam it was supposed to be in the name of the Mughal Emperor. The ranks and honours conferred upon the nobles were the same as granted at the Mughal Court.

Values, traditions and manners were transmitted to the Nizams in full. Even the language of the Mughal Court continued to be the language of the Nizams till the end of Sir Salar Jung I's Prime Ministorship. Social practices, conventions and even superstitions were inherited by the Nizams' Nobility until recently.

The Nobles of the Nizams had gained one extra privilege which was not allowed to the nobles under the Mughals, particularly under the strong Mughal rulers. This was the hereditary quality of Jagirs under the Nizams. The Jagirs under the Mughals were mostly life-time Jagirs. In principle it was to remain so but under the Nizam II in 1803, the Jagirs in Hyderabad became hereditary. From this point the Nizams' Nobility came in closer resemblance with the European feudatories.

Nobility under the Mughals constituted a military aristrocracy. It continued to remain so under the Nizams also but when the Nizams were overpowered by the British, this military character faded out fast. No wars were fought after the second Nizam in which the nobles participated.

The result was that the nobles were confined to their palaces or 'shikargahs'. Their income from Jagir lands were high and they became victim of all indulgences which are the logical consequence of wealth and leisure. It was followed by an age of conflicting values of idealism, high thinking as well as exploitation and laxity in sex.

The sense of superiority, high status and position continued to linger on till the drama came to an abrupt end and the curtain fell in 1949. The Nobles of Hyderabad inherited most of the virtues and vices which are attributed to this class in any country of the world in its period of degeneration and disintegration.

We have tried to study the mobility of European countries, Central Asia, Mughal India and Hyderabad in the light of the theories of Mosca, Pareto, Veblen and others. These thinkers have tried to explain the phenomenon of the ruling class in pre-industrial and pre-democratic societies from sociological point of view. Mosca points out the presence of a ruling class as a privileged group in every society which wields power and prestige. This class is considered to be superior to other classes in the society and stands high in the social hierarchy. This class may take different forms; it may be feudal, aristocratic or bureaucratic in its form and structure but it is a class

which possesses a distinct identity, sophistication of manners and an elaborate system of norms, values and traditions.

The theory of elite as propounded by Pareto is a variation of Mosca's theory of the ruling class. The only difference is that Pareto gives it a wider connotation which extended in the light of his theory of elite can be conveniently applied to any group of people who command authority and power of decision making even outside the purview of feudal or aristocratic societies. C. Wright Mills prefers to call it the 'power elite', whereby he means the same group of people at the helm of affairs in any society. Mosca, Pareto and Mills recognize the existence of a group of people who are responsible for the course of socio-political and economic events in any society. The class of nobles can be identified in this group as briefly described in chapters II and III.

Thorstein Veblen's theory of the leisure class helps us a great deal in analysing and understanding the institution of nobility. Whether in Europe, Central Asia, Hyderabad or elsewhere, in its period of degeneration the class of nobles or the ruling class requires the attribute of conspicuous leisure and conspicuous consumption. In the phenomena of these concessions they develop an elaborate system of customs and practices, etiquette and manners and

a host of festive and recreational activities. These elements of culture are supported and fed by their vast economic resources. But idleness, wealth and luxury drag them into a world of heavy indulgences which ultimately results in their degeneration and fall. The theoretical illustration of Veblen fits in the historical perspective of Hyderabad nobility.

However, the social and cultural complex of this once important class has enough fascination for a sociological probe. The changes that took place during the last two hundred years prior to the abolition of Jagirdari System were slow and confined within the cultural fold of the institutions of nobility. During this long period there developed an image and a whole complex of relationship which evolved a compact composite distinct culture. The group life of the nobles was markedly different from the life of the masses around. In order to keep up their cultural identity and notions of class superiority, they preferred to live a life of segregation and alienation. The nobles were like an island in the ocean of multitudinous masses.

V

The nobles of Hyderabad who can be identified in terms of the ruling class of Mosca and Veblen and the elite and

power elite of Pareto and C. Wright Mills, were stripped of their socio-political position after the abolition of the Jagirdari System in Hyderabad in 1949. This confronted them with colossal problems of adjustment and accomodation. They had to undergo great stress and strain, frustrations and tensions for quite sometime. Even after the lapse of more than a quarter century they have not fully recovered from the total loss of their culture and class identity. Our case studies clearly reveal that their old image of nobility is still a source of strength for them in spite of changed circumstances because perhaps this is all they have. The older nobles and their descendants strongly cling to their traditional past although they cannot deny and ignore the forces of change which are overwhelming them as an inevitable reality. Their frame of reference is their past. They take pride in their elaborate system of manners and tradition.

In the first case study the subject is reflective and intellectual. Though he has tried to adjust with the new situation and has educated his children in the modern ways of life, he himself continues to be an admirer of the old society and culture. He feels that even the rich nobles cannot fully adjust with the modern rich class because he sees a big cultural gap between the rich of the present and the rich of the past. He feels that the nobility as a group cannot be identified with an economic class.

The second case is a realist in his attitude towards the trends of change. He admits that the majority of Jagirdars did exploit the masses but the big Jagirdars were definitely generous and just. He, however, feels that the economic security of the nobles had plunged them into a life of ease and frivolousness.

The third case holds the view that the Jagirdars lived in a world of imagination and could not foresee the current of change that was long back set in. Nevertheless, he feels that the change has not brought about the happiness and prosperity even to the people though it is so loudly talked about. He is of the opinion that the life of the nobles in its various phases had its own vices and virtues.

The fourth case study is very revealing. It is a faithful picture of a dejected noble who had a very steep fall from once a very high position. The impression that he has given through his statement is but a brief resume of all his experiences of life that he has gone through during the last four decades and which he has very faithfully and carefully recorded in his daily diaries. He reflects the glory and the pride that was and at the same time he expresses the deep feeling of agony and discomfort which he has to live through after the loss of his economic position and the dispersal of the cultural phenomenon. Used to a life of giving and expending, he can neither beg nor borrow; he can

only suffer in silence. His case is a case of the many sensitive ones who imbibe the same norms and values. In spite of all this, he is fully conscious of the new turn of events. He believes in its inevitability as well as its overall benefits and advantages. He represents the conflict that is arising as a result of the clash between what was old and what is new replacing the old. He admits his own inability to adjust, but wishes his progeny to fully devote to the new forces around.

The nobles or the descendant nobles reflect their old images or frame of reference in proportion with their ranks and position. The members of higher ranks show greater attachment to the past. The older people in particular fall in line with this group. The more educated and economically secure nobles however tend to realise and appreciate the forces of modernisation and change. However they cannot divorce themselves from their past which according to them had given them a life of glory and grandeur.

VI

The nobles of Hyderabad had certain notions of their own with regard to the nature and image of nobility. We have tried to probe this aspect of their attitude through six statements and seven questions. As in the past, the nobles

and their descendants still link nobility with religion irrespective of age group and educational level, income and category of nobles. They however do not consider nobility to be above religion and community. Most of the interviewees still believe in destiny and regard nobility as God-given. They feel that they were more conscious of their religious identity in the past which opinion again subscribes to the former which links religion with nobility.

Though religion and nobility, in the case of Hyderabad and Mughal Nobility at least, historically coincided with each other, they tend to bypass the contradiction that arise between the two. However, in the back of their minds nobility is more prominent, perhaps because, it was the source of their economic power. After the fall of their noble status, they are likely to recline on their religious identity which remains the left over source of strength and cultural identity.

The nobles clearly express that it was the superiority of their ancestors which was responsible for the establishment of their class. Majority of them believe in the social and racial superiority of their class but more than one-third, however, seem to be disillusioned about this old traditional opinion which strongly points to the turn of the trend that is likely to follow.

In principle the nobles believe in the equality of man

though in practice there is a sharp departure from this belief. This is perhaps because the economic and political climate of the feudal times could not permit them to practice their beliefs. With the abolition of the Jagirdari System the nobles have very eloquently voiced the principle of human equality.

With regard to the division of society into various strata, the nobles agree that this is made and organised by men, that is to say, it is not designed by God or nature. It seems they consider the differences in socio-economic position as a consequence of the historical process and though they are not prepared to lose what they are left with, they do not insist on acknowledging the equal rights of men in society.

The nobles in overwhelming numbers do not consider the old hierarchical values as natural and permanent. This is an indication of their readiness to compromise with the new democratic trends of socio-economic changes.

The analysis of the six statements spread over four independent variables along with the seven questions clearly reveals the nature and image of nobility as it is now found with them. This dispels some of the notions that were attributed to the nobles in general. At the same time it becomes clear that in certain respects they still try to

justify their conviction in the superiority of their ancestors. This may also be because of their apologetic attitude because the present nobles and their descendants have failed to justify their status. However, the nobles have fully realized that the feudal age has come to an end that is why they are for the basic equality of man. They admit that their old set of values were neither natural nor permanent. This realization by itself points to their readiness to accept the new trends of change that are set in.

VII

Social behaviour is motivated by cultural traits and norms and values held by the members of any group. As described in the chapter on traits and social behaviour, a trait is the simplest and the most significant action unit of a culture. In the above chapter we have tried to study the traits and behaviour patterns of the Nobles of Hyderabad with the help of seven statements and eleven questions. One of the important traits of the nobility was their attachment and loyalty to the state power. It is interesting to note that whereas this was an important trait associated with nobility, the present nobles do not seem to subscribe to this view. This may be because under the present situation which has deprived them of their status and power, they cannot possibly extend the same attachment

and loyalty to the State which was an age old trait of their class.

Equanimity in behaviour was another trait of nobility. The present nobles and their descendants under the stressed circumstances find it difficult to retain that quantum of equanimity which was so predominently present in the case of their predecessors. Perhaps this trait cannot go along with the stress and strain of modern socio-economic race.

The present nobles and their descendants have expressed their grief and sorrow over the loss of their refined manners and social graces which were considered important ingredients of their social milieu. However, as many as one-third are not quite sorry for it. This shows that once important traits of their culture are slowly in the process of dying out.

Formerly the nobles of higher ranks considered it below their dignity to get into all cadres of Government service. They were to be recruited in the Government service in accordance with their prestige and position, otherwise they did not mind remaining out of job. There are instances when the high nobles served as Ministers without accepting a salary. They could afford it. In the present circumstances when their economic security has come to naught it was important to find out their present attitude towards the

acceptance of ordinary jobs. Contrary to their old attitude, they have fallen in line with the common man and are prepared to accept any Government service without hesitation. This is perhaps the result of economic compulsion. Similarly they readily recognize the importance of hard work and punctuality. Another important trait of nobility was that they were living a life marked by conspicuous consumption. They knew only how to spend without caring a bit for how this money came. This behaviour of the nobles baffled them most and caused them untold miseries in the earlier stages after abolition because they could no more afford to be expensive beyond income. The present nobles have fully realized the importance of money perhaps because it does not come the easy way it did in the past. The changed circumstances have brought them into the arena of economic activity. They are no more carefree, wreckless, and irresponsible, as they once used to be.

One of the important ingredients of the unwritten code of behaviour was that they did not like to criticise the members of their own category. They still seem to follow this old practice. However, one-fourth do not like to bind themselves to the feudal ethics and prefer to enjoy the freedom of expression irrespective of class and category. The nobles in the past looked upon the people outside the

ranks of nobility as suspicious, unrealiable and unworthy. The present nobles, however, do not hold the same opinion. The interviewees, in high percentages, deny to consider the people outside nobility as suspicious, unreliable or unworthy. This clearly shows that the barriers that stood between the nobility and the commoners have been removed and the nobles have ultimately decided, atleast outwardly, to join the commoners in the main-stream of social life without any stigma attached to them.

A study of the traits and the present social behaviour of the nobles clearly shows a departure from the old practices. The present nobles seem to have realised the inevitable course of events that is taking place all around and seem to have ultimately decided to join the common struggle of life side by side with the other sections of society.

VIII

Values and Views run through the fabric of social life like thin threads and bind them together. A value system comprises of an organised framework of social norms, ideals and beliefs. These constitute the 'soft spots' in the social life of a group and it is here that the greatest amount of resistance arises in an event of conflict in the process of change.

We have tried to probe into the values and views of the nobles by placing seven statements and fourteen questions before them.

Formerly the predecessor nobles took life easy because things came their way without much struggle. In the course of history it had almost become their habit. As of now, the nobles do not wish to take life easy because the conditions around them are pressing them hard for the struggle for survival.

Whereas the predecessor nobles exploited the common man and used them as instruments for their own life purposes, the present nobles have abandoned this attitude and consider the common man as worthy of equal dignity and honour in the run of life. It should be remembered here, however, that exploitation has not been the exclusive practice of any one class. In fact in all societies the people who occupy a privileged position resort to this method of achieving their ends at the cost of others; and the nobles are no exception to it.

In the time when the nobles wielded power and authority they used it for good as well as bad purposes. Like any other group in society, the nobles do not justify the abuse of power. In fact in the present circumstances they are realistic enough to relinquish their craze, if any, for

getting such powers. In any case they realize the importance of the proper use of power.

With regard to feudalism the nobles do not consider it as unnatural. They take it to be a part of the historical process which was not illogical but in fact fitted in the context in which it evolved and developed. They strongly believe that the system was just.

It is interesting to note that the nobles and their descendants still believe in the role of destiny as a cause of the fall of feudalism. Perhaps in this way they want to share the responsibility with nature for the end of their system. However, the nobles do not shirk off their own responsibility in the turn of events completely. Particularly the higher ranks of nobility feel the pinch of their carelessness in not fulfilling the functions of their class which provided the justification for the continuation of their institution.

The predecessor nobles educated their children in segregation from the masses in special schools or at home. They also did not recognise the usefulness of modern type of education. The present nobles, however, have changed their former outlook on education. They consider the present system of education as suitable, non-conflicting and favourable for their own class as well as for the society in general.

Their views on the status of women have also changed, particularly the more educated and enlightened nobles are prepared to give equal status to women with freedom to participate in the changing strife and struggle of life.

In the sphere of sex life the nobles do not think that laxity in sex can be regarded as hall-mark of nobility alone. They do admit that it was a weakness but this weakness was the result of their secure and rich circumstances of life. Though 'harem' was an institution patronized by a section of the nobility, it was only partially customary and in no way natural.

The important problem regarding the 'purdah' system has received a very interesting response from the nobles. This is a very sensitive spot in their value system wherein they are equally devided in their opinion for and against the 'purdah' system. This is in consonance with the general trend of opinion prevailing in the Indian Muslim society at large where the less educated masses in particular still favour the continuation of the 'purdah' system. However, with more and more education and greater participation in the modern ways of life, the trend is towards the abandoning the 'purdah' system.

Although the daughters of the nobles were formerly educated within the four-walls of their Deodhis, the present

nobles and their descendants are all out to send them for higher education after the completion of traditional and religious education at home.

IX

The chapter on challenges and responses has fully exposed the attitude of the nobles in the event of overall changes that they have been facing since the abolition of the Jagirdari System. Immediately after the abolition they were totally frustrated and opted to retire from active participation in the life around. This is what Toynbee calls 'withdrawal' but by and by as they regained their nerves and energies, they staged a 'return' to the life of active participation. This is quite clear from their responses to the challenges during the last quarter of a century. We have probed into this phenomenon with the help of six statements and seventeen questions.

The majority of nobles were disturbed and dislocated by the flood of changes that overtook them in the beginning. They however do not think that the changes were deliberately designed to disturb them. Though they were disturbed by it after a lapse of all these years, yet they take it coolly.

The economic dislocation of their class has distressed them very much but the loss of political power and more than

that the loss of culture has distressed them most.

The nobles were so much overwhelmed by the forces of change that they could not prepare their children to face the challenges of life ahead. Even then, a little less than half of them feel that their children are prepared to face the new socio-economic changes around. It is indeed a great come back! It seems that this reaction is more overlaid by optimism than by real preparedness.

Formerly, the sons and daughters of the nobles were bred and brought up in an exclusive atmosphere within the confines of their palaces or within limited circles outside. The present nobles however have realized the importance of giving more freedom to their children in the choice of friends, choice of career and choice of their life partners.

The nobles do not consider intersectional marriages as below their status. However, within the purview of their ethos, the family traditions do not permit or at least do not encourage intersectional marriages though such cases are not totally absent.

In the political sphere the change has pained them immensely, because it has deprived them of the age old power and authority. Even so, they consider democracy as a better substitute of monarchy. But it should not be forgotten that the higher ranks of nobility still owe their allegiance at least mentally to the older system.

The reason for their approval of democracy may be found in the point that they feel there is greater freedom of movement and activity in the democratic way of life.

It is interesting to note that the nobles in overwhelming numbers have preferred the older legal system over the new. Perhaps their personal sense of loss and deprivation in the present legal system has disappointed them. The amount of losses that they have encountered under the aegis of the present legal system in the socio-economic and political spheres must have induced them to fall back upon their older system which gave them every protection and security.

In spite of the feudal background the present nobles have come out to participate in the political life of today by casting votes, joining political parties and contesting elections at the local and the national levels. Their role in voluntary organizations is no less significant.

In the background of their overwhelming losses in the socio-economic spheres the nobles feel that the government should provide them with the certain safeguards to reinstate them at least partially in a more secure and respectable position.

The whole picture reveals a process of revitalization of the lost energies with a new elitist zeal for rejoining the mainstream of life in a new role.

X

In the final analysis it would be proper to recall the hypothesis that were presented in the first chapter so as to see the trends of changes in a nut shell.

I. 1. With regard to the first hypothesis about the nature and image of nobility it has come to light that the nobles still believe in the superiority of their ancestors in the historical perspective. This image is still strongly cherished and held by the members of this group in spite of the changed circumstances.

I. 2.(a) The nobles link nobility with the religion and community but do not consider nobility as above religion and community.

(b) They still feel that their ancestors had social and racial superiority.

(c) They do not consider social stratification to be natural and permanent.

II. 1. With regard to traits and social behaviour their reaction to the first hypothesis shows that they do not consider attachment and loyalty to the State power as a trait of the nobility.

II. 2. As against the age old practice of the nobles, their descendants now do not mind accepting any kind of jobs in the Government service.

II. 3. The present nobles have given up the old attitude of considering the common people as low and unreliable.

They no more believe in the division of society in high and low.

III. 1. After the abolition of the Jagirdari System the nobles are exposed to the rough weather of life. Formerly they took life easy, now they do not.

III. 2. The nobles and the descendants still try to justify the Jagirdari System as logical and sound.

III. 3. The nobles no more insist on the segregation of women although they are undecided about the extent to which freedom should be given to women and the 'purdah' system be removed.

IV. 1. The nobles are more distressed about the loss of their culture than about the political and economic losses which they have suffered.

IV. 2. Though the predecessor nobles were committed to monarchy as a form of government, the decendants have reconciled with the democratic form of the modern time without much demur.

IV. 3. In spite of their high notions about their ancestral superiority as a privileged class, the present nobles have readily compromised with the democratic ways of life so that they may reinstate themselves in a better position.

The study reveals that the image and the frame of reference is not abandoned by the descendants and the nobles. The memories

are still too fresh to forget the past, particularly in the high category of nobles and the older and the more knowledgeable members of this class. But at the same time the nobles have come to realize the inevitability of change. The past and the present are diametrically opposed to each other in manner and content of the ways of life. Nevertheless the nobles have decided to opt for the inevitable rather than perish as a class. The conflict of minds still persists but the trend is in favour of change though with caution and reservation as and where needed.

The focus of the present study was on social change but the area of social change is so vast that any single study cannot pretend to cover the whole. It can be very interesting if one could study the newly emerging patterns of relationship between the descendants of the nobles and the upper and middle classes of society. It would also be interesting to find out the place and position of the nobles among the elites of today. In the face of rapid changes that are taking place in modern India, the changing roles and functions of the members of the group can be a subject of great sociological importance. The findings of this first sociological study in this field, it is hoped, will serve as a pointer towards the various dimensions of change that are taking place in the life of the descendant nobles as well as allaround.

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A. AGE GROUP:

APPENDIX 'A'

TABLE - I.

NATURE AND IMAGE OF NOBILITY

State-ment No.	STATEMENTS	20-30		31-40		41-50		above 50		TOTAL %	
		% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
I.	Nobility can be regarded as above religion and community.	7.6	92.4	12.5	87.5	20.0	80.0	10.4	89.6	12.6	87.4
II.	If nobility is regarded to be linked with historical origins mixed with religion, it may be possible that in the frame of working behaviour of the nobles some contradiction may arise because of certain tenets of religion not being observed in practice.	7.2	92.8	18.7	81.3	16.6	83.4	14.3	85.7	14.0	86.0
III.	Nobility is based on the superiority of ancestral status.	100.0	-	93.4	6.6	80.0	20.0	72.5	27.5	86.4	13.6
IV.	A child born is endowed with certain basic human qualities; as such, men are basically equal in themselves and should be regarded as equal.	78.6	21.4	81.3	18.7	86.7	13.3	82.8	17.2	82.4	17.6
V.	Ours is a society graded with stratification. These differences of high and low are determined by the social circumstances and economic factors. Hence they are men-made; as such, organized by men.	92.4	7.6	92.4	7.6	86.6	13.4	59.3	40.7	85.2	14.8
VI.	The values associated with old social stratification were regarded by the predecessor nobles as natural and permanent. The decendants of the nobles now aspire to uphold them.	23.1	76.9	38.5	61.5	40.0	60.0	23.1	76.9	31.2	68.8

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:

APPENDIX 'A'

TABLE - II.

NATURE AND IMAGE OF NOBILITY

Statement No.	STATEMENTS	Literates		School Educated		College Educated		TOTAL:	
		% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
I.	Nobility can be regarded as above religion and community.	33.4	66.6	7.5	92.5	4.2	95.8	14.9	85.1
II.	If nobility is regarded to be linked with historical origins mixed with religion, it may be possible that in the frame of working behaviour of the nobles some contradictions may arise because of certain tenets of religion not being observed in practice.	-	100.0	12.2	87.8	20.8	79.2	11.0	89.0
III.	Nobility is based on the superiority of ancestral status.	85.7	14.3	76.8	23.2	68.0	32.0	76.8	23.2
IV.	A child born is endowed with certain basic human qualities; as such, men are basically equal in themselves and should be regarded as equal.	66.6	33.4	87.8	12.2	80.0	20.0	78.2	21.8
V.	Ours is a society graded with stratification. These differences of high and low are determined by the social circumstances and economic factors. Hence, they are man made; as such organized by men.	100.0	-	75.6	24.4	75.0	25.0	83.6	16.4
VI.	The values associated with old social stratification were regarded by the predesessor nobles as natural and permanent. The descendants of the nobles now aspire to uphold them.	-	100.0	25.0	75.0	37.5	62.5	20.5	79.5

C. INCOME GROUP:

APPENDIX 'A'

TABLE - III.

NATURE AND IMAGE OF NOBILITY

Statement No.	STATEMENTS	Below 100		101-300		301-500		501-700		701-900		Above 900		TOTAL:	
		% agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
I.	Nobility can be regarded as above religion and community.	25.0	75.0	6.6	93.4	-	100.0	14.3	85.7	25.0	75.0	14.3	85.7	16.6	83.4
II.	If nobility is regarded to be linked with historical origins mixed with religion, it may be possible that in the frame of working behaviours of the nobles some contradictions may arise because of certain tenets of religion not being observed in practice.	-	100.0	31.2	68.8	16.6	83.4	-	100.0	-	100.0	25.0	75.0	12.0	88.0
III.	Nobility is based on the superiority of ancestral status.	100.0	-	87.5	12.5	100.0	-	83.4	16.6	66.6	33.4	66.6	33.4	84.0	16.0
IV.	A child born is endowed with certain basic human qualities; as such men are basically equal in themselves, and should be regarded as such.	100.0	-	100.0	-	66.6	33.4	85.7	14.3	100.0	-	73.4	26.6	87.6	12.4

- more

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
V.	Ours is a society graded with stratification. These differences of high and low are determined by the social circumstances and economic factors. Hence they are man made; as such are organized by men.	66.6	33.4	73.4	26.6	100.0	-	100.0	-	75.0	25.0	71.4	28.6	81.1	18.9
VI.	The values associated with old social stratification were regarded by the predessor nobles as natural and permanent. The descendants of the nobles now aspire to uphold them.	33.4	66.6	31.3	68.7	6.3	93.7	6.3	93.7	25.0	75.0	25.0	75.0	35.5	64.5

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:

APPENDIX 'A'

TABLE - IV.

NATURE AND IMAGE OF NOBILITY

Statement No.	STATEMENTS	Paigah		Premier Nobles		Other Jagirdars		TOTAL:	
		% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
I.	Nobility can be regarded as above religion and community.	11.8	88.2	7.6	92.4	12.5	87.5	10.6	89.4
II.	If nobility is regarded to be linked with historical origins mixed iwith religion, it may be possible that in the frame of working behaviour of the nobles some contradictions may arise because of certain tenets of religion not being observed in practice.	14.3	85.7	23.1	76.9	9.4	90.6	16.0	84.0
III.	Nobility is based on the superiority of ancestral status.	58.8	41.2	100.0	-	91.2	8.8	83.4	16.6
IV.	A child born is endowed with certain basic human qualities; as such, men are basically equal in themselves and should be regarded as equal.	84.6	15.4	92.4	7.6	77.7	22.3	84.9	15.1
V.	Ours is a society graded with stratification. These differences of high and low are determined by the social circumstances and economic factors. Hence, they are man made and as such organized by men.	73.4	26.6	54.6	45.4	85.4	14.6	71.2	28.8
VI.	The values associated with old social stratification were regarded by the predecessor nobles as natural and permanent. The decendants of the nobles now aspire to uphold them.	61.6	38.4	38.5	61.5	15.0	85.0	38.4	61.6

TABLE - V.

NATURE AND IMAGE OF NOBILITY

S.No.	PERCENTAGE	
	Yes:	No:
1. Do you regard nobility as God given?	77	23
2. Do you think that you are more conscious now of your religious identity than you were in the feudal times?	17	83
3. Do you regard nobility as Socially Superior?	60	40
4. Do you regard nobility as racially superior?	66	34
5. Do you regard all men in principle as equal before law?	97	3
6. Do you regard social differences among men as natural?	44	56
7. Do you regard the social differences among men to be caused by an acquisition of property?	50	50

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A. AGE GROUP:

APPENDIX 'A'

TABLE - VI.

TRAITS AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Statement No.	STATEMENTS	20-30		31-40		41-50		Above 50		TOTAL:	
		% Agree	%Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
I.	Among the traits of nobility are attachment and loyalty to the state power structure emphasising status quo. The descendant nobles also follow their predecessors in this respect.	11.5	88.5	21.4	78.6	33.3	66.7	64.2	35.8	32.7	67.3
II.	The predecessor nobles were noted for equanimity in their behaviour in general. The descendant nobles continue to retain this equality even under stress circumstances.	21.0	79.0	69.0	31.0	23.0	77.0	52.0	48.0	44.0	56.0
III.	The predecessor nobles had a culture of their own in which refinement in manners had preceding excellence. The descendant nobles are feeling for their gradual loss and dis-appearance.	21.5	78.5	80.0	20.0	73.0	27.0	62.1	37.9	59.0	41.0
IV.	The predecessor nobles preferred higher Government services. Their descendants may not mind joining lower grades of services.	15.4	84.6	18.8	81.2	11.4	88.6	10.7	89.3	14.4	85.6
V.	Continuing the inherited habit, the descendant nobles are now inclined to be expensive beyond their income.	21.5	78.5	12.5	87.5	13.4	86.6	10.8	89.2	14.4	85.6

- more

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
VI.	The descendants of a category of nobles, regarding themselves as equals, are prone to fault finding with other members of the same category.	64.3	35.7	40.0	60.0	26.6	73.4	20.1	79.9	37.5	62.5
VII.	The behaviour of the predecessor nobles with those, not within their folds, was different from those within, particularly in regarding those without their fold as suspicious unreliable and unworthy. The descendant nobles continue to behave with those without their fold in the same manner.	Please see question Nos.8,9,10,11 in Table X.									

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:

APPENDIX 'A'

TABLE - VII.

TRAITS AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Statement No.	STATEMENTS	Literates		School Education		College Education		TOTAL:	
		% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
I.	Among the traits of nobility are attachment and loyalty to the state power structure emphasising status quo. The descendant nobles also follow their predecessors in this respect.	33.4	66.6	29.3	70.7	54.6	45.4	39.1	60.9
II.	The predecessor nobles were noted for equanimity in their behaviour in general. The descendant nobles continue to retain this equality even under stress circumstances.	50.0	50.0	38.0	62.0	50.0	50.0	43.0	57.0
III.	The predecessor nobles had a culture of their own in which refinement in manners had preceding excellence. The descendant nobles are feeling for their gradual loss and dis-appearance.	50.0	50.0	47.5	52.5	68.0	32.0	55.0	45.0
IV.	The predecessor nobles preferred higher Government services. Their descendants may now mind joining lower grades of services.	-	100.0	16.3	83.7	8.6	91.4	8.2	91.8
V.	Continuing the inherited habit, the descendant nobles are now inclined to be expensive beyond their income.	16.6	83.4	19.6	80.4	8.0	92.0	14.8	85.2
VI.	The descendants of a category of nobles, regarding themselves as equals, are prone to fault finding with other members of the same category.	60.0	40.0	32.5	67.5	22.3	77.7	38.3	61.7

- more

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
VII.	The behaviour of the predecessor nobles with those, not within their folds, was different from those within, particularly in regarding those without their fold as suspicious unreliable and unworthy. The descendant nobles continue to behave with those without their fold in the same manner.			Please see question Nos. 8,9,10,11 in Table X.					

C. INCOME GROUP:

APPENDIX 'A'

TABLE - VIII.

TRAITS AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Statement No.	STATEMENTS	Below 100		101-300		301-500		501-700		701-900		Above 900		TOTAL:	
		% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
I.	Among the traits of nobility are attachment and loyalty to the state power structure emphasising status quo. The descendant nobles also follow their predecessors in this respect.	-	100.0	41.2	58.8	-	100.0	40.0	60.0	25.0	75.0	78.5	21.5	30.7	69.3
II.	The predecessor nobles were noted for equanimity in their behaviour in general. The descendant nobles continue to retain this equality even under stress circumstances.	-	100.0	50.0	50.0	42.0	58.0	57.0	43.0	25.0	75.0	46.0	54.0	44.0	56.0
III.	The predecessor nobles had a culture of their own in which refinement in manners had preceding excellence. The descendant nobles are feeling for their gradual loss and dis-appearance.	25.0	75.0	68.7	31.3	50.0	50.0	57.2	42.8	100.0	-	80.0	20.0	62.0	38.0

Contd...../500

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
IV.	The predecessor nobles preferred higher Government services. Their descendants may now mind joining lower grades of services.	100.0	-	87.5	12.5	83.4	16.6	100.0	-	100.0	-	92.4	7.6	6.2	93.8
V.	Continuing the inherited habit, the descendant nobles are now inclined to be expensive beyond their income.	33.4	66.6	25.0	75.0	16.6	83.4	-	100.0	-	100.0	13.4	86.6	14.8	85.2
VI.	The descendants of a category of nobles, regarding themselves as equals, are prone to fault finding with other members of the same category.	33.3	66.7	31.2	68.8	50.0	50.0	28.5	71.5	-	100.0	28.5	71.5	28.7	71.3
VII.	The behaviour of the predecessor nobles with those, not within within their folds, was different from those within, particularly in regarding those without their fold as suspicious unreliable and unworthy. The descendant nobles continue to behave with those without their fold in the same manner.	Please see question Nos. 8,9,10,11 in Table X.													

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:

APPENDIX 'A'

TABLE - IX.

TRAITS AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Statement No.	STATEMENTS	Paigah		Premier Nobles		Other Jagirdars		TOTAL:	
		% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
I.	Among the traits of nobility are attachment and loyalty to the state power structure emphasising status quo. The descendant nobles also follow their predecessors in this respect.	50.0	50.0	76.9	23.1	14.6	85.4	47.2	52.8
II.	The predecessor nobles were noted for equanimity in their behaviour in general. The descendant nobles continue to retain this equality even under stress circumstances.	53.0	47.0	54.0	46.0	36.0	64.0	43.0	57.0
III.	The predecessor nobles had a culture of their own in which refinement in manners had preceding excellence. The descendant nobles are feeling for their gradual loss and dis-appearance.	94.2	5.8	58.4	41.6	44.5	55.5	66.0	34.0
IV.	The predecessor nobles preferred higher Government services. Their descendants may now mind joining lower grades of services.	-	100.0	7.6	92.4	18.2	81.8	8.5	91.5
V.	Continuing the inherited habit, the descendant nobles are now inclined to be expensive beyond their income.	25.0	75.0	-	100.0	17.8	82.2	14.3	85.7
VI.	The descendants of a category of nobles, regarding themselves as equals, are prone to fault finding with other members of the same category.	23.5	76.5	15.4	84.6	44.2	55.8	27.6	72.4
VII.	The behaviour of the predecessor nobles with those, not within their folds, was different from those within, particularly in regarding those without their fold as suspicious unreliable and unworthy. The descendant nobles continue to behave with those without their fold in the same manner.	Please see question Nos. 8,9,10,11 in Table X.							

TABLE - X.

TRAITS AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

S.No.	QUESTIONS	PERCENTAGE	
		Yes:	No :
1.	Do you regard work by hand as below dignity of nobility?	15	85
2.	Do you regard routine of work as a burden?	23	77
3.	Do you regard punctuality as a mark of the middle class society?	23	77
4.	Do you regard profit making as against the very nature of nobility?	16	84
5.	Do you regard nobility as care free?	14	86
6.	Do you regard nobility as wreckless?	13	87
7.	Do you regard nobility as irresponsible?	7	93
8.	Do you regard the people outside nobility with more suspision than trust?	64	36
9.	Do you look upon the non members as a whole with suspicious eyes?	12	88
10.	Do you regard people outside nobility as reliable?	78	22
11.	Do you regard people outside nobility as unworthy?	9	91

* * * * * *

A. AGE GROUP:

APPENDIX 'A'

TABLE - XI.

VALUES AND VIEWS

Statement No.	STATEMENTS	20-30		31-40		41-50		Above 50		TOTAL:	
		% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	GENERAL OUT LOOK ON LIFE:										
I.	Nobles under the assured security were prone to take life easy as the things were managed for them. The descendant nobles are also not much concerned with the life process in general and economic order in particular.	8.3	91.7	37.5	62.5	64.2	35.8	48.2	51.8	39.6	60.4
II.	In the scheme of things the predecessor nobles were regarding other men, particularly those of lower order, as instruments to be used for their own life purposes. The descendant nobles do not feel the need to change that outlook.	36.0	64.0	31.0	69.0	33.0	67.0	32.0	68.0	33.0	67.0
III.	Nobility and power have always gone together. The predecessor nobles have used this power for good as well as for bad purposes, even to the extent of being injudicious at times. The descendant nobles look upon the use of power in the same manner.	21.0	79.0	7.0	93.0	21.0	79.0	36.0	64.0	24.0	76.0
	FEUDALISM:										
IV.	The demise of feudalism under the new dispensation was a crushing blow to the nobles; and their descendants now regard the occurence of the event to be a part of their destiny.	92.4	7.6	71.5	28.5	86.6	13.4	70.4	29.6	80.2	19.8

- more

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	EQUALITY OF WOMEN:										
V.	The predecessor nobles were not much concerned about the problems of equality and emancipation of women. The descendant nobles are equally unconcerned.	-	100.0	-	100.0	7.6	92.4	14.2	85.8	5.5	94.5
	SEGREGATION OF WOMEN:										
VI.	The nobles were strict about the segregation of women through the Purdah System. Their descendents are keen to maintain the same system.	50.0	50.0	33.4	66.6	53.4	46.6	80.0	20.0	54.2	45.8
	RELIGION AND GENERAL EDUCATION OF WOMEN:										
VII.	The nobles were imparting religious and general education to their daughters within the confines of their homes and were generally unfavourable to giving higher education to them. The descendant nobles under the changed circumstances are inclined to promote higher education among girls along with the traditional and religious and general education at home.	100.0	-	81.2	18.7	93.4	6.6	85.7	14.3	90.2	9.8

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:

APPENDIX 'A'

TABLE - XII.

VALUES AND VIEWS

Statement No.	STATEMENTS	Literates		School Education		College Education		TOTAL:	
		% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	GENERAL OUT LOOK ON LIFE:								
I.	Nobles under the assured security were prone to take life easy as the things were managed for them. The descendant nobles are also not much concerned with the life process in general and economic order in particular.	33.3	66.7	48.7	51.3	33.3	66.7	38.4	61.6
II.	In the scheme of things the predecessor nobles were regarding other men, particularly those of lower order, as instruments to be used for their own life purposes. The descendant nobles do not feel the need to change that outlook.	40.0	60.0	36.0	64.0	26.0	74.0	32.0	68.0
III.	Nobility and power have always gone together. The predecessor nobles have used this power for good as well as for bad purposes, even to the extent of being injudicous at times. The descendant nobles look upon the use of powers in the same manner.	25.0	75.0	23.0	77.0	27.0	73.0	24.0	76.0
	FEUDALISM:								
IV.	The demise of feudalism under the new dispensation was a crushing blow to the nobles; and their descendants now regard the occurence of the event to be a part of their destiny.	83.4	16.6	86.2	13.8	66.6	33.4	78.0	22.0

- more

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	EQUALITY OF WOMEN:								
V.	The predecessor nobles were not much concerned about the problems of equality and emancipation of women. The descendant nobles are equally unconcerned.	20.0	80.0	2.5	97.5	8.6	91.4	10.4	89.6
	SEGREGATION OF WOMEN:								
VI.	The nobles were strict about the segregation of women through the Purdah System. Their descendants are keen to maintain the same system.	100.0	-	51.2	48.8	32.0	68.0	71.5	28.5
	RELIGION AND GENERAL EDUCATION OF WOMEN:								
VII.	The nobles were imparting religious and general education to their daughters within the confines of their homes and were generally unfavourable to giving higher education to them. The descendant nobles under the changed circumstances are inclined to promote higher education among girls along with the traditional and religious and general education at home.	60.0	40.0	88.4	11.6	91.6	8.4	80.1	19.9

C. INCOME GROUP:

APPENDIX 'A'

TABLE - XIII.

VALUES AND VIEWS

Statement No.	STATEMENTS	Below 100		101-300		301-500		501-700		701-900		Above 900		TOTAL:	
		% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
	GENERAL OUT LOOK ON LIFE:														
I.	Nobles under the assured security were prone to take life easy as the things were managed for them. The descendant nobles are also not much concerned with the life process in general and economic order in particular.	33.3	66.7	62.5	37.5	-	100.0	71.4	28.6	25.0	75.0	35.7	64.3	38.0	62.0
II.	In the scheme of things the predecessor nobles were regarding other men, particularly those of lower order, as instruments to be used for their own life purposes. The descendant nobles do not feel the need to change that out look.	33.0	67.0	33.0	67.0	67.0	33.0	-	100.0	29.0	71.0	15.0	75.0	30.0	70.0

- more

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
III.	Nobility and power have always gone together. The predecessor nobles have used their power for good as well as for bad purposes, even to the extent of being injudious at times. The descendant nobles look upon the use of powers in the same manner.	-	100.0	20.0	80.0	14.0	86.0	-	100.0	25.0	75.0	50.0	50.0	24.0	76.0
	FEUDALISM:														
IV.	The demise of feudalism under the new dispensation was a crushing blow to the nobles; and their descendants now regard the occurance of the event to be a part of their destiny.	100.0	-	87.5	12.5	100.0	-	66.6	33.4	66.6	33.4	53.8	46.2	79.0	21.0
	EQUALITY OF WOMEN:														
V.	The predecessor nobles were not much concerned about the problems of equality and emancipation of women. The descendant nobles are equally unconcerned.	-	100.0	-	100.0	16.6	83.4	33.4	66.6	25.0	75.0	-	100.0	12.3	87.7

- more

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
	SEGREGATION OF WOMEN:														
VI.	The nobles were strict about the segregation of women through the purdah system. Their descendants are keen to maintain the same system.	66.6	33.4	62.5	37.5	57.2	42.8	43.0	57.0	40.0	60.0	35.0	65.0	51.0	49.0
	RELIGION AND GENERAL EDUCATION OF WOMEN:														
VII.	The nobles were imparting religious and general education to their daughters within the confines of their homes and were generally unfavourable to giving higher education to them. The descendant nobles under the changed circumstances are inclined to promote higher education among girls along with the traditional and religious and general education at home.	75.0	25.0	73.4	26.6	66.6	33.4	100.0	-	75.0	25.0	100.0	-	81.7	18.3

C. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:

APPENDIX 'A'

TABLE - XIV.

VALUES AND VIEWS

State-ment No.	STATEMENTS	Paigah		Premier Nobles		Other Jagirdars		TOTAL:	
		% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	GENERAL OUT LOOK ON LIFE:								
I.	Nobles under the assumed security were prone to take life easy as the things were managed for them. The descendant nobles are also not much concerned with the life process in general and economic order in particular.	64.2	35.8	38.4	61.6	28.0	72.0	43.6	56.4
II.	In the scheme of things the predecessor nobles were regarding other men, particularly those of lower order, as instruments to be used for their own life purposes. The descendant nobles do not feel the need to change that outlook.	33.0	67.0	25.0	75.0	35.0	65.0	33.0	67.0
III.	Nobility and power have always gone together. The predecessor nobles have used this power for good as well as for bad purposes, even to the extent of being injudious at times. The descendant nobles look up the use of powers in the same manner.	38.0	62.0	9.0	91.0	23.0	77.0	24.0	76.0
	FEUDALISM:								
IV.	The demise of feudalism under the new dispensation was a crushing blow to the nobles, and their descendants now regard the occurance of the event to be a part of their destiny.	61.5	38.5	76.9	23.1	81.4	18.6	73.0	27.0

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	EQUALITY OF WOMEN:								
V.	The predecessor nobles were not much concerned about the problems of equality and emancipation of women. The descendant nobles are equally unconcerned.	14.2	85.7	-	100.0	4.7	95.3	6.4	93.6
	SEGREGATION OF WOMEN:								
VI.	The nobles were strict about the segregation of women through the Purdah System. Their descendants are keen to maintain the same system.	62.5	37.5	53.8	46.2	46.5	53.5	54.4	45.6
	RELIGION AND GENERAL EDUCATION OF WOMEN:								
VII.	The nobles were imparting religious and general education to their daughters with the confines of their homes and were generally unfortunate to giving higher education to them. The descendant nobles under the changed circumstances are inclined to promote higher education among girls along with the traditional and religious and general education at home.	100.0	-	75.0	25.0	88.4	11.6	87.7	12.3

TABLE -XV.

VALUES AND VIEWS

Sl.No.	QUESTIONS	PERCENTAGE: Yes:	No :
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	VIEWS ABOUT FEUDALISM:		
1.	Do you consider that the feudal system was basically unnatural?	13	87
2.	Do you regard change in your status as a part of the course of history?	96	4
3.	Do you now consider that the feudal system was basically illogical?	9	91
4.	Do you now consider that the feudal system was basically unjust?	8	92
	VIEWS ON FALL OF FEUDALISM:		
5.	Do you think nobles are personally responsible for the fall of feudalism?	21	79
	VIEWS ON EDUCATION FOR BOYS:		
6.	Do you regard ordinary and common education as unsuitable for nobility?	6	94
7.	Do you regard ordinary and common education as conflicting with the higher ideals of nobility?	6	94
8.	Do you think that this system of education would adversely affect you?	6	94
	VIEWS ON SEX LIFE:		
9.	Do you regard lax in sex as a hall mark of nobility?	10	90
10.	Do you regard lax in sex as the weakness of weaknesses among the nobles?	42	58

- more

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
11.	Do you regard lax in sex as astigma of nobility?	13	87
	VIEWS ON HAREM:		
12.	Do you regard maintenance of Harem as a natural part of nobles behaviour?	7	93
13.	Do you regard maintenance of Harem as customary with the nobles?	38	62
14.	Do you regard maintenance of Harem as a natural part of a noble's life?	12	88

* * * * * *

A. AGE GROUP:

APPENDIX 'A'

TABLE - XVI.

CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES

Statement No.	STATEMENTS	20-30		31-40		41-50		Above 50		TOTAL:	
		% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHANGES - Social Changes:										
I.	Among the changes that have overtaken the nobles, those which have impinged wthe cultural aspect of life have been rather discomforting.	21.5	78.5	75.0	25.0	57.2	42.8	66.6	33.4	55.0	45.0
II.	The descendants of nobles feel that their children were unprepared to face those changes.	35.0	65.0	64.3	35.7	50.0	50.0	45.8	54.2	51.2	48.8
	ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHANGES - Political Changes:										
III.	Political changes overtaking the nobles have been more distressing to their descendants as well.	42.8	57.2	56.3	43.7	50.0	50.0	60.0	40.0	52.2	47.8
IV.	The descendant nobles consider democracy to be a better substitute to the older regime.	78.5	21.5	64.3	35.7	60.0	40.0	57.6	42.4	65.2	34.8
V.	The descendant nobles now comparatively feel politically more free than in the older regime.	57.2	48.8	50.0	50.0	46.6	53.4	44.4	55.6	51.7	48.3
VI.	The descendant nobles regard the present legal system more dependable than that of the older regime.	42.8	57.2	20.0	80.0	41.6	58.4	32.0	68.0	34.2	65.8

B. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:

APPENDIX 'A'

TABLE - XVII.

CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES

Statement No.	STATEMENTS	Literates		School Education		College Education		TOTAL:	
		% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
SOCIAL CHANGES:									
I.	Among the changes that have overtaken the nobles, those which have impinged the cultural aspect of life have been rather discomforting.	60.0	40.0	45.0	55.0	60.0	40.0	55.0	45.0
II.	The descendants of nobles feel that their children were unprepared to face these changes.	50.0	50.0	56.6	43.4	43.4	56.6	50.0	50.0
POLITICAL CHANGES:									
III.	Political changes overtaking the nobles have been more distressing to their descendants as well.	83.4	16.6	65.1	34.9	48.0	52.0	65.0	35.0
IV.	The descendant nobles consider democracy to be a better substitute to the older regime.	33.4	66.6	53.5	46.5	61.9	38.1	52.9	47.1
V.	The descendant nobles now comparatively feel politically more free than in the older regime.	60.0	40.0	47.5	52.5	48.0	52.0	51.2	48.8
VI.	The descendant nobles regard the present legal system more dependable than that of the older regime.	40.0	60.0	28.9	71.1	33.4	66.6	34.1	65.9

C. INCOME GROUP:

APPENDIX 'A'

TABLE - XVIII.

CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES

Statement No.	STATEMENTS	Below 100		101-300		301-500		501-700		701-900		Above 900		TOTAL:	
		% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
	SOCIAL CHANGES:														
I.	Among the changes that have overtaken the nobles, those which have impinged the cultural aspect of life have been rather discomforting.	25.0	75.0	60.0	40.0	20.0	80.0	85.7	14.3	50.0	50.0	60.0	40.0	50.0	50.0
II.	The descendants of nobles feel that their children were unprepared to face these changes.	50.0	50.0	60.0	40.0	40.0	60.0	71.5	28.5	66.6	33.4	33.4	66.6	52.7	47.3
	POLITICAL CHANGES:														
III.	Political changes overtaking the nobles have been more distressing to their descendants as well.	50.0	50.0	81.3	18.7	50.0	50.0	57.2	42.8	75.0	25.0	40.0	60.0	59.0	41.0

contd...../517

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
IV.	The descendant nobles consider democracy to be a better substitute to the older regime.	75.0	25.0	78.5	21.5	66.6	33.4	66.6	33.4	33.4	66.6	46.2	53.8	61.1	38.9
V.	The descendant nobles now comparatively feel politically more free than in the older regime.	50.0	50.0	48.0	52.0	48.0	52.0	57.2	42.8	46.0	54.0	46.2	53.8	49.2	50.8
VI.	The descendant nobles regard the present legal system more dependable than that of the older regime.	100.0	-	28.5	71.5	50.0	50.0	42.8	57.2	-	100.0	25.0	75.0	41.1	58.9

D. CATEGORY OF NOBLES:

APPENDIX 'A'

TABLE - XIX.

CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES

Statement No.	STATEMENTS	Paigah		Premier Nobles		Other Jagirdars		TOTAL:	
		% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	% Disagree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
I.	Among the changes that have overtaken the nobles, those which have impinged the cultural aspect of life have been rather discomforting.	81.3	18.7	76.9	23.1	36.4	63.6	65.0	35.0
II.	The descendants of nobles feel that their children were unprepared to face these changes.	53.4	46.6	72.7	27.3	45.5	54.5	57.2	42.8
III.	Political changes overtaking the nobles have been more distressing to their descendants as well.	76.5	23.5	69.2	30.7	51.2	48.8	66.0	34.0
IV.	The descendant nobles consider democracy to be a better substitute to the older regime.	21.5	78.5	83.4	16.6	67.5	32.5	57.5	42.5
V.	The descendant nobles now comparatively feel politically more free than in the older regime.	8.4	91.6	46.2	53.8	61.9	38.1	38.8	61.2
VI.	The descendant nobles regard the present legal system more dependable than that of the older regime.	-	100.0	25.0	75.0	45.0	55.0	23.4	76.6

TABLE - XX.

CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES

S.No.	QUESTIONS	PERCENTAGE Yes:	No :
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHANGES:		
1.	Do you regard the present changes to be natural?	59.5	40.5
2.	Do you consider the present changes to be in smooth run of things for you?	23.2	76.8
3.	Do you regard the situation to be a sort of conspiracy of forces against nobility?	18.5	81.5
4.	Do you think there were occasions for tensions amounting to a revolt from the tenants of the nobles leading to the breakdown of the Jagirdary System?	33.5	66.5
5.	Do you think that out of all the changes it is the economic change that has hit you most?	84.0	16.0
	FAMILY AND PERSONAL FREEDOM:		
6.	Do you feel less free now to lead your personal and family life than under the older regime?	41.0	59.0
7.	Do you allow your children a free choice in picking their friends?	65.2	34.8
8.	Do you permit your children the freedom to choose their own careers?	91.8	8.2
9.	Do you let your children select their own spouses?	61.7	38.3

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
10.	Under the present ethos and freedom, would you regard intersectional marriages to be:		
	(a) below status ..	45.0	55.0
	(b) against family tradition ..	71.0	29.0
	(c) against religious sanction ..	62.0	38.0
	POLITICAL PARTICIPATION:		
11.	Have you cast your vote in Municipal/ Assembly/Parliament elections?	80.2	19.8
12.	Have you ever joined any political party as a member?	10.4	89.6
13.	Have you ever contested Municipal/ Assembly/Parliament elections?	3.0	97.0
14.	Are you member of any voluntary association?	12.2	87.8
	POLITICAL SAFEGUARDS:		
15.	Do you consider the formation of a Jagirdar's association necessary or below your dignity?	60.5	39.5
16.	Have you made or were a party of any representation to the Government for the redress of your grievances?	28.7	71.3
17.	Do you feel the need of some special safeguards to protect the interests of the Jagirdars as a class?	37.4	62.6

* * * * * *

APPENDIX 'B'

A DEODHI AND THE LIFE INSIDE

The splendours of the Deodhies (mansions) and glamorous life which were obtainable within the vast and lofty walls of these palaces are things yet to be remembered for art, culture, social status, polished manners and civility for which human race in one way or other is still struggling. There were five magnificient Deodhies in Hyderabad city belonging to the Asman Jahi Paigah:-

(1) Khana Bagh
(2) Basheerud-Daula Palace
(3) Jahan Numa Palace
(4) Saroornagar Palace, and
(5) Paigah House

A cursory description of the Deodhi of Nawab Moinud Daula, commonly known as Khana Bagh at Shah Gunj, would reveal a picture of the past dreamland.

The palace occupied an area of over fifty thousand square yards; its construction was commenced in 1880, under the order of Nawab Sir Asman Jah and some additional constructions over an area of ten thousand square yards were completed by 1910. There were thirty halls, 50 rooms and 10 verandahs, which magnificently added to the grandeur of the palace. The entrance was through the main gate which

invitingly stood to the West, while to the left were arrayed eighteen garages for Cars and Buggies and other vehicles. To the right were stationed guards and watchmen. In the days of yore, the means of conveyance was generally an eleplant, a miyana, or an adorned palanquin. When the Nawab came riding, his entry into the palace was announced by presentation of a guard of honour. This was traditional among the exempted Jagirdars who enjoyed high privileges. To the right was the portico adjacent to which was a verandah 70' X 40' , at the back of which was a waiting room 70' in length and this adjoined the office of the A.D.C. with two large halls of 40' X 40' which served as Drawing rooms, where visitors assembled and were received according to their status and engagements between 9 to 12 a.m. and 4 to 6 p.m.

It was usual for the relations and Kinsmen to come at 9 a.m. to pay respect to the Nawab and a spacious room 40' X 20' was allotted for them to the left, with two other halls of 60' X 15' and 40' X 15' to which were attached bath rooms. Persons in attendance and servants in waiting were quartered in three small rooms near the grand waiting room. To the west was another grand hall 90' X 20' sq. ft. in which dining tables were set and 100 persons could dine here at a time. The Viceroys and Nizam were also invited here to dine on auspicious occasions. Beside this was a hall of 20' X 40' next to which was a spacious kitchen room 40' X 40' where both English and Mughlai dinners were prepared.

To the left and right of the main gate were double storied halls 20' X 30' with a verandah and courtyard on each side. At the end of this was an underground room over which was a hall of 40' X 40' and it was here that Sir Asman Jah used to take rest. In the underground room costly jewelleries and reserve funds were usually treasured. Along the double storied hall was a mosque in which Sir Asman Jah frequently said prayers; the mosque had an outer entrance for the public to join service during prayer times. To the west of this was a double storied hall with a few rooms while at the back of these was a large courtyard in which a fountain played merrily. On the right was the Shah Nasheen Dalaan (the principal verandah) with ventilaters.

On the other side was a widespread lawn 4000 sq. yds. at the end of which birds of various kinds and colourful feathers were nestled in pretty cages singing sweet and doleful songs. It was easy from here to reach the Pesh Dalaan (front verandah) which also served the purpose of Shadi Khana (marriage feast hall), to the east of which were other halls for the Zanana where the Begamaat resided and next to it stood the grand bungalow built on the auspicious occassion of the marriage of Nawab Zaheer Yar Jung.

The pattern of life and living was high and charming. Literary meetings were frequently held in which writers and poets participated joyfully and wherein decent pranks were

not wanting. The Paigah house had a swimming pool and a Tennis Court. Well bred horses and other animals like elephants, donkeys etc. filled the stables while carriages, coaches, palanquins were always found ready for an outing. Khaja Sara or emuchs had free access to the Zanana but others like Khansaman and menial servants had no such privilege.

It was usual to receive visitors in decent dresses particularly in Sherwani. There were various methods of presenting respects to the nobles and the offering of salam varied according to the position of its submitter. On the birthday ceremonies, all the relations, whether invited or not, assembled with other guests in gorgeous dresses to make the function a success.

In national festivals like I'd, Dasehrah and Holi, the nobles and their relations and retinues, equally rejoiced and hastened to take part in these functions, and particularly in Holi no one was spared or excused from being drenched in colours which was a hall mark of Hindu Muslim unity.

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APPENDIX 'C'

QUESTIONNAIRE

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1. N a m e .. ..
2. A g e .. ..
3. S e x .. ..
4. Marital Status .. ..
5. Number of children .. ..
6. Number of dependents .. ..
7. Present Economic status ..
8. Educational Level/qualifications ..
9. Do you yourself hold any noble title/titles? ..
10. For how many generations is the title of nobility (Khitab) coming down in your family? ..
11. What were the special privileges enjoyed by your father under the Nizam VII? ..
12. Do you at present live in your ancestral palace/house? ..

NATURE AND IMAGE OF NOBILITY:-

	Agree	Disagree
I. Nobility can be regarded as above religion and community.		

1. Do you regard nobility as God given? — Yes ☐ No ☐

2. Do you think that you are more conscious now of your religious identity than you were in the feudal times? — Yes ☐ No ☐

II. If nobility is regarded to be linked with historical origins mixed with religion, it may be possible that in the frame of working behaviour of the nobles some contradiction may arise because of certain tenets of religion not being observed in practice. — Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

III. Nobility is based on the superiority of ancestral status. — Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

1. Do you regard nobility as Socially Superior? — Yes ☐ No ☐

2. Do you regard nobility as racially superior? — Yes ☐ No ☐

IV. A child born is endowed with certain human qualities, as such, men are basically equal in themselves and should be regarded as equal. — Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

1. Do you regard all men in principle as equal before law? — Yes ☐ No ☐

V. Ours is a society graded with stratification. These differences of high and low are determined by the social circumstances and economic factors. Hence they are man made; as such organised by men. — Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

1. Do you regard social differences among men as natural? Yes ☐ No ☐

2. Do you regard social differences among men to be caused by an acquisition of property? Yes ☐ No ☐

VI. The values associated with old social stratification were regarded by predecessor nobles as natural and permanent. The descendants of the nobles now aspire to uphold them. Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

TRAITS AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR:-

I. Among the traits of nobility are attachment and loyalty to the State power structure emphasising status quo. The descendant nobles also follow their predecessors in this respect. Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

II. The predecessor nobles were noted for equanimity in their behaviour in general. The descendant nobles continue to retain this equality even under stress circumstances. Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

III. The predecessor nobles had a culture of their own in which refinement in manners had preceding excellence. The descendant nobles are feeling for their gradual loss and disappearance. Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

IV. The predecessor nobles preferred higher government services. Their descendants may now mind joining lower grades of services. Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

1. Do you regard work by hand as below dignity of nobility? Yes ☐ No ☐

2. Do you regard routine of work as a burden? Yes ☐ No ☐

3. Do you regard punctuality as a mark of the middle class society? Yes ☐ No ☐

4. Do you regard profit making as against the very nature of nobility? Yes ☐ No ☐

V. Continuing the inherited habit, the descendant nobles are now inclined to be expensive beyond their income. Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

1. Do you regard nobility as care free? Yes ☐ No ☐

2. Do you regard nobility as wreckless? Yes ☐ No ☐

3. Do you regard nobility as irresponsible? Yes ☐ No ☐

VI. The descendants of a category of nobles, regarding themselves as equals, are prone to fault finding with other members of the same category. Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

VII. The behaviour of the predecessor nobles, with those not within their folds, was different from those within, particularly regarding those without their fold as suspicious, urreliable and unworthy. The descendant nobles continue to behave with those without their folds in the same manner. Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

1. Do you regard the people outside nobility with more suspicion than trust?	Yes	No
2. Do you look upon the non members as a whole with suspicious eyes?	Yes	No
3. Do you regard people outside nobility as reliable?	Yes	No
4. Do you regard people outside nobility as unworthy?	Yes	No

VALUES AND VIEWS:-

GENERAL OUTLOOK ON LIFE:

I. Nobles under the assured security were prone to take life easy as the things were managed for them. The descendant nobles are also not much concerned with the life process in general and economic order in particular.	Agree	Disagree
II. In the scene of things the predecessor nobles were regarding other men particularly those of lower order, as instruments to be used for their own life purposes. The descendant nobles do not feel the need to change that outlook.	Agree	Disagree
III. Nobility and power have always gone together. The predecessor nobles have used this power for good as well as for bad purposes, even to the extent of being injudicious at times. The descendant nobles look upon the use of power in the same manner.	Agree	Disagree

VIEWS ABOUT FEUDALISM:

1. Do you now consider that the feudal system was basically unnatural?	Yes ☐	No ☐
2. Do you regard change in your status as a part of the course of history?	Yes ☐	No ☐
3. Do you now consider that the feudal system was basically illogical?	Yes ☐	No ☐
4. Do you now consider that the feudal system was basically unjust?	Yes ☐	No ☐

VIEWS ON FALL OF FEUDALISM:

IV. The demise of feudalism under the new dispensation was a crushing blow to the nobles, and their descendants now regard the occurence of the event to be a part of their destiny.	Agree ☐	Disagree ☐
5. Do you think nobles are personally responsible for the fall of feudalism?	Yes ☐	No ☐

VIEWS ON EDUCATION FOR BOYS:

6. Do you regard ordinary and common education as unsuitable for nobility?	Yes ☐	No ☐
7. Do you regard ordinary and common education as conflicting with the higher ideals of nobility?	Yes ☐	No ☐
8. Do you think that this system of education would adversely affect you?	Yes ☐	No ☐

VIEWS ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN:

V. The predecessor nobles were not much concerned about the problems of equality and emancipation of women. The descendant nobles are equally unconcerned. — Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

VIEWS ON SEX LIFE:

9. Do you regard lax in sex as a hall mark of nobility? — Yes ☐ No ☐

10. Do you regard lax in sex as the weakness of weaknesses among the nobles? — Yes ☐ No ☐

11. Do you regard lax in sex as a stigma on nobility? — Yes ☐ No ☐

VIEWS ON HAREM:

12. Do you regard maintenance of Harem as a natural part of the nobles' behaviour? — Yes ☐ No ☐

13. Do you regard maintenance of Harem as customary with the nobles? — Yes ☐ No ☐

14. Do you regard maintenance of Harem as a natural part of nobles' life? — Yes ☐ No ☐

I. The nobles were strict about the segregation of women through the purdah system. Their descendants are keen to maintain the same system. — Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

VII. The nobles were imparting religious and general education to their daughters within the confines of their homes, and were generally unfavourable to giving higher education to them. The descendant nobles under the changed circumstances are inclined to promote higher education among girls along with the traditional, religious and general education at home.

Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES:-

ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHANGES:

1. Do you regard the present changes to be natural? Yes ☐ No ☐

2. Do you consider the present changes to be in smooth run of things for you? Yes ☐ No ☐

3. Do you regard the situation to be a sort of conspiracy of forces against nobility? Yes ☐ No ☐

4. Do you think there were occasions for tensions amounting to revolt from the tenants of the nobles leading to the breakdown of the jagirdari system. Yes ☐ No ☐

EFFECTS OF CHANGES:

5. Do you think that out of all the changes it is the economic change that has hit you most? Yes ☐ No ☐

SOCIAL SPHERE:

I. Among the changes that have overtaken the nobles, those who have impinged the cultural aspect of life have been rather discomforting. Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

II. The descendants of the nobles feel that their children are unprepared to face these changes. — Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

FAMILY AND PERSONAL FREEDOM:

6. Do you feel less free now to lead your personal and family life than under the older regime? — Yes ☐ No ☐

7. Do you allow your children a free choice in picking their friends? — Yes ☐ No ☐

8. Do you permit your children the freedom to choose their own career? — Yes ☐ No ☐

9. Do you let your children select their own spouse? — Yes ☐ No ☐

10. Under the present ethos and freedom would you regard intersectional marriages to be: — Yes ☐ No ☐

(a) below status
(b) against family tradition
(c) against religious sanction

III. Political changes overtaking the nobles have been most distressing to the descendant nobles as well. — Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

IV. The descendant nobles consider democracy to be a better substitute to the older regime. — Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

V. The descendant nobles now comparatively feel politically more free than in the older regime. — Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

VI. The descendant nobles regard the present legal system more dependable than that of the older regime. — Agree ☐ Disagree ☐

11. Have you cast your vote in Municipal/Assembly/Parliament?	Yes	No
12. Have you ever joined any political party as a member?	Yes	No
13. Have you ever contested Municipal/Assembly/ Parliament election?	Yes	No
14. Are you a member of any voluntary association?	Yes	No

POLITICAL SAFEGUARDS:

15. Do you consider the formation of a Jagirdar's association necessary or below your dignity?	Yes	No
16. Have you made or were a party of any representation to the Government for the redress of your grievances?	Yes	No
17. Do you feel the need of some special safeguards to protect the interests of Jagirdars as a class?	Yes	No

ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL CONDITION OF NOBLES IN 1948

1. Were you head of your family in 1948? Yes/No
2. If not, who was the head of the family? ..

   Mention name and title .. ..
3. Income (Annual) of Jagir at that time Rs..

4. DETAILS OF IMMOVABLE PROPERTY:

1. Place/Home Number ..

Approximate Price then Rs.

2. Lands .. size ..

3. Gardens.. size ..

4. Shops .. Number ..

5. DETAILS OF MOVEABLE PROPERTY:

1. Furniture Nature ..

2. Cars .. Type ..

3. Horses .. Number ..

4. Coaches.. ..

6. NUMBER OF SERVANTS EMPLOYED THEN: TOTAL

1. Salaried servants ..
(Not dependent with their families)

2. Servants dependent with their families ..

7. Number of wives then ..

8. Number of Khavas/Kaneez then.

9. Number of children then ..

Above 20 .. ..

Between 20-10 ..

Below 10 .. ..

10. (a) Number of Educated children

School going ..

College going ..

(b) Number of uneducated children

11. Did the heads of the family, or the sons work in Government/ Industry/Private Business? ..

12. Were there any marriages then outside the family? ..

* * * * * *

APPENDIX 'D'

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3. Daftari Darul Insha
4. Daftari Mahawir
5. Khusro Hussaini Collection
6. Sajjad Ali Collection
7. Hamid Siddiqui Collection
8. Ghias Siddiqui Collection
9. Husain Ali Yafai Collection
10. Records of Inam Enquiry Commission
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APPENDIX 'D'

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