

# ARMS AND JEWELLERY OF THE INDIAN MUGHULS

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## PREFACE

The present monograph forms the third volume in the Series, THE MUGHUL COURT AND ITS INSTITUTIONS. The scope and range of this Series is set forth in a notice inside the cover of this book.

What has been said before may be repeated here : this volume is in no sense a continuation of the previous volumes, but is quite independent of them, being a treatment of a distinct subject.

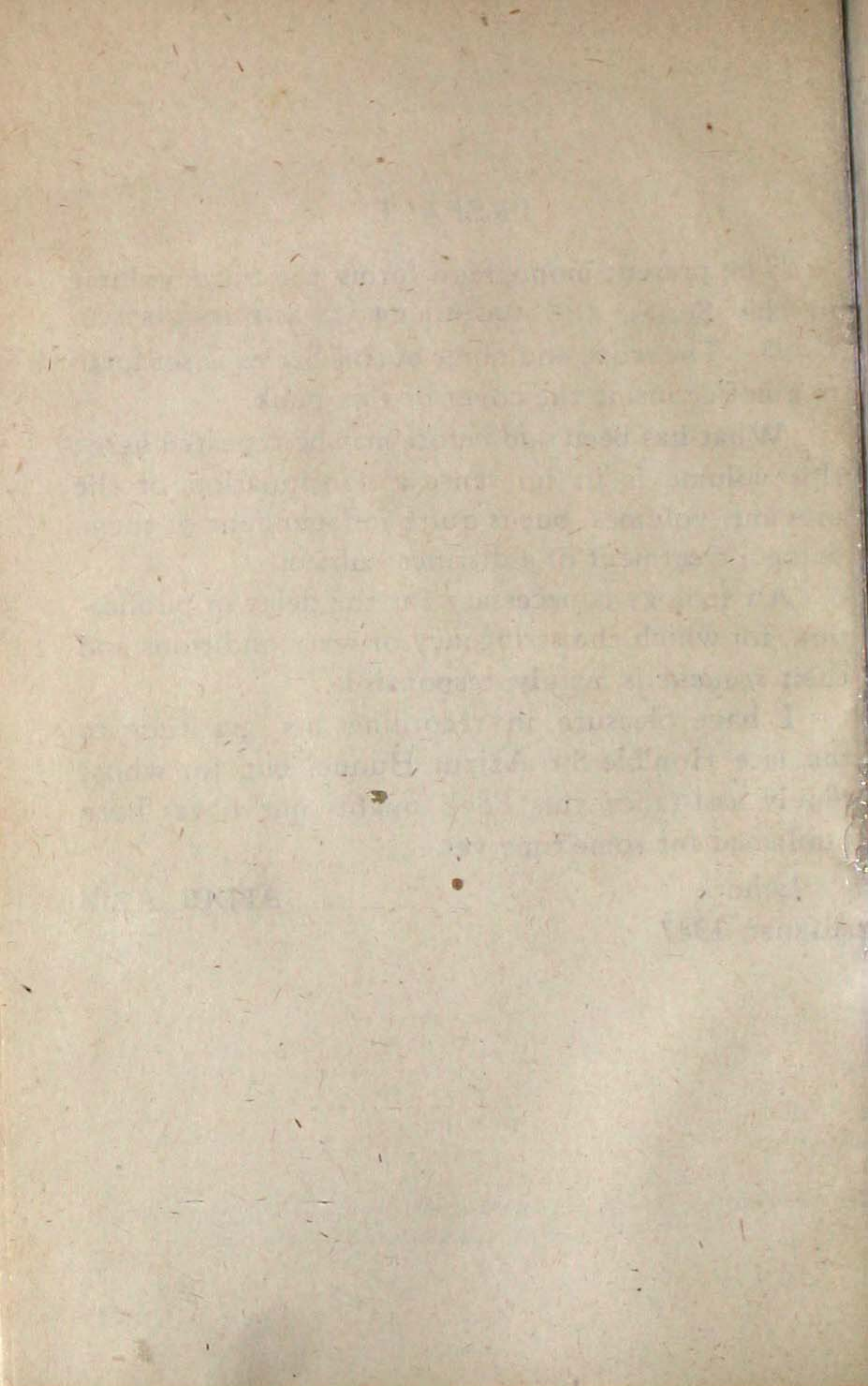
An apology is necessary for the delay in publication, for which the stringency of war conditions and their *sequelæ* is mainly responsible.

I have pleasure in recording my gratitude to the late Hon'ble Sir Azizul Huque, but for whose timely assistance this book might not have been published for some time yet.

Lahore  
August, 1947

ABDUL AZIZ







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## CHRONOLOGY

In the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn Islamic or *Hijrī* dates were observed, and no other calendar was recognized. This era may therefore be taken up first :

### *The Muslim Era*

The Muslim or the *Hijrī* era began on July 16, 622 A.C. The year, which is lunar, consists of the following twelve months, and comprises 354 days (or, in a leap year, 355 days, with 30 days to *Zū'l-hijj*).

|                  |      |      | Days                        |
|------------------|------|------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Muḥarram</i>  | .... | .... | 30                          |
| <i>Ṣafar</i>     | .... | .... | 29                          |
| <i>Rabī' I</i>   | .... | .... | 30                          |
| <i>Rabī' II</i>  | .... | .... | 29                          |
| <i>Jumādā I</i>  | .... | .... | 30                          |
| <i>Jumādā II</i> | .... | .... | 29                          |
| <i>Rajab</i>     | .... | .... | 30                          |
| <i>Shā'bān</i>   | .... | .... | 29                          |
| <i>Ramazān</i>   | .... | .... | 30                          |
| <i>Shawwāl</i>   | .... | .... | 29                          |
| <i>Zū'l-qa'd</i> | .... | .... | 30                          |
| <i>Zū'l-hijj</i> | .... | .... | 29 (or 30 in<br>leap year). |



It must be remembered, however, that the rule according to which the months have alternately 30 or 29 days, is true only approximately and in long calculations. Variation in latitude and longitude sometimes makes a difference in the number of days in a month, so that a month may begin a day earlier in one place than in another. The actual appearance of the moon plays an important part in the determination of Muslim dates. We often have two consecutive months of 30 or of 29 days in practice. Thus is explained much of the prevailing confusion about *Hijrī* dates.

It must also be noted that the day, according to the Muslim calendar, consists of the period from sunset to sunset (and neither from sunrise to sunrise, which is the Hindu practice, nor from midnight to midnight, which is the modern European method of calculation); so that 'Friday evening' or 'Friday night' in the mouth of a Muslim historian means the evening or night occurring between Thursday and Friday, and not the one between Friday and Saturday.

#### *Akbar's Ilāhī or Divine Era*

In XXIX R. Y., Akbar introduced, with slight modifications, the Persian calendar, which was based on solar calculation, and called it *Ilāhī* or Divine era. The order had retrospective effect, so that the era



began with the year of his accession, 963 A.H. (=1556 A.C.). The Persian names of the months were retained, and the number of days in a month varied from 29 to 32 :—

| <i>Farwardīn</i>   | ( <i>Māh-i-Ilāhī</i> ) | <i>Mihr</i>        | ( <i>Māh-i-Ilāhī</i> ) |
|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Urdībihisht</i> | Ditto                  | <i>Ābān</i>        | Ditto                  |
| <i>Khurdād</i>     | Ditto                  | <i>Āzar</i>        | Ditto                  |
| <i>Tīr</i>         | Ditto                  | <i>Dai</i>         | Ditto                  |
| <i>Amurdād</i>     | Ditto                  | <i>Bahman</i>      | Ditto                  |
| <i>Shahrīwar</i>   | Ditto                  | <i>Isfandārmuz</i> | Ditto                  |

In the reign of Jahāngīr the *Ilāhī* calendar was followed, though *Hijrī* dates are often met with in the histories.

When Shāh Jahān came to the throne, he felt that the *Hijrī* dates had been sadly neglected by his predecessors, and consequently reinstated them in the official histories and in court life. Persian parallel dates are, however, occasionally mentioned by Shāh Jahān's historians. The *Nauroz* and the '*Īd-i-Gulābī* (13 *Tīr*) as well as the Solar Weighments,<sup>1</sup> which were calculated by the solar calendar, continued to be regularly celebrated.

In Aurangzeb's time a further change was made in the same direction ; *viz.*, even the *Nauroz*, a relic of the Persian calendar, was discarded, and only *Hijrī* dates and festivals were observed. Solar

<sup>1</sup> See below.



Weighments,<sup>1</sup> however, were still kept, and occasionally we hear of '*Id-i-Gulābī* (13 *Tīr*).<sup>2</sup>

### *Regnal Years*

From Akbar's time on it was customary with Mughul historians to record events under regnal years, the first regnal year (I. R. Y.) beginning theoretically on the Coronation day, but practically on a near date arbitrarily fixed to suit certain adjustments. When so adjusted, it was rigidly adhered to.

Akbar was enthroned on Friday, 2 *Rabī* II, 963 A.H. (= 14 February, 1556), but his first regnal year (and consequently the *Ilāhī* era) began on 11 March, 1556—that being the next *Nauroz*—i.e., 25 days later. Jahāngīr followed the same practice and shifted the anniversary of his coronation from October 24 to March 10-12, to make it synchronize with *Nauroz*. The New Year Festival (1 *Farwardīn*), to which the coronation anniversary was linked, corresponded in reality to the vernal equinox, and ought to have occurred every year on 11th March (Old Style) or 21st March (New Style). In actual practice we find that in the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān it fell on a date between 9th and 12th March (Old Style) or 19th and 22nd

<sup>1</sup> See below.

<sup>2</sup> *Al. N.*, 404; *M. A.*, 50.



March (New Style).<sup>1</sup>

Shāh Jahān's coronation took place on 8 *Jumādā* II, 1037. As he calculated his regnal years by the lunar calendar, 1 *Jumādā* II was fixed upon as the Coronation day; and the *Nauroz*, now automatically uncoupled from it, was independently celebrated every year.

Aurangzeb was crowned on 24 *Ramazān*, 1069 (second coronation), but he shifted his coronation anniversary a few days forward to make it coincide with the *Īd* festival (1 *Shawwāl*), and to save the festivities from the fasts.

### *Birthdays*

The Mughul emperors celebrated their birthdays, both solar and lunar, by a great festival, the main feature of which was the weighment of the King's person against gold, silver and other commodities. These festivals are spoken of in these monographs as those of Solar or Lunar Weighment. Considerable latitude was observed in fixing the dates of these celebrations every year.

<sup>1</sup> The reader should note that in 1582 the New or Gregorian Calendar was introduced in the Roman Catholic countries in Europe, and the dates were advanced by ten days; though England kept to the Old or Julian Calendar till 1752. R. & B., instead of consistently following either the Old or the New Style in their parallel Christian dates, get mixed up between the two systems, and use the old dates for R. Y.'s I, II and XIII-XIX, and new dates for R. Y.'s III-XII—which is not defensible on any ground.



## TRANSLITERATION

In writing Arabic, Persian, Urdū and Hindī words, I have followed the system adopted and recommended by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, with a few necessary additions and modifications. The additional signs used by me are neither original nor arbitrary. They are in fact well-established, being sanctioned by general usage in standard works. The signs are as under :—

### *Consonants*

|    |   |    |           |
|----|---|----|-----------|
| ا  | o be omitted at beginning of words ; elsewhere it is <i>hamza</i> , and should be represented by an apostrophe ( ' ) ; as, احمد (Aḥmad), جرأت (jur'at), فائدة (fā'ida). | تھ | th        |
|    |   | ث  | ṭ         |
|    |   | تھ | ṭh        |
|    |   | ث  | ṣ         |
| ب  | b   | ج  | j         |
| بھ | bh  | جھ | jh        |
| پ  | p   | ح  | ḥ         |
| پھ | ph  | خ  | <u>kh</u> |
| ت  | t   | د  | d         |



|    |           |    |           |
|----|-----------|----|-----------|
| دھ | dh        | ع  | —         |
| د  | d         | غ  | <u>gh</u> |
| دھ | dh        | ف  | f         |
| ذ  | z         | ق  | q         |
| ر  | r         | ک  | k         |
| ر  | r         | کھ | kh        |
| رھ | rh        | گ  | g         |
| ز  | z         | گھ | gh        |
| ژ  | zh        | ل  | l         |
| س  | s         | م  | m         |
| ش  | <u>sh</u> | ن  | n         |
| ص  | s         | و  | w or v    |
| ض  | z         | ہ  | h         |
| ط  | t         | ی  | y         |
| ظ  | z         |    |           |

### *Diacritical Marks and Vowels*

|   |   |
|---|---|
| — | a |
| — | i |
| — | u |



|      |    |  |
|------|----|--|
| Long | ا— | ā  |
|      | و— | ū  |
|      | و— | o (as in روز <i>roz</i> ).                           |
|      | ی— | ī  |
|      | ی— | e (as in پیش <i>pesh</i> ).                          |
|      | ی— | á (as in مرتضیٰ <i>Murtazá</i> , اعلیٰ <i>a'lá</i> ) |

### Diphthongs

و— au (as in اورنگ *aurang*).

ی— ai (as in سلیمان *Sulaimān*).

The silent و after خ is represented by w thus :

خوش (*khwush*), خواب (*khwāb*), خود (*khwud*).

The imperceptible ʾ at the end of some Persian words is not transliterated ; thus بنده is *banda*, not *bandah* ; خانه is *khāna*, not *khānah*. When pronounced, it is written ; as, گناه (*gunāh*).

Geographical names, both Oriental and European, have been written in the form used in well-known Maps and Atlases ; and in case of Indian place-names I have adopted more particularly the spelling in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 26 Vols. (Oxford, 1907-09).



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## INTRODUCTION

In the volume on the Imperial Treasury we have dealt with precious stones and valuables, and have been able only casually to treat of finished articles set with gem stones and pearls.

There was an enormous store of gemmed and jewelled things of various degrees of utility. Some were indispensable articles of daily use, such as arms of offence and defence, cutlery, articles of toilet, household furniture of all kinds, vessels and utensils, trappings of horses, elephants, etc., musical instruments, and the rest. Others were purely or partly ornamental, of which we need only mention dresses and all kinds of jewellery for personal wear. But the costliest items of all were the thrones and seats and crowns; and then there were boats and carriages and other huge things made of massive gold and silver.

Out of this list, we propose in this monograph to deal with the arms and jewellery worn by the emperor and his nobles, and their harams. The two sets of articles, apparently incongruous, can be conveniently taken up together. They often accompany each other as presents, so that a separate treatment of each would be something like breaking the context.



Further, almost all arms were bejewelled, and were used as much for defence as for ornament. In fact in some cases, such as a waist-band or a baldric, it is difficult to distinguish between an arm and an ornament.

Again, the royal ensigns are closely connected with arms. A short treatment of this interesting subject has been considered necessary. Room has been found for it between Arms and Ornaments.



PART I  
ARMS

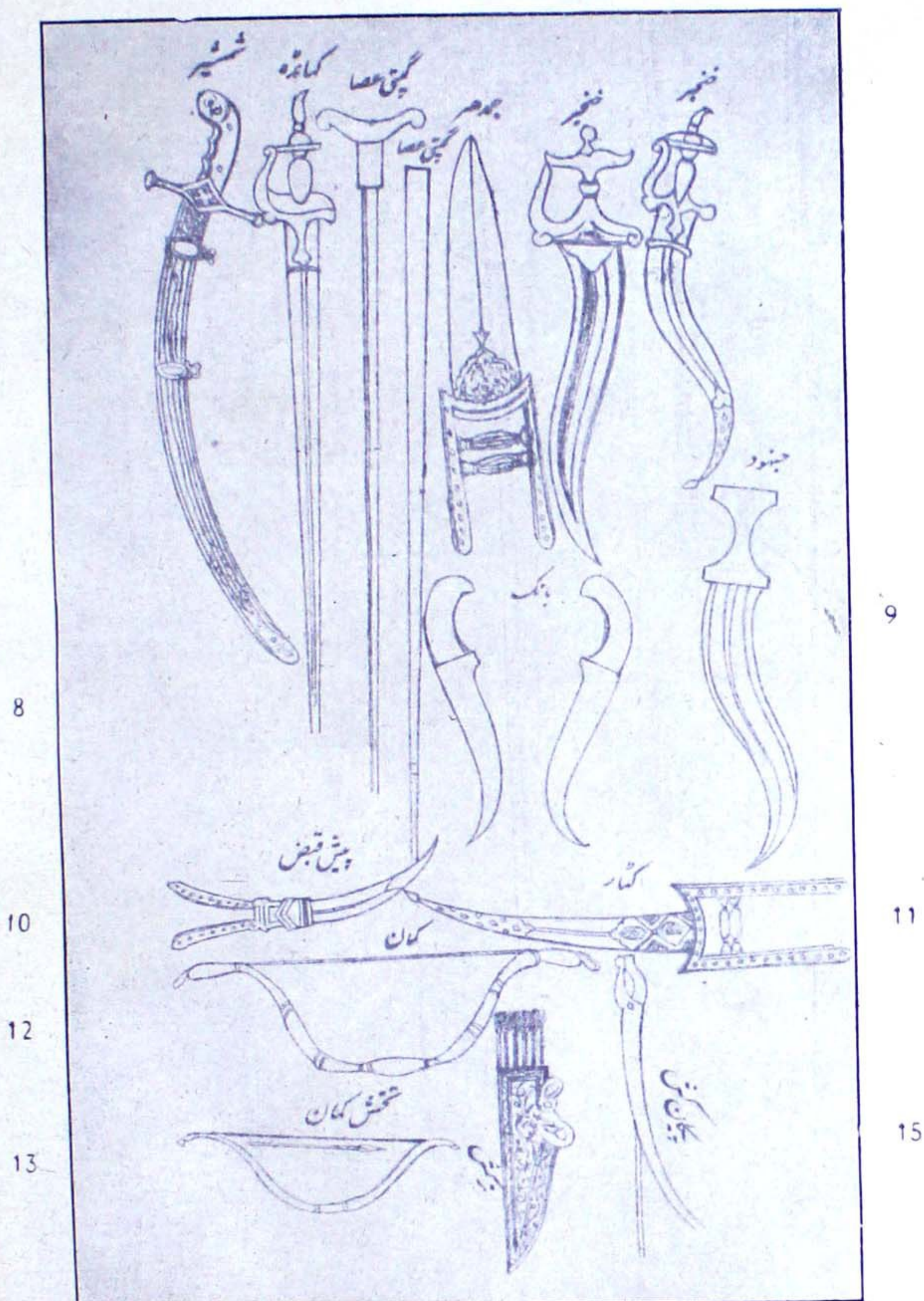


21 MAR 1954



Reproduced from *A'in-i-Akbari* (Nawalkishor, Lucknow),  
I, pl. 33 fac. p. 79.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7





(1) *Shamshir*, (2) *Khanda*, (3-4) *Gupti 'asa* and sheath, (5) *Jamdhar*, (6) *Khanjar*, (7) *Jamkhak* (according to Blochmann; name in plate, therefore, wrong), (8) *Bank*, (9) *Janbwa* (name in plate wrong again), (10) *Narsingh-moth* (So in Blochmann; in plate it is named *pesh-qabz*), (11) *Katara*, (12) *Kaman* (bow), (13) *Takhsh-kaman* (small bow) and arrow, (14) *Tarkash* (quiver), (15) *Paikan-kash* (arrow-drawer).



## CHAPTER I

### SWORDS AND SHIELDS

#### SECT. I: SWORDS AND SABRES

The *shamshīr*<sup>1</sup>, or the so-called oriental sword, was an important weapon of offence, and a great mark of distinction.

In Abū'l-Fazl's list of arms *shamshīr*, the curved sword, comes at the top, and is immediately followed by the *khānda*, the straight sword, which is very like the *dhūp*, and by the *guptī 'aṣā*, which is a sword-stick—a sword with a walking-stick as its sheath. Illustrations of these are to be found in *Ā'in*, pl. XII, Nos. 1, 2 and 3.

Pl. III of Egerton, *Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms* (which is 'A classified and descriptive Catalogue of the Arms exhibited at the India Museum') gives fine pictures, in colour, of seven swords, Nos. 3 to 7 of which are Indian.

#### *Tīmūr*

By way of introduction, we may begin with Tīmūr's times: During that period we hear of very

<sup>1</sup> The English word, scimitar, is probably derived from the Persian word, *shamshīr*. See *Hobson-Jobson*, 804a and any English dictionary.



few presents, and among those that are mentioned gold-worked<sup>1</sup> swords figure pretty frequently; Egyptian swords receive a distinguished mention;<sup>2</sup> and the *tegh* is also spoken of.<sup>3</sup>

In *Zafar Nāma* (II, 290) we find Tīmūr Tāsh, the ruler of Aleppo, arguing against unconditional submission and boasting that his soldiers could withstand Tīmūr's threatened invasion as they were armed with bows of Damascus, swords of Egypt, spears of Arabia, and shields of Aleppo.

### *Bābur and Humāyūn*

During the short reign of Bābur we often hear of a waist-sword<sup>4</sup> passing as a present (*Memoirs of Bābur*: a plain one on p. 251 and on p. 252 (in several places), a jewelled one on p. 419, of Vol. II).

A jewelled sword is also frequently mentioned in *Humāyūn-Nāma*, e.g., on p. 33, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Zafar Nāma*, I, 780, II, 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 290, 500.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 481.

<sup>4</sup> The Persian text has *kamar-shamshīr* (*Tūzūk-i-Bāburī*, p. 208 (in several places) and p. 246). The words *kamar-shamshīr*, *kamar-khanjar*, etc., occur in histories from Bābur to Jahāngīr. Leyden, Erskine and King translate 'sword and belt', 'dagger and belt', etc. So does Pavet de Courteille. *Kamar*, of course, means 'waist' as well as 'belt'. But *kamar-shamshīr*, I think, means 'waist-sword'. R & B. translate it in this way, and I think correctly.



*Akbar*

Abū'l-Fazl, in a rather obscure passage, informs us that all weapons for the use of His Majesty have names, and each of them is assigned a rank. There are thirty *khāṣṣa* swords, which are sent by turns to the Emperor's sleeping apartment. Forty more are kept in reserve, called *kotal*. When, through presents, etc., the number of *khāṣṣa* swords falls to twelve, they are replaced to full strength from the *kotal* reserve (*Ā'in*, I, 118),

In Akbar's reign the price of a *shamshīr* varied from  $\frac{1}{2}$  rupee to 15 mohurs, that of a *khānda* from Re. 1 to Rs. 10, and that of a *guptī 'aṣā* (a sword in a walking-stick) from Rs. 2 to Rs. 20—apparently excluding in all cases exceptionally costly specimens, where there was no limit to value (*Ā'in*, I, 119; Blochmann, 117).

The royal gift of a sword and a jewelled belt is occasionally heard of in Akbar's reign.<sup>1</sup>

Husain Khān, in recognition of distinguished service in field of battle, received a *khāṣṣa* sword shaped like the crescent, which was considered the most celebrated of scimitars (*Budāyūnī*, II, 168).

Qāzī Nizām, a celebrated savant of Badakhshān, paid his respects to Akbar in *Jumādā* II, 982—

<sup>1</sup> E.g., in *A. N.*, III, 654; *Tr.*, III, 1004. Here Beveridge translates 'an embroidered belt'!



"Dānā-i-Badakhshī" being the chronogram of his visit. He received a jewelled waist-sword and 5,000 rupees in cash (*Ibid.*, II, 183).

Early in 983, Mun'im Khān "Khān Khānān", on behalf of the Emperor, offered to Dā'ūd, the king of Bengal, a sword, the fastenings (*band-o-bār*)<sup>1</sup> of which were studded with precious gems (*Ibid.*, 197).

On the death of Mun'im Khān "Khān Khānān", Husain Qulī Khān "Khān Jahān" was appointed governor of Bengal (983=1575). He was made "Amīru'l-Umarā", and received the following presents as a parting gift: a gold-worked *qabā*, a gold-embroidered *chārqaq*, a jewelled waist-sword (*kamar shamshīr*) and a horse with golden saddle.<sup>2</sup>

*Mīr Shamshīr* is sometimes heard of.<sup>3</sup> It means a chief swordsman or an officer in the discharge of whose duty the sword played an important part.

### *Jahāngīr*

From the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign to the end of Aurangzeb's, swords frequently pass as presents. In the *Tūzūk* the present of a jewelled sword is of very frequent occurrence. The following, however,

<sup>1</sup> For this word see p. 30 below.

<sup>2</sup> Budāyūnī, II, 218. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, II, 318 (read with P. U. L. MS., f. 235a).

<sup>3</sup> A.N., III, 776; Tr., III, 1161, and f. n. 1.



deserve individual mention.

On 4 *Bahman*, VI R. Y., Jahāngīr bestowed on Rāja Bīr Singh Deo a jewelled sword, and on Shāh Nawāz Khān a *khāṣṣa* sword, called “Shāh-bacha” (King’s child).<sup>1</sup>

Among the articles presented by Nūr Jahān to Prince Shāh Jahān on Thursday, the 27th *Mihr* (XII R. Y.), were a waist-band studded with pearls, a sword with jewelled shoulder-belt (*pardala*) and a *phūl-kaṭāra* (*Tūzuk*, 196; R. & B., I, 397).

In the following passage we have a rather good specimen of a *shamshīr-i-nīmcha* (a kind of short sword) :

On Thursday, the 19th *Dai*, XIV R. Y., Prince Shāh Jahān invited Jahāngīr to his residence, where he gave an entertainment to celebrate the birth of a son. Among the offerings made by the Prince was ‘a short, broad sword [*shamshīr-i-nīmcha-i-yak āvez*],<sup>2</sup> which was of Venetian workmanship. The hilt and fastenings were made of a sapphire cut in Europe: in short, it had been beautifully made’

<sup>1</sup>*Tūzuk*, 100.

<sup>2</sup>A *nīmcha* is a short sword. Sir Walter Elliot says, ‘*Talwār* is a general term applied to shorter and more or less curved side arms, while those that are lighter and shorter still are often styled *nīmchas*’ (*Indian Antiquary*, XV, 29). Some *nīmchas* are noticed in Egerton (pp. 117b and 123b).

*Yak-āvez* is ‘a short, broad sword’ (Steingass, who is supported by Vullers and *Farhang-i-Anandrāj*).



(*Tūzuk*, 284 ; R. & B., II, 113-14).

It appears that the hilt and the belt were decorated with sapphires cut by a European. R. & B.'s translation is unsatisfactory.

Jahāngīr gives in the following passage a graphic description of the fall of a meteor at a village in Jullundur district, and the manufacture of two swords, one dagger and one knife out of the meteorite—just what we expected of Jahāngīr, the experimentalist :—‘ One of the strange events of this time was that on 30 Farwardīn (about 10 April, 1621) in the present year, in a certain village of the pargana of Jālandhar, in the morning, a terrible noise arose from the East, such that its inhabitants, from fright at that terror-increasing sound, nearly deserted their bodies. Whilst this noise and disturbance were going on, a light fell from above on the ground, and the people thought that fire was raining down from heaven. After a moment, when that noise ceased, and their troubled hearts recovered from their bewilderment and terror, they sent a quick runner to the collector (*‘āmil*) Muḥammad Sa’īd, and informed him of what had occurred. He immediately rode there himself, and went to look at the spot. For ten or twelve yards in length and breadth the land was so burnt that no trace of any grass or green was left, and there were still signs of heat and



burning. He ordered them to dig up the soil, and the more they dug the greater the heat appeared to be till they came to a place where a piece of heated iron appeared. It was as hot as if it had been taken out of a furnace. After a while it became cold, and taking it up, he conveyed it to his house, and placing it in a *khariṭa* (cover), which he sealed, he sent it to Court. I ordered them to weigh it in my presence, and it came to 160 *tolas*. I ordered Master (Ustād) Dā'ūd to make a sword, a dagger, and a knife of it, and bring them to me. He represented that it would not stand below the hammer, and fell to pieces. I told him in that case to mix it with other iron and make use of it. As I had told him, he mixed three parts of lightning-iron and one of other iron, and having made two swords, one dagger, and one knife, brought them to me. From the mixing of other iron he had brought out its quality (watering). According to the manner of the excellent swords of Yaman and [the *aṣīl* swords of] the South, it could be bent, and became straight again. I ordered them to test it in my presence. It cut very well, equal to true swords.<sup>1</sup> I called one the

<sup>1</sup>The word in the text is '*aṣīl*,' which has not been properly understood by R. & B. Earlier in the passage after the word 'South,' '*aṣīl*' has been omitted by the translators. I have supplied it within square brackets. Here it has been rendered 'true swords', which is, no doubt, the general sense of the word. But the word '*aṣīl*', when used of a sword, seems to have a technical sense. A portion of the passage quoted by



Shamshīr-i-qāṭī (keen sword) and the other Barq-sirīsh (lightning-natured). Bī-badal K. composed a quatrain which demonstrated these particulars, and recited it :

By Shāh Jahāngīr the world acquired order.  
There fell in his reign raw iron from lightning.  
From that iron were made by his world-taking  
command,

A dagger, a knife, and two scimitars.

Egerton from Sir C. Malet's Memorandum, dated 1795 (where he is speaking of the constitution of the Mahratta army) runs as follows:—'Of the two latter classes [*viz.*, 'Silladars' and 'Yekandia'] many seldom encumber themselves with anything but a pair of swords; one of a hard temper, consequently brittle and very sharp, called "serye" (sirohi); the other more tough and less sharp named "asseel" (aṣīl)' (*Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms*, 113).

[Sirohī, by the way, is the sword manufactured at Sirohi in Rajputana. 'Sirohi', says the *Rajputana Gazetteer* (Pub. 1880, III, 123), 'has long been noted for the make and temper of swordblades, daggers, spears and knives; and there is still a considerable export of these articles, although the trade has apparently much decreased from what it was in former times.' 'The chief favourite of all the various swords found throughout Rajputana,' says Egerton, 'is the Sirohi, a slightly curved blade, shaped like that of Damascus' (P. 105). The author of *Ma'āshiru'l-Umarā* tells us that in the fight between Kishan Singh and Rāja Sūraj Singh and their men at Ajmer (in 1024=1615), in which Kishan Singh was killed, bright shamshīrs, which fell on the head, cleft the men to the waist, and the Indian teghs of steel, falling on the waist, cut the men in two. It is said, adds the author, that the Sirohī shamshīr established its reputation from that day (III, 152)].

Again, we have a note on an aṣīl sword in Egerton: "'Aṣīl". Slightly curved sword of watered steel with two grooves. Plain handle. Time of Tippoos' (P. 124). All this is of a piece with Jahāngīr's remark in the text; and the aṣīl swords of South India seem to have been celebrated from Jahāngīr's time,



[از شاه جهانگیر جهان یافت نظام افتاده بعهد او ز برق آهن خام  
زاں آهن شد بحکم عالمگیرش يك خنجر و كارد باد و شمشیر تمام]

And "Spark of royal lightning" [شعله برق بادشاهی] gave the date (A.H. 1030).<sup>1</sup>

De Thevenot has an excellent description of a sword and how it was carried in Mughul India.

'Their Swords are four Fingers broad, very thick, and by consequence heavy ; they are crooked a little, and cut only on the convex side. The Guard is very plain ; commonly no more but a handle of Iron, with a cross Bar of the same underneath the Pummel which is also of Iron, is neither Round nor Oval, but is flat above and below like a Whirligigg, that the Sword may not slip out of their Hands when they fight. The Swords made by the Indians are very brittle ; but the English furnish them with good ones brought from *England*. The *Mogul's* use Waste-belts for their Swords ; they are two Fingers broad, and have two Hangers into which the Sword is put, so that the Point is always upwards ; and all the ordinary sort of People in the *Indies* carry them commonly in their Hand, or upon their Shoulder like a Musket' (Part III, p. 43).

Roe and the John Company traders knew very well that good swords were acceptable presents at the Mughul Court.

<sup>1</sup> *Tūzūk*, 329-30 ; R. & B., II, 204-5.



In 1614, among Muqarrab Khān's orders to be supplied in England, we find broad, crooked swords. These, we are told, are obtainable with difficulty, 'for they try them with their knee and, if they stand, [they are] in no request' (*Letters*, II, 173).

Roe has an interesting story : He placed once before Jahāngīr a rich sword of his own with a richly embroidered scarf from the Company, along with his credentials and the Company's other presents (Roe, 98). Jahāngīr was so pleased with the sword, says Roe, that 'he sent to me, though ten a clock at night, for a servant to tye on his scarfe and swoorde the English fashion ; in which he tooke so great pryde that he marched up and downe, draweing yt and flourishing, and since hath never beene seene without yt' (*Ibid.*, 99). This sword, says Salbank, 'did yeeld such surpassing content unto him that for the [space of?] a moneth or more scarce did he come to any publique shewe without the sword hard by him' (99, f. n. 1).

Sword-blades, especially those well gilded, were often asked for (*Letters*, II, 224 ; III, 88).

In another inventory of goods we have

- 1 Double-hatched hilt with two blades priced at 200 *maḥmūdīs*.
- 1 Crooked sword blade priced at 100 *maḥmūdīs*.
- 1 Fair straight sword priced at 40 *maḥmūdīs*.



1 Sword priced at 100 *maḥmūdīs*.

(*Letters*, IV, 81-83).

791 sword-blades are in one place rated by the John Company factors at 3396 *maḥmūdīs* (*E.F.I.* 1618-1621, 64).

### *Shāh Jahān*

In this reign we hear of a sword with gold fastenings (*shamshīr bā sāz-i-ṭilā* : *A.S.*, II, 307-8, or *shamshīr bā yarāq-i-ṭilā* : *B.N.*, III, 2*b*) or with enamelled appliances (*shamshīr bā yarāq-i-mīnākār* : *B.N.*, III, 43*a*), or else of a jewelled sword (*passim*), or an enamelled sword (*B.N.*, I, ii, 166; III, 101*b*).

There was a famous sword, itself and the shoulder-belt profusely jewelled, the price of which was stated to be one lakh of rupees. It had come into Akbar's treasury among the spoils of Ahmadnagar. Akbar bestowed it on Prince Salīm, who, when emperor, presented it to Prince *Shāh Jahān* in recognition of his victories in the Deccan. Finally, when *Shāh Jahān* came to the throne, he offered it with other things to *Āṣaf Khān*, to whose timely action he owed his throne (*B.N.*, I, i, 179-80; *A.S.*, I, 279).

So 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd. But he is wrong in saying that the sword and baldric were given away to Prince *Shāh Jahān* as a reward for his services in the Deccan. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ only copies him, and is no in-



dependent authority. As is clear from the following, these were among the presents given him at the time of *his departure on the Deccan expedition* a year earlier. He was then only Prince Khurram, and not Prince "Shāh Jahān". The following entries refer to that occasion :

Roe, writing under date November 1, 1616, says that Jahāngīr bestowed on Prince Khurram 'a swoord, the scaberd all of gould sett with stones, valewed at 100,000 *rup[ees]*,' and 'a dagger at 40,000' (P. 282). The corresponding entry in *Tūzuk* runs as follows : 'I presented him [the prince] with..... a jewelled sword with a special *pardala* (sword-belt) that had been taken at the conquest of the fort of Ahmadnagar, and was very celebrated, and a jewelled dagger' (*Tūzuk*, 167 ; R. & B., I, 338-39).

It is true that a jewelled sword with a jewelled *pardala* and a jewelled dagger were also presented to the Prince on his victorious return from the Deccan a year later (*Tūzuk*, 195 ; R. & B., I, 395). But that was not the particular sword, which is specifically mentioned both in *B.N.* and in *Tūzuk*.

Hājī Aḥmad Sa'id, *Mīr 'Adl*, was sent on 1 *Zū'l-hijj*, 1061, as ambassador to the Sultan of Turkey. By his hands a jewelled aigrette and a jewelled sword with a jewelled *pardala*—total price, one lakh—were sent to the Sultan with a letter of friendship (*B.N.*, III, 55a-b ; *A.S.*, III, 132).



### Aurangzeb

Historians of this reign speak of a jewelled sword, which occurs pretty frequently<sup>1</sup>, a sword with gold fittings<sup>2</sup>, and one with jewelled fittings<sup>3</sup>. Again, an enamelled sword is sometimes mentioned<sup>4</sup>, and rarely a sword inlaid with gold, with enamelled fittings<sup>5</sup>.

A few individual specimens are recorded : On 10th *Sha'bān*, 1079, Aurangzeb bestowed on his son, Muḥammad A'zam, on the occasion of his marriage, among a number of other things, a jewelled sword valued at Rs. 20,000 (*M.A.*, 77).

*Shādmān Khwāja*, the envoy from Balkh, was given as a parting gift, among other things, a jewelled sword worth Rs. 5,000 (*Ibid.*, 97).

*Khān Mīrzā*, the ambassador of the ruler of Urganj (*i.e.*, *Khwārazm*, modern Khiva), received on departure (7 *Rabī'* II, 1092), for delivery to his master, a jewelled sword of the value of Rs. 2,000 (*Ibid.*, 207).

The Persian ambassador, who waited on Aurangzeb soon after his coronation, brought as present from his master, among other things, 'four *Damascus*

<sup>1</sup> *Al.N.*, 183, 819 ; *M.A.*, 104, 149, 209, 274, 505.

<sup>2</sup> *Al.N.*, 1063 ; *M.A.*, 130 (twice).

<sup>3</sup> *Al.N.*, 956, 976, 1032 ; *M.A.*, 120, 133, 280.

<sup>4</sup> *M.A.*, 506.

<sup>5</sup> *M.A.*, 237.



cutlasses, and the same number of poniards, the whole covered with precious stones' (Bernier, 148).

The author of *Qawā'id-i-Saltanat-i-Shāhjahānī* speaks with distinction of swords of Yemen (*sham-shīrhā-i-Yamānī*) which are proverbial in Persian literature, and of Indian swords (*teghhā-i-Hindī*) (f. 10b). Again, in another place he gives the names of six *Yamānī* swords in the royal arsenal (f. 22b).

Alman blades were apparently in warm request about 1609. The following in *Letters*, I, 33:

'Alman Blades or crooked falchions with thick backs and such as will not stand bent, a great many would be sold at 10 or 12 rials per piece, some also fairly set, for they will not want their price, the Governor of Cambaya, who is also our patron here, called Mocrow Bowcan [Muqarrab Khān], desireth 1000 for himself but I doubt whether he would be as big as his word or no.'

These are probably German<sup>1</sup> (or European) swords.<sup>2</sup> Egerton has the following note on a sword called "Alamāni": 'Shaped like the old German Hussar sabre. Hence probably its name. Fine, hard, clouded steel; gilt handle. Guzerat, 1600. Used probably by Hyder's German cavalry' (*Illus-*

<sup>1</sup> Fr. *Allemagne*, Germany; *allemand*, German. The word is met with in earlier English, though no longer current. Marlowe has *Almain* in *Faustus*. So has Shakespeare in *Othello* (II, iii, 83).

<sup>2</sup> See below.



*trated Handbook of Indian Arms*, 123b).

Hawkins' account of the contents of Jahāngīr's treasury includes the item 'Swords of Almaine Blades, with the Hilts and Scabberds set with divers sorts of rich stones, of the richest sort.'<sup>1</sup>

The swords of the royal forces, says De Laët, 'are curved like a sickle, but are so badly tempered that they break rather than bend. Hence there is a great demand for European swords' (Hoyland's Transl., p. 115).

From a correspondent's note in the Lahore *Civil & Military Gazette* of August 29, 1940, which is not authentic enough to be quoted, it appears that the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, has got an "Alman" sword.

Swords of Yemen are to be distinguished from "Alman" swords spoken of above. Mr. Hodi-vala has a rather comprehensive note on the subject.<sup>2</sup> He assumes that "Alman" and "Alyamanī" (or "Alyamānī") are mutually inconsistent, and that only one of them can be correct. Consequently, rejecting several good authorities cited by himself, he expresses the opinion that *Yamānī* is the only correct word. I beg leave to differ from him on this point.

<sup>1</sup> Purchas, III, 32. See Author's *Imperial Treasury*, p. 525.

<sup>2</sup> *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, 614-15, where he is commenting on the *Tūzūk* passage given on p 11 above.



To my mind, there is nothing inconsistent between "Alman" and "(Al)yamanī" or "(Al)yamānī": only they mean entirely different things. The first comes from Germany, the second from Yemen. I do not see why we should try to reduce such different things to a common denominator. It is quite in the fitness of things that Muqarrab Khān should place a large order for "Alman" swords with the E.I. Coy., and again ask for a supply of that article from England<sup>1</sup>. How could these be Yemen swords?

Swords of Yemen were famous. An English translation of an Arab War Song by an unknown poet runs as follows :

'Terrible he rode alone,  
With his Yemen sword for aid ;  
Ornament it carried none,  
But the notches on the blade.'—*The Death Feud*.<sup>2</sup>

Jahāngīr, in a passage already quoted,<sup>3</sup> speaks approvingly of the swords of Yemen.

Manucci gives us a list of names which belonged to some royal weapons, but the author cannot make up his mind whether these were swords or daggers (*kaṭāras*). We give the Persian names (omitting Dr.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 13-14 and 18 above.

<sup>2</sup> *World's Best Poetry* (ed. Carman), X, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 11 above.



Manucci's corruptions) and their English renderings :

| Persian               | English  |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>Dushman-kush</i>   | .... Killer of Enemies   |
| <i>Wār-pār</i>        | .... From Side to Side   |
| <i>Bijlī</i>          | .... Lightning   |
| <i>Be-khaṭā</i>       | .... Without Fault   |
| <i>Dushman-sitān</i>  | .... Captor of the Enemy   |
| <i>Be-qarārī (?)</i>  | .... Restlessness  |
| <i>‘Ālam-sitān</i>    | .... World Conqueror   |
| <i>Ābdār</i>          | .... Fine-tempered   |
| <i>Fath-i-lashkar</i> | .... Army-vanquisher   |
| <i>Qamqām</i>         | .... ?   |
| <i>Kāfir-kush</i>     | .... Infidel-slayer  |
| <i>Shāh-‘ināyat</i>   | .... Royal Gift  |
| <i>Dushman-pai</i>    | .... Enemy-pursuer   |
| <i>Zahr-i-qātil</i>   | .... Murderous-poison  |
| <i>Khudā-bakhsh</i>   | .... God-given   |
| <i>‘Alī-madad</i>     | .... ‘Alī’s help   |
| <i>Hathyār</i>        | .... Hand’s friend   |
| <i>Damdār</i>         | .... Sharp-edged   |
| <i>Fāriq-i-dūtā</i>   | .... Cleaver in twain  |
| <i>Kamar-zeb</i>      | .... Waist-adornor   |
| <i>‘Ālamgīr</i>       | .... { World Conqueror (the<br>one Aurangzeb usually<br>carries in his hand) |
| <i>Yār-i-wafādār</i>  | .... Faithful Friend   |
| <i>Joṣhan-guzār</i>   | .... Cuirass-cleaver   |



| Persian             | English             |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Zor-zarb</i>     | .... Violent Stroke |
| <i>Zālim-kush</i>   | .... Tyrant-slayer  |
| <i>Zahr-āb</i>      | .... Venomous       |
| <i>Fath-i-‘Ālam</i> | .... World Conquest |

(*Storia*, II, 358-59).

Now we can turn to the pictures of swords and sabres, which are available.

The Sabres illustrated in the *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities* may be taken together.

The reader will find a generous display of this weapon in *L.E.A.* (pl. I-IV, VII, and VIII). Some of the remarkable weapons given there are noted below :

No. A. 19 (Pl. III (a) ) bears date 1055 A.H. (= 1645 A.C.) and is inlaid with gold. The hilt and the blade are inscribed with a number of holy texts, one of them a pretty long one.

Pl. VIII, No. A. 174, has 'silver-inlaid hilt, with cross-guard, circular pommel, and knuckle-guard'. The inscription on the back of the blade, inlaid in gold, reads :

حسب الحکم ظل الله حضرت جهانگیر بادشاه تیار شد  
صاحب قران ثانی

That is, made to the order of Jahāngīr. The inscription includes the name of *Shāh Jahān*, whose punch-mark also appears on the blade.

13565)



The most remarkable weapon is a 'sabre, gold-inlaid, with cross-guard and circular pommel hilt'. The back of the blade bears the inscription :

هست این شمشیر خاص ثانی صاحب قران  
شاه غازی بادشاه بهر و بر شاه جهان  
لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ۱۰۴۶

It was made in 1046 A.H., and belonged to Shāh Jahān. It was lent by the Maharaja of Alwar. 'The hilt', remarks the Editor, 'seems to be modern' (Pl. VIII, No. A. 175).

Pl. VIII, A. 176 is a small sabre with gold-inlaid hilt and velvet sheath. The punch mark on the blade gives date 1030 A.H., and the back of the blade bears the following inscription (in *nasta'līq*) inlaid in gold letters :—

این تیغ شاه زاده دارا شکو [ه] نام کار هزار خصم بیکدم کند تمام  
from which we learn that it belonged to Dārā Shukoh, who, however, was at this date only about six years of age.

Another sabre, with gold-inlaid hilt and stamped leather sheath, bears the following inscription (in *nasta'līq*) on the back of the blade, inlaid in gold :

شاه عالم گیر ۱۱۱۰ بادشاه

(Pl. VIII, No. A. 177).

A sword called " 'Ālamgīr " was sent by Shāh Jahān to Aurangzeb soon after the latter had defeat-



ed Dārā Shukoh at Samūgarh (Al. N., 112). This cannot be the inscribed sword mentioned above, as the latter bears the year 1110 as the date of its manufacture.

Pl. VIII, No A. 178, is the *zafar-takya*<sup>1</sup> of the Emperor Aurangzeb. It is a short sabre 'with gold-inlaid hilt with cross-guard, crutch-pommel, and old leather sheath. Lower half of blade wider than upper.'

It bears the following (apparently not wholly legible) inscription on the back of the blade, inlaid in gold *nasta'liq* characters :

.....[ایں] ظفر تکیہ کہ با فتح و ہیبت است  
.....شرف از قبضہ اورنگ زیب است

Another sabre, which bears the punch-mark 'Ālamgīr Shāhī 1071' has gold-inlaid and guarded hilt, globular fluted pommel, and velvet scabbard. The back of the blade has two Persian and two Urdu verses inscribed on it :

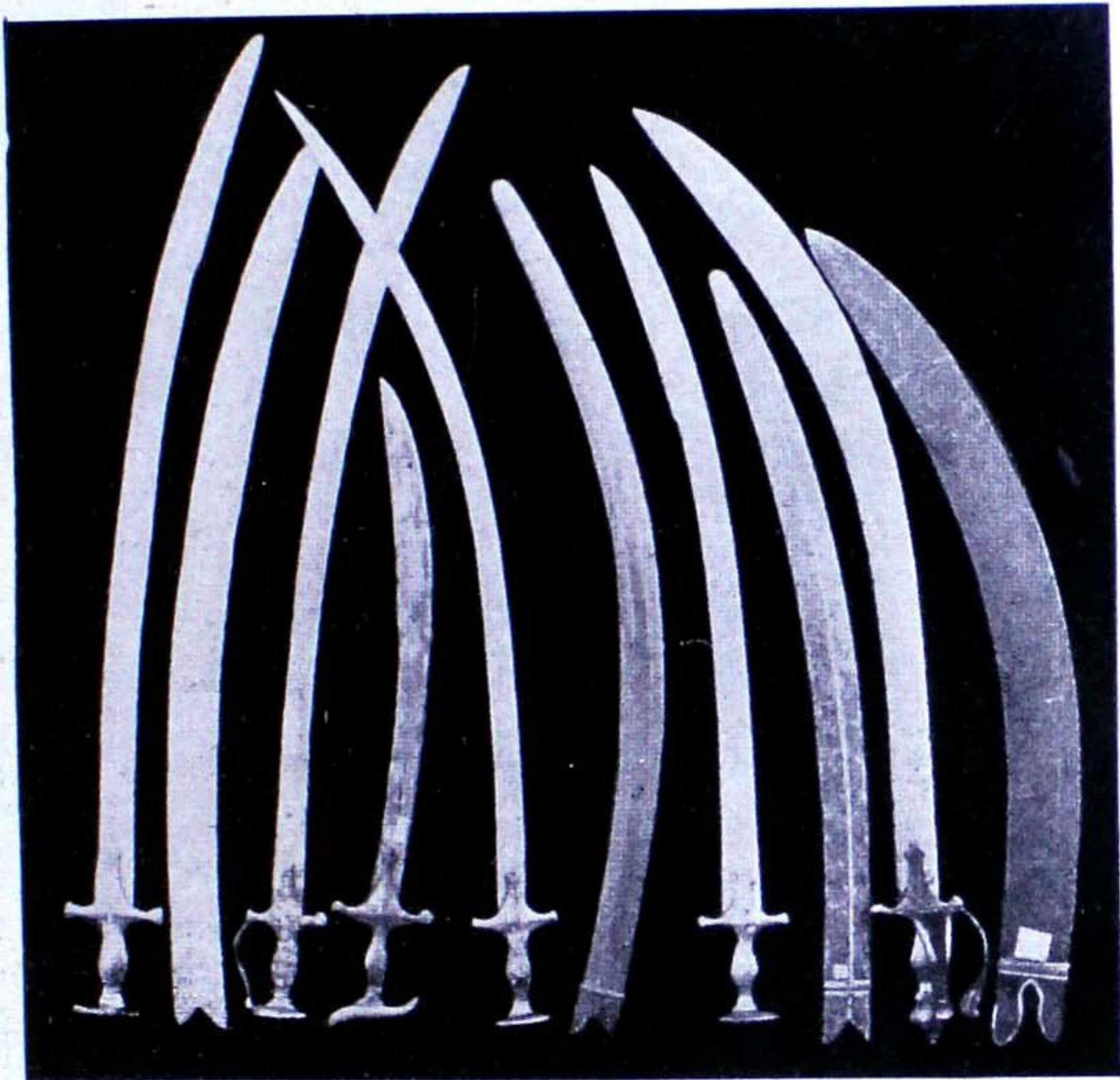
### Persian

سر تیغ را چون بدست آوریم      بصفہای دشمن شکست آوریم  
بشمشیر من فیالہا شد دو نیم      چو در پای نیل است عصای کلیم

<sup>1</sup> For the *zafar-takya* see next page.



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by permission of Government of India (Archaeological  
Survey of India Department).



No. A. 175      174      178      177      176      179

See pp. 22-25.







## Urdu

یہ وہ تیغ ہے کھینچئے وقت جنگ  
 تو رستم بھی ہو جائے دیکھ اسکو دنگ  
 اگر دیکھے بھجلی بھی اسکی چمک  
 تو بے اختیار آنکھ کو دے جھپک

A later inscription shows that it came into the possession of Nawwāb Manṣūr 'Alī Khān Bahādur in 1177 A.H. The weapon is now in possession of His Highness the Mahārāja Scindhia of Gwalior (Pl. VIII, No. A. 179).

Quite a number of sabres among the exhibits seem to have belonged to Shāh 'Abbās of Persia. Pl. III, No. A. 163, Pl. IV, No. A. 78, Pl. VII, No. A. 180, Pl. VIII, Nos. A. 185, A. 186, and A. 188a (?) are examples. The last (A. 188a) is dated 1081 A.H. (= 1670-71 A.C.) and belonged apparently to Shāh 'Abbās, who, however, died in 1038 A.H. (= 1628-29 A.C.) !

A short sabre was often placed close to the Emperor when seated. It was known as *Zafar-takya*. The lower half of its blade was wider than the upper, and the handle was so shaped that the arm might rest on it.

It can be seen in many pictures, e.g., in Pl VIII, A. 178;<sup>1</sup> Pl. XLVI (a) ; and Pl XLVII (c).

<sup>1</sup> More fully noted on last page.



Some interesting enamelled sword-hilts are illustrated on Pl. 67 of Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi*, 1903.

Three excellent swords of historical interest and importance, which were acquired for the Delhi Museum of Archæology in 1914, are described and illustrated by K. B. M. Zafar Hasan in *A.S.I. Annual Report 1915-16* (pp. 111-13 and Pl. LIX). Necessary portions of his vivid description of them is given below :

'1. '*Alī Mardān Khān's sword*. It is a curved bladed sword, of the type usually called a scimitar. The blade, made of *faulād* (steel) with excellent *jauhars* (watering), and inlaid with gold at the back, measures 2' 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " in length and 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ " in breadth. The hilt has an ivory grip with a gold plated cross-guard inlaid with enamel, and a pommel shaped like the head of a ram. The wooden scabbard is covered with red velvet and furnished with a gold mounting and two sling rings, ornamented with inlaid work like the cross-guard of the hilt.

The sword contains two inscriptions written in *nasta'līq* characters and inlaid in gold, one being on the back and the other on a face of the blade.

*Inscription on the back of the blade*

این شمشیر خاصه از حضور شاه عباس خلد الله ملكه و سلطانده  
دبخانه زاد علی مردانخان سرفرازی یافت سنده.....



*Translation*

“This sword of honour had the honour of (bestowal) by His Majesty Shāh ‘Abbās (may God perpetuate his country and his kingdom) on the slave ‘Alī Mardān Khān. The year.....”

As indicated by the inscription, the sword was presented by Shāh ‘Abbās Ṣafwī [Ṣafawī] the King of Persia (1587-1629) to ‘Alī Mardān Khān (P. 111).

‘It appears that the sword was presented to ‘Alī Mardān Khān after he was made Governor of Qandhār, as he is addressed in the inscription by the title of “Khān”, which was conferred upon him with that appointment. It was apparently brought to India in the year 1047 A.H. (1637-8 A.D.), when he took refuge at the court of Shāhjahān. Later on it came into the possession of Sa‘ādat ‘Alī Khān, the Nawāb of Oudh (1798-1814), who inscribed his name on its blade in the year 1214 A.H. (1799-1800 A.D.).

*Inscription on a face of the blade.*

يا على العلى

وزير الملك نواب سعادت عليخان بهادر - ۱۲۱۴

*Translation*

“O ‘Alī the exalted!

Wazīru-l-Mulk Nawāb Sa‘ādat ‘Alī Khān Bahādur, 1214 A.H. (1799-1800 A.D.).”



2. *Shāhjahān's sword*. This sword has a slightly curved blade made of *sakhelā*,<sup>1</sup> measuring 2' 8½" long and 1" wide and bearing a small engraving of an umbrella, the emblem of royalty, inlaid in gold.

The hilt with cross-guard and circular pommel is inscribed with the ninety-nine attributes of God, inlaid in gold. The Persian inscription, also inlaid in gold letters at the back of the blade, records that the sword belonged to the Emperor *Shāhjahān*. It is engraved in *nasta'līq* characters and runs as follows:—

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله  
هست این شمشیر خاص ثانی صاحبقران  
شاه غازی بادشاه بکر و بر شاه جهان  
ل ۱۷ - ص ۱ - ن ۲۸ نصرت بخش

### Translation

"There is no God but Allāh and Muḥammad is His prophet. This is the chief [? special] sword of the second *Ṣāhibqirān* (Lord of the happy constellation [conjunction]) the King champion of faith, the emperor of sea and land (named) *Shāhjahān*..... *Nuṣrat Bakhsh* (the bestower of victory)."

The letters and figures written disconnectedly at the end of the inscription have some mysterious

<sup>1</sup> *Sakhelā* is an Indian term applied to a kind of steel. It is distinguished from *faulād* in its properties of being elastic and having a lustre, while the latter is brittle and contains veins or streaks running through it which are called *jauhars* (watering)' (P. 112, f.n. 4).



meaning not apparent ; while Nuṣrat Bakhsh (the bestower of victory) appears to be the name of the sword' (Pp. 112-13).

'3. *Aurangzeb's sword.* It is a curved bladed sword, with the peculiarity that one face of its blade contains *jauhars* of *faulād* and the other the lustre of *sakhelā*. A sword of this kind is called *chap* in Indian dialect. The blade, which is inscribed with the names of God and 'Alī and bears a small engraving of an umbrella inlaid in gold, measures 2' 10½" in length and 1⅝" in breadth. The punch mark on the blade near the hilt contains the following words :—

شاه عالمگیر غازی — ۱۱۱۲

### *Translation*

" 'Ālamgīr the Emperor, champion of the faith, 1112 A.H. (1700-1 A.D.)."

The hilt with cross-guard and circular pommel, which is inlaid with gold and silver, is not the original one, which is said to have been sold to Baron Rothschild. The scabbards of Nos. 2 and 3 are modern and are not of special interest' (P. 113).

This last is 'No. E 71, Sabre of Aurangzeb' in the *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archæology*, where the inscription varies slightly from the one given here. The previous two swords are not traceable in the *Catalogue*.



*Sword-belts*

Sword-belts, waist-bands and baldrics may now be considered.

The word *band-o-bār* is often used for 'fastenings' of a sword. In *Zafar Nāma* we meet with *bār-i-ṭilā* (gold fastenings) (I, 585); and we have it in *Budāyūnī* (II, 197) that Mun'im Khān "Khān Khānān" called for a sword, the *band-o-bār* (fastenings) of which was set with precious jewels, and bound it round the waist of Dā'ūd, the King of Bengal. The word occurs in *Tūzuk*, twice with a sword,<sup>1</sup> and once with a quiver.<sup>2</sup> In *B.N.* (II, 519) it is used in the sense of fastenings of sword and shield.

In Timurid history the sword is very often accompanied by a waist-band (*kamar*, or rarely *kamar-band*), which is either gold (plain: *kamar-i-zar*<sup>3</sup> or *kamar-i-zarrīn*,<sup>4</sup> or worked: *kamar-i-zarnigār*)<sup>5</sup> or jewelled (*kamar-i-murraṣṣa'*).<sup>6</sup>

The author of *Zafar Nāma* records that Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān (Tīmūr's grandson and appointed heir) bestowed on a *sardār* a robe of honour, a

<sup>1</sup> P. 137 (R. & B., I, 280) and p. 284 top (R. & B., II, 114).

<sup>2</sup> P. 145 (R. & B., I, 295).

<sup>3</sup> *Zafar Nāma*, I, 661; II, 38, 71.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 755; II, 61.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 71.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 321, 754; II, 34, 175, 491.



waist-band (*kamar-band*) and a sword with *bār-i-ṭilā*.<sup>1</sup>

Occasionally a golden baldric (*ḥamā'il-i-zarrīn*) goes with a sword.<sup>2</sup>

On XIV New Year's Day of Jahāngīr's reign, Prince Shāh Jahān offered to his father an assortment of gems and jewelled articles of singular value and workmanship. It included a jewelled *pardala* and a sword-hilt prepared in the prince's own goldsmiths' establishment. Most of the jewels had been carved before being set, the prince taking special pains with the designs. The value was fixed at 50,000 rupees (*Tūzuk*, 265).

Again, we hear of a baldric or shoulder-belt, on which two lakhs had been spent. With a throne worth five lakhs, this *pardala* was originally intended by Prince Shāh Jahān for a present to Jahāngīr, but was never offered. It fell as booty to the imperialists, who had marched against the rebellious prince (*Tūzuk*, 362; R. & B., II, 262).

On Wednesday, the 2nd *Rabī'* I, 1048 A.H., a jewelled waist-band worth Rs. 5,000 with Rs 40,000 cash was bestowed on Yādgar Beg, the Persian ambassador (*B.N.*, II, 101; *A.S.*, II, 291).

In the month of *Shawwāl*, 1049 A.H., Shāh Jahān

<sup>1</sup> *Zafar Nāma*, I, 585. Darby's translation (*History of Timur-Bec*, I, 401) is quite wide of the mark. For '*bār-i-ṭilā*', which has stumped the translator, see my note on '*band-o-bār*' (last page).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 696.



sent to 'Ādil Khān, King of Bījāpur, a jewelled waist-band worth Rs. 40,000 (*B.N.*, II, 177).

Mīr Z̤arīf Ispahānī "Fidā'ī Khān" was commissioned by Shāh Jahān to buy some Arab horses. He started for Arabia and Turkey in the end of *Jumādā* II, X R. Y. It was proposed that he should take with him a letter of greetings and friendship to the Sultan of Turkey, which might prove useful. After performing the pilgrimage at Mecca he proceeded to Mosul, where he met (1048 A.H.) Murād IV, the Sultan of Turkey, who was on the point of laying siege to Baghdād. Shāh Jahān sent him, besides the letter, a jewelled waist-band packed in a gold casket (*B.N.*, II, 185-86; *A.S.*, II, 320).

On 9th *Zū'l-qa'd*, 1064, Shāh Jahān sent to 'Ādil Khān of Bījāpur a robe of honour and a jewelled waist-band worth 30,000 rupees (*B.N.*, III, f. 92b; *A.S.*, III, 192).

Similarly a jewelled waist-band (*kamar-i-muraṣṣa'* or *kamar-band-i-muraṣṣa'*) is of usual occurrence in Aurangzeb's time (*Al.N.*, 624 and 1051 (twice); *M.A.*, 482).

The fastenings of a *shamshīr* are found in many pictures of the period.

The following are chosen at random from *L.E.A.*:—XXXIV (a) Jahāngīr, XLV (a) Shāh Jahān, L (a) Nobles and officers in Aurangzeb's durbar,



LI (f) Islām Khān, LIII (a) Mīrza Nauzar, (d) Khalīlu'llāh Khān, LIV (b) Fazlu'llāh Khān, LV (a) Bahādur Shāh's noble.

*Kamar-bands* and swords may be seen on pls. XXI and XXVII of Binyon and Arnold's *Court Painters*, where we can also study the way in which the sword was hung. On pl. XXX (*ibid.*) we see Asad Khān wearing a *kamar-band* with a *jamdhar* tucked in.

In Egerton's *Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms* a "kamr" is described as a belt, which is in many cases a leather belt.<sup>1</sup> In one case it is a *kamar-band* of white cotton embroidered with gold.<sup>2</sup>

### *Khānda*

The *Khānda* is a long, straight sword. It was not worn on the body, but was carried sheathed in the hand. It can be easily recognized by a spike on the pommel.

The *khānda* seems to have been an ineffective, or at least an unwieldy, weapon, unsuited to sudden attack. When Akbar was marching against 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbek in Mālwa and was about to join battle, Khāksār Sultān suggested to the emperor that the expedition should be abandoned. The emperor was

<sup>1</sup> P. 83b (No. 143), p. 111a (Nos. 428-31), p. 133 (Nos. 683 and 684), and p. 139a (No. 735).

<sup>2</sup> P. 139a (No. 737).



so enraged that he attacked him with a sword. As it was an Indian *khānda*, says Abū'l-Faḡl, the man was not killed.<sup>1</sup>

The following is interesting as commentary on the terminology used. Jahāngīr states in one place that Lakhmī Chand, Rāja of Kumaun, came and offered, among other things, 'swords which in their language they call *khānda*, and daggers which they call *kaṭār*' (*Tūzūk*, 106-7; R. & B., I, 218).

For pictures the reader is referred to *Ā'in*, I, pl. XII, No. 2, and *L.E.A.*, pl. I, Nos. A. 3, A. 39 and A. 42; pl. II, No. A. 22 (hilt inlaid with gold), and pl. III, No. A. 51. One can see some fine specimens in actual use in the following pictures: *L.E.A.*, pl. XXVIII (b), pl. XLVII (c), pl. LI (a) and (f), and pl. LIV (d).

*Indian Drawings (School of Jahāngīr)*, pl. 9, gives *Shāh Jahān* standing, *khānda* in hand.

### *Dhūp*

This is a straight sword, primarily a Deccan weapon. It differs very slightly, if at all, from the *khānda*, which seems to be the name in use among the hill tribes of Kumaon.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *A.N.*, II, 226; *Tr.*, II, 347. Beveridge says, on the authority of M. 'Abdu'l-Haq 'Ābid, that *khānda* is a short, pointed sword (*Ibid.*, 347, f.n.2). *Khānda*, as the reader knows, is not a short, but a very long sword.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*.



On p. 130 of *B. N.*, II, we read that on 5 *Ramāzān*, 1048, a long sword, which the Emperor uses as a stick, and which is called *dhūp* in the Deccan, was conferred on 'Alī Mardān Khān.

A jewelled *dhūp* was bestowed on Rāja Jaswant Singh in the end of *Zū'l-hijj*, 1050 (*B.N.*, II, 229).

In Aurangzeb's reign a jewelled *dhūp* was once bestowed (1078 A.H.) on Prince Muḥammad A'zam (*M.A.*, 70).

Among less distinguished recipients of this reign are : Shā'ista Khān "Amīru'l-Umarā",<sup>1</sup> Shaikh Nizām of Hyderabad "Muqarrab Khān" (a *dhūp* with a jewelled *pardala*),<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad Amīn Khān (a *dhūp*).<sup>3</sup>

A *dhūp* or 'sword of state' can be seen in *L.E.A.* : pl. XI (a).

### *Bugda*

A *bugda* or *bughdā* is, according to Vullers, 'a cleaver used by cooks or butchers, a large knife.'

On 23 *Rabī' I*, 1049, Shāh Jahān bestowed on Muḥsin and 'Abdu'llāh, sons of Manṣūr Hājī, the envoy of Nazr Muḥammad Khān, robes of honour, *bugdas* of enamelled gold and 5,000 rupees (*B.N.*, II, 153).

<sup>1</sup> *M.A.*, 167. For a fuller account see elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 324.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 454.



*Guptī*

The reader can see some sword-sticks (A. 6 and 7) and a dagger-stick (A. 43) on pl. I of *L.E.A.*; and Exhibit A. 130 is a dagger-crutch, inlaid with silver (Pl. VII (c)).

## SECTION II : SHIELDS

Closely connected with the sword was the shield, the former being the weapon of offence, the latter of defence. Sword and shield were the indispensable equipment of the swordsman. So we can take up the shield before quite finishing with the sword.

In the history of Tīmūr's time shields of Aleppo are mentioned with pride (*Zafar Nāma*, II, 290).

Abū'l-Faḥl mentions two shields, the *sipar* and the *dhāl*, besides two fencing shields, the *khera* and the *pharī*. The prices given are as follows:

|                                 |                     |                               |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Sipar</i>                    | (Pl. XIII, No. 40). | 1 R. to 50 Rs.                |
| <i>Dhāl</i>                     | (Pl. XIII, No. 41). | $\frac{1}{2}$ R. to 4 mohurs. |
| <i>Khera</i>                    | ....                | 1 R. to 4 mohurs.             |
| <i>Pharī</i>                    | (Pl. XIII, No. 42). | 1 R. to 1 mohur.              |
| (Ā'in, I, 122; Blochmann, 118). |                     |                               |

The *pharī* is a small shield made of cane or bamboo according to Shakespear (*Hindustani-English Dictionary*) and of leather according to



Platts (*Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī and English*).

Egerton's note to No. 434 (p. 111) runs as follows : 'Shields are generally made of steel, sambur-skin, buffalo, nylghau, elephant, and rhinoceros hide, which is most prized. The latter is sometimes painted, figured with silver leaf, and varnished, with bosses lightly ornamented with gold.....

.....The raw rhinoceros hides are ornamented with silver or gilt bosses, crescents, and stars.'

Occasionally we have a shield of papier mâché lacquered and gilt (No. 438 from Karauli, and No. 448 from Bikanir).

'The defensive Arms of the *Indians*,' says De Thevenot, 'are a round Buckler about two foot in diameter : It is made of Buff. varnished over with Black, and hath a great many Nails, the heads whereof are above an inch over ; with it they defend themselves against Arrows and Swords' (Pt. III, p. 44). Linschoten tells us of shields of tortoise-shell, 'wrought and inlaide very workemanlike' made by the people of Cambay (I, 61).

In his account of the siege of Chitor, Abū'l-Fazl mentions trenchers and other workmen protecting themselves by shields of raw hides.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.N., II, 316 ; Tr., II, 467.



A shield is not a common present in the earlier reigns. It accompanies a sword on rare occasions. For an instance see *Tūzuk*, 280 ; R. & B., II, 107.

On Solar Weighment Day, V R. Y., the presents from Qāsim Khān, Governor of Bengal, were placed before Shāh Jahān. They consisted of 33 elephants, 27 *gunt* horses, many shields of Bengal manufacture, 40 maunds of aloes-wood and other things : total value, over two lakhs of rupees <sup>1</sup>

In Shāh Jahān's time we hear frequently of a shield with gold enamelled fittings. One was bestowed, for instance, on Subhāg Parkāsh, the Jāgīrdār of Sarmūr (*B.N.*, III, f. 103*b*).

Aurangzeb's historians have jewelled shields,<sup>2</sup> shields with gold<sup>3</sup> or enamelled<sup>4</sup> or jewelled<sup>5</sup> fittings, or, again, shields with either gold<sup>6</sup> or jewelled<sup>7</sup> rosettes or bosses.

Tavernier describes, in the following passage, a beautiful shield which he presented to Aurangzeb on 12th September, 1665 :

'A shield of bronze in high relief thoroughly well gilt, the gilding alone costing 300 ducats of gold, which

<sup>1</sup> *B.N.*, I, i, 409.

<sup>2</sup> *M.A.*, 136, 296.

<sup>3</sup> *Al. N.*, 567, 881, 1063.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 566, 603, 877.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 624, 855, 915, 1063 ; *M.A.*, 255.

<sup>6</sup> *M.A.*, 158.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 81, 130, 159, 171, 209



amount to 1,800 livres [£135], and the whole piece to 4,378 livres [£328. 7s.]. In the middle was represented the history of Curtius, who threw himself, on horseback and fully armed, into the gulf which opened in Rome, whence a mephitic vapour emanated. On the circuit of the shield was a clever representation of the siege of Rochelle. It was the *chef d'oeuvre* of one of the most excellent workmen in France, and it had been ordered by M. le Cardinal Richelieu. All the great nobles who were then with the Emperor Aurangzeb were charmed with the beauty of this work of art, and they told him that he should place this rich piece on the grand elephant which carried the standard before His Majesty on the march' (I, 114).

Manucci gives names of four of the Emperor's famous shields, which, we must say, are fully descriptive and appropriate:

*Āftāb-i-Ālam.*—Sun of the world.

*Mahtāb-i-Ālam.*—Moon of the world.

*Sāya-i-Ālam.*—Shadow of the world.

*Roshanī-i-Ālam.*—Light of the world.

(*Storia*, II, 359).

Without telling us of what substance these shields are made, the author goes on to say that 'there are many others made of rhinoceros hide, which will resist a musket-ball. There is a different kind, made of buffalo hide, which an arrow cannot



penetrate, and it is some of these that are presented to officers' (*Ibid* , 359-60).

In Egerton, *Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms*, the reader will find illustrated sections of (1) a *ḍhāl* of Damascus steel, richly damascened in gold, ornamented with bosses and an Arabic inscription inlaid in gold (No. 696 : Fig 7 on p 49) and (2) another *ḍhāl* of bluish steel, chiselled in low relief and damascened with gold, richly ornamented, bosses encrusted with diamonds (No. 697 : Fig 6 on p. 48).

*The Loan Exhibition of Antiquities* has a few interesting shields of steel, one decorated with floral designs in bas relief (Pl. IV, No. A. 83), another decorated with hunting scenes, also in bas-relief (*Ibid.*, No. A. 113), and a third 'overlaid with rich decoration in brass, representing warriors, mythological heroes, and hunting scenes' (Pl. X, No. A. 213). The periods are not indicated.



## CHAPTER II

### DAGGERS AND PONIARDS

The list in *Ā'in* includes :— (1) *Jamdhar*, (2) *Khanjar*, (3) *Khapwa*, (4) *Jamkhāk*, (5) *Bānk*, (6) *Janbwa*, (7) *Kaṭāra*, (8) *Narsink-moth*. We take these in order.

#### (1) *Jamdhar*

As illustrated in *Ā'in* (Pl. XII, No. 4), the *jamdhar* has a beautiful handle and a broad straight blade.

The price of an ordinary *jamdhar* in the *Ā'in* is from  $\frac{1}{4}$  rupee to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  mohurs (*Ā'in*, I, 119; Blochmann, 117).

Bābur tells us how on the 'Īd festival, 932 A.H., he gave away to nobles and officers jewelled *khanjars*, jewelled *kaṭāras*, and jewelled *jamdhars* (*Tūzuk-i-Bāburī*, 208; *Memoirs of Bābur*, II, 252).

#### *Humāyūn and Akbar*

In Humāyūn's time we hear of jewelled *jamdhars* and *khapwas* (*Humāyūn-Nāma*, 33).

Gift of arms was not nearly so frequent in Akbar's time, as in later reigns. Still we hear that



Akbar presented 'Ābidī Khwāja with a *jamdhar* (18 *Mihr*, L R.Y.) (*A.N.*, text, III, 839).

### Shāh Jahān

Shāh Jahān's historians speak of *jamdhars* with ornamentation and fittings of various kinds.

A *jamdhar*, which was sometimes of gold,<sup>1</sup> was either enamelled<sup>2</sup> or jewelled.<sup>3</sup> In either case it was usually accompanied by a *phūl-kaṭāra* which was either plain<sup>3</sup> or jewelled.<sup>4</sup>

The following deserves individual mention. A *jamdhar* set with valuable diamonds and *yāqūts*, with *phūl-kaṭāra* and a waist-band begemmed with costly diamonds, was presented to Dārā Shukoh (*B.N.*, III, 41b).

### Aurangzeb

In Aurangzeb's time, likewise, we have plain,<sup>5</sup> jewelled,<sup>6</sup> and enamelled<sup>7</sup> *jamdhars*, sometimes with *phūl-kaṭāra*,<sup>8</sup> more often with a string of pearls,<sup>9</sup> occasionally with both.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *B.N.*, III, 11b.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 11b, 43a, 75a and 91a.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 89a, and 103b.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 75a, 91a.

<sup>5</sup> *Al.N.*, 1047 ; *M.A.*, 518.

<sup>6</sup> *Al.N.*, 124, 157, 242, 481 ; *M.A.*, 73, 104.

<sup>7</sup> *Al.N.*, 157, 1037 ; *M.A.*, 88.

<sup>8</sup> *M.A.*, 73.

<sup>9</sup> *Al.N.*, 124, 157, 195, 242, 405, 481.

<sup>10</sup> *M.A.*, 130.



Raghunāth Singh Sisodia received (*Muharram*, 1080) a *jamdhar* worth Rs. 1,000 (M.A., 85).

## (2) *Khanjar*

The *khanjar* has a doubly-curved blade and a hilt like a sword. 'The *khanjar*.' says a note by the translator of *Siyaru'l-Muta'akh-khirin*, 'is a poniard, with a bent blade, peculiar to the Turks, who carry it upright and on the right side; but it is occasionally worn by both Persians and Indians, the latter wearing it on the left side and inclined' (*Seir Mutaqherin* (1195 H.), translated by Notamanus (Haji Mustapha), I, 152, note 114).

For illustrations of a *khanjar* see *Ā'in*, pl. XII, No. 5, also Egerton, *Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms*, pl. VI, Nos. 5 and 7.

Abū'l-Fazl gives the price of a *khanjar* as from  $\frac{1}{2}$  rupee to 5 rupees (*Ā'in*, I, 119; Blochmann, 117).

Here is de Thevenot's description of the *Mughul* Indian dagger and the way it was worn:

'It is their custom also to carry a Dagger by their sides, the Blade being near a Foot long, and above four Fingers broad at the Handle. They have an odd kind of Guard, and I don't remember that I have ever seen any thing in *France* relating to Arms that looks liker it than the handle of some Moulds for casting of Bullets, or Small-shot; it is



made of two square Bars of Iron one Finger broad, and about a Foot long, which are paralell, and four Inches distant one from another; growing round they joyn together at the upper part of the Blade, and have cross Bars of two little Iron-Rods two Inches distant from one another

The Indians never want one of these Daggers by their side, betwixt the Girdle and *Caba*; they carry it always bending a little sideways, so that the end of the Guard comes pretty high, and the Point pretty low upon their Stomach. The Officers of War have also Daggers with an Iron-Guard, but it is damasked and guilt; and Persons of great quality have of them after the Persian fashion, which are less and richer' (*Travels*, Part III, p. 43).

A mention of jewelled *khanjars* in *Memoirs of Bābur* has already been referred to under *jamdhars*.<sup>1</sup>

Badī'ū'z-Zamān Mīrzā entertained Bābur (912 A.H.) in Bāgh-i-Jahānārā at Herat and presented him with a jewelled *khanjar*, a *chārqa* and a *tupchāq* horse (*Tūzuk-i-Bāburī*, 121; *Bābur's Memoirs*, II, 14).

The following list of presents is interesting: 'As a demonstration of joy on the birth of Humāiūn's son, and on Kāmran's marriage,' says Bābur, 'I sent Mirza Tabrizī and Mirza Beg Taghāi to these princes, with ten thousand *shahrukhis* each

<sup>1</sup> P. 41.



as marriage presents. They also carried [for each] a robe and a girdle, both of which I had myself worn. By the hands of Mulla Behishti, I sent to Hindāl an enamelled dagger and belt;<sup>1</sup> an inkstand, set with jewels; a stool [*ṣandalī*, a seat], inlaid with mother of pearl; a short gown [*? nīmcha*], from my own wardrobe, and a girdle' (*Tūzuk-i-Bāburī*, 232; *Memoirs of Bābur*, II, 368).

A jewelled waist-*khanjar* was given away to Ḥasan 'Alī (10 *Zū'l-ḥijj*, 935 A.H.) (*Tūzuk-i-Bāburī*, 246; *Memoirs of Bābur*, II, 419).

During his wanderings, Humāyūn, when he was at Umarkot, bestowed *kamar-khanjars* and robes of honour on the Rānā of that place (who had welcomed and helped the fugitive emperor) and his sons.<sup>2</sup>

In *Ṣafar*, 992 A.H., Akbar bestowed on Mīrzā Khān, one of the Gujarat nobles, the title "*Khān Khānān*", a horse, a robe of honour, a jewelled waist-*khanjar*, a *tūmān togh* and the rank of 5,000—the highest open to any but the princes.<sup>3</sup>

Jahāngīr bestowed a jewelled *khanjar* worth Rs. 6,000 on Quṭbu'd-Dīn Khān (I R. Y.) (*Tūzuk*, 36; R. & B., I, 77).

<sup>1</sup> The Persian text has *kamar-khanjar-i-muraṣṣa'*, and Pavet de Courteille translates 'un poignard avec son ceinturon incrusté de pierreries' (II, 383). I would translate 'a jewelled waist-*khanjar*'. See my note on *kamar-ṣhamshīr* (p. 6, f. n. 4).

<sup>2</sup> *Humāyūn-Nāma*, 58. Mrs. Beveridge translates *kamar-khanjar* 'sword-belts' [p. 157].

<sup>3</sup> *Budāyūnī*, II, 336.



Among miscellaneous or passing mentions of jewelled *khanjars* we may cite : one jewelled *khanjar* (*Tūzuk*, 37 ; R. & B., I, 79) and two jewelled *khanjars* (*Tūzuk* ; 139, R. & B., I, 283).

Jahāngīr bestowed on Rānā Karan a jewelled *khanjar* which had been finished at a cost of Rs 2,000 (X R. Y.) (*Tūzuk*, 144 ; R & B., I. 293).

Early in XI R. Y., Mir Jamālu'd-Dīn Husain offered, among other things, a jewelled *khanjar* made under his own supervision. On its hilt was set a yellow *yāqūt*<sup>1</sup>, extremely clear and fine, the size of half a hen's egg. Jahāngīr had not seen such a fine and big yellow ruby before. The hilt was set, besides, with other *yāqūts* of European taste (or cut) and old emeralds of special cut and shape. The experts appraised the dagger at 50,000 rupees.<sup>2</sup>

Jewelled daggers, as we have seen, are of common occurrence. Occasionally we have a *khanjar* which is *zar-nishān*. One such was bestowed on 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm "*Khān Khānān*", Jahāngīr's tutor and guardian, and Commander-in-Chief<sup>3</sup>. So it was a mark of special favour.

<sup>1</sup> R. & B. translate it ' a yellow ruby ' (I, 318), and then correct it to ' a topaz ' in a footnote. My reasons for keeping the Persian word (here and elsewhere) and not adopting an English equivalent are set forth in *The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughuls* (pp. 316-20), where the *Yāqūt* is discussed.

<sup>2</sup> *Tūzuk*, 155-56 ; corrected with P. U. L. MS., f. 165a. My own translation.

<sup>3</sup> *Tūzuk*, 203 ; R. & B., I, 410.



The long and interesting story of how "Khān-i-Ālam" presented to Jahāngīr a dagger with the handle of spotted (or veined) walrus tooth, which Shāh 'Abbās, King of Persia, had bestowed on the former, how delighted Jahāngīr was with it, how he sent out men to Īrān and Tūrān in search of piebald walrus tooth, how Prince Shāh Jahān came, by pure chance, upon 'a coloured tooth of great beauty and delicacy', and presented it to Jahāngīr, who was fascinated and had two magnificent dagger-hilts and a thumb-stall made out of it by skilful workmen, who were richly rewarded; how Khwāja Hasan of Transoxiana sent to Jahāngīr a perfect and very delicate tooth, in return for which the latter sent him 30,000 rupees in goods; and finally how Jahāngīr presented to Sultān Parwīz a *tupchāq* horse, a waist-dagger with a black-and-white *jauhardār* handle [of walrus tooth], a *khāṣṣa* sword and a *khāṣṣa* shield—all this has been narrated at full length in my *Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughuls* (pp. 446-51) under Walrus ivory or the "Fish-teeth". It will take up too much space to repeat the whole narrative here, although it is strictly relevant; and any attempt at summarizing it would rob it of its charm. Those who are interested can read the whole account in its entirety in the place indicated.



A mace studded all over with diamonds worth one lakh of rupees, and a 'fine and rare jewelled *kamar khanjar*' were sent along with a letter of friendship to Shāh 'abbās of Persia through Āqā Muḥammad, the Persian ambassador, who took leave of Jahāngīr late in *Jumādā* II, 1035 A.H. (*Tūzuk*, 401 bottom).

In Shāh Jahān's reign we find jewelled<sup>1</sup> *khanjars* with<sup>2</sup> or without *phūl-kaṭāra*; and occasionally a gold *khanjar*.<sup>3</sup>

Waqqāṣ Hājī, ambassador of Nazr Muḥammad Khān of Balkh, was honoured (last day of *Zū'l-ḥijj*, 1041) with a jewelled *khanjar* valued at Rs. 4,000 (*B.N.*, I, i, 431).

Yādgār Beg, the Persian ambassador, who had tendered some presents, was honoured, on 'Īd-i azḥā day 1047, with a jewelled *khanjar* worth Rs. 4,000 (*B.N.*, II, 95).

Shāh Jahān sent (*Shawwāl*, 1064) to Muḥammad IV, Sultan of Turkey a *khanjar* set with diamonds and *yāqūts* with jewelled rosettes and a string of pearls and emeralds, which had been prepared in the royal manufactory at a cost of one lakh, along with a waist-band begemmed with diamonds and *yāqūts* (price, Rs 40,000) (*B.N.*, III, 91a; *A.S.*, III, 191).

<sup>1</sup> *B.N.*, II, 126; *B.N.*, III, 11b & 101b.

<sup>2</sup> *B.N.*, II, 126; *B.N.*, III, 11b.

<sup>3</sup> *B.N.*, III, 41a.



Dārā Shukoh sent (1644 A.C.) to the E. I. Company President, as present, 'a jewel of dyamonds and rubies, vallued at 1,000 rupees' (*E.F.I.* 1642—1645, p. 215).

We are told in *Dagh-Register*, 1644.45 (p. 244) that Shāh Jahān sent to President Breton a dagger with a gold hilt, set with diamonds, rubies and emeralds, and also a medal of the same, set with diamonds, the former being valued at 2,000, and the latter at 1,500, rupees (*E. F. I.* 1642—1645, p. 230, f. n. 1). The editor surmises that this medal was the 'jewel' presented by Dārā Shukoh (noticed above).

Again on January 30, 1651, Richard Davidge received from Prince Dārā Shukoh a dagger for the President and a robe of honour for himself. The dagger, says the report, is of very neat workmanship, the handle of crystal garnished with gold, studded with rubies (one a very fair one), and the sheath set with gold also studded with rubies. It is, in our judgement, continues the report, not much inferior in value to that given by the King, although there are no diamonds on it (referring presumably to the dagger we have noticed in the last paragraph) (*E. F. I.* 1651—1654, pp. 49-50).

### *Aurangzeb*

Jewelled *khanjars* are common in this reign ;<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Al. N.*, 45, 976, 1047, 1064 ; *M.A.*, 236.



enamelled ones also occur.<sup>1</sup> Those with pearl strings are often heard of<sup>2</sup>, occasionally along with a *phūl-kaṭāra*<sup>3</sup>. A *khanjar* with a gold handle is sometimes mentioned;<sup>4</sup> or else it is a *khanjar* with gold fittings.<sup>5</sup> Occasionally we hear of a *khanjar* with a hilt of jasper,<sup>6</sup> sometimes with a *phūl-kaṭāra*,<sup>7</sup> sometimes with a string of pearls.<sup>8</sup>

The following presentations, some of which have already been briefly referred to, deserve individual mention.

Here is an interesting list of presents: On the 'Īd-i-azhā day, 1071 A.H., Būdāq Beg, the Persian ambassador, was given permission to return. As parting presents he received one lakh in cash, a robe of honour, an enamelled *khanjar* with a pearl string, a horse with gold saddle and bridle, an elephant with gold saddle, silver trappings and covering of gold cloth, a walrus, and a *pālkī* with gold appurtenances (*Al. N.*, 628).

Aurangzeb once bestowed on Bakhtāwar Khān a *khanjar* with a crystal handle and fittings of enamelled gold (*M.A.*, 98). Similarly, in 1097 A.H., Sharīfu'l-Mulk came in for a *khanjar* with a crystal handle (*Ibid.*, 271).

<sup>1</sup> *Al. N.*, 628; *M.A.*, 397.

<sup>3</sup> *M.A.*, 271-72.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 250.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 260-61.

<sup>2</sup> *Al. N.*, 45, 242, 628, 976, 1047.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 158, 272.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 70, 167, 168, 331.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.



A *khanjar* with jewelled jasper handle and enamelled fastenings, fitted with a string, formed part of presents bestowed on Shā'ista Khān, governor of Bengal (1088 A.H.) (*Ibid.*, 167).<sup>1</sup>

Aurangzeb bestowed a jewelled *khanjar* with *phūl-kaṭāra* and a string of pearls worth Rs. 7,000 on Ibrāhīm Khān, governor of Kashmīr (*Ibid.*, 236).

Aurangzeb bestowed on Bahādur Fīroz Jang a *khanjar* with a hilt of *sher māhī*<sup>2</sup>, which he took off from his own waist (*Ibid.*, 262).

Sikandar, now made "Sikandar Khān", received a jewelled *khanjar* fitted with a string of pearls and a *phūl-kaṭāra*, worth 7,000 rupees (*Ibid.*, 280).

On Prince Bedār Bakht was bestowed a *khanjar* with a hilt of fish-bone, fitted with a string of pearls, price 10,000 rupees (*Ibid.*, 365).

'A dagger in the British Museum' (Fig. 13, No. 1 on p. 67), says Egerton, 'which belonged to Mr. Henderson is inlaid with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds' (*Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms*, p. 66). 'The handle and sheath mounts of daggers are frequently of white or green jade inlaid with precious stones (Fig. 13, No. 1). The pommel of the hilt is frequently either pistol-shaped, terminating in a horse's head, or is carved with the

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account see below: Part III, under 'Arms and Ornaments (Mixed).'

<sup>2</sup> Does it mean a hilt decorated with the figures of a lion and a fish?



lotus flower. Jasper, walrus horn,<sup>1</sup> ivory, both white and stained green, richly carved in Burmah, mother-of-pearl and horn are also used as hilts. Nos. 2 and 3 of Fig. 13, represent two carved ivory hilts from the Hamilton and Henderson collections' (*Ibid.*, pp. 66-67).

### (3) *Khapwa*

No figure in the well-known texts of the *Ā'in*. In the illustrations from an old *Ā'in* MS. given by Egerton (Pl. I) we have a *khapwa* on No. 28. But nearly all the illustrations here differ so widely from those in the authentic editions of *Ā'in* that we hesitate to accept this figure of the *khapwa* as correct.

The price of a *khapwa*, according to Abū'l-Fazl, ranged normally from  $\frac{1}{2}$  rupee to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mohur (*Ā'in*, I, 119; Blochmann, 117).

Among the offerings of Mahābat Khān placed before Jahāngīr at Chashma-i-nūr (early in X R.Y.) was 'a jewelled *khapwa* (dagger), which at his request the royal artificers had made, and the like of which in value there did not exist in my private treasury,' says Jahāngīr. It 'was worth 100,000 rupees' (*Tūzuk*, 139; R. & B., I, 284).

In Shāh Jahān's reign we commonly meet with jewelled *khapwa* with or without *phul-kaṭāra*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Walrus tooth is probably meant.

<sup>2</sup> B.N. and A.S., *passim*.



(4 and 8) *Jamkhāk* and *Narsingh-moth*

These need no elaborate mention.

(5) *Bānk*

Illustration : *Ā'in*, Pl. XII, No. 7. This is somewhat similar to No. 6 on Pl. VI and No. 335 on Pl. IX of Egerton. Its price varied from  $\frac{1}{2}$  rupee to 1 mohur.

(6) *Janbwa*

Illustration : *Ā'in*, Pl. XII, No. 8. There it has a recurved blade and has a very simple handle.

Abū'l-Faḍl states the usual price of a *janbwa* as varying between  $\frac{1}{2}$  rupee and 1 mohur (*Ā'in*, I, 119; Blochmann, 117).

These occur in all reigns. We content ourselves with giving only one reference—of a valuable *janbwa* of *Shāh Jahān*'s reign.

On the *Shab-i-barāt* day, 1060, Prince *Dārā Shukoh* received a jewelled *janbwa* worth 80,000 rupees (*B.N.*, III, f. 45a; *A.S.*, III, 113).

(7) *Kaṭāra*

The *kaṭār* or *kaṭāra* is a beautiful weapon with handle similar to that of a *jamdhar*, but the blade is much narrower and longer, and is curved.

Irvine quotes the following from the translator



of the *Siyar* : ' A poignard peculiar to India made with a hilt, whose two branches extend along the arm, so as to shelter the hand and part of the arm. The blade is very thick with two cutting edges, having a breadth of three inches at the hilt and a solid point of about one inch in breadth. The blade cannot be bent and is so stiff that nothing will stop it but a cuirass. The total length is 2 to 2½ feet, one half of this being the blade ' ; and adds that ' the hilt has at right angles to the blade a cross-bar by which the weapon is grasped, and it is thus only available for a forward thrust ' (*Army*, 85). Irvine rightly remarks that Mustapha's description corresponds more nearly to the *jamdhar*.

The *kaṭār* may be seen on No. 9, Pl. XII of *Ā'in*. Besides, the reader will find several varieties illustrated in Egerton (Pl. X, Nos. 383<sup>1</sup> (Alwar), 388 (Lucknow), 507 T<sup>1</sup> (?), and 508<sup>1</sup> (Gwalior) ; Pl. XIII, 634<sup>1</sup> (?), and 637<sup>1</sup> (Patiala).

No. 383 of the India Museum (Egerton, Pl. X) is of more than usual interest. It has two *kaṭārs* 'one concealed within the other. The larger blade is hollow and acts as a sheath to the smaller one, the side-guards of which are hollow, and conceal those of the outer *Kaṭār*. The side-guards are covered with inscriptions raised and gilt. The sheath is

<sup>1</sup> These five, however, may be *jamdhars* quite as well.



ornamented with gilt leather, cut in delicate geometrical patterns over a background of coloured tinsel. Gold mounts<sup>1</sup>. It is from Alwar. Another *kaṭār* equally interesting is No. 637 on Pl. XIII. This one has five blades, 'which spring open on pressing together the bars of the hilt. Hilt and side-guards damascened with gold. Crimson velvet sheath with gold mounts'.<sup>2</sup> It comes from Patiala.

*Ā'in* places the price of a *kaṭāra* between  $\frac{1}{2}$  rupee and 1 mohur (*Ā'in*, I, 119; Blochmann, 117).

A reference to jewelled *kaṭāras* mentioned by Bābur has already been made under *jamdhars* above.<sup>3</sup>

*Kaṭāras* seem to have been in common use in Kumaon (*Tūzuk*, 106; R. & B., I, 218).

Fryer, speaking of the inhabitants of Surat, says that 'they go rich in Attire, with a Poniard, or *Catarre*, at their Girdle; as they are Neat in Apparel, they are Grave in their Carriage' (I, 235).

With the exception of the *Kaṭāra*, the pictures have not so far been dealt with. We have reserved them for a general treatment, as all kinds of daggers can be more conveniently taken up together. To this task we now address ourselves.

We have fine daggers and knives of various kinds in the *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities*. Such

<sup>1</sup> Egerton, 109a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 131b.

<sup>3</sup> P. 41.



of them as are relevant to our inquiry are selected below for the reader's notice.

A few *jamdhars* may be presented first. Pl. I, No. A. 5 has the 'blade chiselled in low relief, with representation of fighting elephants'. Pl. IV, No. A. 106 'has a bas-relief on the blade, representing a man riding an elephant and attacked by a tiger'. Pl. VI, No. A. 155 is set with rubies, while Nos. A. 152, 153, 154, 156 and 157 are all enamelled. 'Their sheaths are of velvet or flowered cloth, with enamelled mountings'. Pl. VIII, Nos. A. 158, 159 and 160 have enamelled hafts, and No. A. 160a has a 'carved jade haft, set with rubies, and sheath of silver, with floral design in relief.'

Pl. VI (c) presents an excellent assortment of daggers and knives with fancy hafts and decoration in inlay and relief. Similarly Pl. XI (a) has a dagger (or rather knife) with crystal hilt.

On Pl. 75 of Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi*, 1903, we see illustrated some daggers with jade or rock crystal handles, some of them richly, and all of them tastefully, jewelled. No. 1 is priced at Rs. 100,000.<sup>1</sup>

### (9) *Kārd*

To these we may add the *Kārd*. It is illustrated in *Ā'in*: Pl. XII, No. 28. It was primarily an

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.



Afghan weapon, and resembled in shape a butcher's knife. The price ran from 2 *dāms* to 1 mohur.<sup>1</sup>

*Guptī kārđ* (Illustration: Pl. XIII, No. 29) was a knife concealed in a stick. Price: from 3 rupees to 1½ mohurs.<sup>1</sup>

*Qamchī kārđ* (Illustration: Pl. XII, No. 30) was a whip fitted with a handle serving also as a sheath for a knife; and ran from 1 to 3½ rupees.<sup>1</sup>

A *bugda kārđ*<sup>2</sup> is also heard of. Naẓr Muḥammad's envoy came from Tūrān and received from Shāh Jahān (22 *Zū'l-qa'd*, 1044) a robe of honour, a *bugda kārđ*<sup>3</sup> in a jewelled sheath, an *ashrafī* weighing 400 *tolas* known as *kaukab-i-ṭālī*, and a rupee of the same weight (*B.N.*, I, ii, 89).

*Bugda* and *bugda kārđ* are apparently Central Asian weapons, and we see that they are presented to men from Transoxiana.

Shāh Jahān sent (14 *Zū'l-qa'd*, 1065) a *kārđ-khanjar* with a *phūl-kaṭāra* set with diamonds to 'Ādil Khān, King of Bījāpur, by the hands of Nūru'd-Dīn Qulī (*B.N.*, III, f. 102a).

<sup>1</sup> *Ā'in*, I, 121; Blochmann, 117.

<sup>2</sup> For *bugda* see p. 35 above.

<sup>3</sup> The B.I. text of *B.N.* has *کارد یکده* which puzzled me not a little. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (*A.S.*, II, 100) and Burhānu'd-Dīn Khān's adaptation of *B.N.* (my MS., f. 846a) are apparently stumped by the word *یکده* which they omit altogether. My guess that the words are *کارد یکده* is supported by two MSS. of *Mulakhkhaṣ* in my possession and a *B.N.* MS. at P.U.L.; and I am convinced that this is the correct reading.



In *Muḥarram*, 1078, Aurangzeb bestowed an Uzbek *kārd* with jewelled fittings on Rustam Bey, the ambassador from Bukhārā, and on Khushī Beg, the ambassador from Balkh (*Al. N.*, 1051).

A formal gift of a *kārd* to the head cook as badge of his office seems to be the usual practice (*M. A.*, 102).



## CHAPTER III

### SPEARS AND LANCES

Five kinds of these are named in *Ā'in*, but we will mention only two: the *neza* and the *barchha*. Despite the fact that Steingass describes the *neza* as 'a short spear, demi-lance', and the fact that the illustrations in *Ā'in* (Blochmann, Pl. XII, Nos. 16 and 17) seem to make the *neza* and the *barchha* of the same size, I am inclined to agree with Irvine that the *neza* is 'the cavalry lance, a small steel head with a long bambu shaft' (*Army*, 82), and that the *barchha* is a short heavy spear 'no doubt confined to the infantry' (p. 83). In addition to the evidence and arguments adduced by him, we learn from *Tūzuk* (Text, 372; R. & B., II, 280) that *barchha* is the Indian name for a lance with a short handle.

In the passage already quoted<sup>1</sup> from *Zafar Nāma* we find that Arab lances were prized by warriors.

In another place (*Zafar Nāma*, II, 481) we hear that Timūr distributed arms including *sināns* among the Muslims of Azmīr.

The price of a *neza*, according to the *Ā'in*, was 1½ rupees to 6 mohurs; while that of a *barchha* lay

<sup>1</sup>P. 6 above.



between  $\frac{3}{4}$  rupee and 2 mohurs (*Ā'in*, I, 120; Blochmann, 117).

The reader will find a goodly assortment of spearson Pl. II (b) and Pl. III (Nos. A. 57-61) of *L.E.A.* All these have wooden or bamboo shafts, and heads of various shapes. Pl. V (d) gives a few spearheads, of steel, with decoration in bas-relief.



## CHAPTER IV

### BOWS AND ARROWS

As we have already seen, bows of Damascus seem to have been famous in Tīmūr's time.<sup>1</sup>

In *Zafar Nāma* we find Tīmūr presenting quivers with gold quiver-belts<sup>2</sup>.

Claviyo tells us that Tīmūr peopled his capital, Samarqand, with master-craftsmen of all nations. 'Thus from Damascus he carried away with him all the weavers of that city, those who worked at the silk looms. Further the bow-makers who produce those cross-bows which are so famous: likewise armourers: also the craftsmen in glass and porcelain, who are known to be the best in all the world. From Turkey he had brought their gun-smiths who make the arquebus, and all men of other crafts wheresoever he found them, such as the silver-smiths and the masons. These all were in very great numbers, indeed so many had been brought together of craftsmen of all sorts that of every denomination and kind you might find many master-workmen established in the capital. Again he had gathered to settle here in Samarqand artillery men, both

<sup>1</sup> P. 6 above.

<sup>2</sup> I, 518; II, 174 and 491.



engineers and bombardiers, besides those who make the ropes by which these engines work. Lastly hemp and flax had been sown and grown for the purpose in the Samarqand lands, where never before this crop had been cultivated'.<sup>1</sup>

The price of an ordinary bow in Akbar's time ran from  $\frac{1}{4}$  rupee to 3 mohurs. That of arrows was  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 30 rupees per bundle, while the value of a *tarkash* ranged from  $\frac{1}{4}$  rupee to 2 mohurs (*Ā'in*, I, 120; Blochmann, 117).

Abū'l-Fazl speaks of cross-bowmen in Hemu's army at Panipat as follows: 'Musketeers and cross-bowmen were placed on the mountain-backs of those enormous elephants, which were furnished with suits of mail (*kajīm*) and defensive armour, and made ready for war.'<sup>2</sup>

An arrow had, it appears, a symbolic significance. Abū'l-Fazl, writing under XIX R. Y., tells us that Husain Khān, during an attack of atrabiliousness, abjured all worldly wealth and became a *qalandar*, i.e., a mendicant. The emperor applied the remedy of kindness, and bestowed on him an arrow from a *khāṣṣa* quiver, so that he might, with its help, regain his *jāgīr*, which he held from the *khālīṣa-i-sharīfa* (crown-lands or king's demesne) and set about

<sup>1</sup> *Embassy to Tamerlane*, 287-88.

<sup>2</sup> *A.N.*, II, 36; *Tr.*, II, 60.



recruiting soldiers.<sup>1</sup> Beveridge adds in a note : 'Evidently the arrow was given as a symbol of authority and as an evidence of the order in his favour.'<sup>2</sup>

The following occurs in a letter from William Edwards to the E. I. Company, dated Ajmer, 26th February, 1614 [1615] : 'Two or three cross-bows well set forth, but not with pearl (for those works are common here), would be a good present for the Mogul, for he useth much hunting with a piece for want of a cross-bow, and here they cannot give a temper fitting for such a use' (*Letters*, III, 19).

The Persian ambassador presented a 'fayre quiver for bow and arrowes, delicately embrothered' (Oct. 21, 1616) (Roe, 262).

Similarly, Roe asks for presentation to the Emperor (1618) 'an imbrodered bowe, quiver, and arrowes : patternes from hence' (p. 459).

Quivers with jewelled fastenings are met with in *B.N.*, III ; e.g., on f. 18a.

A bow and arrows is a pretty frequent gift in Aurangzeb's reign. A quiver with enamelled fittings was presented to Muṣṭafá Khān,<sup>3</sup> and one with jewelled fittings was bestowed (with many other things) on Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam, as already

<sup>1</sup> *A.N.*, III, 110 ; *Tr.*, III, 154. I have considerably amended Beveridge's translation.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154, f.n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Al. N.*, 864, top.



recorded. I'tiqād Khān received a jewelled quiver and a bow,<sup>1</sup> and Prince Bedār Bakht a jewelled bow and quiver.<sup>2</sup> Plain bow and quiver, with or without the bow case, is, as we have said, a common gift.<sup>3</sup>

On Pl. I (c) of *L. E. A.*, Nos. A. 13 and 14 are bows of lacquered wood, which 'bear the motto "May the result be fortunate," i.e., "May the arrow find its mark." They have still their old strings (*zih* or *chillah*), of gut, whipped round with strands of silk.' The reader will see an assortment of arrows in the same place. Again, No. A. 44 (*Ibid.*) includes a quiver (*tarkash*) of scarlet cloth embroidered with gold thread, arrows, and an armguard.

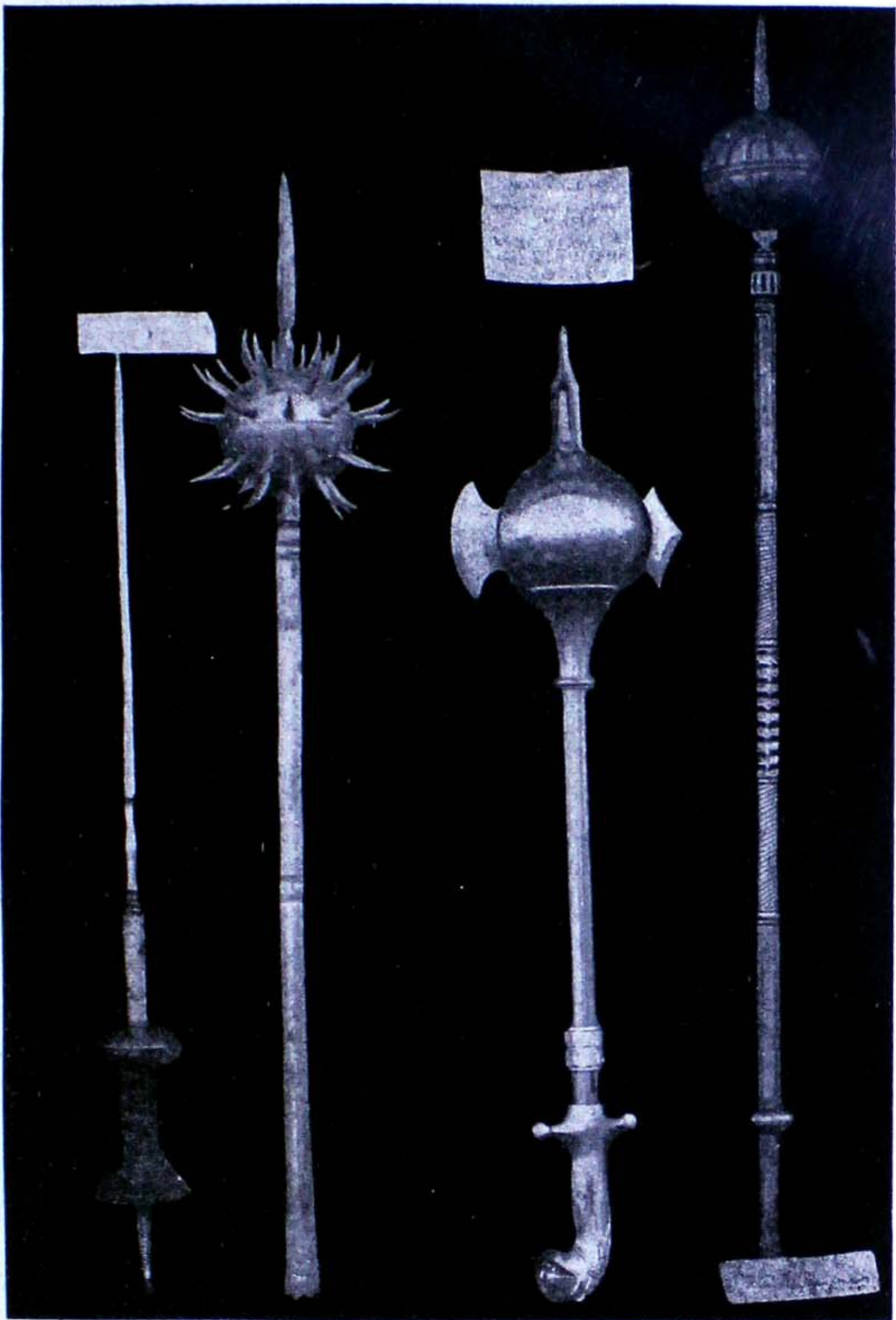
<sup>1</sup> *M.A.*, 332.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 335.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 153, 159, 241, 242, 255 and 423.



Reproduced from *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities*, pl. XI (b)  
by permission of Government of India (Archaeological  
Survey of India Department)



Three War Maces (*Gurz*) from Jaipur and Nabha. The dagger at the extreme left can be concealed in the handle of the mace next to it.







## CHAPTER V

### MACES OR WAR-CLUBS

In Tīmūr's time we have mace-bearers riding on horses with gold saddles (*Zafar Nūma*, II, 3).

Abū'l-Faẓl states the price of a *gurz* as from ¼ rupee to 5 rupees (*Ā'in*, I, 120; Blochmann, 117).

On the occasion of the *Nauroz* festival, which fell in *Rabī'* I, 1060, *Shāh* Jahān bestowed on Hājī Beg, 'Āshiq Beg, Yār Husain Beg, and Isfandyār, mace-bearers, one gold mace each (*B.N.*, III, 42*a*).

Tavernier presented Emperor Aurangzeb with 'a battle mace of rock crystal, all the sides of which were covered with rubies and emeralds inlaid in gold in the crystal. This piece cost 3,119 livres [or £233 18s. 6d.]' (Tavernier, I, 114).

#### *Shash-par*

This is an iron mace with a head of hexagonal shape. All Persian dictionaries read the word as given here, and none, as far as I know, reads it *shush-bur*, which is suggested by Blochmann (p. xxiii). Nor is the derivation given there countenanced by any dictionary.

But a *shash-par* was not always made of iron. In



X R.Y. Jahāngīr sent to the Rānā a *shash-par* of gold (*Tūzuk*, 152; R. & B., I, 311).

Several distinct types of war maces were exhibited at the Loan Exhibition of Antiquities.

On Pl. XI (b) of *L. E. A.* we have three interesting war maces (*gurz*): (1) The handle of one conceals a dagger, which can be used in time of need. The head of the mace bristles with steel spikes. (2) A *gurz* with disappearing blades. (3) A plain *gurz*.

On Pl. VII, No. A. 131 and Pl. X (c) we have a war mace with eight-bladed head.

On Pl. VII, No. A. 132 and A. 133 and Pl. X (c) we have excellent photos of a *tabar* (battle-axe) and a *zāghnol* (pointed axe or crow-bill).



## CHAPTER VI

### WALKING STICKS

A stick of jasper, which Aurangzeb carried in his hand, will be mentioned below with full context.<sup>1</sup>

The reader will find illustrated on Pl. XVIII (b) of *L. E. A.* two carved walking sticks. One (A. 379), which is said to have belonged to Bahādur Shāh II, bears date 1257 *A.H.* [=1841 *A.C.*] and is carved with Persian verses and the proverb "He who has the stick has the buffalo," or "Might is right."

<sup>1</sup> See Part III, under "Arms and Ornaments Mixed."



## CHAPTER VII

### MUSKETS, MATCHLOCKS AND GUNS

Tīmūr took a keen interest in the manufacture of guns. Clavijs tells us that he imported from Turkey 'gun-smiths who make the arquebus.'<sup>1</sup>

Abū'l-Fazl tells us with his usual leisurely detail how in Akbar's time matchlocks were made under the personal direction and supervision of the emperor. Improvements made in various directions were due to his inventive genius and the deep interest he took in the matter. Akbar himself tried the matchlocks at several stages in their manufacture, and issued instructions as the work proceeded. 'Several things are marked on every matchlock, viz., the weight of the raw and the manufactured iron, .....; the place where the iron is taken from; the workman; the place where the gun is made; the date; its number.'<sup>2</sup> We further learn that the quantity of gold and lapis lazuli used makes much difference to the gun.<sup>3</sup> Again, 'when ten of such [*i.e.*, *rangīn* or coloured] guns are ready, His Majesty orders to inlay the mouth of the barrel and

<sup>1</sup> *Embassy to Tamerlane*, 288. For the fuller quotation see p. 61 above.

<sup>2</sup> Blochmann, 121.

<sup>3</sup> Blochmann's translation here is, I think, not exact.



the butt end with gold.<sup>1</sup>

The price of an ordinary matchlock lay between  $\frac{1}{2}$  rupee and 1 mohur.<sup>2</sup>

Ā'in 39 on 'The Ranks of the Guns' deserves to be quoted in full:—

'The Imperial arsenal contains *manufactured*, *purchased*, and *presented*, guns. Each of them is either *long*, or *short*; and these are again subdivided into *sāda* (plain), *rangīn* (coloured), and *koftkār* (hammered) guns. His Majesty has selected out of several thousand guns, one hundred and five as *khāṣa*, i.e., for his special use. *First*, twelve in honour of the twelve months; each of them is brought back in its turn after eleven months. *Secondly*, thirty for every week; after every seven days one goes out, and another is brought. *Thirdly*, thirty-two for the solar days; one for every day. *Fourthly*, thirty-one *kotals*. Sometimes there are only twenty-eight. Whenever some of the former guns have been given away, *kotals* are brought, to supply their places. The order of precedence is as follows: the guns for the month; the week; days; *kotals*; plain; coloured; *koftkār*, not handed over to the slaves; *koftkār*, handed over to the slaves; long ones, selected from *peshkash* presents, or from such as were

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Ā'in, text, I, 124; Blochmann, 119.



bought; *damānaks*, selected from *peshkash*, or from bought ones; such as have been chosen from selections of both. The one hundred and five *khāṣa* guns are divided into seven parts; every fifteen form a *kishk*, or guard, and are always kept ready by the slaves. On Sundays two are taken from the first; four from the second; five from the third; four from the fourth. This order is also followed on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays. On Thursdays, two are again taken from the first, and four from the second; four from the third; five from the fourth. On Fridays, one is taken from the first; five from the second; four from the third; five from the fourth. So also for Saturdays. In order to supply the places of such *khāṣa* guns as have been given away, five other classes have been determined on: half *kotals*, fourteen; quarter *kotals*, seven; one-eighth *kotals*, four; one-sixteenth *kotals*, two; one-thirtysecond *kotals*, one. When *kotal* guns are given away, they bring half *kotals*; similarly, the place of a gun, when given away, is taken by the next; and the place of the last is supplied by one selected from such as have been bought.

One hundred and one guns are continually kept in the harem. Their order is as follows. On the first day of every solar month eleven guns are handed over to the servants of the harem, one of each of the guns for the months, the weeks, the



days, the *kotals*, the plain ones, the coloured ones, the *koftkār* not in charge of the slaves, the *koftkār* in their charge, the selected long ones, the selected *Damānaks*, the chosen ones of the selected ones. On the second day only the guns of the months (*i.e.*, ten) are handed over in the same order. For ten days an equal number is sent to the harem.

His Majesty practises often. When he has tried each gun, he commences from the beginning; and when each gun has been used four times it is sent away and replaced by a new one of each kind. If guns have been left unused at the beginning of a new month, they are placed last, and the guns for the current month are put first.

An order has also been given to the writers to write down the game killed by His Majesty with the particulars of the guns used. Thus it was found that with the gun which has the name of *Sangrām* one thousand and nineteen animals have been killed. This gun is the first of His Majesty's private guns, and is used during the *Farwardīn* month of the present era.<sup>1</sup>

The following is one occasion when, we know, the "Sangrām" was used by Akbar. Abū'l-Fazl, describing the siege of Chitor, says, 'At this time H. M. perceived that a person clothed in a cuirass

<sup>1</sup> *Ā'in*, text, I, 126-27; Blochmann, 122-23.



known as the *hazār mīkhī* (thousand nails) which is a mark of chieftainship among them, came to the breach and superintended the proceedings. It was not known who he was. H. M. took his gun Sangrām, which is one of the special guns, and aimed it at him. To Shujā'at Khān and Rajah Bhagwant Dās he said that, from the pleasure and lightness of hand such as he experienced when he had hit a beast of prey, he inferred that he had hit the man. The Khān Jahān represented that the man had been continually there during the night and been directing the operations; if he did not come back it was evident that he had been killed. An hour had not passed when Jabbār Qulī Diwāna reported that the enemy had all disappeared within that space of time [? from the breach]. Just at the same time fire broke out at several places in the fort. The courtiers had various ideas about this, but Rajah Bhagwant Dās represented that the fire was the *johar*. For it is an Indian custom that when such a calamity has occurred a pile is made of sandalwood, aloes, etc., as large as possible, and to add to this dry firewood and oil. Then they leave hardhearted confidants in charge of their women. As soon as it is certain that there has been a defeat and that the men have been killed, these stubborn ones reduce the innocent women to ashes. And in fact on the morning when the breeze of victory and dominion arose, it was



ascertained that the Shāhinshāh's musket had reached Jaimal, the governor of the fort, and had at once destroyed both him and the fort.' <sup>1</sup>

There is not much record of guns passing as presents at the Mughul court; though of course occasionally they do. P. 158 of *Tūzūk* (R. & B., I, 323 top) and p. 624 of '*Ālamgīr Nāma* are two instances.

'One damask piece 5 foot long' and '2 damask guns long' occur in an inventory on p. 224 of *Letters*, II. The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives 'damask blade,' 'damask sword,' and says they mean a sword 'made of Damascus steel', or 'having the fine temper and watered surface of Damascus steel'. These, by the way, are the kind of swords referred to by Bernier as '*Damascus cutlasses*'.<sup>2</sup> So apparently there were guns also made of Damascus steel.

In India Museum we have some *jauhardār* flint-lock guns of Sind with Damascus barrels and 'gold enrichments at the mouth and breech,'<sup>3</sup> which remind us of the description in *Ā'in*.<sup>4</sup> The muzzle of No. 738 is, in addition, 'set with nine uncut rubies and an emerald, the latter forming the "sight".' No. 736 (on p. 139a) is a *jauhardār* flint-lock rifle,

<sup>1</sup> A.N., II, 320; Tr., II, 472.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 17-18 above; Bernier, 148.

<sup>3</sup> Egerton, *Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms*, p. 139a (Nos. 733, 734 and 738).

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 68-69 above.



from Bahawalpur, of the same description as above, the 'muzzle set with rubies and emeralds.'

Plate 72 in Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi*, 1903, gives some chiselled and damascened matchlocks; especially Nos. 1 and 2, which present some fine chiselled steel.

And we find some gold-enamelled daggers on Pl. 68 of the same work

Again, the reader can see a good assortment of matchlocks on plate IV of Egerton, *Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms*.

Now that the arms have been individually surveyed, we may just quote de Thevenot's general remark on Mughul arms. After speaking of the daggers<sup>1</sup>, he goes on: 'Their other offensive Arms are the Bow and Arrow, the Javelin or *Zagaye*, and sometimes the Pistol; The Foot carry a Musket, or a Pike twelve Foot long' (Pt. III, p. 43).

<sup>1</sup> Quoted above, pp. 43-44.



PART II

THE IMPERIAL INSIGNIA



PART II  
THE IMPERIAL INDIANA



## ROYAL ENSIGNS

Connected with *manṣab* or rank on the one hand and with arms on the other, stand the royal insignia, which constitute an important and interesting institution. Symbolism played a great part in all departments of the Mughul court, and the ensigns were pre-eminently symbolic. Besides they were picturesque adjuncts of the Mughul durbar, whether at the capital or in camp. Many of them were borrowed from other countries, and had descended from ancient times.

The reader can be best introduced to the subject by the following passage from *Ā'in*, which describes the insignia in Akbar's time :—

'1. The *Awrang*, or throne, is made of several forms; some are inlaid with precious stones, and others are made of gold, silver, etc. 2. The *Chatr*, or umbrella, is adorned with the most precious jewels, of which there are never less than seven. 3. The *Sāya-bān* is of an oval form, a yard in length, and its handle, like that of the umbrella, is covered with brocade [etc.] and ornamented with precious stones. One of the attendants holds it, to keep off the rays of the sun. It is also called *Āftābgīr*. 4. The *Kawkaba*, of which several are hung up before



the assembly hall.

These four insignia are used by kings [? the emperor] only.

5. The '*Alam*, or standard. When the king rides out, not less than five of these are carried along with the *Qūr*, wrapped up in scarlet cloth bags. On days of festivity, and in battle, they are unfurled. 6. The *Chatrtoq*, a kind of '*Alam*, but smaller than it, is adorned with the tails of Thibetan yaks. 7. The *Tumantoq* is like the *Chatrtoq*, but longer. Both insignia are flags of the highest dignity, and the latter is bestowed upon great nobles only. 8. The *Jhandā* is an Indian flag. The *Qūr* necessarily contains a flag of each kind; but on great occasions many are displayed.'<sup>1</sup>

Then the author goes on to describe the instruments in the Music Gallery (*Naqār-khāna*) and winds up with the daily programme of the band. So according to him the *Naqār-khāna* is part of the royal insignia.

Of these insignia the *Aurang* (No. 1) will be dealt with fully in our monograph, *Thrones and Furniture, Vessels and Utensils*, to which the reader is consequently referred; and the Music Gallery will be treated of in its place in another volume. The rest form the subject-matter of the present chapter.

<sup>1</sup> *Ā'in*, I, 45-46; Blochmann, 52.



Although the author names the *Naqāra* among the instruments used in the Royal Music Gallery, he makes no mention of it as an honorific gift. As a matter of fact the *naqāra* is a very common mark of honour throughout the period. It conferred on the recipient the privilege of having it beaten before him. The flag appealed to the eye, the drum appealed to the ear. Drum and banner very often went together from Chingīz Khān to Aurangzeb. So the drum is to be added to Abū'l-Fazl's list of the insignia conferred on the nobles.

Many of these ensigns, as we have said, are foreign in origin, and can be traced to the Mongols of Central Asia, from whom they directly descended, not to speak of analogues among other nations and in other countries. We read in *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* that in the reign of Chingīz Khān the following seven privileges (*manṣabs*) had been bestowed on Urtubu, an ancestor of Mīrza Muḥammad Ḥaidar, Dughlāt, the author of the History: (1) *Ṭabl* or drum, called in Turkī *naqāra*, (2) 'Alam or standard, called in Turkī *tūmān-togh*, (3) Two of his servants might get the *qūshūn-togh*, which is a *chār pāra togh*, (4) He might carry the *qūr* in the councils of the Khān, (5) Certain privileges in connection with the Khān's hunt, (6) He was to be an *amīr* over all the Mughuls, and in the *farmāns* his name was to be entered as 'Sardār of the *Ulūs* of Mughuls', (7) In



the presence of the Khān, the other *amīrs* were to sit a bow's length from him on either side.

Urtubu's grandson, Amīr Bulājī, enjoyed all these seven privileges, and in addition two more, one of which was that Bulājī and his descendants should be permitted to commit nine crimes without being tried.<sup>1</sup>

Timūr says in his *Tuzūkāt*, 'I ordered that every *amīr* who should conquer a country or defeat an army should be exalted by three things: a title, a *togh*, a drum (*naqāra*); and should be called Bahādur ;.....

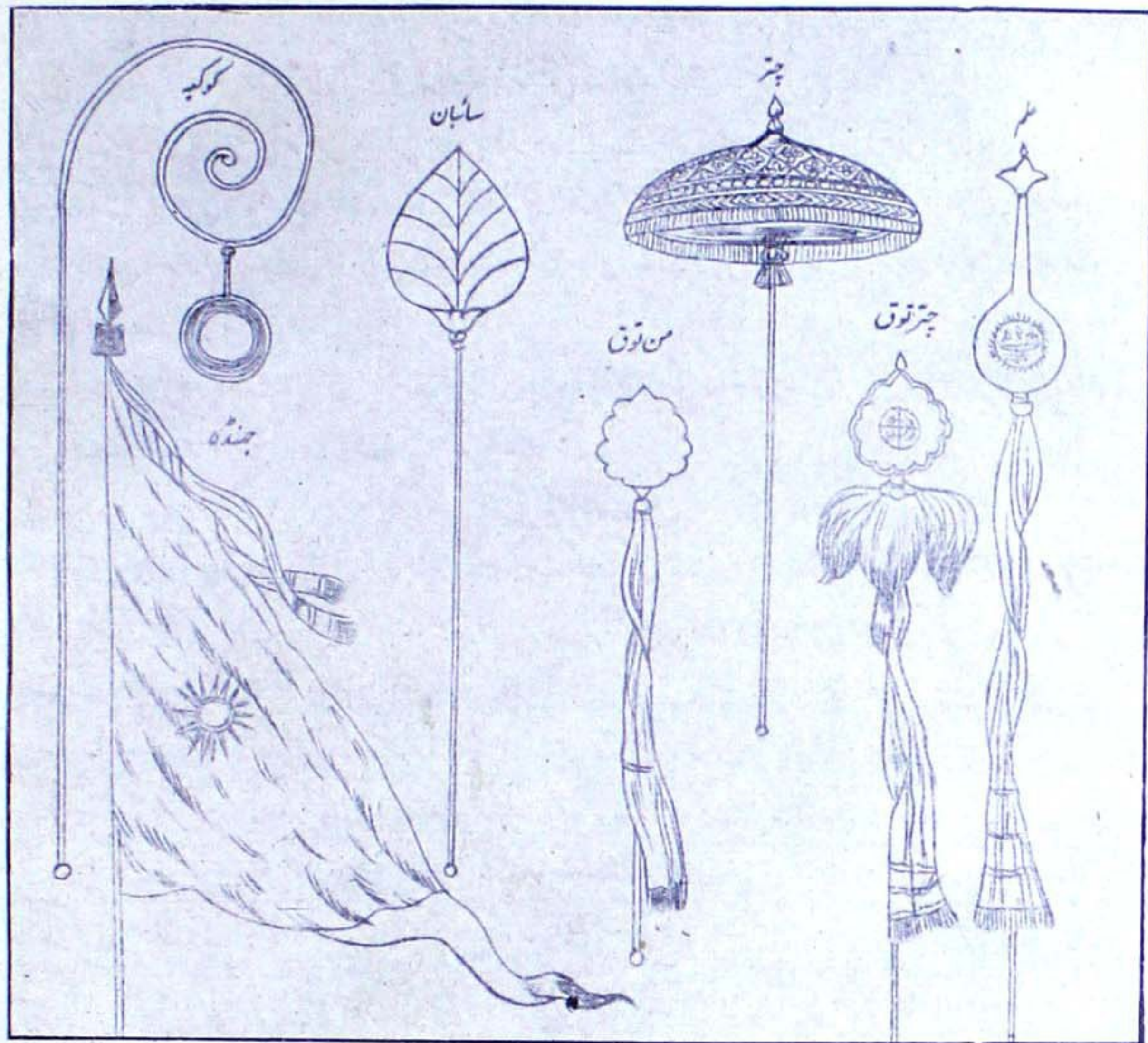
Accordingly I bestowed on Amīr Īkū Tīmūr, whom I had sent against Urūs Khān, and who had defeated him, a *tūmān-togh*, a standard (*'alam*), and a drum (*naqāra*)' (*Institutes*, 282).

Under the rules regulating gifts of drum and banner (*ṭabl o 'alam*) he remarks, 'I ordered that every one of the twelve kinds of *amīrs* should be given banner and drum; and on the *Amīru'l-Umarā* should be conferred a banner, a drum, a *tūmān-togh* and a *chatr-togh*' (*Ibid.*, 290). The first *amīr* should get one *togh*, the second *amīr* two, the third *amīr* three, and the fourth four, with a drum (*naqāra*)—and so on till he becomes *Amīru'l-Umarā*, and is

<sup>1</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, ed. and tr. by Elias and Ross, London, 1895, pp. 54-55, read with P.U.L. MS. of *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, pp. 99-100. See also in this connection A.N., III, 635; Tr., III, 974.



Reproduced from *A' in-i-Akbari* (Nawalkishor, Lucknow),  
I, pl 4, fac. p. 29.



From left to right :—(1) *Kaukaba*, (2) *Jhanda* or Indian Flag, (3) *Saya-ban* or *Aftabgir*, (4) *Tuman-toq* (Name in plate slightly wrong), (5) *Chatr* or Royal Umbrella, (6) *Chatr-toq*, (7) '*Alam* or standard.

See pp. 77-78 et seqq.







entitled to a *tūmān-togh* and a *chatr-togh* (*Ibid.*, 292).

Now we come to the Indian Mughuls:—

### *Chatr and Āftābgīr*

The *Chatr* and the *Āftābgīr* may be taken up together. The following presentations etc. are culled from the histories:

On 4 *Shā'bān*, 1035, Bābur bestowed on Muḥammad Zamān Mīrza a special robe of honour, a waist-sword, a *tupchāq* horse and a *chatr*.<sup>1</sup> So in Bābur's time the *chatr* was not the exclusive privilege of the sovereign, but could be used by a prince.

Ovington, however, corroborates Abū'l-Faẓl's statement that the *chatr* (umbrella) was the exclusive privilege of the emperor—in Akbar's time: 'No Man in *India*, no not the *Mogul's* Son, is permitted the Priviledge of wearing a Kittisal or Umbrella, let the Sun's Beams be never so scortching, but a Peon goes before the great Men, carrying a small Skreen made of Ostrich Feathers, to shade his Eyes. The use of the Umbrella is sacred to the Prince, appropriated only to his use'.<sup>2</sup>

But the restriction was apparently relaxed in Jahāngīr's time; for quite early in that reign, Prince

<sup>1</sup> *Tūzūk-i-Bāburī*, 237; *Memoirs of Bābur*, II, 390; P. de Courteille's tr., II, 408.

<sup>2</sup> Ovington, *A Voyage to Suratt*, 315.



Parwīz was honoured with an *āftābgīr* ('which,' says Jahāngīr clearly, 'is one of the signs of royalty') and the rank of 10,000.<sup>1</sup>

But Hawkins says Jahāngīr had 20 kittasoles or *chatrs*, and adds, 'None in his Empire dareth in any sort have any of these carryed for his shadow but himselfe.'<sup>2</sup> Actual conferment, however, is a better guide; and Hawkins is probably referring to the earlier practice, ignoring the exceptions that were beginning to be made. These exceptions became more frequent in the succeeding reigns.

Mulla 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, when recording the Lunar Weighment celebration falling on Sunday, 2 *Rabī'* II, 1047, tells us that as Dārā Shukoh had already received an *āftābgīr*, Shāh Shujā' and Aurangzeb were honoured with a similar gift (*B.N.*, I, ii, 277).

On 8 *Jumādā* II, 1052, Shāh Jahān bestowed an *āftābgīr* on Prince Murād Bakhsh (*Ibid.*, II, 307).

Shāh Jahān, with an unerring eye for the picturesque, made a somewhat novel use of the *chatr*. On the Lunar Weighment Festival held on Thursday, 1 *Rabī'* II, 1064, a jewelled throne was placed in the centre of the Hall of Private and Public Audience. In front of the throne a canopy decorated

<sup>1</sup> *Tūzūk*, 35; R. & B., I, 74.

<sup>2</sup> Hawkins (*Purchas*, III, 33) and Author's *Imperial Treasury of the Indian Muuls*, *gh*525.

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with pearls and pearl-strings was erected on four jewelled pillars. Three other gold-worked canopies stood on the remaining three sides of the throne on poles of pure gold. On the two sides of the throne place two jewelled *chattr*s decorated with pearls and pearl-strings were fixed. And jewelled censers were placed on gold stools, where perfumes burned (*B.N.*, III, f. 86b).

The arrangement of a *chattr* on either side of the throne place is also seen in Aurangzeb's durbars.<sup>1</sup>

Aurangzeb bestowed on Prince Muḥammad A'zam the rank 10,000/4,000, 'alam and naqāra, a *tūmān-togh*, an *āftābgīr*, a *dhukdhukī* of valuable diamonds, some precious jewels, and ten *khāṣṣa* horses (*Al.N.*, 156).

Prince Muḥammad Akbar received the rank 8,000/2,000, a *tūmān-togh*, a *naqāra*, and an *āftābgīr* (*Ibid.*, 1047).

So we see that from Jahāngīr to Aurangzeb the *āftābgīr* was freely bestowed on princes. In fact we have it clearly stated in *Mir'ātu'l-Iṣṭilāḥ* (written about 1157 A.H.) that the *Āftābgīr* or *Sūraj-mukhī* is the special privilege of *salāṭīn*, by which he means the princes of the blood (*P.U.L. MS.*, f. 16a).

A *chattr* can be seen in the following pictures in *Storia* :

<sup>1</sup> For an instance see *Al.N.*, 352.



|                                    |                          |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Sultān Sulaimān Shukoh             | facing p. 216 of Vol. II |
| Sultān Mu'izzu'd-Dīn               | " " 252 " " "            |
| Sultān 'Azīmu'd-Dīn                | " " 288 " " "            |
| Sultān Sikandar                    | " " 324 " " "            |
| The Quṭbshāhī Kings of<br>Golconda | " " 314 " " III          |
| The 'Ādilshāhī Kings of<br>Bijāpur | " " 350 " " "            |
| Aurangzeb                          | Frontispiece of Vol. IV. |

We can see the *āftābgīr* in the following pictures in *Storia* :

|                                    |                          |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Sultān Akbar                       | facing p. 144 of Vol. II |
| The Quṭbshāhī Kings of<br>Golconda | " " 314 " " III          |
| The 'Ādilshāhī Kings of<br>Bijāpur | " " 350 " " "            |
| Rāja Shīvājī                       | " " 384 " " "            |
| Aurangzeb                          | Frontispiece of Vol. IV. |

### *Kaukaba*

The *kaukaba*, according to *Burhān-i-Qāṭi*, is a polished steel ball suspended to the coiled end of a long pole—which exactly corresponds to the illustration in *Ā'in*.

Abū'l-Faẓl has told us that several of these were hung up before the assembly hall. In the more luxurious days of Shāh Jahān gold *kaukabas*, plain, jewelled or enamelled, were hung by gold chains



from vaults and in doorways of the Hall of Private and Public Audience on all ceremonial occasions.

But this was not the only use to which a *kaukaba* was put. From a passage quoted from *Ā'in* below<sup>1</sup> we learn that the *kaukaba* was among the ensigns carried before the king in a march. Again, Peter Mundy, describing the insignia carried in *Shāh Jahān's* progress,<sup>2</sup> mentions 'a great Ball', which is no doubt the *kaukaba*. Irvine, referring to an author who is not available to me, says, 'Careri, iii, 182, tells us that he saw a golden ball hanging by a chain between two gilt hands, and adds that "it was a royal ensign carried on an elephant when the army was on the march"'.<sup>3</sup>

One or two *kaukabas* deserve individual attention: On Monday, 24 *Rabī'* I, 1066, 'Alī Mardān *Khān* offered to *Shāh Jahān*, besides valuable gems and jewelled things, a *kaukaba* worth 74,000 rupees and some fine stuffs (*B.N.*, III, f. 105*a*). Again, on the occasion of the Lunar Weighment held on Saturday, 19 *Rabī'* II, 1067, 'Alī Mardān *Khān* offered gems and jewelled things including a *kaukaba* of the value of 55,000 rupees, some fine stuffs and woollen carpets, which he had prepared at his own manufactories at Lahore and in Kashmir,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted on p. 91 below.

<sup>3</sup> Irvine, *Army*, 32.



and other things—total value, nearly two lakhs (*Ibid.*, f. 122a; A.S., III, 240).

### *Qūr*

Flags and other ensigns and certain weapons of war displayed at a durbar or carried before the emperor on a march were collectively known by the technical name of *Qūr*. According to Abū'l-Faḡl, 'the *Qūr* necessarily contains a flag of each kind; but on great occasions many are displayed.'<sup>1</sup>

Again, in the *Ā'in* on *Qūrkhāna* (which Blochmann translates Arsenal) Abū'l-Faḡl has the following: 'Whenever His Majesty rides out, or at the time of the *Bār-i-Ām*, or Levee, the sons of the Amīrs, and other *Manṣabdārs* and *Aḥadīs*, carry the *Qūr* in their hands and on their shoulders, *i.e.*, every four of them carry four quivers, four bows, four swords, four shields; and besides, they take up lances, spears, axes, pointed axes, *piyāzī* war-clubs, sticks, bullet bows, pestles, and a footstool, all properly arranged. Several *qaṭār* of camels and mules are loaded with weapons and kept in readiness; and on travels they use [carriages,] Bactrian camels, etc., for that purpose. At court receptions, the Amīrs and other people stand opposite the *Qūr*, ready for any service; and on the march they follow

<sup>1</sup> *Ā'in*, I, 46; Blochmann, 52.



behind it, with the exception of a few who are near His Majesty. Elephants in full trappings, camels, carriages, *naqqāras*, flags, the *kawkabas*, and other Imperial insignia, accompany the *Qūr*, while eager macebearers superintend the march, assisted by the *Mīrbakhshīs*.<sup>1</sup>

The *qūr* is apparently being described in the following curious passage in *Humāyūn-Nāma* :

Gulbadan Begum, when describing Hindāl's marriage, tells us that one of the three rooms in the upper storey, which was called *Khāna-i-Daulat*, contained nine articles of military accoutrement; such as, a jewelled sword, a jewelled *qūr*, a jewelled *kamar-khanjar*, a *jamdhar*, a jewelled *khapwa*, and a quiver—all set with gems and put in a bag of gold cloth (*Humāyūn-Nāma*, 33).<sup>2</sup>

The *qūr* generally accompanied the royal *cortège*; but we know an instance where it was sent with an expeditionary force as a mark of special honour. In the expedition to Kashmir, in which Abū'l-Fāz̤l and other officers took part, the *qūr-i-khāṣṣa* 'was assigned to the force, in order that by doing homage

<sup>1</sup> *Ā'in*, I, 118-19; Blochmann, 116.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Beveridge's translation is unsatisfactory. So I have attempted my own. She renders *qūr-i-muraṣṣa* as 'gilded armour' (!!), but makes the sensible suggestion that if it is taken to mean 'a quiver, a bow, a sword and a shield', as a passage in *Ā'in* (I, 118; Tr., I, 116) seems to imply, she says, the number nine will be completed. This explanation will, however, mean duplication of some of the arms, but it is the only one possible.



(*kornish*) thereto, it might be fortunate. The troops were to march behind this.'<sup>1</sup>

In *Shāh Jahān's* time every article of use or display was made of costlier material, and put up a better show. Witness the following.

'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd tells us that at the time of audience the bearers of the *qūr* stand on the left, with their backs to the wall, with golden flags (*'alams*) and golden standards (*toghs*) and the *qūr-i-khāṣṣa* (*B.N.*, I, i, 222).

According to Muḥammad Wāriṣ, the *qūr* consisted of jewelled swords with jewelled baldricks, shields, quivers with jewelled fittings, and jewelled lances (*B.N.*, III, f. 18a). The author of '*Ālamgīr Nāma*' gives similar details (P. 352), which, in fact, he seems to have copied from Muḥammad Wāriṣ.

In Hawkins' inventory of Jahāngīr's treasury we have 25 'teukes (great lances) covered with gold, and the fluke (point) set with stones ("These instead of their colours, are carryed, when the King goeth to the warres").'<sup>2</sup>

The word *teuke* in the sense 'a lance' is not found in any English dictionary; nor can I identify it with any Persian or Turkish word. This lance presumably formed part of the *qūr*.

<sup>1</sup> *A.N.*, III, 477; *Tr.*, III, 718.

<sup>2</sup> Author's *Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughuls*, 525; Hawkins (*Purchas*, III, 33).



It is probably the same word as *tuc* or *tūgh* or standard. For a fuller explanation see below, pp. 92-93.

Edward Terry, who was in India in 1616 A.C., speaks of the 'royal standard of the Great Mogol, which is a Couchant Lyon shadowing part of the body of the Sun.'<sup>1</sup> The reader who is curious to find an explanation of this emblem is referred to the Rev. Father Felix's excellent article, "The Mughal Seals", in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, V, 2, pp. 112-113.

Peter Mundy saw Shāh Jahān's entry into Agra when the latter returned from Burhānpur in 1632. He describes the ensigns as follows: 'Then came about 19 or 20 great Eliphants of state with coverings and furniture; most of them of Cloth of gold the rest of rich stufte, velvetts, etc.; some of them carryeinge a flagg with the kings Armes, which is a Tygar couching [lion couchant] with the Sunne riseinge over his backe' (II, 193). Mundy has attempted a rude sketch of this 'flagg' (See p. 99 below).

We find the 'lion couchant' as early as Tīmūr: Clavijs tells us that on the top of the doorway giving access to Tīmūr's palace at Samarqand 'there

<sup>1</sup> Terry's *Voyage to East India* is not available to me. I have taken this quotation on credit from Sir William Foster's *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* (Hakluyt edn.), II, 563.



was the figure of a lion and a sun, which are the arms of the lord of Samarcand.<sup>1</sup>

Compare with these 'the figures of two lions' spoken of by Bernier,<sup>2</sup> and the *sher-marātib* mentioned on p. 100 below.

The reader can see a picture of the couchant lion and sun in a corner of William Baffin's Map of Hindustan fac. p. 546 of *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* (Hakluyt edn., 1899), and can compare it with a standard on pl. XXXI of Percy Brown's *Indian Painting under the Mughals*.<sup>3</sup> He will find marked resemblances and marked differences, though they both belong to the reign of Jahāngīr.

Again, Peter Mundy was an eye-witness of the procession when *Shāh Jahān* rode out in state to say his '*Īd-i-aẓḥā*' prayers on 19 June, 1632, at Agra. Here are relevant portions of his account: First came the 'Eliphants royall', who were followed by led horses, richly furnished. Then came nine or ten palanquins, which were followed by twelve pairs of copper drums (*damāma*) on twelve elephants along with some trumpets. 'After theis came many Ensignes, In some manner resemblinge those I sawe att Constantinople, beinge sundrie figures of gold and silver upon long staves covered with the same, which

<sup>1</sup> *Embassy of Clavijo to the Court of Timour* (Hakluyt edn., 1859), 124.

<sup>2</sup> Next page.

<sup>3</sup> More fully noticed below: p. 99.



were carried upright, *vizt.*, a hand, a great Ball, a Serpents head, a Falcon, etts., and such like.' Then came some *umarā* on horseback, then the emperor with his three sons on an elephant, then *Āṣaf Khān* on an elephant, then again other great *umarā* on horses and elephants (II, 198-99).

In the evening at the time of the changing of the palace guard the *Qūr* was brought to the state hall. The guard to be relieved stood on one side, and the mounting guard was drawn up on the other. The emperor was usually present in person, inspected the guard and took the salute.<sup>1</sup> Bernier has the following account of this ceremony: 'There is this peculiar ceremony in the evening assembly, that all the *Mansebdars* who are on guard pass before the King to salute him with much form. Before them are borne with great ceremony that which they call the *Kours*, to wit, many figures of silver, beautifully made, and mounted on large silver sticks: two of them represent large fish; two others a horrible and fantastic animal called *Eiedeha*; others are the figures of two lions; others of two hands, and others of scales; and several more which I cannot here enumerate, to which the Indians attach a certain mystic meaning' (pp. 266-67).

Irvine quotes from *Mir'ātu'l-Iṣṭilāḥ* a description

<sup>1</sup> *Ā'in*, I, 192; Blochmann, 267.



of the ensigns displayed by the Mughul emperors in India. Unfortunately I do not find it anywhere in the P.U.L. MS. of that work. So I content myself with a summary of Irvine's account (*Army*, 31-32) :

(1) *Panja*, an open hand, said to mean the hand of 'Alī.

(2) '*Alam*, a flag or standard.

(3) *Mīzān*, a balance.

(4) *Āftāb*, or the Sun.

(5-6) *Azhdahā-paikar*, Dragon-face 'It consisted of two pieces, one carried in front and the other behind the emperor.'

(7) *Māhī*, or Fish.

(8) *Qumquma*, probably the same as *kaukaba*.

The reader will notice that most of these are mentioned by Bernier.

### *The Other Insignia*

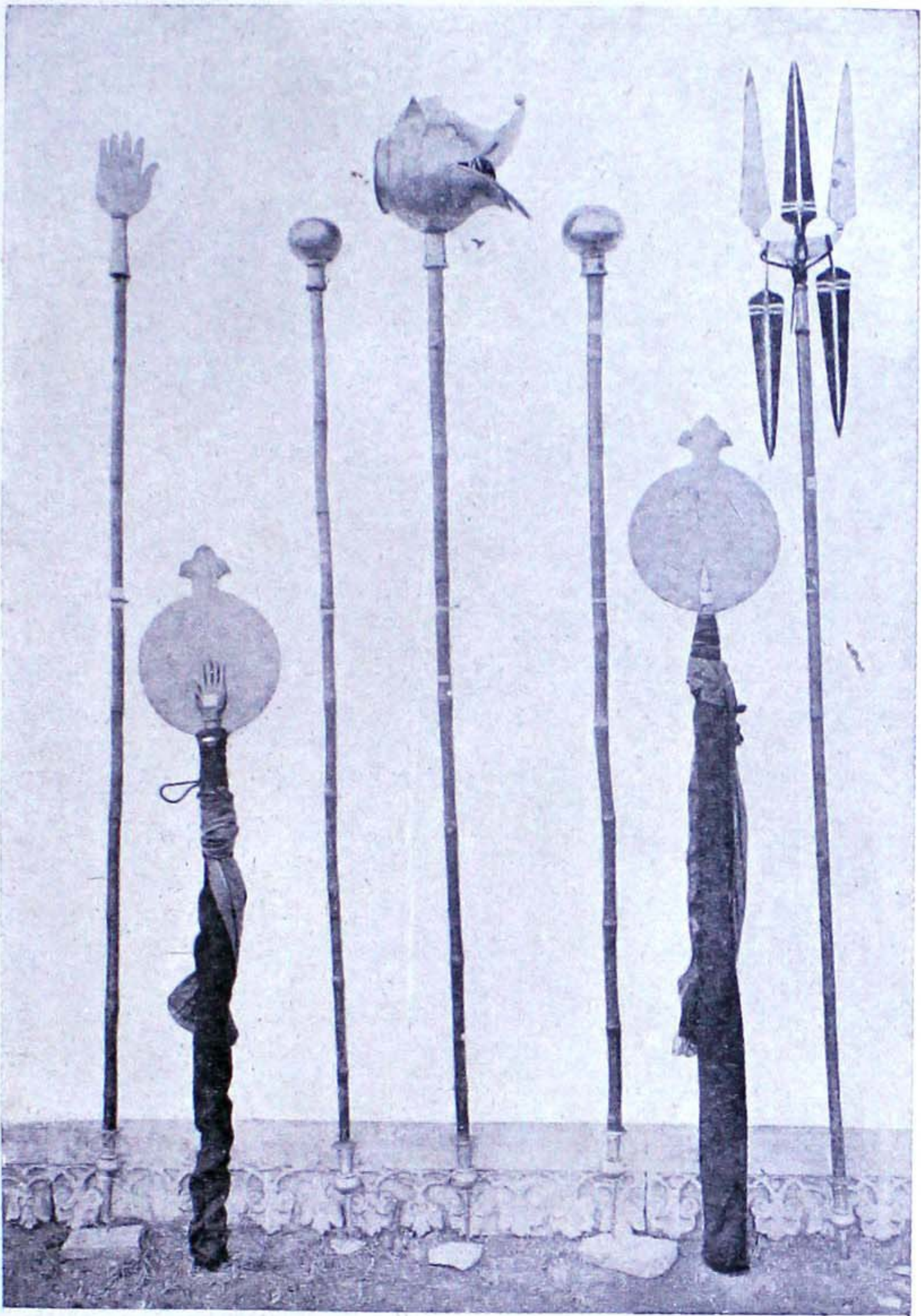
Now we take up the remaining ensigns, which could be bestowed on princes and nobles throughout the whole period.

The '*Alam*, the *Jhandā* and the *Naqāra* are intelligible enough, but *Chatr-toq* and *Tūmān-toq* require an explanation. *Togh* (variously written in Persian *togh* or *ṭogh*) or *toq* (also *ṭoq*) was a yak-tail or horse-tail standard. Marco Polo tells us that the



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FROM H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF JODHPUR



From left to right :—A. 241, *Panja*. See pp. 92 and 100.—A. 218, *Panja*, possibly a combination of *Panja* and *Aftab*. See pp. 92 and 100.—A. 232, Standard.—A. 219, *Sher Maratib* (Tiger's Head). See p. 100.—A. 233, Standard.—A. 245, Standard, with gilt disc, possibly a sun emblem.—A. 244, Trident, probably not a Mughul emblem.







Mongols 'call the corps of 100,000 men a *Tuc*; that of 10,000 they call a *Toman*.'<sup>1</sup> And Yule, in a scholarly note, explains *tuc* (which is the same as *togh* or *toq*) as 'the horse-tail or yak-tail standard which among so many Asiatic nations has marked the supreme military command. It occurs as *Taka* in ancient Persian, and Cosmas Indicopleustes speaks of it as *Tupha*. The Nine Orloks or Marshals under Chinghiz were entitled to the *Tuk*, and theirs is probably the class of command here indicated as of 100,000, though the figure must not be strictly taken.'<sup>2</sup>

So the *togh* signified, among the Mongols, the supreme command of an army of nominally (though not literally) 100,000 men, which was decimally divided and subdivided—into units of 10,000, 1,000, 100 and 10; and the *tūmān* signified the command of 10,000—though these numbers were not strictly adhered to. Thus *togh* came to be used not only for the command of the army, but also for the ensign which symbolized it.

As we know, under Tīmūr the Amīru'l-Umarā was entitled to a *tūmān-togh* and a *chatr-togh*, both of which we find in Abū'l-Fazl.

Now we are in a position to deal with the conferments of these honours.

<sup>1</sup> Marco Polo, I, 261.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 263.



On Saturday. 29 *Rabī* I, 935. 'Askarī was honoured with a jewelled waist-*khanjar*, a royal robe of honour, an '*alam*, a *togh*, a drum (*naqāra*), etc.<sup>1</sup>

We find Humāyūn, before he had reached Kabul bestowing banner and drum on each one of the Mīrzas. and at *ūmān-togh* on Mīrza Kāmran, Mīrza Sulaimān and Mīrza Hindāl.<sup>2</sup>

On the occasion of a spring festival Humāyūn conferred a *toq* and a *naqāra* on Jalāl *Khān*, son of Sulṭān 'Alā'u'd-Dīn; and a *chatr-toq* on seven Turkish nobles and three Afghan nobles, who are all named.<sup>3</sup>

Banner and drum are a very common present from Akbar to Aurangzeb. Higher honours are noted in the entries that follow.

We read in *Akbar Nāma* that when Bairām *Khān* decided to submit to Akbar, he sought leave to visit the Holy Places and sent to the emperor by the hands of Husain Qulī Beg a few elephants, *tūmān-togh*, standard ('*alam*), drum (*naqāra*), and other insignia of office.<sup>4</sup> These insignia were bestowed on Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad *Khān* Atga, who was appointed governor of the Punjab.<sup>5</sup>

In *Ṣafar*, 992, Mirza *Khān* was honoured with

<sup>1</sup> *Tūzūk-i-Bāburī*, 228; *Memoirs of Bābur*, II, 356; P. de Courteille's tr., II, 368.

<sup>2</sup> A.N., I, 283.

<sup>3</sup> *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī*, text, 96-97.

<sup>4</sup> A.N., II, 104; Tr., II, 158; *Budāyūnī*, II, 38.

<sup>5</sup> A.N., II, 95; Tr., II, 143.



the title "Khān Khānān", a horse, a robe of honour, a jewelled waist-khanjar, a tūmān-togh and the rank 5,000 (*Budāyūnī*, II, 336).

Early next year (993 A.H.), on the occasion of Prince Salīm's wedding, each of the three princes, Salīm, Murād and Dāniyāl, was given a tūmān-togh and a naqāra (*Ibid.*, II, 342).

Again, late in 999 A.H., Prince Murād received an 'alam, a naqāra and a chatr-togh.<sup>1</sup>

Quite towards the end of Akbar's reign, Prince Khusrau received a naqāra and a tūmān-togh.<sup>2</sup>

When Prince Salīm was in rebellion against his father, he assumed the authority of a sovereign and bestowed on Sharīf Khān a naqāra, a tūmān-togh, the gāt rank of 2,500 and the governorship of Bihar.<sup>3</sup>

We may wind up Akbar's reign with a curious item. Human beings were not the only recipients of the honour of a drum. A leopard was once distinguished with the privilege. The following is from a passage in *Akbar Nāmā*, where Akbar's deer hunt at Sāngānīr is being described: 'It chanced that they loosed a special chīta [chīta-i-khāṣṣa] called

<sup>1</sup> A.N., III, 598. The word in the text is written as چتر و توغ which Beveridge faithfully translates 'chatr and togh' (Tr., III, 911). Of course it should be chatr-togh. *Budāyūnī* has here (II, 378) tūmān-togh, which is supported by a variant given by Beveridge in the B.I. text. Nevertheless chatr-togh is probably correct, as Murād had already received a tūmān-togh.

<sup>2</sup> A.N., III, 839 : Tr., III, 1257.

<sup>3</sup> *Tūzūk*, 6 ; R. & B., I, 14.



Chitr Najan<sup>1</sup> at a deer. Suddenly there appeared in front of them a ravine which was twenty-five yards broad. The deer leapt into the air to the height of a spear and a half and conveyed itself across. The *chīta* in its eagerness took the same course, cleared the ravine and seized the deer. On beholding this astonishing occurrence the spectators raised a cry of amazement and there was great rejoicing and astonishment. The Khedive raised the rank of that *chīta* and made him chief of the *chītas*. He also ordered that as a special honour, and as a pleasure to men, a drum should be beaten in front of that *chīta*.<sup>2</sup>

On 2 Zū'l-hijj, 1015, Jahāngīr bestowed on Prince Khurram a *tūmān-togh*, an '*alam*, a drum and the *manṣab* 8,000/5,000.<sup>3</sup>

When Khān Jahān Lodī was sent on the Deccan campaign, he received the following honours (Tuesday, 17 Zū'l-qa'd, 1018): a gold-embroidered *khāṣṣa* robe of honour, a *khāṣṣa* horse with jewelled saddle, a jewelled waist-sword, a *khāṣṣa* elephant and a *tūmān-togh*.<sup>4</sup>

On Lunar Weighment Day, XI R. Y., Jahāngīr increased I'timādu'd-Daula's rank to 7,000/5,000 and

<sup>1</sup> So Beveridge. I understand the word to be *Chit-ranjan*, which means that which gratifies the senses or delights the heart (from *chit*, mind, soul, heart, sense; and *ranjan*, gratifying, exhilarating, delighting) (Platts).

<sup>2</sup> A.N., II, 371; Tr., II, 539.

<sup>3</sup> *Tūzūk*, 42; R. & B., I, 87.

<sup>4</sup> *Tūzūk*, 77; R. & B., I, 161-62.



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LENT BY H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER



From left to right:—A. 239 and 240, Pair of  
Standards.—A. 238, *Mahi o Maratib* (Fish Standard). Gilt  
effigy of fish at top, and long fish body attached. See pp.  
92, 98 and 100.







conferred on him a *tūmān-togh*. It was ordered that his *naqāra* should be beaten after that of Prince Khurram.<sup>1</sup>

Jahāngīr bestowed a *togh* on Khawāja Abū'l-Hasan<sup>2</sup> and Ṣādiq Khān, Mīr Bakhshī (now appointed governor of the Punjab).<sup>3</sup>

In XIX R.Y. Jahāngīr honoured Mahābat Khān with the title "Khān Khānān", appointed him Commander-in-chief and conferred on him the rank 7,000/7,000 (2-3 h.) and a *tūmān-togh*.<sup>4</sup>

Strangely enough standards and drums do not figure so prominently or so frequently as honorific presents in Shāh Jahān's reign as we should have expected; though banner and drum are common enough. One or two special conferments, however, may be noticed in detail: '*Ālam*, *naqāra* and *tūmān-togh* were among the gifts<sup>5</sup> bestowed on Āṣaf Khān on Thursday, 2 *Rajab*, 1037, when he and the princes were presented to the emperor soon after the coronation.<sup>6</sup> When Shāh Shujā' was sent on the Deccan expedition (22 *Ṣafar*, 1043) he received a special robe of honour with gold-worked *nādirī*, a jewelled *khapwa* with *phūl-kaṭāra*, a jewelled sword, the rank

<sup>1</sup> *Tūzuk*, 157; R. & B., I, 320.

<sup>2</sup> *Tūzuk*, 323, bottom.

<sup>3</sup> *Tūzuk*, 360.

<sup>4</sup> *Tūzuk*, 391.

<sup>5</sup> For a complete list of the presents see Author's *History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān*: Ch. III (Coronation).

<sup>6</sup> B.N., I, i, 180.



10,000/5,000, 'alam, naqāra, tūmān-togh, two *khāṣṣa* horses (one with jewelled, and the other with gold-enamelled, saddle), a *khāṣṣa* elephant with silver trappings and housings of gold-embroidered velvet, a she-elephant, a chariot, and six lakhs of rupees in cash.<sup>1</sup>

Gifts of *tūmān-togh* to princes Muḥammad A'zam and Muḥammad Akbar in Aurangzeb's reign have already been mentioned in connection with *Āftābgīr*.<sup>2</sup>

*Khāfi Khān* tells us in one place that as the gift of *Māhī o Marātib* has been special to the nobles and governors of the Deccan, "Jumlatu'l-Mulk" Asad *Khān*, on being appointed to the revenue administration of the Deccan (1082), received a *Māhī*, an elephant and a jewelled *sar-pech* (M.L., II, 255-56).

A drum (*naqāra*) is a very common present throughout the whole period. But the gift of a silver drum is something of a novelty, and may be specifically mentioned: On 20 *Rabī'* II, 1096, Rūḥullāh received a special robe of honour, a jewelled tiara (*kalagī*) and a silver drum (M.A., 254).

*Mir'ātu'l-Iṣṭilāḥ* (written about 1157 A.H.) gives the following rules: An 'alam can be conferred on a holder of 1,000 *suwār* rank and above, and a *naqāra*

<sup>1</sup> B.N., I, i, 537.

<sup>2</sup> P. 83 above.



(or *naubat*) on a *manṣabāār* with 2,000 *suwār* rank and upwards.

At the time of the bestowal of standard and drum, the author goes on to say, the following procedure is observed : The '*alam* and *naqāra* are placed on the shoulders of the recipient of these honours, who then performs the *taslīm* ; and the *dārogha* of the Music Gallery beats the drum three times with a stick called *danka*.

Again, no noble of a lower rank than 6,000 *suwār* can get *Māhī o Marātib*.<sup>1</sup>

Now for the pictures :—

The reader can see the *qūr* wrapped up in a scarlet cloth bag—as Abū'l-Faḡl says—in a picture of the Court of Bābur by Farrukh Beg (Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, pl. XIV).

By far the best picture for the ensigns is the "Processional Scene at the Court of Jahāngīr," painted by Manohar (Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, pl. XXXI). Here the *qūr* bearers are present in full strength ; and we have two standards carried on elephants, one of them (Lion and Sun) closely resembling the reproduction in William Baffin's Map of Hindustan.<sup>2</sup> There is also a rude sketch of the latter ensign by Peter Mundy (Illustr. No. 13 fac. p. 195 of Vol. II), which can be usefully

<sup>1</sup> P.U.L. MS., ff. 15b-16a.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 90 above.



compared with these.

We can see four *qūr* bearers on pl. XXI of Binyon and Arnold's *Court Painters*: "Durbar of *Shāh Jahān*." Again, on pl. 39 of N. C. Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting*, where *Shāh Jahān* is receiving a European embassy, four *qūr* bearers are clearly visible. The reader will notice that, as Mulla 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd has told us, the *qūr* bearers always stand on the left of the emperor.

Two different specimens of the *Panja* can be seen in *L.E.A.*: pl. XII (b), Nos. 241 and 218.

On pl. L(b) of the same work, behind Aurangzeb, we see a pair of what looks like the *Mīzān* (Balance or Scales).

The *Māhī o Marātib* (Fish Standard) can be studied in full detail on pl. XII (a), No. 238, and pl. XIII (b).

A picture of the *Sher Marātib* is also available: *Ibid.*, pl. XII (b), No. 219.

Another good picture for the ensigns, though of a rather late date, is the Alwar picture of a procession of Akbar II at Delhi (about 1822): *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* for July, 1913 (Vol. XVI, New Series, No. 123, pl. 11). We see here the *Māhī o Marātib* (c), the *chatr*, the *āftābgīr* and the *panja* (g), and the *Mughul* banner (h)—all carried on elephants.



*Insignia of Office*

Similar to these ensigns, and yet distinct from them, were certain articles which symbolized certain offices, and were bestowed when appointments were made to these offices. By way of distinction we may call them 'Insignia of Office'. Only one or two important ones need be noted.

*(1) Pen and Inkstand*

Jewelled pens and inkstands were awarded to men on their appointment as Prime Minister, *Mīr Bakhshī*, *Dīwān* or *Mīr Sāmān*, and occasionally to lower officers, who more often got an article of plain gold.

The following conferments are only a selection from a large number.

Bābur once sent to Prince Hindāl, by the hands of Mulla Bihishtī, a jewelled inkstand with a number of other things.<sup>1</sup>

'I bestowed on *Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī*, who had been *Mīr Bakhshī* in my father's service,' says Jahāngīr, 'a dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a jewelled pen and inkpot, and confirmed him in the same post, and in order to exalt him I said to him,

<sup>1</sup> *Tūzūk-i-Bāburī*, 232; *Memoirs of Bābur* (L.E. & K.), II, 368; P. de Courteille's tr., II, 383.



"I regard thee as the Master of the Sword and the Pen".<sup>1</sup>

'On Wednesday, the 3rd *Ṣafar* [1016 A.H.], says the emperor again, 'I entrusted the duties of the viziership to *Āṣaf Khān*, presenting him with a special robe of honour and a jewelled pen and inkpot.'<sup>2</sup>

*I'timādu'd-Daula* was made Vizier,<sup>3</sup> and shortly afterwards was presented with a jewelled pen and inkpot.<sup>4</sup>

At the end of XV R.Y., *Jahāngīr* bestowed a jewelled inkstand on *Ṣādiq Khān*, *Mīr Bakhshī*; <sup>5</sup> and a jewelled pen and inkpot on *Afzal Khān*, *Shāh Jahān's dīwān*.<sup>6</sup>

Early in *Shāh Jahān's* reign, *Irādat Khān*, *Mīr Bakhshī*, was appointed Vizier or *Dīwān*, at the request of *Yamīnu'd-Daula Āṣaf Khān*, and was duly awarded a jewelled inkstand (*B.N.*, I, i, 186; *A.S.*, I, 281). The same gift was bestowed on *Ṣādiq Khān*, who became *Mīr Bakhshī* in place of *Irādat Khān*, transferred (*Ibid.*). *Islām Khān*, who had been summoned from Bengal, reached the court on

<sup>1</sup> *Tūzūk*, 6; R. & B., I, 13. (I have adopted R. & B.'s translation with a slight modification).

<sup>2</sup> *Tūzūk*, 50; R. & B., I, 103 (R. & B.'s translation slightly modified). Both in *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī* (p. 307) and in *Mīrzā Muḥammad Hādī's* Preface to *Tūzūk* (p. 18, where 1015 A.H. is wrong for 1016) we have *Vakīl* instead of *Vazīr*.

<sup>3</sup> *Tūzūk*, 97; R. & B., I, 200.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 326; R. & B., II, 198.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 106; R. & B., I, 218.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 331; R. & B., II, 208.



6 *Rajab*, 1049, and on being appointed *Dīwān* was honoured, among other things, with a jewelled inkstand (*B.N.*, II, 164).

Early in *Jumādā* II, 1055, Sa'dullāh Khān received a special robe of honour, and was entrusted with the duties of *Dīwān* of the *Khālīṣa*, and of drafting royal *farmāns*, and was authorized to put his signature under that of Prince Dārā Shukoh on the back of the *farmāns*, getting his rank increased to 4,000/1,000, and a jewelled inkstand.<sup>1</sup>

Mulla 'Alā'u'l-Mulk, *Mīr Sāmān*, got a gold enamelled inkstand and the rank 2,000/300 (end of 1056 A.H.).<sup>2</sup>

A jewelled inkstand was awarded to Mulla Shafī'ā, when he was appointed Second *Bakhshī* (*B.N.*, III, f. 101b).

In *Ramazān*, 1066, Mu'azzam Khān *Mīr Jumla* waited on Shāh Jahān and, on being appointed Prime Minister, received the following gifts : a robe of honour, a jewelled sword, increase of rank to 6,000/6,000, a jewelled inkstand, two *khāṣṣa* horses (one with gold, and the other with gilded, saddle), a *khāṣṣa* elephant with silver trappings, a she-elephant and five lakhs of rupees in cash (*Ibid.*, f. 115a).

The smaller officers like the following received only a gold inkstand : (1) Ghāzī Beg, on appoint-

<sup>1</sup> *B.N.*, II, 431.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 627.



ment as *Dīwān* of Kābul (*B.N.*, III, f. 3a), (2) Amīnā, News-writer (*Ibid.*, f. 4b, top), (3) Raghu Nāth, the *Peshdast* (Secretary) of Sa'dullāh Khān (*Ibid.*, f. 42b, top), (4) Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, on appointment as Second *Bakhshī* of the *Aḥadīs* (*Ibid.*, f. 76b), and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Khwāfī, on appointment as *Dīwān-i-Buyūtāt* (*Ibid.*, f. 90a).

Muḥammad Amīn Khān, *Mīr Bakhshī*, was honoured with a jewelled inkstand;<sup>1</sup> and later when Dānishmand Khān was appointed in his place (1078 A.H.), he too received a similar gift.<sup>2</sup>

On 10 *Sha'bān*, 1087, Asad Khān was appointed Prime Minister, and got a special robe of honour and a jewelled inkpot worth 5,000 rupees (*M.A.*, 152).

In 1082 Amānat Khān was appointed *Daftardār-i-Khālīṣa* and received an inkpot of crystal (*M.A.*, 110).

An inkpot of jasper (*sang-i-yashm*) was conferred on the following officers in the years mentioned against their names:

Sarbuland Khān, *Bakhshī'u'l-Mulk* : 1088 A.H.<sup>3</sup>

'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān (on being appointed Third *Bakhshī*) : 1091 A.H.<sup>4</sup>

Siyādat Khān, *Dārogha* of 'Arṣ-i-Mukarrar :

<sup>1</sup> *Al. N.*, 474.

<sup>2</sup> *M. A.*, 157.

<sup>3</sup> *Al. N.*, 1067 ; *M.A.*, 64.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 196.



1097 A.H.

Fāzil Khān, *Ṣadr* : 1097 A.H.<sup>1</sup>

Rūḥu'llāh Khān, *Bakhshī'u'l-Mulk* : 1114 A.H.<sup>2</sup>

The following European notices of inkstands or pen-cases are available.

In the inventory of household utensils at Surat Factory, prepared December 6, 1629, we have two brass inkhorns (*E.F.I.* 1624-1629, p. 361).

'And some of their Standishes are made long and square, and above an Inch broad, and of sufficient length to contain both Pens, and a place for Ink' (*Ovington, Voyage to Suratt*, 249).

## (2) 'Aṣā

The *Mīr Tūzuk* (Master of the Ceremonies) had for his badge of office 'Aṣā or stick. So an officer appointed to that post often obtained a jewelled 'aṣā. A few examples may be cited :

Rizā Bahādur "*Khidmat Prast Khān*" was appointed *Mīr Tūzuk* at Shāh Jahān's coronation, and received, besides rank and gifts, a jewelled 'aṣā (*B.N.*, I, i, 118 ; *A.S.*, I, 268). On 4 *Ramāzān*, 1052, Mīr Khān was appointed *Mīr Tūzuk* in succession to Ghazanfar, son of Allāh Verdī Khān, and received a jewelled 'aṣā (*B.N.*, II, 318) ; and when he was

<sup>1</sup> *M.A.*, 270.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 472.



succeeded in that post by Khawāja Abū'l-Baqā (14 *Jumādā* II, 1054), the latter received a similar gift (*Ibid.*, II, 386). So also Fākhir, son of Bāqir Khān, in the third decade (*B.N.*, III, f. 19b).

In Aurangzeb's time a jewelled 'aṣā was a frequent present. My list includes the following recipients: (1) Ibrāhīm Beg, the envoy of Subhān Qulī Khān,<sup>1</sup> (2) Khawāja Aḥmad, the envoy of 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Khān, the ruler of Bukhārā,<sup>2</sup> (3) Tāhir Khān,<sup>3</sup> (4) 'Abdullāh Khān, the ex-ruler of Kāshghar,<sup>4</sup> (5) Mulla Muḥammad Tāhir, the envoy of Subhān Qulī Khān,<sup>5</sup> (6) Sikandar "Sikandar Khān",<sup>6</sup> and (7) Khān Fīroz Jang.<sup>7</sup>

Here is an 'aṣā of plain gold by way of change: Muḡhul Khān, on being appointed *Mīr Tūzuk*, received a gold 'aṣā (*M.A.*, 104).

A few conferments of an 'aṣā of jasper may be noted next: Shā'ista Khān "Amīru'l-Umarā" was honoured with the gift of a *khāṣṣa* 'aṣā of jasper which Aurangzeb carried in his hand (*M.A.*, 167).<sup>8</sup> On 8 *Shawwāl*, 1092, Mukhtār Khān received an 'aṣā with handle of jasper (*Ibid.*, 214). I'timād Khān, on appointment as *Khānsāmān* (1099 A.H.), got an 'aṣā of jasper (*Ibid.*, 312). Kamālu'd-Dīn Khān seems also to have obtained a similar gift (*Ibid.*, 278).

<sup>1</sup> *Al. N.*, 608.

<sup>4</sup> *M.A.*, 72.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 296.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 638.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

<sup>8</sup> For a fuller account see pp. 146-47 below

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 840.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 280.



PART III  
ORNAMENTS







## ORNAMENTS

In the following account I have selected for mention a few ornaments of each kind out of interminably long lists. Only such items have been chosen for inclusion as deal with important articles, or where prices are given.

The articles fall under the following heads:—

- (i) Head-dress.
- (ii) Necklaces.
- (iii) Armlets.
- (iv) Bangles and Bracelets.
- (v) Finger-rings.
- (vi) Watches and Clocks, *Muttakā'*, and Statuary.

### SECTION I : HEAD-DRESS

Caps, crowns and tiaras, aigrettes, *sar-pechs* and *sar-bands*, as well as *sihras*, may be taken up together under this head

#### (1) *Caps and Crowns*

Bābur speaks of a crown-cap and golden girdle which Rāna Sānga had taken from Sulṭān Maḥmūd when he captured the latter (1519), and which his second son Bikrimājīt subsequently presented to Bābur when negotiating about the surrender of Ran-



thambhor (935 A.H.).<sup>1</sup> Sultān Maḥmūd's presentation of a crown set with pearls and *yāqūts* to Rāna Sānga to secure his release is also mentioned in *Ṭabaqāt* (III, 403).

A gold-embroidered cap (*tāj-i-zardozi*) is mentioned among a wedding outfit in *Humāyūn-Nāma* (p. 37)<sup>2</sup>.

When we are talking of caps and crowns we may as well notice a cap invented by Humāyūn. The author of *Akbarnāma* describes it in the following passage :

'One of the wonderful inventions of that holy mind was a cap (*tāj*) which was alike magnificent and agreeable to wear. The border (or margin) which went round the *tāj* had two divisions (*furja*), and each of these was in the form of the figure seven (<), and thus by there being two figures 7 (<<) the number 77 was produced, which was the numerical value of the word 'izz. Here [? hence] it was called the *tāj-i-'izzat* or cap of honour. This was invented in Badakhshān and when His Majesty [Humāyūn] came to Agra and appeared before [? showed it to] His Majesty Getī Sitānī Firdūs Makānī [Bābur] the latter was much pleased' (A.N., tr., I, 648-49).

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Bābur*, II, 341.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Beveridge's translation (p. 127) is defective.



Mr. Beveridge appends to it the following footnote: 'The *tāj-i-‘izzat* according to Khwandamīr was not used only by Humāyūn, but was for the nobles also. Only Humāyūn's was all of one colour, whereas theirs were of several colours. He may have invented it in Badakhshān, but the chronogram of its construction, *tāj-i-sa‘ādat*, given by Khwandamīr yields 939, or two years after Bābur's death' (*Ibid.*).

Towards the end of VII R.Y., Muqarrab Khān presented to Jahāngīr, among other curios, a European hat (*Tūzuk*, 114; R. & B., I, 234).

Among articles fit for presentation at the Mughul Court, Roe mentions 'a fine crowne, sett with small stones' (*Roe*, 459).

On the frontispiece of *Jahangir and the Jesuits* (Broadway Travellers) we find a picture of Jahāngīr holding in his hand a crown of strange shape and design. We are told in the Preface that it is from a miniature at the British Museum. Here it is just referred to as a curiosity.

Shāh Jahān conferred on Yādgār Beg, the Persian ambassador, a Qizilbāsh cap (*tāj-i-Qizilbāshī*) and a jewelled *jīgha* (turban ornament) (*B.N.*, II, 93).

A cap studded with pearls was a favourite present for new-born babes in Aurangzeb's time.

A very late specimen of a *tāj* may just be noticed by way of curiosity. It can be seen on pl. XIV



(No. A. 375) of *L.E.A.* It belonged to one of the kings of Oudh.

## (2) *Plumes or Aigrettes*

Timūr ordered that a warrior who distinguished himself with the sword should be rewarded with a jewelled heron<sup>1</sup> or egret besides a belt, a sword and a horse (*Tīmūr's Institutes*, 290).

On 12 *Khurdād*, X R.Y., Jahāngīr presented to Rānā Karan a plume (*kalagī*) worth 2,000 rupees (*Tūzuk*, 143 ; R. & B., I, 291).

On Friday, the 1st *Jumādā* I, 1027 A.H., when Jahāngīr arrived at Aḥmadābād, Prince Shāh Jahān offered him a jewelled aigrette (*turra*) of the value of Rs. 25,000 (*Tūzuk*, 229 ; R. & B., II, 9).

Shāh 'Abbās of Persia sent to Jahāngīr by the hands of Āqā Beg and Muḥibb 'Alī a *jīgha* (turban ornament), in which was set a heavy ruby (weight, 12 *tānks*) engraved with the names of its successive owners<sup>2</sup>, and a black-and-white plume (*kalagī-i-ablaq*) valued at Rs. 50,000. The Persian envoys presented these tokens of friendship, with the Shāh's letter, on Thursday, 25 *Rabī'* I, 1030 (*Tūzuk*, 324-25 ; R. & B., II, 195). This "ruby plume" was later sent

<sup>1</sup> By a heron (*kulang*) is probably meant not a heron itself but an aigrette made of its plumes, as is explained in the words that follow.

<sup>2</sup> For a more detailed account see Author's *Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughuls*, 277-78.



on to Prince Khurram in the Deccan (*Ibid.*, 325 and 331; R. & B., II, 196 and 208).

Roe says he once offered to Prince Khurram two plumes, which had cost 20s., and two birds of paradise worth 60 rupees (Roe, 264 and f.n.).

Ostrich plumes were among the articles requisitioned by Roe for presentation (Roe, 311, f.n. 2).

Towards the end of *Jumādā* I, 1067 A.H., Subhāg Parkāsh, the ruler of Sarmūr, brought some presents, and received in return a robe, a jewelled *karā* (massive bangle or bracelet), and a jewelled aigrette (*B.N.*, III, f. 122b).

Prince Shāh 'Ālam received on his 41st birthday (end of *Rajab*, 1094) a jewelled aigrette valued at Rs. 1,05,180 (*M.A.*, 228).

### (3) *Sar-pech* and *Sar-band*

The *sar-pech*, according to Steingass, is 'an ornament of gold, silver, or jewels, generally placed in front of the turban', and is apparently part of the male head-dress. The *sar-band*, according to the same authority, is 'a wreath or fillet for fastening a lady's head-dress; a turban'. This is supported by *Bahār-i-'Ājam*. On p. 158 of *Tūzūk*, however, the two words seem to be used interchangeably. Again, on p. 643 of *Al. N.*<sup>1</sup> we find a *sar-band* presented

<sup>1</sup> Quoted elsewhere.



to Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam on his wedding, presumably for his own use.

We learn from *Ā'in* that a *sar-band* of cotton cloth cost from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 mohurs, while a *sar-pech* of woollen stuff was valued at  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 mohurs (Text, I, 109 and 111; Blochmann, 101). These must have been plain articles.

It appears that sometimes a gold tablet or *takhtī* (often jewelled) went with a *sar-pech* or an aigrette. We have it mentioned in many places in *Tūzuk*. R. & B. read the word as '*takht*' and translate it as 'throne', and once as 'signet'!

Jahāngīr once sent to Burhānpur a jewelled gold tablet, worth 21,000 rupees, by the hands of Ḥabīb, son of Sarbarāh Khān, for the *sar-pech* of Parwīz, which was strung with rubies and pearls.<sup>1</sup>

On 28 *Amurdād*, X R. Y., Muqarrab Khān came from Gujarāt and offered an aigrette and a jewelled tablet (*takhtī*).<sup>2</sup>

Tātār Khān, *Bakāwul-begī*, offered to Jahāngīr a jewelled *takhtī* (*Tūzuk*, 156; R. & B., I, 318).

On Jahān Ārā's recovery from a long illness, a great feast was held in *Shawwāl*, 1054, and lasted

<sup>1</sup> *Tūzuk*, 82; R. & B., I, 171. The printed texts are vitiated by a sad mistake; and R. & B. have misread the text, misconstrued the sentence and misunderstood the meaning. The P.U.L. MS. of the first half of *Tūzuk* (f. 88b), which I have followed, is correct and clear.

<sup>2</sup> *Tūzuk*, 146; R. & B., I, 297.



eight days. On the second day of the celebration, the Emperor gave away to her a *sar-band*, on which was strung a large diamond with a pearl pendant. Its value came to a lakh of rupees (*B.N.*, II, 397).

On 29th *Zū'l-hijj*, 1060, *Shāh Jahān* sent to 'Ādil Khān, King of Bījāpur, by the hands of Fathu'llāh Khān, among other things, a jewelled *sar-pech* and a jewelled aigrette—total value, Rs. 80,000 (*B.N.*, III, f. 48*b* ; *A.S.*, III, 118).

On 24 *Sha'bān*, 1062, Prince *Shāh Shujā'* received a jewelled aigrette and a *sar-band* consisting of one ruby and two precious pearls, and proceeded to Bengal (*B.N.*, III, f. 68*b* ; *A.S.*, III, 149).

On 12 *Ramāzān*, 1062, *Dārā Shukoh* was awarded a *sar-pech* of pearls which had in it a ruby of the value of one lakh (*B.N.*, III, f. 69*b* ; *A.S.*, III, 151).

On the occasion of a Lunar Weighment (1065 A.H.) the Emperor bestowed on *Dārā Shukoh* a robe of honour with a *nādirī* of gold-worked satin, on which discs (or lozenges) skilfully set with precious diamonds were placed in rosettes ; and round its collar and cuffs, and on its borders, were sewn valuable pearls. The total price of this dress came to Rs. 2½ lakhs. Along with this he received a *sar-band* with one perfect ruby of *Badakhshān* and two pearls of great value. This *sar-band* was valued at Rs. 1,70,000 (*B.N.*, III, f. 97*a* ; *A.S.*, III, 200).



Among the presents Prince Muḥammad A'zam received from his father on the occasion of his marriage (10 *Shā'bān*, 1079), there was a *sar-pech* valued at Rs. 60,000 (*M.A.*, 77-78). Again, on 22 *Zū'l-qā'd*, 1087, he received two *sar-pechs* worth Rs. 5,000 (*Ibid.*, 157); and then again, on 10 *Ramāzān*, 1089, a jewelled *sar-pech* worth Rs. 35,000 (*Ibid.*, 171).

Prince Muḥammad Akbar, on departure for Udaipur, received (24 *Zū'l-ḥijj*, 1090) a *sar-pech* of rubies worth 40,000 rupees (*Ibid.*, 187).

Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam received, among other favours, a *sar-pech* of diamonds valued at one lakh (*Ramāzān*, 1106 A.H.) (*Ibid.*, 371).

A *sar-pech* worth 50,000 rupees was sent (1109 A.H.) to Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam (*Ibid.*, 394-95).

On marriage of Rāja Sāhū, son of Sambhā, with the daughter of Bahādur Jī, a jewelled waist-band, an enamelled *sar-pech*, and a jewelled aigrette worth Rs. 10,000 were bestowed on him (1115 A.H.) (*Ibid.*, 482).

Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur offered a few *chikan-doz sar-pechs* in 1118 A.H. (*Ibid.*, 517).

#### (4) *Sihra*

A *sihra* is a chaplet or diadem made of pearls



or precious stones, or else a wreath or garland of flowers, worn on the head by the bridegroom at a wedding.

It was a common marriage present.

A *sihra* (usually of pearls) was bestowed not only on princes but also on other officers on the occasion of their marriage. The following items belong to Aurangzeb's reign:

Khalīlu'llāh Khān received permission to marry his son Mīr Rūḥu'llāh to the daughter of Amīru'l-Umarā, and the bridegroom received a pearl *sihra*, a jewelled *jamdhar* with a string of pearls, etc. (*Al.N.*, 477). Among other recipients may be mentioned Muḥammad Taqī<sup>1</sup>, Prince Muḥammad Mu'izzu'd-Dīn<sup>2</sup> and Kāmgar Khān<sup>3</sup>, the last-named getting a *sihra* worth 10,000 rupees.

## SECTION II: NECKLACES

Under this head come *urbasīs*, *baddhīs*, *mālās*, and other strings of pearls, etc.

Soon after his coronation, Jahāngīr sent Prince Parwīz against Rāna Amar Singh. Among the articles he bestowed on him at his departure was a string of pearls and valuable rubies, valued at 72,000 rupees (*Tūzuk*, 7).

Shāh 'Abbās of Persia sent to Jahāngīr, through

<sup>1</sup> M.A., 221.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 312.



the merchant 'Abdu'l-Karīm, a rosary of cornelian from Yemen and a cup of Venetian workmanship, which was very fine and rare. These were laid before the Emperor on the 9th *Bahman*, X R.Y. (*Tūzuk*, 152; R. & B., I, 310).

In XIII R.Y. 'Ādil Khān's ambassadors, Sayyid Kabīr and Bakhtar Khān, who had brought the former's presents, received gifts on departure. Bakhtar Khān received, besides other things, a jewelled *urbasī* which, adds the Emperor, people of that country (i.e., the Deccan) wear round their neck (*Tūzuk*, 244; R. & B., II, 36).

An *urbasī*, says Platts, is 'an ornament worn on the breast' (*Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī, and English*).

On the occasion of a Lunar Weighment (Monday, 2 *Rabī'* II, 1058) a string of pearls worth Rs. 60,000 was awarded to Dārā Shukoh (*B.N.*, III, f. 19b; *A.S.*, III, 63).

On the occasion of Aurangzeb's first Coronation (Friday, 1 *Zū'l-qa'd*, 1068) his second son, Muḥammad A'zam, who had yet received no rank, was given the *manṣab* 10,000/4,000, banner and drum, a *tūmān-togh*, an *āftābgīr*, and a valuable diamond *dhukdhukī*, besides other gems and ten *khāṣṣa* horses (*Al. N.*, 156).

*Dhukdhukī*, according to Platts, means (1) 'Beating, palpitation; perturbation, etc.' (2) 'The



hollow in the throat below the Adam's apple'. (3) 'An ornament (as a small mirror set in gold or silver, etc.) worn round the neck (usually resting on the depression below the Adam's apple; it is said to take its name from its rising and falling with the action of the heart)' (*Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī, and English*).

A *dhukdhukī* figures on many occasions as a present. A jewelled *dhukdhukī* was bestowed on Jagat Singh,<sup>1</sup> an emerald *dhukdhukī* on Rāja Rāi Singh Rathor,<sup>2</sup> and a diamond one on Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam<sup>3</sup>.

On the occasion of Aurangzeb's 44th Lunar Weighment, Begum Ṣāhib (Jahān Ārā Begum) offered to the Emperor a string of pearls which contained also five rubies—worth Rs. 2,80,000 (*Al. N.*, 568, top).

On 20 *Rabī'* I, 1085, Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, *thānadār* of Jamrūd, saw Aurangzeb at Rawalpindi and received a *khāṣṣa* robe of honour and an *urbasī* worth 7,000 rupees (*M. A.*, 133).

A pearl *mālā* and a *gulū-āvez* (necklace) of rubies worth 14,000 rupees were among the gifts bestowed on Prince Muḥammad Sultān in 1085 A.H. (*Ibid.*, 139).

Gītī Ārā Begum received a pearl *mālā* of the value of 19,000 rupees (*Ibid.*, 235).

<sup>1</sup> *Al. N.*, 403.

<sup>2</sup> *Al. N.*, 421.

<sup>3</sup> *Al. N.*, 457.



On the last day of *Rajab*, 1097, Prince *Shāh 'Ālam* received an *urbasī* set with a ruby worth Rs. 40,000 (*Ibid.*, 275).

The wife of 'Ināyatu'llāh *Khān* received a *baddhī* of pearls worth Rs. 8,000, besides other gems (*Ibid.*, 496).

A *baddhī*, according to Platts, is 'an ornament worn round the neck, a long chain or garland of flowers worn (as by a bride and bridegroom) round the neck, hanging down to the waist, and crossing behind and before' (*Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī, and English*).

### SECTION III : ARMLETS

A *bāzū-band* (armlet) sometimes passed as a present. Here is an example or two.

On the occasion of Solar Weighment on 24 *Rabī' I*, 1066, *Dārā Shukoh* offered presents including an armlet (*bāzū-band*) set with an unbored ruby and two pearls, priced at Rs. 65,000. The total price of jewels and stuffs offered came to three lakhs (*B.N.*, III, 105a).

Prince *Muḥammad 'Azīm*, on the occasion of his wedding (21 *Shawwāl*, 1103 A.H.), received, among other things, a *bāzū-band* worth 8,000 rupees (*M.A.*, 347).



## SECTION IV : BANGLES AND BRACELETS

(1) *Kara*

A *kara* (massive bangle) occurs as a gift many times, specially in the second half of the seventeenth century. Bījāpurī Maḥal, for instance, received a jewelled *kara* worth 2,200 rupees (M.A., 235).

(2) *Pahunchī*

*Pahunchīs* (bracelets) are mentioned in many places, specially in later Mughul times; but I will content myself with a single instance, which is important.

Early in XII R. Y. Jahāngīr was so pleased with Nūr Jahān's marksmanship—she had killed four tigers with six shots, without a single shot missing—that he scattered 1,000 *ashrafīs* over her and bestowed on her a pair of *pahunchīs* (bracelets)<sup>1</sup> worth one lakh of rupees.<sup>2</sup>

## SECTION V : FINGER-RINGS

'Murtazā Khān from Gujarat sent by way of offering', says Jahāngīr, 'a ring made of a single ruby of good colour, substance, and water, the stone,

<sup>1</sup> Some MSS. have '*pahunchīs* of diamonds', which R. & B. follow; and others have other variants. I follow the reading in the particularly chaste MS. of the first half of *Tūzūk* in P.U.L. (f. 197b)

<sup>2</sup> *Tūzūk*, 186; R. & B., I, 375.



the socket, and the ring being all of one piece. They weighed  $1\frac{1}{2}$  tanks and one surkh, which is equal to one misqal and 15 surkh.<sup>1</sup> This was sent to me and much approved. Till that day no one had ever heard of such a ring having come to the hands of any sovereign'.<sup>2</sup> The ring was valued at Rs. 25,000.<sup>3</sup>

Early in XIII R. Y. of the same reign (1027 A.H. = 1618 A.C.) a diamond ring was presented to Prince Shāh Jahān 'as part of the offering of Quṭb-ul-mulk. It was of the value of 1,000 muhars', says Jahāngīr, 'and on it there appeared three letters of equal size and of good form, such that they made the word Lillahi (for God). This diamond had been sent, as it was reckoned one of the marvels of the world. In fact, veins and scratches are flaws in precious stones, but it was generally thought that the marks on this one were fabricated'.<sup>4</sup> Moreover,

<sup>1</sup> This should be 1 *miṣqāl* and 11 *surkhs*, else the equation is quite wrong. See my *Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughuls*, 124, where this equation is discussed.

<sup>2</sup> *Tūzūk*, 63; R. & B., I, 132-33.

<sup>3</sup> R. & B. have wrongly £25,000.

<sup>4</sup> 'So the translator. The text has :

لیکن بظاہر عام فریب بود

which means : but apparently it was such as to mislead the common people (into thinking that the marks were miraculous writing). One is reminded of the so-called "natural gems", i.e., gems with "natural pictures" or figures of Jesus, Mary, etc., and of staurolite crystals or fairy-stones showing a representation of the cross—really due to twinning of two crystals. See Kunz, pp. 266-67 and 270-71. Graphic granite and



the diamond did not come from any celebrated mine. As my son, Shāh Jahān, wished that it should be sent to my brother, Shāh 'Abbās, as a souvenir of the conquest of the Deccan, it was sent to the Shāh along with other gifts <sup>1</sup>

On Thursday, the 10th *Amurdād*, XIII R.Y., Rāo Bihāra received, among other things, four rings, of red ruby, yellow ruby (topaz), sapphire, and emerald (*Tūzuk*, 236; R. & B., II, 21).

On Solar Weighment of 24 *Rabī' I*, 1066, Akbarābādī Maḥal offered to Shāh Jahān a ring set with a diamond priced at Rs. 30,000 (*B.N.*, III, 105a).

*Bakhshī'u'l-Mulk Khān* Nuṣrat Jang received (early in 1116 A.H.) a ring set with a ruby worth Rs. 5,000 (*M.A.*, 496).

Chīn Qilīch Khān Bahādur was honoured with a ring set with an emerald, on which had been engraved his name (*Ibid.*, 515, top).

## SECTION VI: MISCELLANEOUS

There are a few items which cannot be described as ornaments, and yet are not devoid of interest. They are, therefore, brought together under this head.

other minerals present a somewhat similar phenomenon' (Copied from *Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughuls*, p. 176, where the passage in the text is also quoted).

<sup>1</sup> *Tūzuk*, 229; R. & B., II, 8-9.



(1) *Watches and Clocks*

These were, apparently, a novelty in India at that period. Here are a few presentations :

Roe presented to Prince Shāh Jahān 'a silver watch very small, which hee tooke kyndly'. It had cost £7 (Roe, 227).

On January 15, 1666, Tavernier presented to Shā'ista Khān's young son 'a watch having an enamelled gold case, a pair of pistols inlaid with silver, and a telescope' (Tavernier, I, 106). He informs us later that he presented 'to the Grand Treasurer a watch having a golden case covered with small emeralds, 720 livres [£54]', and 'to the eunuch of the Grand Begam [Raushan Ārā Begum]<sup>1</sup>, sister of the Emperor Aurangzeb, a watch with a painted case which cost 260 livres [£19 10s.]' (Tavernier, I, 114-15).

The British Museum has some watches belonging to the first half of the seventeenth century, which must be similar to those presented by Roe and Tavernier. There is, for instance, a watch (LXXXVIII, 4) 'made by Blaise Foucher of Blois,

<sup>1</sup> The name of this lady, Shāh Jahān's third daughter, was not Raushan Ārā Begum, as is commonly supposed, and invariably written by modern historians (except Vincent A. Smith, who gives both names), but Raushan Rāi Begum, which we find in the better printed texts and in all good and early MSS., such as *B.N.* (B.I. text), *Al.N.* (B.I. text), *Ma'āshiru'l-Umarā* (B.I. text), both MSS. of A.S. in the Punjab Public Library, Qazwīnī's *Bādshāh Nāma* (MS.) and *Mulakhkhas* (MS.).



about 1635, with the entire case finely enamelled inside and outside, with scenes apparently from the story of Theseus and Antiope. On the front a wooded landscape, Theseus approaching Antiope, seated; a horse facing, on their left.' And there is another (LXXXVIII, 5 and 6 (a)) 'made by Hans Conrad Elchinger of Amsterdam, 1625-50, the case (on all sides) and the centre of the dial enamelled: on the front (a) and back (b) wooded landscapes with nymphs at the bath; the scene on the inside of the back signed *J. Toutin* (the younger, b. 1619).' I possess postcard reproductions of these watches published by the British Museum authorities; and the quotations are taken from the descriptive folder which accompanies the set of pictorial postcards (British Museum, Set 88, Watches from the 16th to the 18th century: 15 Pictorial Postcards).

In a list of presents we have 'one clock, with some rare devices to strike after the Moors' fashion' and two or three Venice crystal boxes (*Letters*, III, 88).

## (2) *Muttakā'*

This word is nowhere explained in the Persian histories. A *muttakā'*, according to Lane, is 'that upon which one leans, or reclines, in eating, drinking, or talking' (*Arabic-English Lexicon*). The



Persian dictionaries like Vullers and Steingass give a similar meaning, showing that the word is used in the same sense in Persian also. Dozy (*Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*) illustrates the use of the word by a quotation where a man sitting on a dais with a bolster behind him and a *muttakā* on his right and on his left is spoken of. He also gives the sense, 'carreau de marbre', i.e., a marble slab. Putting the two senses together, we can guess that the *muttakā*, as we find it mentioned in Mughul history, is not a pillow, but a marble slab, which was variously decorated, and was used for reclining on.

In the *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archæology* (Calcutta, 1926) we have, under No. C, 25 (p. 8), a Carved Marble *Muttakā* Post 'excavated in 1905 at the back of the Dīwān-i-*Ām*'. On inquiry I found that this exhibit was no longer in the Museum, having been discarded some time ago. A friend of mine, at my request, paid a visit to the Museum, discovered the Post in its godown, and, after careful examination, sent me the following information: It is an upright post, which, apparently, once formed part of a rail or screen. It measures 1 ft. 8 ins. in length. The head is round, but the rest of the body is angular, with a square cross section, each side measuring 4 ins. at top and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins. at bottom. From the rest of the description sent me by my friend, I gather that this exhibit was one of



the two upright posts between which was fitted a rail or screen. So a *muttakā'* in Mughul Indian history means a slab or screen, generally of marble, fixed in front of a seat. It was used for reclining on, and can still be seen in pictures, often covered with silk carpets. In the instances quoted below a *muttakā'* was often set with gems.

A *muttakā'* set with diamonds was once bestowed on Prince Shāh Shujā'<sup>1</sup>.

Bahādur Chand, *zamīndār* of Kumaun, received, among other things, a jewelled *muttakā'* (B.N., III, f. 110a).

Prince Muḥammad A'zam received (1107 A.H.) a *muttakā'* of emerald set with rubies (M.A., 380). Prince Muḥammad Mu'izzu'd-Dīn<sup>2</sup> and Bahramand Khān<sup>3</sup> received a *muttakā'* of emerald likewise. Prince Bedār Bakht<sup>4</sup> and Khān Nuṣrat Jang<sup>5</sup> got a jewelled *muttakā'*; Prince Muḥammad Akbar received a *muttakā'* (*Ibid.*, 175); and Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur a *kamar muttakā'* (*Ibid.*, 440-41)—Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam also the same (*Ibid.*, 518).

### (3) Statuary

There seems to have been considerable demand

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller notice see p. 129 below.

<sup>2</sup> M.A., 222.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 254.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 423.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 470.



for carved figures of birds and animals in all sorts of material.

In the end of VII R. Y. Muqarrab Khān presented to Jahāngīr, among other things, a jewelled sparrow (*Tūzuk*, 114; R. & B., I, 234).

The same Muqarrab Khān, in 1614, placed with Downton a long order for articles he required for presentation to the Emperor. His list included 'any figures of beasts, birds or other similes made of glass, of hard plaster, of silver, brass, wood, iron, stone, or ivory' (*Letters*, II, 173).

Apparently in compliance with this requisition the E. I. Company home authorities sent out what Roe calls some 'very ridiculous and ill shaped' wooden models: 'six carved figures of a lion, buck, horse, greyhound, bull and talbot (a species of dog noted for quickness of scent), and had cost 57s. each' (Roe, 350, f.n. 1). They reached India (in 1617) in a deplorable condition, and even Roe was ashamed of them.

### *Mixed Ornaments*

Having finished individual mentions of articles, we can now take up cases where more than one ornament was given away on a single occasion.

Mahābat Khān sent to Jahāngīr (XII R.Y.), as offering, three emeralds, one jewelled *urbasī* and a ring set with a ruby. The prices totalled 7,000



rupees (*Tūzuk*, 187 ; R. & B., I, 378).

On 24 *Rabī'* II, 1057 A.H., when Shāh Jahān was at Kābul, Princes Shāh Shujā' and Murād Bakhsh came and waited on him. The Emperor bestowed on Shāh Shujā' a robe of honour with *nādirī*, a string of pearls, a *sar-pech* of rubies, and a *jīgha* (turban ornament) set with diamonds, besides some jewelled weapons—the whole of the value of a lakh of rupees (*B.N.*, II, 681).

Early in XXI R.Y., when Shāh Jahān was at Kābul, he paid a visit to Prince Shāh Shujā''s house. The latter offered presents out of which a quantity worth Rs. 3,20,000 was accepted. The Emperor bestowed on him a *sar-pech* comprising a ruby and two pearls, with some jewelled articles—value totalling one lakh, besides an Arab horse named "*Har-zafar*" with gold-enamelled saddle ; and awarded to each of his two sons, Zainu'd-Dīn Muḥammad and Buland Akhtar, a string of pearls and a jewelled aigrette (*B.N.*, III, ff. 2b-3a ; A.S., III, 2).

Again, on 1 *Ṣafar*, 1058, Prince Shāh Shujā', on his return to Bengal, was given, among other things, a jewelled aigrette, a *sar-pech* containing one ruby and two pearls, and a *muttakā'* set with diamonds—total price, one lakh. His sons too received similar ornaments (*B.N.*, III, f. 11b ; A.S., III, 22).

Prince Aurangzeb, on his return from an un-



successful attack on Qandahar, was placed (end of 1059 A.H.) in charge of the province of Tatta and the *sarkārs* of Bhakkar and Sīwistān, in addition to the Multān province, of which he was already governor. On his departure he was awarded a string of emeralds with other gems and jewelled things. To his son, Sultān Muḥammad, was given a *sar-band* of one ruby and two pearls, while Sultān Muḥammad Mu'azzam, his other son, received a necklace of pearls (B.N., III, f. 40a; A.S., III, 105).

Shortly afterwards, a valuable *sar-pech* consisting of rubies, pearls and emeralds was sent by a messenger to 'Ādil Khān, king of Bījāpur (*Ibid.*).

On the occasion of a Solar Weighment, which fell on Friday, 26 Ṣafar, 1064, Prince Dārā Shukoh received a necklace of valuable pearls, a string of pearls with one emerald, a jewelled aigrette, a jewelled *urbasī*, a jewelled waist-band, etc.—total price, 4 lakhs—besides two elephants (B.N., III, 85b; A.S., III, 180).

In Muḥarram, 1065 A.H., the six-year-old son of the Rānā received a robe, a jewelled *sar-pech*, a jewelled aigrette, a string of pearls, and an *urbasī* set with stones, and was named Subhāg Singh (B.N., III, f. 94b; A.S., III, 196).

A Solar Weighment was held on Monday, 24 Rabī' I, 1066. On this occasion Dārā Shukoh



received a special gold-worked robe of honour with *nīma āstīn* also worked in gold, a necklace of pearls and emeralds, and a jewelled waist-band—total price, Rs. 1,50,000 (*B.N.*, III, f. 104b; *A.S.*, III, 214).

On 'Īdu'l-*fiṭr* day, 1072 A.H., Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam was honoured with a robe, a jewelled *sar-pech*, a jewelled dagger with a pearl-string, a *dhukdhukī*, an *urbasī*, a jewelled bracelet (*pahunchī*), and a *samaran* of pearls (*Al. N.*, 740).

On 27 *Rabī'* I, 1081, a son was born to Prince Muḥammad A'zam by Jahānzeb Bānū Begum. The Emperor gave the new-born babe the name Bedār Bakht and a cap worth Rs. 10,000, and its mother a necklace of pearls worth the same amount with a *samaran* of the value of Rs. 7,000 (*M.A.*, 105).

A son was born to Prince Muḥammad Akbar (XIX R.Y.) and was named *Khujasta Akhtar*. The Emperor sent to the Prince's house, through *Khusrau chela*, a pearl-string, a cap of pearls, and five pieces of cloth (*Ibid.*, 150).

Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam received (same year) a jewelled aigrette with *jhumka* worth Rs. 9,000 and a jewelled *pahunchī* worth Rs. 50,000 (*Ibid.*, 151).

On 5 *Shā'bān*, 1087, on the occasion of his marriage with the daughter of Mīrzā Mukarram Khān, Prince Mu'izzu'd-Dīn received a robe with *chahār qab*,



a string of pearls worth Rs. 10,000 and a *samaran* worth Rs. 10,000 likewise (*Ibid.*, 152).

On receipt of the news of the capture of Gawāhattī (29 *Muḥarram*, 1090) the Emperor sent to Prince Muḥammad A'zam, through the messenger who had brought the tidings, a string of 91 pearls valued at 2 lakhs and a jewelled aigrette worth Rs. 25,000 (*Ibid.*, 173).

On 21 *Sha'bān*, 1094, the Emperor visited the *yātishkhāna* of Prince Muḥammad A'zam in the Fort. He bestowed a ring worth Rs. 275 on the Prince, a pearl necklace and an ear-drop of ruby worth Rs. 14,000 on Jahānzeb Bānū Begum, a pearl necklace worth Rs. 19,000 on Gitī Ārā Begum (daughter of the Prince), and a jewelled *karā* worth Rs. 2,200 on Bījāpurī Maḥal. The Prince offered articles to the value of Rs. 2,98,400 (*Ibid.*, 235).

Now that the individual ornaments have been surveyed, we should like to see them in actual wear. Jewelled arms and ornaments were worn by the emperor and the nobles at the court and outside, as a matter of custom and etiquette. A very large number of pictures<sup>1</sup> are extant where the Mughul aristocracy—emperor, princes and nobles—can be

<sup>1</sup> The reader will find these in all picture books, some of which have been named in Author's *Manṣabdārī System and the Mughul Army*, p. xii. To these may be added Manucci's portfolio, which has been reproduced in the plates in *Storia*.



seen in full dress, bedecked with gems and jewelled arms. For the benefit of those who have not the opportunity to see these pictures we offer two word-pictures from the pen of Roe, which will help them to visualize some of the vanished glories of the jewellers' and the lapidaries' art.

Roe thus describes the jewellery actually worn by Jahāngīr on one of his birthday festivals, which fell on September 1, 1617, and which Roe witnessed. The Emperor, he says, 'appeared clothed, or rather laden, with diamonds, rubies, pearles, and other precious vanities, so great, so glorious! his sword, target, throne to rest on correspondent; his head, necke, breast, armes, above the elbowes, at the wrists, his fingers every one with at least two or three rings, fettered with chaines, or dyalled dyamonds, rubies as great as wal-nuts (some greater), and pearles such as mine eyes were amazed at' (pp. 378-79).

On an earlier occasion, Roe attended Jahāngīr's durbar, when the latter was leaving Ajmer on November 2, 1616. The arms, jewels and dress worn by the Emperor are thus described by the ambassador: 'Then another [attendant] came and buckled on his swoord and buckler, sett all over with great diamonds and rubyes, the belts of gould suteable. Another hung on his quiver with 30 arrowes and



his bow in a case, the same that was presented by the Persian ambassador. On his head he wore a rich turbant with a plume of herne tops, not many but long; on one syde hung a ruby unsett, as bigg as a walnutt; on the other syde a diamond as great; in the middle an emralld like a hart, much bigger. His shash was wreathed about with a chayne of great pearle, rubyes, and diamonds drild. About his neck hee carried a chaine of most excellent pearle, three double (so great I never saw); at his elbowes, armletts sett with diamonds; and on his wrists three rowes of several sorts. His hands bare, but almost on every finger a ring; his gloves, which were English, stuck under his girdle; his coate of cloth of gould without sleeves upon a fine *semian* as thin as lawne; on his feete a payre of embrodered buskings with pearle, the toes sharp and turning up' (pp. 283-84).

We can survey the Emperor's jewellery from another point of view. We get the following information about the major ornaments worn by the Emperor from Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hamīd of Lahore: 'The *sar-pech* (turban ornament) which the Emperor wears on high occasions consists, he says, of five large rubies and twenty-four large pearls, the central ruby weighing 12 *tānks* or 288 jewellers' *ratīs*. Although the price of this stone is only two



lakhs of rupees on the royal registers, if a merchant were to obtain such a gem-stone, princes or nobles would pay even four lakhs for it and buy it for presentation to the Emperor: money is so abundant and such a present so rare.....The best and the largest of the pearls in the *sar-pech* is of the shape of a guava and weighs 47 *ratīs*, and is priced at Rs. 50,000. The total value of the *sar-pech*, allowing only two lakhs for the large ruby, is estimated at 12 lakhs (*B.N.*, II, 391-92).

Next the same historian tells us of a *tasbīḥ* (necklace) which consisted of five rubies and thirty pearls, the total price of the ornament being 8 lakhs of rupees.

The largest and the purest of the pearls, he continues, are put on the *sar-pech*, and such as are left over are strung on this *tasbīḥ*. Besides these there are two *tasbīḥs* containing altogether 125 pearls, between which are strung alternately coloured *yāqūts*. These two *tasbīḥs* are valued at 20 lakhs. The central pearl of each of these *tasbīḥs* weighs 32 *ratīs*, and is worth Rs. 40,000 (*Ibid.*, 392).<sup>1</sup>

The total value of gems and ornaments belonging to the Emperor, Mulla 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd goes on, is five crores of rupees. Out of these two crores'

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Author's *Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughuls*, pp. 281-84.



worth is worn on the Emperor's person, and is kept in charge of reliable servants in the haram, and three crores' worth is kept outside in charge of *chelas*.<sup>1</sup>

### *Ladies' Ornaments*

Perhaps the reader is asking himself, How is it that no presentation of jewels in this long discourse has been associated with a lady ?<sup>2</sup> And yet jewellery is the exclusive domain of women !

The objection is justified, and the explanation is as follows : Ornaments were of course worn by the inmates of the haram ;—indeed a large variety must have been in daily use, and ladies' jewellery, we may presume, must have been articles of exquisite delicacy and workmanship, in comparison with which men's ornaments (except those of the emperor and the first princes of the blood) were mere trifles. And we may be sure large quantities of gems and jewels passed as presents in the royal haram on ceremonial occasions, or when the nobles' wives visited the imperial seraglio. But the pity of it is that everything passed behind the veil, and there is no historian or newswriter to record the presentations or describe the ornaments. All we can present to the reader is

<sup>1</sup> B N., II, 393.

<sup>2</sup> There have been one or two exceptions, but those only prove the rule.



Manucci's garrulously graphic description of the ornaments of the Haram ladies:

'The goldsmiths,' he says, 'are almost continuously busy with the making of ornaments. The best and the most costly of their productions are for the king's person, the queens, and the princesses.

The latter make it one of their diversions to examine and show to others their jewellery. But they have their reasons for this; for I have noticed several times myself when introduced into the rooms of these ladies, they having asserted that they had some reason for consulting me, that they often caused their ornaments and jewels to be brought, solely as an opening for a conversation. The things are brought in great trays of gold. They would inquire from me their virtues and properties, and make other similar remarks. During this time I had sufficient leisure to examine them, and I may say I have seen every sort of stone, some of an extraordinary size, and strings of pearls very equal in size, which at the first start I often took for various kinds of fruit. I say various kinds of fruit, for there were strings of rubies pierced and strung together just like the pearls, and about the size of a nut. These, by their red colour, diversified that of the pearls, and I took the whole for fruit.

These ladies keep their rubies in this condition



in order not to diminish their size and weight, for they know quite well that no one but themselves would be able to wear them, and, on the other hand, they have no need to sell them. Thus they do not mind their being pierced. They wear these necklaces of jewels like scarves, on both shoulders, added to three strings of pearls on each side. Usually they have also three to five rows of pearls hanging from their neck, coming down as far as the lower part of the stomach. Upon the middle of the head is a bunch of pearls which hangs down as far as the centre of the forehead, with a valuable ornament of costly stones formed into the shape of the sun, or moon, or some star, or at times imitating different flowers. This suits them exceedingly well. On the right side they have a little round ornament (*bcucle*), in which is a small ruby inserted between two pearls. In their ears are valuable stones, round the neck large pearls or strings of precious stones, and over these a valuable ornament having in its centre a big diamond, or ruby, or emerald, or sapphire, and round it huge pearls.

They wear on their arms, above the elbow, rich armlets two inches wide, enriched on the surface with stones, and having small bunches of pearls depending from them. At their wrists are very rich bracelets, or bands of pearls, which usually go round



nine or twelve times. In this way they often have the place for feeling the pulse so covered up that I found it difficult to put my hand upon it. On their fingers are rich rings, and on the right thumb there is always a ring, where, in place of a stone, there is mounted a little round mirror, having pearls around it. This mirror they use to look at themselves, an act of which they are very fond, at any and every moment. In addition, they are girded with a sort of waistbelt of gold two fingers wide, covered all over with great stones; at the ends of the strings which tie up their drawers there are bunches of pearls made up of fifteen strings five fingers in length. Round the bottom of their legs are valuable metal rings or strings of costly pearls.

All these princesses own six to eight sets of jewels, in addition to some other sets of which I do not speak, worn according to their own fancy. Their dresses are superb and costly, perfumed with essence of roses. Every day they change their clothes several times; this is due to the vicissitudes in the weather, which occur continually in the Mogul country. When these ladies want to dispose of their jewels, it is almost impossible for them to do so. For Prince Akbar, when he was in the territory of Shivā Jī, finding himself without money, sent five rubies to Goa to be sold. They were equal to those



I spoke of above. Yet no one wanted to buy, owing to the high prices he asked, also because they were pierced' (*Storia*, II, 339-40).

### *Arms and Ornaments (Mixed)*

We can wind up with a *résumé* of presentations in which arms and ornaments were inextricably mingled. Classification of these into their constituent elements would spoil the force of the context.

Prince Pīr Muḥammad, the grandson of Tīmūr, who had been sent in advance to take Multān, returned with success and joined Tīmūr's forces on the banks of the Jhelum (14 Ṣafar, 801 A.H.). Next day, the 15th, Tīmūr crossed the Jhelum and encamped at Janjān—40 *krohs* from Multān. He stopped at Janjān four whole days. On the 18th, Pīr Muḥammad gave a feast in the same place. He offered to his grandfather, as presents, crowns, gold waist-bands, Arab horses with saddles, fine cloths, and gold and silver vessels like basins, cups and ewers (*Zafar Nāma*, II, 61-62).

'On Saturday, the 29th of the first Rabīa [935 A.H.],' says Bābur, 'I presented Askeri with a dagger enriched with precious stones, a belt<sup>1</sup>, and a complete royal dress of honour; gave him the standard, the horsetail, the kettle-drum, and a stud

<sup>1</sup> The Persian text has just *kamar-khanjar*, i.e., a waist-dagger.



of Tipchāk<sup>1</sup> horses, ten elephants, a string of camels, a string of mules, and a royal equipage and camp-furniture' (*Tūzuk-i-Bāburī*, 228; *Memoirs of Bābur*, II, 356).

On 18 *Tīr*, X R. Y., says Jahāngīr, the offering of 'Abdu'r-Rahīm "Khān Khānān" was placed before him. He had assorted all sorts of things, gems and jewelled articles, such as three rubies, 103 pearls, 100 *yāqūts*, two (or ten) jewelled *khanjars*, an aigrette set with *yāqūts* and pearls, a jewelled water-jar, a jewelled sword, a velvet-covered quiver with jewelled fittings, and a diamond ring—total price, one lakh. Besides these there were gems and jewelled things, stuffs from the Deccan and the Carnatic and all kinds of gold and plain cloths, fifteen elephants and one horse whose mane reached down to the ground.<sup>2</sup>

On Prince Khurram's victorious return from the Deccan (XII R. Y.), Jahāngīr loaded him with gifts and favours. Besides the title of Shāh Jahān, the *manṣab* 30,000/20,000 and the privilege of sitting in a chair near the throne in the Emperor's presence, he was given the following presents: 'A special dress of honour with a gold-embroidered

<sup>1</sup> *Tupchāq*. This word has been discussed and explained in Author's *Horse and Elephant Trappings and Other Conveyances*, to be soon published.

<sup>2</sup> *Tūzuk*, 145; corrected with the P. U. L. MS., f. 154a. I have given my own translation.



*chār qab*, with collar, the end of the sleeves and the skirt decorated with pearls, worth 50,000 rupees, a jewelled sword with a jewelled *pardala* (belt) [baldric], and a jewelled dagger' (*Tūzuk*, 195; R. & B., I, 395).

On 20 *Rajab*, 1039, *Shāh Jahān* bestowed on *Yāqūt Khān*, an Abyssinian Deccan *amīr*, a miniature *Qur'ān* in a jewelled case, a jewelled sword, a jewelled *karā* (heavy bangle) and a lakh of rupees in cash (*B.N.*, I, i, 293).

On 8 *Zū'l-qa'd*, 1049, when the Emperor was encamped on the banks of the Chenab. Aurangzeb was ordered to proceed to Daulatābād. He received, on departure, a special robe with *farjī*, a *sar-pech* of rubies and pearls valued at Rs. 1,50,000, a string of pearls with three rubies and four emeralds (price, Rs. 50,000), a special *jamdhar*, a special sword, a special quiver, a jewelled waist-band, with other jewelled things, twenty horses and two elephants (*B.N.*, II, 180; *A.S.*, II, 317).

In *Rabī' II*, 1063, *Param Dev Sisodia* received a jewelled *sar-pech*, two pearl ear-rings and a string of pearls, besides a *jamdhar* (*B.N.*, III, f. 75a; *A.S.*, III, 160).

About the same time *Mānjī*, the ruler (*marzbān*) of *Jānda* [? *Chānda*], received, besides a robe of honour, a jewelled *sar-pech*, a jewelled *khapwa*, and



an *urbasī* set with diamonds (*B.N.*, III, f. 75a-b).

The grand-daughter of Rāja Gaj Singh was to be married to Sultān Sulaimān Shukoh, the eldest son of Dārā Shukoh. A month before the wedding the girl was brought to the palace and taught the *kalima* (i.e., initiated into Islam) by the Emperor himself. Gems and jewelled things, articles of gold and silver, cloth, etc., to the value of two lakhs of rupees, were bestowed on the girl. The night of the 26th *Jumādā I* (*A.S.* says, *Jumādā II*), 1064, was fixed for the *nikāḥ*. Boats were set out on the river; and on the bank a wooden wall was erected like a rampart, on which were built towers, beautifully perforated, at intervals of a few yards. Lamps and fireworks were arranged on the wall and towers.

The Emperor bestowed on the bridegroom a robe of honour, a string of pearls which contained some rubies and emeralds, a jewelled aigrette, a jewelled *jamdhar* with *phūl-kaṭāra*, a jewelled waist-band, etc., besides two elephants and two horses with trappings—total price estimated at Rs. 1,50,000. The Emperor tied the *sihra* on the bridegroom's head with his own hands; and the *kābīn* was fixed at two lakhs (*B.N.*, III, f. 89a; *A.S.*, III, 187).

Shāh Jahān sent (XXVIII R.Y.) to Sultān Muḥammad IV some very costly presents by the hands of Qā'im Beg. These consisted of a dagger set



with diamonds and *yāqūts* with jewelled rosettes, and fitted with a string of pearls and emeralds, prepared in the royal manufactory at a cost of one lakh of rupees, a waist-band set with diamonds and *yāqūts* valued at Rs. 40,000, a big crystal box (over which the royal jewellers had taken great pains) filled with *'itr-i-Jahāngīrī*, and some Gujarāt and Kashmīr stuffs worth two lakhs of rupees (*B.N.*, III, 91a; *A.S.*, III, 191).

After Shāh Jahān had the serious illness which led ultimately to his dethronement and imprisonment, he was taken to Āgra. There, by the time he had somewhat recovered, the annual Lunar Feast was held on Monday, 24 *Rabī' I*, 1068 *A.H.* On this occasion the Emperor showed his appreciation of Dārā Shukoh's services and solicitude for his health by showering the following favours on him: A robe of honour, one crore *dāms* in cash, a *jamdhar* with *phūl-kaṭāra*, a *sar-pech* of rubies, a *khāṣṣa* armlet (*bāzū-band*), a string of pearls worth 20 (according to *A.S.*, 23) lakhs which the Emperor often wore himself, and other jewelled articles worth 14 lakhs of rupees. His rank was raised to 60,000/40,000 (30,000 *du-aspa si-aspa*) (*B.N.*, III, 141b-142a).

We know that at the end of XX R.Y. no single *tasbīḥ* in Shāh Jahān's treasury was valued at that



high figure.<sup>1</sup> This one must have been put together in the third decade.

On Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam's wedding (13 *Rabī'* II, 1072) Aurangzeb presented him with a string of valuable pearls worth Rs. 50,000, which he tied on his head with his own hands, another *sar-band* containing one ruby and two round pearls, valued at Rs. 55,000, a jewelled *bāzū-band*, a *khāṣṣa* dagger with a pearl-string, a *charkasī-i-khāṣṣa*<sup>2</sup> sewn with pearls, a jewelled aigrette, and one lakh in cash, besides horses and elephants (*Al.N.*, 643).

When Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam was sent out to Kābul (14 *Rabī'* I, 1077) he was presented on his departure with a robe, a jewelled aigrette, a string of pearls containing also valuable emeralds, a *sar-band* comprising two bright rubies, two emeralds, and two costly pearls, a sword with jewelled fastenings, a jewelled dagger with a pearl-string, a quiver

<sup>1</sup> See p. 135 above and *B.N.*, II, 391-92.

<sup>2</sup> This is an unusual word. My friend, K. B. M. Muhammad Shafi, late of Oriental College, Lahore, has furnished me with two valuable references bearing on the point: In *Diwān-i-Albisa* of M. Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Qārī of Yazd (Constantinople, 1303 A.H.) we have on p.

خشتک چرکسی which means 'gusset of a *charkasī*'. From the title of the *Diwān* and the phrase as quoted, a *charkasī* is obviously some article of apparel. The next reference gives a clearer indication: The writer of the article "Çerkesses (Circassians)" in *Encyclopædia of Islām*, enumerates, among the masculine dress of the Circassians, 'sheepskin cap, felt cloak, Çerkesska, i.e., overcoat' (I, 836). Thus we learn that a *charkasī*, of which *charkaska* is only the Turkish form, means a kind of overcoat used by the Circassians.



with jewelled fittings, and some gems—total price, Rs. 2,60,000—besides 100 horses, an elephant, and 5 lakhs in cash (*Al.N.*, 975-76).

Husain Pāshā, governor of Baṣra, who had fallen out with the Sultan, and had been dismissed by him, sought refuge in Persia; but not being favourably received there, he came over with his family and dependants to India (*Ṣafar*, 1080 A.H.). Aurangzeb welcomed him with great honour. The Pāshā offered a ruby worth Rs. 20,000 and ten Arab horses; and received, besides a special robe of honour, a *manṣab* and a title, a sword with jewelled fittings worth Rs. 6,000, a jewelled dagger, an elephant with silver trappings and one lakh of rupees in cash (*M.A.*, 86-87).

Next, the following is worth quoting in full:

“Amīru’l-Umarā” Shā’ista Khān, Governor of Bengal, waited on the Emperor (1089 A.H.) and offered 30 lakhs in cash and jewels to the value of 4 lakhs. These included a glass such that when a water-melon was placed over against it it dried up, and its juice trickled out drop by drop; and a box so constructed that when to one side of it an elephant, and to the other side a goat, had been harnessed, the elephant could not draw it, and the goat pulled it off along with the elephant. He received a costly robe of honour, a *khanjar* with a



jewelled jasper handle and enamelled fastenings with a [pearl] string, and a *dhūp* with gold fittings, besides a jasper stick which was in the Emperor's personal use at the time. The "Amīru'l-Umarā" was on this occasion honoured with the privilege of riding in a *pālkī* right up to the *ghusul-khāna*—a privilege unique for a nobleman not of the royal blood; and was allowed to beat his drums after Prince *Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur* (M. A., 167)

Quite towards the end of the reign, Aurangzeb sent to Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam a *jamdhar*, a *kamar muttakā*' and a jewelled *pahunchī*—price, 50,000 rupees (M. A., 518).

This vast and varied wealth, of which only a few more or less typical examples have been placed before the reader in this rapid survey, must have been a wonder of the age. And just because the contents of the Treasury were not open to public view, their quantities and their values being only dimly guessed at, there was a halo of mystery and fable about the Royal Treasure.

Even at this distance of time, however, we cannot contemplate without wonder and enthusiasm the rarities which the Mughul taste attracted from all quarters of the globe, and the gems of art which it called into existence.

We are surprised at the delicacy and refinement



to which the art of the lapidary and the jeweller had attained in the best period of Mughul history.<sup>1</sup>

Besides these there were the workers in gold and silver, the enamellers, the carvers in ivory, coral, amber, tortoise-shell and mother-of-pearl, and there were those who knew the use of lapis lazuli and vermillion.

Indeed, under the munificent patronage of a wealthy and select aristocracy, with whom money went for nothing and the æsthetic quality of things for everything, certain marvels of manual skill and miracles of taste came into existence, to which, period for period, it would be difficult to find a parallel in the world's history. One would like to imagine what India's position would be in the world of art and culture today, if a kindlier fate had preserved from the ravages of vandals the treasures of Delhi cumulated through centuries of conquest in war, and of presentations and escheats, enlightened patronage and encouragement, in peace. What would be our feelings about our country, our people and our past, if we possessed today, say, Shāh Jahān's palace in Delhi Fort, as it was when completed in 1647 after over

<sup>1</sup> Well-defined and highly developed tastes were in evidence everywhere. Even a hostile and unwilling witness like Roe is willing to testify that 'These people are very curious and can judge of woorkemanship well; but you must fitt them with variety, for they are soone cloyd with one thing' (Roe, 312, f. n.).



eight years of building and decoration, at the expense of 60 lakhs of rupees (equivalent to some three crores today), and if in its halls and chambers were shown, in niches or in glass cases, all the varied wealth of art which was once contained in the Great Mughuls' treasury, stores, library, arsenals and offices ? The Delhi fort-palace, now an insignificant shell of what it once was, would indeed be a place of pilgrimage for the art-loving public all over the world.

The fertility of the creative artist and the taste of the Mughul patron, which led Indian art to its triumphs—to which such a collection would bear ungrudging witness—would indeed give India its proper place in the history of art and civilization, and perhaps lend a new orientation to our historical values.







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## SOME SELECTED OPINIONS

**Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan**, *Late High Commissioner for India in South Africa*

My attention to Mr. Abdul Aziz's work was drawn by his excellent articles in the Journal of Indian History, Madras, in, I think, 1932 or 1933. I followed these articles with the greatest interest, as they dealt with an exceedingly difficult period in a style of striking lucidity and scientific precision. They contained none of the vague, obscure and inaccurate theories and facts which has sometimes impelled me to ask the author, why do you mumble? I am glad to find that Mr. Abdul Aziz has collected together these articles and intends to publish them in a book form. I think it is a wise decision, and will be welcomed by all students of Mughul India.

Mr. Abdul Aziz's monograph on "The Imperial Treasury of the Greater Mughuls" is a work of solid research, sound judgment and great industry, and he has laid all students of the period under a deep debt of gratitude by his researches. Only those who have been through the novitiate of a trained historical scholar can appreciate the wealth and variety of the material he has collected together. His introductory chapter on the Imperial Household is excellent, and he has discussed the material with discrimination and tact. It does not pretend to be an exhaustive account, and he had perforce to content himself with the chief offices and departments...



Mr. Aziz then discusses the sources of revenue in the time of greater Mughuls and calculates their value, with his customary caution, detachment and precision.

The other articles deal with precious stones, and discuss the nature and quality of various kinds of stones, and trace the history of the Koh-i-Nur diamond... The section on Rubies is excellent while other sections that will appeal to readers are those on Ivory and Ivory Work in India..... The chapter headed Actual Contents of Jewel Treasury from the invasion of Bābur to that of Nādir Shāh is a work of rare power, and should be read by all.....

This brief analysis of a brilliant work will show at a glance how solid is Mr. Abdul Aziz's contribution to the knowledge of the Mughul India. Mr. Abdul Aziz's account of the Thrones, Chairs and Seats of the Great Mughuls makes fascinating reading, and there is a very fine account of the Peacock Throne.....

Mr. Abdul Aziz has also published articles on the Manṣabdārī System and the Mughul Army. In these articles Mr. Aziz deals with a subject which has been the focus of acute controversy, and discusses the theories of Dr. Paul Horn, Blochmann, and others on the nature and origin of Manṣabdārī.

The subject bristles with difficulties, and no writer can claim infallibility. I am, however, inclined to agree with the author that Dr. Paul Horn's whole account of the Manṣabdārī System suffers from a fundamental misunderstanding. The author's explanation of the significance of Zat and Sawar ranks is plausible, as it represents a very dispassionate and thorough analysis of the works of previous writers on the subject. The reader will find Mr. Abdul Aziz's account of Mughul aristocracy as a social phenomenon interesting...



In conclusion, I may add that few works published during the last twenty years have dealt so thoroughly and ably with an extremely important aspect of Mughul administration. Mr. Abdul Aziz's work is a pioneer undertaking and he has brought to his task all the qualities which are indispensable in a historian—sound judgment, care and caution in the handling of material, thorough study of the data and a lucid style. I am sure that the work will be welcomed by all students of this period with enthusiasm.

**J. F. Bruce, Esq.,** *University Professor of History, Punjab University, Lahore.*

I have been rather closely aware, during the past eight years, of the studies of Mr. Abdul Aziz in Mughul history; and have read the published results with much interest. He is well equipped for the enquiries to which he has devoted himself for a good many years past, as he possesses not only an exact knowledge of Persian, but also a very wide and critical knowledge of the original contemporary sources from which alone a genuine understanding of that period can be derived. He has also a command of the language of French and German scholars of the subject.

Mr. Abdul Aziz is a very meticulous student, who insists upon a precise examination of the *minutiæ* of his subject, which gives his reader confidence in the originality and authenticity of his work. If he can give us a reflective summary of the result of his years of patient scholarship, he will make a valuable contribution to Indian history. He has, too, a clear and pleasant English style.

**K. B. M. Afzal Husain,** *Vice-Chancellor, Punjab University.*

Mr. Abdul Aziz has sent me for opinion reprints of his



articles on various subjects connected with the history of the Mughul period. I have read these entertaining articles with great interest. Scientific precision regarding the authenticity of facts is the characteristic of these valuable contributions. The style is lucid and elegant. I have been struck by the extensive amount of labour which this study must have entailed and the thorough mastery of the subject which the author possesses.

So far history has been dealt with as the story of kings. Mr. Abdul Aziz has rendered valuable service to our country in dealing with the history of the people of the Mughul period. A king may be good or he may be bad, and to base the entire conception of the evolution of society on the personality of the king cannot historically yield important results. The common people are the real material of which history is built, and I congratulate Mr. Abdul Aziz that he has constructed his history from such material.

**Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Editor,**  
*"Journal of Indian History," Madras.*

Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar.-at-Law, Batala, Punjab, began rather a large scale history of perhaps the most brilliant period of the Mughul Empire in India, the empire under Shah Jahan. He contributed a series of articles as a preliminary to his work on the Manṣabdārī System of the Mughuls, and the Treasury and the Jewels of the Mughuls. In both of these subjects, he made a most thorough-going study of the topics he chose for treatment. Had he had the chance of completing the work without interruption, he should have succeeded in publishing a magnificent work on the Mughul Empire.....I may say that Mr. Abdul Aziz's work as a student of history deserves all commendation. I only hope



that he will have, for this part of the work, such an encouraging reception as would stimulate him to go forward and complete the work, notwithstanding all the inconveniences, which his professional work as well as the other calls upon his time might interpose. I wish him all success in his enterprise.

**The Hon'ble. Sir Azizul Huque, Commerce Member, Government of India.**

I have gone through the reprints of your articles on the "Imperial Treasury and the Mughul Army" and I congratulate you on your careful collection of materials available in scattered works. I wish there were similar studies on the Mughul administration in India by other research workers.

**S. H. Hodivala, Esq., Principal and Professor of History (retired), Bahauddin College, Junagadh, author of "Historical Studies in Mughul Numismatics," "Studies in Indo-Muslim History."**

I am very greatly obliged to you for letting me see an advance copy of the Table of Contents of the Series of Monographs which you have projected on the Court and Institutions of the Indian Mughuls. Your plan is an ambitious one and may take some years to complete, but it is a task well worth performing, and I devoutly hope that you will be able to complete it and get the extra treatises published, as you hope to do, during the next three years. To judge from the two dissertations which have been already printed, it is sure to be of great value for the intensive study of the subject. No one who has read those Essays on the Mansabdārī System and the Imperial Treasury can fail to be most favourably impressed by your patient industry, wide know-



ledge of the original authorities, meticulous zeal and avidity for facts and the judgment and good sense you have brought to bear on the interpretation of the crabbed and frequently cryptic phraseology of the contemporary chroniclers. This is specially true of the disquisition on the *Manṣabdārī* System—a subject which has been greatly perplexed by the guesses and theories of previous writers. It is possible that we shall never be able to understand it completely, but your elucidations of some of the obscure and controversial points may be justly described as honest and intelligent attempts to arrive at the truth and they deserve to be carefully considered by all earnest students of the subject.

**Muhammad Shafi, Esq.,** *Principal, University Oriental College, Lahore.*

For many years Prof. Abdul Aziz has been devoting himself almost entirely to a critical study of the problems connected with the history of *Mughul* India. His extensive reading of the original authorities of the first rank, with a judicious use of contemporary paintings and other illustrative materials has enabled him to give us a vivid and life-like picture of the *Mughul* times. His abundant sympathy with his subject, controlled by his critical capacity, has given his narrative the rare quality which is found only in the very best histories of the period. Students of the period will thank him for his deep researches into the period.

**The late Mr. W.H. Moreland** of the *I.C.S.*, author of "*Jahangir's India*," "*Agrarian System of Moslem India*," etc.

It gave me great satisfaction to see that you had changed from the conventional style, which merely produces more "chronicles", and were trying to make history out of the



chronicles and the other material available.....With all good wishes for the success of your work (Letter dated 31st January, 1933).

It is always pleasant to hear from anyone who is trying to find facts in Indian history, where so many people are content to make guesses (Letter dated 4th April, 1933).



MORE RECENT REVIEWS  
ON  
"THE IMPERIAL TREASURY OF THE  
INDIAN MUGHULS"

Mr. 'Abdul-'Aziz is a practising lawyer of Lahore and it is very creditable on his part to have devoted his valuable time in deep researches into the social structure of the Mughal empire.....The very contents [of the Series] show the sweep of the author's learning and his researches, and to some extent, unfold to us the grandeur that was the Mughal empire.....Some of the chapters of this book are very interesting and instructive.....The whole book makes an interesting reading even to the extent of the section on jewellers' weights which the author says is more or less dry and technical.....The great educative and cultural value of the work.—*Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad-Deccan.

Mr. Abdul Aziz, who had already established his reputation as a successful interpreter of the history of the Mughal times, has now presented the result of his researches in a volume which forms one of a series on Indo-Mughal Court and its Institutions, and which will interest students of Mughal administration, as also the general reader. The book consists of a detailed survey of the resources of the Indo-Mughal rulers over two centuries, in which their treasure accounts are carefully analysed.....Mr. Aziz's work thus presents a vivid life-like picture of the Indo-Mughal house-



hold, its cash treasury, its jewel treasury, and of the role played by gems and gem-stones in our history. The work, which is well-documented, indicates the author's wide knowledge, and spirit of research. We unhesitatingly recommend its careful study to all interested in the life and manners of the Indo-Mughal times. We shall also watch with a sympathetic interest the author's progress towards the completion of his series.—*The Hindustan Review*, Patna.

For a number of years past Mr. Abdul Aziz has devoted himself to a thorough and detailed study of Mughal Court life and the Mughal system of administration; and his series of monographs, the result of laborious, patient research, promise to be a valuable record of Mughal Indian civilization, better and more comprehensive than the attempts hitherto made. The labour and industry that has gone into the making of this series must indeed have been tremendous. Original sources and authorities have been examined by the author critically and with a discriminating eye. Mr. Abdul Aziz's work is indeed of the first rank and on the basis of his achievement he amply deserves the status of a leading authority on Mughul institutions.

Mr. Abdul Aziz has the advantage of a simple, lucid style, free from verbiage. His work is of great value, especially to students and teachers of history. Even the casual reader will find the publication of much interest.—*The Tribune*, Lahore.

Mr. Abdul Aziz's monograph on "The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Moguls" is a monumental work of solid research, sound judgment, and a thorough knowledge of the people of the Mogul period.....This book achieves remarkable success in being on the one hand scholarly and carefully documented, and on the other, retaining a fresh and



essentially readable style. It may be recommended alike to the student of history and to the layman.—*The Illustrated Weekly of India*, Bombay.

This very curious and interesting book.....A treatise of fascinating interest.—*The Hindu*.

Mr. Abdul Aziz has already well-established his reputation as a close student of the history of Mughal times..... The work is well-documented, his judgment controlled, and his sympathy abundant. It indicates his wide knowledge, meticulous industry, and deep researches. The book can be unhesitatingly recommended to all those interested in the life and manners of the Mughul times.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta.

Mr. Abdul Aziz, though a lawyer by profession, has earned a name for solid research in the history and institutions of the Indian Mughuls.....The accounts of European travellers and indigenous historians have been collated carefully, even to the most detailed *minutiæ*. The treatment .....has a genuine value as bearing on an important, much-vaunted, but little-studied, aspect of Mughul history. We eagerly await the succeeding volumes in the series.—*The Educational Review*, Madras.



MORE RECENT REVIEWS  
ON  
THE MANṢABDĀRĪ SYSTEM AND  
THE MUGHUL ARMY

It need hardly be mentioned that the scholar who makes an objective study of an important period of Indian history naturally deserves our best thanks especially if he makes a study of the Mughal period which, however 'brilliant' it might have been, has begun to be maligned with lapse of time and owing to anachronistic ideas of many of the so-called moderns.....

Mr. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz has delineated the military system from the time of Mughal hordes of Central Asia till it acclimatised itself on the plains of Hindustan. He has discussed all the data he has been able to command, both primary and secondary, and has compared his conclusions with the lists supplied by Indian as well as foreign contemporary authorities.... ..

Mr. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz describes the social life of the nobles and at the Imperial court in an interesting manner and rightly says that the Manṣabdārī system was the basis not only of the army but of the aristocracy as well, for it was "the army, the civil administration and the peerage all rolled into one." While his discussions arising out of the Manṣab are penetrating, his description of the army of the Mughals, which he has condensed into a single chapter, would be interesting even to a layman.....



The work is an extremely valuable contribution to the literature on the institutions of one of the most resplendent periods of the history of India.—*Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad-Deccan.

We reviewed in these columns sometime back the author's earlier work: "The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughuls". It was an excellent research work. By bringing out the present volume under review he has added to his reputation as a brilliant research scholar exploring the Mughul period with success.....

This historical work is swift moving and exciting. The dry historical facts have been presented with clarity and vision. The author has embodied all scholastic requirements, thus providing the student with a text and reference book.—*The Tribune*, Lahore.

Mr. Abdul Aziz, a legal practitioner of Lahore, has projected a series of monographs on the Mughal court and its institutions, the first of them already published being "The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughals". In the present volume he discusses the origin of the *Manṣabdārī* system and traces it to the days of Timur and Chingiz Khan, whose army was the prototype of the Mughal institution; describes the changes made by each of the Grand Mughals up to Aurangzib, who attempted no further reform of it; rejects the view that the *Zat* and *Suwar* ranks represent the infantry and the cavalry; schedules the pay and number of *Manṣabdārī*; and considers their classification, their social and economic position and their military functions. The book is a very welcome contribution to the historical literature on the Indian Mughals.—*The Hindu*, Madras.



The present volume will add to his reputation as a successful research scholar of the Mughal period.....Mr. Abdul Aziz describes lucidly, and in detail, how the Man-sabdārī system worked successfully as the military aristocracy in the days of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and even of Aurangzeb.....

The volume under notice is an informing sketch of an important branch of the Mughal period; and the author's work merits due acknowledgment and wide appreciation.  
—*The Hindustan Review*, Patna.

What Mansabdari is in conception and in detail is very difficult to understand and explain. Historians are generally silent on the matter.....The author takes great pains in giving an authentic account of the difficult subject.....The author traces it from the time of Babar down to the time of Aurangzeb. In support of his statements the author refers to all available authorities and records. This work thus based on concrete facts and instances with a little imagination serves the purpose of a dependable history of the Mansabdari system.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta.

J. F. Bruce, Esq., "Dellstone", Hinksey Hill Top, Oxford.

Several things about it greatly impress me: first, your wide and precise erudition; secondly, your admirable command of literary English, as well as your knowledge of French and German and your critical familiarity with the contributions to your subject in those languages; thirdly, your sensitive appreciation of various aspects of European culture, particularly the artistic. These are all very notable in a scholar who has lived continuously in Punjab for so many years since his sojourn in England and Europe. Moreover, I agree



substantially with your proem on the proper function of the historian.

It is but fair to say to you that you write English more elegantly and expressively than many Englishmen to whom literature is a profession. And I infer that your Persian is of the same quality.

Your patient collation of source material is a lesson in research.—Letter dated December 14, 1946.

P. N. Banerjee, Esq., *Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University*  
*Calcutta.*

I have read with interest the *Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army* by Mr. Abdul Aziz. Mr. Aziz has given illuminating account of the picture of Mughal court life..... Mughal thought and culture has left its deep impress upon Indian culture and thought.....If India reaches her destiny within the next few years, the author's work will not only please the scholar and the general reader, it will have its lessons for the future administrator as well.—Letter dated July 10, 1946.

