

SAGA OF MUGHAL *FARMAN* – UNDERSTANDING THE ESSENTIALS

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ABSTRACT

Mughal chancellery issued many documents for smooth conduct of administration. *Farman* is one of the most significant among these in terms of its diplomatic, legislative and public content. There appears considerable consonance in the *farmans* of Ottoman, Chagatai and Mughal chancelleries. The Mughal *farmans* were meticulously formulated to incorporate invocation in *sarnama*, ornamental signature in *tughra*, genealogy and sanction in seal. Members of royalty being emperor, princes and nobles were substantially exalted in the text. The *farmans* assume different character in each of its varied type. There seem two broad genres of *farman-i-sultani* and *ahkam-i-diwani*, which fissure into separate entity of *fatehnama*, *ahadnama*, *qaulnama*, *manshur*, *shuqqa*, *kalima* and *ahkam*.

Keywords: Mughal *farman*, Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner, *Tughra*, Mughal Documents, Mughal Administration, *Manshur*, *Qaulnama*, *Purandhar ki Sandhi*.

INTRODUCTION

Farman is derived from a Persian word *framan*, which meant a decree, command, edict, order or judgment. In history, the term is used to denote a royal decree, which was disseminated in the name of a ruler or any other person like prince or governor or government officials holding political power.ⁱ The tradition of issuing *farmans* is evident in many Persian and Turkic empires like the Safavid Dynasty, Qajar Dynasty, and Ottoman Empire, Great Timur Empire respectively. These empires had a variegated name for different types of *farmans* like *nishan*, *raqam*, *hokm*, *yarlig*, *parvana*, *parvanca*, et al.ⁱⁱ

Mughal *farmans* were as majestic as the Ashokan edicts or the Balban's theory of Kingship, it is an expression of the magnificence of the Mughal era. This finds expression in the luxurious package like texture of the paper, the embellishments therein and the structure of the entire *farman*. One finds admirable colour schemes of *farmans*, an exquisite marvel of aesthetics. Some *farmans* were on plain gold base, others on mustard and dark brown surface, still other with crimson tulips and also blue base with wave motif.ⁱⁱⁱ These documents were written in a typical

ornamental elegance of Persian and the addressee were mentioned both explicitly and implicitly with a hyperbolic range of praises.

The document represented the prestige and status of the emperor and the farman sometimes served an honor given to the addressee. It was accompanied by luxurious robe of honor according to the varied season of the empire.^{iv} Farman was accordingly received with due respect and dignity.^v There was a prescribed gate in medieval cities named Delhi Darwaza and auspicious place where farman was accepted by the addressee. During the Mughal period the major cities like Aurangabad, Ahmadabad, and Hyderabad had a separate gate called Delhi Darwaza for receiving Mughal farman^{vi} According to an entry of siyah huzur (daily dairy of imperial court) we gather that ‘after one pahar (9 am) the prince (Aurangzeb) rode out to receive the imperial farman and the public and private audience was postponed’.^{vii} Thus It was a mark of prestige that the emperor addressed a prince, noble or official by a farman.

Farman, is of supreme legal significance. This imperial order was entered in records like dastak (permit) and siyah huzur.^{viii} At times nishan^{ix} granted mansab (rank) to a noble,^xbut it assumed legal status only after farman was issued for the same by the emperor.^{xi} Farman thus carries ultimate legal status which supersedes other documents like nishans, akhbarat (newsletters), yaddashts (memorandum), etc. It promulgates law and is quoted thus as an imperial order. Emperor was center stage of the administrative machinery and his authority was all-pervading.

The farmans were usually dictated to the munshis^{xii} while some were in emperors’ own handwriting especially for Shahjahan’s reign.^{xiii} The basic construct of farman is briefly outlined below-

Layout of *Farman*

The basic construct of various types of *farmans* is more or less the same even though they had micro differences. It carries first at the top Islamic salutations or *sarnama*, followed by *tughra* (calligraphic monogram or cipher) and seal, which were placed parallel to each other after which the main content was written. The main content was usually preceded by lofty and high-sounding titles conferred to the addressee. At the end of the farman, date or month is written. The entire text was very verbose and the real matter was couched in fanciful language. The details of the different components are briefly discussed:

Intitulation (*Sarnama*)

Sarnama appears to be a derivative of ‘*Sar*’ which means ‘head’ in Persian. This marks the beginning of the *farman*. The beginning is made by the name of the Lord. The Persian *farmans* always started with the invocation of Allah, like *Al muluk-u-lillah* in Safavid kingdom. (see *farman* of Shah Abbas II Fig. 1).

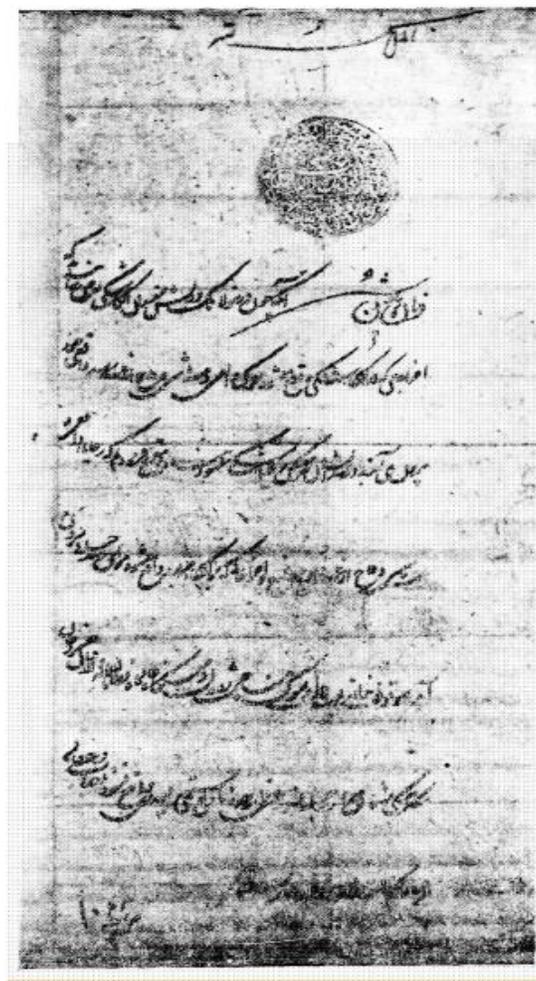


Fig. 1: Farman of Shah Abbas-II addressed to his governor Khusrav Khan. Dated: Moharram 1061 A.H./ 23.12.1650- 23.01.1651./Courtesy: Digital Persian Archive. (asnad.org) showing sarnama of Al muluk-u-lillah

Similarly, in Mughal *farman* many holy invocations of Allah were used as *sarnama*. It was a devotional formula of calling God and accepting Him as the almighty. Thus, main content of the document started with Allah's name.

There appears to be a considerable variation in the *sarnama*. The most commonly used *sarmamas* were 'Allah-u-Akbar' (God is great) and 'Bismillah hir reham nir Rahim' (I begin with Allah's name who is merciful and forgiver) in Mughal *farmans*. The latter was used frequently in *farmans* from Shah Jahan's period. Shah Jahan had used *Bismillah hir reham nir Rahim* in a *farman* addressed to the *mansabdars* of Deccan.^{xiv} One also finds the usage of *hu'wa* (He), *ya-fatah* (The granter of success), *ya-ghalibu* (overpowering), *hu'wal ghalibu* (He is

overpowering), *hu'wal qadiru* (He is mighty, exalted), *hu'wal mustan* (He is brilliant), etc (See Fig. 2) These are the names from the *Asma-ul-husna* (ninety-nine names of Allah). In some *farmans* both *Bismillah hir reham nir Rahim* and *hu'wal ghalibu* were used as *sarnama*. Like, Emperor Shah Jahan in his *farman* addressed to Raja Jai Singh on 11 *Shawaal* 1075/17 April 1665 has used the former at the main content of the *farman* and the latter is put at the margin of the of it (see fig. 3).



2.a) *Hu'wal ghalibu*

2.b) *Allah-u-Akbar*

2.c) *bismillah hir rah maan nir rahim*

Fig. 2: Specimens of different sarnama of Emperors Shahjahan and Aurangzeb's farman addressed to Rulers of Amber/ courtesy: Farsi Farman. Vol II p.113; Vol. I. pp. 141, 151.

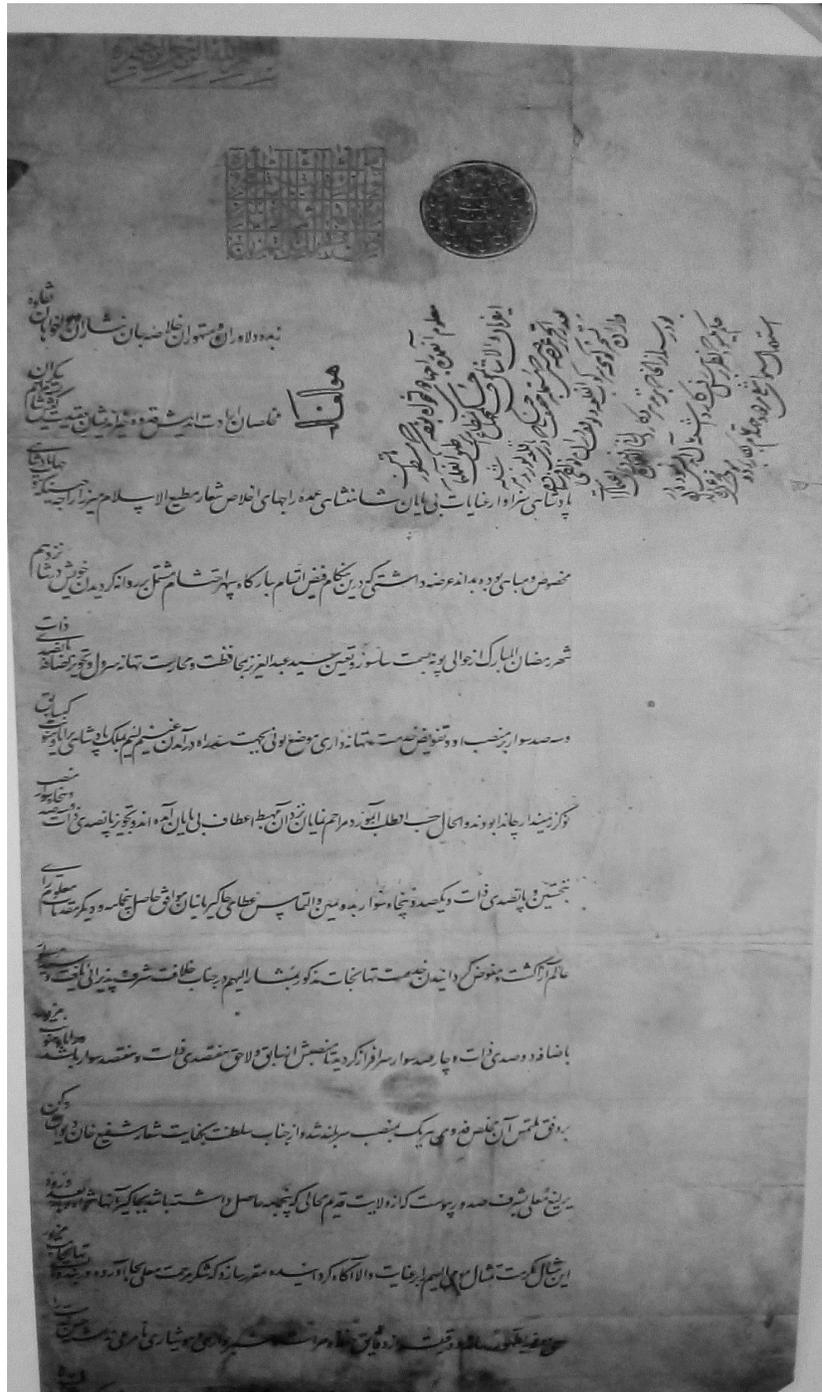


Fig 3. Facsimile of Shahjahan’s farman addressed to Raja Jai Singh Showing two sarnama one at the top and other at the margin. Dated: 11 Shawaal 1075/17 April 1665 (Courtesy: Farsi Farman Vol. II, p. 57.)

Calligraphic Monogram or Cipher (*Tughra*)

Tughra is an important component of *farman*. It is essentially the name of a type of calligraphy. It was employed decoratively to write royal titles in a monogram like fashion. Hence the décor of the royal titles came to known as *tughra*. For example, the *farmans*, which were addressed to the rulers of Amber belonging to the period of Jahangir to Aurangzeb bears the *tughra* which gives the complete title of the concerned emperor (See fig. 4a). Similarly, the *tughra* of *farmans* issued by Jahangir reads as “*Farman-e- Abul Muzaffar Mohammad Noor Ud Din Jahangir Badshah Ghazi*”^{xv}(See fig 4b). On the same lines *tughra* of Mohammad Shah’s, a later period Mughal ruler reads as ‘*farman Badshah Ahmad Shah Ghazi Abunasar mujahid-ud-din Bahadur*’. (See fig. 5)

The pattern of the *tughra* is a marvel of medieval calligraphy. It is designed in a grid in which the complete title of the ruler is interspersed as mentioned earlier. *Tughra* was considered a formalized signature of the emperor in the Ottoman empire and was written by special secretary *tughranvis*.^{xvi} It had also served as a means of authentication of the *farman*. The formulary of issuing *farmans* by Safavid, Ottoman, and Timurid is visible in the Mughal India. The pattern of similarity would be an interesting study.

Tughra can further be classified in two different styles of calligraphy (*nashk* and *tolth*^{xvii}) in most of the *farmans* under study. *Tughra* spells out the nature of the document. It was written only on official documents.

The Mughal *farmans* bore an independent design in which *tughra* if viewed from distance, its structurally matches Safavid *tughra*, which had been reintroduced by the Safavid emperor Abbas II.^{xviii}(See fig. 6) We come across the names of twelve *imams* of Islam in the *tughras* of Safavid *Farman*s in chessboard-like quadrilateral format. On the other hand, *tughra* of *Timurid Farman*s is inscribed with a genealogical table of the emperor. The *farmans* issued from the Ottoman empires like of Suleiman-I (or *Muhtasem* Suleiman), Sultan Mehmed-IV, Sultan Murad-I, Sultan Bayezid-II and others have *tughra* containing only the name of the empire, added with some epithet to magnify the glory of the emperor or we can also say a type of blessing or qualification is added to their names like ‘*Muhtasem Suleiman*’ meaning Suleiman-the magnificent or as in the case of the *tughra* of Sultan Mohammad-II was written ‘*Mohammad Khan Bin Abdul Hamid Muzaffar da’iman*’ meaning ‘Mohammad Khan son of Abdul Hamid, forever Victorious’. Mughal *farmans* did not follow any other empire in the design and writing of *farmans* but the style of *tughra* bears an uncanny resemblance with the Safavid emperors. The content, however, resembles Ottoman rulers of the period.

Most of the *farmans* bore *tughra* and seal however few were without seal or *tughra*. The reason this formality was ignored was due to personal nature of *farman*, for example, when the *farman*

was a *manshur* (mandate or authorization) the show of grandeur was found superfluous.^{xix} *Nishans* invariably bore two *Tughra*, one of prince other of the emperor.^{xx}

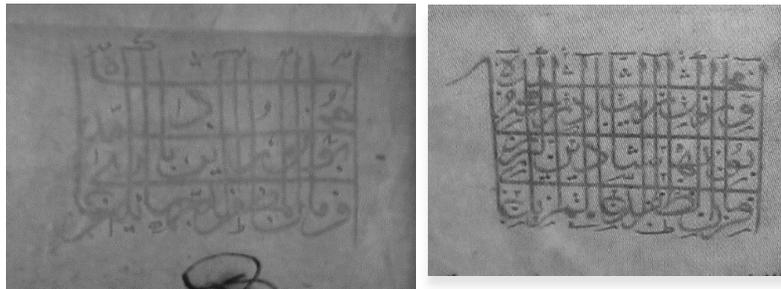


Fig. 4: Specimen of tughra of Emperors (a) Aurangzeb and (b) Jahangir farman addressed to Rulers of Amber/ Courtesy: Farsi Farman

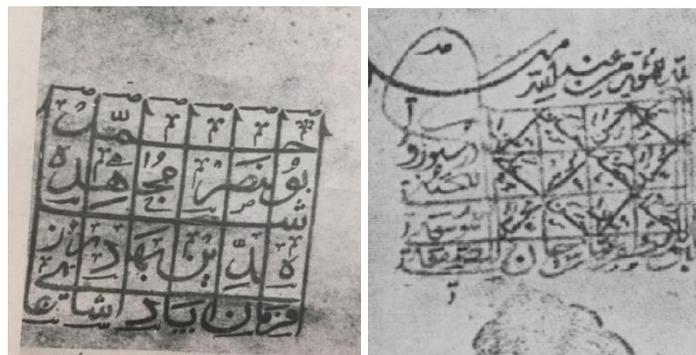


Fig 5(left). Specimen of tughra of one of the farmans of Mughal emperor Ahmad Shah. it reads as 'farman Badshah Ahmad Shah Ghazi Abunasar mujahid-ud-din Bahadur/ Courtesy: Catalogue of Historical Documents in Kapad Dwara, Jaipur

Fig 6(Right). Specimen of Tughra of Shah Abbas-II of Safavid Empire. Morphology of this Tughra bears an uncanny resemblance to Tughra of Mughals though the contents vary/ Courtesy: Iranica Encyclopedia

Seal (*Muhr*)

In order to lend official sanction to the *farman*, the use of *muhr* or seal was a regular feature. Seals endowed validity to sanction orders as in case of *farman-i-sabti*. There were farmans like *manshur*, *farman-i-bayazi* etc. which ignored seal because of their informal nature. The shape of seal varied. This seal was put usually next to *tughra*. In very exceptional cases seal is found below the *tughra*.^{xxi} The impression over seal related to dynasty sometimes gives the name of the emperor along with the formal title issued by them. Like in *farman* of 6 Feb. 1623 A.D of Jahangir addressed to Mirza Raja Jai Singh, the seal is inscribed as 'Abul Muzaffar Noor Ud Din

Jahangir Badshah Ghazi Ibn Akbar Badshah ibn Humayun Badshah ibn Umar Sheikh Mirza ibn Sultan Abu Saiyed ibn Sultan Mohammad Mirza ibn Miran Shah ibn Ameer Taimur Sahib-e-Kiraam'.

Sigillography is a complete study of seals which needs to be explored. There were a variety of seals employed for administrative purpose broadly these were as follows:

1. Genealogical (Orbital) seal: A circular seal in which emperor's name was in the center of the circle, enclosed with ancestors name arranged as numbers are arranged in a clock. The name of *Timur* was written just above the Emperor's name at 12 o'clock. Present emperor's immediate predecessor is placed at 1 o'clock and rest of ancestors are arranged clockwise till *Timur*.^{xxii} One circle was added in the outer ring on completion of reign. Thus, there was regular increase in outer ring circles. This seal is found exclusively on *farmans* (see fig. 7a,7b). These seals have a variant in some *farmans* bearing square shape but inside of seal is same as genealogical seals (see fig. 7b). There were still others seals which had a circular dial crowned by *sarnama* forming pitcher like structure (see fig 7c).
2. Circular seal: This seal was written in *nastaliq* character and bore only emperors name in crescent curve. Like *Mohammad Shah Badshah Ghazi Bahadur zafar Fidwi Mughalia wali Ahad Qadiyan* (See fig. 7d).
3. Arch seal/*Mihrabi* seal: This seal was used for the judicial transactions. It had verse- *Risti mujib-i-riza yi khudasht kas nadiram ki gum shud az rah-i-rast*(meaning-Uprightness is a means of pleasing God. I never saw anyone lost in the righteous path) written around the name of the Emperor.
4. Royal round small seal known as *uzuk* was a *Chagatai* name. It was used for *farman-i-sabti* for the sanction of *jagirs* and titles, etc. It remained in the imperial harem (See fig. 7e).
5. Square seal bore salutation such as *Allah-u-Akbar Jall-e-Jalala hu* and *Allah ul ghani wa atum tokra*. Many *kharitas* signed by emperor had square seal.^{xxiii} *Kharita* sometimes bore a special marking which signaled emergency.^{xxiv} *Kharita* was generally written on *tiklidar* paper.^{xxv} Square seal was used for all other matters that didn't involve *farman i sabti* (see fig. 7f).

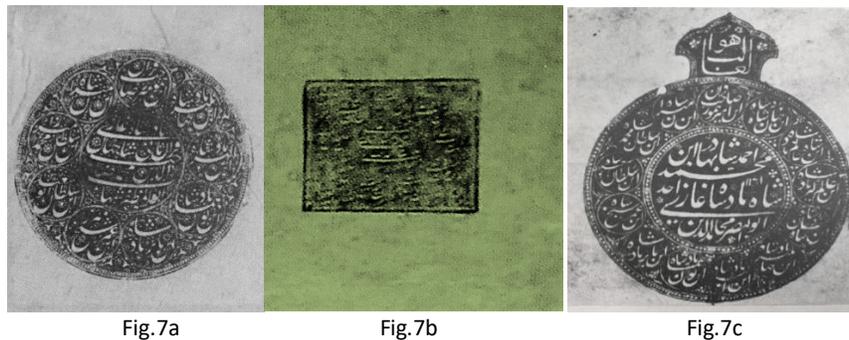


Fig. 7a and b. Specimens of genealogical seals seals of Jahangir and Shahjahan/ source Farmans addressed to Rajas of Amber/Courtesy: Farsi Farman.

Fig 7c. Seal from a farman of Ahmad Shah, dated Dec. 19, 1754/ courtesy; Catalogue of Kapad Dwara, Jaipur. This seal is crowned with sarnama of Hu'wal- Ghalib/ Courtesy: Catalogue of Historical Documents Kapad Dwara

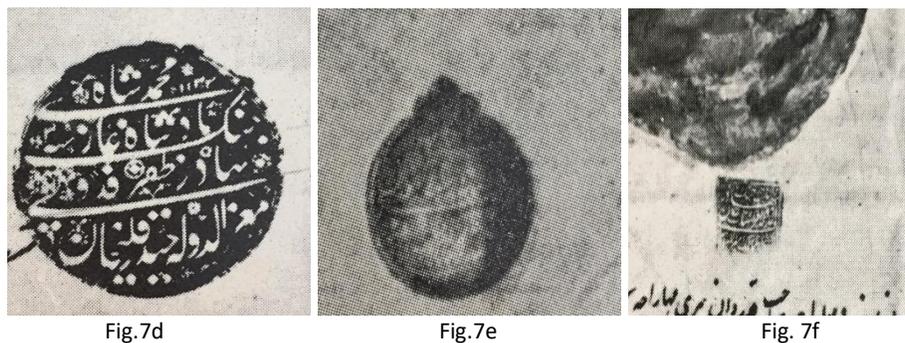


Fig. 7d, 7e and 7f. Specimen of circular, Uruk and Square seal. / courtesy: Catalogue of Historical Documents Kapad Dwara

Muhr or seal or stamp served the purpose of signature. The Bilwa Nut known as marking nut exuded dark black extract which served as stamping ink for the seal .^{xxvi} The surviving documents give the testimony for its permanent nature. The ink is believed to be used as washerman's marker in present day India.

Seal Engraving

From Abul Fazl's description of seal engravings, this realm appears to be a distinguished art which was refined through generations. The *riqa* and *nastaliq* characters of calligraphy were engraved over seals of steel and cornelian.^{xxvii} Cornelian was a glassy translucent stone, a mineral of Quartz family. The famed artists listed in *Ain* for engraving seals are Moulana

Maqsd of Herat, Tamkin of Kabul, Mir Dost of Kabul, Moulana Ibrahim of Yazd and Moulana Ali Ahmad of Delhi.^{xxviii}

The farman was not sealed immediately after drafting, instead we gather from the testimony of Father Monserrate^{xxix} in Kabul expedition of Akbar that it was sealed on the eighth day of receiving from *Wazir*. Royal seal and sealing of *farmans* were undertaken in *harem/ seraglio* and Abul Fazl justifies this privilege as a caution against any malpractice.^{xxx}

As a certain mark of distinction some *farmans* in order to exalt the addressee had additional impressions. This was done by the signature of the emperor, any remark by the emperor or royal hand impression (*panja mubarak*) on *farman*.

Titles (*Alqab*)

Alqab were the rhyming titles, compliments, etc. woven before the proper name of the addressee or any other mention-worthy name. It gives an assurance of royal favor and displays his status in Emperor's eye. Since most of the *farmans* under study are addressed to Amber Rajas they were addressed with high flown, praiseworthy phrases such as 'The best of the high born Raja, leader of the dignified race, the pride of clans and peers, worthy of manifold grace, support of the emperor,^{xxxi} 'The chosen of the peers, worthy of Imperial favor',^{xxxii} 'The quintessence of the realm, the pillar of the grand empire',^{xxxiii} 'The choicest of the grandeurs of the stable empire, the leaders of the nobles of the *arsh* (sky) resting realm, the best of the favorites of *arsh* resembling courts, worthy of overwhelming regards',^{xxxiv} 'Consummate in the sincerity',^{xxxv} 'Supporter of Islam' (*Moti-ul-Islam*).

Titles of Emperors: In the course of the draft, the royal family is addressed with great formality and high-sounding epithets and a formal decorum for the usage of titles was adopted for the Emperor, prince, and princess. Since these documents were *farmans*, the hyperbolic phrases are used to glorify the name of the emperor. The deceased was referred by posthumous titles.^{xxxvi} Like Babur is called as *Firdous-makani*, Humayun as *Jannat-ul-ashiyani*, Akbar as *Arsh-ashiyani*, Jahangir as *Jannat-makani* Shah Jahan as *Ala hazrat firdous ashiyani sahib-e-kiram thani*.

Titles of the Princes: Certain titles of the princes were a pure expression of the affection of emperor, whereas the others were the proper titles like *Shah Buland Iqbal* (King of high fortune) for Dara Shikoh, *Badshah Zada-yi-jahm-va-jahaniyan* for prince Shuja.^{xxxvii}

Titles of the Higher Officials: There appear to be recognized titles for the highest ranked nobles of the empire and these were meticulously adhered to in the content of the *farmans*. Some of the frequently used titles were *Khan e khana*, *Jumlat-ul-muluk*, *Bakshi-ul-muluk*, *Umdat-ul-muluk*^{xxxviii}, *Qutbul-ul-muluk*, *Amir-ul-umara*^{xxxix}. There were regulations for usage of refined

formalities and appropriate titles (*Alqab*) for the government officials laid down in the *Dastur-ul-amal*.^{xi}

From a perusal of the collection of *farmans* one can discern that at times to express the wrath of emperor certain abusive language was used to express their anger, for instance Aurangzeb uses *Bai-shikoh* for Dara Shikoh and yet another place calls the Afghan martial clan Ghilzais as *Bad-Kirdar*.^{xli}

Farman which was royal decree was not issued by the emperor just as he pleased. There was a fairly organized system of Mughal chancellery involved in the issuance of imperial farmans. The foremost is approval of daily entry dairy prepared by *waqai nawis*, which after approval of emperor became *yaddasht* (memorandum). It was then abridged and became *taliqa* (abstract) duly signed by the related officer *taliqa niwas*. If and when the *taliqa* is related to *jagir* it was submitted in lieu of which *sarkhat* (paper of monthly salary) was issued by *bakshi*. This *sarkhat* was then reported to the Emperor. If he confers the *jagir* to the person mentioned in the *sarkhat* a certificate of salary (*taliqa-i-tan*) was made. Thus, salary was fixed, the draft was then verified by the *diwan* who after scrutinizes the document and puts the seal.^{xlii}

Main content: Certain code of epistolary composition was to be followed in the literary style of administrative papers.^{xliii} The disposition of *farmans* had always been stylish in each empire like Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughals in particular. The imperial chancellery followed the regulations formulated for the structure, form and the sequence of content, and experts accordingly compare the beauty and style of the early *farmans* as far as to those of later period. *Munshis* of *dar-ul-insha* were expected to be well versed with rules and the style of the chancellery. Calligraphy was an additional qualification of *munshi*. *Munshi* is a derivative of *insha*, which means the art of letter writing. The art of calligraphy is best exemplified in *farman*. They were written in *nastaliq*, *shikasta* script. These were penned by eminent calligraphists. Note of the emperor in his own handwriting is sometimes added on the farman in order to underline the particular order or degree.

Paper

Mughals had promoted the use of paper in India. During this period paper was produced at various places in Mughal India like Kashmir, Sialkot and many other places.^{xliv} Various types of papers were used in Mughal documents like *mansinghi* and silk paper,^{xlv} *Tilakdhari* paper was used in various *farmans* issued by Mughals and *Parwana* of Mughal court addressed to public of Amber dated 4 May 1711.^{xlvi} The other type of paper used was *afshani* paper.^{xlvii}

Pen and Ink

The pens used by the calligraphers during the Mughal times were made mostly of reed.^{xlviii} The Nib would have been carved accordingly on it. These pens were called as Persian *qalam*. During the Mughal period, a proper ink was used for documentation and pencil was in use known as *kalm-e-surb* during the period. Red, black, and golden ink was used in the drafting of *farmans*. The *farmans* available to us have red ink used particularly in *tughra* and black for the main content. Black ink used probably came from lamp black soot.^{xlix} In some *farmans* gold lines were drawn around the content to form a rectangular box.

Order of Seals on *Farman*

Once a *farman* was completed utmost care was taken to ensure that it was not read by any other person other than the intended recipient. It was also ensured that no other person can make any fraudulent additions to the royal decree. For this, a meticulous method of folding the *farman* and putting the seal in a specific order was made. It was folded in a particular manner and specific seals of related officials were put in proper sequence. A particular sequence of putting seals was carried in sealing of *farmans*. The first fold of *farman* had a seal of *wakil* followed by the seal of *mushrif diwan* at opposite direction on the same fold. Similarly, the seals of '*sadr* and *bakshi*', '*diwan-i-juz*, *bakshi-i-juz*, and *diwan-i-buyutat*', '*mustafi*', '*saib-i-taujiti*' were put on the respective folds of the *farman* and finally at the top of *farman* was put the seal of His Majesty.¹

All *farman* were so folded that their contents could not be seen from outside. This was to maintain confidentiality. The speed order *farman* was classed as *farman-i-bayazi*. It bore the seal of Emperor alone and was also differently folded. The carrier of such *farmans* were *mansabdars*, *ahadis*, and *pyadas*. It was received with due respect and decorum. The person went to receive it from a particular distance, performs *sajda* reward the messenger for bringing the honor.

Date

So far as the date of the *farman* is concerned it appears at the end of the main content of document. If the paper of *farman* was damaged at the end it becomes difficult to date the *farman*. In the later case one could ascribe roughly a date from the internal evidence of the document.

Extra remarks on *farman*

A close scrutiny of the *farmans* under study reveals that there are special words which are added as exception in some *farmans*. Such words are *Su'aad*, *Ilahi*, *Allah*, *Huwa*. These words are also like *sarnama*, an invocation of Allah as *Su'aad* is a name of a *Surah* (chapter) thirty- eight of Quran, *Ilahi* and Allah (God) are both same, and *huwa* is a mystical invocation.

Classification of *Farman*

According to *Ain*, *farmans* are broadly classified into *farman-i-sabti* and *farman-i-bayazi*.^{li} *Farman-i-sabti* was an order issued for the purpose of appointment to the substantial administrative post and beneficent purpose.^{lii} These included A) appointment of *mansabdar*, *vakil*, *sipah salar*, (governor of province and commander in chief), *amirul-umra*, *wazir* (finance officer), *bakshi* (adjutant general) and *Sadr* (Judge). B) Appointment of *jagirdars* etc. C) Grant of *sayurgals* (beneficent purpose), signed by *mustaufi* and *diwani-i-kul*.^{liii}

Farman sabti (in today's term an official government notification) though it is often visualized as an impromptu order of the emperor. It is mostly systematic organized process involving a lot of groundwork at various departments involved. All officials of the concerned department did the duty related to their section and signed the relevant paper and stamped the seal.

Farman-i-bayazi was extremely confidential imperial order. Unlike *farman-e-sabti*, which passes through different departments offices before being sealed, *farman-i-bayazi* was sealed in private chamber. It was sealed with a wax made of *kunar*, *bar*, *pipal* and other trees.^{liv} The *farman* was carried by *mansabdars*, *abadis*, or common foot soldiers to the parties concerned. It was received with great respect and was carried on the crown of his head, the recipient makes *sajda*, and rewards the messenger.^{lv} *Farman-i-bayazi* was a fast track or a speed post which surpassed step by step processing typical of standard *farman*. It was sealed differently and was encased in lavish golden cover (See fig. 8).



Fig 8: Specimen of farman of Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh/ Courtesy: Farsi Farman

Fig. 8. Translation.

God is great

Wellwisher of the emperor, trustworthy and faithful Mirza Raja Jai Singh, being bestowed by the imperial favors should know that we would like you to attend the royal court. This farman is specially written in my writing directing to come towards imperial court accompanied by Islam Khan in the en-route and when you march towards Akbarabad. You take one crore rupee from the royal treasury and move towards Lahore in his majesty's presence and avail the privilege of meeting his majesty. Kunwar Ram Singh is your able son and he serves us with responsibility and therefore deserves royal generosity.

Modern scholars on close scrutiny have further categorized the *farmans* of Mughals on the basis of nature and subject matter of the document. This classification is based on the content of the document, purpose of the document, addressee of the *farman* as well as the situation in which *farman* was written. Various classifications have been put forward.^{lvi} Some of the prevalent divisions/classifications of the *farman* are given below:

Farmans have been divided in *farman-i-sultani* and *ahkaam-i-diwani* depending on whether its content is of political or administrative purposes.

The *farman-i-sultani* were addressed to the nobles, royal prince or any official of the state or ruling prince under the Mughal dynasty or any other individual of the state (except saintly persons or Sufis and privileged person) and were of political in nature. *Faramin-i-sultani* was a broad category which was further sub-divided into following: -

- a) *Farman-i-siyasi* was addressed to a feudatory/ruler, administrative official or private person, for example, rajputs, administrators.^{lvii}
- b) *Farman-i-mulki mani*, when emperor addressed administrative, religious, and economic issues. For example, Akbar introduced land reforms or farmans in the favor of freedom of worship.^{lviii}
- c) *Farman-i-ilami* (Public ordinances) is for larger populace or peasants announcing remission of taxes and perquisites, for example, Babur's renouncing of wine and remittance of *tamga* was done with this class of *farman*.^{lix}

Ahkam-i-divani envelopes variety of royal farmans which are related to the administration and affairs of the state. These farmans are akin to the laws passed for the state administration related to military, *mansabs*, ranks, revenue, etc.^{lx}

Other Classes of *Farmans*

***Fatehnama* (victory proclamation)**

Fatehnama is defined as *farman* which was a bold declaration that either celebrated the victorious feat of an imperial campaign or its content was formulated to instill courage and ignite patriotic fervor in the warring army. The content was accordingly an official declaration of the triumph over the enemy. A classic example would be Babur's *fatehnama* issued on the victory over Rana Sanga at Khanwa in 933 A.H.^{lxi} Close scrutiny of extant *farmans* also reveals several *farmans* bear the *sarnama* "ya *fatahu*" or ' *ya ghalibo*" calling upon Almighty who supersedes over all creation. There appears slight variation in documents at Rajasthan state archives Bikaner. Although these farmans bore *sarnama* ' *ya fatahu*' sometimes content of these *farman* did not declare a victory. Instead it was a battle cry to instill courage and ignite martial vigor for

the upcoming campaign. For instance, in the time of civil war between Dara Shikoh, and Aurangzeb, Shahjahan wrote a *farman* to Raja of Amber nudging him to support Dara Shikoh. The campaign however resulted in defeat of Dara Shikoh.^{lxii} (See fig. 9)

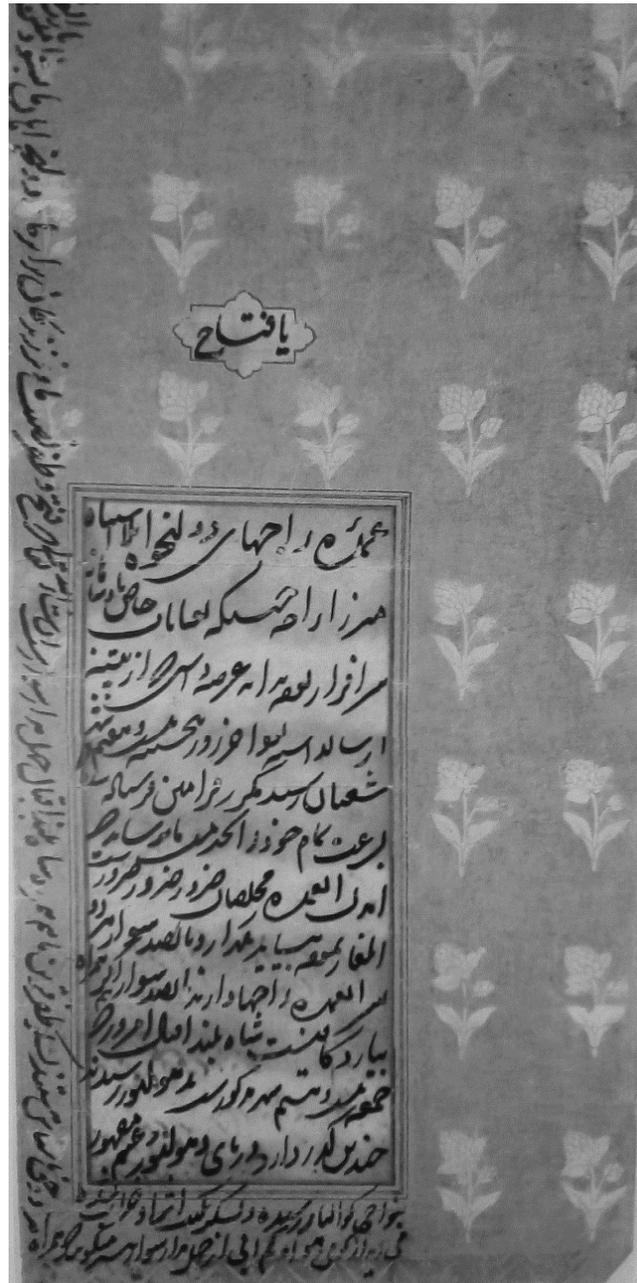


Fig. 9. Specimen of fatehnama of Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh dated 28 Shaaban1068/22 May 1658. Source: Farsi Farman

Translation Fig. 9.

The victorious

No tughra and seal

Best among all Rajas undoubtedly Mirza Raja Jai Singh, worthy of regard and obligation should know the arzdasht send by you from Patna was received on evening of Thursday 27 Shaban. It has been repeatedly reminded to you to reach as early as possible. It is very necessary you should reach the battle ground. Your sons have fifteen hundred sawar with them therefore if you join there with five hundred sawar it would be sufficient. Shah Buland Iqbal (Dara Shikoh) has reached Dholpur today, 28 Shaban. He is near the river of Dholpur. The enemy have also reached the vicinity of Gwalior and their contingent is suffering due to lack of provisions and hot weather. It has come to notice that they have more than forty thousand sawars. Our army is also of the same number we, my dear son (Dara Shikoh) and his well-wishers will be victorious.

Ameen

Dated: 21 May 1658.

Qaulnama (promise for political purpose)

The *qaulnama* is a *farman* that carries a promise or assurance over certain significant political matter. *Qaul* was a word of honor in Arabic /Persian language. Hence *qaulnama* is a word of honor from none else than the Emperor himself. It bore the royal signature and impression of hand (*panja*). This is the highest and rarest honor. We have information pertaining to *qaulnama* given to Adil Shah of Bijapur by Shahjahan (see fig.10). Fortunately, we also have a *qaulnama* addressed to Ajit Singh, Raja of Jodhpur by Aurangzeb which says 'I have sent *panja*. It is my word of honor (as assurance for protection)' (See fig. 10 and 11).

Thus, the structure of *qaulnama* essentially embodies 1) signature of emperor 2) the main order and 3) the royal *panja* 4) the *uzuk* seal. The *qaulnama* is co-related to *ahadnama* though both are issued independently. *Qaulnama* bore the imprint of emperor's right-hand palm with saffron and sandalwood color and there were a couple of lines on related matter in Emperors own handwriting.

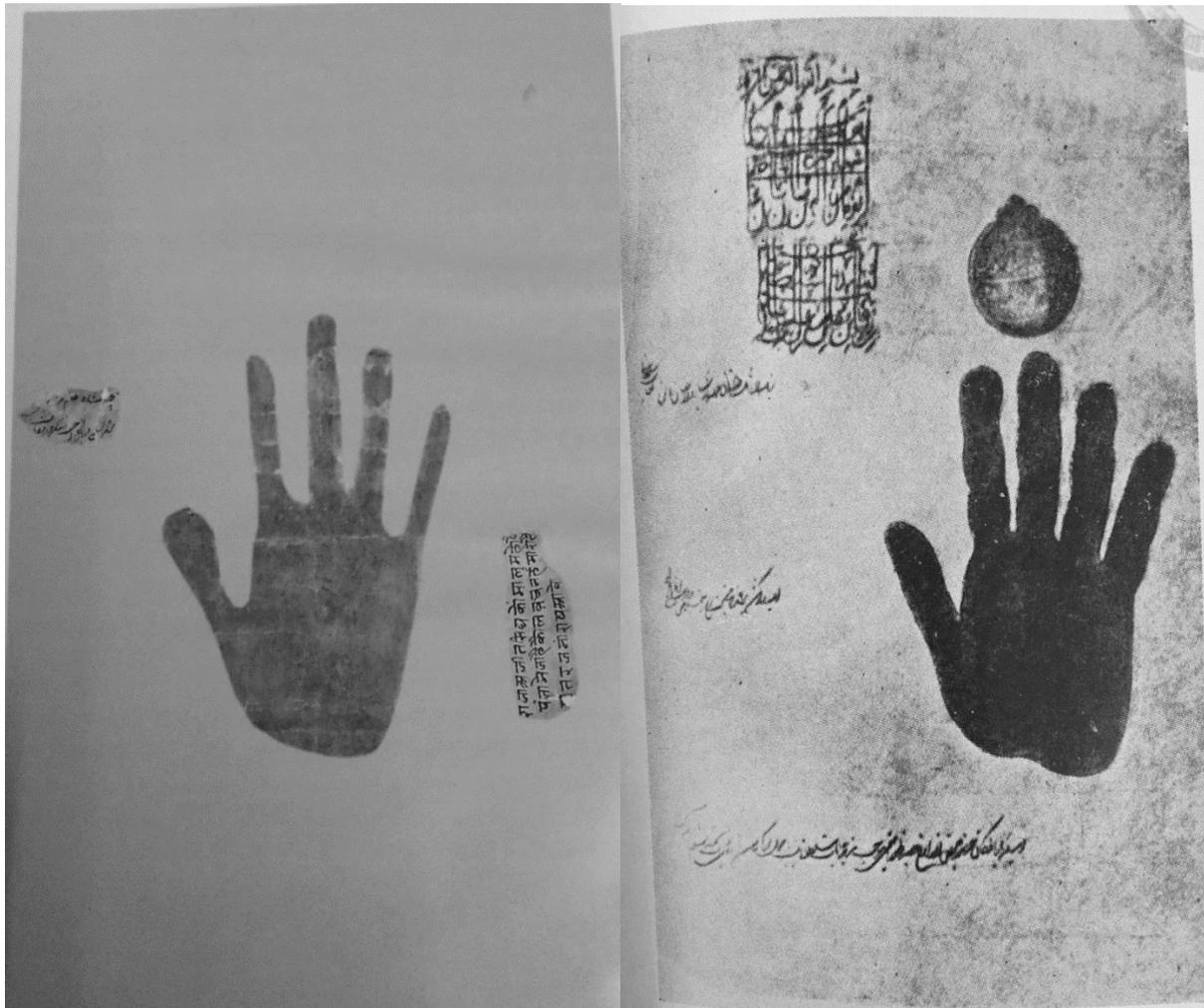


Fig 10. (left) Specimen of Aurangzeb's Panja send to Ajit Singh. / Courtesy: Farsi Farman, Vol. III.

Fig 11. (Right) Qaulnama specimen of Shahjahan's handprint of Shahjahan given to Adil Shah of Bijapur by Shahjahan/ courtesy: Ibn-Hassan, The Central Structure of The Mughal Empire

Ahadnama (peace treaty)

Ahadnama is defined as treaty agreed upon between two parties over some political issue. The outline of *ahadnama* starts with titles followed by the offer of servitude. Then the prescribed terms of the treaty are written which states obligation. It was concluded with *ahad* (oath) of the Emperor with the other party, to abide by the laid clauses and assurance that no violation would be made to *ahad*.^{lxiii} A perusal of information contained in *Badshahnama* of Lahori regarding the

treaty (*ahadnama*) concluded in 1046 A.H./1636 A.D between Shahjahan and Qutub Shah of Golkonda^{lxiv} was affirmed by the royal *panja*.

It is our singular good fortune that we have marvelous masterpieces of *ahadnama* preserved in Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. This *farman* was addressed to Mirza Raja Jai Singh who mediated in this difficult truce. It is a treaty between Aurangzeb and Shivaji after the fall of Purander fort and hence termed *Purander ki sandhi* by Rajasthan state archives. It is 22 feet long document, spelling out the terms offered to Shivaji. The information contained can be summarized in following clauses laid therein 1) accepting the Mughal paramountcy in lieu of which Shivaji was given *jagir* till Konkan and Bijapur. The revenue of which amounts to four lakh *Huns* along with the region of Balakot under Adil Khan, the revenue of which amounted to four lakh *Huns* respectively 2) the son of Shivaji will be in attendance of *subedar* of Deccan. 3) the request for the title of Raja has been turned down. The related matters had been communicated to *wazir*, Jumlat ul Mulk Madar ul Mahan Jafar Khan who will do the needful. The farman also refers to a farman bearing royal *panja* which pardoned the crime of Shivaji and a *khilat* was also sent. Thus, the *Purander ki sandhi* compliments the *ahadnama* of Shahjahan mentioned by Lahori (See fig. 12).

The legacy of *ahadnama* documents continued in the later period as well. Fortunately, we have a series of *ahadnama* in catalogue of Kapad Dwara. These relate to agreement between Amber ruler and Shahu Chatrapati, Nawab Shuja Ud Daula Safdar and Sawai Madho Singh-I respectively.^{lxv}



Fig. 12. Specimens of the ahadnama related to the treaty of Purandar between Aurangzeb and Shivaji/ Courtesy: Purandhar ki Sandhi, R.S.A.B

Rajasthani *Farman*

A unique category of farmans is found in *Kapad Dwara* collection which is in *murhiya* form of *devnagri* script. The language is an amalgamation of Persian and local Persian *Dhundari* dialect. It sounds like a bridge to communicate the difficult courtly Persian language to the concerned party. The *sarnama* of Quranic word or verse is substituted by Hindu invocation *Shri*. This *farman* (fig. 13) is from Muhammad Shah to Sawai Jai Singh. The style of writing follows the conventional manner of writing inside and outside the rectangle of the gold line. These are a group of three *farmans* related to Jat and Rajput recalcitrance. One of these is decorated with gold flowery border. The farman does not bear *tughra or muhr*. It starts with usual titles for addresses. The entire text bears huge borrowing of Persian language using similar terminology and rhetoric. These farmans appear to be a copy of original Persian farman. These alternative copies were made subsequently since it is mentioned that certain notings were in emperors' hand.^{lxvi}

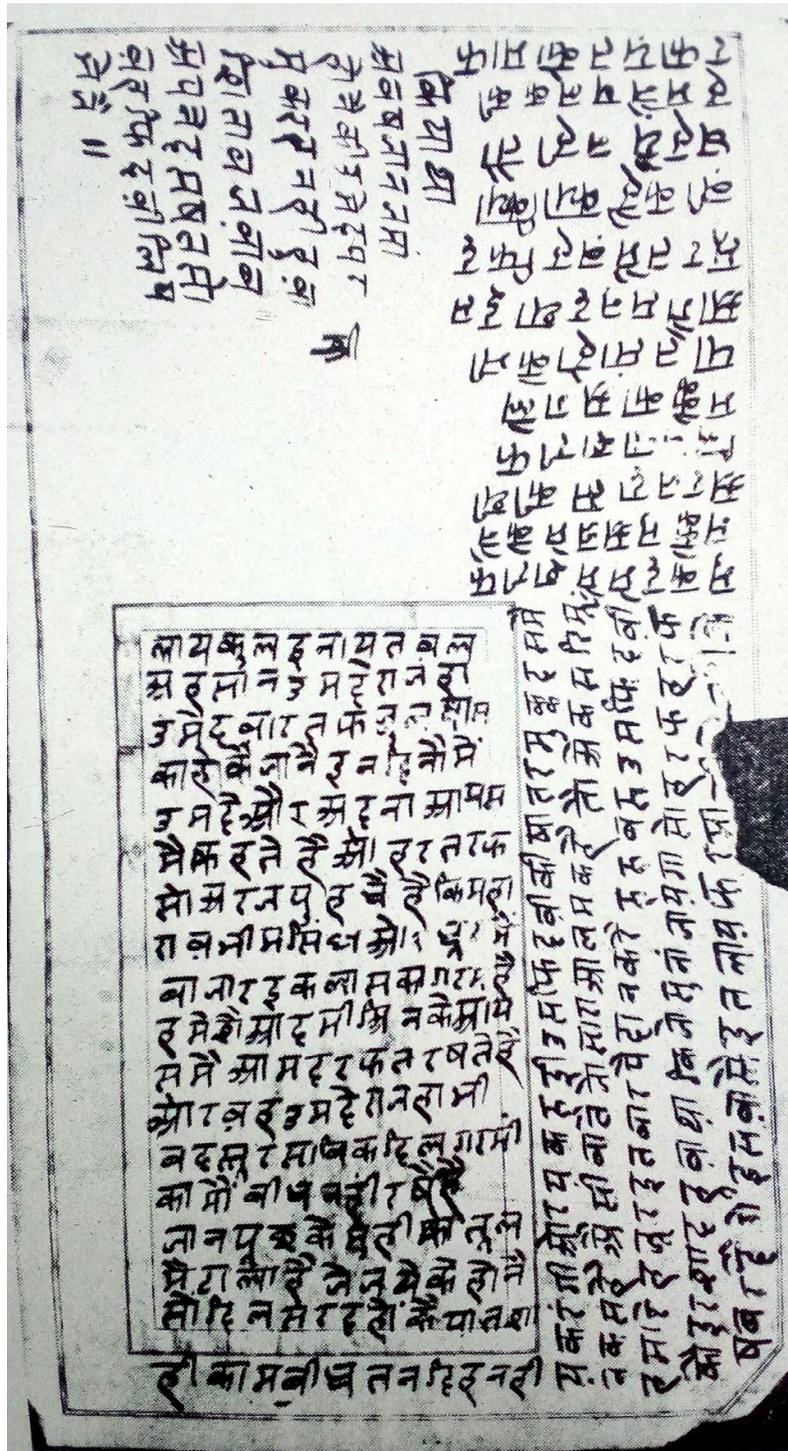


Fig. 13: Rajasthani farman of Mughal court addressed to Sawai Jai Singh in devnagri script, undated/ courtesy: Catalogue of Historical Documents Kapad Dwara Jaipur

Translation

Shri.

Worthy of regard and favors, the pride of contemporaries' pick of the peers, being distinguished by hoping for imperial favors should know news had reached from all quarters that Maharao Bhim Singh and you are on very cordial terms. Their men also regularly frequent. The complaint had existed earlier also and knowingly was ignored no laxity should be shown in matters related to the imperial court. One Hundi should be deposited to Saifuddin, the pious body. It is known to the whole world and word by word everything is known in this regard. So farman has been issued related to the matter of Shareef Makka. The latter had petitioned to the preceding emperor also which was condoned. Now the said amount should be deposited in the treasury immediately and you (Raja) should reply with your own signature to his Majesty.^{lxvii}

Forged Farman

In view of the legal sanction contained in farman in context of grants and appointments, certain claimants forged farmans, and such an instance is discernable in Shahjahan's reign. As per the entry of siyah huzur, 'Bahadur Beg and Ahmad, sons of Rustom, grandson of I'tibar Khan Deccani, holding a grant of one rupee each as a daily allowance, produced a farman in their favor before the Nawab. It was detected that the farman did not bear customary tughra and uzuk (seal) but bore a forged seal. Thereupon the Nawab ordered the daily allowance to be stopped and forged farman to be sent to the imperial court'.^{lxviii} The evidence relates to farman-i-sabti which had essential requisite of tughra and uzuk seal.

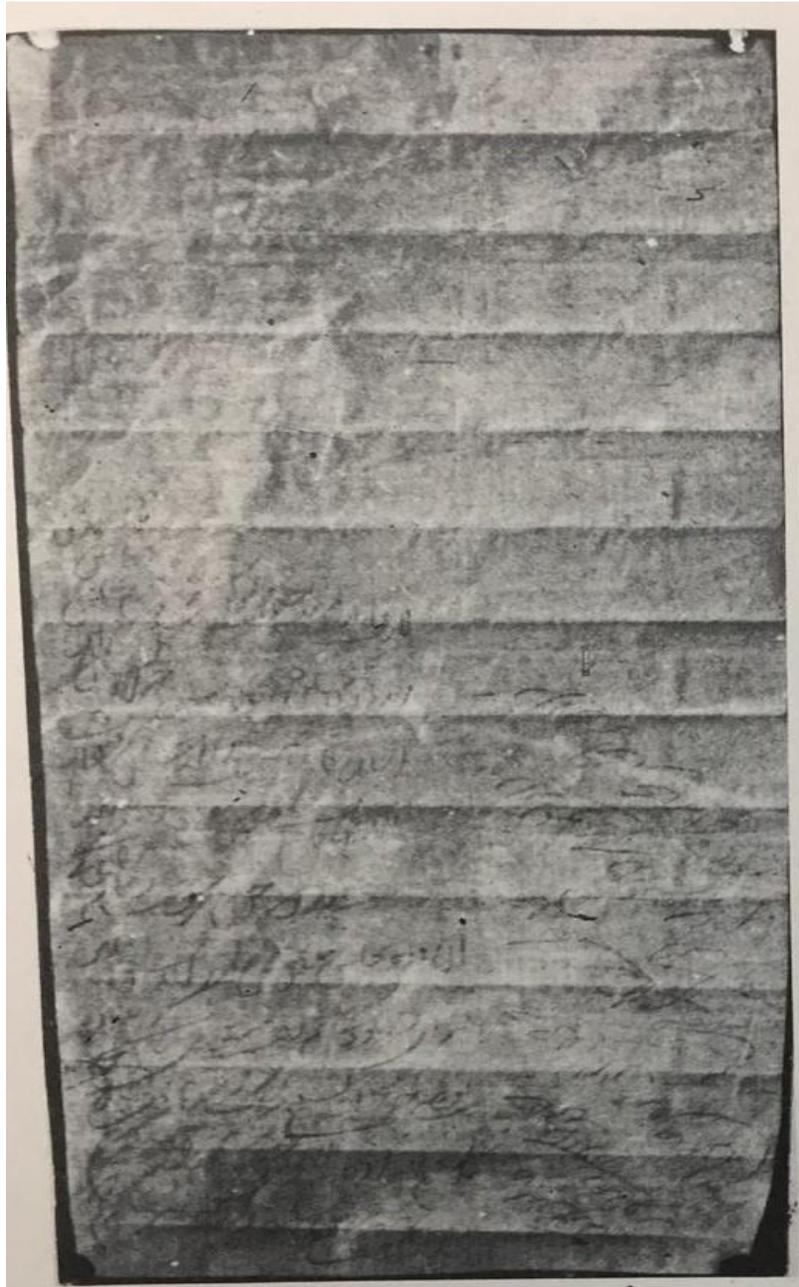
Manshur (mandate or authorization)

Manshurs were an honorary epithet issued by the emperor addressed to a privileged person like a member of the royal family or favored nobles. The content was both official and private as well as for happy occasions as well as for condolence. Manshurs assumed importance during the civil war among prince Aurangzeb and Dara Shikoh. Manshur category of farmans was profusely decorated and bore the sarnama hu'wal galibu and Allah-u-Akbar. Separately Allah was also written. However, the Tughra and seal were absent. We had seen only one exception of the format in the manshur which bears the sarnama, Bismillah and also tughra and muhr.^{lxix}

Shuqqa

Shuqqa was an imperial order addressed to princes, nobles, etc. that relate to varied matters related to administration such as levy of taxes and operation of merchants at coastal area, etc. Few shuqqas are preserved in Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner and Kapad Dwara, Jaipur (See

fig. 14).^{lxx} Collection of Shuqqas are also compiled by Inayat Ullah Khan Kashmiri in his work *Kalimat-i-Aurangzeb*.^{lxxi}



**Fig. 14. Shuqqa, written with pencil by emperor Shah Alam-II to M.S. Jai Singh/
Catalogue of Kapad Dwara, Jaipur**

Snippets/ notes leading to *farman*

Ahkam (orders)

Ahkam is the plural of *Hukum* (order). A collection of these orders has been compiled for Shahjahan's reign. These are largely addressed to foreign sovereigns and also Mughal nobles.^{lxxii} The *ahkams* of Aurangzeb are extant in manuscript (Abdus Salam Collection) as also translation.^{lxxiii} *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* contains seventy-two *ahkams* related to policies of Aurangzeb in the context of Hindus and imposition of *jaziya*. These are addressed to the prince Muazzam, Mohammad Azam, Bedar Bakht and important nobles like Khan Feroz Jang, Nusrat Jang, Zulfiqar Khan, Asad Khan Etc.^{lxxiv}

Kalima (Notes)

The *kalima* were notes of an emperor. These however concerned the public domain. They were later shaped in format of imperial orders. *Kalimat-i-tayyibat* of Alamgir is a compilation of the same. These shorthand notes were to be elaborated subsequently. These cover a wide range like political, social, economic, and religious spheres. One can get a fair idea of its content from *Kalimat-i-tayyibat*. This is a collection of orders dictated by Aurangzeb to his secretary (*Munshi*) Inayat Ullah Khan Kashmiri who subsequently organized it into a book in 1121 A.H/1708 A.D.^{lxxv} These orders were in brief and lucid form^{lxxvi}. This document does not have the standard *tughra* and seal on it.^{lxxvii}

CONCLUSION

One can thus conclude that *farman* is irrevocable royal order issued by emperor on political, judicial, administrative and military matters. *Farman* is not only visually impressive but the entire layout and each component carries particular significance and has specific relevance. For example, genealogy in seal or the nature of *farman* could be determined by the *sarnama*. *Farman* was the sole prerogative of the emperor. The publication of Persian *farmans* by Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner has opened up multi-dimensional vistas for forthcoming research to explore the intricacies and grandeur of Mughal chancellery and epistolography.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ain_____ Ain-i-Akbari.

Chancellery and Persian Epistolography_____ The Chancellery and The Persian Epistolography Under the Mughals: From Babur to Shah Jahan (1526-1658)

Farsi Farman_____ Farsi Farmano Ke Prakash me Mughal Kaleen Bharat Awam Rajput Shashak.

Kapad Dwara ____ Catalogue of Historical Documents in Kapad Dwara, Jaipur

R.S.A.B____ Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner

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ⁱ Bert G. Fragner, *Farman*, Encyclopedia Iranica. Online Edition, 2016. p. 1

ⁱⁱ Ibid.

ⁱⁱⁱ *Farsi Farmano Ke Prakash me Mughal Kaleen Bharat Awam Rajput Shashak*, Vol. II. Eds. Mahander Khadgawat, Hindi Tr. Shuja Ud Din Khan Naqshbandi, Rajasthan State Archives, Govt. Of Rajasthan, Bikaner. 2010. pp. 163, 207. See *farman* New No. 142/ Old No. 145, Undated, R.S.A.B.; *farman* New No. 146/ Old No. 125, 11 *Shawal* 1068/2 June 1658, R.S.A.B.; *farman* New No. 169/ Old No. 161, Undated, R.S.A.B.

^{iv} Specific robe like Basanti robe, woolen robe, see *farman* Farukh Siyar to Ajit Singh, Catalogue New No. 10/Old No. 7. Dated: *Rabi-ul-Awal* 1129/Feb. 1717. R.S.A.B., etc.

^v Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eds., Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Sir Syed Academy, Aligarh. 2005. p.154

^{vi} *Suratni Mukhatsir Haqiqat*, Gujrati Source, Cf. Unpublished Post. Doctoral Report Monika Sharma, *An Explorative Study of Gujarati Sources on Mughal Gujarat*, 2009. p. 52.

^{vii} *Siyah Hazur*, Dated: 29 *Jamadi ul-Awal* 1053/ 5 August 1643 A.D; *Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign*, Eds., Yusuf Hussain, *Daftar-i-Diwani*, 1950. p. 115.

^{viii} Momin Mohiuddin, *The Chancellery and The Persian Epistolography Under The Mughals: From Babur to Shah Jahan (1526-1658)*, Iran Society, Calcutta, 1971. p. 45,47

^{ix} *Nishan* is an *order* issued by a member of royal family.

^x *Nishan* Prince Mohiuddin addressed to Raja Ajit Singh, New No. 37/ Old No.12, Dated: 4 *Moharram* 1119/ 6 April 1707, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.

^{xi} *Farman* Mughal Court to Raja Ajit Singh, New No. 29/Old No. 18, undated, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. (congratulating for *mansab* of 7000/7000)

^{xii} Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri, *Kalimat-i-Taiyibat*, Eds. Azizuddin Hussain, Idarah-I Adbiyat-I Delli, Delhi, 2009. pp. 15-17.

- ^{xiii} Like *farman* Shahjahan addressed to Raja Jai Singh, New No.53/Old No. 14 Dated: 8 *Rajab* 1056/ 10 August 1646. Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.
- ^{xiv} Aurangzeb's *Farman* to *Mansabdars of Deccan*, New No.103/ old No.94, Dated 19 *Rabi-Ul-Akhir* 1075/ 30 Oct. 1664, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.
- ^{xv} Various *Farmans* issued by Jahangir like *farman* addressed to Raja Jai Singh, New No. 1/Old No.2, Dated: 15 *Rabi-ul akhir*, 1032/ 6th Feb. 1623, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.
- ^{xvi} Bert G.Fragner, *Farman*, Op. Cit., p. 4.
- ^{xvii} *Tolth* has evolved from the *Khatt-e jalil*, which is a derivative of *kufi* script. Presently *tolt* is seen in headings of *Surahs* of *Quran* and tile work of *Masjids* and *Khanqahs*. For more See, *Ġolām-Hosayn Yūsofi, Calligraphy*, Encyclopedia Iranica, Online Edition, 1990. p. 5.
- ^{xviii} Bert G. Fragner, *Farman*, Op. Cit., p 11.,
- ^{xix} See *Farsi Farman*, Op. Cit., pp. 207-218.
- ^{xx} S.A.I Tirmizi, *Mughal Documents 1628-1659*, Manohar Publishers, 1989. p. 32.
- ^{xxi} *Farsi Farman*, Vol. II, Op. Cit. pp. 117,125. *Farman* of Aurangzeb addressed to Raja Ram Singh, New No.123/ Old No.108, 2 December 1683. R.S.A.B. and *Farman* Aurangzeb addressed to Raja Ram Singh, New No. 126/Old No.111. Dated: 28 *Zil Hijja* 1096/15 November 1685, R.S.A.B
- ^{xxii} *Mughal Documents 1628-1659*, Op. Cit. p. 134.
- ^{xxiii} Gopal Narayan Bahura, Chandramani Singh, *Catalogue of Historical Documents in Kapad Dwara*, Jaigarh Public Charitable Trust, Jaipur, 1988. pp. 15-16.
- ^{xxiv} *Ibid.*, p.17. (Plate No. 37)
- ^{xxv} *Ibid.*, No. 281 p. 43
- ^{xxvi} *Ain-i-Akbari*, Op. Cit., p. 37
- ^{xxvii} *Ibid.*
- ^{xxviii} *Ibid.*
- ^{xxix} Antonio Monserrate, *The commentary of Father Monserrate: On his Journey to The Court of Akbar Commentary*, Tr. Haylond, John Somervell *et al.*, H. Milford, London. 1922. p. 209.
- ^{xxx} Ibn Hassan, *Central Structure of The Mughal empire And Its Practical Working Up to 1657*, Oxford University Press, 1936. p. 101.
- ^{xxxi} *Farman* of Shahjahan addressed to Raja Jai Singh, New No. 35/old No.46, Dated: 7 *Safar* 1047/21 June 1637, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.
- ^{xxxii} *Farman* of Shahjahan addressed to Raja Jai Singh, New No. 25/old No.34, Dated 9 *Rajab* 1041/ 21st Jan. 1632., Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.
- ^{xxxiii} *Farman* of Jahangir addressed to Raja Jai Singh, New No. 3/old No.4, Dated: 24 *Jamid ul Awal* 1033/ 4 March 1624, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.
- ^{xxxiv} *Farman* of Jahangir addressed to Raja Jai Singh, New No.5/old No.7, Dated: 28 *Moharam* 1034/31 Oct. 1624, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.

^{xxxv} *Farman* of Jahangir addressed to Raja Jai Singh, New No.6/old No.12, Dated:13 *Zi-i-Ka'da*, 1034/7 Aug. 1625, Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner.

^{xxxvi} *The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography*, Op. Cit. p. 66.

^{xxxvii} *Ibid.*

^{xxxviii} *Farman* of Aurangzeb addressed to Raja Ram Singh, New No.115/old No.106, *Zil Hijja* 1086/21 Feb. 1676, Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner.

^{xxxix} *Ibid.*

^{xl} *Dastur ul amal* (Extracts of regulations). Cf. *The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography*, Op. Cit. pp. 66-67.

^{xli} *Farman* Aurangzeb addressed to Raja Ram Singh, New No.118/Old No.160, Dated: 23 *Shaaban* 1089/30 Sept.,1678.

^{xlii} *Ain-i-Akbari*, Op. Cit., pp. 152-53.

^{xliiii} *The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography*, Op. Cit., pp. 43-44

^{xliv} Sumbul Halim Khan, *Art and Craft Workshops Under The Mughals: A Study of Jaipur Karkhanas*, Primus Books, Delhi, 2015. p.32.

^{xlv} *Ibid.*

^{xlvi} *Catalogue of Historical Documents in Kapad Dwara, Jaipur*, Op. Cit., pp. 12-13.

^{xlvii} *Ibid.* p. 2.

^{xlviii} *Art and Craft Workshops Under The Mughals: A Study of Jaipur Karkhanas*, Op. Cit., p. 32.

^{xliv} *Ibid.*

^l *Ain-i-Akbari*, Op. Cit., pp. 153-54

^{li} *Ibid.* pp. 152, 154.

^{lii} *Ibid.*

^{liii} *Ibid.*

^{liv} *Ibid.* p. 37

^{lv} *Ibid.* p. 154.

^{lvi} *Central Structure of The Mughal empire And Its Practical Working Up to 1657*, Op. Cit. pp. 93-100. See also, *The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography*, Op. Cit., p. 45. and *Mughal Documents 1628-1659*, Op. Cit. pp. 41-139

^{lvii} *Farman* Aurangzeb addressed to Raja Ram Singh, New No. 115/ Old No.106, Dated; 16 *Zil Hajj*,1086/6 June 1677. R.S.A.B. (Aurangzeb inviting Maharaja to attend Royal Court after giving charge to person recommended by *Amirul Umara* in the Thana of Rangamati)

^{lviii} M. S. Commissariat, Imperial Mughal Farmans in Gujarat, *Journal of The University of Bombay*, Vol. IX, Issue 1, The University of Bombay, 1940. p. 12.

^{lix} See *farman* announcing Babur's renunciation of wine. See, Zahiruddin Mohammad Babur, *Baburnama*, Tr. Beveridge A.S., *Baburnama: Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, Luzac and Co., London. 1922. pp. 553-555.

- ^{lx} *The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography*, Op. Cit., p. 46.
- ^{lxi} *Baburnama: Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, Op. Cit. p. 559.
- ^{lxii} *Farman* of Shahjahan to Raja Jai Singh, New No.94/Old No.119. Dated 28 Shaaban1068/21 May 1658. R.S.A.B.
- ^{lxiii} *The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography*, Op. Cit., p. 52. See also *Ahadnama* Mughal court to Raja Bijay Singh, New No. 35/Old No. 25, undated, *Farsi Farman* Vol. IV, Op. Cit. pp. 93-94.
- ^{lxiv} Abdul Hameed Lahori, *Badshahnama* (vol. I Part II), Asaitic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1868. pp. 178-80.
- ^{lxv} Persian *ahadnama* from Nawab Shuja ud Daula Safardarjang to Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh I. Dated 5 May 1757.; Persian *ahadnama* Khalsaji to Sawai Pratap Singh, dated: 5 *Rabi II*/ 28th regnal year of Shah Alam/ 25 January 1787.; Persian *ahadnama* from Dadu Rao, an employ of Raja Sahu to Sawai Jai Singh, Dated:25 *Rabi-I*/14th regnal year of Mohammad Shah/ 4th September 1732. For details see, *Catalogue of Historical Documents in Kapad Dwara Jaipur*.
- ^{lxvi} *Farman* No. 191, Rajasthani *farman* of Mohammad Shah to Jai Singh, Undated.; *Farman* No. 193, Rajasthani *farman* of Mohammad Shah to Sawai Jai Singh, received on date: 22 *Safar* 1135 A.H/10 Nov. 1723. For details see, *Catalogue of Historical Documents in Kapad Dwara Jaipur*.
- ^{lxvii} The *farman* is related to Rajput resistance.
- ^{lxviii} *Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign*, Op. Cit., p. 131.
- ^{lxix} *Farman (Manshur)* Aurangzeb addressed to Raja Ram Singh, Dated: 8 June, 1658. R.S.A.B.
- ^{lxx} *Catalogue of Historical Documents in Kapad Dwara Jaipur*, Op. Cit., p. 77. (Plate No. 59)
- ^{lxxi} *Kalimat-i-Tayyibat*, Op. Cit.
- ^{lxxii} *Ahkam-i-Shahjahani/ letters of Shahjahan*, Indian Historical Record Commission, 101 XXI, Dec, 1964, pp. 30-52
- ^{lxxiii} Hamid-ud-din Khan, *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, Tr. J.N Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb*, M.C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1925. p. 19.
- ^{lxxiv} *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, Op. Cit., p. 70-71, See also *Kalimat-i-Taiyibat*, Op. Cit., pp. 15-17.
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- ^{lxxvi} *Kalimat-i-Tayyibat*, Op. Cit.
- ^{lxxvii} *Ibid.* p. 36.