The Horse and the Mughal State Formation: The Making of an Imperial Political Culture

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Introduction

The centrality of horses played a crucial role in shaping the military and political structure of the Mughal Empire in the Indian sub-continent.[1] The Mughal warfare centred on the mobile force of cavalry and the use of war-horses for warfare purposes provided the Mughals an advantage over infantry and the use of elephants in the battlefield. Primarily the mounted and mobile archers and the 'gentleman-troopers' skilled in lance/spear fighting and swordsmanship established the superiority of the Mughal cavalry in the battle. Apart from strengthening the military power, the horses also played a significant role in defining the imperial culture of the Mughals. Politically, the possession of horses became a key element in the establishment of hierarchies within the Mughal nobility. It was associated with the distribution of ranks amongst the Mughal nobility of *'Ahl-e saif'* and *'Ahl-e qalam'*, who were appointed to the *mansabdar* and *jagirdar* ranks of the Mughal bureaucracy. Together they maintained the military and civil administration of the Mughal Empire.

The training of horses for military purposes also existed during the Delhi Sultanate. Experts in cavalry exercises were especially recruited by the state to train the horses and he was responsible to construct a good cavalry regiment for his master. The *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* mentions that during the period of Razia Sultan, Yulduz was recruited as the keeper and trainer of the royal horses. The state maintained a separate department for the recruitment of horses in the cavalry. The *Amir-i-Akhur* was the appointed officer in-charge of the royal stables, under his suggestion horses were recruited and trained for the cavalry.[2] He was also responsible to maintain the regular supply of the best quality of horses for the state.

There are large numbers of primary sources of the Mughal period, which provide a lot of information about the importance of horses in the Imperial army. They also indicate the critical role of the horse in state formation. *Babar-Nama* of Babur, *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul-Fazl, *Tabkat-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad and *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *Jahangir-Nama*, *Shah-Jahan-Nama*, *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri* and *Padshahnama* give details about the importance of horses in the Mughal army. They also explain the procurement of the horses to the Mughal army. Abul Fazl says that Akbar was very fond of horses,[3] and the good horses were imported from Arab, Iran, Turan, Turkey, Turkestan, Badakhshan, Shirwan, Qirghiz, Tibet, Kashmir and other countries.[4] The *khasa* (special) horses were kept in six different royal stables, each containing 40 of the superior grade horses mostly from Arabia and Persia.[5]

During the early modern period, horses were widely and distinctively associated with the Mughal court and nobility. Due to its association with the royal families and gentleman communities, horses were referred to as the 'gentle' animal.[6] The possession of good horses was closely connected with the social status of the court nobles and *ashraf* families. Significantly, it was a mark of status for the political elite or even of someone affluent. Indeed, it was regarded so integral to gentlemanliness; that even horses were trained into some manners of equestrian *adab*. Apart from this, the symbolic role of horses in the Mughal military and political culture also carried and expressed the courtly codes of the Mughal. Simultaneously, the possession of good horses of superior breed, quality, firmness, beauty and colour always expressed the pride, prestige and honour of the Mughal gentleman.[7] Indeed, the possession of good quality of the Arabian, Persian, Turkish, Tazi, Tuzuki and Turani horses added pride, prestige, honour and dignity to the Mughal nobles.

As far as the association of masculinity and horsemanship is concerned, the active participation in warfare, having the skills of military manoeuvre and mounting a horse equipped with arms for the purpose of expedition of conquest was distinctively seen as the 'masculine' activity of the 'gentleman trooper'. Indeed,

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mounting on a horse symbolized manliness and power of the rider. Simultaneously, their frequent ability to use their armour on a moving horse for defensive or attacking moves were associated with the notion of masculinity. The 'masculine' quality of the horsemanship was further developed through regular practices of militaristic drills. Apart from this, the notion of masculinity was also underlined and embedded within the military sports of riding, hunting, horse-racing and playing *chaugan*.

The centrality of horses in the Mughal 'military-civil' necessities encouraged the Emperors to establish control on the trade of war-horses pertaining to land-routes, sea ports and important entrepots. The Mughal Emperors took initiative steps to provide safety and security to merchants, traders and trading activities between India and its neighbouring countries in Central and Middle East Asia. The good horses were imported to the Mughal court from Arabia, Iran, Turan, Turkey, Turkestan, Badakhshan and other countries via the long distance caravan trade-routes and sea-routes. The horses especially the Arabian, Persian and Tazi etc. imported from the Middle East countries via the sea-routes were called *bahri* horses.

The normative custom of 'gift-exchange' was considered as part of the political and social relations between the rulers and his subjects during the Mughal period. The custom of 'gift-giving' established the personal ties of reliability and loyalty amongst the Mughal Emperors and his nobles, officials, philosophical and religious dignitaries and subjects. The Mughal encouraged the ritual of 'gift-exchange' to develop the dual process of symbiotic relationship. On the one hand, it granted royal protection and patronage to the subjects or recipients, while at the same time it linked to the submission of the clients, recipients and servicemen towards the imperial authority of the Mughals. The *khil`at*, *charqab*, jewelled and decorated weapons of dagger, knife, swords and bestowal of 'offices', etc. were granted as honorific gift items to strengthen the relationship among the Emperor and the nobility under him. Apart from this, the receiving of a 'gift' of a good horse from an Emperor was always considered as the most honorific robe among the recipients. The norms and kinds of gifts and grants also defined the official hierarchies during the Mughal period. The custom of 'gift-exchange' was an important and crucial part of the Mughal court-culture and represented the imperial authority over its subjects.

Horses and the Making of the Mughal Administrative Frame

The superiority of the cavalry was essential for success in military battles during the medieval centuries. The cavalry was considered as one of the most important unit of the army, followed by infantry, artillery and the use of war elephants. In the Mughal Empire, the government organized the supply and training of horses. After going through the multiple processes of checking, trials and supervisions, a horse was recruited as a unit of the royal cavalry. Horses were classed on the basis of their quality and pedigree. *Vilayati* (foreign breeds) horses were preferred over the horses of indigenous (*desi*) origin.

The centrality of the horse in Central Asian military tradition was carried forward by the Mughals. They viewed the cavalry as an important institution of state building. In order to strengthen the cavalry, they tried their best to control the horse trade in India. They invested a huge share of revenue for the maintenance of a strong cavalry —the mainstay of the military. The procurement of horses was made via trade, tribute or by capturing horses of the opponent as booty. The areas around the north-western frontiers were popular for organizing animal fairs through which, supply of horses to the royal army was maintained. The communities like, Afghans, *Luhanis* and *Powindas* were involved in the rearing and trading of horses.[8] Later, during the eighteenth century, the communities of *Bhats*, *Banjaras* and *Bhattis* also adopted the profession of rearing, breeding, trading and management of the horses.[9] The Mughal administration ensured that only the best quality of horses should be sold to the agent of state directly.

The cavalry was the most striking and essential feature of the Mughal military structure. It was admixture of 'Turko-Mongol', Central Asian and Indian warlords, especially the horsemen. The war-horses were the central element to satisfy the aggressive and expansionist nature of the Mughal state.[10] Due to the swift and advanced cavalry, the Mughal could expand the boundaries of the Empire over a large territory. Along with the conquest and expansion, controlling the trade in horses shifted Mughal interest away from the Indo-Gangatic areas. The influence of the Mughal state expanded to the distant places of Iran, Arab, Turan and regional part of the Central Asia as horse trade routes passed through these regions. All the good quality foreign horses were imported to Mughal India from the countries of Iran, Arab, Turan and Central Asia.[11] The presence of Indian merchants in area of the Safavids (Iran), the Ottomans (Central Asia), and the Uzbeks (Turan) clearly represented the influence and status of the Mughal state in the respective areas. Simultaneously on the political and cultural front, the identity of the Mughal state was not only about the connoisseurship, consumption and knowledge of literatures, aesthetic practices of *adab*, *akhlaq* and etiquette. Significantly, it was also about the trading of horses, the horsemanship, the equestrian skills, and the horseman himself.

The Mughal bureaucracy had a significant military

profile. The Mughal nobility was composed of people having qualities of *'Ahl-e saif"* (people of the sword) and *'Ahl-e qalam'* (people of the pen).[12] The civil and military administration was maintained by these learned and skilled people. They were appointed to the highest honour and posts as per their quality and experience in the military and civil sections. *'Ahl-e saif'* were also expert in chivalric drill and horsemanship. The *'Ahl-e saif'* and *'Ahl-e qalam'* of the Mughal nobility constituted the highest echelons of the bureaucracy and army, which helped in the implementation of the royal policies and provided security and stability to the Mughals. The Mughal army was essentially an army dominated by horsemen. They were accustomed to fight on horseback. Abul-Fazl notes that cavalry was of great importance in all the military branches of the Mughal government, it was an essential element for expeditions of conquest and as a means of avoiding much inconvenience. The cavalry mainly consisted of *mansabdars* and of their *tabins* (followers). Their ranks were decided as per the number of horses and horseman that they owned. Besides this, the *ahadis* were a special class of horseman, who were recruited individually. They were moving round the Emperor's person and were responsible for safety and security of him. The *ahadis* were answerable to the Emperor only; they did not owe any allegiance under a separate command and were dignified by their independence.[13]

Historian Simon Digby has discussed in great detail the importance of war-horse in the initial military success of the Turks in India. He argues that the supply of war-horses and elephants to the Turkish rulers greatly contributed to their success and helped in establishment of administrative structure under the umbrella of the Delhi Sultanate. The military strength of the Sultan mainly depended upon the procurement of the war-horses. It was only because of a strong cavalry force that the army of the Delhi Sultanate deprived their opponents and succeeded to establish the Islamic polity in India.[14] Mobility and fluidity of army was the key feature under the Turkish military organization. The swift mechanism of control and fast mobility of horses changed the military tradition of fighting in India. It increased the chances to win for those who had strong cavalry. The people who came to India through the western frontier were good in chivalric skills and they dominated over their opponents during the wartime. The chivalric drills and swordsmanship became the significant skills for getting employment in army and was also associated with sign of masculinity among the medieval people. The Indian military tactics and manoeuvre was strategically and technologically out of date-in comparison to the Turkish military organisation. The military structure of the indigenous rulers (Indian Kings) dependent on the numerical strength and weight of the infantry, elephantry and cavalry rather than making efforts for the fluid and swift application of war-tactics against the opponent. As Jadunath Sarkar has said that the contemporary Indian army lacked at mobility factor which was completely absent, and further noted, "The arms and horses of these Turkish invaders provided them indisputable military superiority over the Indians. The supply of the war-materials was carried by fast running camels, which required no extra fodder for themselves but fed on the roots and leaves of the wayside, while the Banjara pack-oxen of the Hindu commissariat were slow and burdensome." [15]

M. Habib and K.A. Nizami provide useful details of the military labour market, the process of recruitment into the cavalry and its link with state formation. Here details show how the very process of recruitment helped the state to lay out its administrative infrastructure and percolate deep into society. This was also a way of established Mughal patronage network. Habib and Nizami had further argued that during the Delhi Sultanate period, those who wanted service with the state's cavalryman had to present himself with one or two horses and the necessary equipment to appear at the *'arz'*: the physical test to prove fitness and expertise in warfare skills. The military assessment of the soldier was examined by commander or recruiter. After he was examined and if found fit, the price of the horse was paid to him, and then he along with his horse was recruited into cavalry. But since it was not possible for everyone to afford a horse for *'arz'*, it raised the corruption among the wealthy middle man, who used to purchase the horses and took commission both from the horseman and the officer-in-charge.[16]

The *'arz'* process, as a way of extending Mughal patronage and establishing patron-client relationship, continued during the Mughals. The horseman had to appear for an exam of chivalry drills, swordsmanship, archery and fitness in front of the experts—'officer-in-charge' for his recruitment.[17] His rank and salary was fixed, depending on his skills. One who wanted employment in the Mughal court had to seek a patron first and had to prove his links with martial race of the militaristic background.[18] One who wanted to be recruited in the cavalry regiment had to bring their own horses and other equipment; but sometimes a man with a little more money, would buy extra horses and mount relations or dependents upon them.[19] In such cases, the man riding his own horse was called *silahdar* (equipment holder) and one riding somebody else's horse was a *bagir* (burdentaker).[20] The horse and equipment were not procured by borrowed money from the chief. The candidate for employment, having a patron, was then introduced to the *bakhshi-i-mamalik* or *mir-bakhshi*.[21] Then,

it was in the hand of *mir-bakhshi* to present the new men to the Emperor, and on his verdict a great deal depended as to rank (*mansab*) which might be accorded.[22] The horse was also provided to horseman by the state. The officer-in-charge was advised to check the corruption during the recruitment.

The drill and discipline of the horse and the trooper mirrored the making of the steel framed Mughal bureaucracy. The horse-traders and agents approached the military camp to sell the horses for the cavalry regiment. The purchased horses were not directly recruited into the cavalry of the Mughal army. The horses were directly purchased by the state officers from traders, and were trained at the *faras-khana* (imperial stable).[23] They were first trained with military drills and *Tipuchaq*[24] techniques. *Tipuchaq* were the techniques of the drill. Horses were trained to recognize secret signs, symbols and lower intensity of whistle.

In order to protect horses, numerous preventive methods were adopted and horses were trained with the *Tipuchaq* techniques of cantering, trotting, galloping and stepping. Apart from this, horses were trained to recognize secret symbols and signs of danger. The horses were trained to identify the intensity of whistle of his master and symbols guided by his owner. The horses were who trained to recognize and react as per the guidance of a horseman in dangerous situation to protect his life during adverse conditions. Apart from this, horses were trained in different and specific paces of cantering, trotting and galloping. These militaristic skills were inculcated in the horse to develop symbiotic relationship between horse and horseman. A horse trained in *Tipuchaq* techniques was called the *Tipuchaq* horse. According to *Humayun-nama*, the *Tipuchaq* horses were long necked horses and seemed to possess speed, beauty, and specially-trained paces.[25] The *Tipuchaq* horses carried the notions of safety, security and honour of his master. The horse was also considered as an important and aesthetic material for gift-exchanges amongst the royal people.[26]

Indeed the Mughal exercise of disciplining the horse corresponded with their effort to make an ideal gentleman warrior. Clearly, in the Mughal view these two were inseparable. Since, the power of a warrior was ineffective and useless without a trained and skilled horse, and in the battlefield it was also necessary to protect the life of a horse. The loss of a horse was equated to the "loss of a warrior" by Babur.[27] Along with the assets of gold and silver, the *Tipuchaq* horses legitimized the authority, power and status of the servicemen and statesmen. Thus the status, dignity and power of affectivity of the statesman (ruler and subordinator) were counted according to the quantity of valuable materials and on the number of *Tipuchaq* horses available with him. Besides the booty, *Tipuchaq* horses were considered as the main war-captives. The *Tipuchaq* horses were preferred for strengthening the military power.[28] The tradition of training the horses for the warfare during the Mughal period was not an innovation. In the Indian sub-continent, the process of training the horses with specific military drills and skills was an age-old practice in which the horses were also trained in the tactics of recognizing different signs and symbols of their owner, which could help the soldier and horse to protect their lives in difficult times.

The Horse and Mughal Imperial Culture: The Gentleman with 'Gentle' Horse

The Mughal literary sources show that horse was widely and distinctively a gentleman's animal. His pride, prestige, and social status was attached with mounting and sitting on it. The Mughal literary sources and Mughal miniature visual representation show that horse was the status marker of the political elite or even of someone well off. It was the most favourite amongst the royal gentry during the Mughal period. Its significance as the might of war in the battlefield, established it as the mightiest amongst the entire war animals. It played an important role in Mughal military and political culture through establishing and maintaining the Mughal polity and their dominance in India. Mughal veterinary texts like the *Tarjamah-i-Saloter-i-Asban* and *Tuhfat-al-sadr* or *Faras-nama* represented the horse as the mount of the kings.[29] The metaphor like 'king's horse', 'the Emperor's horse', 'the imperial stirrup' or 'present/gift of the stirrup and horse' was popular among the Mughal nobles and courtiers, and it indicates the central symbolic role of the horse in the Mughal bureaucratic structure of authority.[30] Horses were acknowledged as the delightful carriage of the kings and princes.[31] The numerous Mughal miniature paintings have also shown the horse as a symbol of nobility, authority, and power.

Horse was a key element in the establishment of hierarchies within the *mansabdari*. It was associated with the distribution of ranks to the *mansabdars*. The *mansabdar* who was maintaining the highest numbers of horses and a larger 'decimal-organization' of cavalry claimed the highest rank.[32] Their rank of *zat* and *sawar* was granted as per the maintenance and allowance of the number of horses.[33] Those who maintained the highest number of horses always claimed their military and political dominance over the other Mughal officials who were holding lesser number of the horses. The rank of the *mansabdar* also displayed his proximity and closeness to the Mughal Emperor. Due to the military significance of horses, the higher '*zat* and *sawar*' rank holder was always considered as the most favourite one of the

Emperor. Simultaneously, the horse was also a politically mighty animal; it formed a part of Mughal nobility as a 'gentleman's animal'.

Due to its association with the Mughal court-nobles, it became the symbol of nobility and was viewed as an animal of fine manners, while at the social platform it carried the popular ethos of gentle and well-behaved animal, carrying the learned manners of etiquettes. Indeed the Mughal regarded it so much integral to gentlemanliness that they had a code of etiquette for the horse as well: horses were trained in some manners of equestrian etiquette, like; to carry the qualities of the firmness, stamina, strength, cool and calm in temper, courtesy and loyalty for his master and most importantly it should be tamed to follow all the instructions. The courtly codes were also carried and expressed through the symbolic role of horse in the Mughal military and political culture.

The Mughal gentleman was the man of *adab*. The word *adab* is derived from 'Perso-Islamic' concept which means bearing the proper code of conduct and having control over the carnal soul (*nafs*). In Islamic religio-theological understanding, *adab* is associated to one's submission to the God. Similarly, in the political and social milieu it is understood as a man having the qualities of courtesy, gratitude, generosity, humility and obedience.[34] Significantly the Mughal gentleman defined horses also in gentlemanly term applied to their own selves. The best horse was one of high breed, cool and calm in temper, not furious in nature, gentle and loyal to the master, healthy, courageous and swift in battle.[35] These were the norms of equestrian *adab* for a horse which were cultivated into it through the techniques of *Tipuchaq* and military trainings.

Among the Mughal gentlemen the *Arabian* horse was famous for its refined physical appearances, strong and durable stamina and endurance. It was also acknowledged for its remarkable long memory, quickness, comprehension and sociability. The impact of Arabian horses was extremely powerful in the Mughal political and military culture. Therefore, the Emperor was always shown mounting an *Arabian* horse in Mughal miniature paintings.[36] In these Mughal miniature paintings the *Arabian* horse conveyed the sense of power, authority, etiquette and grandeur. The Mughal Emperor was shown carrying pride, prestige, honour and dignity while mounting on an *Arabian* horse. He was shown as the supreme authority on the earth next to the God. The *Arabian* horse was represented as the 'emperor's horse' due to its quality of alertness, smartness, beauty and steadiness. Through its grandeur, energy, alertness and speed, the *Arabian* horse symbolized the mighty rule, royal prestige and authority of the Mughal Emperor.

Being a gentleman was not just about possessing high quality cultured *Arabian* horses but also having knowledge about the horse. *Tarjamah-i-Saloter-i-Asban* of Abdullah Khan Firoze Jung was the Mughal treatise on the science of horses which provided equestrian knowledge and its veterinary aspects to the Mughal gentleman. Abdullah Khan Firoze Jung was a Mughal courtier and military commander during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Shah-Jahan.[37] Abdullah Khan was an Uzbek *mansabdar* in the Mughal aristocratic structure.[38] He was endowed with the title of "Firoze-Jung" during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir.[39] He was among the close associate of the Mughal Emperor. Apart from being well skilled in military capabilities on the Middle-East Asian mode of war technologies, he was also a learned man. He had good command over many languages: Arabic, Turkic, Persian and Indian language like Sanskrit. He even had the knowledge of veterinary sciences and was interested in collecting and translating the knowledge which could increase his scientific understanding about the animals.

Firoze Jung wrote the *Tarjamah-i-Saloter-i-Asban* in *Persian*. It was compiled only for the courtiers and elite-nobles who were maintaining a large stable for the military or political purposes. Through this treatise on the horses the Mughal gentlemen could get information about the features, qualities and pedigree of horses to assist them while purchasing animals from the traders. The treatise also helped them to adopt the proper and healthier way for the care and management of horses at their stables. The text also provided knowledge about treatment of the veterinary diseases. This was useful knowledge even to the 'medical-communities' who specialized in healing the Mughal gentleman. Similar techniques were applied for investigating and diagnosing the diseases among the human and animals.[40] Thus, this equestrian literary work was attractive to all kinds of healers and practitioners who dealt with the disease of humans. This text also offered the physicians a ready pool of prescribed knowledge of veterinary sciences to use during war-time or peace time. This text, thus, became useful for the Mughal gentleman in collecting the ample information on the quality, feature and temperament of horses. It also raised their awareness about the adoption of methodologies for caring, managing and healing the horse. It fulfilled the essential requirement of the Mughal nobles and gentry classes that being gentleman, they should also have the knowledge about the pedigree and diseases of animals, especially about horses.

The main aim behind the composition of *'Tarjamah-i-Saloter-i-Asban'* was to disseminate the knowledge of veterinary sciences among the gentleman-communities of elite nobles. It further shows how a good quality horse added social status to the Mughal nobles.[41] It provides also the methodological understanding regarding the

temperament, behaviour and bodily appearances of the horses, which helped the Mughal nobles in developing their scientific skills of training, managing, feeding, caring and healing the horses. It acknowledged that an ideal and gentle horse should be of 'good character/features'.[42] It further explains the features of a good horse, for instance, its bodily appearances should be well-formed, should have well defined proportioned body with strong limbs, and should be at least 140 fingers tall in height.[43] The speed and swift tendency of a horse were mainly judged by the length and functioning of their limbs. Horses having such standard height and quality were highly appreciable due to its military potential of attacking and retreating capabilities. While the other horses shorter than 80 fingers tall in height was negligible for war purposes.[44]

The Role of Horse in Defining Masculinity

One of the main criteria for the selection of a militia for the Mughal army was its gender bias towards men.[45] In the military labour market of India, the militia communities carried diverse and varied notions of masculinity both in the military discourses and militia practices, and the personal attachment of soldiers with the above-mentioned military notions provided a guarantee to get the employment in military services.[46] Under the economically and politically stabilized Mughal Empire, the idea of masculinity became a cultural practice which carried, upheld and continued the earlier ideas, traits, and practices along with certain obvious changes.

Having cavalry warfare skills was the best tool to get employment in the Mughal Imperial army.[47] The cavalry-warfare was considered as a masculine activity. Thus, the practice and profession of an individual horseman gave him entry into the category of being a masculine man. In militaristic terms 'masculinity' of a horseman meant that he carried the ethos of 'courage, passion, valour, gratitude, generosity, loyalty and capacity to bear unpleasant pain'. All these qualities were further developed amongst the horsemen through regular practices of militaristic drills. The practice of militaristic drills shaped and defined the male character; firm determination, courage, strength, toughness and a strong body, patience in adversity and calmness in temper. Abul-Fazl records that the skills of a soldier was assessed first before his recruitment to the Mughal Imperial army. The men having above discussed manly character were chosen for the state's army.[48]

Mughal masculinity was further firmed up in military training and sports. Mughal gentlemen were trained as cavalrymen who excelled in riding, playing *chaugan* and hunting etc.[49] To develop these skills they performed mock drills after a certain interval of time. These mock drills also polished their fighting and defending skills. Emperor Jahangir was very fond of horse racing and playing *chaugan*.[50] He even used to organize horse races, *chaugan* and hunting for his nobles.[51] The indulgence of the army in the hunting activity was the best way to keep them ready and active for combats. The exercises and practices of horsemanship were the toughest one, due to the shortage of war-horses, it continued only among the family member of the Mughal noble and royal princess who were taught and trained in horsemanship. The skills of horsemanship also emphasized that a horseman should have the equestrian knowledge which essentially helped them in training the horses for purposes of mounting, riding, racing and hunting. Since, the horse was called mighty animal in comparison to other war-animals, therefore, controlling and training them for war purposes was considered as a vary 'masculine' activity amongst the Mughal statesmen. In order to analyse the capacity, strength and stamina of a horse, such equestrian skills were even considered as useful amongst the Mughal gentlemen.[52] The practices and exercises of horsemanship also helped in revising the military skills of an individual soldier and further led to their promotion to higher ranks of *mansabdar* and *ahadis*.

The exercises and practices of horsemanship enriched the quality of leadership, honour, self-respect and maturity to react. It also inculcated norms of etiquette and manners for proper behaviour in relation to the commander and king properly. These included hard discipline and exercises of tough drills and it was assumed that through practice of such discipline with the ideals of self-control, strong determination and obedience to master, one could enhance his 'masculine' nature and could get command over the other horsemen and could guide their skills of mounting. Horsemanship carried the code of loyalty and embraced the virtues of 'courage, valour, magnanimity, and generosity' within itself. It was the general assumption that through practicing military and chivalric drills 'a masculine, healthy and law abiding' horseman/cavalryman could be created for the master, which would help him in colonizing the territory of others. A strong cavalry was always an asset for the fiscal necessities of the Empire.

A professional horseman in the Mughal imperial military service was one of the most privileged individual who exemplified at local level the patriarchal structure of Empire. His association with the imperial state meant that he could lord over the state's servants and subjects. The Mughal state was fundamentally patriarchal in nature. It was the characteristic of medieval social organization in which the male was considered as the head of family and all the titles were traced through the male line. The hagiographical chronicles idealized the Mughal ancestors with a 'masculine' image. The generosity, bravery, valour,

loyalty, dutifulness and military prowess of the individual noble/soldier was presumed as per the martial skills of his father or ancestors. The male heir always inherited and learnt the martial skills from his father. The sons of noble and soldier was given more privilege while recruitment in the imperial army. In general, the ancestry of every Mughal military officials was traditionally associated and linked to martial background. The race of a family was glorified by the military prowess and brilliant manoeuvre deliverance of male heir of the same family.

In military culture manliness/masculinity was associated with the cavalryman's skill, strength of wielding heavy armours and other weapons on horseback, in the battlefield. It signified his readiness for an immediate action and service for his master and it continued to share the basic norms of martial masculinity which was constituted of bravery, loyalty, generosity and correct manly behaviour in warfare. During the medieval period masculinity has been seen as an identity and it became a powerful means to institute hierarchy and establish authority. It carried Central Asian cultural tendencies to symbolize the manliness of a man. It carried the Islamic ideal of a holy warrior to define the manliness in terms of self-control and bodily renunciation and disciplining of the body for the greater spiritual and physical strength.[53]

During the Mughals, we observe two different phases of cultural differentiation in the codes of manliness. During the reign of Akbar, masculinity of a man was associated with the court and individual's relationship to it: courage, bravery, loyalty, generosity, warlordism and horsemanship. In short, a good horseman/cavalryman was carrying all these qualities or he learnt to acquire all these masculine-norms through practicing tough chivalric drills organized by the court. They were skilled with the codes and norms of masculinity that they learnt as imperial servicemen. While, in the seventeenth century, manliness was no more a question of being linked to the Mughal court and imperial military culture, rather the norms of 'masculine' man was now associated with sophisticated connoisseur-ship. A masculine man was one who was also a patron of fine arts, judge of the exquisite in fabrics and gems, a gourmet of fine foods, elegant in person and fastidious about personal cleanliness and dress.[54]

But, even in the changed norms and codes of masculinity, horsemanship and expertise in chivalry drills still continued as an essential symbol of masculinity for the people. It continued to signify the symbols of manliness for the royal people. Hunting, playing *chaugan* and organizing horse races became the favourite means of pleasure/amusements among the royal people.[55] A man of royal family was expected to have the knowledge of chivalric drills and to know the different breeds of horses. He should be able to train the unskilled horses. The horsemanship continued its association with the new norms and models of masculinity; it was still an essential qualification to claim the royalty. It was necessary for an individual to have the knowledge of horses and horsemanship in order to gain royal association.

Mirza-Namah composed by Mirza Kamran is an earnest composition which deals with norms and codes of masculinity and cultivated gentlemanliness. It is a biographical account, which sought to define *mirza'i*, gentility or gentlemanliness. The qualities of *mirza'i* was associated with the sense of personal cultivation of *adab*, the ideals of gentility, intense emphasis on the personal cultivation, on the infusion of every action with spiritual awareness in the quest of self-perfection.[56] *Mirza'i* was a kind of *adab* to cultivate the ethics, norms and etiquette amongst the gentleman. It aspired to cultivate the moral and social refinement amongst the royal prince, princess and great nobles. It emphasized ~~on~~ the implication of self-cultivated spiritual and sensuous awareness for being a cultured *mirza*. *Mirza-Namah* is a wonderful satire on the ideal of cultivated norms of manliness.[57] For being a true *mirza,* one should first have a great ancestry. He should have command over the literary, historical, religious and philosophical subjects. He should be well versed in *shikasta* and *naskh* scripts of writing and reading. He should have the equestrian knowledge and should be able to judge and train horses. [58] In order to facilitate all the royal standard of living, he should have a *mansab* of not lesser than of 7000.[59] The most preferred sport of a *mirza* should be *chaugan*.[60] In the battle he should remain firm like a soldier.

Horse as a Part of the Mughal Gift-Culture

This section argues that the impact and influence of Mughal court can also be assessed by analysing the ambassadorial and ceremonial gift-exchange in between the Mughals, Safavids and Uzbek Sultans. It argues that horses were important gift items as the Mughal state connected with the other courts and society both within and outside India.

The horse is not an animal indigenous to Hindustan. It was introduced into the Indian continent through trade. It was used in war, and as items of 'gift-exchange' to weld the state and manage its diplomacy. This noble animal came into India through trading activities from the zone of north-western frontier. The Mughals were very fascinated with the efforts and capabilities of horses and had a deep appreciation for them. The horses have been culturally considered more than the 'resources' and 'units of state-formation'. The significant role of horses in the domestic, military, and commercial milieu has revealed its symbolic value as a represent of power and authority.

The custom of gift-exchange is traditionally associated with the factor of bonding and indebtedness for each other. It also strengthened the social-relationships within the partners (giver and receiver) and symbolized the expression of sympathy and support in adverse conditions. The obligations between two parties are maintained and continued through the chains of gifts and return-gifts. Under the custom of gift-giving, both the parties are sympathetically bonded together with an expectation for fulfilling their respective aims of self-interest, ambition and vanity. Ultimately the following of gift-culture is privileged for getting the new endeavours.

The custom of gift-giving is seen as an expression to show the sentiment and sensibility for the fellow parties of giver and receiver which enforced the magnified notions of sacrificial devotion and indebtedness in-between the kins. The gift-culture bounded together the giver and the receiver. The Mughal chronicles are rich about the information of 'gift-exchange' culture. The Persian manuscripts of Mughals refer to various words which were used as synonyms for the gifts or presents. Among them *Pish-Kash or Peshkash* (tributes), *ataya* (gifts), *tuhfa* (gifts), *inam*, and *nazl* or *nazr* (presents, vows) are the terms, which were used for the exchange of gifts.[61] The custom of 'gift-exchange' was deeply rooted amongst the court people of the Mughal society. Abul-Fazl notes in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that the Emperor Akbar had appointed separate treasurer for the management of distribution and receipt of gifts.[62] It shows that the practice of gift giving was institutionalized as reflecting the generosity of the Mughal Emperor towards his service-man and as the honorific robe amongst the recipient. The custom of the gift-exchange had become the part of the Mughal court-culture which was managed separately by individual office. Most of the Mughal sources refer that the example of gifts were part of their public life than private domain. Sometimes it was given as reward by the Emperor to his serviceman and at times the Emperor simply expected gifts as a mark of submission and loyalty from the giver (service-men). The giving and receiving of gifts also implicitly defined the status of the giver or the recipient. The *Pishkash* was a present from someone of an inferior status. During the Mughal period, the *Pishkash* was also used in the sense of a tribute paid to the Mughal Emperor. The *nazr* was also designated for the *pishkash* paid to the ruler by his officials. The *ataya* were the gifts bestowed by the Emperor to his serviceman which were considered as the honorific robe. Generally, this gift was given as a reward for showing valour and braveness during the military campaign. The *inam* was always given by superior one to the recipient and often relatively small amount of money and other valuable items was given for the excellence in certain skills.

During the Mughal period, the culture of gift-exchange was a part of court protocol applying to the courtiers. The court institutionalized it as the part of Mughal custom which levied by rulers and others on the special occasion of festivals, child birth, religious and crown ceremonies. The ceremonies of gift-exchange were performed to show the generosity of the ruler towards his subjects (servants, officials). Further the gift giving by the officials ensured and depicted their submission and loyalty for his master. The purpose of presenting the *Peshkash* or gift was to strengthen the relationship between the giver and the recipient. The customs of gift-exchanges also depicted and were associated with the beginning of a new relationship between the two authorities, families, and institutions. In such instances the gifts governed a promise of support in adverse conditions, co-operation and establishment of matrimonial alliances. This phenomenon of gift-exchange also depended much on the power of two different authorities. It also helped to share the values of honesty, equality, loyalty, respect, honour and protection for each other with in the peripheral socio-political relations of the state

During the medieval period, the horses were the most preferred gift exchanged between competing Empires and kingdoms. Due to its association with royalty, the horse was considered as a token of according and ensuring the respect enduring the loyalty of the recipient. It was the general tendency of subordinate officers to present the gifts to their master. It was aimed to gain favours from the master. Gift-giving was also a process to show the gratitude and respect to the master. If the master gives a horse as a return gift to his official, it was assumed as a sign of dignity, honour and respect. The receiver of the gift was accorded respect and overwhelmed with the feeling of closeness with his master.

Once while Babur was going to the valley of the Kam torrent and the *Sara-taq*-passes (*daban*),[63]-he reached near Nundak, where a servant of Khusrau Shah presented him a set of nine horses.[64] He also gifted him a set of nine pieces of cloth.[65] The process of gift-exchange between Babur and Khusrau Shah was also dependent on clear expectations and obligations from both sides. Babur needed a favour from Khusrau Shah for the procurement of the food and horses, which were the essential need for his army to march further towards the north-western borders of India. And Khusrau Shah was able to maintain and supply the requirement of Babur. While in return of all these, Khusrau Shah expected protection of lives and materials of his territories that might get disturbed from the raids led by Babur's amry. Through gift-exchanges both the parties expected a generous treatment from each other. It indicates that the phenomenon of gift-exchange created moral ties between two authorities or family, as a

consequence of all these, they were overwhelmed by the feeling of indebtedness towards each other and vowed never to hamper the interest of each other.

Horses have always been considered as intelligent and loyal animals. During medieval times the purpose of employing this animal was to use it as war-machinery. For the purpose of war, the physical strength of horse was paramount. It was preferred that the horse should be well trained, obedient to his master, active at command and sincere about the protection of the life of his master. It was trained so that even in the crowd it could find its way to escape from the danger. Its ability to protect the life of his master was praised, regarded most precious and he was loved by his owner for this job. During the recruitment of horses in the regiment, it ensured that it should be courageous and praiseworthy in cavalry manoeuvre. Since, the horse was such a prized animal giving it as a gift to the officer was taken as a token of honour and respect. Solidarity between two powers was attained through this kind of exchange. Amongst all the gift items, the horse was considered auspicious and the most preferred one. It defined the degree of closeness and limits of the relationship.

'Gift-Exchanges'between the Mughal Emperor and his Subjects

In the Mughal court, gift-giving was fundamentally viewed as part of a social system that was ideologically an adoption and continuation of the aristocratic culture, which affected the economic, political, legal and religious sphere of the royal society. It fulfilled the aim of seeking and ensuring the co-operation and continuity of social relations. The gift-giving culture was prominently popular in practice amongst the Mughal rulers and nobles to strengthen their relations. It was associated with social and ritual ceremonies. This encouraged belongingness to the Mughal Empire and through presenting and giving gifts, the power, status and authority of the receiver were symbolized. It reflected the status of the sovereign ruler and the gift received from the ruler reflected the reward in respect of the continuous and regular efforts provided by the nobles for the expansion and stability of the state. It encouraged the personal obligation for balance, interdependence and co-operation in-between the rulers and his subjects. The Mughal chronicles provides innumerable references of the gift-exchanges, which were primarily aimed to win the confidence, faith and loyalty of people to the Emperor.

During the sixteenth-seventeenth century, the 'gift' was always a honorific robe amongst the recipient. The most visible items of the 'robe of honour' were the luxurious garments of the ruler (*khil`at*), decorated weapons such as jewelled dagger, knife and sword, horses and bestowal of an office.[66] On the 15th of Muharram, 1017 A.H. (1608 A.D.), Jahangir presented his best horse to Raja Man Singh in lieu of his favour.[67] Shah 'Abbas had sent that horse along with some other horses and fitting gifts to the court of Raja Man Singh through Minuchihr, a confidential servant. When, Raja Man Singh received that horse, he became so delighted that his happiness was assumed more than that of getting a kingdom.[68] Jahangir further accounts that once when his father (Akbar) was returning to Agra along with his brother Danial, on his way Akbar told Danial to ask for whatever he desired.[69] Seizing the opportunity, he asked for an Iraqi horse which belonged to Akbar, and he was granted that horse.[70] Horses, jewelled dagger, jewelled sword, jewelled waist-sword, *charqab*[71], elephants and utensils of gold and silver etc., were considered favoured royal gifts. They were also associated with the robe of honour. Granting such valuable assets was also the symbolic way of showing the feeling of closeness, love and affection.

Horses of foreign breed were given only to the most favoured nobles, and number of horses granted to officers (as a gift) was dependent on their rank. William Hawkins had witnessed such ceremonies in his document *Early Travels in India* and had explained about the *mansabdari* system. He was astonished with such grand ceremonies where robes of honour were granted along with gift items, and horses granted by the king were considered as the most respectful honour for the *mansabdar*.[72] The Europeans who frequently visited the court as physician or the English Ambassador were also gifted with horses and honoured with the grant of certain rank which was equivalent to the certain rank of the *mansabdar*.[73]

The horses were also accepted as ambassadorial gifts. During the reign of Shah Jahan, the governor of Bengal paid a tribute of 27 horses to the Emperor.[74] Fidai Khan, a foreign ambassador from Rum arrived with 52 Arabian horses at the court of Shah Jahan.[75] During the reign of Shah Jahan, the envoy of *Turan* (a region of Central Asia) presented a gift of 87 horses to the Emperor. Out of the 87 horses, 27 horses were of *Turki* breed. In return, the Emperor Shah Jahan rewarded him with an *Iraqi* steed with a gilt saddle and some amount of cash.[76] To acknowledge the gift of horses, the presenter was rewarded and thanked usually by the Emperor with the robes of honour which was their native treasures. It also strengthened the political ties and proved favourable for the continuous supply of horses. In the Indian sub-continent the horses of *vilayati* breeds were considered as the most precious and standard asset. Bernier has explained that the horses were the central ambassadorial gifts from the Uzbek sultans during the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, these horses were "of great

beauty, although Tatar horses are generally better than merely beautiful."[77] Apart from this, Bernier also notes that Aurangzeb was well pleased with the liberality and generosity of the Kans of the Uzbek polity and praised about the beauty and rareness of the fruits, horses, and camels of the same country.[78]

The Mughal had great affection and appreciation for horses, specially the *vilayati* horses of *Turki*, *Tatari,* and Arabian breeds. Amongst breeds of horses, the Arabian and Persian horses were certainly favourite of the Mughals. It has been recorded in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* that in year 1608 A.D. Emperor Jahangir arranged a horse race (*aspan-i-dawanda*). In this race, all the race-horses participated. An Arabian baby horse stood first in that race, which was presented to Emperor Jahangir by Adil Khan, the ruler of the Deccan.[79] Jahangir was very fond of giving and accepting presents and the items included in such gifts were mainly jewels, arms, and armour, elephants and horses. In 1610 A.D., Emperor Jahangir presented an Iraqi horse to Raja Kalyana, and at the same time other *amirs* were given robes of honour and horses.[80] In 1612 A.D., he bestowed a *khilat*[81] on Khan Khana along with a jewelled dagger, a special elephant with *talayir* (accoutrements) and a caparisoned *Iraqi* horse.[82]

In the same year, Jahangir appointed Mirza Rustam as the Governor of Patna and bestowed upon him a dress of honour, an ornamented sword, a special elephants, and a horse with a jewelled saddle.[83] In 1615 A.D., Mahabat Khan was appointed the governor of Deccan and was presented with a jewelled dagger (*phul katara*), a special *nadiri* (a dress), and an ambling horse with a saddle.[84] In 1616 A.D., Muqarrab Khan was made the Governor of Ahmadabad, the rank of his *mansab* was raised and he was honoured with *nadiri*, a *taghma* (badge or medal), a special elephant, a sword studded with precious stones and two caparisoned horses from the private stable of the Emperor.[85] In the same year Dilawar Khan came from Pattan, which was his father's fief and presented a *'Kachhi'* horse to Jahangir. The emperor said "till I came to Gujarat no one had presented me with so fine a horse. Its value was 1000 rupees."[86] In 1621 A.D., Jahangir gave 1000 war-horses to Khurram (Shah Jahan) as present and specially conferred upon him, for his personal use, a very special war-horse named *'Rum-ratan'* ('the jewel of Turkey') which the ruler of Persia had sent to Jahangir as a present out of the spoils of the Turkish camp.[87]

Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb also had warm affection for the horses. During his reign, the cultural tradition of granting and receiving gifts continued as the integral part of Mughal statecraft. Numerous envoys and ambassadors visited the court of Aurangzeb and presented horses to him. The tradition of granting robes of honour became the established tradition of the court ceremonies. In1672 A.D., Emperor Aurangzeb presented a horse with gold trappings and a jewelled dagger to Muhammad Sahib at the time of his marriage with Asaish Banu Begam, daughter of Murad Baksh.[88] Similar presents were given to Sujait Khan who was sent to punish the Afgans,[89] to Vikram Singh of Gwalior,[90] and to Yalangtosh Khan Bahadur at the time of his marriage.[91] In 1679 A.D., When Prince Muhammad Akbar was appointed as the Governor of Lahor, Aurangzeb presented him two horses with golden *saz*.[92] On 14th June 1681 A.D., the Rana of Mewar visited Aurangzeb and presented to Emperor 18 horses with gold and silver *saz*.[93] In return Badshah Auranzeb gifted him with a dagger with *phul-katara*, an elephant with silver *saz* and a horse with gold trappings.[94] On 17 August 1683 A.D., the Emperor received the news that Ibrahim Khan, the *Subedar* of Kashmir, had defeated the Dalai Lama and annexed Tibet in the Mughal Empire. The emperor Aurangzeb became overjoyed and he ordered to his servants that the music of joy should be played and he also despatched a large quantum of gifts to the Khan as *inam* on the same day. This included one Arabian horse worth of 200 gold *muhars* with gold *saz*.[95] He was also granted with other gifts like; a jewelled *phul-katara* dagger with pearl *ilaqa* (worth of 7000 rupees) and an elephant from the Emperor's own stable (worth of 15,000 rupees).

The custom of 'gift-culture' shows that gift giving can be analyzed as a way of establishing a hierarchy of social relationships. The exchanges of gifts were an important part of state building. The ceremonies of gift giving were also the methods for mobilizing social networks and welding relationships. The gifts were important means for the state and its dignitaries to nourish and sustain their distant ties and relationships. The culture of gift-exchange created the moral obligation for the receivers to support the state in times of need. Beyond this, it also offered a social base to the receiver in the Mughal state. And the horse as we saw was a critical gift item.

Conclusion

As Abul-Fazl notes in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, "His Majesty is very fond of horses, because he believes them to be of great importance in the three branches of the government, and for expeditions of conquest, and because he sees in them a means of avoiding much inconvenience."[96] Politically the possession of horses had a crucial role in the establishment of hierarchies within the Mughal nobility. It was associated to the distribution of ranks to the *mansabdars*. Apart from this, it also consolidated the strength of the imperial army and helped in the political expedition by enhancing their retreating, attacking and withdrawing capabilities. Consequently, the good horses defined the imperial culture associated

with horsemanship, comportments, military sports and equestrian *adab*. Besides this, the adoption of horses as the honourable 'gift-items' encouraged the reliance between the Mughal Emperor and nobility through winning their loyalty to the throne. Significantly, the draught power of horses helped the Mughals in multiple ways in winning over the contemporary and challengeable inconveniences which might be problematic for the establishment of unilateral Mughal sovereignty.

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3. Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, p. 140.
4. Ibid, p. 140. During the reign of Akbar, good horses were also bred in India. The horses bred in Kutch region were equal to the Arabian and Persian horses. In the arid zone, especially between the Indus and Jhelum of Punjab, the bred horse matched that of an Iraqi horse and was known as *sanuji*. In the *suba* of Agra, Mewar, and Ajmer and the district of Pati Haybatpur, Bajwaral and Tihara, the *Pachwariya* horses were bred. In the northern mountainous districts of Himalaya, small and strong *gut* horses were bred. Bengal was famous for the breeding of *tanghan* horses which resembled that of strong and powerful Turkish horses. All these bred horses were properly harnessed and armoured for the military puposes.
5. Ibid, p. 141. The imperial horses were divided into two category: *khasa* and non-*khasa* horses. Mostly the Arabian, Persian and other good horses were called as the *khasa* horses. The non-*khasa* horses were mostly of three types, the *si-aspi*, *bist-aspi* and *dah-aspi* (belonging to the stables of 30, 20 and 10 horses respectively and they were of lower standard than the *khasa* horses).
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12. Stephen P. Blake, 'Courtly Culture under Babur and the Early Mughals', *Journal of Asian History*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (1986), pp. 193-214.
13. Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, p. 259. *Ahadis* were the trained persons who were the immediate servants to the Emperor. They were trained about their duties and were examined regularly for their military skills before their muster in the imperial service after every four months. They were generally the bodyguards or defenders of the imperial person and were skilled in all the tactics of warfare—infantry, cavalry and artillery.
14. Simon Digby, *War-Horses and Elephants in the Delhi Sultanate: A Study of Military Supplies* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 7, 15-7. Through the reference of *Tarikh-i-Firozeshahi* of Ziyauddin Barani, Simon Digby provides the details on numbers of horses in cavalry under the different rulers. Alauddin khalji's army was consisted of 75,000 fully armoured horses; the imperial army of Firoze Shah Tughluq was consisted of 90,000 armoured horses, which was quite larger than the cavalry of Alauddin Khalji. The horses were kept in the royal stables in charge of an officer called *Amir-i-Akhur*. Sultan Muhammad Tughluq enlisted 370,000 horsemen for the conquest of Khurasan, but it was disbanded in 1331 A.D. due to the shortage in the treasury. During his expedition to Bengal in 1353 A.D., he had 80,000 horses with him. Alauddin Khalji made Malik Kafur in-charge of 30,000 horsemen and commissioned him to conquer Devgiri.
15. Jadunath Sarkar, *Military History of India*, p, 26.
16. M. Habib and K.A. Nizami (ed.), *A Comprehensive History of India: The Delhi Sultanate, A.D. 1206-1526*, vol. V (Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1970).
17. William Irvine, *The Army of the Moghuls*, pp. 32-40.
18. Ibid, P. 36.
19. Ibid, p. 36-7.
20. Ibid, pp. 36-7.
21. Ibid, p. 37.
22. Ibid, p. 37.
23. Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, p. 141. The purchased horses were directly sent into the six different imperial stables (*faras-khana*), for instance, the stables of the Emperor, stables of the princes, stables of the Turkish courier horses, and the stables of horses bred in the imperial studs etc.
24. *Tipuchaq*, a kind of well trained horse in special techniques of cantering, trotting, galloping and stepping as according to the adverse situation as well to recognize the secret signs of a whistle of the master, as different intensities of a whistle was associated with different symbols. The horse was trained to recognise the whistle of his master, and how to react differently to the intensity of whistle. Each and every specific kind of whistle would stand as a different symbol and an expert horse was expected to recognize it properly and to serve as a saviour to his master.
25. Gul-Badan Begam, *Humayun-Nama*, p. 101. Also see, Zahiru'd-din Muhammad Babur, *Babur-Nama*, p. 38.
26. Babur, *Babur-Nama*, pp, 129, 159, 628, 677, 699; Gul-Badan Begam, *Humayun-Nama*, pp, 101, 128-9, 163;
27. Babur, *Babur-Nama*, p. 248.
28. Ibid, p. 70.
29. Abdullah khan Firoze Jung, *Tarjamah-i-Saloter-i-Asban*, preface, p. v; Zabardasht Khan, *Tuhfat-al-sadr* or *Faras-nama*, introduction; Saadat Yar Khan 'Rangin', *Faras-Nama-i-Rangin*, introduction, pp. ix, xiii.
30. Babur, *Babur-Nama*, pp. 129, 159, 628, 677, 699; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 15-6, 142, 172; Inayat Khan, *Shah Jahan Nama*, trans. A.R. Fuller, ed. W. Begley and Z. Desai (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 19, 370; Saqi Musta'id Khan, *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri*, pp. 53, 80, 87, 93, 108, 128; Jos Gommans, *Mughal Warfare*, p. 173.
31. Abdullah khan Firoze Jung, *Tarjamah-i-Saloter-i-Asban*, preface, pp. v-vi.
32. M. Ather Ali, 'Organisation of the Nobillty: Mansab, Pay, Conditions of Service', in Jos J.L. Gommans and Dirk H.A. Kolff (eds.), *Warfare and Weaponry in South Asia*, p. 232.
33. Shireen Moosvi, 'The Evolution of the "Mansab" System under Akbar Until 1596-7', pp. 173-185.
34. Arley Loewen, 'Proper Conduct (*Adab*) is Everything: The Futuwwat-namah-i-Sultani of Husayen Va'iz-i Kashifi', *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Dec., 2003), pp. 543-570; Muzaffar Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam in India*.
35. Abdullah Khan Firoze Jung, *Tarjamah-i-Saloter-i-Asban*, introduction, pp. viii-xvi.
36. S. Verma, *Mughal Painters and their Works: A Bibliographical Survey and Comprehensive Catalogue* (Delhi, 1994); Milo C. Beach, *The Mughal and Rajput Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
37. Abdullah Khan Firoze Jung, *Tarjamah-i-Saloter-i-Asban*, preface, p. v.
38. Samsam-ud-daula Shah Nawaz Khan, *Ma`athir-ul-Umara*, vol. I, trans. H. Beveridge (Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1999), pp. 97-10; Dirk H.A. Kolff, *Naukar, Rajput and Sepoy*, p. 12.
39. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. I, p. 155.
40. Sayed Ali Nadeem Rezavi, 'Medical Techniques and Practices in Mughal India', in Harbans Mukhia (ed.), *History of Technology in India*, pp. 875-94; Housni Alkhateeb Shehada, 'Arab Veterinary Medicine and the Golden Rules for Veterinarians, according to a Sixteenth-Century Medical Treatise', in Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.), *Animal and People in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: Eren, 2010), pp. 315-331.
41. Abdullah Khan Firoze Jung, *Tarjamah-i-Saloter-i-Asban*, pp. 25-43.
42. Ibid, pp. ix-x.
43. Ibid, p. 35. Horses were divided into four different categories according to their measurement of height, length and girth. A horse having measurement of 140 fingers in height and girth as well was considered as the best one. Second category was of those having 100 fingers in height, length and girth. The third one having 80 fingers in height and girth as well and the last one was those which having lesser measurement than 80 fingers in height and girth.
44. Ibid, 35.
45. Rosalind O' Hanlon, 'Military Sports and the History of the Martial Body in India', pp. 490-523.
46. Jos Gommans, 'Indian Warfare and Afghan Innovation during the Eighteenth Century', *Studies in History*, Vol. 11,

No. 2 (1995), pp. 261-80; Stewart Gordon, 'Zones of Military Entrepreneurship in India, 1500-1700', in Stewart Gordon, *Marathas, Marauders and State Formations* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 182-211.

47. Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, pp. 241-268. It discusses about the recruitment of gentleman troops (like *mansabdar*, *ahadis*) and maintenance of army and their allowances and distribution of ranks amongst them. It was essential for the troops that he should be expert in drills of cavalry, infantry and artillery for getting the employment in the imperial service. Also see, William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 36-7. The trooper was introduced to *Bakhshi-ul-mamalik* or *Mir Bakhshi* along with his horse and other equipment for his recruitment into the imperial service.
48. Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, pp. 241-68.
49. Ibid, pp. 309, 292-6.
50. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. I, p. 110 (reference of horse-racing); *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. II, p. 83 (reference of playing *chaugan*).
51. Ibid, vol. I, pp. 110, 82-3, 344 (references of horse-racing and hunting); vol. II, p. 83 (references of playing *chaugan*).
52 Abdullah Khan Firoze Jung, *Tarjamah-i-Saloter-i-Asban*, pp. v-xvi.
53. Ali Anooshahr, *The Ghazi Sultan and the Frontiers of Islam: A Comparative Study of the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods* (New York: Routledge, 2009); Dirk H.A. Kolff, 'Sanyasi Trader-Soldiers', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1971), pp. 213-220; David N. Lorenzen, 'Warrior Ascetics in Indian History, *Journal of American Orient Society*, Vol. 98, No. 1 (Jan. - March, 1978), pp. 61-95.
54. Rosalind O' Hanlon, 'Issues of Masculinity in North Indian History: The Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad', *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1997), pp. 1-19.
55. Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, pp. 309, 292-96, 304; Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. I, pp. 82-3, 110, 344; vol. II, p. 83.
56. Aziz Ahmad, 'The British Museum Mirzanama and the Seventeenth Century Mirza in India', pp. 99-110.
57. Ibid, pp. 99-110.
58. Ibid, pp. 99-110.
59. Ibid, pp. 99-110.
60. Ibid, pp. 99-110; Rosalind O' Hanlon, 'Manliness and Imperial Service in Mughal North India', pp. 47-93.
61. Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, p. 14 (references of *peshkash* and *nazr*); Jahangir, *Tuzuki-Jahangiri*, vol. I, pp. 394-95 (references of *pishkash* or *peshkash*, *nazr*, *charqab* and *pardala* bestowing); Inayat khan, 'Shah Jahan Nama', in *Shah Jahan*, Digitalised Book of Cornell University Library (Lahore: Hafiz Press), p. 110 (ref. of *ataya*); Saqi Musta`id Khan, *Ma`asir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 83 (ref. of *peshkash*).
62. Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, p. 14.
63. Babur, *Babur-Nama,* p. 129.
64. Ibid, 129.
65. Ibid, 129.
66. Gail Minault, 'The Emperor's Old Clothes: Robing and Sovereignty in Late Mughal and Early British India', in Stewart Gordon (ed.), *Robes of Honour: Khil`at in Pre-Colonial and Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 125-39; also see introduction, pp. 1-30.
67. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. I, p. 142.
68 Ibid, p. 142.
69. Ibid, p. 142.
70. Ibid. p. 142.
71. A jewelled vest without sleeves.
72. William Hawkins, *Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, pp. 98-99.
73. Ibid, p. 114.
74. *Shah Jahan Nama*, p. 77.
75. Ibid. p. 274.
76. Ibid. p. 268-9.
77. Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p. 118.
78. Ibid, pp. 119.
79. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-jahangiri*, vol. I, p. 110.
80. Ibid. p. 172.
81. *Khilat*- the robe of honour given out of the Emperor's wardrobe.
82. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-jahangiri*, vol. I, p. 222.
83. Ibid, p. 229.
84. Ibid, p. 229. About 3000 war-horses along with war-elephants and artillery were sent along with Mahabat Khan and an amount of rupees 30 lakhs was sanctioned for their expenses on the way.
85. Ibid. p. 334.
86. Ibid. p. 439.
87. Ibid. p. 209.
88. Saqi Mustaid Khan, *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 53. Muhammad Sahib was also presented with a special robe, a jeweled dagger, and a female elephant.
89. Ibid. p. 80.
90. Ibid. p. 87.
91. Ibid. p. 93.
92. Ibid. p. 108.
93. Ibid. p. 128.
94. Ibid. p. 128.
95. Ibid. p. 14.
96. Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, p. 140.