

Introduction To

The Eleven Illustrations

Of Ghulam Yahya

Mehr Afshan Farooqi

Sometime during the second decade of the nineteenth century, Robert Glyn, Magistrate and Judge of the District of Bareilly, commissioned one Ghulam Yahya "to write the true details of some of the craftsmen and the names of the tools of manufacture and production and their dress and manners (folio 2, *recto*)."

Ghulam Yahya, who describes himself as the 'servant of scholars' and the son of Maulvi Imad-ud-din Lepakni, selected eleven trades/crafts and wrote an account illustrated with drawings of tools and paintings of craftsmen and named the book *The Eleven Illustrations*.

Whatever could show its face and make itself clear from the canopy of concealment through observation and investigations was entrusted to the tongue of the elegantly writing pen. I regarded this a cause worthy of pride. This book I called *The Eleven Illustrations*. (folio 2, *recto*)

Ket' b-e-ta⁻¹v»r-e-sh»shagar'n va°hairah wa bay'n-e-'l't--'nh' (*The Illustrated Book About Makers of Glassware, etc., and a Description of their Tools*) is the title pasted on the hard cover binding of the manuscript. The Van Pelt Library of the University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A. purchased the manuscript from Sam Fogg, a rare book dealer of London. It was advertised in his catalogue as a rare early nineteenth century cookbook, written in Urdu. There was a painting of a man roasting *kab'bs* on iron skewers over a coal fire to authenticate the claim of the advertiser. The title pasted on the cover was not mentioned at all. When the manuscript arrived, it was a slim volume in good condition, comprising thirty-five folios, including illustrations. Leafing through it, I quickly realised that it was no cookbook, though it did contain recipes for *kab'bs*, and the painting of the *kab'b* maker was there. The language of the manuscript is Persian and not Urdu. The calligraphic style is that of *hat-e-shikastah*, and can be classed as average student calligraphy. The text itself is not very difficult to read; but there are seven tables, giving prices of various items of merchandise which seemed almost impossible to read at first glance. They are written with a certain casualness, which would make even an expert of *shikastah* despair. The prices of the merchandise are given in *siy'q*. [1] Deciphering those price lists is like solving a complicated jigsaw puzzle, specially because the author uses a mixed vocabulary, giving Persian names for some commodities and Indian names for others, making the reader unsure of what to expect. There are still a couple of question marks regarding the reading or the meaningful reading of some words. For example, despite best efforts, I could not find out what *harv»* meant. It occurs twice in the price list, once simply as *harv»* and again as *harv» pØrv»*, meaning 'harv»' from 'pØrab' that is the east. The price list is as unique as it is rare, and makes the ms. invaluable for scholars. In none of the official records, survey reports, histories, memoirs, journals or letters relating to the first half of the nineteenth century, do we come across a price list such as this one. But more of that later.

Another challenge presented by the text is reading correctly the list of ornaments manufactured by goldsmiths in those days. Most of these names are forgotten now, and our vocabulary of names of different pieces of jewellery has

shrunk considerably. A detailed glossary including these names (which I enjoyed researching) is appended at the end of this work.

The dating of the manuscript did not present a problem because, although Ghulam Yahya does not mention any dates, he does give the name of his patron. While explaining the occasion for writing he says, "Mr. Robert Glyn Sahib Bahadur Magistrate and Judge of the District of Bareilly issued forth an order for this ignorant person to write the true details...(folio 2, *recto*)." It is thus easy to fix an approximate date for the work by tracing the career of Robert Glyn. It appears that Glyn served as Magistrate and Judge of Bareilly and Bulundshahr from 1818 to 1822.^[2] Information about Glyn in the Company's gazetteers is tantalizingly meagre. He seems to have written a paper on prices and wages in Bareilly District, which was published in "the Asiatic Society's Journal for 1826."^[3] I went through all the volumes of *J.A.S.B.*, and all the volumes of *Asiatic Researches*^[4] but without any luck in finding Glyn's paper. The information offered by Glyn on maximum and minimum wages is quoted by Conybeare;^[5] and we can assume that Glyn used Yahya's research as raw material for his paper. But there is a little problem. The wages Glyn reports are for the common type of labourers and artisans like field labourers, herdsmen, barbers, blacksmiths, carpenters, navvies, tailors, masons, litter bearers, water carriers, none of whom are among the eleven trades chosen by our author. Still, it is quite likely that Glyn may have had plans of using the information furnished by Yahya for another article on crafts in Bareilly District, or simply as a useful study of resources to be presented to the Company's Board of Directors for future investment possibilities.

During the second half of the eighteenth century the English East India Company began to assume political roles well beyond its commercial ones. The character of the Company changed from being a private company of merchants to the administrator of huge areas of India with a strong military presence. The mighty Mughal Empire, which had held India's political and cultural loyalties together for at least two centuries had begun to disintegrate. A variety of regional rulers emerged, most of them former Imperial Governors who had entrenched themselves in their provinces and converted their assignments into hereditary possessions. These rulers repeatedly clashed with each other and with the Emperor. Still, ultimate sovereignty, however nominal, was vested with the Mughal Emperor. By 1772-73, the Company moved into the formal position of becoming the official agent of the Mughal Emperor for the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

In the eighteenth century, the district of Bareilly (now a district of western Uttar Pradesh) was a part of the administrative division known as Rohilkhand. The tract of land forming the *subah* or province of Rohilkhand was formerly called Katehr/Katiher.^[6] In the twelfth century it was ruled by different clans of Rajputs referred to by the general name of Katehriyas.^[7] At the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the Delhi Sultanate was firmly established, Katehr was divided into the provinces of Sambhal and Budaun. But the thickly forested country infested with wild animals provided just the right kind of shelter for rebels. And indeed, Katehr was famous for rebellions against imperial authority. During the Sultanate rule, there were frequent rebellions in Katehr. All were ruthlessly crushed. Sultan Balban (1266-1287) ordered vast tracts of jungle to be cleared so as to make the area unsafe for the insurgents.

The slightest weakening of the central authority provoked acts of defiance from the Katehriya Rajputs. Thus the Mughals initiated the policy of allotting lands for Afghan settlements in Katiher.^[8] Afghan settlements continued to be encouraged throughout the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707) and even after his death. These Afghans, known as the Rohilla Afghans, caused the area to be known as Rohilkhand.^[9] The Mughal policy of encouraging Afghan settlements for keeping the Katehriyas in check worked only as long as the central government was strong. After Aurangzeb's death, the Afghans, having themselves become local potentates, began to seize and occupy neighboring villages.

Ali Muhammad (1737-1749) captured the city of Aonla and made it his capital. He rapidly rose to power and got confirmed in possession of the lands he had seized. The Emperor created him a Nawab in 1737, and he was recognised as the governor of Rohilkhand in 1740. Ali Muhammad was succeeded by Rahmat Ali (1749-1774), whom he appointed *h'fiz* or regent on his deathbed. Under Rahmat Ali Khan, Rohilla power continued to rise, though the area was torn by strife amongst the rival chieftains and continuous struggles with the neighbouring powers, particularly the Nawab Vazirs of Awadh,^[10] the Bangash Nawabs^[11] and the Marathas.^[12] The combined forces of Shuja-ud Daulah, the Nawab of Awadh and the Company's forces led by Colonel Champion defeated Hafiz Rahmat Ali Khan in 1774. Rahmat Khan died in battle, his death finally closing the chapter of Rohilla rule. Rohilkhand was handed over to the

Nawab Vazir of Awadh. From 1774 to 1800, the province was ruled by the Nawabs of Awadh. By 1801, the subsidies due under the various treaties for support of a British force had fallen into hopeless arrears. In order to defray the debt, Nawab Saadat Ali Khan surrendered Rohilkhand to the English.

The change of the power structure did little to soothe the troubled strife torn area; rather the change had the effect to aggravate a precarious state of affairs. There was a general spirit of discontent throughout the district. In 1812, an inordinate enhancement in the revenue demand^[13] and then in 1814 the imposition of a new house tax caused a lot of resentment against the British. "Business stood still, shops were shut and multitudes assembled near the courthouse to petition for the abolition of the tax."^[14] The Magistrate, Dembleton, already an unpopular man made things worse by ordering the assessment to be made by a Kotwal. In the skirmish that took place between the rebel masses and the sepoys under Captain Cunningham, three or four hundred people died. In 1818, Glyn was posted as Acting Judge, and the Magistrate of Bareilly, and the Joint Magistrate of Bulundshahr.

The city of Bareilly was founded in 1537 by Basdeo, a Katehriya Rajput. The city is mentioned in the histories for the first time by Budayuni who he writes that one Husain Quli Khan was appointed the governor of Bareilly and Sambhal in 1568. The divisions and revenue of the district fixed by Todar Mal were recorded by Abul Fazl in 1596. In 1658, Bareilly was made the headquarters of the province of Budaun.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, we find the Company moving from the position of being 'official agents' of the Emperor to becoming rulers of the provinces themselves. The Court of Directors now began to evince some interest to inquire into 'the condition of the people and the resources of the country'. In 1807, the Court of Directors commissioned Francis Buchanan to carry out a survey of the provinces subject to the Presidency of Bengal. Buchanan was directed to collect information about the general topography of each district; the condition of the inhabitants, their religious customs, the natural products of the country like fisheries, forests, mines and quarries; the state of agriculture, the condition of landed property and tenures; the progress made in the arts, manufactures and commerce, and every particular that can be regarded as forming an element in the prosperity or depression of the people. The survey took seven years to complete and its findings were transmitted to England in 1816. Though the findings of the survey were not published, a few copies of the report were "sent to our civil servants in India, especially those occupied in the collection of revenue."^[15]

The type of information offered in our manuscript suggests that Buchanan's survey may have inspired some civil servants to collect information on similar patterns in areas within their jurisdiction. So we have Glyn asking Ghulam Yahya to write an account about craftsmen, the names of tools of manufacture and production and their dress and manners. Yahya chooses eleven trades which must have been the most popular means of livelihood in and around Bareilly in the 1820s. The trades are glass manufacture, manufacture of glass bangles, manufacture of lac bangles, crimping, gram parching, wire drawing, charpoy weaving, manufacture of gold and silver thread, keeping a grocer's shop, making jewellery and selling *kab'bs*.

Ghulam Yahya's account emphasises the description of tools. The text is supported with meticulous drawings of tools, all neatly labelled. Methods of production are described but not in much detail, "because a complete description would cause a lengthy discourse." The dress and manners of the craftsmen are generally mentioned in a routine and perfunctory style, though the descriptions are occasionally peppered with interesting bits of information. For example, Yahya's observations on the type of jewellery the women folk of different communities wear gives a quick economic portrait of that community. Perhaps the most important piece of information that Yahya provides is on the prices of the various kinds of merchandise and goods. He gives the cost of manufacture and then the sale prices of each item that he discusses. He also gives us a very good idea of how much a particular craftsman/ tradesman could earn for a days work. With the statistics he provides, one obtains a fascinating picture of the economic condition of craftsmen in a micro-economic zone of India in the first few decades of the nineteenth century.

The first "illustration" is that of manufacturing glass (*k'nch*). The account is brief and accurate. We know of its accuracy from the fact that Montgomery Martin's description of glass manufacture corroborates that of Yahya. But Yahya's description of the process of making different kinds of coloured glass like grass green, deep blue, mauve, is not as detailed and slightly different from what we find in Martin.^[16] It is also uncritical. Yahya could have compared the quality of the indigenous product with the imported expensive glassware from England and elsewhere. Clearly, Yahya is

out of depth here. He is more informative about other crafts. Martin describes *k'nch* as a kind of coarse glass. From Martin we learn that the cheapest and most easily made glass is black, which is perfectly opaque. Grass green, deep blue and mauve glass are somewhat diaphanous. Glass manufacture was a very important occupation in those parts in the nineteenth century, and this is supported by Conybeare's report. He writes:

The manufacture of glass is certainly the most peculiar, and after that of sugar the most important. The glassware produced by the *manih'rs* finds its way for sale as far as a special depot at Calcutta. Nearly the whole of the Ganges water which myriads of pilgrims yearly convey from sacred Hardwar to all parts of India is carried in flasks made here. In bottles from the same workshops are stored the less palatable draught of the native druggist. The *manihar* works with tools of the roughest kind, in an amalgam of reh and salt petre. The art of clarifying he has not learnt, and his glass is a brittle compound of a greenish brown hue. But with a little instruction he might produce bottles such as to supplant in expensive articles now imported from England.[\[17\]](#)

The experiment of starting a glass manufacture factory was tried in 1868 by a European; but it failed.[\[18\]](#) Similarly, an attempt by the British Government to produce improved tiles failed too.

Martin says that glass manufacturers can not earn more than two rupees a month and are therefore very poor. Conybeare, giving an average rate of wages at ten years intervals, starting from 1858, shows that glass blowers' earnings actually declined, from an average of rupees 5/- per month in 1858, to the same amount in 1868, to rupees 5 and 15 annas in 1878.[\[19\]](#) Yahya merely says that *k'nch* is sold at the rate of one to one and a half maunds per rupee. He does not say how much the people of this profession actually earn (though he gives the wages of all others) and whether it is the price charged by the glass makers themselves or by dealers and whether glass making and glass blowing (though both are practised by the *manih'r* community) should be treated as one or separate professions. He does treat bangle making as a separate profession, more lucrative than glass manufacture. The *Census* of 1872 does not even mention glass manufacture or glass blowers or glass bangle makers in the list of non-agricultural occupations in the district of Bareilly.[\[20\]](#)

Yahya's account of glass manufacture is followed by a description of the manufacture of glass bangles (*chØÁ»*). He says that there are three qualities and about twenty varieties distinguished by different colours; each variety has a distinct name too. On the best quality there is silver work. He gives prices of the different qualities and some varieties. He says that a bangle maker could earn something from one anna to two annas per day and some of them could even go up to three or four annas per day. So an average bangle maker's wage would be rupees four per month and a skilled artist could earn up to seven or eight rupees in a month.

Yahya's third illustration and its corresponding description are about the manufacture of lac bangles. He reports the price of a "set" (a set is comprised of thirty to forty bangles) of these bangles as one to two and a half annas. One man in a day could produce up to four sets. A *lakher'*, that is a craftsman who makes lac bangles, could earn four annas a day or more. Lac bangles, reports Yahya, are worn by Hindus not Muslims. *Lakher's* are Hindus while *manih'rs* are Muslims. The average wage of a *lakher'* is more than that of a glass bangle maker.

Yahya's choice of describing a crimper and his craftsmanship as one of the eleven crafts has proved more useful to the modern student than what he may have imagined at the time of writing. Crimpers were tailors by profession and training. Crimping disappeared by the late nineteenth century and is not mentioned much even in poetry since then; although references to it are common in the Urdu poetry of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The word now survives as part of an idiom used pejoratively.[\[21\]](#) Since the procedure of crimping involved beating or inscribing patterns on cloth with a hot iron rod shaped somewhat like a sword, the idiom is *uttu ban'n'*, to literally beat someone so much as to leave marks on the body; *uttu karna* 'to bother someone, to fool someone'.

Musahafi (1750-1824) wrote an entire ghazal using the imagery of crimping with the word *uttu* (to crimp) as an unusual, quaint *rad»f*. I translate some *shers* from the ghazal to illustrate the potential of meaning that the idiom implies:

Is it not enough that wounds have crimped my body

that now the cruel one is crimping my coffin cloth with her sword.

What delicateness, look, a touch from the breeze

can cause the petals and flowers to be crimped.

Why do they brand culprits with a hot iron rod?

ask those who practise the art of crimping.

A warm breeze is blowing in the garden today

its purpose: to crimp flowery patterns on the garden's cloak.[\[22\]](#)

In the 1820s, crimpers were in great demand and the craft fetched good money. In one day, each of Yahya's crimpers could earn four to six annas, and if he was good, he could even earn eight annas a day. Eight annas a day would mean an average wage of 12-15 rupees per month. Their women wore gold and silver jewellery, rather than jewellery made of brass, as was common among the poorer classes at that time. The Census of 1872 does not include crimping in the list of non-agricultural occupations in Bareilly District. It seems that the fate of crimping and crimpers was dictated by the fashion in clothes at that time which in turn was influenced by the tastes of the ruling elite. The decline of the local elite and the utter ruin of most of the Afghan chiefs in the ceded provinces (Rohilkhand in this case) must have diminished the demand for crimping to such an extent that it disappeared. Since crimpers were tailors anyway, they must have, one hopes, reverted to their original profession.

The accounts of Tennant, a clergyman, who passed through the area in 1799, and Bishop Heber's narrative of his journey through the upper provinces of India (1824-25) describe Bareilly as a ruined city crowded with unemployed, restless Rohilla Pathans. Mr. Tennant writes:

Bareilly is a large town and is crowded with inhabitants who loiter or wander through the streets without much appearance of business. It is probable that the want of protection forces a great number into town but how they support themselves there does not admit an easy solution. Few manufactures are vended in a country where the inhabitants are scanty, and where even these are so poor as not to aspire at any of the luxuries of life. Sweetmeats and confections, different kinds of grain and ornaments for the women, seem a great part of the commodities that are offered for sale in the shops. Brazen water pots are manufactured here, but in smaller quantities since the ruin or emigration of all the wealthy chiefs.[\[23\]](#)

Bareilly is a poor ruinous town, in a pleasant and well wooded but still a very flat country. The Rohillas are a clever animated race of people, but devoid of principle, false and ferocious... The country is burdened with a crowd of lazy, profligate, self-called suwarrahs, who though, many of them are not worth a rupee, conceive it derogatory to their gentility and Pathan blood to apply themselves to any honest industry, and obtain for the most part of precarious livelihood by spunging on the industrious tradesmen and farmers on whom they levy a sort of "blackmail" or as hangers on to the few noble and wealthy families yet remaining in the province.[\[24\]](#)

It is not surprising to find both Tennant and Heber justifying British rule and directly blaming the Nawabs of Awadh for tyranny and misrule in these territories. Heber's account of Bareilly and its people is uncomfortably similar to Tennant's and their prejudices so obvious. While both Heber and Tennant base their judgements on what they were told by the British officers who happened to be their hosts (Boulderson in the case of Heber), they saw only what they decided to see. Their anxiety in laying the blame of the ruin of Bareilly on the door of the Nawabs of Awadh prompted them to make statements, which are not supported by facts. In the eighteenth century these very regions were extremely prosperous. One indication of the prosperity was the brisk trade in the area. A very large number of *banj'r's* carried items of trade between Bihar and Awadh and Rohilkhand. Agriculture registered a marked improvement. In the Rohilla country in the Moradabad-Bareilly region, the rise in the *jama* (total revenue as assessed) was almost incredible, over 247%. It is also noteworthy that European merchants rushed to these regions after the Company's victory over the Mughal Emperor and the Nawab of Awadh in 1764.[\[25\]](#)

Nevertheless, both Heber and Tennant recognise and admit that the ruin or emigration of the local chiefs (who were also the patrons of the local industries) following the establishment of British rule, was responsible for the decline of many of the local crafts. Maybe Glyn was somewhat farsighted when he asked Yahya to write an account of crafts and craftsmen; he perceived the imminent decline of some of these crafts and wanted the procedure of manufacture to be recorded. Whether Glyn was interested in reconstructing aspects of economic life or was investigating the sources and possibilities of returns on capital investments, or was simply interested in local arts and crafts, are questions which Yahya could be addressing, but has not fully addressed.

Gram parchers and their tools are the fifth category of craftsmen mentioned by Yahya. They were, according to him, "lower class people." They earned their living by roasting grain and received no fixed cash payment for their services. Often it was a proportionate weight to the entire load (of grain) to be roasted for a customer. The men folk simply wore a loin cloth and the womenfolk's jewellery was made of the cheapest metal-tin.

James Skinner's *Tashr»h-ul-Aqw'm*,^[26] a voluminous work investigating the origin of the various Indian people, their manners, dress, mode of worship, professions, etc. which he caused to be compiled or translated from "Sanskrit sources into Persian" and presented it to General John Malcolm in August 1825, gives this interesting description of the origin of grain parchers:

A man from the *Kah'r*^[27] caste disregarding the dictates of religion and tradition married a *Sudra* widow...the son that was born of this union inherited from his father the art of constructing a furnace and from his mother the skill of roasting grain; in Sanskrit this profession is called *ann bharjak*...and in Bhaka, *bharbhujah* and *bhujwah*, that is *gulkhan*^[28] *afroz*. People of this caste are by nature deceitful and irritable, they wear extremely dirty and torn clothes, blackened by the smoke from the furnace.^[29]

Buchanan, Tennant, and Heber all pale in comparison to what Skinner's *Tashr»h* has to say about people belonging to different professions. Blacksmiths are reported to be "selfish," goldsmiths are "cheats" and "quarrelsome." Yahya's language does not contain the hubris of social critique indulged in by the Europeans, nor does he speak pejoratively of any of the eleven communities he has described.

Yahya's report is extremely important for yet another reason: the seventh illustration of a *pans'ri*'s shop and the description of the goods sold there, includes a unique price list of one hundred and four items. A methodical price list giving prices of groceries, so varied as to include figs, plums, apricots, asafoetida, honey, gentian, turmeric, mercury, amber, etc., when all we had so far were prices of grain or at best sugar, salt, butter or meat.

A *pans'ri*, in modern terms, is a vendor of unprocessed (*mufrad*) spices, herbs and groceries. Yahya writes:

Pans'ris sell minerals and dried greens, which are used in medicines and eaten directly too; and also dried fruits, except those which are sold by fruiterers... Items from the various parts of the world have been listed, each separately, and the cost price and selling price of each item has been brought to the tip of this pen (folio 15, *recto*).

The price list comprises 104 items, all listed under separate categories, arranged into seven tables. The different categories of merchandise are determined on the basis of the part of the world the item comes from: merchandise from the Deccan, from the East, from the mountains, from the West, and finally items which are grown locally. This kind of categorisation is not only useful in determining from where those goods are being brought for sale in the markets of Bareilly, but also offer a comparative study of prices. For example, the prices of nutmeg, mace, white cardamom, cinnamon, bamboo manna when categorised under merchandize from the Deccan (See Tables I & II), are considerably higher than the prices of the same spices as given in Table IV, and listed as merchandise from the East. Almonds from Kabul and Dostpur, (now in modern Afghanistan) raisins, currants, figs, plums, apricots, pomegranates, liquorice, pistachio nuts, asafoetida, quince and salep were some of the goods from the West. Honey, wax, turmeric, gentian, catechu, rock salt, and red pepper came from the mountains. From the East came chewing tobacco, nutmeg, sulphur, mace, cardamom, cinnamon, betel nut, sandal wood, coconut, gum, talc, amber, yellow arsenic, mercury, etc. Exclusive to the Deccan are tea, coffee beans, black pepper, cloves, and blue vitriol.

Table VII gives prices of "items which are grown here and lists anise seeds, coriander, chicory/endive, *ajw'in*,

garlic, white cumin seeds, tobacco, gum from the Babool tree, red rose petals (dried), *amalt's* seeds, cowach (red) and *lodh* (dried). An important omission is the price of sugar/jaggery. Sugarcane was the favourite crop in the environs of Bareilly. There were as many as thirteen recognised. The fact that tobacco was locally grown is corroborated by Heber; and Glyn attests to the cultivation of the red rose. Heber makes the following observation:

Within these two days I have noticed some fields of tobacco, which I do not think is a common crop in the districts through which I have hitherto marched. The Hindostane name is "tumbucco," evidently derived as the plant itself, through the Europeans, from America. How strange is that this worthless drug should have so rapidly become popular all over the world, and among people who are generally supposed to be most disinclined from the adoption of foreign customs. [\[30\]](#)

Glyn, giving the highest and lowest monthly earnings, writes:

Field labourers (Lodhas, Muraos, Kisans and Kurmis) earned from Rupees 2 to Rupees 6 and even Rupees 8, when tobacco, roses or cotton were the subject of culture. [\[31\]](#)

In 1826, a rupee could fetch approximately twenty-three sers of wheat, thirty-four sers of barely or twenty-seven sers of *b'jr'*. I give below the quantity of some important commodities that could be purchased for a rupee. [\[32\]](#) This gives us an idea of the purchasing power of the rupee in the 1820s:

Wheat 23 Sers	Almonds 1.66 Sers	Honey 3.07 Sers	Tobacco 6.66 Sers
Tea 0.22 Sers	Coarse Cloth (in 1858) 4 yards	Gold (in 1858) 0.082 <i>Tol'</i>	Silver (in 1858) 1 <i>Tol'</i>
Betel (<i>Chikn» Sup'ri</i>) 0.8 Sers	Garlic 32 Sers	Raisins 1.33 Sers	Coconut 66 Fruits, w/milk 57 Fruits, dry

We have information on the average wages paid to artisans in 1858. Conybeare provides a list of 22 artisans, ranging from field labourers to butchers, blacksmiths, tailors, washermen, glass blowers, dyers, goldsmiths, field labourers, who are at the lowest end of the scale, earning something like rupees 3.75 per month. Goldsmiths who are at the highest are earning only marginally better, i.e., rupees 6.32 a month. Glyn gives the following highest and lowest monthly earnings in his paper on prices and wages. [\[33\]](#)

Labourers Rs 2-6, sometimes 8	Herdsmen Rs 2-6	Barbers Rs 4-8	Blacksmiths Rs 5-20
Carpenters Rs 5-10	Navvies Rs 4-5	Masons Rs 9-10	Tailors Rs 4-7
Litter Bearers Rs 3-4	Water Carriers Rs 2-4		

Although the price differentials shown by Conybeare do not carry much conviction to the modern reader, one fact is obvious: so many years of Company rule (32 year to be precise) had helped depress not raise wages all around. A wage of Rs 2 was barely enough to keep one alive.

An extremely unusual source of prices of luxury goods has been explored by Professor Naiyyar Masood.^[34] He has put together price lists of different varieties of cloth, clothes, bedspreads, quilt covers, ink stands, jewellery, sweets, chewing tobacco, etc. current in Lucknow in the 1890s from the occasional advertisement that he came across in some books in his personal collection of rare books and manuscripts. I have appended a translation of the lists, for not only do they provide us with a flavour of those times but also a parallel to Yahya's list, and a valuable price index. According to Masood's list, a bolt (*than*), fancy dress material with gold and silver embroidery, cost Rs 15 to Rs 25 in Lucknow in 1888. A quilt made of muslin cloth cost Rs 3, a shirt about a rupee and a pair of *paij'ma* or trousers also around one rupee. Since wages do not show a significant increase from 1858 to 1878, we can assume that an ordinary man could only dream of quilts and blankets as does Halku in Premchand's (b. 1880 – d. 1936) famous story *PØs k» ek R't* (A Cold January Night). In the story, Halku, a poor peasant is torn between the choice of buying a blanket or paying his debt. Coincidentally he has three rupees which was what a blanket cost at that time, and he had saved the money pice by pice to buy a blanket.

Yahya's description of charpoy weavers and their tools (which is the sixth illustration in the manuscript), also mentions the several styles of charpoy weaving and the wages current for them. The styles are *lagpah'r*, *chaukar»* and *guld'r*. *Chaukar»* may have been a pattern involving a grouping of four, or something to do with squares and *guld'r* (which means 'spotted/flowered') a floral one, but we have no clue of what kind of pattern *lagpah'r* was except that it was more complicated than *chaukar»*. *Farhang-i-Istil'h't-i-Peshavaran*,^[35] a compendium of the various crafts of India and the vocabulary and idioms associated with them, an invaluable asset for finding descriptions of such terms, unfortunately does not mention styles of charpoy weaving. Strings used for weaving charpoys were made from *beb*, *mØnj* or *k'ns*. All these grasses were found in plenty in these parts of Rohilkhand. Yahya mentions the prices of *beb* and *mØnj*. He says that *k'ns* was so plentiful that it was not sold in the market, but obtained free from the fields. Charpoy weavers seem to fascinate Yahya. He describes their clothes, jewellery and the food served at their marriages. In a somewhat enigmatic tone, he writes "only their men drink wine." The charpoy weaver's (or *khatbun'* as he is called in the local parlance) "call" is like a voice from childhood. String beds, which were rewoven every summer, have been replaced by modern 'folding beds' with a nylon weave. The charpoy and perhaps the *khatbun'* too, still survive in the villages, but the fancy style of weaving described by Yahya has long been forgotten.

Another useful skill and an important, economically viable occupation was drawing wires from iron, brass, silver and zinc. Wire makers were either ironsmiths or goldsmiths who could be Hindu or Muslim. The manuscript describes the procedure of manufacturing wires of different kinds, and there are sharply made illustrations of the tools involved. There is a painting of a wire maker (*t'r kash*) at his work. Iron wires were used for making needles, stringing musical instruments like the sitar and the tambura. Silver wire was used for making silver thread for embroidery, etc. The craftsmen bought the raw material directly and sold the finished product at a price, which was just double their cost price. Yahya quotes the cost price of the material and the selling price of different qualities of wires.

The ninth craft described by Yahya is the manufacture of various kinds of fancy thread. According to him, thread for gold and silver embroidery were manufactured by Hindus and Muslims of good family. People of "low" communities were rarely taught this art. He describes six types of silver thread and mentions prices of different types of thread and the current wages of the thread maker. The measure for these threads is described as *dira'*, which was less than a yard. A thread maker could earn from four to ten annas in a day's work. Skinner's *Tashr»h* describes thread makers as *jul'h's* (weavers).

The manuscript now offers an interesting diversion. It shifts to a description of the various types of *kab'bs* and methods of cooking them. What follows are recipes for the different varieties of *kab'bs* (it was probably the inclusion of these recipes that caused the misunderstanding leading to the manuscript being described and advertised as a 'cookbook').

Yahya says that, in addition to the *kab'bs* described by him, there are numerous other varieties. He mentions the names of some of them too – but regrets that "this book does not have the capacity to describe each and every *kab'b* in detail (folio 28, *recto*)." The following is a list of the names of *kab'bs* mentioned by Yahya. The recipes for the first ten are given: *dampukht*, *m'h» kab'b*, *kofta kab'b*, *pasandah kab'b*, *sh'min kab'b*, *g»l'ni kab'b*, *mur°h kab'b*, *sh'h pasand kab'b*, *b'ndhnØ kab'b*, *baizah kab'b*, *kab'b-i-Husaini*, *biranj» kab'b*, *miy'nah paz kab'b*, *mo» kab'b*.

Yahya now clarifies that the *kab'bs* described by him are prepared by cooks of wealthy people and are not sold in

the market. Why he digresses to include recipes is a question which may admit of several answers, none of them quite satisfactory. It is an anomaly, just as the anomaly of having the book titled as *Kit'b-i-tas'v»r-i-shish'gar'n...*, while the latter are only one and not a very important class of people described here. Yahya brings in *kab'bs* perhaps, because (a) Mr. Glyn was fond of *kab'bs*; (b) as a connoisseur of *kab'bs*, he knew the recipes and could not resist the impulse to include them; (c) *kab'b* making was so different from glass making, wire making, etc., that he felt it required special treatment in the text; (d) he included the *kab'bs* to make the ms. more interesting (which is true); (e) the *kab'bs* sold in the market are of such low quality compared to these exotic varieties that he could not resist the temptation of impressing his reader. This last explanation, that since high quality *kab'bs* were not sold in the market, and the future reader could not know about them, seems to be the most plausible. Yahya clearly wrote with an eye to posterity.

After giving his special recipes, Yahya describes the ordinary *kab'b*, which is simply cow or goat meat ground into a paste with a liberal mixture of red chillies, salt and, perhaps, other spices. The paste is stuck on iron skewers, roasted and then sold. Incredibly, he says that from one ser of meat, one hundred fifty *kab'bs* can be prepared. (This sounds somewhat incredible given that a ser is roughly two lbs., but perhaps those *kab'bs* were smaller than what they are now.) Fifty cow meat *kab'bs* and thirty goat meat *kab'bs* are sold for one anna. He omits the price of the meat.

The last illustration is of a goldsmith and his tools. There is a painting of the goldsmith at work. Yahya distinguishes between a *son'r* and a *s'dahk'r*. Both are goldsmiths but *son'rs* are generally Hindus and *s'dahk'rs*, Muslims. *S'dahk'rs* also craft things other than jewellery, like fancy boxes and *p'nd'n* (a special box to keep the various condiments for preparing *p'n*, i.e., betel leaf). They are also expert in working with precious stones. From Yahya's account it seems that the "making" charges were different for different ornaments. For a silver *kar'* and *hansl'»* the charges were a quarter anna per *tol'*; for a gold *kar'* and *hansl'»* two annas per *tol'*. For a silver *arsi*, *challa*, *pahunc'»,* *b'zubandh* and *t'wiz*, one anna to two annas per *tol'* and for the same ornaments in gold it was four to six annas per *tol'*. In 1858, the average "making" charges were one to four annas per *tol'* for silver and eight annas to a rupee per *tol'* for gold.^[36] A very nominal increase in "making" charges in a period of thirty-eight years. Unfortunately, Yahya does not give the price of gold and silver in 1820. Gold was Rs 16 per *tol'* and silver one or one and a quarter rupees per *tol'* in 1858. One can assume that prices would have risen during this period, but this is not reflected in the wages earned by the craftsmen.

Yahya concludes his report on goldsmiths and his "eleven illustrations" with a list of names of ornaments and current weights. This list consisting of fifty-two names, half of which are perhaps no longer a part of either a modern woman's or jeweller's vocabulary, are certainly of great interest to the historian and linguist. The technical differences denoted by the different names for ornaments have been elaborated in the glossary.

Our knowledge of Indian society during British rule in the nineteenth century has rested primarily on four sources: (1) the voluminous records of the East India Company; (2) the works of various Europeans; (3) the writings of many Company employees; (4) the accounts of Asians writing in this period. An interesting first hand and very useful alternative source is accounts of Asians writing under British patronage or, as in our case, on receiving orders from a British administrator. The *Kit'b-i-tas'v»r-i-sh»shagar'n wa°hairah wa bay'n-'l't-i-anh'* occupies a special middle space in writings belonging to this particular genre. Compared to other accounts relating to professional crafts in the early nineteenth century, such as Montgomery Martin's detailed *History...*, and James Skinner's description of the various communities in his *Tashr»h*, Yahya's account is brief. It was probably limited by orders from his patron Glyn, because Yahya often justifies his brevity by saying that he wants to avoid a lengthy discourse or that it is not in the nature of this work to give more details. The scope of Yahya's work is quite different from that of Martin or Skinner. Unlike Buchanan and Martin, he does not talk about the "smallness" of wages, the "wretchedness" of the dwellings of the wage earners, the "scantiness" of their food or clothing, the superstitions which "pervade" their minds, and the "immorality" that debases their character.^[37] His account is dispassionate, matter-of-fact and nonjudgmental. ro-economic zone, the district of Bareilly. The account is dispassionate and matter-of-fact. His emphasis is more on providing a description of the tools, which he does through drawings and by naming each tool and implement used for manufacture. This is an important deviation from Martin's approach. Martin's description of manufactures is certainly more detailed, but he does not describe the tools used by the craftsmen. Skinner's *Tashr»h* is beautifully illustrated with the most meticulous and endearing paintings of almost all the craftsmen at work. These paintings show a large number of tools. But they are not labeled. Most of the tools in the paintings in the *Tashr»h* can be easily identified from Yahya's illustrations.

What prompted Yahya in selecting these particular eleven crafts/trades is a question that needs to be addressed. There could be several answers, the most obvious is that in his eye these were the most important crafts in that area. But if such was the case, why then include gram parchers? They can be found everywhere – even in present times and strictly speaking grain roasting can not be called an important craft of any area. The same is true for *kab'ib* making. A *kab'ib* maker or a *kab'ibch*» hails from the *bavarch*» community of cooks, and has recipes for *kab'ibs*, but professionally a *kab'ibch*» is as different from a *bavarch*» as a crimper is from a tailor. *Kab'ib* making and selling is not an important trade, but a special one. This explains Yahya's choice of a crimper instead of a tailor and a *kab'ib* specialist instead of a mere cook. If glass manufacture and glass bangle manufacture are important enough to merit inclusion, why omit glass blowers or makers of glassware like bottles, phials, etc. which was by all accounts an important industry in that area. A possible explanation could be the quality of the product, which was poor, compared to the European glassware. Yahya decides to include the bangle maker and exclude the glass blower. The charpoy weaver's craft is as commonplace as a gram parcher's. Yahya himself says that in the village people of other communities can weave charpoys too. Perhaps his choice of a charpoy weaver was justified because *beb*, *mØnj*, and *k'ns*, which are grasses from which the strings to weave charpoys are made, grow abundantly in this area. In fact, *k'ns* was so plentiful that no one paid for it. Yahya's inclusion of a wire drawer, instead of a blacksmith and a thread maker instead of a weaver are in conformity with his pattern of selecting the specialist sub-trade instead of the commonplace one. The choice of *pans'ri* may have been directed by Glyn's interest in native drugs (there is a one-line reference to Glyn's role in setting up the local dispensary in Conybeare's report), or his interest in prices. Goldsmiths and *pans'ris* are among the well-to-do traders.

The Eleven Illustrations therefore presents a random sample of crafts practised in the Rohilkhand area. From glass making to grain parching and from crimping to selling *kab'ibs* and spices and making gold ornaments, Yahya has covered a wide ground. His cool, scientific, observational style, make his account so much more reliable in the bargain. Its apparent lack of human interest is perhaps its most important asset today, because his text addresses the "Indian" from a reporter's perspective, and not that of a person setting up judgements and "standards."

NOTES

[1] *Siy'q* is a system of numeration in which a simplified Arabic alphabet is used but the symbols employed have no connection with the actual alphabetical order or the numerical values of the letters of the Arabic alphabet as described in various systems such as the rule of *abjad* or *jumal* and so on. It was mostly used for book-keeping.

[2] Glyn, Robert Thomas. Date of rank as Writer: September 27, 1804. 1807 March 11: Assistant to the Registrar of the Provincial Court of Benares; 1807 September 25: Assistant Magistrate of the city of Benares; 1810 August 27: Registrar of the Civil Court of Benares; 1813 April 23: Officiating as Judge and Magistrate of Bundelkhand; 1814: at home; 1817 August 27: returned to India; 1817 December 16: Additional Registrar of Meerut; 1818 February 10: Acting Judge and Magistrate of Bareilly and Joint Magistrate at Bulundshahr; 1819 February 12: Judge and Magistrate at Bareilly; 1823: at home; 1828: out of service. Cf. *Alphabetical List of the Bengal Civil Servants*; ed. and compiled by Ms. Dodwell and Miles, London: Longman, Orme, Brown & Co., 1839.

[3] *Statistical, Descriptive, and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India*; compiled by H. C. Conybeare, and edited by E. T. Atkinson; Vol. 5; Rohilkhand Division, Allahabad, 1879; p. 633. Conybeare gives a footnote on p. 634 in which he says that "those who would pursue further the subject of prices and wages in this district should refer to Mr. Glyn's paper in *J. A. S. B.*, I, 467"; page 467 of the *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. I does not contain this paper.

[4] *Asiatic Researches; or Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the History and antiquities, the Arts, Science and Literature of Asia*, London. The first volume in this series appeared in 1788 and the second followed in 1790. The journal continued to be published until 1839 and then was abandoned. From 1832 onwards, The Asiatic Society of Bengal began publishing its proceedings as the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. It was published from Calcutta.

[5] See Conybeare; *op. cit.*, p. 633.

[6] For more details, see Iqbal Husain, *The Rise and Decline of the Ruhela Chieftaincies in 18th Century India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994, chapter 1. "Katiher by and large consisted of the two *sark'rs* Badaun and Sambhal. Najmul Ghani says that Katiher consisted of the modern districts of Bareilly, Muradabad and Badaun," p. 4, fn. 25.

[7] When the *Ain-i-Akbari* was compiled (c 1595-6), Katiher was largely held by Rajputs of different clans such as Bachal, Gaur, Chauhan and Rathor. See Iqbal Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[8] Iqbal Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[9] Bahadur Khan Ruhela and Diler Khan Ruhela were important nobles at the court of the Mughal Emperor Shahjahan. As a reward for defeating the Katehriyas a perpetual grant of 14 villages was conferred upon Bahadur Khan who asked his brother Diler Khan to lay the foundations of a new city. Shahjahanpur was established in 1647. It became a strong Afghan township where 9,000 Afghans settled, migrating from Roh, the mountainous area south of Khaibar. They were invited to come and settle by Bahadur Khan.

[10] The Nawab Vazirs of Awadh who clashed with the Rohillas were: Saadat Khan *Burhan-ul Mulk* (1720-39), Safdar Jung (1739-56), Shuja-ud Daulah (1756-75). The combined forces of Shuja-ud Daulah and the British defeated Hafiz Rahmat Khan in 1774.

[11] Farrukhabad was the seat of the Bangash Nawabs. Muhammad Khan Bangash was the founder of the settlement. The *jagir* was conferred upon him by Farrukhsiyar (1713-19) in 1713 as reward for services rendered by him in the war of succession.

[12] Nawab Safdar Jung of Awadh enlisted the help of the Marathas against the Bangash Nawabs. The Bangash Nawabs sought help from the Rohillas. The latter were defeated in 1750. The Marathas again invaded Rohilla territory this time attacking Bijnor in 1759.

[13] See Conybeare, *op. cit.* p. 677.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] In 1837, Montgomery Martin was permitted to inspect the manuscripts, with a view to selection from them for publication. Martin edited Buchanan's survey report and published it in five volumes with the title *The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India* in 1838. Its first Indian reprint is by Cosmo Publications, Delhi, 1976. See Martin's *Introduction* in Vol. 4, pp. 3-5.

[16] See Martin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 332; also Vol. 2, pp. 250-252.

[17] See Conybeare, *op. cit.*, pp. 334-335.

[18] *Ibid.* p. 727.

[19] *Ibid.* p. 336.

[20] The census report of 1872 for Bareilly District lists the following non-agricultural occupations pursued by more than fifty males. The occupations have been listed in the descending order, i.e., the maximum number of persons were servants, then labourers, shopkeepers, weavers, shoemakers, beggars, *purohit* (or family priests), water-carriers, tailors, bricklayers, goldsmiths, butchers, potters, *pandits* (or doctors of Hindu divinity and law), sweepers, carpenters, merchants, washermen;, cloth-sellers, blacksmiths, grain-dealers, wire-drawers, confectioners, persons of unspecified trade, including probably many bad characters, cotton-cleaners, grocers, dyers, grain-parchers, flower-sellers, fish mongers, blanket-weavers, oil-makers, peddlers, singers and musicians, tobacco-sellers, green grocers, lac-workers, money-changers, betel-leaf sellers, milk and butter sellers, cart-drivers, inn-keepers, doctors, school masters, cooks, tinmen and tinkers, and moneylenders. Cf., Conybeare, *op. cit.*, p. 717.

[21] See John T. Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English* (originally published in 1884 by Clarendon Press, Oxford), Indian Reprint, New Delhi, 1993, p. 17.

[22] Cited from *Kulliyat-i-Musahafi*, Vol. I, ed. Nur-ul-hasan Naqvi, published as *Majlis-i-Ishaat-i-adab*, Delhi; Delhi, April, 1967.

[23] W. Tennant, *Indian Recreations*, London, 1799. Cited from Conybeare, *op. cit.*, pp. 674-675.

[24] See Reginald Heber, *Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India*, Vol. I, London, 1849, p. 243.

[25] Cf. Muzaffar Alam, *The Crises of Empire in Mughal North India, Awadh and the Punjab 1707-1748*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1986. See pp. 247-254. For more details see Chapter VII.

[26] *Tashrīh-ul-Aqwām*, manuscript no. ADD. 27255 PS/2/6493 at the British Museum. Rotograph no. 216 at the Library of the Centre for Advanced Studies in History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh. *Tashrīh* comprises three books or *fasls*. The first book describes the conditions of the rulers of India – *Shah-i-Hind*. The second describes the condition of the Hindus. This is again divided into four parts. The first part is a general description of the four *varnas*. The second has four sub-sections each devoted to one of the four *varnas*. Third and the most important part from our point of view describes the origin of the various professional castes *aulad-i-vishvakarma*. The fourth part focuses on other mixed castes of Hindus like mendicants and *sadhus*. The third book deals with the condition of the Muslims – the ordinary or worldly people, and those who have renounced the world like *fakirs* etc.

[27] *Kahar* is a caste of Hindus whose profession was to carry palanquins, etc. and to draw water. It seems the author is confused between *kumhar* i.e., a potter, and *kahar*.

[28] *Gul-khan* is furnace, fire-place or stove. *Gul-khan afroz* is one who lights the furnace.

[29] See *Tashrīh*, *op. cit.*, Bk. II, Rotograph p. 84.

[30] Heber, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

[31] See Conybeare, *op. cit.*, p. 633.

[32] The prices for coarse cloth, gold and silver are from *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Vol. 3, edited by A. T. Atkinson, p. 78. The rest of the prices are from Yahya's account.

[33] See Conybeare, *op. cit.*, p. 633.

[34] Naiyyar Masood, *Awadh ki Tahzibi Tarikh ki Jhalkiyan Puranay Makhazon Se* in the Urdu monthly *Naya Daur*, Lucknow, Nov. 1991, pp. 12-20.

[35] *Farang-i-Ishtilhat-i-peshvaran* compiled by Malvi Zufar-ur-Rahman, published by *Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu*, Delhi, 1941.

[36] See Atkinson, *op. cit.*

[37] Martin writes in his Introduction "That a survey containing such materials, offering so vivid a description of the social aspect of millions of fellow subjects, and corroborating every useful fact by minute statistics, should have remained so long in obscurity is indeed to be deplored, and can only be accounted for by supposing that it was deemed impolitic to publish to the world so painful a picture of human poverty, debasement and wretchedness..."

The Eleven Illustrations[1]

by

Ghulam Yahya

Edited and Translated by

Mehr Afshan Farooqi

folio 1, verso This humblest of God's servants, full of boundless sins, the servant of scholars, called Ghulam Yahya, son of Maulvi Imaduddin Lepakni says; after countless praises to the Maker, who, with his perfect tools of creation has manufactured all possible figures; and from the hidden space of non-existence, brought them into the shops of existence, where the light of His presence shines; furthermore, unlimited salutations on that professional who made over to the good natured buyers, the merchandise of instruction and education without desiring any price.

Now, during these times of auspicious beginnings and happy endings; from the office of the honourable dweller of the house of justice and high virtue and exalted rank, seated firmly on the throne of fame, the chair of good fortune, adorned by his radiant presence; enhancer of the beauty of the throne of justice and auspicious character, and extender of the decoration and beauty of the chain of **folio 2, recto** justice and success; pearl of the oyster of greatness and good fortune; valuable ruby of pomp and grandeur; provider of the needs of the helpless; ointment for the wounds of the wretched; generosity incarnate, possessor of the courage of selflessness, I mean Mr. Robert Glyn Saheb Bahadur, Magistrate and Judge of the District of Bareilly, may his good fortune be perpetuated, the parallel of generosity, issued forth an order for this ignorant person to write the true details of some of the craftsmen and the names of the tools of manufacture and production and their dress and their manners.

And, because a complete description would cause a lengthy discourse, whatever could show its face and make itself clear from the canopy of concealment through observation and investigation was entrusted to the tongue of the elegantly writing pen. I regarded it a cause worthy of pride. This book I call 'The Eleven Illustrations.'

I pray to God that, as long as the shop of the world of possibilities is full of the merchandise of perpetuity, the capital of good reputation of that person, who is a source of glory, may go from hand to hand among those of this world who can hear.

A DESCRIPTION OF MANUFACTURING GLASS

This is the way it is prepared. First of all, alkaline soil, which is found in salty and moist areas, and for this reason used by washer men for washing clothes, should be procured. Then, beds in the style of flowerbeds are dug in the ground and filled to the brim with water. Then, alkaline soil is poured into them and leveled up. **folio 2, verso** After the

water has evaporated, the crust that is formed on the beds should be collected and put in the furnace and a fire lit. It should be allowed to bake for six days. This type of glass is called *siy'h* (black).

And, if the alkaline soil is first baked in the furnace and *shor'*, i.e., saltpetre is mixed in it, the ratio being for every 100 *maunds* of earth, 4 *maunds* of saltpetre be added. In this manner, a white, slightly yellowish glass is obtained. This type of glass is called *shor'*. Sometimes, due to the effect of smoke, the white glass becomes tinged with a black or greenish hue. This is called *shor»*. After it cools down, it hardens, and then it is broken into fragments.

Chiefly a community called *manih'r*, and also some other communities both Hindu and Muslim, manufacture glass in the areas of Sambal and Sikandr¹, as well as some other parts. There it is sold at the rate of one to one and one-half *maunds* for a rupee. Here it sells at the rate of one *maund* for one rupee or a rupee and a half.

And by mixing sulphurate of zinc and lead (to the alkaline soil) a grass green glass is obtained. If in the grass green sulphurate of zinc and lead are added one more time, *sabz onk»* is obtained. And by adding *sambhrah*, which is a kind of stone, mauve colored glass is obtained. And by adding *ret'* and *set'*, i.e., powdered stone, which is found in the mountains of Betul and the Deccan, blue colored glass is made.

folio 3, recto, DRAWING OF FURNACE FOR GLASS-MAKING

folio 4, recto

A DESCRIPTION OF BANGLE MANUFACTURE

These are manufactured with six implements. The first is a long iron spoon (*karcholi*) which is used to put the raw glass into the furnace. The second is an iron hook (*ankaA»*) with a wooden handle. With it they wrap the glass on the tip of the iron bar and take it out of the furnace. The glass sticks on the iron bar and with a tool called *m'l'*, which is like an iron pike or lance, it is separated. With a *bidhar*, i.e., a short iron skewer or spit, they give the bangle a shape like a ring, to suit the wrist. Then an iron *silkah*, i.e., a rod which has an earthen tip shaped like a bird's heart, is used to shape the bangle into a circular form appropriate for a woman's wrist.

First they manufacture plain bangles. Then they colour them from underneath with the help of lac and sulphurate of zinc called *pann»*. Bangles are of several varieties. There is a type, which is sold at the rate of 900 up to 1,100 for a rupee. In one working day, a man can manufacture up to 400 of those. A second type is sold at the rate of 3,500 to 4,000 for a rupee. In one day, a man can make up to 800 such bangles. A third type is sold at the rate of 2,000 for a rupee and a man can make up to 600 such bangles in a day.

folio 4, verso Upper class Muslims and Hindus wear these varieties (of bangles). There are about twenty varieties, distinguished by different colours. Each variety has a different name. If, on the first variety there is silver work, a set can be sold for as much as a rupee. Other varieties are sold at the rate of from one anna up to four annas (apparently per set). After deducting the cost of glass, fuel and other expenses, a bangle-maker can earn from one anna to two annas, and some of them even up to three or four annas per day.

In these parts, the *manih'r* are the only community to manufacture glass bangles. However, around Kasgunj and Etawah, other respectable communities, both Hindu and Muslim, also manufacture them. And here (i.e., around Bareilly), not more than eight persons can sit and work at a furnace. But in the areas of Panipat and Karnal, sixteen persons can sit and work at a furnace. These craftsmen are very good. Their women mostly live in the villages. And often, when in the city, their women wear a *lahang'* instead of trousers. And the rest of their clothing is just like that of other inhabitants of the country, in keeping with their status. The community of *manih'rs* are Muslim.

folio 5, recto, DRAWING OF TOOLS USED IN GLASS BANGLE MANUFACTURE

folio 6, recto

TOOLS USED IN THE MANUFACTURE OF LAC BANGLES

Lac bangles are made with the following tools. An iron spindle, a wooden board, which is called *patr'*, a *thapn»*, i.e., wooden mallet, and a short wooden spear called *sel'*.

First, the lac is stuck on the spindle and heated. Then it is placed on the above-mentioned board and drawn long in the form of a bar. Then the desired length needed to make a bangle is cut off. With the help of the *thapn»* it is given a circular shape around the *sel'* and finally finished to fit a woman's wrist. After this it is coloured white with the help of *pann»* (foil); red with the help of a red powder called *shangarf*, green with indigo mixed with yellow arsenic, and black with plain indigo.

For a set (of bangles) the price is one anna to two and a half annas. And a custom-made or made-to-order set may be sold for up to eight annas.

Bangles made of lac are stronger than glass bangles. One man in a day can produce up to four sets of bangles. One set consists of thirty to forty bangles. These bangles are worn by *Kurm»*, *Kis'n*, *Kah'r*, *Gujar* and *Mur''Ø* and some other Hindus. They are not worn by Muslims.

Manih'rs also manufacture them around Shahjahanpur etc., in addition to the *lakher'* community, which is Hindu. The *lakher'* community use both glass and lac bangles. Hindu men often wear a *dhot»* (a cloth worn around the waist, passing between the legs and tucked behind) instead of trousers. [folio 6, verso](#) Their women wear a *lahang'*; in fact, so do most of the lowborn Muslim women. The rest of their clothes are like upper class people.

[folio 7, recto](#), DRAWING OF TOOLS USED IN THE MANUFACTURE OF LAC BANGLES

[folio 8, recto](#)

ABOUT A CRIMPER AND HIS TOOLS

Crimpers, who are tailors, can be either Hindu or Muslim. They fold a piece of cloth into two and in between the folds place a *va-l»*, i.e., a kind of paper used for practicing calligraphy. They place the folded material on a *mak'* and heating the iron *darzm'l*, rub it on the fold. A second iron is heated in the fire in readiness for use. Whenever the first iron cools, it is put back into the fire and the second one is now used just like the first one.

The rate for crimping a cap varies from one-half anna to two annas. From two annas to four annas for a chintz *kamr» angarkh'*, and for *kamr» aflas* etc. from four annas to a rupee, and for a chintz *qab'* it is six to eight annas. For a satin *qab'* the rate is from a rupee to two and one-half rupees. For a chintz *lab'd'* it is eight annas to twelve annas. And for a satin or brocade *lab'd'*, the rate of crimping varies from a rupee to two rupees. And the variation in rate of remuneration depends on the diversity or intricacies of the design to be crimped.

Actually there are four types of crimping: the first, *d'r gul»*, the second, *'b lahar*, the third, *mahram't*, and the fourth is *jamn»*. There are other variations of these four types, depending on the design etc. There are many other skills (of crimping) and they have no fixed names. In fact, each variation of the [folio 8, verso](#) above-mentioned four categories is attributed to the category it resembles most, and is counted as one of the (original) four.

In one day, one person can earn four to six annas. And if he is a very good craftsman, he can earn up to eight annas.

The men belonging to the Hindu tailor community wear a *dhot»* and their women wear *lahang'* instead of trousers, and wear gold and silver jewelry, etc. according to their means. They do not wear jewelry made of brass. Women of the Muslim tailor community wear a *lahang'* instead of trousers and jewelry too, according to their financial capacity.

In marriages, on the first day, the food offered to the groom's party is rice and *kaÅh»*. On the second day, they are served *bØri*, or, if they can afford them, sweets. During the marriage ceremony, wine is not drunk. But it is drunk on

occasions other than marriages. And, amongst the Muslim tailor community, it is traditional to offer rice and a pulse called *m'sh* and *kaĀh*». The actual marriage ceremony is essentially the same as followed by other Muslims and Hindus.

[folio 9, recto, PAINTING OF A CRIMPER](#)

[folio 10, recto, DRAWING OF A CRIMPER'S TOOLS](#)

[folio 11, recto](#)

ABOUT GRAM PARCHERS AND THEIR TOOLS

Gram parchers, i.e., lighters of furnaces, who are in Hindi called *Bhurj*», are a community who earn their living by roasting gram. And for these services there is no fixed payment; but for roasting the grain they get by way of fee, a portion of the grain, proportionate with the load to be roasted. The furnace, i.e., the space for roasting the grain, is called *bh'Ā* in Hindi, and is of three types: one is *bhuniy' bh'Ā*, and is made entirely of clay. The second is *bh'Ā-i-kaĀ'h*» which is constructed with a large, curved frying pan of iron. The third is *bh'Ā-i-hikĀa*, which is constructed using the lower halves of earthen drinking vessels.

Their men wear a kind of loin cloth called *lango'*, and their women folk wear a *lahang'* instead of trousers and wear jewellery made of sulphurate of zinc. In their marriages they serve rice and a pulse called *m'sh*. Muslim *bhurj*», if they have the means, also serve the members of the marriage party meat and *n'n* and pilaw.

The Hindus of the *bhurj*» community, after marrying their daughters, send them off to the groom's house for five or six days. After this, they call them back. Thereafter, the ceremony of *gaun'* and *raun'*, as customary in their community, takes place and then the daughter is allowed to go. The duration of time that should elapse before *gaun'-raun'* takes place is not fixed. This custom is extant among all Hindus and also Muslims of the lower class.

[folio 12, recto, DRAWING OF A FURNACE FOR PARCHING GRAIN](#)

[folio 13, recto](#)

ABOUT CH,RP, ½ WEAVERS AND THEIR TOOLS

The community of *ch'rp'*»: weavers, i.e., *khabun'*, weave *ch'rp'*»s in several styles--like *chaukar*» and *lagpah'r* and *guld'r* plain. The following wages are current : for *chaukari* one-half anna to one anna; for *lagpah'r*, one anna to two and one-half annas, and for *guld'r* plain from three annas to five annas. Lower prices are payable if the weaving is done with the common kinds of string. If they weave with extremely fine strings and weave floral or chequered patterns or plain squares, they charge wages up to one rupee.

One craftsman, in one day, can weave up to eight *ch'rp'*»s in the *chaukari* style, up to four in the *lagpah'r* and up to two in the *guld'r* plain style. For designs like plain square or chequered board, only one *ch'rp'*» can be woven in two days.

In addition to the community of *ch'rp'*» weavers, others also know this craft. The above-mentioned community lives in cities and towns. Often in villages, people of other communities also do this work in return for money, and sometimes for free.

String made from *beb* which is used most, costs one rupee four annas to two rupees per *maund*. String made from *mŌnj* is sold at two rupees to three rupees per *maund*. And string made of *k'ns* is not sold in the market; but in the villages poor people use string made out of *k'ns*. *Beb* grows in the foothills and *mŌnj* and *k'ns* are plentiful in these parts.

The men folk of the *ch'rp'* weavers wear loincloths and a shawl or wrap, and a turban. Their women wear a *lahang'* and a shawl and [folio 13, verso](#) a *kurt*, which is a type of blouse. As for jewellery, they wear *kangan*, *hansl* and *barra* (?), all made of sulphurate of zinc. In marriages, on the first day, rice and the pulse called *m'sh* is cooked. On the second day, *pur*, which is a kind of bread, is served to the members of the marriage party who are made to sit together with the members of the household for eating. Only their men folk drink wine. And, by the way, of tools they have an ax called *t'sha*.

[folio 14, recto](#), DRAWING OF TOOLS OF CH, RP, '½ WEAVERS

[folio 15, recto](#)

DESCRIPTION OF A PANS, R½'S SHOP AND THE GOODS SOLD THERE

Grocers (*pans'r*) is a community of Hindu shopkeepers who bring merchandise from Iran and Kabul and ? and the Deccan and the hills and from oceans. They bring minerals and dried greens, which are used for making medicines and are eaten too; and dried fruits, excepting those which are sold by fruiterers, are kept in earthen pots and sold. Because of the large variety (of goods) that they deal in, it is impossible to give details of all in this small space. But some things from each part of the various parts of the world mentioned above, have been listed, each separately, and the cost price and the selling price of each item has been brought to the tip of this pen.

During marriages, on the first day they serve rice and *m'sh*, which in the parlance of the Hindus is called 'uncooked food.' On the second day, *pur* and *kachor*, which is called 'cooked food', are served. If they can afford, sweets too are offered to the groom's party. The convention of hospitality and of feeding the marriage party in their homes is not less than three days. If they are really well to do, it is customary to prolong the feasting for some more days. Their women wear gold and silver jewellery. As for their dress, they wear a *lahang'* instead of trousers and their men [folio 15, verso](#) generally wear *dhot* and sometimes wear trousers too. The rest of their attire is just like others.

Some Muslims also do this business. Income depends on the scarcity or abundance of the goods to be sold. Prices of the individual articles of sale keep varying.

[folio 15, verso](#)

TABLE I

MERCHANDISE FROM THE DECCAN

Goods	Cost Price Per Ser	Sale Price Per Ser
<i>Sup'r</i> » <i>Chikan</i> »	Rs 1/12 annas	Rs 1/14 annas
<i>Morach</i> <i>Siy'h</i>	Rs 20/4 annas	Rs 20/5 annas
Tea	Rs 4/-	Rs 4/8 annas
Nutmeg	Rs 8/-	Rs 9/-
Pellitory, ' <i>aqir-qarh'</i> (<i>Anacyclus pyrethram</i>)	Rs 2/-	Rs 2/8 annas
Mace (<i>J'vitr</i> »)	Rs 12/-	Rs 13/-
Bamboo - manna (<i>bans-locan</i>)	Rs 30/-	Rs 31/-
Cardamom - white	Rs 7/8 annas	Rs 8/-

MERCHANDISE FROM THE EAST

Goods	Cost Price Per <i>Maund</i>	Sale Price Per <i>Maund</i>
<i>Sup'r» N'nak Chandī</i> (kind of betel nut)	Rs 12/-	Rs 13/-
<i>Sup'r» Jah'z»</i> (kind of betel nut)	Rs 9/8 annas	Rs 10/8 annas
<u><i>Qaranfal</i></u>	Rs 1/4 annas (per <i>ser</i>)	Rs 1/8 annas (per <i>ser</i>)
Alum - White	Rs 9/-	Rs 10/-
Red/ Vermillion Powder (<i>sindØr</i>)	Rs 3/8 annas (per <i>rupiya</i>)	Rs 4/8 annas (per <i>rupiya</i>)
Vermillion Powder (<i>shangarf</i>)	Rs 3/8 annas (per <i>ser</i>)	Rs 3/12 annas (per <i>ser</i>)

[folio 16, recto](#)

TABLE II

MERCHANDISE FROM THE DECCAN

Goods	Cost Price Per <i>Ser</i>	Sale Price Per <i>Ser</i>
<u><i>Asgandh Nagauri</i></u>	Rs 9/- (per <i>maund</i>)	Rs 10/- (per <i>maund</i>)
Bun (coffee beans)	Rs 1/-	Rs 1/4 annas
Tumeric (<i>'mb' hald»</i>)	10 annas	12 annas
<u><i>MØsl» - White</i></u>	Rs 11/- (per <i>maund</i>)	?Rs 20/- (per <i>maund</i>)?
Cubebs (jungle cloves)	Rs 3/-	Rs 3/8 annas
? <i>Harvi</i> ?	Rs 10/- (per <i>maund</i>)	Rs 12/- (per <i>maund</i>)
Blue Vitriol	Rs 1/12 annas	Rs 2/-
Cinnamon	Rs 4/-	Rs 5/-

MERCHANDISE FROM THE EAST

Goods	Cost Price Per <i>Maund</i>	Sale Price Per <i>Maund</i>
Sulphur	Rs 10/-	Rs 11/-
Dry Ginger	Rs 9/-	Rs 9/8 annas
Camphor	Rs 4/- (per <i>ser</i>)	Rs 4/4 annas (per <i>ser</i>)
Gum	11 annas (per <i>ser</i>)	12 annas (per <i>ser</i>)
Coconut - Dry	Rs 1/8 annas (per 100)	Rs 1/12 annas (per 100)
Coconut (with milk)	Rs 1/- (per <i>ser</i>)	Rs 1/8 annas (per <i>ser</i>)
Almond	Rs 20/-	Rs 27/-
Dates	Rs 14/-	Rs 17/8 annas
Talc/ Micabraq <i>abraq khurd</i> (fine grain)	Rs 20/-	Rs 25/-
Bun (Coffee Beans)	Rs 25/-	Rs 30/-

[folio 16, verso](#)

TABLE III

MERCHANDISE FROM THE EAST

Goods	Cost Price Per <i>Ser</i>	Sale Price Per <i>Ser</i>
<i>Safed' K'shghar</i>	9 annas	9.5 annas
Talc / Mica (coarse grain)	Rs 2/-	Rs 2/8 annas
Yellow Arsenic / Ratsbane	Rs 1/4 annas	Rs 1/8 annas
Amber	13 annas	15 annas
Sandalwood - Red	4.5 annas (per <i>rupiya</i>)	5.5 annas (per <i>rupiya</i>)
Sandalwood - White	12 annas	13 annas
Myrobalan (kind of astringent nut)	Rs 4/12 annas (per <i>maund</i>)	Rs 5/- (per <i>maund</i>)
<i>Patang</i>	Rs 8/- (per <i>maund</i>)	Rs 10/- (per <i>maund</i>)
Gum of <i>dhaur</i> (<i>dhaur</i> is a type of sugarcane)	Rs 15/- (per <i>maund</i>)	Rs 16/- (per <i>maund</i>)
Gum of <i>dhaur</i> (Cleaned)	Rs 10/- (per <i>maund</i>)	Rs 11/- (per <i>maund</i>)

[folio 17, recto](#)

TABLE IV

MERCHANDISE FROM THE EAST

Goods	Cost Price Per <i>Ser</i>	Sale Price Per <i>Ser</i>
Sulphur <i>'mvala s'r</i>	Rs 1/-	Rs 1/8 annas
<i>MasØr</i> (pulse)	Rs 1/8 annas	Rs 1/10 annas
Nutmeg	Rs 5/-	Rs 6/-
<i>Bans-locan</i> (bamboo-manna, <i>tab'shØr</i>)	Rs 20/-	Rs 25/-
Mercury	Rs 3/-	Rs 3/8 annas
Mace	Rs 3/-	Rs 4/-
Chewing Tobacco	Rs 15/- (per <i>maund</i>)	Rs 16/- (per <i>maund</i>)
<i>Harvi ? Puravi</i> (? from the East)	Rs 4/- (per <i>maund</i>)	Rs 5/- (per <i>maund</i>)
Cardamom - White	Rs 4/-	Rs 5/-
Cinnamon	Rs 1/-	Rs 1/4 annas

[folio 17, verso](#)

TABLE V

MERCHANDISE FROM THE MOUNTAINS

Goods	Cost Price Per <i>Maund</i>	Sale Price Per <i>Maund</i>
Dried Ginger	Rs 10/-	Rs 11/-
<i>Zard Chob (tumeric)</i>	Rs 7/-	Rs 7/4 annas
<i>Bhal'wan Doj't</i> (a kind of fruit)	Rs 8/-	Rs 10/-
<i>Bhal'wan Girahd'r</i>	Rs 18/-	Rs 20/-
Myrobalan Large (<i>har</i>)	Rs 2/-	Rs 2/8 annas
Asafoetida	Rs 18/-	Rs 20/-
Catechu White	Rs 14/-	Rs 15/-
Myrobalan of <i>Zang</i> (<i>harzang</i>)»)	Rs 7/-	Rs 8/-
Borax (<i>soh'g'</i>)	Rs 14/-	Rs 15/-
Catechu	Rs 11/-	Rs 12/-

MERCHANDISE FROM THE WEST

Goods	Cost Price Per <i>Ser</i>	Sale Price Per <i>Ser</i>
Almonds of Kabul	Rs 1/8 annas	Rs 1/12 annas
Almonds of Dostpur	Rs 22/- (per <i>maund</i>)	Rs 24/- (per <i>maund</i>)
Raisins	11 annas	12 annas
Currants	14 annas	15 annas
Figs - Dried	12 annas	14 annas
Persian Plums Dried	10 annas	11 annas
Liquorice	14 annas	Rs 1/-
Apricot - Dried	14 annas	15 annas
Pomegranate - Seedless	Rs 3/-	Rs 3/4 annas
Pomegranate - Seeded (<i>Vil'yati</i>)	Rs 2/-	Rs 2/4 annas

[folio 18, recto](#)

TABLE VI

MERCHANDISE FROM THE MOUNTAINS

Goods	Cost Price Per <i>Maund</i>	Sale Price Per <i>Maund</i>
Honey	Rs 12/-	Rs 13/-
Wax	Rs 1/4 annas (per <i>ser</i>)	Rs 1/8 annas (per <i>ser</i>)
Chir'et' (<i>Gentian</i>)	Rs 12/-	Rs 13/-
Honey (second quality)	Rs 10/-	Rs 11/-
<i>L'l M»rch</i> (<i>red pepper</i>)	Rs 3/8 annas (per <i>rupiya</i>)	Rs 4/8 annas (per <i>rupiya</i>)
<i>Cir'eta</i> , (<i>second quality</i>) (<i>Gentian</i>)	Rs 8/-	Rs 9/-
Wolf's Bane	Rs 13/-	Rs 14/-
Cardamom (Large)	Rs 20/-	Rs 21/-

<u>Sendh'</u> (white rock salt)	Rs 9/-	Rs 9/8 annas
<u>R' Ch»d'</u> (Resin, Cleaned)	Rs 8/-	Rs 9/-

MERCHANDISE FROM THE WEST

Goods	Cost Price Per <i>Ser</i>	Sale Price Per <i>Ser</i>
Quince Seeds	Rs 1/12 annas	Rs 3/- ?
Pistachios	Rs 1/8 annas	Rs 1/10 annas
<u>Sa'lab Misr»</u> , second quality (Salep)	Rs 10/-	Rs 12/-
<u>Sa'lab Misr»</u> , first quality (Salep)	Rs 15/-	Rs 18/-
Asafoetida, first quality <u>angØz' / angØzh'</u>	Rs 3/-	Rs 4/-
Asafoetida <u>Lahsun»</u> garlic flavored	Rs 1/8 annas	Rs 1/10 annas
<u>Chob Maj»h</u>	Rs 30/- (per <i>maund</i>)	Rs 32/- (per <i>maund</i>)
Sal-ammoniac (<u>Naus'dar</u>)	Rs 1/-	Rs 1/2 annas
Ox-tongue / Bugloss	14 annas	Rs 1/-
Viola odorata (<u>Banafsh'</u>)	12 annas	13 annas

folio 18, verso

TABLE VII

ITEMS WHICH ARE GROWN HERE

Goods	Cost Price Per <i>Maund</i>	Sale Price Per <i>Maund</i>
Anise Seeds	Rs 3/-	Rs 3/8 annas
Coriander	Rs 1/-	Rs 1/8 annas
Endive / Chicory	Rs 5/-	Rs 6/-
<u>Ajw'in</u>	Rs 2/8 annas	Rs 3/-
Garlic	Rs 2/-	Rs 2/8 annas
White Cumin Seeds	Rs 16/-	Rs 17/-
Tobacco	Rs 5/-	Rs 6/-
Gum (from <u>BabØl</u> Tree)	Rs 13/-	Rs 14/-
Red Rose Petals, dried	Rs 2/- (per <i>ser</i>)	Rs 2/8 annas (per <i>ser</i>)
<u>Amalt's</u> (seeds)	Rs 2/- (per <i>ser</i>)	Rs 2/8 annas (per <i>ser</i>)
Cowach, red	Rs 4/- (per <i>rupiya</i>)	Rs 4/4 annas (per <i>rupiya</i>)
<u>Lodha</u> , dried	Rs 4/- (per <i>rupiya</i>)	Rs 4/4 annas (per <i>rupiya</i>)

Folio, 19, recto, PAINTING OF A PANS, R½

Folio 20, recto, DRAWING OF THE POTS OF A PANS, R½

Folio 21, recto**ABOUT WIRE MAKING FROM IRON AND SILVER ETC., AND ITS TOOLS**

Iron wires are made with the *jantar*, the *aggal*, the *zanbØr*, the iron *sohan*, the *munna* (?) and the wooden *jand'r* which is also called *char'h*. This is the way they are made. First, the iron smith takes an iron rod, maybe half a yard to three yards in length, with the thickness of a reed pen and makes it smooth on four sides. Then it is sold to the wire makers at the rate of two '*s'r*' for a rupee. After this, any one (they work in pairs) of the wire-makers files thin the bead of the iron rod and then pushes it through the hole of the *jantar* and the *aggal*; and puts the *munna* between the two ends and then twists it with the pliers which is held with a chain. The second person takes the iron chain and puts it around the iron rod fixed in the *jand'r*, sits on an earthen platform and rotates the wooden *jand'r* with hand and feet. Thus the wire becomes finer and is wrapped around the *jand'r*. Some *jand'rs* have four spokes and some six. After this they push it through another finer hole. So in this way, from the various holes in the *jantar*, each finer than the other, they repeat this procedure until a stage comes when the wire is fine enough to make delicately thin needles.

And it is then sold to the *bis'tØ* at the rate of one '*s'r*' for a rupee. The wires for *sit'r* and *tambØra*, and silver and brass wires too, are prepared just like **Folio 21, verso** the wire for making needles. But the tools for preparing those are smaller and more delicate. Wire for a *tambØra* costs up to one and one-half rupees for one '*s'r*'. And wire for *sit'r* is sold at the rate of four rupees for one '*s'r*'. And silver and brass and zinc wires are manufactured in the same way. And labour charges for silver wire-making are one-half anna per *tol'*. They buy brass at the rate of one '*s'r*' for a rupee and six annas, and sell the wire at the rate of two rupees twelve annas, to three rupees per '*s'r*'. They buy zinc at the rate of fourteen to fifteen annas per '*s'r*', and the wire is sold for up to two rupees per '*s'r*'. Generally, this work is done by goldsmiths and iron smiths who may be Hindu or Muslim. Rarely do members of other communities do this work.

Their marriage customs are like other iron smiths and goldsmiths. Some ceremonies are different though, but details here would be too lengthy. Their men generally wear *dhotØ*; and their women, in fact all Hindu women and low born Muslim women too, wear a *lahang'* instead of trousers. They wear gold, silver, brass or zinc jewellery, etc., depending on what they can afford. The rest of their clothes are like other inhabitants of this part of the world.

Iron wire suitable for making needles requires two men at each workbench. They can manufacture in a day three-quarter to one '*s'r*' of wire, which is suitable for needle making; one '*s'r*' of wire, suitable for a *tambØra* and one quarter '*s'r*' of wire, suitable for *sit'r*.

Folio 22, recto, PAINTING OF THE MANUFACTURE OF IRON AND SILVER WIREFolio, 23, recto, DRAWING OF TOOLS FOR MANUFACTURING IRON AND SILVER WIREFolio 24, recto**ABOUT MAKING SILK THREAD COVERED WITH GOLD AND SILVER THREAD, AND GOLD AND SILVER LACES AND EDGINGS AND ITS TOOLS**

Silver thread is of six types. First, is the *kal'battØ* thread which is one thousand, two hundred yards per *tol'*. Second is the thread for laces and edgings-- and this is not a continuous length, which is nine hundred yards per *tol'*. Third is again, a thread for laces and trimmings which is five hundred yards per *tol'*. Fourth is the thread for *muqqaish* and *jh'lar* which is four hundred yards per *tol'*. Fifth is the thread for *zardozi* which is one hundred and twenty-five yards per *tol'*. Sixth is the thread for making *sit'r* which is sixty yards per *tol'*.

The following wages are current. For the first type, twenty-five rupees per one hundred *tol'*. For the second, fourteen rupees, for the third, seven rupees, for the fourth, fifth and sixth from four to six rupees.

In one day, one person can prepare nine *m'sh* to one *tol'* thread of the first type, two *tol'* of the second, up to four

tol' of the third, and up to ten *tol's* of the fourth, fifth and sixth types.

Thread for gold embroidery and *sit'r* are manufactured in Lucknow and Shahjahanabad and Akbarabad. And the measure for these threads is *dir'a* which is comprised of eleven *girah*. Most of these types of thread are manufactured by Hindus and Muslims of good family. People [Folio 24, verso](#) of low communities are rarely taught this art. One person can earn from four to ten annas per day in a day's work.

[Folio 25, recto, DRAWING OF TOOLS USED TO MAKE SILVER BORDER THREADS](#)

[Folio 26, recto](#)

A DESCRIPTION OF THE VARIOUS TYPES OF *KAB'BS* AND METHOD OF COOKING THEM AND THEIR TOOLS

Kab'bs are of several kinds. One kind is *dampu²ht*. This is the recipe for it. Take a kid she-goat or a baby sheep, four or five months old, nicely fattened. Get it slaughtered, remove the skin, slit the stomach about the size of a fist, remove the intestines and other offal, wash thoroughly and clean it really well. Put inside the stomach varieties of dried fruit like pistachios, almonds, raisins, etc., or whatever one may desire. After this, with the tip of a knife or skewer, prick the meat thoroughly. Take some commonly used spices like curds, coriander seeds, garlic and onions, and a small quantity of black pepper, and grind them fine, as is the practice. Then apply the paste on the meat. Wrap a twine around it and put it in a large copper vessel, lighting a slow fire under it. When it is cooked, remove it from the stove and add some saffron with a view to fragrance and colour. And (now) eat it!

A second type is fish *kab'b*, and this is how it prepared. Take minced meat and grind it very fine. For every *ser* (two pounds) of meat (add) a quarter *ser* of cream; and *besan*, i.e., flour [Folio 26, verso](#) made of roasted and husked gram and poppy seeds one *cha'nk* each; and a bit of ginger juice. Black pepper and onions and so forth and other customary spices should be all ground and mixed together. Now shape this (mixture) into round flat discs, i.e., *tikki*. Pour ghee into a *m'h» tawa* or a pot and fry the *kab'bs*, frequently turning them over. After it is cooked, add a little saffron for fragrance and colour. And eat it!

The third is *kofta kab'b*, and this is how it is prepared. Mince the meat very fine. Take spices like those mentioned above, for example, curds, onions, coriander seeds and poppy seeds, and mix them all together. Then shape the meat into flat discs or round, like a ball. Some more curds again should be rubbed on top and fry the *kofta* in ghee. Now eat it.

The fourth is *pasanda kab'b*. And this is how it is. Take pieces of meat cut five or six fingers long and three or four fingers wide. Then prick the pieces thoroughly. For each *ser* of meat add a quarter *ser* cream, coriander seeds, gram flour, cloves and garlic, etc., and other spices are all ground together. Then apply this paste on the above-mentioned pieces of meat. Place the meat in a copper dish. In order to make the *kab'bs* fragrant, put some hot coals in between the two dishes, close to the pieces of meat. Pour a little ghee, drop by drop, on the burning coals. [Folio 27, recto](#) When the meat is smoked and the coals have died, transfer the meat to iron skewers and roast on a coal fire. While roasting put tiny drops of ghee on the meat. When the ghee is fully absorbed, and the *kab'b* is well done, take it off the skewer. Stuff the hole in the *kab'b* made by the skewer with finely ground white cardamom and black pepper. After this, eat it.

The fifth is *sh'min kab'b*, and it is prepared in the following way. Mince the meat. Put a small quantity of gram pulse in some water and boil. When it is soft, mix it with the meat, add cream and the usual spices. Finely grind the mixture and shape into flat discs. Place these in a large copper vessel and properly seal the mouth of the vessel with dough so that no steam can escape. Then cook on a coal fire. Afterwards, transfer it to another vessel and add some cream, rose water, white cardamom and black pepper. Add some gravy according to taste. It is ready to eat.

The sixth is *g»l'n» kab'b* and the method of cooking it is this. Take meat from the shoulder of a goat and prick it thoroughly. Add figs, ginger and curds in proper proportions. Roast it on a skewer. Prepare gravy from five *ser*s of meat [Folio 27, verso](#) separately. Add a quarter *ser* cream to the gravy, mix it well and drain it through a piece of cotton cloth.

Also add white cardamoms and cloves to the gravy. Now put the above-mentioned *kab'bs* in the gravy too. Add a little saffron for fragrance.

Seventh is chicken *kab'b*, and this is how it is cooked. First, slaughter the chicken according to the prescribed ritual. Then remove the skin and feathers and clean out the stomach. The inside is then stuffed with spices. Cook it the same way as the *dampu²ht kab'b* I have described earlier. This is called *mur^oh kab'b*.

The eighth is *shahpasand kab'b*, and its method is this. Mince the meat fine. Take the whites of twenty eggs for each *ser* of meat. Grind and mix black pepper, salt and onions in adequate proportions. Add the egg whites to the meat. Add ginger, and flour of roasted husked gram, ground very fine. Shape the meat into flat discs and fry in ghee. And then eat it!

And if meat is prepared this way, but shaped into balls and some dried fruits stuck on the *kab'bs*, they are called *bandhnu kab'b*; and this is the ninth variety.

If the meat is ground extremely fine and shaped into balls, and inside each ball an egg yolk is placed and then fried in the manner described above, this variety of *kab'b* is called *baizah kab'b*.

And *kab'b-i-mahi* is prepared this way. [Folio 28, recto](#) Deboned fish meat is boiled along with a little quantity of gram pulse. After this, cream, equal in weight to this mixture is added. Other spices which have been mentioned above are added and everything is finely ground. The paste is stuck on skewers and roasted on a coal fire. Ghee, in which onions have been sautéed, is dropped little by little on the *kab'bs* while they are being roasted.

There are numerous other varieties, like *kab'b-i-husaini* and *biranji kab'b* and *miy'na paz kab'b* and *moti kab'b*, etc., but this book does not have the capacity to describe each and every *kab'b* in detail. And these varieties of *kab'bs* (i.e., those which have been described above) are prepared by the trained cooks of wealthy people and are not sold in the market.

And that which is sold in the market is the following. Cow or goat meat is chopped and red chilies and salt added. The paste then stuck on iron skewers and roasted. Then sold. From one *ser* of meat they prepare 150 *kab'bs*. And *kab'b* made from cow meat is sold at fifty pieces for one anna and goat meat *kab'b* is sold at the rate of thirty pieces per anna. These cooks are of the Muslim community. Their dress and marriage ceremonies are like other inhabitants of this country. Production (of *kab'bs*) depends on the demand.

[Folio 29, recto, PAINTING OF KAB_B MAKER](#)

[Folio 30, recto, DRAWING OF KAB_B MAKER'S TOOLS](#)

[Folio 31, recto](#)

ABOUT GOLDSMITHS AND THEIR TOOLS AND NAMES OF SOME ORNAMENTS

Goldsmiths are a community who sit in their shops and make gold and silver jewellery in the following manner. First they light a fire in an earthen stove; then a little saltpeter or borax is mixed with gold or silver and (the metal) wrapped in white clay is put in the fire and wood fuel is heaped on top. They blow on it with a *phunkn*, i.e., a blowpipe made of bronze or iron. And melt it well. Then they take it out, put it on a molding box and stretch it into a long rod; then with iron calipers, cut off a desired length needed for a particular piece of jewellery. The piece of gold or silver is then put on an iron anvil and beat with an iron hammer, which has a wooden handle. With the other tools mentioned below, depending on the requirements, each tool is put to use and the piece of jewellery is made into the desired shape.

On account of the extensive varieties of tools and innumerable types of jewellery, and the weights used for weighing them, it is not possible in this book to give details of all. But the names of some pieces of jewellery, which are worn in these parts and are fashionable, and the names of weights and tools which are indispensable for goldsmiths, and

are known to them by these very names, are given below this illustration. [Folio 31, verso](#) And some may use other instruments too.

Those goldsmiths who craft jewellery plus other things like *p'nd'n* and small boxes, etc., very neatly and attractively, are called *s'dahk'r*. Goldsmiths are Hindus while *s'dahk'rs* are generally Muslims. And among the various types of jewellery, some are typically Muslims, some typically Hindu, some common to both communities. And jewellery is of two types: the first type is plain and that is crafted by goldsmiths. The second is set or studded with precious stones like agate, emeralds, corals, diamonds, pearls, rubies, sapphires, topaz, cat's eye, etc.

First, they prepare a frame for crafting an *angOh»* or *'rs»* or *dhukdhuk»* or any other jewellery they want to make. In that frame, they pour a little lac and on it they stick the gem or jewel they want. Around the gem they stick *kundan*, i.e., a gold foil of the first quality.

The making charges for a silver *kar'* and *hansl»* are a quarter anna per *tol'*. And for a gold *kar'* and *hansl»*, two annas per *tol'*. For a silver *'rs»* and *challah* and *pahunchi* and *bazuband* and *tav»z*, etc., one anna to two annas per *tol'* [Folio 32, recto](#) and for the same ornaments in gold it is four to six annas per *tol'*. The wages for pasting *kundan* are fixed at three rupees per *tol'*.

For making joints in silver ornaments, they add sulphurate of zinc in the following proportions. Three *m'sh'* per *tol'* of silver. And in gold ornaments, four *ratt»s* of copper per *tol'* of gold. And this is called *'ñka*. Joints are made in ornaments with *'ñka* or borax and salt. In some varieties of ornaments there are fewer *'ñka* and in some more. And these *'ñka* reduce the value of the goods. When needed, these *'ñka* are dissolved with saltpeter and the metal is made pure.

NAMES OF ORNAMENTS

[jh'njan](#), [naugir»](#), [barah](#) (*sic*), [chhann»](#)

[pachhal»](#), [©ah©ah»](#), [mundr»](#), [kink»](#)

[bichhuv'-va-anva](#), [chhallah](#), [kaAah](#), [toAah](#)

[angushtar»](#), [chann»](#), ['rs»](#), [angusht'nah](#)

[Folio 32, verso](#)

[b'nk](#), [porv'](#), [pahunch»](#), [kangan](#)

[ta'v»z](#) [b'zØ](#), [jaushan](#), [nauratan](#), [naunag'](#)

[b'zØ band](#), [pachlar»](#), [dhukdhuk»](#), [hansl»](#)

[baddh»](#), [zanj»r](#), [âam'ïl](#), [ben»](#)

[b'l»](#), [b'l'](#), [bundah](#), [jhØmak](#)

[karan phØl](#), [cho»](#), [ch'nd](#), [»k'](#)

[nath](#), [bul'q](#), [lakan](#), [ghungharØ](#)

[chandanh'r](#), [h'rmot»laA»](#), [zanj»rmot»chØr](#), [kanhm'l'](#)

[h'r](#), [champ'kab»](#), [jugnØ](#), [satlaAah](#)

NAMES OF TOOLS USED BY GOLDSMITHS

[iron rezah](#), [nih¹»](#), [hathoĀah](#) (big & small)

[dastpanah](#), [san©s»](#), [jantar»](#), [k'nah](#) (big & small)

[Folio 33, recto](#)

[happ¹](#) (big & small), [sohan](#) (big & small), [earthen kun©ah](#)

[phunkn¹ bharat](#), [p¹s¹ bharat](#), [earthen ang»h»n](#), [sand¹n](#), (big & small)

[chhen»](#) (big & small), [kØch»](#), [pot](#)

[sh¹²h](#), [earthen khariy¹](#), [m»zan-i-sang](#) i.e., [dar¹b»](#)

NAMES OF WEIGHTS

ek [ratt»](#), do ratt», chh¹r ratt», ek [m¹shah](#),

do m¹shah, chh¹r m¹shah, shash m¹shah, ek [tol¹](#),

do tole, seh tole, panj tole, [biranj](#)

End of the Description of Weights: Because in this book we have mentioned obsolete weights and measures, it is necessary to mention the weights i.e., *b¹* which are current now.

[Folio 33, verso](#)

Therefore *ratt»* means one *surkh* which in Hindi they call *ghungch»* and it is equivalent in weight to approximately 8 *biranj*, and a *biranj* is equal in weight to 8 grains of poppy seed (*khashkh¹sh*). And 8 *ghungch»* are approximately equal to one *m¹sh¹*. And 12 *m¹sh¹* is equal to one *tol¹*. And from the last couple of years the weight of a *ser* in the city is 9 *tol¹* and 7.5 *m¹sh¹*. And these weights are used only for weighing gold and silver. And for weighing medicines a different *ser* is used.

God is the Best Knower of Authenticated and True Things

[Folio 34, recto, PAINTING OF A GOLDSMITH](#)

[Folio 35, recto, DRAWING OF TOOLS OF GOLDSMITH](#)

[Folio 35, verso, DRAWING OF TOOLS OF GOLDSMITH](#)

Notes

[1] The cover of the binding carries the title *Kit' b-i-ta' v>r-sh»shagar'n Va°hairah va Bay'n-i-'l't-i-'nh'* (*The Illustrated Book About Makers of Glassware, etc. and a Description of Their Tools*).

The Eleven Illustrations

a.k.a.

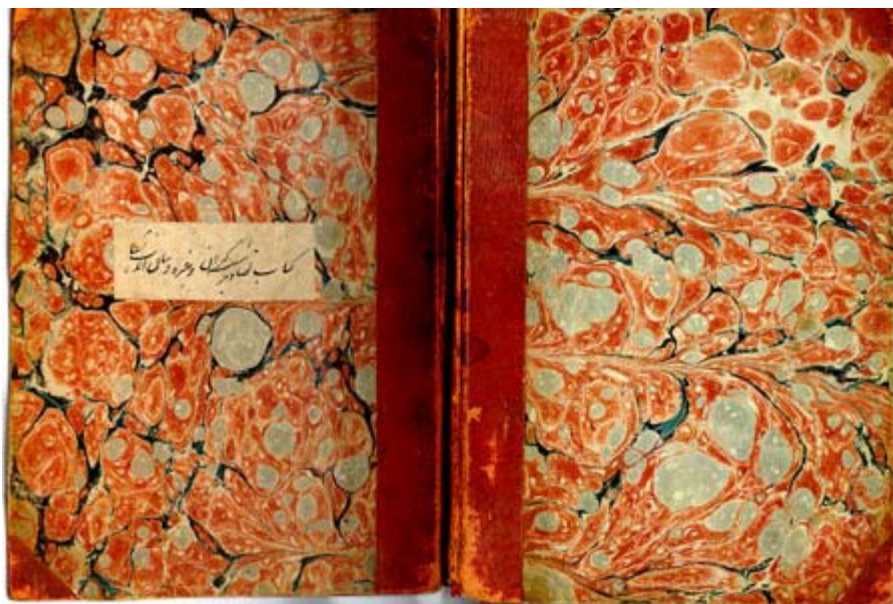
The Illustrated Book About Makers Of Glassware, etc., And A Description of Their Tools

by

Ghulam Yahya

Edited, Translated and Introduced
by

Mehr Afshan Farooqi



Summary: This Indo-Persian manuscript, written by Ghulam Yahya, son of Maulvi Imad-ud-din Lepakni, around 1820, in Bareilly District (United Provinces), India, for British magistrate, Mr. Robert Glyn, describes eleven trades or occupations current at the time. The text contains important ethnographic, economic and technological data. (For more information, see the [Introduction](#)).

Language: Persian.

Physical description: 1 volume (34 leaves) on paper with 12 drawings and 5 color illustrations.

Cite as: Special Collections, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania

Held by: Department of Special Collections, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania

Facsimile note: The pages of the diary appear slightly smaller than the original (exact size depends upon monitor used) and have been adjusted for clarity and visibility. To see a larger image go to the bottom of the page and click on "raw image." No other alterations or enhancements have been made. Adjustments occasionally result in color and brightness variations which exaggerate those on the original. While we have made the best efforts to increase the readability of the facsimile, some portions (especially material written in pencil) remain difficult.

Table of Contents

N.B. The Persian text and English translation are hyper-linked to facilitate comparison. Persian/Urdu technical terms (found in the translation) are linked to the **Glossary**. In order to view the diacritic marks on certain characters used in the translation and glossary, it is necessary to install a font called "Indo-Persian BitStream Charter" (IPBS) on your computer, and then make it the current font under "Options" on your web browser. It is a TrueType font. If you know how to download, unzip and install the font, click on "Download 'IPBS' font" link. If you need instructions, click on "Font Download/Installation Instructions." [Download "IPBS" font \(PC Version\)](#). Go to [Font Download/Installation Instructions](#).

This document was edited and hyper-linked by [Richard J. Cohen](#), South Asia Regional Studies Department, University of Pennsylvania.

[Introduction](#) to the Text by Mehr Afshan Farooqi [Introduction](#)
Translation of *The Eleven Illustrations* by Mehr Afshan Farooqi [Translation](#)
Biographical [Data](#) for Robert Glyn, Patron of the Text

The Persian Text:

Introductory Matter, [Folio 1, verso](#)

A Description of Manufacturing Glass, [Folio 2, recto](#)
Drawing of Furnace for Glassmaking, [Folio 3, recto](#)

A Description of Bangle Manufacture, [Folio 4, recto](#)
Drawing of Tools Used in Glass Bangle Manufacture, [Folio 5, recto](#)
Tools Used in the Manufacture of Lac Bangles, [Folio 6, recto](#)
Drawing of Tools Used in the Manufacture of Lac Bangles, [Folio 7, recto](#)

About a Crimper and his Tools, [Folio 8, recto](#)
Painting of a Crimper, [Folio 9, recto](#)
Drawing of a Crimper's Tools, [Folio 10, recto](#)

About Gram Parchers and their Tools, [Folio, 11, recto](#)
Drawing of a Furnace for Parching Grain, [Folio 12, recto](#)

About Charpaai Weaver's and their Tools, [Folio 13, recto](#)
Drawing of Tools of Charpaai Weavers, [Folio 14, recto](#)

Description of a Pansarii's Shop and the Goods Sold There, [Folio 15, recto](#)
Tables I - VII, Listing Goods (And Prices!!) Sold by the Pansarii, [Folio 15, verso](#)
Painting of a Pansarii, [Folio 19, recto](#)
Drawing of the Pots of a Pansarii, [Folio 20, recto](#)

About Wire Making from Iron and Silver, etc., and its Tools, [Folio 21, recto](#)

Painting of the Manufacture of Iron and Silver Wire, [Folio 22, recto](#)

Drawing of Tools for Manufacturing Iron and Silver Wire, [Folio 23, recto](#)

About Making Silk Thread Covered With Gold and Silver Thread, and Gold and Silver Laces and Edgings and Its Tools, [Folio 24, recto](#)

Drawing of Tools Used to Make Silver Border Threads, [Folio 25, recto](#)

A Description of the Various Types of Kabaabs and Method of Cooking Them and Their Tools, [Folio 26, recto](#)

Painting of Kab'b Maker, [Folio 29, recto](#)

Drawing of Kabaab Maker's Tools, [Folio 30, recto](#)

About Goldsmiths and Their Tools and Names of Some Ornaments, [Folio 31, recto](#)

Names of Ornaments, [Folio 32, recto](#)

Names of Tools, [Folio 32, verso](#)

Names of Weights, [Folio 33, recto](#)

Painting of a Goldsmith, [Folio 34, recto](#)

Drawing of Tools of Goldsmith, [Folio 35, recto](#)

Drawing of Tools of Goldsmith (continued), [Folio 36, recto](#)

-
Send mail concerning this page to: [Pushkar Sohoni](mailto:Pushkar.Sohoni@upenn.edu), South Asia Studies Librarian

Bengal Civil Servants

Glyn, Robert Thomas John.

Born: September 5, 1788. Son of Richard Carr and Mary Glyn. Baptised at the Parish of St. James, Westminster on October 2, 1788.

Date of Rank as writer for the East India Company:

Sept. 27, 1804

Dates	Appointments
1807 March 11	Assistant to the Register of the Provincial Court of Benares
1807 September 25	Assistant to Magistrate of City of Benares, and to Register of Civil Court
1810 August 27	Register of the City Court of Benares
1813 April 23	Officiating as Judge and Magistrate of Bundelcund
1814	AT HOME
1817 August 27	Returned to India
1817 December 16	Additional Register of Meerut
1818 February 10	Acting Judge and Magistrate of Bareilly and Joint-Magistrate at Bolundshehir
1819 February 12	Judge and Magistrate of Bareilly
1823	AT HOME
	Out of the Service in 1828

Information from:

Dodwell, Edward.

Alphabetical list of the honourable East India Company's Bengal civil servants : from the year 1780 to the year 1838 ... To which is attached a list of the Governors-general of India, from the year 1773 to the year 1838 ... Also a ...

London : Longman, Orme, Brown and Co., 1839.

xxiv, 607 p.

[an error occurred while processing this directive]

Last Update: Monday, 06-Aug-2012 14:46:02 EDT

Send mail concerning this page to: [Pushkar Sohoni](mailto:Pushkar.Sohoni@lib.utoronto.ca), South Asia Studies Librarian