The Coat of Arms

Annual Journal of the Heraldry Society

Series 4 Volume 8 Number 242 2025

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The Society was registered in England in 1956 as registered charity no. 241456.

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e-mail: honsecheraldrysociety@googlemail.com

Membership Secretary
Jane Tunesi of Liongam
e-mail: memsec@theheraldrysociety.com

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coatofarms@theheraldrysociety.com

Printed in Exeter by Short Run Press Ltd..

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ISSN 0010-003X

Cover illustration: submission drawing from the Maharajah of Rewah 1876, source *Taylor* supplement f. 15v, courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms, see pp. 160-1.

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THE ORIGINS OF HERALDRY ON THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

PAUL A. FOX, F.S.A., F.H.S.

Abstract

This study takes as its starting point the account left by the Indian Civil Servant Robert Taylor concerning the reasoning behind the choice of elements in his heraldic designs of the year 1876, created for the rulers who had been invited to attend the 1877 Proclamation Assemblage for Queen Victoria as Empress of India in Delhi. That same year he published the drawings and blazons of the arms in a book entitled "The Princely Armory."[1] *The pre-existing arms of the rulers concerned are explored in order to define the status of heraldry in India prior to 1877, providing a baseline upon which the impact of Taylor's work is assessed.*

Introduction

We must not confuse the emblems, often hereditary, which were in use for many centuries prior to the British Raj as marks of ownership by Indian[2] rulers and noblemen, with heraldry, although they sometimes come quite close to it. Such emblems when existing alongside coats of arms would be classed as 'heraldic badges.' When heraldry began in Europe in the twelfth century some families already had familial emblems, which went on to be added to shields, and such pre-heraldic emblems are customarily referred to as 'proto-heraldry.' Proto-heraldry then existed in India both before and after Indians were exposed to the European concept of heraldry. True heraldry has existed in India only since the arrival of the first Europeans, but the usage of heraldry by Indians themselves was rare before the second half of the nineteenth century. It is this native usage and its adaptation to harmonize with the local idiom which is the concern of this paper. There must have been sporadic instances of native Indian heraldry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While all such examples are of tremendous interest, they cannot be considered as evidence of a widespread cultural development. The earliest Indian heraldry which will be noticed below is that of the kingdom of Oudh in the early nineteenth century.

The state of heraldry in India prior to 1876

An important clue to the reason why there was a growing interest of the Indian ruling classes in heraldry from the 1870s is their preoccupation with arms in a quartered format. The arms of the Honourable East India Company incorporated an antique version of the quarterly English royal arms, but it was only in the aftermath of the neutering of this company that interest in heraldry really took off. On 1st November 1858 Queen Victoria issued a proclamation to "the princes, chiefs and people of India" to announce that the government of the region would no longer be controlled by the East India Company, but by an Indian government nominated by the crown, as had been determined by the

1 Anon, *The Princely Armory* (Calcutta, 1877).

2 The terms India and Indian in this paper pertain to the Indian subcontinent and not to the modern state of India.

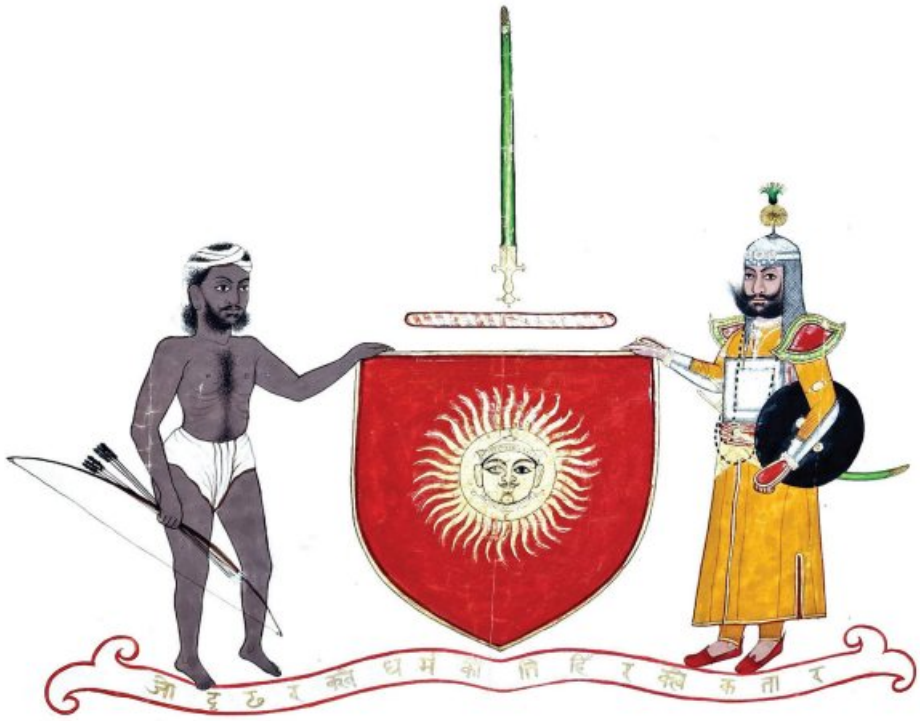


Figure 1: arms of Udaipur; above, *Figure 1a* the Maharana's submission to Taylor, from *Taylor* supplement f. 22, courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms; below, *Figure 1b*, arms painted after 1876. The golden field of the shield is atypical. Source: https://hubert-herald.nl

Government of India Act of 2nd August 1858.[3] The proclamation was headed with the quartered royal arms, and was the first occasion when it is quite certain that a very considerable number of Indians would have seen them.

In 1861 the Order of the Star of India was established, and was primarily bestowed on Indian rulers in ceremonies at which they were encouraged to have their personal devices carried before them on a banner. As a mark of royalty and nobility the ownership of a coat of arms marked out the bearer as the member of an elite club. Robert Taylor (1835-1906), an accountant in the Indian Civil Service, was first asked to design arms for a ceremony in 1869, and he did so again when the Prince of Wales visited in order to create new knights of the Order in 1875. On 1st May 1876 Queen Victoria became Empress of India, and Taylor was charged with making sure that the ninety most senior rulers who were to be present at the Proclamation Assemblage (retrospectively called a durbar) on 1st January 1877 were armigerous. The rulers were to be ceremonially presented with their arms on banners, as a gift from the Queen-Empress. At least eighteen of the rulers already possessed devices on shields, six of them in quartered designs, of which one of the quartered and one of the non-quartered coats had been approved by Garter King of Arms.[4] Taylor only permitted one of the eighteen pre-existing coats to be used in its existing form.

The Career of Robert Taylor

Robert was the fifth son of Richard Taylor (d. 1855), a town councillor and master maltster of the Abbey Foregate in Shrewsbury, by his wife Mary Coston. The family was solidly middle class, employing two malt makers and three domestic servants in the 1851 census. Robert was educated at Shrewsbury school and gained a scholarship to Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he matriculated in the Lent Term of 1855. The following year, perhaps triggered by his father's death. he sat the East India Company's Indian Civil Service examination, which he passed in eighteenth place. On 10th May 1857, while Robert was in his eighth term at Cambridge, the Indian Revolt against the East India Company broke out, which saw many Europeans being massacred in Delhi and elsewhere. The already unpopular Company was felt to have been culpable in the uprising[5], and it must be assumed that Taylor felt the need to come to its defence, since that same term he sent a letter to each of his fellow undergraduates which caused considerable bad feeling.[6] The circumstances prompted him to leave the College before taking his degree, and to depart for India.

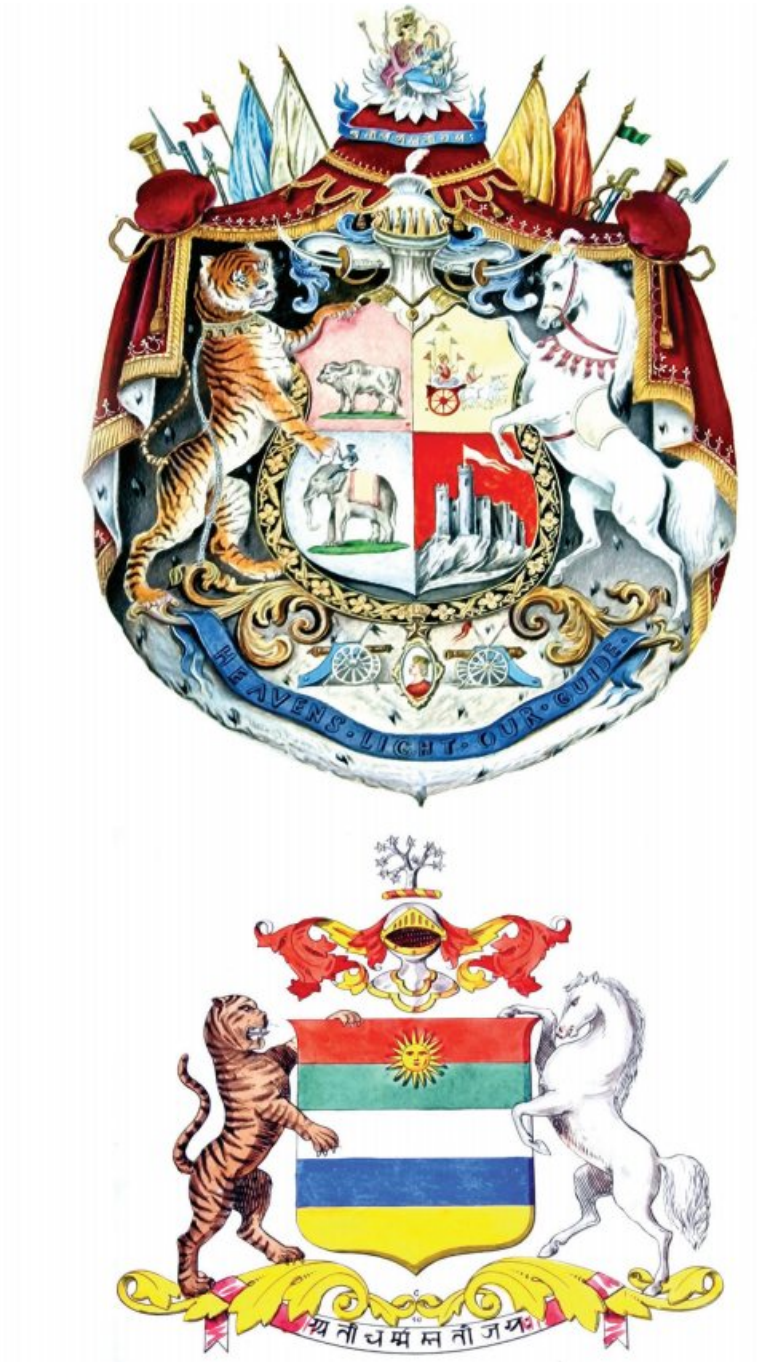
It must have taken some courage for him to head to Calcutta, which had only recently been the scene of the appalling multiple murder of innocent victims; and while the revolt was still ongoing. He is listed as a civil servant in Bengal in that year, with his first formal posting as assistant magistrate and collector in Benares commencing on

3 *An Act for the better government of India*, 2nd August 1858.

4 The rulers concerned were Alwar, Baroda, Bhavnagar, Cochin, Cooch Behar, Jaipur, Joara, Jodhpur, Kapurthala, Karauli, Kutch, Paiala, Rmapur, Ratlam, Sirmur, Travancore, Tripurah, and Udaipur.

5 *The Daily News* of 27th June 1857 resurrected longstanding criticisms of men such as Taylor, opining that: "places in the Indian government are eagerly coveted by young men of high birth and education…for rapid fortune making". It went on to criticise the rapacity of the tax collectors.

6 J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses part 2, 1752 to 1900*, 6 vols (Cambridge 1940-1954), vol. 6, p. 129. The author is grateful to Katy Green, the archivist of Magdalene College for seeking out any reference to Taylor's letter in the records of the college council. Unfortunately no such record survives.



Arms of Jaipur. Above, *Figure 2a*: the Maharajah's submission drawing to Taylor with his existing arms, source *Taylor* supplement f. 20; below, *Figure 2b*: Taylor's design, source *Taylor* no. 40. Both images courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

28th October.[7] In his career he alternated between what had been the Company's Madras and Bengal Presidencies, first going to Madras as Civil Paymaster at Lahore in 1860. He was permitted to return home to complete his Cambridge degree at St John's College, Cambridge, between 1866 and 1868.[8]

His first commission to design the arms of five rulers came in 1869 from Charles Edward Girdlestone (1839-1889) who was then under-secretary to the foreign department of the Government of India, working under the Viceroy Lord Mayo. Girdlestone had approached Taylor "as his only acquaintance with even a schoolboy's smattering of the noble science [of heraldry]."[9] It was thus through a tenuous connection that the die was cast, leading to Taylor's ongoing employment as a designer of arms. As to his suitability for the task, not only was he a keen amateur heraldist, but he was also very much interested in history and genealogy, as is evident from his notes. These preoccupations he shared with the Indian princes, of whom Viceroy Lord Lytton said: "nothing has struck me more in my intercourse thus far with Indian Rajahs and Maharajahs than the importance they attach to their family pedigrees and ancestral records."[10]

Taylor never rose to the higher ranks of the civil service, his most significant appointment being that of Governor of the Bank of Madras in 1872. In 1874 he married Ellen, daughter of William Hawkins of Dinthill, near Shrewsbury. He was charged with the great heraldic task that is the subject of this paper by letter and telegraph sent from the Viceroy's office in Simla in May 1876. At this time he was working hard as Inspector of Local Offices of Account in Bengal, based at the Office of the Comptroller General in Calcutta.[11] The official who wrote to him was a member of the organising committee for the Proclamation Assemblage, Major Edward Bradford, who was also head of the secret police.[12] Taylor was assisted by the Viceroy's foreign secretary Dr Thomas Henry Thornton, D.C.L. who as an expert linguist was much involved in the matter of mottoes, and who followed the Viceroy Lord Lytton's address at the Proclamation Assemblage with a translation in Urdu.[13] His other chief collaborator was the artist and art historian John Lockwood Kipling (1837-1911), father of Rudyard Kipling, and first Principal of the Lahore School of Arts.[14] Kipling, who made the banners for the princes with the assistance of a Mr Griffiths from the Bombay School of Arts[15], subsequently came to the attention of Queen Victoria, and was commissioned by her in 1890 to co-design the Durbar Room at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight. Although it is nowhere definitively stated, it seems probable that Kipling was the artist who drew the arms (with the same designs being used in the *Princely Armory*) in accordance with Taylor's requirements. Taylor mentions only one discussion that he had with Kipling concerning the arms, but various discussions with Thornton; there must have been many other such interactions.

7 *The Bengal Directory and Annual Register* (Calcutta, 1858), p. 13.

8 Venn, op. cit.

9 Taylor, *CA* ID 1367 (hereinafter, *Taylor*), pp. 1-2.

10 Lady Betty Balfour (ed.), *Personal and literary letters of Robert first Earl of Lytton*, 2 vols (London, 1906), vol. 2, p. 19.

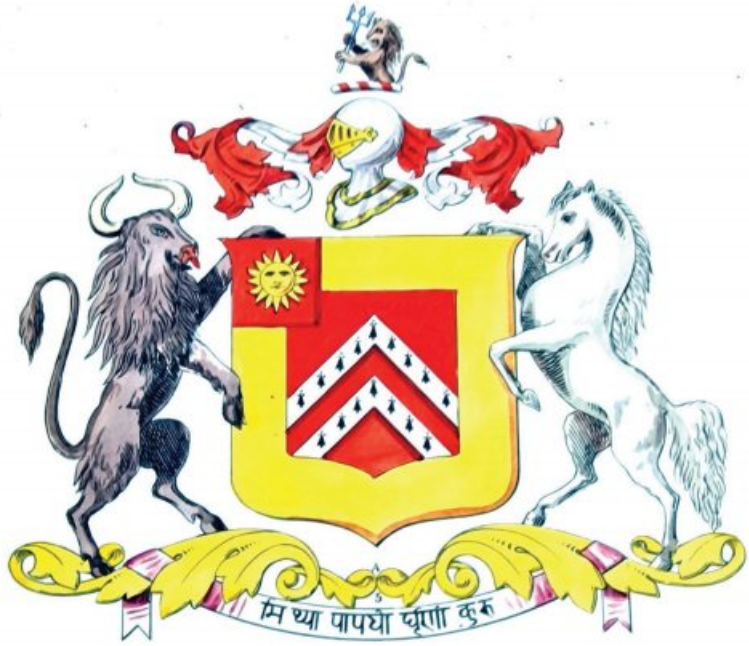
11 *Indian Army and Civil Service List* (London, 1876), p. 5.

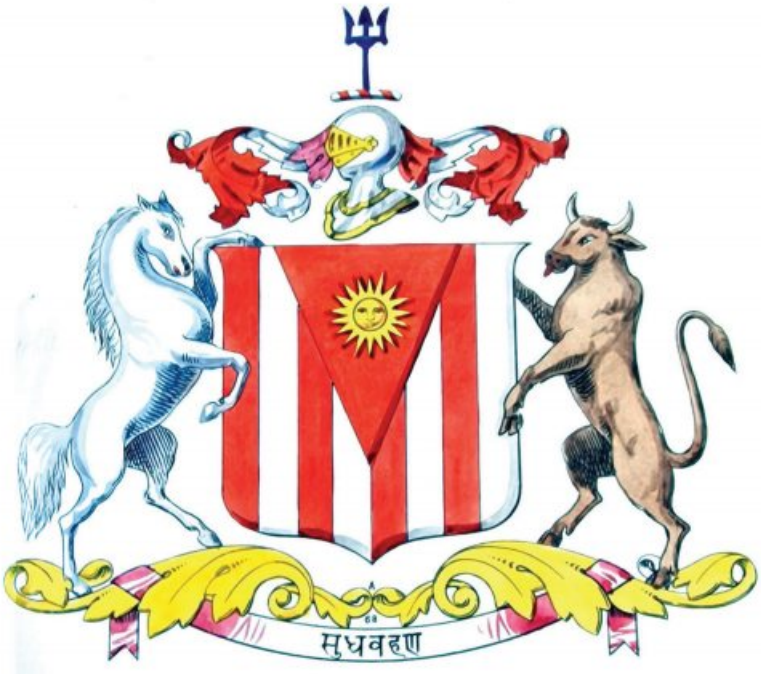
12 *Taylor*, typescript introduction p. 4. Further details of the sender of the message 'Bradford', are supplied by Bernard S. Cohn, 'Representing authority in Victorian India', in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (edd.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 165-210 (at p. 186).

13 *The Times*, Tuesday 2nd January 1877, p. 5.

14 *The Times*, Monday 1st January 1877, p. 5.

15 *BL* IOR/L/PS/7/12 p. 445, Enclosure no. 14.





Solar Rajputs. Above, *Figure 3a*, Taylor's design for Banswara, source, *Taylor* no. 5; below, *Figure 3b*: Taylor's design for Partabgarh, source, *Taylor* no. 68. Both images courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

The rulers selected for the presentation of banners

All of the rulers who were eligible for gun salutes in connection with their territories were to receive banners as a gift from the Queen-Empress.[16] The list as it stood at the time of the assemblage was appended to the account of the event sent by the Indian government to the British government.[17] This list included 89 rulers for three of whom arms were not devised, almost certainly because the three were late additions, and had not been on the list supplied to Taylor.[18] In order to make the tally up to 89 Taylor added four rulers who were eligible for personal gun salutes i.e. not in connection with their territories.[19] There was confusion concerning the status of the Maharaja of Benares, for whom Taylor devised arms, but who was not presented with a banner.[20] According to the official list he was entitled to a thirteen gun salute for his territory, but elsewhere in the official proceedings he was stated as being "a titular but not a ruling chief", as was the Guicowar of Baroda, who received a banner![21] The ruler of Benares was present at the Assemblage, where he was treated with great honour, but only among the spectators as a distinguished visitor, alongside the Khan of Khelat. Taylor had a personal fondness for the Maharajah of Benares, his first official posting having been in that state, and he designed arms for the ruler which were not officially presented.

The initial supposition of the Indian government was that many rulers would not wish to attend, but in fact every single ruler accepted the invitation.[22] As it transpired on the day only 51 of the 89 for whom banners were made attended. This might have been in large measure due to the onset of plague in southern India, as a consequence of which the organisers let it be known that no offence would be caused by failure to attend. The official figure of the number of "great chiefs" who attended was 63, the discrepancy being due to the inclusion of some rulers who were not entitled to any kind of gun salute, personal or otherwise.[23]

The banners were bestowed by the Viceroy at private audiences over the six days which preceded the assembly, in order to avoid complex issues of precedency. *The Times* newspaper reported that just over 70 were given out, while the official figure was 77. These numbers included 26 rulers who were received, but not for the granting of banners.[24] An analysis has been undertaken of the 20 coats of arms by Taylor which were subsequently rejected for personal use by the recipients, in terms of whether or not they attended the assemblage (see **Appendix**). There was no relationship between attendance and non-attendance in terms of the acceptability of the arms, with half of the arms being rejected by attenders and half by non-attenders (i.e. 10/51 versus 10/38, or 19% versus 26% being rejected, respectively, which is not a statistically significant difference)

16 *Taylor*, p. 209.

17 *BL* IOR/L/PS/7/12 pp. 413-415, Enclosure no. 10.

18 These were the Khan of Khelat, with whom the Viceroy was in negotiation in the immediate prelude to the Assemblage, plus the Sultan of Fudhli and the Sultan of Lahej.

19 These were the rulers of Janjira, Tehri Garwal, Dharampur and Bansda.

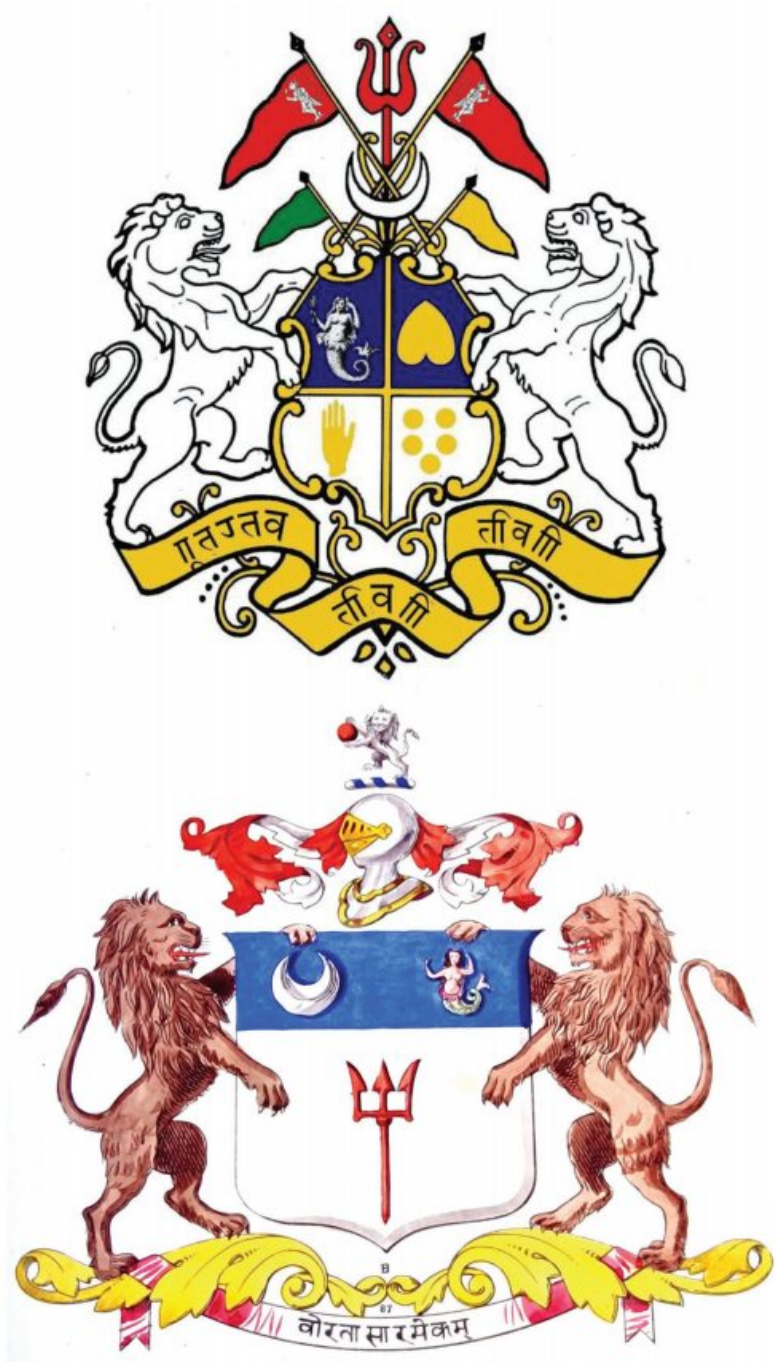
20 Thus the total number of banners made was 89.

21 *BL* IOR/L/PS/7/12, p. 407, Enclosure no. 6.

22 Balfour, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 31.

23 *The Times* 1st January 1877, p. 5; Cohn, op. cit., p. 192, citing *BL* IOR/L/PS/7/12 p. 363. The names of the 63 are given on pp. 371-3.

24 The names of the 77 are given in *BL* IOR/L/PS/7/12, pp. 403-406, being published as a *Government of India Extraordinary* dated 30th December 1876.



A Lunar Rajput. Above, *Figure 4a*, arms used by the Rajah of Tripurah before and after 1876, public domain; below, *Figure 4b*: the arms designed for him by Taylor, source, *Taylor* no. 87, courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

The consultation process and what the rulers wanted

It would have taken time to produce the actual banners, leaving Taylor less than six months to complete his task. To make matters worse communications were slow, and repeat correspondence was necessary with all the rulers through their residents or political agents. These were Britons who acted as minders; they combined the roles of diplomat, advisor, and monitor. Not all of the agents replied, and when they did, the information provided was not always very helpful. The Viceroy decreed that only the rulers themselves should determine the colour of the shield and the motto, which explains why not all of the arms were given mottoes.

Meanwhile Taylor gathered all the background information that might serve as sources of inspiration. He looked at flags and coins, while taking a keen interest in family histories and legends. When all else failed he might fall back on religion or geography as sources of inspiration. Sometimes he found himself in direct communication with the ruler. He received many proposal sketches, in some instances several different designs for one state, drawn out either in accordance with the instructions of the agent in dialogue with the ruler, or sometimes at the direct instigation of the ruler. Taylor also received drawings of flags, detailed histories, and embossed stationery showing existing arms, many of the latter doubtless printed in London.

Taylor would not permit the usage of existing quarterly arms, even if they had already been approved by Garter King of Arms. He believed that if he permitted this usage for one ruler then all the others would insist upon it, since to their eyes quarterly arms were clearly the mark of royalty. He very likely felt that this was a debased form of heraldry, since such arms are not properly marshalled, being what David F. Phillips has termed as 'clipart quartering.'[25] Moreover, the design of quarterly arms would have taken longer, and time was pressing. Taylor dealt with the pre-existing quarterly arms (two of which had been designed by an itinerant Polish artist called Brukowski, based in Calcutta) by making the first quarter the principal charge, sometimes placing the second quarter on a chief or a canton.

Apart from quarterings, common requests for charges, crests and supporters included the sun (for reasons which will shortly be elaborated), certain Hindu gods, most commonly Hanuman and Krishna, favourite weapons, sacred cows, elephants, and specific fortifications.

Taylor's design themes

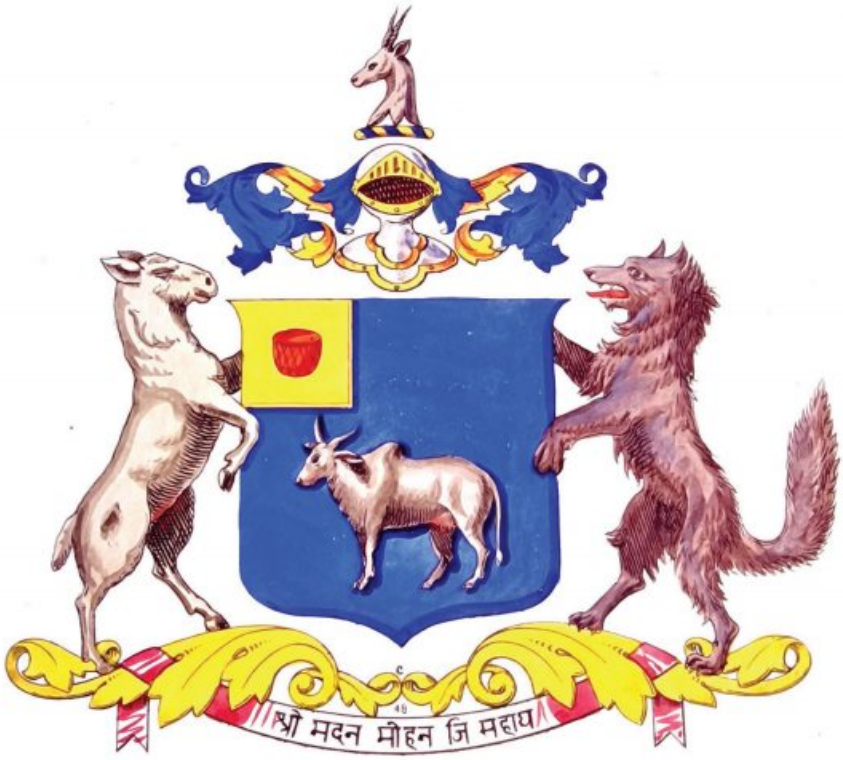
From the record which Taylor made of the design process it is clear that his top priority was to link together rulers who had shared ancestry using heraldic themes.

1. Genealogy.

1a. The Solar Rajputs

Taylor gave primacy in his records to the Maharana of Udaipur, whom he contended was the most prestigious of all the Hindu princes through his descent from the God Rama, who was in turn descended from the sun god Surya. The primary emblem which had been used by the family for many centuries was a sun in splendour carrying the face of Surya. The radiant sun, but lacking a human face, and surrounded with stars, had long

25 David F. Phillips, *Emblems of the Indian States* (Winchester, MA, 2011), p. 15.



Arms for Karauli. Above, *Figure 5a*: as designed by Taylor, source *Taylor* no. 48; below left, *Figure 5b*: painting submitted to Taylor in 1876, source *Taylor* supplement f. 17v, Figures 5a and 5b both courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms; below right, *Figure 5c*: Maharajah's letterhead of 1942, public domain.

been the emblem of the Mughal Emperors, which made it doubly auspicious.[26] Such was the gravitas of the Maharana of Udaipur that his was the only coat of arms submitted (**Figure 1a**) which was agreed by Taylor without modification, other than the inclusion of a western-style helmet, which hardly counts. The Maharana was quick to replace this helmet with a lingam stone sitting in a yoni (**Figure 1b**), these representations of the male and female genitalia being important objects of veneration in Hindu temples.[27]

There were seven other ruling houses which were understood by Taylor to share the solar ancestry of Udaipur, and of these five were granted the sun in splendour on their shields. Banswara (**Figure 3a**) and Barwani were granted the sun on a canton, while in the cases of Partabgarh (**Figure 3b**) and Dharapur the sun was placed on a pile. Jaipur received the sun on a field of the rainbow-like Panchranga flag used by solar Rajputs (**Figure 2**), while the sixth solar house, Alwar, was allocated other charges on the Panchranga. The seventh, Dungarpur, took as its principal charge the man-monkey warrior god Hanuman, a companion of the ancestral Rama, with two swastikas above.[28]

1b. The Lunar rulers

Taylor was a little reluctant to permit dynasties claiming descent from the moon god Chandra to use the crescent moon on their arms, preferring instead the antelope as Chandra's steed. The rulers of Jaisalmer and Faridkot, who were related, were both given antelope supporters speckled with charges. In the case of Jaisalmer these were besants, while those of Faridkot were crescents, but the rulers of both states dropped the secondary charges from the animals. The Jam of Nawanagar had a crescent on his submitted design. This was disallowed and he received instead antelope supporters and an antelope head for a crest, which his heir changed to a lion passant. The Rajah of Tripurah had a crescent crest on his existing quartered arms, which Taylor allowed him to retain on the dexter chief of his shield, but the new device was entirely rejected and the original arms retained (**Figure 4**). Finally, the Maharajah of Karauli had an increscent as a crest above his existing quarterly arms, which Taylor changed to an antelope head, but in this instance the ruler accepted the new arms with the personal modification of adding a large increscent the upper part of his shield (**Figure 5**).

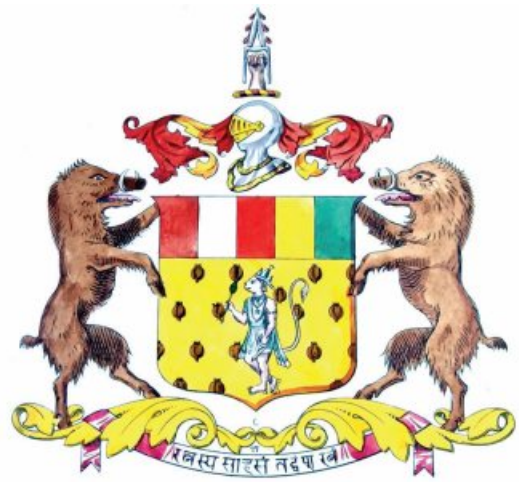
1c. Rathore raptors

Eight ruling families were linked to the Maharajahs of Jodhpur, and these Taylor linked together by granting them birds of prey on the shield or crest, or as supporters (**Figure 6a**). Possibly he was struck by the similarity of the words Rathore and raptor. These were all blazoned as [brown] falcons, although in his notes he describes the birds of Jodhpur itself (for which they serve as the principal charge on the shield and as both supporters) as hawks. The Jodhpur hawks are specifically kites of the goddess Devi. The

26 This presumably dates to the reign of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) who introduced sun worship as part of his syncretic "Divine Monotheism."

27 Harold B. Pereira, 'Indian Heraldry part 4', *CoA* vol. 8 (1964-65), pp. 292-297 (at 293). The linga and yoni are stated as being "the universal emblem of Shiva worship", Shiva being the god associated with the midday sun, see Rev. E. Osborn Martin, *The Gods of India* (London, 1914), pp. 37, 166.

28 Bowring in the introduction to his *Armory* (see below) counted nine ruling houses of the Sisodias tribe of Solar Rajputs, including the Rana of Alirajpur (see below), and the kings of Nepal. He placed the rulers of Jaipur, Alwar and Chamba in a different tribe, the Kachwaha Rajputs, who also claimed solar descent.



Above left, *Figure 6a*: Taylor's arms of Jodhpur displayed on the palace gates, source https://hubert-herald.nl; above right, *Figure 6b*: Taylor's design for Ratlam, source, *Taylor* no. 77; below left, *Figure 6c*: Taylor's design for Sitamau, source, *Taylor* no. 79, Figures 6b and 6c courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms; below right, *Figure 6d*: Rajah of Sitamau's letterhead of 1944.

multi-striped flag of Jodhpur, tenné, argent, gules, or and vert, was placed as the field on the shield of the Maharajah, and was used as a visual link to three of the other related states. The flag was placed as a chief on the shields of Kishangarh and Ratlam (**Figure 6b**), and as a canton on the shield of Idar. The colour tenné, actually saffron, or salmon pink, is rarely used in heraldry, and stands for the sacred Hindu colour bhagwa. Its use as a bordure for Sailana and Sitamau (**Figure 6c/d**) was stated to reflect tributary status to Sindh (now in Pakistan), the Sindhi Hindus having used the revered colour on their flags. The Rathor falcon appears as the crest of Kishangarh, Idar and Jhabua and on the shields of Bikaner and Sailana.

1d. The bloody Bundelas

Taylor heraldically linked together six princely houses, the Bundela Rajputs**,** based on their common descent from a spot of blood, for each of which a key charge on the shield was *Or gutty de sang*. The blood spots were placed on a saltire in the case of Datia (**Figure 7a**), on the chevron of Orchha (**Figure 7b**), on the chief of Panna, and on a pale in the instances of Charkhari, Bijawar (**Figure 7d**) and Ajaigarh.

1e. Phulkian ermine

The Sikh rulers of the Phulkian dynasty (descended from Phul) in Jind, Nabha and Patiala **(Figures 8a to 8d)** were linked heraldically by the ermine fields of their shields. Each also had small round target shields with golden bosses. The ermine fur was not well understood in India, and only Nabha retained it, while Jind converted the ermine spots into a field of roundels.

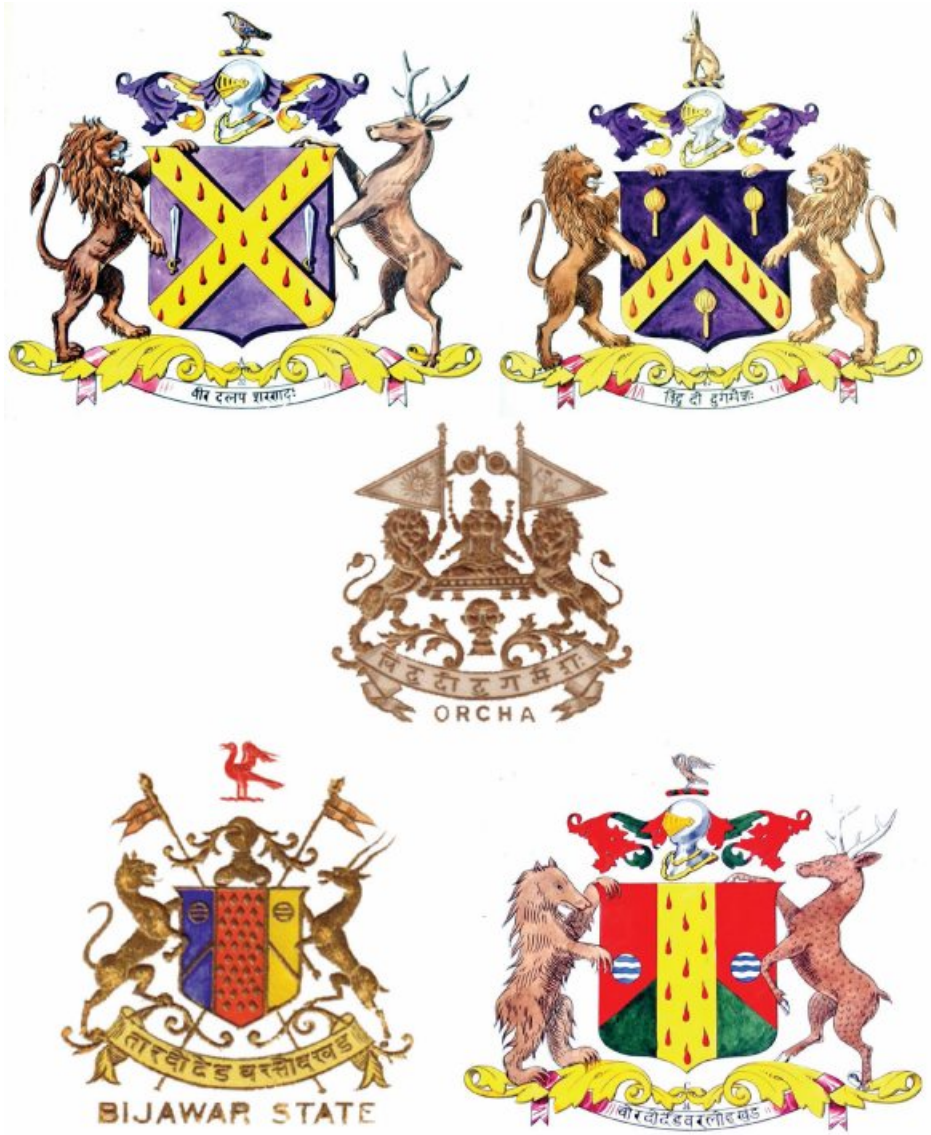
1f. Created from fire

Five of the states for which Taylor devised arms belonged to the Pramar dynasty of Rajputs, descended from Parmar, who according to legend was created out of fire by the god of fire on Mount Abu. Taylor gave rulers from this group flames on their arms, as well as ogresses, crests of paired wings; and four of the five received elephant supporters. The elephant is not only a suitable emblem for majesty in India, it also reminds Hindus of the elephant god Ganesha, who as the god of good luck embodies success in life.[29] No explanation is given for the ogresses, but it seems probable that the source of inspiration was the shield *Or a torteau* submitted by the Rajah of Santh (**Figure 9a**). The symbolism of the submission seems clear: the red spot is the bindi, placed on the forehead and representing the third eye or the ajna chakra, associated with inner wisdom and spiritual awakening. Taylor has converted it into a black spot (ogress), which has an entirely different significance, being used to ward off the evil eye, a mark of protection and good fortune to a Hindu. The elephant supporters were taken from the same submission drawing. Thus the arms of Santh became *Or an ogress between three flames*, with elephant supporters and a crest of a pair of wings addorsed Or (**Figure 9b**). The arms were rejected by the Rajah, who took instead the quasi-heraldic device of a man holding a bow and arrow emerging from the sacred fire pit on Mount Abu, while sitting close by is the three faced fire god. This diorama is not on a shield, and cannot therefore be counted as truly heraldic, but in the manner of heraldry it had two lion supporters holding pennons, and a sun crest.

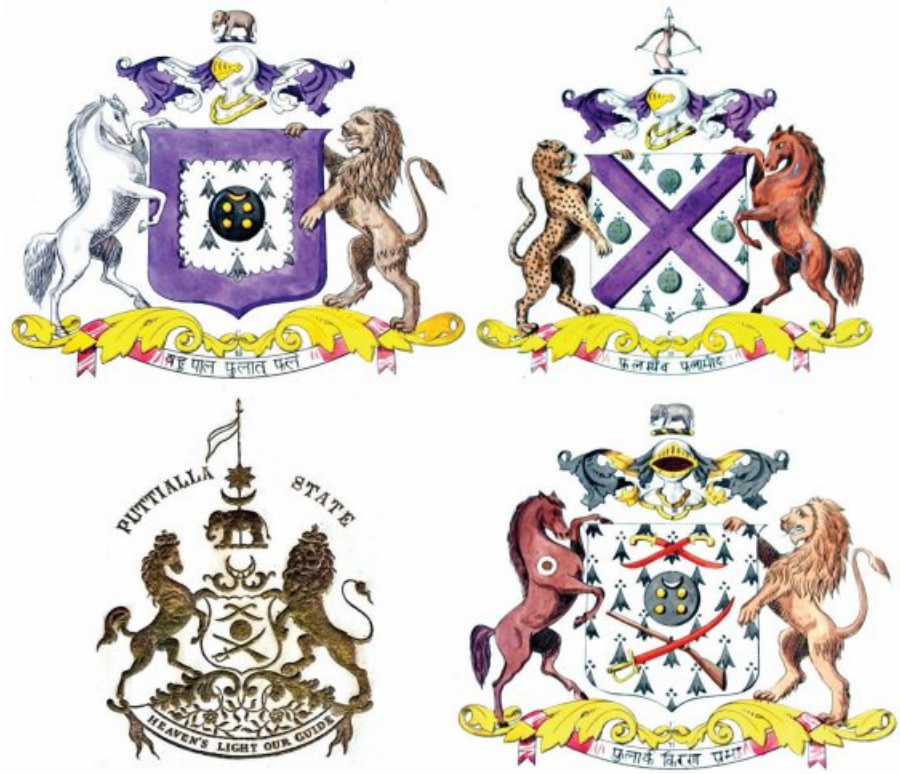
The rajahs of Dewas Senior (**Figure 9c**) and of Dewas Junior had the principal charge on their shield of the god Hanuman differenced with the principal charges from the shield of Santh, which for Dewas Senior were placed on a chief and for Dewas Junior were on a border. Taylor was really not very good at blazoning, and while he correctly described the ogresses on the Dewas arms with the alternative name of pellets, he described the ogress of Santh as a globe.[30] If a globe was really intended, why would it be black? The Rajah of Chhatapur was granted the shield of Santh with a colour change.

29 *Taylor*, p. 237, as Taylor was informed by Sir Tanjore Madava Rao, the chief minister of the ruler of Baroda.

30 Globe appears to be Taylor's word for a large roundel.



Bundela Rajputs. Above left, *Figure 7a*: Taylor's arms for Datia, source, *Taylor* no. 33; above right, *Figure 7b*: Taylor's arms for Orchha, source, *Taylor* no. 66; centre, *Figure 7c*: letterhead of the Maharajah of Orchha dating from the 1930s; below left, *Figure 7d*:, Rajah of Bijawar's letterhead; below right, *Figure 7e*: Taylor's arms for Bijawar, source, *Taylor* no. 14. Figures 7a, 7b and 7e are courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms, the remainder are in the public domain.

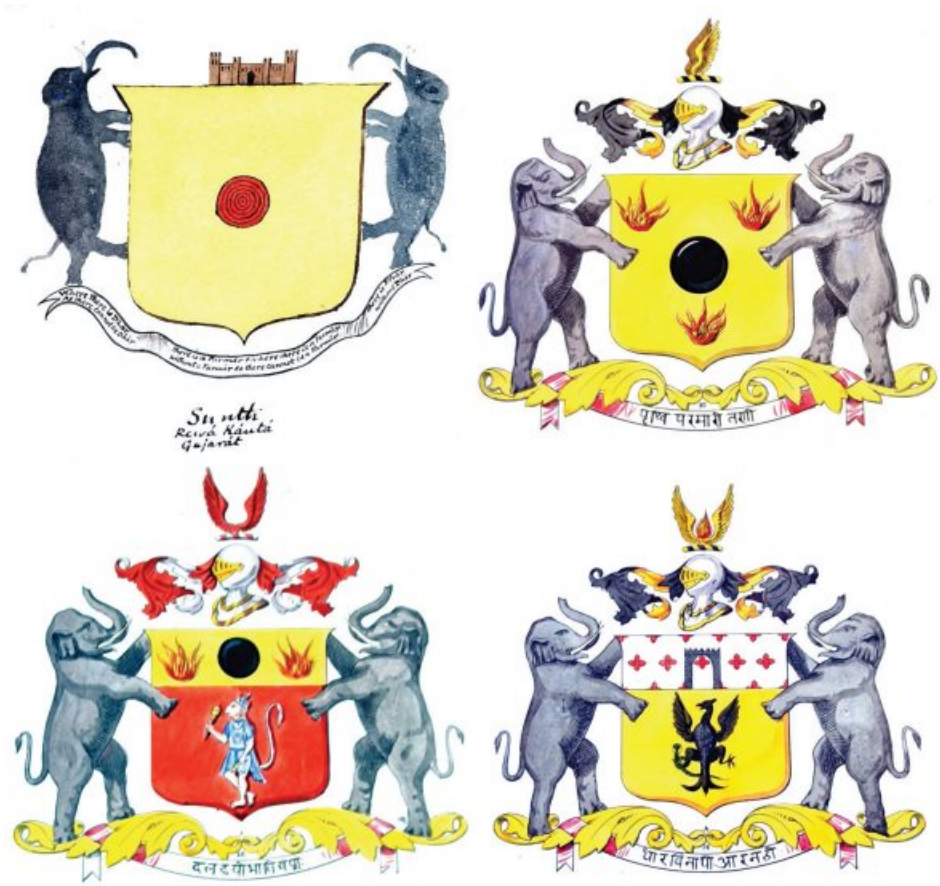


Phulkian ermine. Above left, *Figure 8a*: Taylor's design for Jind, source *Taylor* no. 43; Above right, *Figure 8b*: Taylor's design for Nabha, source *Taylor* no. 59; below left, *Figure 8c*: Patiala letterhead from 1867, source *Taylor* supplement f.35; below right, *Figure 8d*: Taylor's arms for Patiala, source *Taylor* no. 71. All the images are courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

As a further distinction a palm branch was added on a canton, which served a canting device for Khajurai, the ancient capital of Chhatapur, whose name means date-palm in Hindi. The blazon was: *Murrey a globe between three flames or; on a canton argent a palm-leaf in pale proper*.[31] Murrey is defined by Taylor as a darker shade of tenné or saffron (and therefore a type of bhagwa), a deep brownish-red colour.

The final member of this group, Dhar, submitted its own proposal sketch for a shield, and since the Santh scheme could not easily be incorporated into it, the flame was placed between the wings of the crest. The proposal sketch had quatrefoil lotuses in chief to represent the famous flowers on Lake Nando. The castle of Nando was to be represented

31 As another example of Taylor's poor blazoning the palm leaf was described as being per pale instead of the corrected version given here.



Fire-born Rajputs. Above left, *Figure 9a*: submission drawing from the Rajah of Santh, from *Taylor*, supplement f. 43; above right, *Figure 9b*: Taylor's design for Santh, source *Taylor* no. 83; below left, *Figure 9c*: Taylor's design for Dewas Senior, source *Taylor* no. 26; below right, *Figure 9d*: Taylor's design for Dhar, source *Taylor* no. 28. All images are courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

as a tower, but Taylor used instead the Gateway of Mandu fort. Taylor made the principal charge the eagle Garuda, the god Vishnu's mount, holding a serpent (**Figure 9d**), which had not been requested.

Another dynastic grouping, the Chohan Rajputs, also believed themselves to have been created from fire, and for the arms of the four of the five rulers concerned Taylor incorporated a warrior emerging from flames. Three of the rulers had this charge placed on their shields, with the arms of Bundi (**Figure 10a**) serving as the apparent precursor, while the Rajahs of Baria and of Chhota Udaipur had the same device differenced with a border. Kotah was given a shield based on its flag of the god Garuda, and here the demi-warrior arising from the flames was made into a crest (**Figure 10b/c**) Kotah's sister state of Jhalawar similarly had Garuda on the shield. Since the sun from the flag of Kotah was relocated by Taylor to become a crest (rather imprecisely blazoned as a star, and drawn

More fire-born Rajputs. Above left, *Figure 10a*, Taylor's design for Bundi, source, *Taylor* no. 16; above right, *Figure 10b*, the flag of Kotah, source https://hubert-herald.nl; middle left, *Figure 10c*: Taylor's design for Kotah, source, *Taylor* no. 52; middle right, *Figure 10d*: Taylor's design for Nagod, source, *Taylor* no. 60; below, *Figure 10e*: letterhead of the Rajah of Nagod in 1940. Figures 10a, 10c and 10d are courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms. The other images are in the public domain.

by Kipling[?] as an estoile), there was no room for the fiery man, but some uniformity was maintained through the dragon supporters given to four of the five rulers. The dragon was reported as being a family emblem of the Maharao of Kotah, likely chosen for its fire breathing propensity. The exception to the uniform dragon supporters was Bundi, whose ruler had engaged in dialogue with Taylor, and had specifically requested sacred cows.

The Rajah of Nagod, one of the Parihar Rajputs, is considered to share a common descent with the Chohan Rajputs from a fire-born ancestor[32], and was granted four flames on his shield of *Party per fesse vert and gules, a trident between four flames or* (**Figure 10d**). The other inspiration for this shield was the ruler's flag, which the British representative described to Taylor as green and red and charged with a sword and a trident.[33] The arms were adopted with a change of supporters from sarahs (a type of ibis) to bears, while the flames themselves were put out. On the Rajah's letterhead of 1940 the flames have become mounds (**Figure 10e**).

1g. The Tiger Race

The Vaghel dynasty which ruled two states for which Taylor designed arms had an affinity with the tiger and was called the Tiger Race. The Maharajah of Rewah submitted a shield design (**Figure 11a**) with a tiger and two tilluks in chief, the tilluk being a religious emblem worn at all times by the Maharajah. It is the V-shaped mark worn on the forehead by followers of Vishnu. Taylor accepted this design in principle, reducing the number of tilluks from two to one. For good measure he added two tiger supporters, while one of the two mottoes was *Mrigendra prati dwandwa tamma prayat* (Don't fight with tigers). The second motto, above the crest, was *Sri Hari Sharnam* (Holy Hari [Krishna] protecting), Krishna being an avatar of Vishnu. Rather surprisingly the ruler rejected this design, adopting instead a quasi-heraldic emblem without a shield. It had two tigers holding a flag, and between them an Indian dagger or kuttar (**Figure 11b**).

The Rana of Lunavada requested a tiger crest, and was given instead a tiger as the principal charge on his shield. He chose as supporters two saras (*Ibis leococephalus*), and these were granted. To unite the two ruling houses Taylor gave to them both the crest of a hand appaumé holding a flame, for which he provided no explanation. This must have been chosen because the Vaghel were fire-born[34], but some specific religious symbolism seems likely. Possibly this is the hand of Shiva holding the fire that will destroy the universe. Lunavada takes its name from the Luneshwar Mahader, a temple of the Lord Shiva. The motto chosen was *Vado Vaumsa Vaghel* (The Great Race of the Vaghel). The Rana was content with these arms and adopted them without change.

32 Bowring divided the fire-born Rajputs (the Agnikula), into four tribes, the Chohans, the Chalukias, the Pramars, and the Parihars.

33 Taylor pp. 100-101.

34 Harold B. Pereira, 'Indian Heraldry part 2', *CoA* vol. 8 (1964-65), pp. 206-210 (at 206-7). The rulers of Rewah, Lunavada and Bansda were related, being Rajputs of the Chalukias tribe. As such they were fire-born Agnikulas. Taylor similarly made the principal charge on the shield of Bansda three hands appaumé sable, each holding a flame.

Left, *Figure 11a*, submission drawing from the Maharajah of Rewah, source *Taylor* supplement f. 15v, courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms; right, *Figure 11b*: letterhead of the Maharajah of Rewah in 1945, public domain.

2. Religious focus

The first example in this category is a coat of arms entirely composed of Hindu religious symbolism, its key components chosen by the ruler of Dhrangadhra who in 1874 assumed a shield with a field semy of Brahmin bulls, charged with three canopied balconies taken from from the shrine of the ancestress and tutelary deity Shakti Mata (**Figure 12**). Taylor removed the bulls from the field and made them the supporters.[35] The crest is the hand of the same deity wearing a bracelet (**Figure 12b**).

Taylor was clearly interested in Hindu mythology and put a lot of effort into researching suitable arms for the Maharajah of Mysore.[36] He entered into a detailed correspondence with B. Lewis Rice (1837-1927) who was then Inspector of Schools in Mysore, and a great authority on the ancient stone inscriptions of the region. Rice resided in Bangalore, where he was principal of the High School for Boys. Rice wrote on 15th September 1876, stating that the boar had long been used on the royal seals of Mysore, but when Taylor proposed to use the boar as a crest for Mysore, representing the third avatar of Vishnu, he received an urgent telegram from Bangalore stating that this could not be permitted, since the boar is obnoxious to Muslims. He opted instead for a lion, as the mount of the tutelary goddess of war Chamunda (a version of Kali), in this instance carrying an antelope head in the mouth.

For the principal charge he selected one from a series of fifteen drawings of artworks from the temples and palaces of Mysore (doubtless sent by Rice), choosing the double-headed eagle which had been the favourite badge of the previous ruler, and was reported to adorn in many of the palace walls. The eagle is Gandaberunda, a fierce avatar of

35 *Taylor*, pp. 119-120.
36 *Taylor*, pp. 156-162.

Above left, *Figure 12a*: submission drawing from the Raj Saheb of Dhrangadhra, source *Taylor* supplement f. 37v; above right, *Figure 12b*: Taylor's design for Dhrangadhra, source *Taylor* no. 32; below left, *Figure 12c*: drawing submitted to Taylor in connection with Mysore of the eagle Gandaberunda; below right, *Figure 12d*: Taylor's arms for Mysore, source, *Taylor* no. 57. All images are courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

Vishnu possessing immense strength, often depicted lifting four elephants simultaneously (**Figure 12c**). Berunda means 'terrible' in Sanskrit. Vishnu was tamed by an avatar of Shiva in the form of the half elephant and half lion gajasimha, which was fittingly made the supporter of the arms (**Figure 12d**). Taylor utilised a photograph of this monster which Rice had taken at the Jalakandeswarar temple, dedicated to Shiva, in Vellore.[37]

An aspect of which Taylor was apparently unaware was that the previous Maharajah of Mysore, Krishnaraja Wadiyar III (1794-1868) had, as he understood, "secured a heraldic mark of distinction from Queen Victoria" in 1867. This was through the agency of the chief commissioner in Mysore, Lewin Bentham Bowring (1824-1910), who from

37 *Taylor*, p. 161

1858 to 1862 had served as private secretary to the Viceroy.[38] Apart from the intrinsic interest of this mysterious heraldic distinction, the nature of which has not as yet been determined, the significance of Bowring's connection with the Maharajah is that he was a close friend of Lewis Rice. Bowring and Rice had together founded the Bowring Institute in Bangalore in 1868, which still exists as a private members' club with an excellent library.

Taylor's high quality local intelligence gathering here paid off, his arms for Mysore being adopted by the maharajahs. They were still being used by Krishnaraja IV (1895-1940), and indeed Gandaberunda has remained as the emblem of the province of Karnataka.

The Maharaj Rana of Dholpur, through his political agent Major Thomas Dennehy, designed arms full of Hindu religious symbolism (**Figure 13a**). The primary charge of the god Hanuman on a golden field was based on the state flag which had been in use since 1760.[39] The deity is shown carrying a hill, which alludes to a particular legend in which Hanuman embarks on a rescue mission to find a healing plant. Unable to identify the correct plant on reaching the specified location, he returns with the whole hill.[40] The chief azure on the shield utilises the colour of the previous flag and is charged with two towers representing the forts of Dholpur and Bari. The sword on the chief alluded to the fact that the Ranas had gained distinction through the sword, emphasized by the sword bearing warrior supporters who wear antique armour preserved by the family. The crest of a demi-manlion represents Narasimha, an avatar of the god Vishnu with the body of a man and the head and claws of a lion. He was the tutelary god of the prince, "whose image was to be met with everywhere about the palace." In the submission Narasimha emerges from an oriental crown, which Taylor would not allow, but the ruler continued to use his own version, as is evident from the revenue stamps of the state. The motto, in Sanskrit is *Mitramitra amitramitra* (Sure friend, sure foe).

The ruler who entered into discussions about heraldry with the greatest enthusiasm was the only woman at that time enthroned, the Begum of Bhopal, Sultan Shah Jahan, who ruled in her own right from 1868 to1901.[41] She had a highly developed intellect and, as a writer, an historian, and a progressive ruler, was very keen for her arms to reflect her Islamic faith. The green colour of the shield was an obvious choice as the Prophet had habitually worn a cloak and turban of this colour, and thus it is sacred for Muslims (**Figure 13b**). Geography and history were to also play their part: the Begum was keen to have a tower as the principal charge on the shield to represent the fort of Fateghur which had more than once preserved her ancestors from annihilation. The twelve flowers around the tower are the Prophet's flower which grows in the Peshawar Valley, its five petalled flowers, bearing at the tip crimson spots, marking the Prophet's cares. They are twelve in number for the twelve imams of Shia Islam. She chose the Mahavir fish as supporters for three reasons, firstly, because "a fish is feminine"[42], secondly, as an emblem of the great lake of Bhopal, and thirdly, because the fish had been given to

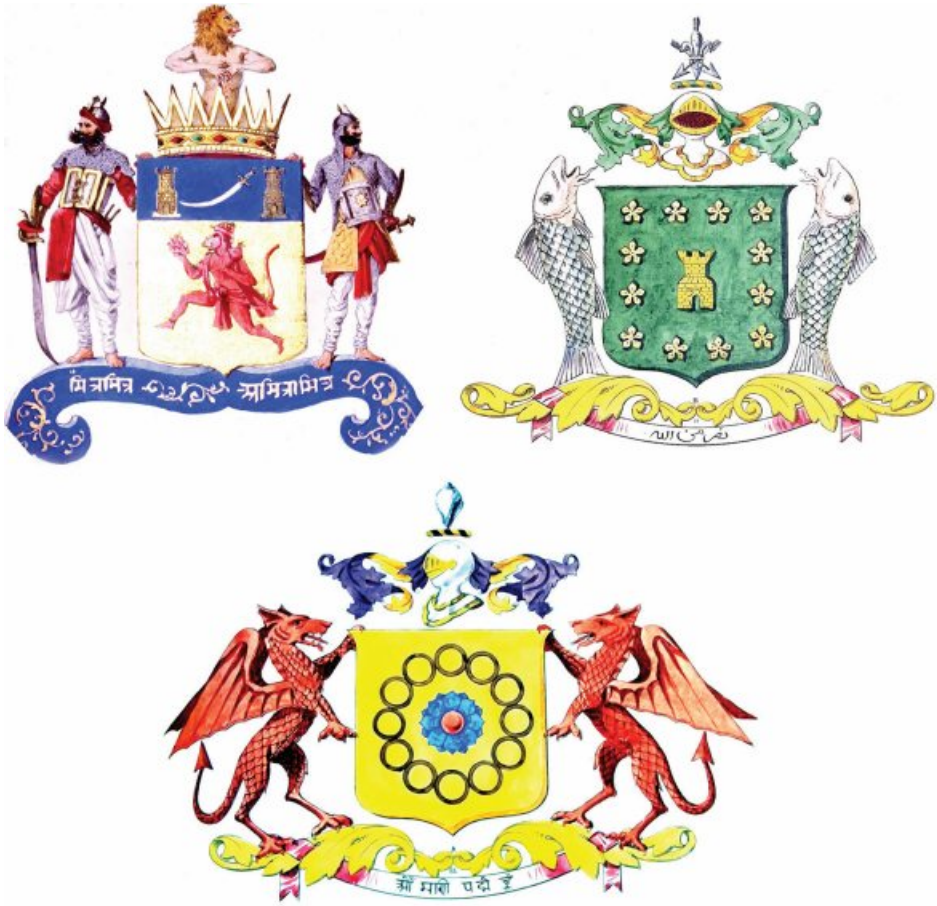
38 The source of this information is a letter dated 5th August 1867 from the Maharajah to his "honored and esteemed friend L. Bowring, esq.", then in London. The salient facts are provided by the auction catalogue of Dominic Winter Auctioneers, 7th October 2020, lot 84, no. 1. Unfortunately only the first page was published in the catalogue, and not the page in question.

39 *Taylor*, pp. 147-151.

40 Pereira part 2, op. cit., p. 210.

41 *Taylor*, pp. 179-181.

42 Presumably because male fish have no external genitalia.



Arms inspired by religion. Above left, *Figure 13a*: submission drawing to Taylor from the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur, source, *Taylor* supplement f. 31; above right, *Figure 13b*: Taylor's design for Bhopal, source, *Taylor* no. 11; below, *Figure 13c*: Taylor's design for Sikkim, source, *Taylor* no. 81. All images courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

Bhopal by Hyderabad as an honorific emblem (the *Mahi Maratib*) in 1728. The lily crest was the relic of a previous design for a banner made by a coach painter in Bombay, which was felt to be suitable for a princess, the associated arrows reminding that she came from a line of warriors. The motto completed the Islamic theme: *Nasr min Allah* (Victory is from God). With such thought having gone into the design the arms were adopted by her successors, as can be seen from the postage stamps of 1908 and 1930, although a round shield was preferred to the European heater shields utilised by Taylor.

As he had done with Mysore, Taylor invested much thought and energy in the design of arms for his only Buddhist ruler, the Maharajah of Sikkim.[43] He noted that

43 *Taylor*, pp. 163-166, 240.

the Rajah was so deeply immersed in his religion that his house was like a monastery, and his personage was always surrounded by monks. The colour of the field and the conch crest were suggested by the local political agent Mr Edgar. Conch shells are blown by Buddhist monks during ceremonies, and Taylor understood them to be revered objects. He regretted that he felt unable to include the distinctive crescent and annulet combination found on the royal banner, deciding instead to utilise as the principal charge a blue lotus or padma (**Figure 13c**). This is a powerful Buddhist symbol of wisdom, knowledge and enlightenment on which the Buddha is customarily depicted as sitting. The lotus flower on the shield has been surrounded with twelve circles representing the twelve nidanas of Buddhism, the cycle of cause and effect that leads to suffering and rebirth. The dragon supporters were adopted simply because they feature prominently in Buddhist literature. The motto is the Buddhist chant *Om mani padme hum* (Oh, the jewel of creation is in the Lotus).

Sikkim went its own way in 1947, although as a protectorate of India from 1950. The monarchy, which had continued to use Taylor's arms, was abolished in 1975, and the country became merged with India as its 22nd state.

Arms for Jammu and Kashmir. Left, *Figure 14a*: submission to Taylor from the Maharajah, source, *Taylor* supplement f. 14; right, *Figure 14b*: Taylor's design, source *Taylor* no. 19. Both images courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

3. Geography

The arms of the Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir were clearly very strongly influenced by one of the submissions received by Taylor from which he copied the crest and supporters exactly. On the submitted shield were three stylised purple mountains to represent the Himalayas, decorated with flowers (**Figure 14a**). Taylor refined this to become *Purpure, three barrulets indented argent, between the upper pair three white roses, barbed and seeded proper*, the three bars dancetty being for the three lines of the Himalayas in the territory, and the three roses for the valley of Kashmir (**Figure 14b**). The crest of the sun in splendour was an established emblem, previously displayed not only on the uniforms of the guard (as worn by the supporters), but also on the royal flag. It had earlier made an appearance on stamps issued in about 1860 (when a postal

Arms for Suket. Left, *Figure 15a*: Taylor's design, source, *Taylor* no. 84, courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms; right, *Figure 15b*: letterhead of the Rajah of Suket in 1936, public domain.

service was founded) and on paper money printed in 1877. Taylor's arms were used by Maharajah Pratab Singh (1885-1925), from the evidence of his stationery and from a revenue stamp of 1900. A greatly simplified derivative design was adopted in the 1940s of three barrulets on a shield with the crest of a lotus flower.[44]

Taylor somewhat mysteriously employed the fur vair to denote jungle realms, as was the case with Suket (**Figure 15a**). Here, in the midst of the jungle, were hills, populated by ravens, which became the supporters; while the great river Sutlej provided an abundance of fish. The Rajahs were of lunar descent from the Sen family, sen meaning hawk, hence the crest. The motto was in English: *Till hill and river vanish*. A friend and retired colleague from the Indian Civil Service, J.E.L. Brandreth, with whom the designer evidently discussed his project, had quipped that the crest ought to be a pelican, since fish were the principal diet.[45] This design was comprehensively rejected in favour of a quartered design (**Figure 15b**) which bore no resemblance to Taylor's version, perhaps in no small measure because of the difficulty of comprehending such a strange device as an heraldic fur while living in a hot and steamy jungle.

The most significant geographical and geological feature of Sirohi**,** although perhaps only existing in legend, gave rise to a rather unique heraldic charge, that of the fire fountain. This denoted the famed spot on Mount Abu from whence the ancient tribes supposedly sprang. Taylor has rather ingeniously modified the heraldic charge for a fountain, placing it over the rather striking royal flag on the shield of Sirohi, with the fort of Abu and its mountain as the crest (**Figure 16a**). The explanation of how the arms came into being was given in some detail, providing important insights into the modus operandi for creating them. A submission was sent to Taylor by the local agent Captain

44 Victor G. Millard, *Millard's Revenue Stamps and Stamped Papers of the Princely States of India*, 9 vols (Cape Town, 2024: at the time of writing only vols 1-5 have been published), vol. 5, p. 738.
45 *Taylor*, p. 81 note.

Arms for Sirohi. Left, *Figure 16a*: Taylor's design, source, *Taylor* no. 80; right, *Figure 16b*: submission sketch to Taylor from Captain Rennick on behalf of the Rao of Sirohi, source, *Taylor* supplement f. 36. Both images courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

Robert Henry Francis Rennick (1842-1925), of the 18th Bengal Infantry, who had been asked by Colonel Carnell, the political superintendent and commandant of Erinpurah, to call on him with his proposal. Rennick had an understanding of heraldry and blazonry, but rather overthought the design in a way that lacked sensitivity (**Figure 16b**). He placed in chief on the shield three cow's heads to represent three Rajput tribes, including the ruler's own, that had been created from the fire of Anu. Two crossed swords in base alluded to the massacre of one of the three tribes, the Parmars, by the Rao's Chouhan ancestors. Rennick had also wanted to add the rose, shamrock and thistle for the British protectorate. His supporters were those adopted, being the mounts of the titulary deities of the Rao, a tiger for the goddess Deir and a bull for the god Mahader. Taylor notes that these arms are the ones for which he received the most painstaking advice from the local officers.[46] By 1929, as shown from the ruler's letterhead, both shield and crest had been completely changed, leaving only the supporters.

Two proposal sketches were sent by the Rajah of Kolhapur's agent, one of which was adopted unchanged (**Figure 17a**), excepting that the direction of the charges on the shield was reversed to fit heraldic convention.[47] The key element of the shield, four hawks, represent the four feudatory regions of the state. The sword is that of Shivagi, the founder of the Maratha empire, preserved at Sattara. The cheetah supporters were local fauna in this hilly country, but also stand for martial prowess. The crest of the forearm wrapped with a snake noose is for the multi-armed tutelary goddess Bhavani. The motto: *Jaya Bhavani* (Long Live Bhavani). From later letterheads (**Figure 17b**) it appears that the shield was made quarterly.

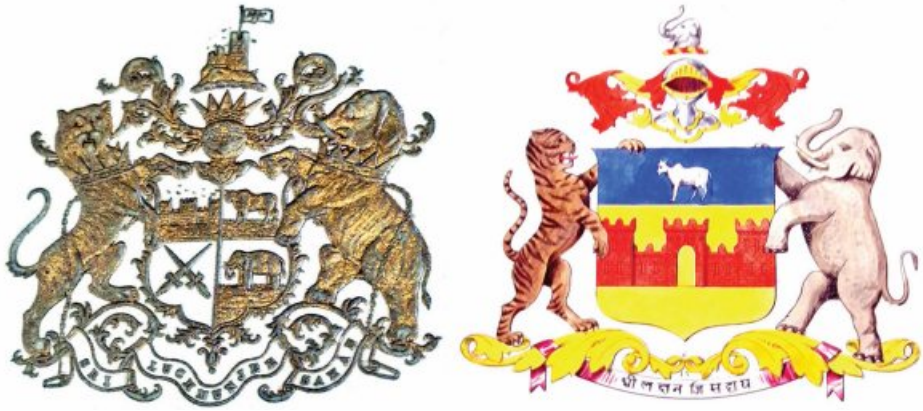
Geography provided the main inspiration for the arms of the Rajah of Rajpipla. A pale wavy alludes to the river Nerbudda, also called the Rewah, which was navigable

46 *Taylor*, pp. 120-123, 235.
47 *Taylor*, pp. 133-135.

Arms for Kolhapur. Left, *Figure 17a*: submission drawing to Taylor, source, *Taylor* supplement f. 31v, courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms; right, *Figure 17b*: letterhead of the prime minister of Kolhapur in 1933, in the public domain.

to the sea, hence the galleys on either side (**Figure 18a**). The bison on the crest was there because the state lay at the northern limit of the animal's extent in west India. The other elements are for martial prowess, the three guns and the two Bhil warrior supporters, armed with bow and arrow. The crest and supporters were suggested by the local (assistant) political agent Major John Whaley Watson. The Rajah replaced the guns with saltires between four dots, as can be seen both from official stationery (**Figure 18b**) and from Rajah Sir Vijaysinhji's Minton china service of c. 1920.

Arms for Rajpipla. Left*, Figure 18a*: Taylor's design, source, *Taylor* no. 74, courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms; right, *Figure 18b*: Rajah's letterhead, in the public domain.



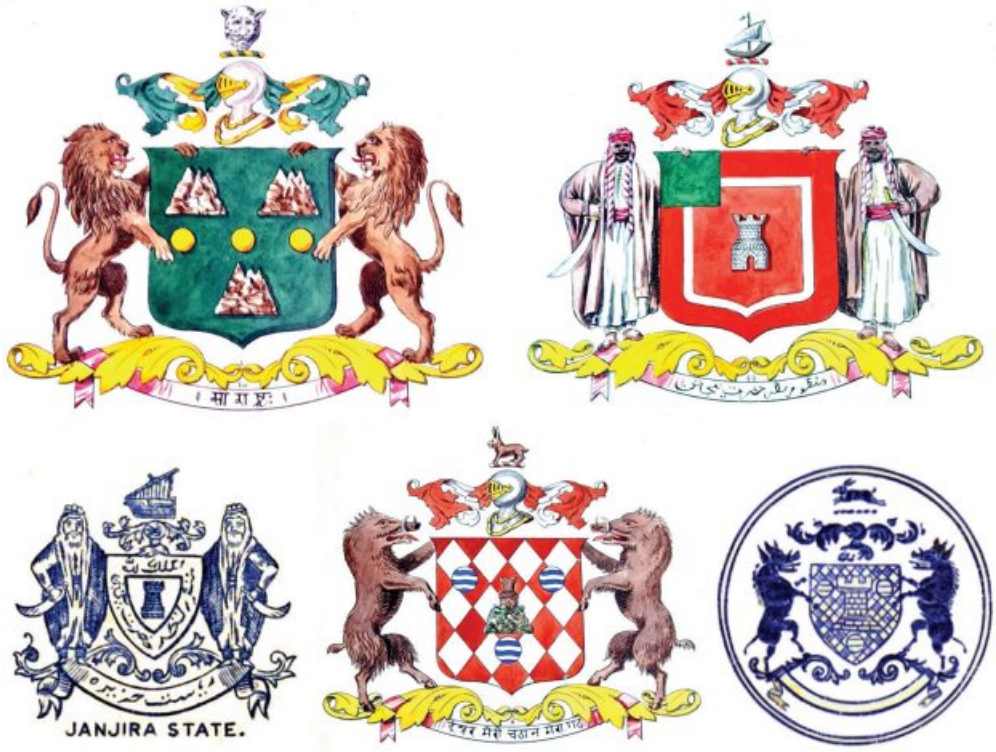
Arms for Bharatpur. Left, *Figure 19a*: the Maharajah's stationery of 1876, source, *Taylor* supplement f. 35; right, *Figure 19b*: Taylor's design, source *Taylor* no. 13. Both images courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

Taylor was sent the existing quarterly arms which had been designed by the Maharajah of Bharatpur himself for use on stationery that had been printed in London (**Figure 19a**).[48] The previous agent Captain Roberts had described the elements in a letter to the Foreign Office dated 18th March 1874. In accordance with his standard practice Taylor used the first quarter, the fort of Bharatpur (at Lopagarh) as the principal charge, and placed the second quarter of a sacred cow argent on a chief. He retained the existing supporters of a tiger and an elephant, but denuded them- they had been gorged and chained with oriental crowns. He also changed the existing crest of the fort of Lopagarh flying the flag, to an elephant's head (**Figure 19b**). The ruler completely disregarded Taylor's design and stuck to the original, excepting that the first and third quarters were swapped around. The third quarter of two daggers crossed in saltire became two kuttars crossed in saltire in the first quarter. The original fourth quarter of an elephant sable was left unchanged. This revised native design can be seen in use on the stamped revenue paper of the state from 1884.[49]

The great natural feature of Junagadh is the five peaked granite hill of Girnar, held as sacred by the Jains, which rises 3500 ft above the city of Junagadh. Three of those peaks became the principal element of the shield, together with besants which alluded to the wealth of the Nawab, due in large measure to the tribute collected on his behalf by the British (**Figure 20**). The grey lion supporters are a supposedly maneless (not so drawn) variety unique to the area. The local political agent in Kathiawar, James Braithwaite Peile of the Bombay Civil Service, provided the necessary information to Robert Taylor. The arms were adopted, as can be seen from official letterheads, and then in the 1920s some of the elements were incorporated onto a new circular shield which placed the Girnar Mountains in chief and on them the Fort of Junagadh, while one of the lion supporters

48 *Taylor*, pp. 145-147.

49 Millard, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 286-7.

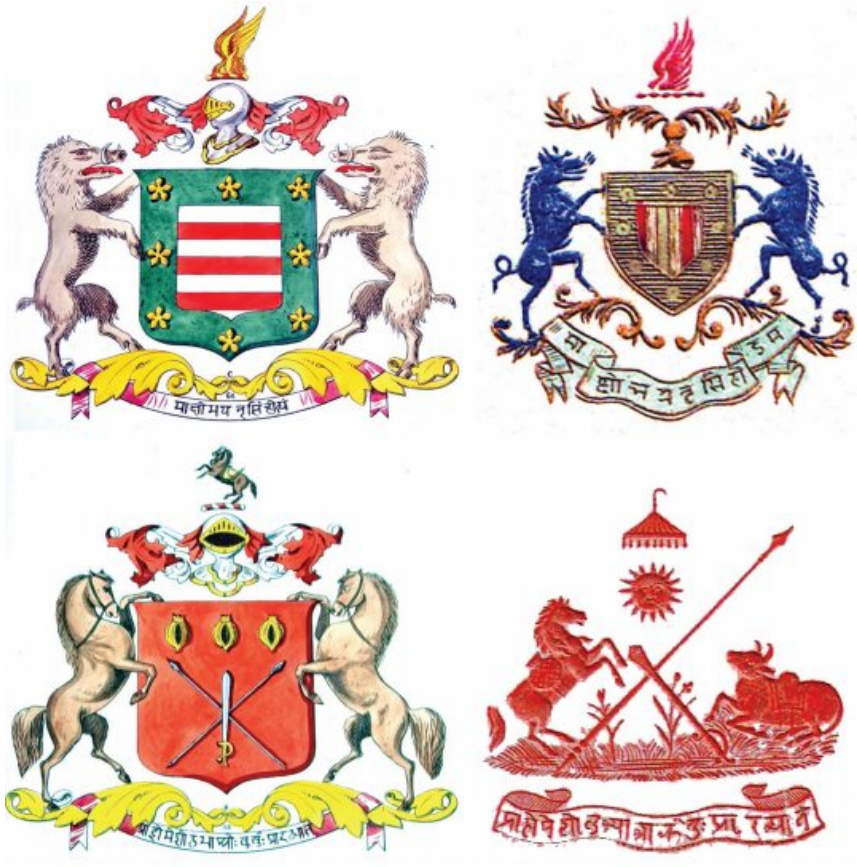


Geography in design. Above left, *Figure 20*: Taylor's design for Junagadh, source, *Taylor* no. 46; above right, *Figure 21a*: Taylor's design for Janjira, source, *Taylor* no. 44; below left, *Figure 21b*: letterhead of Janjira; below centre, *Figure 22a*: Taylor's design for Alirajpur, source, *Taylo*r no. 2; bellow right, *Figure 22b*: Alirajpur letterhead. Figures 20, 21a and 22a are courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms. The remaining images are in the public domain.

was moved into a couchant position below the mountains, and in base was added a scene of three sailing ships on the sea. The upper part of this design had featured on the state postage stamps from 1890.

The shield of the Nawab of Janjira provides an accurate reflection of the geography of the island fortress of Janjira which lies off the west coast defending a large natural harbour. It has been rendered as a tower in orle (**Figure 21a**). The green canton was a crude determinant of religious affiliation, which the ruler dropped. The ship crest is there because the Nawab's ancestors were hereditary Grand Admirals of the Moghul fleet. They had also been, as Taylor was keen to point out, professional pirates.[50] The orle was

50 *Taylor*, p. 203.



Flag influence in design. Above left, *Figure 23a*: Taylor's design for Narsingharh, source, *Taylor* no. 64; above right, *Figure 23b*: New Year's card of the Rajah of Narsingharh; below left, *Figure 23c*: Taylor's design for Indore, source, *Taylor* no. 38; below right, *Figure 23d*: letterhead of Indore. Figures 23a and 23c are courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms. The remaining images are in the public domain.

converted into a bordure with writing, as found both on official stationery and on the revenue stamps of 1933-48 (**Figure 21b**).

The Rana of Alirajpur chose as his principal charge the fort of Ali, which was founded in a well-watered valley (hence the fountains) at a site where a hare had popped up below an earlier ruler's feet, hence the crest (**Figure 22a**). Taylor professed when writing his notes that he could no longer recall the reason for the lozengy tenné and argent field, excepting that tenné was the colour of the flag, and perhaps white also. The boars were a popular emblem commonly found on the seals of Rajput rulers. The motto is *Isvara, meri Catan, mera Garh* (God, my Rock, my Fortress). The arms were still being used in 1939 on letterheads (**Figure 22b**).

4. Flags

It was necessary to fall back on flags as the basis of the shield of the Rajah of Narsingharh, and since Taylor had no knowledge of any flag for that ruler he combined the flag of Holkar, to which the Rajah was tributary, with part of the device that had already been designed for Bhopal, to which the Rajah also paid tribute.[51] The paly central escutcheon is for Holkar, and the border of cinquefoils for Bhopal (**Figure 23a**). The crest of two wings addorsed or ensigned with a flame proper is the mark of a fire-born Rajput. The ruler adapted the shield design, turning the bars into pales and the cinquefoils into annulets, as can be seen from an undated New Year's card sent by the Rajah (**Figure 23b**).

The arms of Indore were based on a personal flag which the Maharajah Holkar adopted in 1875, itself based on an earlier cavalry flag of a crossed broadsword (or khanda) and lance on a field of poppy and wheat, with a horse rearing, and a bull couchant.[52] The bull is an emblem of Shiva while the horse alludes to the avatar of Shiva known as Khandoba, who rides a horse, and was patron of the house. The chief temple of Khandoba stood within the realm at Jejuri near Poona. Wheat and (until recently) poppy, were the principal products of the state, Indore being in the 1870s as famous for producing opium as Bengal. Of the martial aspects, the spear-sword was the favourite weapon of the founder of this dynasty. Taylor's design (**Figure 23c**) was not adopted.The original quasi-heraldic emblem, lacking a shield, was in use in 1899, as can be seen both on the coinage and on official letterheads (**Figure 23d**). Here the sun crest denotes a solar ruler, with the Holkars claiming descent from the rulers of Udaipur.

The Nizam of Hyderabad was only a child at the Durbar for the Prince of Wales held on 9th November 1875, for which a banner had been made. The monarch had been represented on that occasion by one of his regents, Nawab Sir Salar Jung G.C.S.I. It was Jung who entered into a dialogue with Taylor on suitable arms for the 1877 assemblage which the eleven year old Nizam was to attend in person alongside himself.[53] For the shield (**Figure 24a**) Taylor combined two banners commonly borne before the Nizam, one green, embroidered with gold flowers, the other white, with gold and silver flowers, both with a silver disk in the middle. The regents requested that the flowers be depicted as quatrefoils to represent the local motia or pearl flower.

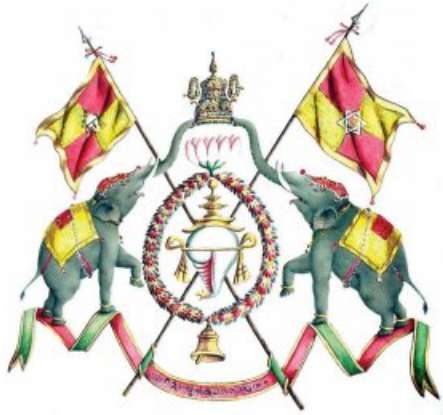
In connection with the preparation of the banner for 1875 Salar Jung had stated that the silver roundels represented naan breads given by a mullah to an earlier Nizam, and he did not permit their inclusion on the banner carried before himself out of respect for the Nizam. As the descendant of an earlier royal house he needed to tread very carefully. In a letter sent to the local agent Colonel Meade on 17th June 1876 one of the other regents described the central roundel as the full moon, but Salar Jung might have been the better informed since his ancestors had been Nizams.[54] Both lions and tigers then infested the countryside of Hyderabad, so Taylor used both on the arms, taking the tiger as the crest. The Nizam showed no interest in Taylor's heraldry, notwithstanding that they are illustrated in the *Golden Book* of 1893, which relates the story of the "holy

51 *Taylor*, p. 110.
52 *Taylor*, pp. 132-3.
53 *Taylor*, pp. 176-179.
54 *Taylor*, p. 245.

Above left, *Figure 24a*: Taylor's design for Hyderabad, source, *Taylor* no. 37; above right, *Figure 24b*: arms used by the Nizam of Hyderabad; below left, *Figure 24c*: Sèvres porcelain with the arms of Hyderabad from 1907, photograph by Stephen Ashley; below right, *Figure 24d*: Taylor's design for Gwalior, source, *Taylor* no. 36. Figures 24a and 24d are courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms. Figure 24b is in the public domain.

chapati" on the flag.[55] He did not even keep the same supporters on the later arms, which feature a round shield on which was placed a long text, with multiple mottos below and the Nizam's turbaned crown above (**Figure 24b**). There exists, however, a curiosity in the possession of Stephen Ashley, F.S.A., a piece of Sèvres porcelain from 1907 (**Figure 24c**) on which the crest of the Nizam is given as a shield *Azure a besant*. This is effectively a debased version of Taylor's shield in the wrong colours.

55 Sir Roper Lethbridge, *The Golden Book of India* (London,1893), p. 187. Lethbridge on p. xvii explains that the arms illustrated are a combination of those recorded in 1877 in the *Princely Armory* with some from other sources, hence his inclusion of the Taylor version of the arms does not necessarily denote acceptance by a ruler.



Arms for Travancore. Above left, *Figure 25a*: one of two submission drawings to Taylor from the Maharajah, source, *Taylor* supplement f. 27; above right, *Figure 26b*: Taylor's design, source, *Taylor* no. 89; below, *Figure 25c*: sovereign of Varma V, public domain. Figures 25a and 25b are courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

5. Emblems

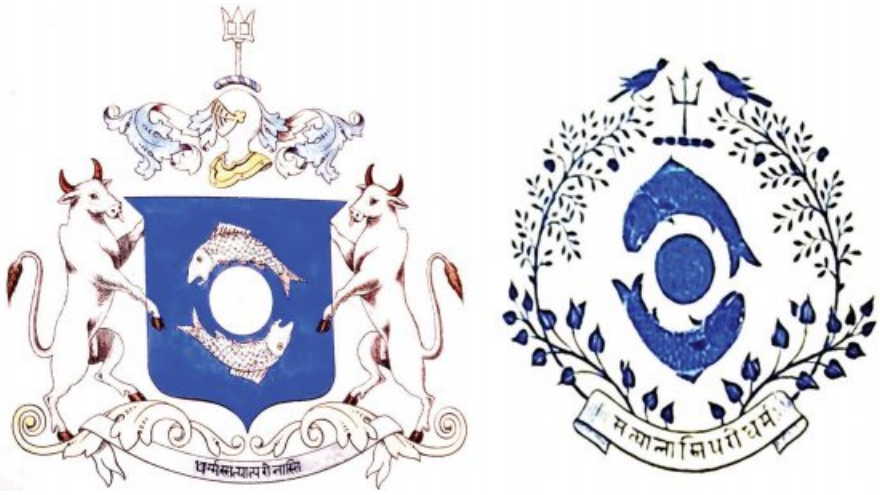
The cobra was the protector of the Maharajah Sindhia of Gwalior, and it was used as an emblem on pretty much everything that he possessed.[56] The resident of 1862-3 reported that it was on the flag, which had a field bhagwa (saffron). For the chief of the shield Taylor used "the banner that we prepared for him in 1869" which was charged with two towers for the forts of Gwalior and Jhanoi, and in between a 'civic crown', for fidelity in 1857 (**Figure 24d**). Taylor reported direct correspondence with the Maharajah, who informed him that his crest comprised two globes, representing the sun and moon, with a serpent on each. Taylor chose wolves as supporters because the animals infest the region

56 *Taylor*, pp. 128-131.

Above left, *Figure 26*a: shield of Cochin on a postage stamp from 1892; above right, *Figure 26b*: arms of Cochin as used in 1892; below left, *Figure 26c*: Taylor's design for Baoni, source, *Taylor* no. 6; below right, *Figure 26d*: Baoni letterhead. Figure 26c is courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms. The other images are in the public domain.

between Gwalior and Agra, and seemed to him to be a fitting metaphor for a Mahratta fighter. He concluded his account with the interesting fact that in 1863 the Maharajah had sought confirmation from the Viceroy for permission to display the silver objects granted to him by the Mughal emperors. The arms were adopted, and occur on a bookstamp of Madhavrao II Sindhia (1886-1925) with minor modification of the crest, reducing the number of snakes from two to one, and removing the globes.

Two versions of the state emblem of Travancore, both rather beautiful, were sent by the resident, one of them here illustrated (**Figure 25a**) but Taylor wrote back to him on 26th October 1876 (received 8th November) asking for proposals of arms in the western



Arms for Benares. Left, *Figure 27a*: Taylor's design; right, *Figure 27b*: the Maharajah's letterhead of 1902. Both from *Taylor* supplement f. 45, courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

pattern.[57] The ensuing rather rough pencil sketch also failed to find favour. Common to all the designs was the conch (*sankha)* and the elephant. The former had long been used as a badge of the Rajahs, and Taylor recorded in some detail its mythical aspects. The reversed conch or sankha is a special symbol of Vishnu, one of the four emblems which he is customarily depicted as holding in his four hands (the other emblems being the discus, the mace, and the lotus flower). It is thought to make a frightening noise that terrifies the god's enemies. Taylor kept the elephant supporters requested by the Maharajah, but his design was substandard (**Figure 25b**). He chose a seahorse for a crest "in default of any other suggestion." This is rather poor form considering that a crest had been supplied on one of the approval sketches.

The arms are shown as Taylor's version in the 1893 *Golden Book*, which is clearly in this instance an unreliable source since on the coinage of 1881 (specifically on a sovereign of Varma V, **Figure 25c**) there was a reversion to the original pre-Taylor emblem of just the conch and two elephants. Moreover the Maharajah on his stationery of 1893 uses the elephants and conch with his monogram, with no heraldry in evidence.

Neighbouring Cochin, ruled by kinsmen of Travancore, had been using a well-defined emblem in the form of a circular seal since at least 1837, when it occurs on stamped paper.[58] There were four individual elements on the seal, a palanquin, an umbrella, a reversed conch, and an oil lamp. Following the British resident, Taylor extracted the lamp and made it the crest as "a fire proper," and extracted the conch and placed it in the shield together with two galleys to represent the famous port of Cochin.[59] His two supporters of a bison and a tiger were the resident's suggestion. This scheme found no favour with the Rajah, who continued to employ his long-established family device,

57 *Taylor*, pp. 152-155.
58 Millard, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 500.
59 *Taylor*, p. 156.

which appears on the first postage stamps of Cochin, released in 1892 (**Figure 26a**). On their stationery the Rajahs used the same with the addition of elephant supporters borrowed from Travancore, crested with the Rajah's turban crown (**Figure 26b**).

The fish was the special badge of the Nawab of Baoni which he adopted from the former kingdom of Oudh, a state with its capital in Lucknow which was ended when the Nawab was deposed by the East India Company in 1856 – its people joined the rebellion of 1857. The Nawab claimed descent from the royal house of Oudh, so naturally the fish was on his banner. This had been described to Taylor as being red and green in colour, with a fish on the red part. These matters were discussed in great detail with the political agent of Bundelkhand, Dr John Proudfoot Stratton, M.D.[60]

The shield which ensued from these discussions (**Figure 26c**) was given a border of Hyderabad, from Taylor's subsequently rejected design of arms for that state. The crest came out of discussion with the Nawab, who was anxious for the arms to record that his family had risen equally by the sword and the pen, thus he was granted an armed hand, holding a pen. The otter supporters represent an animal to be met with in profusion in the tanks and rivers of the region. These arms were adopted in modified form with the quatrefoils, which might be perceived as a Christian symbol, omitted, as seen on an official letterhead (**Figure 26d**).

The Maharajah of Benares, a territory ceded by the Nawab of Oudh to the East India Company in 1775, had an emblem of a full moon and two fish embowed which was worn on the turbans of his retainers. Taylor supposed that the fish was either borrowed from, or granted by, the ruler of Oudh. Taylor placed this on a blue shield (**Figure 27a**) because the Maharajah was a Brahmin. The trident crest and bull supporters are for Shiva (the Destroyer) since Benares is the place most sacred on earth to devotees of Shiva. The next Maharajah on his stationery of 1901 (**Figure 27b)** used the emblem in a manner close to Taylor's design with crest and motto, but without a shield or supporters.

6. Martial Prowess

The arms of The Nawab of Tonk are almost entirely martial in character, he having submitted an extremely elaborate design (**Figure 28a**) which included a fortified town, and above it what appears to be a personal emblem of two crossed scimitars surmounting a round shield with five bosses. Drawn very small on the design was a white pennon with a green horizontal stripe. The two elements together were combined to make the shield, while the spur rowel crest suggested by the political agent Clay, in combination with the horse supporters, was used to denote military successes on horseback (**Figure 28b**).[61] The motto is *Nasr minullah* (God giveth victory). The fess was not liked, and so it was removed by the prince, while his decision to add a crescent to the crest rounded off the arms in a suitably Islamic manner. Thus adopted the arms appear on the coinage of 1932 (**Figure 28c**). By 1938 two spears crossed on saltire had been added to the shield below the central target, a design which also appears on official stationery with the motto rendered in English (**Figure 28d**).

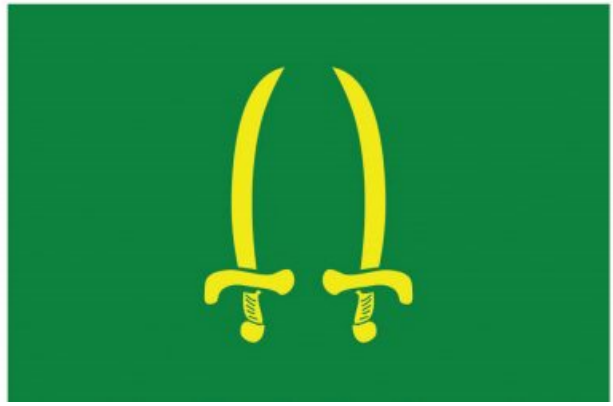
Another state which, like Benares, was founded in the eighteenth century from territory previously within the sphere of the Kingdom of Oudh (Awadh), was that of Rampur. The Nawab of Rampur submitted a proposal sketch of two sabres within an orle (to represent

60 *Taylor*, pp. 192-194.
61 *Taylor*, pp. 188-90, 192.

Arms for Tonk. Above left, *Figure 28a*: Nawab's submission to Taylor, source *Taylor* supplement f. 27v; above right, *Figure 28b*: Taylor's design, source, *Taylor* no. 88, both images courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms; below left, *Figure 28c*, coin from 1932; below right, *Figure 28d*: letterhead from 1938.

the bamboo forest which surrounded Rampur), and behind them two pennons, with a jewelled cap above and the crest of a forearm bearing a pennon. Although Taylor provides a description of the sketch it has not been preserved. To make a shield Taylor combined the swords in orle with the old flag of state (**Figure 29c**) which had two swords on a green field (**Figure 29a**).[62] In 1905 the Nawab had a set of porcelain made by Mappin and Webb on which the swords were placed on either side of a blank central escutcheon, supported by two flags and with a crown above. This is a modification of the original submission and not Taylor's arms. The arms then evolved into a form which had a fish on the shield and tigers holding pennons as supporters, while the swords were moved into a position behind the

62 *Taylor*, pp. 190-191. The ink submission sketch was described by Taylor but has not been preserved.



Rampur. Above left, *Figure 29a*: Taylor's design for Rampur, source, *Taylor* no. 75, courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.; above right, *Figure 29b*: letterhead of 1940; below, *Figure 29c*: the flag of Rampur. 29b and c public domain.

shield (**Figure 29b**) This appears to have been inspired by different iterations of the royal arms of Oudh as found on the coinage of that kingdom between 1819 and 1856.

The first evidence of heraldry as yet identified by the author from India takes the form of a crest on the Spode plates made for the Nawab of Oudh between 1815 and 1820, which has a kuttar between two fish with an oriental crown above (**Figure 30a**). The coins of Ghazi-ud-Din Haider (1819-27) and his successor Nasir-ud-Din Haider (1827-37) displayed two fish embowed forming a circle with a kuttar and an oriental crown above, between two tiger supporters holding banners (**Figure 30b**). Those of Muhammad (or Amjad) Ali Shah displayed only a single fish where before there had been two, and the supporters were warriors (**Figure 30c**). Another design had a single fish embowed with a crown and an umbrella above, the whole design being encircled by two curved

Oudh. Above left, *Figure 30a*: crest on Spode ware dating 1815-1820; above middle, *Figure 30b*: rupee of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar (1819-27), again with two fish; above right, *Figure 30c*: rupee of Muhammad Ali Shah with a single fish; middle left, *Figure 30d*: another coin of Muhammad Ali Shah with the single fish encircled by swords; below left, *Figure 30e*: rupee of Wajid Ali Shah with mermaid supporters; below right, *Figure 30f*: The Mermaid Gate at Lucknow. All images are in the public domain.

swords (**Figure 30d**). The last Nawab of Oudh, Wajid Ali (1847-56) converted the fish to mermaids, which became flag bearing supporters, the central space being occupied by a small target shield, two swords, and a crown (**Figure 30e**). These arms were placed above the Mermaid Gate of the Qaisarbagh Palace in Lucknow, completed in 1850 (**Figure 30f**). Other gates had two fish above them. A two fish badge was employed by the Nawab of Rampur on his porcelain. The significance of the fish badge was that it was the highest military honour bestowed by the Mughal emperors, and had been bestowed on the ancestor of the Nawabs of Oudh in the first half of the eighteenth century. In Hindu contexts the fish is an emblem of kingship because it stands for Matsya, the man-fish avatar of the god Vishnu, while paired fish are emblematic of good fortune. These facts perhaps explain why the rulers of Oudh and their imitators adopted both one-fish and two-fish emblems.

7. Family Legends

The shield that was granted to the Rajah of Cooch Behar (**Figure 31a**) took as its theme rather an unpleasant foundation myth in which a boy's head was cut off with a blade of grass in sacrifice to the goddess Bhagavathi, who was pleased with the offering, and gave in return a magic sword and bracelet.[63] The blade of grass is represented by the green sword, and has been placed on the shield alongside the two rewards. That Taylor chose to reference this story is unfortunate, given that the Rajah already possessed arms that required only minimal modification in the positioning of the supporters, which faced outwards (**Figure 31b**). Taylor also removed the god Hanuman sitting on a globe, and replaced him with a picture that he had been sent of the monkey at the top of the Rajah's "Hanuman sceptre." In doing so he changed the attitude of the monkey from passant to sejant. Not surprisingly the rulers continued to use their pre-existing arms, with two crossed swords supporting scales of justice on the shield, excepting that the the lion and elephant supporters were turned around to provide a suitably heraldic pose, as can be seen both from arms on the palace gates dating 1887 (**Figure 31c**), and from the coinage of 1912 (**Figure 31d**). The motto *Yato dharmas tato jayah* (Where there is Law, there is Victory), alludes to the shield.

Another coat of arms steeped in legend is that of the Rajah of Tehri-Garhwal which Taylor derived from the prince's flag, which was white and green, and bore two charges of Garuda (the half man, half bird mount of the god Vishnu) and a nandi (or fakir's trumpet). Both flag and arms drew upon a family foundation legend in which Garuda made two crucial interventions, one involving the nandi, which became the principal charge on the shield (**Figure 32a**). Taylor states that "green is the colour of Garuda", who here acts as both crest and supporter.[64] The border engrailed argent is said to represent the Himalayas. The state was a late addition to the list of rulers to be honoured with a banner at the Proclamation Assemblage. The adoption of the arms is confirmed both by revenue stamps and by later official letterheads (**Figure 32b**).

8. Confusion

A visually pleasing but completely inappropriate coat of arms was borne from Taylor's farcical misreading of the existing quartered arms of the Maharajah of Sirmur, sent to him as embossed stationery (**Figure 34a,** see appendix).[65] He interpreted the first and second quarters as beehives, rather than the cupolas of buildings, the local agent having failed to send an explanation, and decided to make as the principal charge six bees (**Figure 34b,** see appendix).[66] The leopard supporters he left alone, but he changed the elephant crest to an antelope head. The Maharajah was doubtless nonplussed when he received his banner prior to the Proclamation Assemblage, and quite naturally he rejected the design in favour of the pre-existing version, as can be seen from revenue stamps and from photographs of the palace.

63 *Taylor*, pp. 168-172.

64 *Taylor*, pp. 172-175. Taylor wrongly identifies Garuda as a falcon, and therefore blazons both crest and supporters as such.

65 *Taylor*, pp. 167-8.

66 The dome in the first quarter is probably that of the Hindu temple to the goddess Renuka, while the onion dome in the second quarter is probably that of the Sikh Paonta Sahib temple.

Cooch Behar. Above left, *Figure 31a*: Taylor's design, source, *Taylor* no. 25; above right, *Figure 31b*: Raja's stationery of 1876, source *Taylor* supplement, f. 35, both images courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms; below left, *Figure 31c*: palace gates from 1887; below right, *Figure 31d*, coin of 1912. Figures 31c and 31d are in the public domain.

Tehri-Garhwal. Left, *Figure 32a*, Taylor's design, source, *Taylor* no. 86, courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms; right, *Figure 32b*: revenue stamp, in the public domain.

Overall impact of Taylor-his legacy

The example of Oudh demonstrates that heraldry was beginning to stir on the Indian subcontinent in the early nineteenth century, and amongst the ninety princes for whom Taylor devised (or certified) arms at least eighteen were already using them prior to Queen Victoria becoming Empress of India. None of the eighteen are known to have existed prior to the beginning of the British Raj in 1857. Three quarters of Taylor's designs were accepted with little or no modification (**Appendix**), and another two were accepted with major modification, leaving only 22% that were rejected and never used. The latter group was largely composed of princes who had pre-existing arms which Taylor had either disallowed or had changed to an excessive degree. Some of those who rejected Taylor's design amended their arms as a consequence of his intervention.

David F. Phillips made a study, entirely based on revenue stamps, of 284 Indian state emblems.[67] This was a useful exercise, but not completely reliable because sometimes the emblem used on the stamps was entirely different from that used by the ruler on official letterheads[68]; while in other instances the local artist who created the revenue stamps had changed the arms due to an imperfect understanding of heraldry, while the arms had been correctly rendered on letterheads, often printed overseas. Phillips found 50 examples of states having adopted European-style achievements other than those

67 Phillips, op. cit.

68 The situation in Mandi shows unreliability of revenue stamps. Those of this state show a shield of Hanuman between supporters of a tiger and a horse, with a sun crest, entirely different from the arms devised by Taylor. Official letterheads of the chief minister from the 1940s show Taylor's arms, with their unique impalement, still in use. The dexter impalement *Or three jays proper* was for the god Krishna (a deity pivotal at the temple of Mandi, his devotees wearing yellow on festival days, the jays being his birds or vahan), while the sinister of *Vair four billets* (representing the Four Vedas, the ancient holy books of Hinduism) *Or* stood for the Rajah's Vedic learning. It is difficult to explain the discrepancy: if Taylor's arms had been deemed as personal to the ruler they would not have been used by his minister.

listed in the *Princely Armory*. Another 49 were what he called mixed achievements[69], or were in the regimental style.[70] More than a third, some 106 emblems, were not defined as heraldic but as "Indian style." Since most of these comprised objects of local relevance placed within a roundel or an oval they are effectively heraldic shields in the Indian vernacular. Ten of Phillip's rulers used emblems based on the crescent, placed within a roundel or an oval. These are tenably heraldic. This left only five which used a tughra or Islamic monogram, which it might be argued is non-heraldic. Overall, the vast majority which it was possible to survey of Indian states prior to independence adopted emblems inspired to a greater or lesser degree by heraldic principles. Information is lacking as to the chronology of many of these adoptions, but it is a tenable hypothesis that the process of creating arms in 1876 gave huge impetus to the spread of heraldry throughout the whole subcontinent.

Aftermath of the 1877 Proclamation Assemblage

Robert Taylor felt somewhat overburdened by his administrative duties, and the additional workload of designing arms in 1876 took its toll. He took early retirement on health grounds the following year. He received no honour for his work: his collaborator Thomas Thornton was made a Companion of the Star of India during the "Durbar", but Taylor was too low in the pecking order to be eligible for such a reward. As a small token of appreciation Taylor was presented with the gold commemorative medal given to rulers at the event; most ordinary mortals (including J.L. Kipling) were granted the silver version. [71] Before his departure from India Taylor published the drawings and blazons of the arms in the *Princely Armory* (Calcutta, 1877), which does not carry his name, except handwritten on the title page of the copy presented by his offspring to the College of Arms. Some time after 1879 he began to write an account of the whole process of designing the arms. While this manuscript contains many illuminating details, the information provided is inconsistent, and in many instances is quite sparse. He seems to have forgotten the reason for many of his own choices, despite the fact that he took all his correspondence with him. Possibly some of the design ideas had come from Kipling.

He spent his retirement living between Bristol and Ealing with his wife, son, and daughter, always maintaining between two and three servants. On 21st April 1906 he drowned in the sea at Naples after having arrived there by steamer from Alexandria in Egypt. He fell while alighting from the boat which was bringing him ashore.[72] He was presumably returning from a trip to visit friends in India. It might have been coincidental that only two weeks previously Mount Vesuvius had erupted in what is believed to have been its most violent manner since A.D. 79, causing many deaths, which prompted a visit by King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra in the royal yacht.

In 1916 an Indian grants committee was established at the College of Arms to consider grants to Indian citizens. It continued to meet until 1940, and determined that

69 Some of these 'achievements' are heraldic in form but with the central device not on a shield, others are properly heraldic but using a round Indian shield. There were 19 in this category.

70 Typically with crossed pennons on lances, or other crossed weapons, and with the central device not on a shield. Such devices were closely related to heraldic badges. There were 30 in this category.

71 J.E. Auden (ed.), *Shrewsbury School Register 1734-1908* (2nd edn., Oswestry, 1909), p. 142; *BL* IOR/L/PS/7/12, p. 407, Enclosure no. 6.

72 *Pall Mall Gazette,* 23rd April 1906, p. 5.

Taylor's arms had no legal status until confirmed by due authority.[73] This opinion was entirely proper given that there had been insufficient time for adequate discussion of Taylor's blazons before the banners were produced, with many of the arms effectively having been imposed. The 'due authorities' were really the rulers themselves, since any prince who is a head of state has the right to determine his own arms without reference to any external authority. Such a prince might well wish to register those arms with an official body such as was provided by the College of Arms prior to 1947. In 1952 H.H. the Maharajah of Dhrangadhra-Halvad, K.C.I.E. (1923-2010), a keen heraldist, came to England to study at Oxford, and became an early member of the Heraldry Society. He had been disappointed on visiting the College of Arms in 1947 to find that its archive contained only a copy of the *Princely Armory.*[74] He was in hot pursuit of Taylor's notes, and discovered that these were still in the possession of Taylor's son Frank, who was unwilling to sell them. The Maharajah's interest made Robert Taylor's son, and his daughter Mrs Ursula Western, realise the importance of the records, and in 1948, in the immediate aftermath of the end of the British Empire of India on 15th August 1947, they donated their father's notes to the College of Arms.[75] Harold Pereira was the first to make use of them in the 1950s, having obtained a transcript from the College.[76] When the Maharajah returned to England in 1952 Frank Coston Taylor had recently died, and his sister proved more accommodating. She was prepared to part with her father's Indian correspondence and a copy of the *Princely Armory*. Sadly, Taylor's correspondence was stolen from the Maharajah's home in Delhi in 1994.[77]

At this juncture, something must be said of another important manuscript on Indian heraldry held at the College of Arms, the *Bowring Armory*, created in 1882.[78] This is a very large and impressive volume with a beautifully carved wooden cover, minutely executed by an Indian artisan. It is a painted rendition of the arms from the *Princely Armory*, also arranged alphabetically, but due to differing spellings, not in exactly the same order as the published volume. Lewin Bentham Bowring (1824-1910) retired from the Indian Civil Service in 1870, having served as private secretary to the Viceroy Lord Canning from 1858 to 1862. He devoted his retirement to collecting and compiling material concerning Indian rulers and administrators. His *Armory* comprises only one small part of his heraldic collections. The remainder are in 37 volumes known as the *Bowring Albums* which were purchased by the India Office Library in 1959.[79] They are a wondrous resource full of exquisite drawings, paintings, original Victorian photographs, maps and detailed pedigrees, the latter tremendously detailed, and drawn out in Bowring's own miniscule hand.

73 Peter O'Donoghue, 'Heralds at the Delhi Durbars', *CoA* no. 212 (2006), pp. 107-124 (at 120-121). For correspondence between Garter and the Secretary of State for India in 1916 see L.G. Pine, *International Heraldry* (Newton Abbot, 1970), pp. 213-215.

74 *CA* ID 1368. This copy belonged to Sir Albert Woods in 1877. It passed to his grandson Gerald Woods Wollaston, who donated it to the College of Arms on 13th July 1922, the donation being recorded in *CA* Chapter Book 18, pp. 222-3. According to a note that Wollaston wrote onto the title page, the arms in this copy were coloured in in February 1923 by reference to the *Bowring Armory*.

75 *CA* Chapter Book 21, pp. 128, 151.

76 Harold B. Pereira, 'Indian Heraldry', *CoA*, vol. 3 (1954-55), pp. 321-2; vol. 8 (1964-65), pp. 151-155, 206-210, 240-243, 292-297.

77 The Maharajah communicated the above information concerning his heraldic enquiries to Rafe Heydell-Mankoo, who in turn communicated it to the author.

78 *CA* ID 1380.

79 *BL* Mss Eur G38.

Bowring commissioned paintings of many of the banners presented in December 1876, and together with the arms and seals in actual use by the rulers (for example, **Figure 33**). In his *Armorial* he followed Taylor's designs closely, except in the case of the arms of the Rao of Kutch, where he evidently took strong objection the fact that Taylor had not used the quartered arms granted by Garter King of Arms, so he drew Garter's version instead.[80] In his section on Kutch in the *Bowring Albums* he is careful to distinguish between the 1876 banner and the "proper coat", this being the quartered arms which were actually in use.[81]

Conclusion

In conclusion, had Taylor's notes not been preserved at the College of Arms, had they been sold overseas and stolen, our understanding of the formative period of Indian heraldry would be greatly impoverished, and it would be impossible to grasp the nature of Taylor's contribution. The boost which this overworked and modest accountant was able to give to Indian heraldry through an intensive period of creativity over a six-month period is remarkable. His legacy will surely live on forever.[82]

80 *Bowring Armory*, op. cit., no. 45.

81 BL Mss Eur G38/1/26.

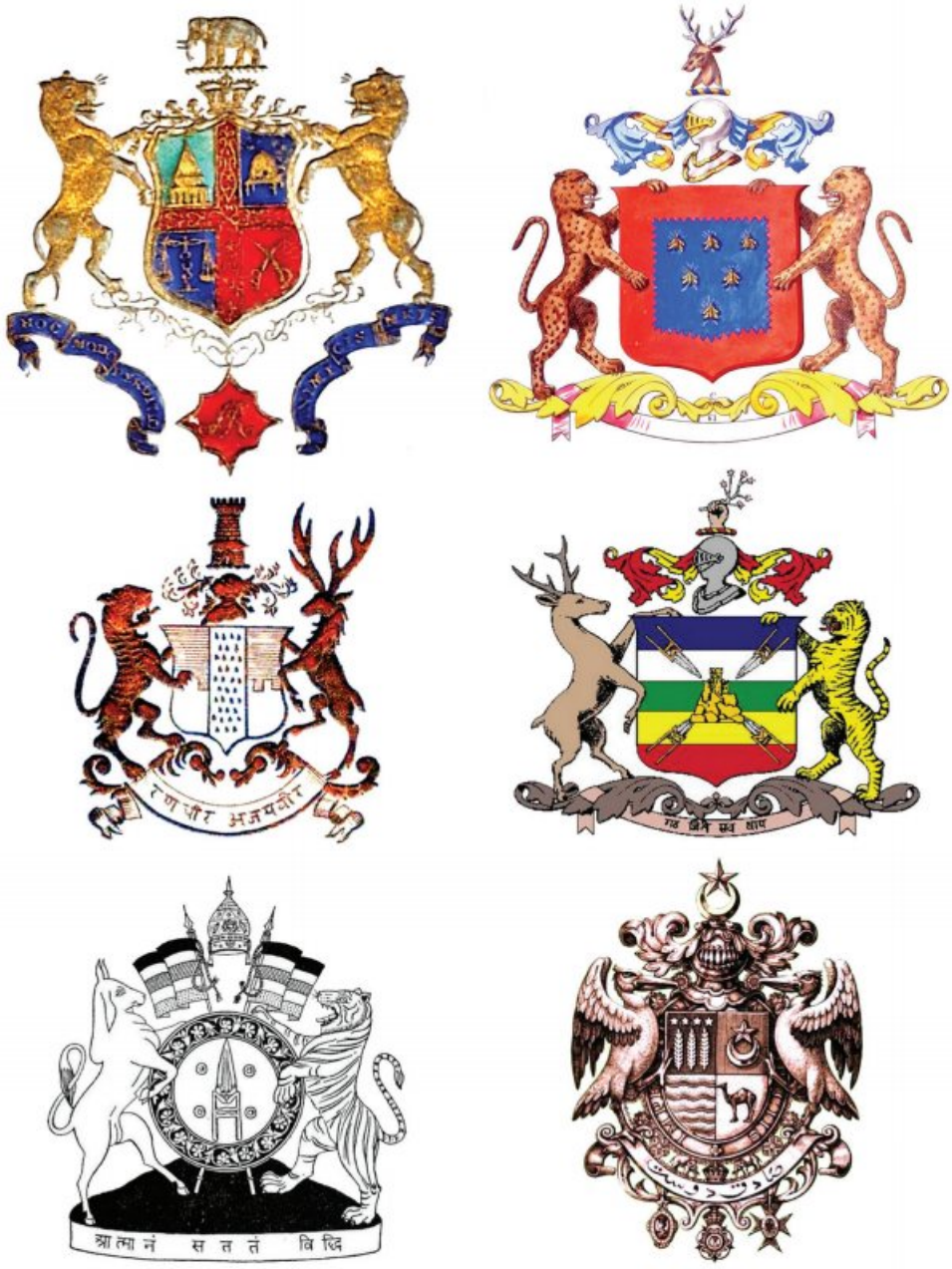
82 The author is indebted to Dr James Lloyd, archivist at the College of Arms, for providing considerable help and support to facilitate the researching of this paper, including searching through the Chapter Books in order to establish when CA ID 1367 and ID 1368 entered the archive, and for attempting to determine precisely when the Bowring Armory ID 1380 entered the collection, for which no entry record appears to survive.

Figure 33: arms of Patiala from the *Bowring Albums*, *BL* Mss Eur G38/1/23 ©British Library Board. The painting is signed by Besharu Tulla, artist, of Patiala.

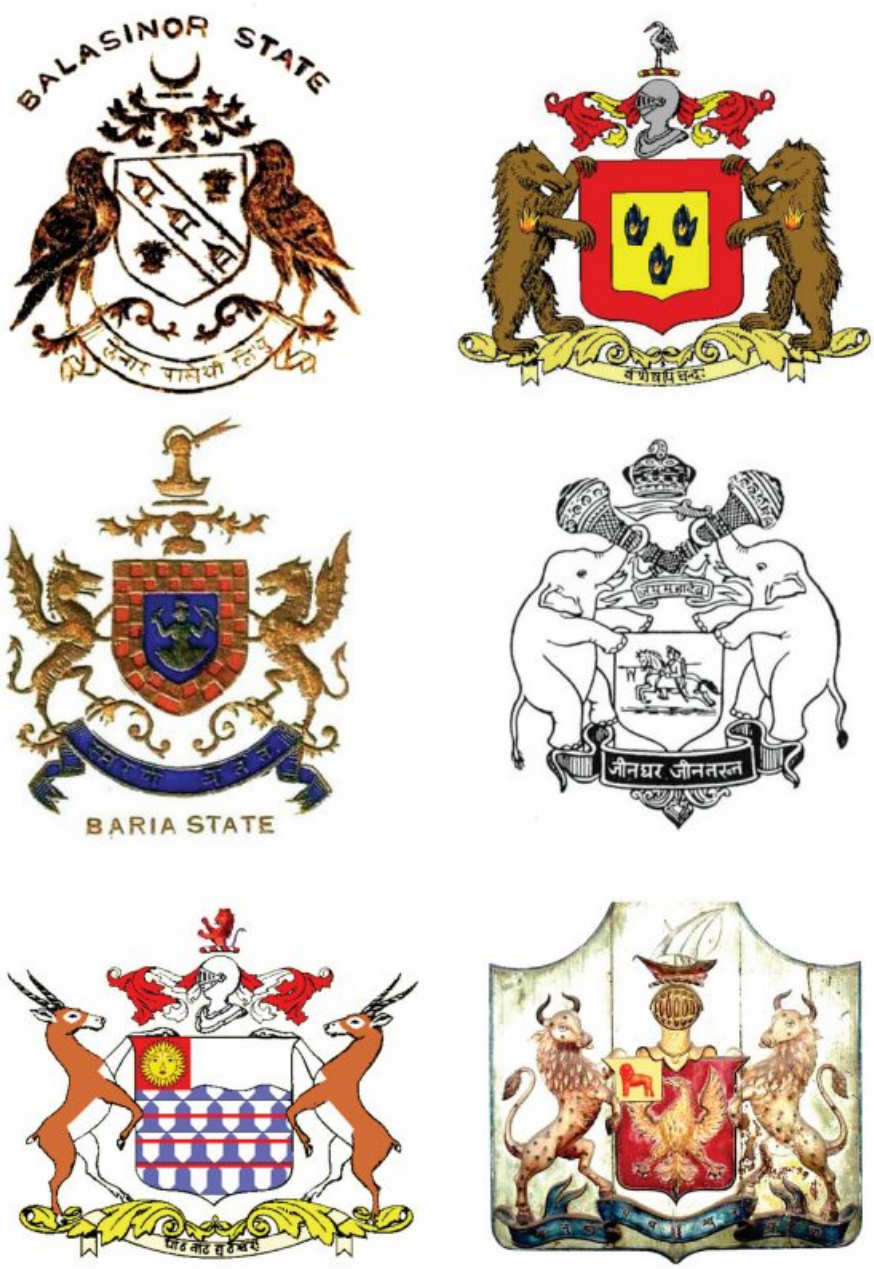
APPENDIX OF ALL ARMS GRANTED BY TAYLOR IN 1876

A Arms adopted by ruler as designed by Taylor
A Arms adopted by ruler with minimal modification
A Arms adopted by ruler with major modifications
R Arms rejected by ruler
N/A Not applicable as Taylor adopted the ruler's own version
* Denotes that the ruler attended the 1877 Proclamation Assemblage
First column is the number on The Princely Armory

No	Name	ORIGINS-SYMBOLISM	EVOLUTION
1*	Ajaigarh **A** Figure 35	The drops of blood refer to the family **legend** of descent of the Bundelas from a drop of blood. The tower crest is **geographical,** a reference to the fort of Ajaigarh as is likely the fess embattled on the shield	The arms were adopted, as can be seen from a letterhead of 1943
2*	Alirajpur **A** Figure 22ab	**Geographical** on the shield, the fort of Ali, and also fountains and the hare which feature in the foundation **legend**	The arms were adopted, as can be seen from letterheads, Figure 22b
90*	Alwar **R** Figure 36a	Taylor used the kuttars for **martial prowess** from the submitted design and also the Panchranga **flag** (solar family). The fort is for Alwar and the other 51 forts in the principality-i.e. **geographical**, while the crest of a hand holding a branch of the kuchnar tree is canting for the alternative name of the state, Kachhwaha	A single kuttar was later adopted as the shield, as seen on letterheads, Figure 36b. The rulers had a pre-existing quartered device designed by Brukowski, This was not submitted, and was abandoned by the family
10*	Bahawalpur **A** Figure 37	The black field was because the rulers claimed descent from the Abbasid Khalifs whose royal colour was black. The four flowers stand for the four friends of the Prophet revered by Sunni Muslims (**Islam)** the crest is also purely Islamic	The ruler later adopted quarterly arms with the shield here as the first quarter and the crest as the second, as found on the coinage of 1925
3	Balasinor A	The crescent crest is for **Islam**, kuttars for **martial prowess,** the garbs are **geographical** for the rich arable land	The direction of the kuttars on the bend was reversed, as seen on letterheads, Figure 38
4*	Bansda A Figure 39	Shield based on the **flag.** The hands allude to the fire-born origin of the family, reinforced by placement on the supporters, and are also apotropaic	The flames on the supporters were removed, as seen on letterheads
5	Banswara **A** Figure 3a	**Sun** on canton (solar family). Hindu **gods** represented by crest and dexter supporter	The adoption of the arms is shown by letterheads



Top left, *Figure 34a*, Sirmur stationery from 1876, *Taylor* supplement f.35; top right, *Figure 34b*:Sirmur *Taylor* no. 61, both images courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms; middle left, *Figure 35*: Ajaigarh letterhead 1941; middle right, *Figure 36a*: Alwar as per Taylor, Wikimedia Commons; bottom left, *Figure 36b*: Alwar letterhead; bottom right, *Figure 37*: bookplate of last Nawab of Bahawalpur. Figures 35-37 Public domain.



Top left, *Figure 38*, Balasinor letterhead; top right, *Figure 39*: Bansda, Taylor's design, corrected from Wikimedia Commons; middle left, *Figure 40*: Baria letterhead; middle right, *Figure 41*: Baroda letterhead post 1939; bottom left, *Figure 42*: Barwani, Taylor's design, corrected from Wikimedia Commons; bottom right, *Figure 43*: Bhavnagar from the Barton Museum in Bhavnagar, with the wrongly repainted canton corrected. All images are in the public domain.

6	Baoni **A** Figure 26cd	The shield is based on the **flag**, including the fish. The crest denoted both **martial prowess** and **learning.** The supporters are **geographical**	The border of Hyderabad was dropped, as shown on letterheads, Figure 26d
8	Baria **A**	The charge of the man in flames is the foundation **legend** of the Chouhan. The dragon supporters were **emblems** of Kotah. The crest of the sword holding forearms on a mural crown is both **geographical** and family legend, relating to heroic death holding a fort	Taylor completely disregarded the submission sketch as he wanted to match the other Chouhan Rajputs, see Kotah and Bundi. Despite this the arms were adopted with only a change of the field colour of the shield from or to azure, and of the border from compony sable and argent to compony gules and or, Figure 40
7*	Baroda or Guicowar **A**	The elephant supporters were for the **god** Ganesh. The warrior on horseback for the ruler's soldiers, the crest for **martial prowess**	The Guicowar's minister Sir Tanjore Madava Rao entered into negotiations on arms with some enthusiasm in August 1876, and several potential designs were submitted. Taylor merged features of two different submission sketches. His per saltire field was removed, and after 1929 crossed powder horns were added to the crest, Figure 41
17	Barwani **A** Figure 42	**Sun** on canton (solar family); and **geographical**: vair for forest, chief indented for river. Three barrulets reflect the threefold nature of the motto, Lord of the Ford, the Road and the Market	The vair caused difficulty in the rendering which might be accounted as a minor modification, and the strange barrulets on the shield were also dropped from letterheads, except in some renditions where the vair was dropped and the barrulets drawn
NA	Benares **A** Figure 27	Shield from the family **emblem**. Crest and supporters of trident and bulls for the **god** Shiva. Blue field for Shiva and as a Brahmin	The shield outline removed from the design on letterheads
13*	Bharatpur **R** Figure 19	The shield was **geographica**l, with the fort of Bharatpur at Lopagarh; religious, with a sacred cow in chief; the elephant crest and supporter for the **god** Ghanesh (although not so stated)	Taylor kept the supporters and modified pre-existing quarterly arms, which had been designed by the Rajah himself. That the ruler completely disregarded Taylor's version is evident from letterheads
12*	Bhavnagar **A** Figure 43	The lion on the canton is a **canting** reference to the old capital 'the Lion City'. The eagle on the shield represents the **god** Vishnu. The ship crest is **geographical**, this being a maritime state	Taylor based this on the existing arms designed by Mr MacNaghten of Rajkumar College, but Taylor reversed the tinctures of *Gules a lion passant guardant Or* on an escutcheon and made it into a canton because he thought it alluded to the British royal arms

11*	Bhopal **A** Figure 13b	The tower is for the fort of Fateghur **(geographical)** and the twelve flowers are the Prophet's flower which grows in the Peshawar Valley **(Islam)**. The fish supporters are both **honorific** and geographical for the lake of Bhopal. The lily crest is from a **flag** and its arrows are for **martial prowess**	Taylor records the interesting interaction between himself and the female ruler of Bhopal in the design process. The arms were adopted, as can be seen from a letterhead of 1932, and also on postage stamps. The arms were placed on an oval shield on the latter.
14*	Bijawar **A** Figure 7e	The drops of blood refer to the family **legend** of descent of the Budelas from a drop of blood.The fountains refer to the many water tanks **(geographical).**	The supporters were changed from a bear and a chital (stag) to a great cat or wolf and an antelope. The colours of the shield were changed, as seen on letterheads, Figure 7d
15	Bikaner **A**	The shield is based on the **flag**, with hawks for the **goddess** Lackshmi. The crest of the Bavi tree is **geographical** for the environs of the capital	The trident which the ruler had asked for was dropped by Taylor. Taylor's leopard supporters were changed to tigers, Figure 44
9*	Bilaspur **A**	Taylor used the **flag,** the significance of the dry tree on the shield is not given, nor is the crest of a a chicor (partridge), or the supporters, a kukur and a goorul	The family, Chandel Rajputs, claimed lunar descent, and added a crescent to the base of the tree, Figure 45
16*	Bundi **A** Figure 10a	The charge of the man emerging from flames is the creation **legend** of the Chouhan clan of Rajputs who were supposedly created from fire. The dagger and arrows **(martial prowess)** are based on another family story. The kuttar crest a family **emblem**	Letterheads confirm that these arms were still in use in 1946
18	Cambay **A** Figure 46	Ships for a port, and the tower, also on the shield, a local landmark (all **geographical).** The portcullis crest alludes to **ancestors** who were doorkeepers of the imperial bedchamber	The angel supporters were suggested by Kipling. The arms were adopted, as can been seen from a letterhead of 1943
22*	Chamba **A** Figure 47a	Vair is for the jungle is **geographical**. The supporters **(local fauna)** are beasts that live in it. The **sun** crest, because the family are solar Rajputs is the ancient badge **(emblem)** of the family. The drops of blood refer to the family **legend** of descent.	The vair and the blood spots on the shield were dropped as seen on revenue stamps from the 1920s to the 1940s (Millard vol 4 p. 439, Figure 47b, and also from letterheads
20*	Charkhari **A** Figure 48	The drops of blood refer to the family **legend** of descent of the Bundelas from a drop of blood, the boy's head to an incident in the Indian Revolt of 1857. The crest is for the **god** Mangal	The boy's head was changed to a tree on the revenue stamps of the 1930s and 40s, perhaps in error (Millard vol 4 pp. 445, 447)
23*	Chhatapur **A**	Kin of Dhar, Dewas and Santh, hence the roundel and flames. The palm branch on the canton is **canting** for the capital. The eagle wing crest relates to the **god** Vishnu	The bezant on the shield which Taylor wrongly blazoned as a globe has been drawn as a globe on the ruler's letterhead of 1913, Figure 49

Top left, *Figure 44*: Bikaner, official drawing; top right, *Figure 45*: Bilaspur letterhead 1931; middle left, *Figure 46*: Cambay letterhead 1943; middle right, *Figure 47a*: Chamba, Taylor's design, corrected from Wikimedia Commons; bottom left, *Figure 47b*: Chamba revenue stamp; bottom right, *Figure 48*: Charkhari, Taylor's design, Wikimedia Commons. All images in public domain.

21	Chhota Udaipur **A** Figure 53	The arms are the same as Baria with a different border. The charge of the man in flames is the foundation **legend** of the Chohan. The dragon supporters were the **emblems** of Kotah (also Chohan). The crest is both **geographical** and a family **legend**, relating to heroic death holding a fort	The adoption of the arms is confirmed by letterheads of 1943
24	Cochin **R** Figure 26ab	The crest is actually a lamp which is one of the **emblems,** as is the conch. The ships are **geographical**, representing the port	There was an existing seal device, not really heraldic, which the rulers retained, adding the elephant supporters borrowed from their kinsmen of Travancore
25*	Cooch Behar **R** Figure 31abcd	The shield alludes to a foundation **legend**, in which the animal supporters also feature. The monkey crest is a family **emblem** which alludes to the **god** Hanuman	There were existing arms with two crossed swords which Taylor uncrossed. He made many unnecessary alterations, which were rejected, although the rulers did start to display their supporters in the correct heraldic manner
33*	Datia **A** Figure 7a	The crest is from a family **legend**, the swords on the shield from the **coinage,** and to represent **martial prowess**. The drops of blood refer to the family **legend** of descent of the Bundelas from a drop of blood	The swords were dropped, as seen on letterheads, Figure 51
27*	Dewas junior **A**	The shield is based on the **flag** which is charged with the **god** Hanuman. The crest is of the wings of the eagle Garuda, Vishnu's mount (see Dhar)	The arms were retained, as seen on letterheads, Figure 52
26	Dewas senior **A** Figure 9c	The shield is based on the **flag** which is charged with the **god** Hanuman. The crest is of the wings of the eagle Garuda, Vishnu's mount (see Dhar)	A sun was later added to the crest and a sord and trident to the shield, the latter being family emblems, as seen on a letterhead of 1939, Figure 54
28*	Dhar **A** Figure 9d	The rulers of Dhar and Dewas are of the Pramar family, to whom Taylor ascribed as their general crest wings, "alluding to their wordwide fame." The shield is **geographical** with the gateway of a fort and flowers on a lake. The eagle is the mount of the **god** Vishnu. The flames between the wings are for the fire pit at Abu, entrance to the underworld	The colours of the shield were later changed to harmonise with those of their kinsmen of Dewas, as seen on letterheads, Figure 50
30	Dharampur **A** Figure 55	**Sun** (solar Rajputs) based on the **flag.** Taylor provides no explanation for the two heads on the shield, but in Rajput traditions the displaying of human heads was a way to show bravery or conquest	In later letterheads the heads are rendered as indeterminate objects

Top left, *Figure 49*: Chhatapur letterhead 1913; top right, *Figure 50*: Dhar letterhead; middle left, *Figure 51*: Datia letterhead; middle centre, *Figure 52*: Dewas Junior letterhead; middle right, *Figure 53*: Chhota Udaipur letterhead 1942; bottom left, *Figure 54*: Dewas Senior letterhead 1939; bottom right, *Figure 55*: Dharampur, Taylor's design, corrected from Wikimedia Commons. All images in public domain.

29*	Dholpur **A** Figure 13a	The shield is from the flag of 1760, with the **god** Hanuman.The towers of the two forts are **geographical**. The sword and the two soldier supporters for **martial prowess**. The crest is the 4th avatar of Vishnu	Taylor adopted the arms designed by the agent, excepting that the oriental crown was taken from the crest, but the ruler used the version with the crown, as seen on buildings and revenue stamps
32	Dhrangadhra **A** Figure 12ab	The canopy charges on the shield are taken from the temple of the local **goddess**. The hand crest is for the same goddess. The supporters are sacred bulls	Taylor modified an existing shield, removing from it the Brahmin bulls and turning them into supporters. The arms were adopted, as seen from a letterhead of 1910, but were later modified with the addition of lance pennons
31	Dungarpur **A**	The **God** Hanuman on the shield was proposed by the ruler, who wanted a **sun** crest (solar family) which Taylor changed to an antelope to signify the same thing	The field colour of the shield was changed from gules to azure, as seen from a letterhead of 1942, Figure 56
35*	Faridkot **A** Figure 57a	A **Lunar** family-hence the antelope supporters speckled with crescents. Taylor states that the demi-lion crest is **canting,** an allusion to the family name of Bhatti. The rajahs descended from the rulers of Jaisalmer. Sikh quoits on shield denote the religion of the house	The semy of crescents on the antelope supporters was dropped, as seen on Royal Worcester porcelain made for Maharajah Balbir Singh Brar 1898-1906 (Figure 57b), as well as on state stationery from the 1940s
36*	Gwalior **A** Figure 24d	The cobra on the shield and crest are the ruler's **emblem**. The shield is based on two **flag**s and has a **geographical** aspect, showing the two forts of Gwalior and Jhanoi The wolf supporters are a metaphor for the **martial prowess** of Marhatta fighters	The arms were adopted and occur on a bookstamp of Madhavrao II Sindhia (1886-1925) with minor modification of the crest, reducing the number of snakes from two to one and removing the globes, Figure 58
37*	Hyderabad **R** Figure 24	The shield was based on a combination of two **flags**	The arms were created in discussion with the Regent Nawab Sir Salar Jung GCSI, see main text
34	Idar **A**	For the shield Taylor used two **flags** (that of the parent house of Jodhpur being placed in the canton). The arms were also **geographical,** representing the fort of Idar and the jungle around it	The supporters were changed, the shield was altered to the *Pancharanga* flag and the canton was changed to equate with that of Jodhpur, while the sun was added as the main charge, while the overall nature of the composition was retained, as seen from a letterhead of 1941,Figure 59
38*	Indore **R** Figure 23c	The shield with its weaponryfor **martial prowess** was based on the **flag**. The crest was the horse **god** Khandoba, an avatar of Shiva. Poppy heads were **geographical** for opium production	There was a pre-existing emblem-flag without a shield which the ruler retained, as seen on letterheads, Figure 23d

Top left, *Figure 56*: Dungarpur letterhead 1942; top right, *Figure 57a*: Faridkot, Taylor's design; middle left, *Figure 57b*: Faridkot, Royal Worcester porcelain; middle right, *Figure 58*: Gwalior letterhead 1923; bottom left, *Figure 59*: Idar letterhead 1941; bottom right, *Figure 60*: Jaisalmer letterhead. All images in public domain.

40*	Jaipur **R** Figure 2	The ruler already had a quartered coat designed by Brukoroski. Taylor took elements from this, keeping the supporters and making the rainbow *Panchranga* **flag** of the solar rajputs the basis of the shield, to which he added a **sun** (solar family)	The original pre-Taylor arms were retained (Figure 2a). These were later modified, changing the crest of Krishna to that of the sun, as seen on letterheads
39	Jaisalmer **A**	On the shield, black is for the desert, embattled for the fort of Jaisalmer (**geographical**). The arm on the shield alludes to 'Swangia' the tutelary **goddess** who saved the city by capturing a magic spear which would slay anyone at whom it was pointed (**legend**). The antelope supporters are the steeds of the moon, the rulers being of the **luna**r race as Bhatti Rajputs (the Chandravanshi, descended from Krishna). They are bezanty in allusion to the city being a refuge for wealthy traders	The spots on the supporters were dropped and a motto added, as seen both on official stationery and on revenue stamps from 1940-48, Figure 60
19*	Jammu & Kashmir **A** Figure 14	The sun crest was a longstanding family **emblem** on the postage stamps from 1860. The shield is **Geographical,** representing the Himalayas. Warrior supporters for **martial prowess**	Taylor followed the submission design fairly closely with the sun crest, the mountains, the flowers and the supporters. A radically new derivative design was introduced on revenue stamps of the 1940s
44	Janjira **A** Figure 21a	The shield combined two **flags**, the fort in orle being **geographical** for the fortress of Janjira, the ship crest is for the ancestors as hereditary Grand Admirals of the Moghul fleet	The canton was removed and a legend added around the bordure, as seen on letterheads,Figure 21b
47*	Jaora **R** Figure 61a	The shield was based on the **flag** of Holkar to which the ruler was feudatory, plus the spur rowel from the crest of Tonk who was a kinsman	There was an existing carriage device which was abandoned in favour of a properly heraldic device not related in any way to Taylor's, as seen on a letterhead of 1940, Figure 61b
41	Jhabua **R** Figure 62a	The rulers were Rathors, hence the falcon **emblem** crest and the boar supporters, Taylor does not explain the symbolism of the shield, but the bloody spears and the severed head must relate to some family **legend,** and also stand for **martial prowess**	Rajah Udai Singh Bahadur 1895-1942 used entirely different arms, as can be seen from his letterhead of 1927, which had Krishna on the shield with a sun crest and lion supporters, Figure 62b

Top left, *Figure 61a*: Jaora, Taylor's design, Wikimedia Commons; top right, *Figure 61b*: Jaora, Nawab's letterhead of 1940; middle left, *Figure 62a*: Jhabua, Taylor's design, Wikimedia Commons; middle right, *Figure 62b*: Jhabua, Maharajah's letterhead 1927; bottom left, *Figure 63*: Jhalawar letterhead; bottom right, *Figure 64*: Kapurthala stationery 1876 from *Taylor*, supplement f. 35, courtesy of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms. Figures 61-63 are in the public domain.

42*	Jhalawar **A**	The shield was the **flag**, of Garuda (mount of Vishnu) holding a bow and arrow, very similar to that of Kotah from which the state was created in 1838. Taylor took the sun from the flag and made it an estoile crest. The dragon supporters are a family **emblem**	From revenue stamps of Maharaj Rana Sir Bhawani Singh (1899-1929) the dragon supporters were still then in use, but the crest had become a sun (as was originally intended) above two crossed swords. The next ruler Rajendra Singh (1929-1943) changed the supporters to dexter a lion and sinister a horse, each holding a flag pennon, plus the additional crest of an arm embowed holding a trident, Figure 63
43*	Jind **A** Figure 8a	The ermine field with black target shield and crescent are all part of a trilogy of Phulkian dynasty arms with Nabha and Patiala. The target shield **emblem**, the elephant crest and the supporters all come from the pre-existing arms of Patiala	The ermine field was changed to roundely, the border changed from engrailed to plain, central roundel also made plain, as seen on letterheads, and on the 1937 Golden Jubilee medal
45*	Jodhpur **A** Figure 6a	The shield was based on the **flag**, its charge of the kite, and also the supporters are for the **goddess** Devi or Durga, who in this form has appeared on several critical occasions to assist the State. The canton charged with three ears of millet palewise was based on a local **legend,** the three ears referencing Sher Shah's saying that in trying to conquer Marwar he had "nearly lost the Empire of Hindustan for a handful of *bajra=barley*"	There were pre-existing arms with a sun and lions and a kite crest which the family abandoned. The adoption of Taylor's arms is known from the palace gates
46*	Junagadh **A** Figure 20	The shield is **geographical** for the peaks of Girnar, which rises 3500 ft above the city of Junagadh, held as sacred by the Jains. The supporting lions were also geographical, being a supposedly maneless (not so drawn) variety unique to the area	The arms were adopted, as can be seen from official letterheads, and then in the 1920s some of the elements were incorporated onto a new circular shield which placed the Girnar Mountains in chief and on them the Fort of Junagadh, while one of the lion supporters was moved into a couchant position below the mountains, and in base was added a scene of three sailing ships on the sea. The upper part of this design had featured on the state postage stamps from 1890

Top left, *Figure 65*: Khairpur letterhead 1921; top right, *Figure 66*: Kishangarh, ruler's modification of Taylor's design, Wikimedia Commons; middle left, *Figure 67*: Kutch, pre-Taylor version from the *Bowring Albums BL* Mss Eur G38/1/26e ©British Library Board; middle right, *Figure 68*: Lunavada letterhead; bottom left, *Figure 69*: Maler Kotla letterhead; bottom right, *Figure 70*: Mandi chief minister letterhead 1943. With the exception of Figure 67, all images are in the public domain.

53	Kapurthala **R**	The sword crest and the gun on the fess are for **martial prowess**, and for support given to the British in 1857. In base is a lotus bud between two leaves which is symbolic in Sikh scripture. The colours blue and gold are also quintessentially Sikh. The two mullets are emblems, standing for the heads of two heirloom maces kept in the capital	The arms were devised by Garter in 1871, Figure 64. Taylor modified them slightly, removing the crown and making the sword crest vertical instead of horizontal. The modifications were rejected, as is apparent from letterheads
48*	Karauli **A** Figure 5a	The field colour blue is for the **god** Vishnu, the ruler having **lunar** descent, and the antelope crest is also for this god. The motto also relates to Vishnu	Taylor rejected the existing quartered arms (Figure 5b) but used two of the quarterings. The two gods who were supporters were also removed. Later the ruler put the crescent which Taylor had removed as crest, back on the shield, as on a letterhead of 1942
49*	Khairpur **A**	The talipot palm crest is **canting** for the family surname of Talpur. The fess wavy is **geographical** for the river Indus. The birds and the supporters were for the rulers favourite sport of hunting	The shield was modified- the fess made plain instead of wavy with a legend upon it, one of the hogdeer supporters was changed to an antelope, and both supporters were chained, from a letterhead of 1921, Figure 65
50*	Kishangarh **A**	The chief is the Jodhpur **flag** of which the house is a cadet, and below it three red crowns were geographical, standing for the Red Fort at Agra. The falcon crest is the sacred *Garur*, the family **emblem** of the Rathor Rajputs	The three crowns were replaced with as many towers, a more natural way to show a fort, Figure 66, as seen on postage stamps of 1899 and later. The motto later adopted (Taylor provided none) "*May Holy Hari* [Krishna] *ever conquer,*" is an allusion to the name of the state
51	Kolhapur **A** Figure 17	The crest is for the **goddess** Bhavani. The four hawks are **geographical**, representing the four feudatory regions. The sword is a family **emblem**, being that of Shivagi, the founder of the Maratha empire. The cheetah supporters represent **martial prowess**	Taylor here exactly followed one of the submission sketches. The shield was later made quarterly, as seen on a letterhead of 1933, Figure 17b
52	Kotah **A** Figure 10bc	The shield of Garuda (mount of the **god** Vishnu) is exactly the **flag.** The crest of the man in flames is the foundation **legend** of the Chohan (see also Bundi). The dragon supporters are a family **emblem**	The adoption of the arms is known from letterheads

54	Kutch **R**	Taylor took elements from the existing quartered arms, comprising a **geographical** (castle of Bhuj) crest with family **emblems** on the shield and also weapons for **martial prowess**	The agent of Rao Pragmalji II (1860-75) obtained a design of arms from **Garter** in London painted on vellum, although this had never been paid for or officially granted. The ruler ignored Taylor's version and continued with the pre-existing quartered arms, as is known from letterheads, Figure 67
55	Lunavada **A**	The tiger on the shield is **canting** for the Waghel family, the tiger race. Taylor gave this family the same crest of the flaming hand which he gave to the related family of Rewah. The tridents are **geographical**, for the multiple shrines of the state	The tridents later evolved into mullets, as seen on letterheads, Figure 68
56*	Maler Kotla **A**	Taylor does not state the reason for the shield of five target shields (blazoned as bezants, but drawn with rims) in saltire or on a field vert. The mullet crest and antelope supporters were made ermine for the rather weak **geographical** reason that Taylor had already allocated this fur to the neighbouring state of Patiala	The shield was comprehensively reworked, with only one target shield remaining, and other markers of **martial prowess** added- a cannon and cannonballs,and crossed swords. The ermine was removed from crest and supporters, as seen on letterheads, Figure 69
58*	Mandi **A**	Taylor here went for an impalement, with the sinister side being four Vedas Or (Hindu holy books) on a field vair. The Vedas to show the ruler was a Brahmin. The dexter field Or and the jay charges are for the **god** Vishnu. The god Krishna (a Vishnu avatar)is pivotal at the temple of Mandi and his devotees wear yellow at his festivals, the jays being his birds or vahan	This state provides evidence of the unreliability of revenue stamps as in this instance the stamps showed entirely different arms, whereas official letterheads from the 1940s showed Taylor's arms, excepting that the Vedas were not included, possibly because the shield die was engraved quite small, Figure 70
57*	Mysore **A** Figure 12cd	The lion crest is for the **goddess** Chamunda. The charge on the shield is the **god** Gandaberunda, an avatar of Vishnu and the ruler's **emblem**. The gajasimha supporters are from the temples of south India	These are one of Taylor's particular success stories-he took great pains in researching them. The adoption of the arms is known from letterheads
59*	Nabha **A** Figure 8b	The family theme of an ermine field and black target **emblem** with gold studs is part of a trilogy of Phulkian dynasty arms. The arm embowed with bow and arrow crest is for **martial prowess**	The supporters were reversed in the adopted arms which were still in use on the revenue stamps from the 1920s, Figure 71. By 1911 Nabha State was using a version of the arms with a major revision of the shield which became divided per saltire with four different charges, as seen from letterheads

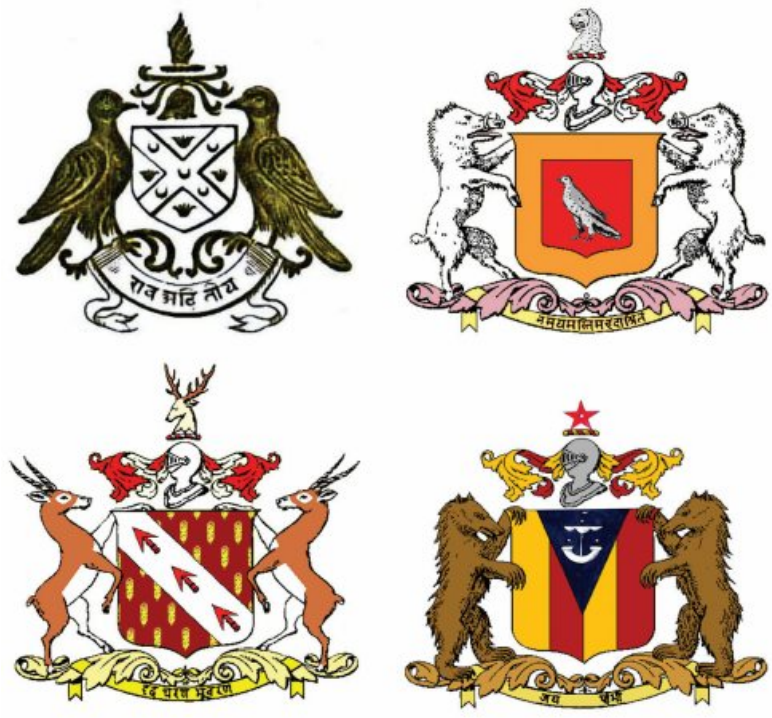
Top left, *Figure 71*: Nabha detail from revenue stamp; top right, *Figure 72*: Nawanagar letterhead; middle left, *Figure 73*: Palanpur letterhead; middle right, *Figure 74*: Panna, Taylor's version, corrected from Wikimedia Commons; bottom left, *Figure 75*: Porbandar letterhead; bottom right, *Figure 76*: Radhanpur letterhead from the 1940s. All images are in the public domain.

60	Nagod **A** Figure 10de	The shield was based on the **flag**, which included the **emblem** of a trident. The flames denote the fire-born ancestry of the Parihar Rajputs	The supporters were changed from ibis to bears, and the flames on the shield to mounds, as seen from a letterhead of 1940
64	Narsingharh **A** Figure 23ab	The shield is based on the **flag** of Holkar and the arms designed for Bhopal, to both of which no. 64 was tributary. The boar supporters and the motto both relate to the **god** Vishnu.	The cinquefoils of Bhopal were changed to roundels and the barry of Holkar converted into pales, as is known from arms carved in the state, and from an undated New Year's card issue by the Rajah, Figure 23b
62*	Nawanagar **A**	Antelope supporters and crest for descent from Chandra the moon **god**. The fish on the shield were family **emblems. Geographical**, drops of water on supporters for pearl fisheries	Taylor needlessly redesigned the submitted arms, taking elements thereof. The ruler adopted the arms minus the water drops, and with the crest changed to a lion sejant with a rising sun above, as is known from a letterhead, Figure 72
66*	Orchha **R** Figure 7bc	The shield colours are from the **flag**, the lion supporters are for the **goddess** Devi Vindhyavāsini, the tutelary deity of the Bundela clan. The mace is from the **coinage**. The mace is an emblem of Vishnu	The arms adopted, as seen on postage stamps from 1900, and on letterheads from the 1930s, although radically different, do take some visual inspiration from Taylor's design: the arms of the goddess Devi reflect the chevron. The maces are placed above her, while the head below replaces the third mace
67	Palanpur **A**	The gyronny shield uses the colours of the **flag**, the mural crown (**martial prowess**) is for support to the British in 1857, and the flames denote the founder of Palanpur, Pal Parmar (**legend**), Taylor having used them for the Pramar Rajputs	The colours of the shield were later changed and on the stationery the flames look rather more like clams, Figure 73
70*	Panna **A** Figure 74	The escarbuncle stands for the diamond mines (**geographical**). The tree is the **emblem** of the house. The drops of blood refer to the family **legend** of descent of the Bundelas from a drop of blood	The adoption of the arms is confirmed by a letterhead from 1943
68	Partabgarh **A** Figure 3b	**Sun** for solar family. Trident crest for the **god** Shiva	The supporters were reversed. On revenue stamps of the 1940s, but not on letterheads, the sun was made the sole element of shield
71	Patiala **R** Figure 8cd Figure 33	Taylor created a family theme for the Phulkian dynasty based on these arms, and decided that ermine fields would visually tie the arms together. The target shield, the elephant crest and the weapons were family **emblems-** the elephant appeared on the coinage, and the weapons are for **martial prowess**	Taylor simply took the pre-existing arms and added an ermine field, also relocating the crescent from crest to shield and taking the crown off the lion. He stated that the ruler already had furniture made with the arms for the visit of the POW in 1875. The ruler rejected the changes and adopted an azure field to the shield, as is known from letterheads

69	Porbandar **A**	The shield colour is from the **flag**. The **god** Hanuman is the ancestor of the ruler. The galleys are **geographical**, for the port. The crest is the sacred bull mount of the god Shiva	That the arms were adopted can be seen from the revenue stamps of the Rana Natwarsinhji Bahadur (ruled 1908-1948, d. 1979), although at some stage during his reign the central shield was modified by the addition of two crossed swords below the god, Figure 75
72	Radhanpur **A**	The shield is from the **flag**, and also has an Islamic aspect. Pereira *CoA* vol. 8 p. 240 contends that the chevron rompu alludes to the mihrab of a mosque. The crest of the hand with bow and arrow relate to a **legend** of Persian descent, while also denoting **martial prowess**	Adoption of the arms is confirmed by early twentieth century letterheads, Figure 76
73	Rajgarh **A**	The ruler was one of the Pramar Rajputs, hence the flames on the shield and the wings crest. He had converted to **Islam**, hence the saltire vert charged with crescents. The dove supporters were chosen as being acceptable to Muslims. The field colour is that of the **flag** of Sindia to whom the ruler paid tribute	From official letterheads (Figure 77) the arms were adopted
74*	Rajpipla **A** Figure 18a	The bison crest and the pale on the shield are **geographical**. The supporters are local warriors, together with the guns for **martial prowess**	The guns were converted in abstract dots and crosses on the letterheads, Figure 18b
75	Rampur **R** Figure 29	The shield was based on the **flag** with its two swords for **military prowess**. It was also **geographical**, having an orle for the bamboo forest surrounding Rampur	The ruler retained his pre-existing device which was shown on his submission sketch, as seen on state porcelain of 1905. This was later modified, having only a fish embowed in the shield, Figure 29b
77*	Ratlam **A** Figure 6b	Taylor used the existing emblem of the **god** Hanuman, while the chief is the **flag** of Jodhpur of which the family was a cadet. The poppy heads are **geographical**. The crest of a hand holding a kuttar is from a family **legend,** also standing for **martial prowess**	The supporters were changed from boars to birds and the next ruler dropped the field semy of poppy heads, which his father had requested, from the shield, as seen on letterheads from 1941
76*	Rewah **R** Figure 11	The tiger supporters are an allusion to the family, the Vaghel clan, known as the tiger race (**canting**). The tilluk relates to the **god** Vishnu, and was a family **emblem**. The crest of a flaming hand is for fire-born ancestors.	The design was rejected, as seen from letterheads, despite the shield being close to the submitted design. The new design lost the shield entirely
82	Sailana **A** Figure 78	Red is the colour of the state **flag**. The tenne border is because the ruler paid tribute to Sindh. The bird on the shield is for *Pankhani Devi*, the tutelary **goddess** of the Rāthors	The arms were still being used on state letterheads of 1947

85*	Samthar **A** Figure 79	The shield colours are those of the **flag**, the ears of wheat **geographical**, the pheons for **martial prowess**	The direction of the arrows was reversed and the semy of cereal changed to spots, as seen on letterheads of 1930 and 1941
83	Santh **R** Figure 9ab	Like Dhar and Dewas, of the House of Pawar, with fire-born ancestors, hence the flames. The wings and crest match others in this family group, relating to the **god** Vishnu. The elephants were given as supporters on the submission sketch and are perhaps a family **emblem**	The arms were entirely rejected on the basis of the Rajah's letterhead of 1940
78*	Sawantwadi **A** Figure 80	The shield was based on two **flags**, and the boat is **geographical**, alluding to a maritime state. The spur rowel crest is presumably a marker of horsemanship (**martial prowess**) through Mahratta ancestry	The crest and motto alone were used on state letterheads and revenue stamps, taken as evidence that the arms were adopted.
81	Sikkim **A** Figure 13c	All the elements are strongly Buddhist, the yellow field, the blue lotus, the conch shell and twelve circles representing the twelve nidanas of Buddhism	That the arms were adopted is known from letterheads, and the arms are still in use by the Sikkim government
61*	Sirmur **R** Figure 34ab	The leopard supporters were taken from the existing quarterly arms which Taylor rejected. The shield *Azure semy of bees Or* is based on a misunderstanding of those arms	The pre-existing arms remained in use, as can be seen both from architectural elements old an new in the ruler's palace and from stationery
80	Sirohi **R** Figure 16ab	The shield is the **flag**. The fire fountain on both shield and crest a **geographical** feature. The supporters are the mounts of the titulary **gods**	These arms are important for understanding Taylor's modus operandi. He took many elements from the submitted design. By 1929, as shown from the ruler's letterhead, both shield and crest had been completely changed
79	Sitamau **A** Figure 6cd	The bend on the shield stands for the patron **goddess** Sita, who is often shown holding the lotus flower, which the fleurs-de-lis are presumably intended to represent. The bordure tenne matches that of the sister state Sailana, both paid tribute to Sindh	The crest was changed from a lion's face to a sun, as seen on a letterhead from 1944, Figure 6d
84*	Suket **R** Figure 15	Vair for the forest and fish for the rivers (**geographical**). The falcon crest alludes to descent from the **lunar** family of Sen which means hawk (**canting**).	Taylor's design was comprehensively rejected and a quartered coat adopted, Figure 15b
86*	Tehri-Garhwal **A** Figure 32ab	The shield colours and the fakir's trumpet are from the **flag,** as is the falcon Garuda, the bird mount of the **god** Vishnu, from the family's foundation **legend**, which is both crest and supporters. The bordure is **geographical** for the Himalayas	The adoption of the arms is known from an official letterhead of 1936 and from revenue stamps, Figure 32b

88*	Tonk **A** Figure 28	The shield is based on the **flag**, the target shield and swords denote **martial prowess**, as does the spur rowel crest which denotes military successes on horseback.	The fess was later removed and a crescent added to the crest for Islam, as seen from the coinage of 1932. In the 1930s crossed spears were also added to the shield, as seen from a letterhead of 1938
89	Travancore **R** Figure 25abc	The conch **emblem** stood for the **god** Vishnu, the elephant supporters were the ruler's other emblem.	The existing arms on the coinage etc, although rejected by Taylor, were retained, as is known both from letterheads and from the coinage
87	Tripurah or Hill Tripperah **R** Figure 4	All the charges on the shield were longstanding family **emblems**, and the demi-lion crest a pre- existing badge. Of these the crescent was for **lunar** descent and the trident the gift of a **god**, according to **legend**	There was an existing quartered coat used on the coinage from 1869, from which Taylor took the supporters and some of the emblems from shield and crest. The original design was retained, as is known from letterheads
65*	Udaipur **N/A** Figure 1	**Sun** design for solar family. Taylor accepted the ruler's own design also based on the **flag**. The warrior supporters are for **martial prowess**.	The crest was modified soon afterwards, see main text



Top left, *Figure 77*: Rajgarh letterhead; top right, *Figure 78*: Sailana, Taylor's design; bottom left, *Figure 79*: Samthar, Taylor's design; bottom right: *Figure 80*: Sawantwadi, Taylor's design. Figures 78-80 corrected from Wikimedia Commons.
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