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MUGHAL PAINTING DURING
JAHANGIR'S TIME

By

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Abstract

Mughal painting achieved its finest glory and refinement during the reign of Jahângîr (1605-1627). Born in 1569, he grew up in an atmosphere conducive to the development of a lively interest in artistic pursuit. An attempt has been made to trace the evolution of his complex personality which exerted a great influence on the development of Mughal painting. The establishment of an independent atelier, called here the Salîm Studio, and its achievements have been noted in Chapter 3

After becoming emperor Jahângîr continued the tradition of MS-illustration for a few years. The large number of pictures collected by him since his early years were mounted on the large folios of a set of sumptuously produced albums. Then his leading painters, Farrukh Beg, Daulat, Abu'l Ḥasan, Manohar, Manşûr and Bishandâs, settled down to produce a series of remarkable portrait-studies and genre scenes. Many of these were used as illustrations of the emperor's autobiographical work called the Jahângîrnâma. Chapters 4 to 8 are devoted to the study of these different phases of Jahângîrî painting.

The complicated political events of the later years of his reign cast a shadow of gloom on Jahângîr's mind. Coupled with his sickness and a number of other factors these events made him contemplative and fearful of his destiny. Abu'l Ḥasan and Bichitr prepared a series of allegorical drawings to illustrate his inner agonies. In order to evolve the iconographical symbols they drew heavily on the European engravings. Chapter 9 deals with the series of allegorical drawings, while Chapter 10 is concerned with the whole question of European impact.

The reign of Jahângîr also witnessed the beginning of the decadence of the Mughal style and a rapid decentralisation of artistic pursuit.

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Preface

The present study deals with a large number of MSS and miniatures deposited in museums, libraries and private collections throughout the world. Many of them are unpublished. Lack of communication and absence of proper recording and publication prove a great hindrance to their identification and study. I was however fortunate to be able to examine many of them in India, the U.K., Ireland and Europe, including the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Hungary and East Germany. I am indebted to the authorities of the public and private institutions in these countries for providing me with help and facilities, specially Dr. Hayes and Mr. Zichy of the Chester Beatty Library. My inability to examine the rich treasures of Jahângîrî paintings in the American Collections has been made up to a large extent through the publications of Professor R. Ettinghausen and Mr. S.C. Welch and the personal help of Dr. Dorothy Miner and Mr. Milo C. Beach.

To present the mass of materials thus collected in the form of a thesis was not an easy task for me. I would express my sincere gratitude to my Supervisor Mr.

J.G. Burton-Page, who took charge of my work from Professor K. de B. Codrington when he retired, for his inspiring guidance and sympathetic help in every stage of my work. I have been encouraged and assisted throughout the course of my research in the University of London by my friends and colleagues. I am much indebted to Mr. Simon Digby for reading and translating many difficult inscriptions and giving help in various other ways, Mr. R. Pinder-Wilson, Mr. D. Barrett and Mr. G. Meredith-Owens of the British Museum, Mr. R. Skelton of the Victoria and Albert Museum and Mrs. M. Archer of the India Office Library, who took keen interest in my work, put forward various suggestions, discussed many difficult problems arising out of my work and gave me every opportunity to facilitate my study for which I am grateful to them. I should also like to thank Miss Maureen Collings, Mr. Paul Fox, Mr. R. Majumdar and Mr. P. Jangla for their help.

It would never have been possible for me to complete my study without the scholarship awarded by the Association of Commonwealth Universities for which I am deeply grateful to the Association. The Board of Trustees of Indian Museum, Calcutta was kind enough to grant me leave for the entire period, and to them also my thanks are due.

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115. Folio from the Gulshan Album showing European Subjects. Gulistan Library, Tehran. Same size.
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127. Winter. An original Engraving from the series The Four Seasons by J. Sadeler. New York Public Library.
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129. Coloured copy of European Engraving. One signed by Nâdirâ Bânû. Gulshan Album, Gulistan Library, Tehran.
130. St. Anthony Abbot. An Original Engraving by R. Sadeler. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
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132. Virgin and the Angel. Unsigned. C. 1605-1608. Central Museum, Lahore.
133. Tobias' Angel. Signed on the mount by Husain. Musee Guimet, No. 3619 H.a. 18.7 x 13.2 cm.
134. Lady with a Lotus Bud. Copied from an Engraving by J. Sadeler after Aachen. An Original Engraving of St. George pasted above it. Unsigned. C. 1615-20. Leningrad Album. 15.4 x 19 cm (lower part only).
135. Folio from Hâtîff's Khusrau wa Shirin. Unfinished. Artist unknown. MS No. Whinfield 84. Bodleian Library, Oxford. 9.5 x 4.6 cm.
136. Portraits of Jahângîr, Prince Khuram and a Page. Original or Originals Lost. Portrait of Jahângîr by Manohar, and Signed by Jahângîr. Dated 1617. From W. Foster's edition of Roe's Embassy.
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139. Anwâr-i-Suhaili, f 196^b. By Anant. MS. No. Add 18579, dated 1610. Miniature painted C. 1604. British Museum.
140. Folio 147^b of Khâmsa of Amîr Khusrau Dihlavî. By Hashim. MS No. Or Folio 1278, dated 1617. German State Library, now University Library, Tübingen.

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147. A Nâyikâ holding a flower, Râginî Mâlaśrî. Undated. C 1615. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
148. Two Folios from the Akbarnâma. MS. Or. One miniature dated 1604. Hâshiya decorations probably added later. British Museum.
149. Folio from a Lailâ-Majnûn MS. Undated. C 1610. Probably prepared for a Mughal Noble. National Museum of India, New Delhi.
150. Zafarnâma, title page with autograph notes by Akbar, Jahângîr and Shâh Jahân. John Hopkins University Library, U.S.A.

Abbreviations Used
(Books and Periodicals)

- AA: Ars Asiaticques, Musée Guimet, Paris, 1954
- AIP: Sir Leigh Ashton, ed., The Art of India and Pakistan: A Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition Held at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1947-1948. Contributions by K. de B. Codrington, Basil Gray and John Irwin. London, 1950.
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Introduction

The period of Jahângîr's reign from 1605 to 1627 was politically unremarkable. After the dramatic situation leading to the foundation of Mughal rule in India by Bâbar, the period of unsettled fortune of Humâyûn and the spectacular success achieved in the battlefield and outside it by Akbar, it was nothing more than a colourless interregnum. Jahângîr's easy-going nature proved no match for the adventurism or ability of his predecessors. However, Jahângîr was neither a weakling nor an unworthy administrator, and the basic political structure of the enormous Mughal empire did not undergo any drastic change during his reign.

Jahângîr's real interest lay not so much in enlarging his political fortune as in stabilising and integrating into a coherent shape the fortunes already accumulated. He was essentially a lazy man, slow and languorous, who was more interested in good food and easy life, with poetry, wine, women and sports. He was a real aristocrat with the eye of a naturalist, the vision of a poet, the taste of a connoisseur and the philosophy of an epicurean.

This slow and languorous nature made Jahângîr a great patron of all kinds of creative arts. His interest in novelty and curiosa and discriminating taste were ideal for the development of any art. The Mughal School of Painting had already established itself as one of the most successful and thriving schools of art in India when Jahângîr was beginning to take interest in painting. In the mass-producing Akbarî atelier, however, there was no set standard, no hard means test, as a consequence of which the finest Basâwans were not infrequently found along with third-grade pictures. It was left to Jahângîr to infuse new meaning, dimension and refinement into Mughal painting. With his critical mind, connoisseur's eyes, sophisticated taste and penchant for details the pictures produced under his patronage were remarkable for their refinement and quality.

My purpose here is to trace the background of the patron as well as the pictures produced in his atelier in order to show how the style of these pictures depended on the mood and temperament of Jahângîr. When Jahângîr was young and restless, the miniatures showed the restlessness in a variety of ways and glorified the cult of youth. When Jahângîr became emperor and the heavy burden of political

responsibility made him more conscious of his position, the painters produced masses of portraits and pictures showing the emperor, his daily life, his favourite sports and pets, his sons, entourage of nobles and friends and so on. When at the end of his reign Jahângîr became weak and contemplative, the painters flattered and eulogised him by picturing him as a great ruler, benefactor and just short of a deity. Attracted by the growing splendour of the court and the living interest of the emperor in rare, valuable and beautiful objects, artists, craftsmen and traders came to the court in large numbers and provided it with rare glimpses of the outside world. The painters took full advantage of this situation and knowing the emperor's tolerant religious views and demand for absolute quality and refinement they did their best to produce pictures of unsurpassable subtlety and beauty. We have tried to show how this was achieved by his leading painters.

In order to put in a chronological sequence the pictures produced in Jahângîr's atelier emphasis has been focussed on the identification of their contents. A large number of well-known pictures could thus be accurately dated. Pictures exhibiting apparent stylistic resemblance have also been included in the same category. Attention

has also been drawn to the contents of the muraqqa's which mirror Jahângîr's taste and preserve the different types of materials fancied and collected by him. Unfortunately, in spite of my best efforts I could not examine the Gulshan album nor could I procure even a full photographic record of its entire content, and I had to depend mainly on the insufficient notices made in exhibition catalogues and reproductions of poor quality appended by L. Hájek and H. Goetz.

In order to limit the scope of this work my plan to re-examine the whole problem of the so-called Popular Mughal School had to be curtailed and I restricted myself to the productions of the imperial atelier. Although I have tried to incorporate as many plates as possible I have selected only those which illustrate the points discussed in the text.

PART ONE THE INHERITED TRADITION

CHAPTER 1

Jahângîr: His Career and
Character

Jahângîr was born on 30th August, 1569, to Akbar's chief queen, the daughter of Râjâ Bhâr Mal of Amber. His birth is said to have been accompanied by mystical signs and portents, and followed years of yearnings and pilgrimages by Akbar and resort to the intercession of recluses and dervishes.¹ According to the Tûzuk, the memoirs that Salîm wrote after becoming emperor, Akbar approached the venerated Shaikh Salîm Chishtî for a child. The Shaikh assured the emperor by saying "the Giver who gives without being asked will bestow three sons on the emperor." Hearing this the emperor made a vow to cast his first son "on the skirt of the Shaikh's favour", to which the Shaikh agreed. As a result of this, when the Rajput princess showed signs of motherhood she was sent to the humble abode of the Shaikh at Sikri, a small village near Agra. When the child was born

1. Tuzuk, I, 2f; AN, II, 502-3; Beniprasad, 2-7.

he was named Salim after the name of the Shaikh, Akbar always called Salim as Shaikhûji or Shaikhû Bâbâ, a nickname which alludes to his birth at Shaikh Salim's intercession.

Two other sons quickly followed Salim's birth and made Akbar happy. At that time he was at the height of his power. The troubled throne of Hindustan that he inherited from his father Humâyûn was made secure and the empire enlarged and strengthened to a great extent. As the humble residence of Shaikh Salim had acquired for him an atmosphere of sanctity and auspiciousness, he decided to build his new capital in its vicinity. A city of immense size was constructed in only a decade. To commemorate the brilliant victory of Gujarat, Fathpur, "City of Victory", was added to the site-name Sikri. For eighteen years it remained the Mughal capital, after which Lahore was selected as the seat of government for other overwhelming considerations.

In spite of his preoccupation with the affairs of state Akbar kept a careful watch over the proper upbringing of his sons. Having neglected his own education in his childhood² at Kabul Akbar realised the need of proper education more than

2. Though not educated in the formal sense of the term, Akbar was certainly not illiterate. There is at least one example of his handwriting, authenticated by Jahângir's contemporary note, still surviving: T.W.Arnold, Bihzad and his painting in the Zafarnamah Ms; London, 1930, Pl.2 (facing p.1). The Ms is now in the collection of John Hopkins University, Cambridge, Mass. Plate 150.

anyone else.³ The finest teachers and the most eminent scholars of the age were selected. Amongst the teachers appointed to look after Salim was the son of Bairâm Khân, 'Abd-ur-Rahîm Khân, who besides being a premier noble of the Mughal court, was a scholar and bibliophile, a well-known writer in both Persian and Hindi, a linguist, and an art connoisseur. Apart from studying Persian literature under him and Shaikh 'Abdun-Nabî,⁴ Salim learnt Turkî and Hindî, and took lessons in history, geography and topography.

Even a cursory glance ^{at} of his memoirs would show that he was well-grounded in traditional Muslim learning as regards both the natural sciences and theology. His knowledge of Turkî helped him to converse with the English traveller William Hawkins without an interpreter,⁵ to fill up the lacunae in the autograph copy of Bâbar's memoirs⁶ and to save his honour and life at the time of Mahâbat Khân's coup de main.⁷

3. Abu'l Fasl's record of Akbar's opinions regarding education is most illuminating as to his basic approach: "Every boy ought to read books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of Government, medicine, logic, the Tabî'i [physical sciences], Riyâzi [mathematics, astronomy, music and mechanics], and Ilâhî [theology], sciences and history, and all of which may be gradually acquired ... No one should be allowed to neglect these things, which the present time requires." - Ain, I, 289.

4. Tuzuk, I, 21-2.

5. ETI, 81.

6. Tuzuk, I, 109-10. From the complex construction of the passage it is difficult to make out what actually Jahângir did, copying or making additions. In his characteristic way he adds, "Notwithstanding that I grew up in Hindustan I am not ignorant of Turkî speech and writing."

7. E & D, VI, 420-4.

He developed a special interest ~~for~~ⁱⁿ rare gems and precious stones and for all curious and out-of-the-way objects which were collected with enthusiasm and a perceptive eye; but perhaps more than any other rarities, unusual animals and birds appealed to him. He showed much interest in the arts in general and painting in particular, which concerns us here.

His education was not confined to formal studies. Akbar took him to the battlefields and entrusted him with responsible tasks even when he was very young. He was given the post of 10,000 mansabdâri when he was only eight, was informally acknowledged as the heir-apparent, and put in charge of the administration of criminal justice and registration of marriages and births as early as 1582. He was taken to the far-off provincial capitals and to places of pilgrimage. On the whole, Akbar's intention was to impart a comprehensive education and training to the heir-apparent.

Salim was not an inattentive student and derived a good deal from his training. The entries in the Tûzuk, though a record of personal impressions and reactions, testify to his knowledge and formal education. But being a favourite son he was rather too pampered by his parents and by the older members of the Zanâna, among them his grandmother Hâmîdâ Bânû, his great aunt Gulbadan Begam, and his stepmother Salîmâ Sultân Begam. This had a bad effect on the personality of the young prince.

His first marriage with Mân Bâi, daughter of Râjâ Bhagwant Dâs of Amber, was arranged before he was sixteen. The wedding was solemnised by both Muslim and Hindu rites and celebrated on a grandiose scale. This was the first of at least twenty marriages that he contracted before 1611, the year when he married Mehr-un-nisâ, the future Nûrjahân. Within two years of his first marriage Mân Bâi bore his first son Khusrau, in August, 1587, and obtained the title of Shâh Begam. Meanwhile, Akbar appointed Salim to the unprecedented rank of 12,000 horse, perhaps hoping by this to give him a solemn sense of his responsibilities.

So even when he was in his teens Salim was given enough power and responsibilities to earn him high position. But he did not grow up according to Akbar's ideals. He tasted his first cup of wine when he was 17 and from this time his consumption of alcohol steadily increased. The heavy addiction to wine and to opium may have magnified the faults of his character: he became frivolous, short-tempered, weak-minded and indecisive. Such qualities as sagacity, determination and perseverance which were so conspicuous in Akbar's character were absent in Salim's. All attempts to persuade him to shoulder political responsibilities, to lead the army or to head the administration of important provinces failed. Instead of doing these he wasted his time in hunting and in frivolous revelries with a band of young friends and nobles.

He became jealous of his brothers, especially Murâd, and hated Akbar's trusted counsellor and learned friend Abu'l Fazl. In spite of his large harêm he still kept casting lustful eyes on beautiful maidens. Repeatedly he broke court etiquette and became the cause of Akbar's wrath and worry. At a time when Akbar was growing older, the lustre of the Mughal court was fading as many of the dazzling gems died, Murâd and Dâniyâh were wasting their lives in drinking and worthless occupations, and the attention of the court began to turn towards the most likely heir to the throne, Salim broke away from his father. Making Allahabad his headquarter he started behaving like a semi-independent king. No good counsel and lenient dealings of Akbar, no amount of intercession by Gulbâdan Begam, Salimâ Sultân Begam and Mariyam Makânî could bring Salim back to the right course. It was only because of the prudence and foresight of Akbar that no war of succession could break out and shake the foundation of the empire. When Salim finally came back to his fold, Akbar readily pardoned all the ill-conceived acts of his estranged son and in spite of strong opposition from the powerful nobles, selected Salim as his heir. The court intrigues to place Salim's young, handsome and popular son Khusrau, on the throne after Akbar's death failed. After his accession to the throne, Jahângîr, tried to be worthy of his title. His reign opened with a series of formal acts to

indicate this intention. He promulgated twelve rules of conduct known as the dastûr-ul-'amal and hung a golden Chain of Justice from his palace wall whose bell might be tolled by any suitor for justice, rich or humble.⁸ He remitted a number of extortionate custom duties for goods passing through different border points and also the demand of jilawâna.⁹ During his reign he issued farmâns prohibiting the making of eunuchs at Sylhet,¹⁰ and the sale of bang and bûza (rice beer) in the open market and the smoking of tobacco and gambling.¹¹ There was a strict order forbidding anyone who was drunk to come to the darbâr or approach the king.¹² He tried to introduce a new system of coinage and a new standard of weights and measures.¹³ He wanted to curb the power of the amirs, by issuing a series of rules called the Â'in-i-Jahângirî, and put restrictions on wearing types of dress worn by himself.¹⁴ But, as his policies were guided by good intentions without any real effort, and his orders

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8. Tuzuk, I, 7: For Chain of Justice: Hawkins, ETI, 113: William Finch, ibid, 184. Also Plate 109.
9. ibid, I, 47, 107.
10. ibid, I, 46.
11. ibid, I, 150-51, 168.
12. ibid, I, 157.
13. ibid, I, 370-1.
14. Roe, 265-6; ETI. 331. Though Jahângir indulged in drinking and arranged frequent drinking parties, he was fully conscious of its ill-effects. He tried to decrease the number of his cups, and selected certain days for abstaining. He writes favourably about those who abstained from drinking. (Tuzuk, passim).
15. Tuzuk, I, 10-12, 417-18; II. 6-7. For a detailed discussion; S.H. Hodivala, Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics, Calcutta, 1923.
16. Tuzuk, I, 205.
17. ibid, I, 384.

were not backed by proper measures of punishment and strict supervision, most of these were of small practical value. He was a man of honest intention but of little effort. He was fortunate in inheriting a well-administered empire and an effective revenue system from his father, which brought a steady income to the state coffers, and financed his lavish expenditures. Though he tried to make occasional changes in the system of administration he was wise to leave the basic structure of Akbar's system undisturbed.

There is no means of assessing Jahāngīr as a military leader, because throughout his reign he himself did not fight a single battle. On the whole, his reign was peaceful. The only victories gained were Prince Khurram's subjugation of the Rānā of Chitor, the humbling of the ruler of Kishtwar and the annexation of the fort of Kangra. Jahāngīr gives such a lengthy and laudatory account of his son's triumph in Mewar in the Tūzuk, that the victory appears substantial, though in reality little was gained except prestige. On the other hand, his cherished hope of crushing Malik 'Ambar and subduing the Sultanates of the Deccan remained unfulfilled. The expense of huge sums of money and the appointment of the ablest generals and princes of his family proved futile. The only successes of his generals were elsewhere, - ⁱⁿ the annexation of the fort at Kangra and the crushing of the rebellions of his son Khusrau,

of the Mirzās in Gujarat, and in Bihar and Bengal. When within six months of his accession Khusrau suddenly rebelled against him, he was thoroughly shaken and nervous, as he was afraid of a general rising against him and of collusion between Khusrau and the powerful nobles, ^{such} as Rājā Mān Singh and 'Aziz Khān Koka. But his assumption was wrong, and the unplanned and ill-organised rebellion was crushed with little effort. When Qandahar was lost, Jahāngir with his limited political horizon could only regard this as the result of treachery of the Shāh of Iran. As its timing coincided with his third son Shāh Jahān's rebellion, nothing could be done to recover that province. The rebellion of Shāh Jahān in itself may be considered as a direct result of Jahāngir's inherent weaknesses. Shāh Jahān was proud and obstinate, but, nevertheless, he was capable and devoted. But Jahāngir exaggerated the not very significant achievements of his son so much and depended so heavily on him, that Shāh Jahān became too conscious about his own power and position. When the emperor was guided and eclipsed by Nūr Jahān and her family, a clash of interests between the crafty empress and the proud prince was inevitable. It became, as the contemporary English ambassador Thomas Roe writes in his journal, a story of "a noble prince [Khusrau], his excellent wife [the daughter of Khān-i-'Azam], a faithful councillor [Mahābat Khān?], a crafty stepmother [Nūr Jahān], an

ambitious sonne [Shâh Jahân], a cunning favorite [Âsaf Khân]: all reconciled by a patient king, whose heart was not understood by any of all these."¹⁸

As days passed by, Jahângir became increasingly addicted to wine and opium, to exhilarating parties and long hunting expeditions. Youthful indulgences and the heavy consumption of double-distilled wine led to an early breakdown of his health. Asthmatic 'shortness of breath' and other illnesses made him increasingly dependent on Nûr Jahân, whose treatments were thought by him better than those of the recognised physicians of the age, — Ḥakim Ruknâ, Ḥakim Qâsim Khânazâd,¹⁹ and even Ḥakim Şadrâ, Masîḥ-uz-Zamân. The increasing assumption of power by Nûr Jahân estranged the princes and made nobles hostile and subjects unhappy. Greed, intrigue and mutual distrust became rife in the court and the helpless emperor could only watch in silence, unable to interfere. The rebellion of Shâh Jahân did not bring the expected victory to the prince, but it could at best be contained, though not crushed by the imperial army.

Except for one brief period, in spite of his weaknesses Jahângir was able to maintain his authority over the government and the empire. But although the huge empire painstakingly

18. Roe, 325. Entry of 11 December, 1616.

19. Tuzuk, I, 226, 266-7; II, 12+13, 212-4, etc.

built up by Bâbar, Hâumâyûn and Akbar did not fall apart the inactivity of the central authority and prolonged internecine struggles certainly exposed signs of strain and weariness in it. Jahângîr's credit lies in the fact that he survived.

Jahângîr was a man of contrasts: he had impulses of a noble heart, of sympathy, tolerance and understanding, yet he was whimsical, temperamental and at times, extremely intolerant. He was kind to his subjects, and strove to act for their welfare. The English ambassador Roe did not find much to say against Jahângîr; he was impressed by the courtesy and kindness shown to him by the emperor. Edward Terry, the Chaplain of Roe, makes an accurate assessment of Jahângîr when he writes, "The kings disposition seems composed of extreames: very cruell, and otherwhiles very milde; often overcome with wine, but severely punishing that fault in others."²⁰ This strange admixture of savagery and kindness moulded his acts and deeds throughout his life. He took pity at the sight of his elephants shivering when being given a cold bath in winter,²¹ yet he watched the playing of a man alive.²² There are many instances described in the Tûzuk which

20. ETI, 330-1.

21. Tuzuk, I, 410: He issued orders to heat the water to the temperature of lukewarm milk.

22. This happened in Allahabad, during the days of his rebellion. Akbar was horrified to learn of the barbarity of which the prince showed himself capable. In a letter of earnest

witness his variable temperament and unstable emotion. Most of his crueller actions were done in moments of frenzy when he had lost his temper or when he was drunk. Once he ordered the execution of a man but later when he changed his mind his order had already been carried out. Hearing this he instructed his officers to defer all executions till sunset, "if up to that time no order for release arrived, he should without fail be capitally punished."²³

The corpses of many of those who supported his rebellious son Khusrau were kept on stakes on either side of the road, but the life of Khusrau himself was spared.²⁴

The non-cooperation and systematic hostility of the powerful nobles favouring Khusrau were also tolerated. Thus his actions reveal an inherent lack of strength, and the absence of a determined policy. He remained perpetually temperamental and dependent on the crafty nobles and on their disinterested counsels.

footnote contd. from previous page ...
 remonstrance he said that he could never bring himself to watch the flaying of a dead goat and wondered how his son could see the operation on a living human being."- Beni-prasad, 59. An original Theodore Galle engraving of the ghastly scene of Flaying of Marsyas, is mounted on a folio (f8a) of the Jahangir Album, now at Tübingen. (A Hamzanama folio, recently acquired by the British Museum depicts a similar scene of a man being flayed alive.) There are numerous references to his cruelties in the writings of William Hawkins (ETI, 108-10, 113), Thomas Roe (Roe, 87, 104, 265) etc. Roe noted with surprise Jahangir's nature of watching the horrible scenes of execution, "some tymes [he] sees with too much delight in blood the execution done by his eliphants. Illi meru ere: sed quid tu ut ades? ('Doubtless they have merited their punishment; but why should you be present?')" (Roe, 87).

23. Tuzuk, II, 28.

footnote 24 overleaf ...

The paradox in Jahāngīr becomes more apparent when he is compared with his predecessors, especially with his great-grandfather Bâbar and his father Akbar. He inherited some notable traits from them, yet in some respects his character was almost the reverse of theirs. By any standard Bâbar is an extraordinary character. As a man he was kind and generous; as a soldier brave, adventurous and daring; and as a statesman able and far-sighted. Behind the façade of his firm resoluteness and bravery Bâbar was a man who rarely omitted to notice an unknown bird or a beautiful flower even in times of adversity. He never lost his zeal or ideals, in fact, adversity made him resolute and firm in his single-hearted struggle. His lonely childhood was spent in all sorts of sports and games though he did not neglect his studies. His knowledge of Persian classics was excellent. The assessment of his cousin Mīrzâ Haidâr, himself the author of the famous history Târīkh-i-Rashīdī, is worth noting:

" ... In the composition of Turkī poetry he was second only to Amir 'Alī Shīr. He has written a Divân in the purest and mostly lucid Turkī. He invented a style of verse called

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24. Jahāngīr writes in one place of his memoirs: "Although Khusraū had repeatedly done evil actions and deserved a thousand kinds of punishment, my fatherly affection did not permit me to take his life. Although in the laws of government and the ways of empire one should take notice of such disapproved deeds, I averted my eyes from his faults, and kept him in ~~excessive~~ comfort and ease."
- ibid, I, 122.

'Mubaiyan', and was the author of a most useful treatise on Jurisprudence which has been adopted generally. He also wrote a tract on Turki Prosody, superior in elegance to any other, and put into verse the Rasala-i-Validiyyah of his Holiness. Then there is his Vakâi or Turki History, which is written in a simple, unaffected, and yet very pure style. He excelled in music and other arts. In fact, no one of his family before him ever possessed such talents as his. Nor did any of his race ever perform such wonderful exploits, or experience such strange adventures as did he."²⁵

Jahângîr did not invent any special script as Bâbar did, neither did he care to know and record who read the Shâhnâma or who could write good nasta'liq, but he did not fail to recognise poets and writers, learned teachers and ascetics. His handwriting, as ^{it} appears on the fly-leaves of many MSS and on miniatures from his collection, is not elegant, but characteristically bold (Plate 150). His autobiography, the Tûzuk, though not perhaps comparable with Bâbar's excellent Turki prose, offers a good account of his straight-forward and rather naïve thoughts and ideas as well as his penchant for small details. Like most Persian speaking rulers of the age he considered himself a poet; in one place of his memoirs he declares, "as I have a poetical disposition I sometimes

25. N. Elias & E.D. Ross, tr., Mirza Muhammad Haidar's Tarikh-i-Rashidi, London, 1895, 173-4.

intentionally and sometimes involuntarily compose couplets and quatrains." ²⁵ In Hodivala's rather harsh view they are in "characteristically self-sufficient ignorance of their utter worthlessness and banality." ²⁶ Many passages in the Tûzuk prove his acquaintance with the works of such celebrated masters as Anwârî, Firdausî, Sanâ'î, Nizâmî, Sa'dî, Jâmi and Hâfiz. ²⁷ He quotes many examples of flattering compositions made before him by such contemporary writers as Tâlib Amulî, whom he gave the title of Malikush-Shi'ara, ²⁸ Sharîf Muhammad, Şa'idâ, Mullâ 'Alî Ahmad etc.

Bâbar was nurtured on the rugged mountains of Farghanâ and Kâbul so he found the Indo-Gangetic plains uninteresting and monotonous. He remained a foreigner in India, a country which he could not love. In a celebrated and often quoted passage of his autobiography he listed all the pleasures and refinements of life familiar to him which were lacking in

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25. Tuzuk, I, 228. For other examples of his 'poetical disposition': ibid, I, 158-9, 203, 228, 303-4, 322, 338; II, 15, 31, 32, 37, 115. Also II, 85, 172, 176, 183, 212.
26. S.H.Hodivala, Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics, 162.
27. Tuzuk: I, 188, II, 95, 222 (recited by I'timâd-ud-daula in his death-bed) from Anwarî; I, 100, 159, from Amîr Khusrau; II, 222 from Budâg; II, 36, 252, from Firdausî; II, 62, from 'Umar Khayyâm (though Jahângîr failed to recognise it); I, 49, 314, 381 from Hâfiz; II, 29 from Mu'izzî; II, 205, from Sanâ'î; II, 273, from Nizâmî; I, 340, II, 36 from Sa'dî; I, 356, from Rûmî; I, 21-2, II, 15-16, and 7, from Jâmi (also II, 15, 44); and II, 269-70, from Baihaqî; I, 306; from Bû'Alî (Avicenna); from Fighânî, I, 150.
28. He also quotes from Tâlib Amulî II, 118; Şa'idâ (Bi-Badal Khân), II, 29-30, 205, 328; Manohar, I, 17; Hâkim Maşîhuz-zamân I, 304; Mu'tamid Khân, II, 118; etc.

Hindustan. He longed for Central Asia. How could he like a land devoid of good horses, good dogs, grapes, musk-melons or 'first-rate fruits, ice or cold water, good bread or cooked food in bazâars', a place where there are 'no Hot-baths, no Colleges, candles, torches or candlestick?' At one place of his memoirs he exclaims, 'the other day they brought me a musk-melon: as I cut it up I felt a deep home-sickness, a sense of exile from my native land, and I could not help weeping.'

30

Jahângîr, by contrast, was brought up amid the luxuries indigenous to Hindustan: he writes, 'Notwithstanding the sweetness of the Kâbul fruits [he names many fruits he has tasted and liked, including various kinds of grapes, cherries, plums, apricots and peaches] not one of them has to my taste the flavour of the mango!'

31

An interest in natural history was common to both monarchs. Bâbar had noted and studied with great interest the flora and fauna and the geography and topography of the new country. His description of Hindustan displays 'his undiminished interest in natural history, and his singular quickness of observation

29. A.S.Beveridge, tr., Bâbur nâma, II, 518-9.
 30. Quoted in S.Lane-Poole, Bâbar, 195. Mrs. Beveridge (op.cit, 645-6) gives a different translation of this passage: 'Taking this opportunity a melon was brought to me; to cut and eat it affected me strangely; I was all teares!'
 31. Tuzuk, I, 116.

and accurate commemoration of statistical details.'³²

Jahāngir followed in Bābar's footsteps in observing and meticulously recording the beauties of nature which he enjoyed so much. He felt delighted when he saw a good garden, an uncommon animal or bird, a rare tree, a beautiful flower or an unusual fruit and not only described them in detail, but also instructed his painters to include their accurate likeness in the Jahāngir nāma.³³

Akbar, was, as H.G.Wells writes, "one of the greatest of Indian monarchs, and one of the few royal figures that approach the stature of great man."³⁴ Jahāngir lacked many of his father's excellencies, yet to know Jahāngir properly one ought to know Akbar and how the impact of his great personality thoroughly transformed the entire character of the age. Akbar's greatness lies in the originality of his vision of life, in his wide comprehension and political insight and in his unceasing quest for knowledge. A single

32. Lane-Pool, op.cit., 194.

33. Tuzuk, I, 215-6. Hodivala gives a revised translation of this interesting passage: "Although His Majesty, the Emperor Bābur has, in his Memoirs, described in words (lit.written) the general appearance (or features) and shapes of several animals, he does not in any case appear to have given orders [to the painters] to draw pictures of any of them [from the life]."- S.H.Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim History, II, Bombay, 1957, 316-7.

34. H.G.Wells, The Outline of History, London, 1930 [Fifth Edition], 720.

sloka of a contemporary observer, an orthodox Jaina scholar, aptly describes his qualities: "there is not a single art, not a single branch of knowledge, not a single act of boldness and strength which was not attempted by the young Emperor [Akbar]." 35

Nurtured in an atmosphere of intellectual inquiry and earnest religious speculation, Jahângîr could easily form his own distinctive ideas and ideals. Akbar's aim sought for God, but without following the traditional paths prescribed by the existing religions. In order to find out the basic tenets of each creed and to seek the essence of all religions he invited scholars, devotees, preachers and teachers of all religions from all parts of India and the Islamic world, and even some European priests from Goa. The newly-built Ibâdatkhâna became the centre of all attention as the guardian of each faith tried to prove the superiority of his religion over others. Akbar was a patient listener, a silent learner and an enthusiastic speaker; the discussions of the Ibâdatkhâna gave him an opportunity to acquire a knowledge of many religions. Soon he realised the orthodoxy and narrow parochialism of every religion and felt somewhat disenchanted.³⁶ He then propagated his own creed,

35. M.D. Desai, Tr., Siddhichandra Upâdhyâya's Bhânuchandra Caritra, Calcutta, Ahmedabad, 1941, p. VII: Na sâ kalâ na tad jñânâ na tad dhairyyam na tad balam / Sâhinâ Yuvarâjêna yatra naibodyamah kritah // I, 56.

36. Akbar is reported to have said, "Although I am the master of so vast a kingdom,.... yet since true greatness consists in doing the will of God, my mind is not at ease in this diversity of sects and creeds...." Sayings of Akbar, Ain, III, (1948 ed.), 433.

the Din-i-Ilâhî. Unfortunately the tenets of the Din-i-Ilâhî were too obscurely conceived and it was difficult for the people to realise Akbar's ideals. Salim watched all these developments in religious thinking and studied the new creed carefully, but his pleasure-loving nature and his natural impatience made him incapable of understanding its true import. In consequence, his ideas became somewhat bizarre - an amalgamation of self-assertion and not very clearly directed mystical feelings. It is interesting to note the observations of the contemporary witness Thomas Roe;

"Ghehangier Sha, his sonne, the present king, beeing the issue of this new fancy ... bread up without any religion at all, continewes so to this hower, and is an athiest. Sometyne hee will make profession of a Moore: but alway observe the hollidayes and doe all ceremonies with the Gentilles too. Hee is content with all religions; only hee loves none that changeth. But, falling upon his fathers concept, hath dared to enter farther in, and to professe him selfe for the mayne of his religion to be a greater prophett than Mahomett; and hath formed to him selfe a new law, mingled of all, which many have accepted with such superstition that they will not eate till they have saluted him in the morning, for which purpose hee comes at the sunnes rising to a wyndow open to a great playne before his house,

when multitudes attend him: ...".³⁷

The picture of Jahāngīr one gets from the contents of the Tūzuk corresponds with Roe's shrewd observations. Three questions could now be raised about Jahāngīr's religion: was he an atheist? did he really form a "new law, mingled of all"? and how great was his tolerance of other religions?

Throughout his career Jahāngīr showed a lively interest in religion, and it was not limited to a particular creed or a particular belief. Neither did he have a systematic hostility^{to} nor any consistent preference for any religion. His attitude towards Islam was rather lukewarm with occasional shows of piety. In the opening pages of the Tūzuk he writes "I directed the 'Ulamā and the learned men of Islam to collect those of the distinctive appellations of God which were easy to remember, in order that I might take them into my ward".³⁸ During his tour of Gujarat in the 12th and 13th years of his reign (1617-18) he received the learned Shaikhs of Gujarat, presented books (Plate 74) and money to them and visited many renowned shrines and mausoleums.³⁹ In one place he writes in the Tūzuk of his having taken an oath on the Qur'ān

37. Roe, 276.

38. Tūzuk, I, 21. (In another place he refers to his request to the sons of Miyān Wajihuddīn of Gujarat to send "some of the names of God which has been tested." ibid, I, 128-9.)

39. ibid, I, 419, 421-2, 424, 425-6, 427, 428, 436, 439-40; II, 1, 2-3, 4, 8, 34+5.

to fulfil the desire of Sayyid Muḥammad, grandson of Shâh 'Âlam. At this the learned Shaikh desired to have the Qur'ân, a small and elegant volume in Yâqûti calligraphy, considered by the emperor as a 'wonder of the age' on which the oath was taken. The request was granted and the impressed emperor put his autograph note on its flyleaf stating the details of the gift.⁴⁰ There are frequent mentions of his arranging and attending religious assemblies⁴¹, of his making gifts of money, and of various other things to the faqirs, shaikhs and learned men⁴², and of visiting of mosques, shrines and mausoleums in places wherever he resided (Plates 71, 76)⁴³. He donated money for mosques to be built or repaired⁴⁴, sacrificed sheep with his own hand⁴⁵, observed such festivals as Shab-i-Barât and 'Îd⁴⁶. He even slaughtered a bullock in the newly conquered fort of Kangra⁴⁷. He had the fâtiḥa recited at the shrines of Shâh 'Âlam, Shaikh Wajîhuddîn, Shaikh Ahmad

40. Tuzuk, II, 34: The Qur'ân is now preserved in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad: C. Sivaramamurthy, Directory of Museums in India, Pl. 2, fig. 2.

41. ibid., I, 21, 172-3, 254, 256, 297; II, 31-3, 101-2.

42. Tuzuk, passim.

43. ibid., I, 58, 365, 424; II, 71-3, 109, 142, 153, etc.

44. ibid., I, 241-2; II, 223-227-8.

45. ibid., I, 189.

46. ibid., I, 45-6, 189, 298, 344, 385, 411; II, 22, 94, 167.

47. ibid., II, 223.

Khattû, and Shaikh Salîm Chishtî,⁴⁸ He always showed a special reverence to Khwâja Mu'în-ud-dîn Chishtî and Shaikh Salîm Chishtî. He visited their shrines many times, donated a huge cauldron to the Khwâja's shrine⁴⁹ and even pierced the lobes of his ears for wearing pearls in order to be an "ear-bored slave of the Khwâja".⁵⁰ He was highly impressed by the depth of knowledge and religiousness of a Sindi dervish, Miyân Shaikh Muḥammad Mîr, who came from Lahore to meet him at his request.⁵¹ While returning from Kabul he visited a recluse, Maulânâ Muḥammad Amîn, and felt 'greatly consoled at heart'.⁵² He also records the visit of Shaikh Pîr to whom he gave money for completing the building of a mosque.⁵³ He condemned

48. ibid, I,421, 425, 428; II,70.

49. ibid, I,253, 256, 297, 329 (where he states that he visited the shrine of Khwâja Mu'în-ud-dîn Chishtî nine times); II,70-1.

50. ibid, I,267. Many of the relatives and dependants of the Shaikh occupied important positions in Jahângîr's court.

51. ibid, II,119.

52. ibid, I,135.

53. ibid, I,241. H. Beveridge suggests (ibid,I,451) that Shaikh Pîr may be identified with the beggar, "a poore silly ould man, all ashed, ragged, and patched,..." (Roe,328). The identification is unlikely because Shaikh Pîr met Jahângîr at Agra long before the imperial party came to Ajmer in the middle of 1613.

the un-Islamic practices prevalent amongst a section of Kashmirî Muslims living near Rajauri,⁵⁴ and punished Kaukab and his associates for indulging in activities contrary to Islam.⁵⁵

But whenever any Shaikh or dervish or the leader of any faith transgressed ~~his~~ spiritual bounds and plunged into politics, thereby posed a threat to the maintenance of that equilibrium which Jahângîr desired to maintain in his empire he became ruthless.⁵⁶ No distinction was made between Muslims or followers of any other faith. Thus Shaikh Nizâm Thanesarî, who is called a shayyâd (an imposter, a hypocrite) by Jahângîr was banished to Mecca because of his support for Khusrau.⁵⁷ Shaikh Ibrâhîm Bâbâ was imprisoned in the fort of Chunar for starting a religious movement in the neighbourhood of Lahore.⁵⁸ Sayyid Nûrullâh al-Shûstarî, who served as the Qâzî of Lahore during the reign of

54. Tuzuk, II, 181.

55. ibid, I, 171.

56. S.A.A. Rizvi, Muslim Revivalist Movement in Northern India, 328-9.

57. ibid, 284; Tuzuk, I, 60.

58. Tuzuk, I, 77.

Akbar was flogged to death because he was accused of professing the Shīa faith while bodily acting as a Sunnī.⁵⁹ Sayyid Ahmad Afghān of Bajwara was supposed to be a potent danger to the state and was imprisoned in Gwalior fort for more than three years.⁶⁰ The same fate was also allotted for the celebrated scholar and staunch Sunnī lawgiver Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī, better known as Mujaddid.⁶¹ The imprisonment of Shaikh Ahmad for one year and his subsequent restoration to position is a subject of fierce controversy amongst scholars.⁶² Whatever may be the Mujaddid's intentions and achievements the fact remains that Jahāngīr was not prepared to accept any misinterpretation of his religious policy.

Jahāngīr's occasional disgust and condemnation of certain Hindu customs⁶³ and his bitterness against the Svetāmbara Jainas (Sewrās)⁶⁴ and the Sikhs⁶⁵ have been interpreted as acts of faith done for the cause

59. A.S. Bazmee Ansari, "Djahangir", Encyclopaedia of Islam, Nw.Ed., II, London, 1965, 381; Rizvi, op.cit., 314-323.

60. Rizvi, op.cit., 284-6.

61. Tuzuk, II, 91-3, 161.

62. Rizvi, op.cit. Chapters VI & VII for a detailed discussion.

63. Tuzuk, I, 254-5; II, 224-5.

64. ibid., I, 417-8.

65. ibid., I, 72-3.

of Islam, but the credibility of such conclusions becomes doubtful when the real circumstances in which these remarks were made are taken into account.

Born of a Hindu mother, married to a large number of Hindu princesses and depending on the talents of so many Hindu courtiers and generals, Jahangir's attitude towards Hinduism was bound to be tolerant and liberal. Sporadic references to observance of Hindu festivals like Dasahrâ, Diwâlî, Sankrânt, Sivarâtrî, Holi and Rakshâ-vandhan, celebrated in the palace, are found in the Tûzuk.⁶⁶ The emperor visited Hindu temples in famous places of pilgrimage⁶⁷ and showed profound respect to learned Hindu ascetics and scholars.⁶⁸ In a way Jahângîr's favourable disposition towards the Hindus and many of their customs, and festivals reflect the success of Akbar's policy of toleration and understanding, which

66. ibid, I, 158, 246-7, 252, 268, 361, 396; II, 38, 74, 100, 176, 212.

67. ibid, I, 254 (Pushkar); II, 103-4 (Brindaban), 218 (Haridwar), 224-5 (Kangra).

68. ibid, I, 355-6, 359; 49, 52, 104, 105-7; Roe, 343 (entry of 11 February, 1617). [All refer to the famous Hindu saint Gosâin Chidrup (not Jadrup)]. Jahângîr received a Brâhmin scholar named Rûdar Bhattachâraj [Rûdra Bhattâchâryya], who came from Varanasi (ibid, II, 203-4), and two Sanyâsis, one of them is named Motî (ibid, II, 226-7, 23).

was earnestly continued by him.

This attitude helped Jahângîr to amicably integrate with Hindustan, his affection for which was sincere and natural. He knew Hindi, and had a working knowledge of Hindi rhetoric and poetry. He appreciated the laudatory verses of a Hindi poet brought to the court by Râjâ Sûraj Singh, some of which are translated into Persian and quoted in the Tûzuk.⁶⁹ Though it is not easy to say whether he was conversant in music, there is no doubt that he understood well north Indian classical music.⁷⁰ So, culturally, emotionally and even spiritually Jahângîr's personality was a product of the Indian environment.

69. Tuzuk, I, 140-1.

70. Names of a number of musicians are mentioned in Tuzuk: Lal Kalâvent (I, 150); Hâfiz Nâd 'Alî (I, 317; II, 69); Shanqî, the mandolin player, was given the title Ânand Khân (I, 331); Ustâd Muḥammad Nâḡî, the flute player (I, 376); and the great Tânsên (I, 413; II, 71). Bakhtâr Khân Kalâvent, a relative of 'Adil Shâh, came to the court from Bijapur (I, 271-2) [Plate 57]. 'Alî Khân Karorî, the dâroghâ of the Nâqârâkhâna obtained the title Naubat Khân (I, 111) [Plate 89]. Qawâlî singers of Delhi are mentioned in I, 169, and the similarity of the Kashmiri music with North Indian music is noted in II, 148. The proficiency of Dâniyâl (I, 36), Tarbiyat Khân (II, 86), Zûl Qarnain (II, 194), and Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh (I, 271-2) [Plate 37], in Hindu classical music is noted by Jahângîr. He himself composed ghazals (I, 158, etc.). Presence of musicians in the court: Roe, 99; ETI, 103; Tuzuk, I, 48; II, 79, etc.

The derogatory remarks made in the Tûzuk about the Sewrâ Jainas⁷¹ are not corroborated by authentic Jaina works. In all probability, with the exception of occasional outbursts of antagonism, he maintained a friendly relation with the Jainas.⁷²

Jahângîr's drastic step to behead the leader of the incipient Sikh community, Gûrû Arjan Sîng, on the ground of his complicity with the rebellious Khusrau permanently antagonised the warlike Sikhs. The remarks made in the Tûzuk show an acute lack of knowledge about their political strength⁷³ and religious organisation. In the long run the later Mughal emperors had to pay heavily for their mutual animosity.

From his princely days Jahângîr maintained a friendly relationship with the Jesuit fathers. They enjoyed full prestige and a number of privileges in the

71. Tuzuk, I, 1417-8. See: J. Burton-Page, "Djain", Encyclopaedia of Islam, II, 503.

72. Bhanusingha Caritca, op.cit., 20, 52-58, 59^{fn}, 90-1; M.S. Commissariat, History of Gujarat, II, 260-2.

73. Tuzuk, I, 72-3.

Mughal court, which were not easily available in a court following a religion which was professedly hostile towards Christianity. The emperor discussed a wide range of subjects concerning Christ and Christianity with the fathers in the evening assemblies,⁷⁴ in which the figures of the fathers in their dark cassocks formed an integral and familiar part.

They accompanied the emperor during expeditions and travels, and were consulted even in state matters.⁷⁵ Thus the collection and study of the Christian miniatures and engravings by the emperor had the backing of a genuine urge for knowledge. But Jahângîr's interest in Christianity was never sufficiently serious to procure his conversation in spite of fond Jesuit expectations.⁷⁶

While narrating his father's qualities Jahângîr writes in the Tûzuk that "the professors of various faiths had room in the broad expanse of the incomparable sway"

74. JGM, 69f. See: A & J; J & J; passim.

75. JGM, 71F.

76. Father Xavier once wrote: "God would one day work in him [Jahângîr] a great miracle." - JGM, 69.

of his empire. "As in the wide expanse of the Divine compassion," writes Jahāngîr, "there is room for all classes and the followers of all creeds, so, on the principle that the Shadow must have the same properties as the Light, in his dominions, which on all sides were limited only by the salt sea, there was room for the professors of opposite religions, and for beliefs, good and bad, and the road to altercation was closed."⁷⁷

He further writes that Akbar "associated with the good of every race, and creed and persuasion, and was gracious to all in accordance with their condition and understanding",⁷⁸ which is also equally true about himself. His liberality, unless curtailed in specific instances for political considerations as has been pointed out above, is in every respect comparable with his father's. It would be wrong to exaggerate the motives of his occasional outbursts of antipathy, which was inherent in his nature.

But there are several other points which should be noted while discussing Jahāngîr's views on religion which to a large extent moulded his ideas and cultural

77. Tuzuk, I,37.

78. ibid, I,38.

and artistic activities. One of them is the high reverence paid to the Sun, and another, the growing indications of theophany.

Akbar introduced in India many ancient Persian festivals associated with the worship of the sun. In Jahângîr's India Naurâz was the greatest festival of the year. Elaborate preparations were made long before the celebrations started; it lasted for 17 or 18 days, when the nobles arranged ~~elaborate~~ festivities and presented choice gifts, jewels, to the emperor.⁷⁹ To Jahângîr the Sun had even greater import; he selected as his laqab Nûr-uddîn, the light of religion, the light which brightens the earth, brings benefit to mankind and new meaning to religion.⁸⁰ As the complementary verse of a court poet indicated, from the light of his rising and the illumination of Jahângîr's justice the spheres had become "so bright that one might say: "night had neither name nor sign!"⁸¹

At first sight Jahângîr's playing on the word "Nûr" may seem merely fanciful, but an examination of Jahângîr's words and activities shows a more deeply held belief than this. Akbar's devotion to the Sun was a

79. Tuzuk, I, 49, et passim.

80. ibid, I, 2-3.

81. ibid, I, 141. For a detailed discussion on this subject see Professor Elttinghausen's brilliant paper: "The Emperor's Choice," Deŷ Artibus Opuscula, XL, New York, 1961, 98-120.

part of his reverence for the Divine, an attempt to realise the greatness of its power and the vastness of its benefits. To Jahângîr the sun is the great light, the benefactor of the Universe, which he, as its human counterpart should mirror in his own way. He believed that he had a divine right to rule, since his birth was due to the intercession of dervishes. The laqab which he selected came into his mind by 'an inspiration from the hidden world' and had been foretold by savants; his accession coincided with the rising on the earth of the 'great light, the Sun'.⁸² He combined the functions of Sun and moon on earth. As a result, the brightness of gold in his coins increases after receiving the impress of his name,⁸³ elephants become famous,⁸⁴ the gardens become beautiful,⁸⁵ the cities renowned⁸⁶ and even his favourite queen⁸⁷ takes chief place after receiving a part of light (Nûr) from his laqab. The importance given to sun is also emphasised in the observance of the vernal equinox (Sharaf), when he formally sat on the

82. ibid, I, 2-3.

83. ibid, I, 10-12. "Shah Nûr-ud-dîn Jahângîr ibn Akbar Pâdshâh made gold's face bright with the sheen of sun and moon." Cf. R.B. Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore, II, Oxford, 1914, No. 911, Pl. VI, etc.

84. ibid, I, 47 (Nûr Gaj); 396, 410, 418 (Nûrbakht); II, 79 (Nûr-i-Naurûz).

85. ibid, I, 270 (Chashma-i-Nûr); II, 151, 238 (Nûr-afzâ), 197, 199 (Nûr-Afshân), and 197, 277 (Nûr-Manzil).

86. ibid, II, 154, 226 (Nûrpûr). Also II, 192, 220 (Nûr Sarây).

87. ibid, I, 319.

throne,⁸⁸ and the eclipses of sun and moon, after which he donated money and various other gifts to the poor and to men of religion.⁸⁹ His banner shows the motif of the resplendant sun; the sun is also present on his coins. His interest in astronomical and astrological reckoning, though connected with the reverence which he showed to the sun, also repeats an obsession of his grandfather Humâyûn. Astrologers held an important place in Jahângîr's court, just as in those of Humâyûn and Akbar. Jahângîr would not undertake any journey or start any campaign, enter or leave the capital or even go out in his favourite hunting expeditions unless his astrologers specified the exact moments of "fortunate conjunction of the stars."⁹⁰ Astrologers of all systems, Hindu, Islamic and Greek, were present in the court.⁹¹ The most famous

88. ibid, I, 90, 168, 206, 236-7, 261, 284, 320, 373, etc.

89. ibid, I, 183, 281-2, et passim.

90. Tuzuk, passim; Roe, 171, 275, 253; ETI, 320 (Terry); W.H. Moreland & P. Geyl, ed. Pelsaert's Jahangir's India, 77.

91. Tuzuk, I, 328; II, 48, 235; Hodivala, Studies in Mughal Numismatics, 163 (where he gives the chart of Jahângîr's horoscope and the names of the Musalman astrologer Mullâ Chand and "The Hindu master of the Art of Starry Science" Jotak Râi); idem, Studies in Indo-Muslim History, II, 305; Roe, 275.

of them, Jotak Râi⁹² is mentioned by name many times in the Tuzuk.⁹³ He was weighed in gold and silver for his accurate foretelling of the fortune of the emperor's favourite grandson Shujâ.⁹⁴ Astrologers with their astrolabes and charts appear on the margin of the royal muraqqa' and in miniatures of birth scene.⁹⁵

Jahângîr firmly believed in his own divine inspiration and divine right to rule. At the time of Khusrau's rebellion he wrote:

He who is seized of Fortune cannot be
deprived of it;

Throne and diadem are not things of purchase;

It is not right to wrest crown and dominion

From the head which God, the Crown-cherisher,
has indicated.⁹⁶

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92. Hodivala, ibid, 304-6, gives the correct form of the name. Rogers and Beveridge write Jotik Rây. The portrait of the Hindu astrologer in the birth scene, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Plate 67) may be of Jotak Râi.
93. Tuzuk, II, 152-3, 160, 203, 215, 235. He was present in the time of Salim's birth: Hodivala, Studies in Mughal Numismatics, 163. Also, AN, III, 42, 54: Ain, I, 442ⁿ.
94. Tuzuk, II, 203.
95. IMM, PL 18; Cat MFA, VI, Pl. III, V & Frontispiece; E. Wellesz, Akbar's Religious Thoughts Reflected in Mogul Painting, Pl. 23; etc.
96. Tuzuk, I, 51.

His beliefs that he was predestined to become emperor and that his position was irrevocable, bring in the mind an indication of theophany. He refers to Akbar as "that veritable qibla and the visible deity",⁹⁷ his son Parwîz, in his turn, addressed him as "my visible God and qibla."⁹⁸ He would appear in the jharokâ just before sunrise so that his courtiers and subjects might have their darshan and shout 'Pâdishâh sâlâmat'.⁹⁹ Then everyone would perform the sijda and stand all along in front of him (unless the emperor wished to make a specific exception¹⁰⁰). He became an "emblem of the power of God and light-shedding ray from the Sun of the Absolute."¹⁰¹

Jahângîr tried to follow the path indicated by Akbar to find out the cream of every religion, but unfortunately he was very ill-equipped to do so. A single grand or sublime thought, or serious search for truth can

97. ibid, II, 150.

98. ibid, I, 181. Kaukab also addresses Jahângîr as his qibla (I, 441).

99. ETI, 115 (Hawkins).

100. Tuzuk, I, 395; II, 93.

101. The criterion given in the Â'in-i-Akbarî (Ain, I, 167).

hardly be found in the Tûzuk. There was hardly anyone amongst his confidants who could match the learning and intellectual calibre of Abu'l Fazal or Faizî or Akbar's other close friends and important courtiers. So when we note some sporadic reference to such terms as Murîd or arîyâb-i-ikhlâs, who were given the likenesses of the emperor (Shabih) for wearing round the neck as medals or on the turban as sarpinch and advised to follow the rules of Sulh-i-Kul in the Tûzuk,¹⁰² we are not able to find what was implied by this.

Did Jahângîr continue preaching the tenets of his father's Dîn-i-Ilâhî or was it that he "formed to himself a new law, mingled of all",¹⁰³ as observed by Roe? Such shabih or portrait medals are specifically referred to by Roe and two other foreigners, William Hawkins¹⁰⁴ and the French jeweller Augustin of Bordeaux¹⁰⁵, as an indication of extra-special favour conferred

102. Tuzuk, I, 60-1. (The words Sulh-i-Kul is translated by Rogers and Beveridge as universal peace).

103. Roe, Op.cit.

104. C.R. Markham, ed., The Hawkins Voyages, Haklyut Society edition, 421-2. Roe, 209-10, 214-5; also, W. Foster, ed., Letter Received, IV, 290.

105. JPHS, IV/Calcutta, 19157, 7.

by the emperor himself upon a limited few. Hodivala has convincingly shown that the Shabihs could be identical with the so called 'Portrait Muhrs' issued by Jahângîr for a limited period.¹⁰⁶ On many miniatures painted in the Jahângîr studio the artist proudly adds the words murîd or ikhlas before his name and the emperor also refers to his officers with these special terms.¹⁰⁷

Jahângîr's attitudes are so beset by contradictions that it is extremely difficult to trace any coherent system of thought. Christian visitors to his court, both the Jesuits and the English, write about his harsh words for Muḥammad¹⁰⁸ and yet one finds him counting his rosary (ward)¹⁰⁹ performing his prayers (namâz)¹¹⁰ and observing the principal Islamic festivals and conventions.¹¹¹ It is probable that by appeasing orthodox Muslims by meeting a few of their basic observances, the emperor could successfully put forward his own garbled ideas of theophany.¹¹²

106. S.K. Hodivala, Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics, Chapter IX: "Portrait

107. Tuzuk, I, 60-61. The signatures of Âqâ Rizâ include both appellations whereas Daulat uses only ikhlas: infra,...

108. JGM, 71, based on du Jarric & Guerreiro; ETI, 147.

109. ETI, 115 (Hawkins); Tuzuk, I, 21, 248, 384.

110. Tuzuk, I, 45, 249, 275, 384; II, 52, etc.

111. ibid, I, 45, 189, 298, 349, 385, 411; II, 94, etc.

Also, ibid, I, 421, 425, 428; II, 70.

112. R. Ettinghausen, "The Emperor's Choice", 98-120.

"Honour the luminaries (the Sun, Moon, etc.)", he writes, "which are manifesters of God's light, according to the degrees of each, and recognize the powers and existence of Almighty God at all times and seasons. Be careful indeed that whether in private or in public you never for a moment forget Him."¹¹³ But before that one must be careful not to forget the Emperor, the exalted luminary of religions, "the World-gripper, World-giver, World-holder, World-king",¹¹⁴ Jahângîr!

From what we have seen so far about Jahângîr's attitude towards religion, it is clear that he was not an atheist as thought by Roe. He believed in God, and continued many outward practices to express it. But he did not have a serious interest in any particular religion, which made him generally well-disposed towards the learned and devoted followers and teachers of different religions. He respected their knowledge and integrity, and anyone in possession of these qualities could easily impress him. He lacked the zeal of his father, his mind was more concerned with unnecessary details. His concern about

113. Tuzuk, I, 61.

114. ibid, II, 227.

dreams or the science of number (abjad),¹¹⁵ his search for omens in Hâfiz,¹¹⁶ his firm belief in astrological readings and astronomical calculations make him appear superstitious but surely it would be wrong to say that 'superstition was his religion'.¹¹⁷ On the other hand, time and again we notice him questioning the established beliefs and current practices or making experiments and enquiries to ascertain their truth.¹¹⁸ It would also be wrong to exalt him by saying that he was "too enlightened to be satisfied with mere dogma or superstition."¹¹⁹

Though lack of serious interest in religion or intellectual activities and lack of ability in running the administration or fielding an army provide the greatest

115. Dreams: Tuzuk, I, 30-1, 71-2, 269.

Also: Plate 108, which was painted after Jahângîr's dream of Shâh Abbâs's visit to him: PSEI, Text facing Pl. 12.

Abjad: Tuzuk, I, 253.

116. Tuzuk, I, 214, 381. The copy of Dîwân-i-Hâfiz from which Jahângîr took omens still survives in the Bankipur Public Library. On many of its folios, the emperor, like his grandfather Humâyûn, makes note of the circumstances and in many instances, also the date and time: M.A. Muqtadir, Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipur, I, Calcutta, 1908. 231-52.

117. H. Blochman, "The Death of Jahangir, his character, and the Accession of Shah Jahan", Calcutta Review, L, [Calcutta, 1869], 139-40.

118. Tuzuk, passim.

119. Beni Prasad, 406.

contrast of Jahāngīr's character with that of his father, he had many other interests. However trivial some of these might appear in the first instance they helped to create an atmosphere of cultural sophistication and refinement. He had a discriminating taste which made its mark especially on arts and crafts. In those days of prosperity and splendour artisans from many countries came to the Mughal court, and if they showed talent or could produce something novel they were employed by the emperor or his sons or some of his rich courtiers. If a craftsman or artist could produce something really unique the emperor rewarded him handsomely and bestowed honours upon him.

So, talented craftsmen who came from distant parts of the world got ready employment and a free hand to produce objects of the finest quality. Reading his account one wonders how many times Roe had to remind his principals to send presents of good quality because "here are nothing esteemed but of the best sorts."¹²⁰ The emperor personally selected his artists, craftsmen and musicians, scrupulously examined their work, and supervised the production of choice articles. The Tuzuk is full of reference to beautiful ornaments and jewellery, fashionable dresses, intricate seals, wonderful sword-handles and jewelled Khâpwâs, and

120. Roe, 77. Also: Letters Received, III, 337; IV, 243-4, 280.

above everything else, of superb paintings. Jahāngīr did not hesitate to employ foreign artists, craftsmen or musicians, specially when they had such novel ideas as starting a waterworks or building a throne of unique shape.¹²¹ Artists and craftsmen, builders and architects, calligraphers and seal engravers held high positions in Jahāngīr's court. The best carpets and trappings, the finest arras and gold-threaded makhmals, the most delicate jades and porcelains, superb glass and metalware, choice dresses and furniture were brought to the Mughal court from Persia, Iraq, Damascus,

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121. Musicians: Thomas Armstrong (Roe, 98ⁿ, 99 & Letters Received, IV, 289); Robert the Cornet Player (Letters Received, I, 282-3); Robert Trully (ibid, I, 304); Lancelot Canning (ibid, I, 238, 304). Also, JGM, 289-90 for musicians and singers from Goa.
- Coachman William Hensel: Roe, 282, 284, 285ⁿ; Terry, 385; Letters Received, IV, 289-90.
- Augustin of Bordeaux, who built the splendid jewelled throne and received the title Hunarmand: Tuzuk, II, 80, 82. For full account: JPHS, IV, Calcutta, 1916, 1-14. Also: ETI, 51-2; Letters Received, II, 98, 103-6, 141-2; E & D, VII, 45-6; J.B. Tavernier, Travels in India (Tr. V. Ball), I, 108.
- Another jeweller, a Dutchman named Abraham de Duyts, is mentioned by Roe (168: 'Abrams the Dutchman'). He was a diamond polisher and was employed by Khurram.
- For Richard Steel and his "projects": Roe, 390, 393, 405, 413, et passim.

Turkey, Transoxania, and Europe, as well as from all parts of India. They were brought by ambassadors as presents or by traders as merchandise. The traders were sure to get a good value and ready market. As a result, sophistication and refinement characterize the works of art produced in Jahângîr's India. Humâyûn had showed ready interest in everything that was novel. Akbar personally looked after the working of his numerous Kârkhânas and during his long reign the Mughal arts achieved their high distinction but to Jahângîr goes the credit of making each work of art a creation which reflected his own refined taste and luxurious values.

Jahângîr's love of novelties and collection of exotica were not restricted to the visual and decorative arts only, but extended to natural history, to rare and beautiful animals, plants and minerals. A Zebra never seen before seen in Hindustan (Plate 101), a turkey cock (Plate 96) brought only a few years after it had been introduced to Europe from the New World, an African elephant, an albino falcon, a fruit of unusual size, a gem of unusual form, a flower of unusual colours, a bird of unusual appearance - all these would attract his fancy and he would not only show his curiosity but also describe

them in detail in the Tuzuk and instruct his painters to keep an accurate likeness of them. Thus in Jahângîrî period we find a large number of miniatures representing out-of-the-way subjects.

Thomas Roe writes about Jahângîr that "he loves none that changeth", which is a totally wrong description of Jahângîr's taste and inclinations. On the other hand, he was always dissatisfied with the conventional. He rarely accepted anything ipso facto, without personally examining it or thoroughly experimenting on it, and made numerous tests, which sometimes appear *as* childish. Thus the abdomen of a lion was dissected to ascertain whether its gall-bladder was covered by the liver; a Scale-less fish was examined to find the reason of its prohibition amongst the Muslims; the carcasses of sheep were hung to measure the 'badness of air' of Ahmedabad and Mahmudabad, and so on. This tendency to challenge the validity of accepted traditions helped to create an atmosphere where conventional ideas were easily discarded and replaced by something novel or something more fascinating. This is especially noticeable in the arts and crafts: Keeping pace with the emperor's demand for objects of unknown brilliance and impeccable quality the artists and craftsmen of Jahângîr's India strove hard to create new conventions

by freely borrowing the technique, decorative details
and artistic themes from other countries.

CHAPTER 2

Foundation and Early Growth
of Mughal Painting

The circumstances leading to the foundation of Mughal painting are not very clear in the present state of our knowledge. Bâbar was a learned and cultured man, whose appreciation of the act of painting was based on a fine and sophisticated taste and sound knowledge.¹ But so far there is no evidence of his founding an atelier of artists. The credit of initiating a separate school of painting with talented masters as its head goes to Bâbar's luckless son Humâyûn. In the midst of the gloom of internecine struggles, and of rebellions fomented by nobles Humâyûn made a desperate but unsuccessful bid to cling to the throne of Hindustan that he inherited from his father. But he was driven away from Delhi by Sher Shâh in 1540, and after spending four fruitless years in wandering in the deserts of Rajasthan and Sind he had to leave India and take refuge with Shâh Tahmâsp in Iran.

Shâh Tahmâsp's treatment of Humâyûn was marked by "a curious compound of courtesy and insult, hostility and

1. A.S. Beveridge, tr., The Bâbur-nâma in English, London, 1921, I, 272, 291.

hospitality, generosity and meanness",² and Humâyûn did not have a very easy time in Tahmâsp's Persia during the year or so that he spent. To the desperate Humâyûn, the visits to the architectural splendours of Harat, Mashad, Qazwin, Persepolis, Ardabil, etc., and the mausoleums of celebrated saints and poets were more refreshing and more rewarding.³ Humâyûn himself was a learned man as he was reared up in an atmosphere of sophisticated culture. The assembly of poets and writers, philosophers and lawgivers and painters and calligraphers in the Persian court awakened in his mind the desire for a similar entourage. Shâh Tahmâsp was also a learned man and an enthusiastic patron of art. Some of the finest Persian paintings and MSS were produced at his court.⁴ He himself took painting lessons from the celebrated Persian master Sultân Muḥammad. But at the time of Humâyûn's visit he suddenly lost his interest

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2. Sukumar Ray, Humâyûn in Persia, Calcutta, 1948 [The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Monograph Series. Vol.VI], 58.
 3. ibid., passim; A.S. Beveridge, The History of Humâyûn by Gulbadan Begam, London, 1902, 169,174; Major C. Stewart, Tezkereh al-Vakiat by Jouher /Tazkirat-ut-Waqiat of Jauhar Aftâbchi, London, 1832, 60,61,67,74-76.
 4. The reception of Humâyûn given by the Shâh took place in a specially prepared hall whose walls were painted with pictures. - AN, I,437.

in painting and began to think indulgence in painting a wastage of time.⁵ This sudden change in the Shâh's attitude provided Humâyûn with the golden opportunity of recruiting the services of some of the finest painters of the Persian court.

From the evidence of Jauhar Âftâbchî and Bâyezid Bîyat it appears that even in the days preceding his Persian journey and before recruiting the Persian masters, Humâyûn not only had a library containing choice MSS but also painters in his employment. The former refers to the presence of a painter who was asked by Humâyûn to paint the likeness of a bird when the Mughal party was undertaking a perilous journey through the deserts of Rajasthan.⁶ The latter refers to a painter called Maulânâ Dûst who was present at Kabul when the Persian masters 'Abd-us-Şamad and Mîr Sayyid 'Alî arrived there.⁷ However, besides these indirect references we do not have any other corroborative evidence to supplement our knowledge.

5. V. Minorsky, tr., Calligraphers and Painters, 135.

6. Major C. Stewart, op.cit., 43.

7. M. Hidayat Hosain, ed., Tazkirâ-i-Humâyûn Wa Akbar of Bâyezid Bîyat, Calcutta, 1941, 65. I am grateful to Mr. Simon Digby for supplying me these valuable references, from his forthcoming paper on the evidence paintings and painters in pre- and early Mughal periods.

8. Sukumar Ray, op.cit., 42.

The real beginning of the school of painting associated with the Mughals was made in Humâyûn's humble court at Kabul. While visiting Tabriz he met 'Abd-us-Şamad, a calligrapher and painter of considerable repute, and extended his invitation to ^{him to} join his court at once. He met the Shâh's chief painter Mîr Muşawwîr and his son Mîr Sayyid 'Alî, in the court of the Shâh and tried his best to induce both of them to join his services. The Mughal chronicles make specific mention of Mîr Sayyid 'Alî but are silent about Mîr Muşawwîr. According to Qâzî Aḥmad's testimony (who was writing his treatise on calligraphers and painters in 1596/7) Mîr Muşawwîr joined Humâyûn's court at Kabul and accompanied the Mughal emperor along with Mîr Sayyid 'Alî to India, where he faced hard times and died.⁹

When Humâyûn returned to Kabul and started his own court both Mîr Sayyid 'Alî and 'Abd-us-Şamad were given good positions. Both of them were appointed as painting instructors of Humâyûn's young son Akbar. 'Abd-us-Şamad was also honourably appointed as the âtâlîq or protector guardian and supervisor of the young prince. He became a close friend of Humâyûn, who gave him the title Shîrîn Qalam for his elegant calligraphic hand. From a note

9. V. Minorsky, op.cit., 185.

the Khândân-i-Timûrayya Ms (f298^a) in the Bankipur Oriental Library it appears that Humâyûn himself also took painting instruction from those two Persian artists.¹⁰

While living in Kabul and instructing the young prince both 'Abd-us-Samad and Mîr Sayyid 'Alî developed their skill and own distinctive styles. Catering for the need of the discriminating patron and freed from the age-old conventionalism of the Persian tradition the style of their work departed considerably from that current in Persia. This departure from the beaten track heralded the beginning of the new Mughal School.

Not much useful information can be gathered from contemporary writings about the activities of these painters and only a small number of paintings produced at Kabul can be definitely identified. Our knowledge of Mîr Sayyid 'Alî is hopelessly limited because only four miniatures definitely coming from his brush are known to us. There is not a single miniature which could be indisputedly accepted as having been done in the Mughal court. His name is curiously absent ~~from~~ the long list of painters participating in numerous MSS produced in Akbar's atelier.

10. Cat-Bankipur, VII,45; EWA, I,18.

Nevertheless, even a casual glance at the four miniatures painted by him would reveal the mastery of technique of this great artist. An accurate observation of nature and life, the depiction of minute details in an idyllic and naturalistic manner and an extraordinary skill in handling a distinctive palette are the most characteristic qualities of the Mîr's style.¹¹

'Abd-us-Şamad is mentioned by such contemporary

11. The four authentic works are:

1. Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî, BM Or 2265, f157: IPM, Pl.VI.
2. Shâhnâma, Rothschild collection, Paris: Martin, II, Pl.126.
3. & 4. Two genre scenes ('Country life' & 'town life'), previously cut into four fragments. Now in the Fogg Museum of Art, previously in the H. Cartier Collection: E.J. Grube, The World of Islam, London, 1967, Pl.79 & 80 (colour).

Works attributed to Mîr Sayyid 'Alî:

1. "Princes of the House of Tîmûr", BM, 1913-2.8.1: LPI, Pl.III, IVA, IVB; IPM, IVb, XII, LXa & LXb; etc.
This may be a joint work by Khwâja 'Abd-us-Şamad and Mîr Sayyid 'Alî.
2. The prince and a page, BM, 1930-11.12.01; B.W. Robinson, Persian Miniature Painting, 1967, Pl.17. Robinson also attributes this work painted on silk, to the Mîr, C.1535.
3. A.C. Ardeshir Coll.: A.C. Ardeshir, Roop Lekha, I, No.2, Pl.3.
4. Survey, V, Pl.913A.
5. I. Stchoukine, Les Peintures des Manuscrits Safavis de 1502 à 1587, Paris, 1959: Haft-Aurang, Freer Gallery of Art, ff 30, 38v, 52.
6. LMI, Pl.II, and elsewhere.

For Mîr Sayyid 'Alî's style: U. Scerrato, EWA, IX, 189-92.

writers as Abu'l Faẓl¹² and Bada'ônî¹³, and in the Tûzuk¹⁴ and Ma'âsir-ul-Umârâ.¹⁵ He accompanied Humâyûn when the latter made his triumphant return in 1555 to Delhi and headed the painting studio either alone or jointly with Mîr Sayyid 'Alî. After Humâyûn's death Akbar retained the service of his former master and exalted him with the honorific title Khwâja and high position. In 1576/7 he was appointed as the head of the imperial mint at Fatehpur Sikri. Subsequently, after living as a leading courtier he was sent to Multan in 1583/4 as its dîwân. As the son of the Wazîr to the governor of Shiraz Khwâja 'Abd-us-Şamad enjoyed the position of a noble and prestige in the court. He was deeply religious and became a leading follower of the Dîn-i-Ilâhî. The date of his death is not known. His son Muḥammad Sharîf was a painter of repute and contributed several miniatures in the Jaipur Razmnâma.¹⁶ He was a close friend of prince Salîm from their childhood.¹⁷

12. Ain, I, 109, 114, 219, 554-5.

13. MT, III, Passim.

14. Tuzuk, I, 15.

15. MU, I, 454-5.

16. Hendley, Pl. LVII, CI & CV.

17. Tuzuk, I, 14-5; et passim; Ain, I, 582-4; MT, 429-32.

In the Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî MS in the A.C. Ardeshir Collection there is an interesting note saying: "four times this picture was tried to be painted by Murîd (pupil), but at last it was finished by Sharîf." - Roop Lekha, I, No. 2, 29. A separate miniature in the British Museum (No. 1948-10-9-006; AIP, 145-6, No. 649) showing Akbar, is signed by Sharîf.

He defected to Salîm in 1599/1600 when Akbar sent him to Allahabad and enjoyed Salîm's friendship and patronage. He was made the highest officer as the Amîr-ul-Umarâ after Salîm became emperor.

There are at least five miniatures which bear Khawâja 'Abd us-Samad's signature or are authentically attributed to him. Two of them are dated and a third describes an episode mentioned in the chronicles. Some other miniatures, two in MSS and two mounted on muraqqa' folios, bear his signature.¹⁸ But in each case the

18. The authentic works of Khwâja 'Abd us-Samad are:-

1. Two youths in a landscape. Signed, "Made by Maulânâ 'Abd us-Samad in half a day on Naurûz, 958 Hijra"/1551.
2. Dervish running through a wood. Signed, "the slave shikasta-raqm 'Abd us-Samad Shîrîn Qalam."
3. Akbar presenting a miniature to Humâyûn. Signed "the slave 'Abd us-Samad Shîrîn Qalam."
4. Groom leading a horse. Signed, "Made by 'Abd-us-Samad on Naurûz, 965 Hijra"/1558.
5. Same subject. Signed.
All collected in the Gulshan album: PMP, passim; EWA, I, 16-20, Pl. 14A, 14B, 16, 15A.
6. A Hunting Scene. Signed. Mounted on a Jahângîrî muraqqa' folio. Cat-Heeramaneck, Pl. 198 ^{ves 50}.
7. Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî, BM Or. 12208, f 82a; IPM, Pl. XXXVI.
8. Unpublished miniature. Freer Gallery of Art; Said to be a fine work: Cat-Heeramaneck, ~~187~~ 198
9. Young prince resting after hunt. Signed.
A.C. Ardeshir, Roop-Lekha, I, No. 2, Pl. 4.

Corrected by Khwâja 'Abd us-Samad:

Dârâbnâma, BM, Or. 5615, f 103b, painted by Bihzâd:
V.A. Smith, History of Fine Arts in India & Ceylon,
Oxford, 1911, Pl. CXIII.

Attribution doubtful:

1. Arrest of Shâh Abu'l Ma'ali, Bodleian Library:
IPM, Pl. VIII.2.
2. Hunting Scene, Mrs. E.E. Meugens Coll.;
Survey, V, Pl. 913A.

For his life and work:

R. Ettinghausen, EWA, I, 16-20.

attributions are not indisputed. As expected from a famous calligrapher a strong linear quality characterises the work of Khwâja 'Abd us-Şamad. In decorative details, in the drawing of trees, mountains and the landscape, and in the delineation of figures, 'Abd us-Şamad continues in a slightly modified form the established conventions of the Tabriz school. The principal differences lie in the realistic approach of the subject-matter, and in the portraiture along with the details of dresses and architecture. Khwâja 'Abd us-Şamad's portraiture of the young prince with elongated neck, slender body and graceful oval face is typical of his style.

Humâyûn died within six months of his regaining the Mughal throne, and the young Akbar was proclaimed emperor in 1556. The artistic activities in spite of the setback, continued under the new emperor. But excepting 'Abd us-Şamad's signed miniature of 965 Hijra/1557. discussed above there is no other dated material produced between the beginning of Akbar's reign and 1567/8, the date of the 'Ashiqâ MS in the National Museum, Delhi.¹⁹ It is, indeed, possible that the royal atelier was preoccupied with the production of the most original and

19. Catalogue of Manuscripts from Indian Collections, New Delhi, 1964, 96-7, Colour Plate facing p.77. The MS has two miniature. Mr. Simon Digby has suggested that it was prepared in connection with Akbar's marriage to Salimâ Sultân Begam, the widow of Bairâm Khân.

important, as well as the most controversial Mughal MS, Dâstân-i-Amîr Hâmza, during this period and afterwards.

The Dâstân-i-Amîr Hâmza or Hâmza Nâma is an extraordinary MS in every way. Each folio measures a staggering 68x51 cm. in size and is made of fine linen mounted on paper, with a large painting on one side and the story describing the picture on the other. There are 360 such stories telling the exploits of Amîr Hâmza, and a monumental project of preparing twelve to fourteen hundred pictures, in twelve folio volumes illustrating the entire work, was undertaken by the royal atelier. According to Badâ'ônî and Shâhnawâz Khân it took fifteen years and the toils of fifty "Bihzâd like painters" to complete ^{the} task. They mention the name of Mîr Sayyid 'Alî as the initial supervisor of the work, a post which was afterwards filled by Khwâja 'Abd us-Şamad.²⁰

As only a fragment of the original 1200-1400 folios is preserved in museums and public and private collections throughout the world, and as none of the existing folios bears any signature, or any contemporary or later attribution to any artist, or any indication of

20. MT, II, 207; MU, I, 454-5; Ain, I, 115.

chronology, the Hamzanâma has become a subject of fierce controversy among scholars. The work is so much sui generis, the pictures show such an amalgamation of diverse stylistic elements, and the technique of representation is so novel that one is amazed and feels somewhat bewildered. Yet in view of our meagre knowledge of Mughal painting in its early phase it is not easy to attempt any categorical thesis about the chronological sequence or authorship of the paintings.

Akbar was very fond of the romantic fantasies in the mythical stories of Hamza-nâma and he could recite them from memory like a story teller. The bound volumes of the MS were kept in the private apartments of the emperor, and he often would glance through its pages.²¹ Abûl Fazl writes in one place that "His Majesty from the earliest youth has shown a great predilection for this art [painting] and gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as a means both of study and amusements."²² Therefore Akbar possessed this sumptuous MS of the Hamza-nâma illustrated under the supervision of his ~~old~~ old instructors Mîr Sayyid'Alî and Khwâja 'Abd us-Şamad. Shâhnawâz Khân mentions this in his Ma'âtsir-ul-Umarâ²³

21. MU, I, 454; AN, II, 223.

22. Ain, I, 113.

23. MU, II, 454.

and the evidence of Abu'l Fazl²⁴ and Badâ'î²⁵ corroborates this. But a disputed passage of Mullâ 'Alâ-ud-dawla Qazvîni specifically mentions the project as a brainchild of Humâyûn and that Mîr Sayyid 'Alî Tabrizî was appointed to supervise its completion with scrupulous care.²⁶ Qazvîni's evidence appears to be doubtful, because in the relative lack of resources of Humâyûn it is unlikely that such an enormous task would be undertaken in Kabul and there is no information about the appointment of any other painters during Humâyûn's lifetime. Possibly the project was contemplated by Humâyûn wishing to make a present to Akbar who was so fond of the stories, but he could not, ultimately undertake the project, not to speak of its completion, because of his sudden death.

The character of the paintings of the Hamzanâma is unmistakably Mughal: with their unusual size²⁷ and

24. Ain, op.cit.

25. MT, op.cit.

26. M. Abdulla Chaghatai, "Mir Sayyid 'Ali Tabrizi", Pakistan Quarterly, IV,4, [Karachi, 1954], 26f.

The MS is entitled Nafais-ul-Ma'asiz.

Chaghatai's reference is inaccurate as no such passage is found in the MS. in the British Museum.

27. Mr. B.W. Robinson exhibited two folios from a dispersed MS of auguries, Fal-nâma, from the collection of Chester Beatty Library, in the exhibition of Persian miniatures in the V & A Museum. Each folio measures $23\frac{1}{2}'' \times 17\frac{3}{4}''$ and the MS is attributed to^{ca} 1550-60 date. The presence of an unusual work of this size in the same period when the Hamza-nâma was produced, is worth noting; B.W. Robinson, Persian Miniature Painting, 103. Also; M-V, I, Pl. LXIII, LXIV; E. Grube, Muslim Miniature Painting, 83, pl. 61.

the naturalistic representation of principal actors of the story in a realistic background of minutely drawn trees, flowers, animals and distinctive architectural details, they show a considerable departure from the Persian tradition. The powerful portraiture, the use of bright and luminous colours, the broad canvas and the thorough understanding with which all the diverse elements are integrated in a balanced composition, make the Ĥamza-nâma "miniatures" unique in the history of Islamic painting. It is very difficult to trace the individual authorship of the folios. As they contain a variety of elements ranging from pure Persian conventions to definitely Indian motifs, it seems that a large number of painters trained in both Persian and Indian traditions collaborated in executing the paintings.

It has been suggested by modern scholars that the project was completed before Akbar became deeply engrossed in the religious discussions in the 'Ibâdatkhâna when it was built in 1575 and no longer remained a good Muslim to appreciate the overzealous exploits of Amîr Ĥamza.²⁸

28. PI, 780; AIP, 1404. J. F. S. Wilkinson, Mughal Painting, p. 3.

This theory is totally unacceptable because Akbar's fascination for those stories was for their narrative mythological flavour and was never prompted by any religious zeal. But 'Abduş-Samad's promotion as the Mint Master in 1576/7 may have followed his successful supervision of the whole project. The Anwâr-i-Suhailî of 1570/1 in the collection of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, already begin to show signs of development from the mixed style of the Hamza folios.

From the beginning of the last quarter of the 16th century a rapid and vast change starts to take shape in the cultural scene. The discussions of the Ibâdâtkhâna the presence of a large number of poets, writers, scholars and lawgivers from all over India and beyond her boundaries, the arrival of art-objects through embassies, religious missions and traders, and above all, the unsatiated curiosity of Akbar himself helped the rapid growth of Mughal painting.

The training of his early life made him a great patron of all forms of art. To him a work of art had much more importance than its outward appearance. In the words of Abu'l Fazl, a picture was a "source of wisdom, and an antidote against the poison of ignorance" for "a well-regulated mind." Abu'l Fazl quotes the actual words of

Akbar on painting:

"There are many that hate painting; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognising God; for a painter in sketching any thing that has life, and devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the Giver of life, and will thus increase his knowledge."²⁹

The unorthodox views of the emperor helped the painters to take calculated attempts to abandon the formality and rigid conventions of Persian idioms and to incorporate new ideas and elements, and to adopt new techniques. Thus, within a brief period the character of Mughal painting underwent a process of transformation. The miniatures of the Tuġināma MS in the Cleveland Museum of Art³⁰ probably belong to this phase, when the mixed style of the Hamzanāma suddenly began to give way to the local traditions. The strict supervision of the Persian masters was no longer necessary, the artists of the Mughal atelier were well on the way in their search for a meaningful ideal and an effective standard.

29. Ain, I, 115.

30. Sherman Lee & Pramod Chandra, "A newly discovered Tuġināma...", Burl. Mag., 1963, 547-54; AMI, 24-6, 162, ~~Plates~~ 3a-3d.

Akbar wanted to have a first-hand knowledge of all religions and to know the contents of the principal books of every religion.³¹ His love for India and respect for her rich traditions awakened in him an urge to understand the basic elements of Hindu literature and classical music. He also wanted his sons, and principal nobles and courtiers coming from Turkistan, Afghanistan, Persia etc, to have a fair idea about Indian life, culture and literature. So he recruited learned men and writers to translate such principal Hindu religious texts as Atharva-Veda, Râmâyana, Mahâbhârata, Harivamśa, Yoga-Vâsistha etc. into Persian. Works dealing with Yoga and Vedânta, the stories of Simhâsana-Batrisât, Kathâ-Sarit-Sâgara and Nala-Damayantî, the mathematical works of Lilâvatî and historical works like Râjataranginî were also translated into Persian. Akbar paid particular attention to historical works, and especially to the history of his own race. Thus the Turki text of Wâqîât-i-Bâbarî was translated in Persian, and works like Târîkh-i-Âlfî, Humâyunnâma and Akbar's own court chronicles prepared by Abu'l Fazl, Akbar-nâma and Â'in-i-Akbarî were compiled, and copies of Jamîat-Tawârîkh and Khândân-i-Tîmûriyya were prepared.

31. Ain, I, 109-113 et. passim.

While preparing MSS of these works, beautifully written by celebrated calligraphers and produced in a sumptuous manner, Akbar wanted them to be submitted with miniatures. The painting atelier was greatly enlarged and a large number of painters, colour-blenders, gold-sprinklers, binders, paper-manufacturers and their assistants were recruited to do this stupendous task.³² Along with the above-mentioned MSS a large number of Persian literary works like Bâhâristân, Gulistân and Bûstân, the Dîwâns of Hâfîz, Anwârî, Shâhî, Amîr Khusrau Dihlavî, Jâmî etc., and such works as Anwâr-i-Suhailî, Khâmsai-Nizâmî, Shâhnâma, Zafarnâma, Tûtînâma, Dârâbnâma, Nafahat al-uns were produced in the atelier during this time. The enormous volume of work kept the Kârkhâna breathlessly busy. Of the large number of painters working in the atelier there were "more than a hundred painters", who had become, "famous masters of the art."³³ Besides the two Persian ustâds who started the Mughal School, fourteen other painters are listed as outstanding masters of art by Abu'l Fazl in the Â'in-i-Akbarî. They are: Daswant, Basâwan, Kesav, Lâl, Mukundî, Mishkîn, Farrukh the Qalmâq, Mâdhav, Jagan, Mahes', Khem Karan, Sânwala, Harîbans and Râm.

32. Ain, I, 107.

33. ibid, 114.

According to Abu'l Fazl "the number of those who approached perfection, or of those who are in the middling, is very large."³⁴

Akbar took a keen personal interest in the work of his artists. He examined their weekly output, assessed their merits by a comparative study and rewarded the painters accordingly.³⁵ All types of artists' materials and costly ingredients were made readily available to the painters, so the miniatures dazzled in rich gloss and warm colours. We are not in a position to say to what extent his own ideas were thrust on the works of his artists, though the products of the imperial atelier were probably influenced by the eclectic philosophy of Akbar. The court historian records how the emperor personally discovered the potential talent of Daswant and helped him to become "the first master of the age", whose works were not "behind those of Bihzâd and the painters of China."³⁶

Akbar was very much interested in portrait painting and himself sat for his likeness. He ordered "to have likeness taken of all the grandees of the realm." "An immense album was thus formed," writes Abu'l Fazl, and "those that have passed away have received a new life, and those who are still alive have immortality promised them."³⁷

34. ibid, 114.

35. ibid, 113.

36. ibid, 114; AN, III, 434.

37. Ain, I, 115.

Besides the prolific production of the imperial studio, a large number of miniatures and works of art arrived in Mughal court during this time. The rich collection of the imperial library was enlarged greatly and many new illustrated Persian MSS were included in it. Along with them, another source of supply opened up when the first Jesuit mission arrived at Fatehpur Sikri in 1580 from Goa at the invitation of the emperor. The presents for Akbar the fathers of the mission brought/when they met him for the first time were a sumptuous set of Plantin's Royal Polyglot Bible and the pictures of Christ and the Virgin. These were followed by a steady inflow of European painted books, engravings (possibly sometimes tinted), and art-objects brought by the fathers of the first and the succeeding missions coming to Mughal court. These European materials, ^{though} not all of superb quality, amazed the Mughal painters in their difference of style, treatment of human figure and technique,³⁸ and provided them with a whole new idiom to draw upon.

It was in these conditions the young prince Salim decided to start his own painting studio at the end of

38. ibid, 102-3; "...Painters, especially those of Europe, succeed in drawing figures expressive of the conceptions which the artist has of any of the mental states (Khilqī), so much so, that people may mistake a picture for reality...."

the 1580s. In this atmosphere of liberal royal patronage and eclectic cultural influence the daring spirit of the young patron was sure to produce some bold new ideas.

CHAPTER 3

The Salīm Studio

A number of significant changes took place in Akbar's painting atelier when the Mughal capital was moved from Fatehpur Sikri to Lahore in 1585. Farrukh Beg along with a group of nobles and generals came from Kabul after the death of Akbar's half-brother Mīrzâ Muḥammad Ḥakīm and joined Akbar's service.¹ In the preceding year Daswant, one of the most celebrated Akbarī painters, became insane and committed suicide.² Khwâja 'Abd us-Samad was promoted in 1585 to the dīwānship of Multan from the post of the director of royal mints at Fatehpur, which he had held since 1576/7.³ The first Jesuit mission had left Fatehpur only a couple of years before this⁴ and perceptible impact of the prints, engravings and painted books brought by the fathers of that mission and presented to the emperor was slowly becoming apparent in Akbarī painting. Keśavdās, an artist of the conventional indigenous style, painted the

1. AN, III, 714.

2. ibid, 651.

3. ibid, 779.

4. The mission came to Fatehpur Sikri in February, 1580. Though the rest of the mission left for Goa in 1582, its leader Father Aquaviva stayed till February, 1583.

superb coloured copy of a European engraving of St. Matthew in 1587/8.⁵ This is one of a large number of similar works prepared⁶ during this time and afterwards.

A few weeks after Salîm's marriage to his cousin Mân Bât in 1585, he was given the high rank of 12,000 mansabdârî, a separate wardrobe, insignia, drums, and the tûmantûgh (the flag of highest dignity).⁷ He tasted his first cup of wine towards the end of the same year, an occurrence of no mean importance in his life.⁸ His own painting atelier was also founded at this time. The exact date of its establishment is not known, but it can be speculated from an indirect reference in the Tûzuk,⁹ which indicates that the studio was started when Salîm was still a prince and that Âqâ Rizâ Harâtî was appointed its director.

Âqâ Rizâ is a puzzling name in the annals of Persian and Mughal painting and the appearance of more than one painter of considerable talent of the same name as near contemporaries has added to the confusion.

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5. LPI, Pl.XIXb.
 6. infra, Chapter X.
 7. MT, II, 353-4.
 8. Tuzuk, I, 8, 307-10.
 9. ibid, II, 20.

However, Âqâ Rizâ, who used to style himself as murîd-i-Pâdishâh-Salîm is a Persian artist, trained in the best Harâtî tradition, and emigrated to India in the late 1580s.¹⁰ A tinted drawing, copying Dürer's St. John (Plate 118) drawn by his son Abu'l Hasan gives the precise indication of the date of Abu'l Hasan's birth. Since Abu'l Hasan is known to have been a Khânazâd,¹¹ Âqâ Rizâ must have been already in Salîm's employment by the time of his son's birth in 1588/89. Âqâ Rizâ's name is not included in the list of important Akbarî artists compiled by Abu'l Fazl in the Â'in-i-Akbarî, nor is he mentioned in the Akbarnâma. His name is not found amongst the scores of major and minor artists who painted hundreds of miniatures in Akbar's time. So, it seems that when Âqâ Rizâ arrived from Persia he entered directly into Salîm's Studio.

Very little definite information of the studio is known to us and very few securely dated works coming from it are found. So, it is not possible to have a clear idea about its size or the identity of artists besides

10. R. Etkinghausen in Allgemeines Lexicon der Bildenden Künstler, ed: U. Thieme & F. Becker, Leipzig, 1934, Vol. XXVII, 400-407; I. Stchoukine, Les Peintures des Manuscrits Safavis des 1502 a 1587, Paris, 1959.

*1. Tuzuk, II, 20.

Âqâ Rizâ working in it. As the products of the Akbarî atelier are well-documented and easily identified, so any picture which shows a marked difference in attitude from the Akbarî style and is yet closely connected with it in technique and treatment, and which shows a youthful prince engaged in his favourite pastime of hunting, drinking or studying, either signed by Âqâ Rizâ or showing familiarity with his style, may be regarded as a characteristic product of the Salîm Studio.

Akbar visited Kabul and Kashmir ~~for~~ several times during the next decade. Another Jesuit mission arrived in the middle of 1590 but left the Mughal court within a few months of its arrival. In 1595 the third and by far the most important Jesuit mission arrived under the leadership of the learned Father Jerome Xavier and settled down for a prolonged stay. Meanwhile Salîm enlarged his harem and his first three sons and a number of daughters were born. Unfortunate clashes occurred between him and Abu'l Fazl and on a number of occasions between him and Akbar. A large group of courtiers gathered round the prince as his father grew old and his own fortunes rose. This increased his independence.

Meanwhile the Studio flourished and became actively involved in Salîm's search for rare and unusual paintings. Salîm made Âqâ Rizâ busy in preparing miniatures in the Persian Şafavid tradition, many of which appear as palapable copies of well-known Persian works (Plate 2). However, most of Salîm's attention was devoted to European pictures and engravings. Noting the prince's unusual interest Father Jerome Xavier wrote in his letter of 20 August, 1595:

"I say the same in respect of the prince, for he was seriously angry with our Muhammadan guide for bringing him no image of the Mother of God and when bidding another to make extensive purchases, he particularly ordered him not to fail to bring with him a fine picture of Our Lord."¹²

When the prince failed in his attempt to get hold of a copy of a picture or an engraving, he ordered his painters to make a replica of it,¹³ a task in which his painters were almost unsurpassable.¹⁴ A Portuguese painter brought by the fathers at Lahore was also appointed by him to make a

12. Maclagan, JASB, 1896, 66-7.

13. ibid, 74.

14. Roe at a much later date supported this: Roe, 199-200, 224 ["for indeed in that arte of limnige his paynters woorke miracles."]. Cf: Plates 49 & 50, 121, 126, 129, 113, 118.

copy of an excellent picture of the Blessed Virgin which the fathers were unwilling to part with.¹⁵ The fathers were constantly and unabashedly approached by him for more and more European pictures and art-objects. In his letter of December, 1597, Xavier wrote to his Superior:

"He [Salîm] was so anxious for things imported from Portugal and [Peninsular] India and especially for the pictures of Our Saviour and the Blessed Virgin, the Queen of Angels (to whose care he says he commends himself) that he excites our wonder..."¹⁶

In the following year the father found him busy in directing the work of two painters who were "tracing out by the application of colours" some small pictures of Christian subject.¹⁷

Signs of Salîm's growing impatience became apparent in his activities over the next few years, and in 1599 burst in open rebellion. Taking advantage of Akbar's absence in the siege of ^{Asir}Asirgarh Salîm disregarded the imperial command and seizing a large sum of money belonging to a dying noble fled to Allahabad. There he entrenched himself in the strong fortress and styled himself Shâh. He settled down as a semi-independent ruler for some time.

15. A & J, 67; JASB, op.cit., 67.

16. JASB, op.cit., 75.

17. ibid, 74.

During these years the little court of Salîm functioned in its own independent way. As Shâh Salîm he issued farmâns, granted jâgîrs, appointed governors, and even approached the fathers for sending a separate mission to Allahabad, probably to gain some recognition.¹⁸ His drinking bouts were intensified and hunting parties were often organised. By living a reckless and irresponsible life he became increasingly haughty and cruel, and engaged in unbecoming activities. In spite of all these, however, his passion for art did not become obscured. The Studio was much enlarged by recruiting more painters; many of them were trained, and some previously employed in the Akbarî atelier as minor artists. It undertook preparation of MSS, a task not attempted before. The exact number of MS prepared and illustrated at Allahabad is not known, but three works, all preserved in good condition and complete with dated colophons, still survive. These are a Dîwân of Amîr Ḥasan Dihlavî, a unique copy of Râjkunwâr and an Anwâr-i-Suhaîf,¹⁹ work on the last mentioned MS was undertaken in the Salîm Studio just before its break-up, and it was completed only at a later date. Besides the MSS, a number of interesting miniatures were painted in the

18. ibid., 89.

19. infra, Chapter IV.

Studio, mostly for compiling in the royal Muraqqas, The collection of European prints and engravings so enthusiastically built up by Salîm from the early days also grew in volume.

So the material which can be regarded as authentic product~~s~~ of the Salîm Studio is strictly limited in quantity. But, nevertheless, a detailed analytical study of these few pictures produced there is rewarding and necessary to determine the trends and tendencies initiated and promoted by Salîm, which ultimately paved the way for the refined and sophisticated Jahângîrî style. Basil Gray thinks that changes were already on the way and it would be rash to assume that Salîm personally brought about this "minor stylistic revolution."²⁰ It is true that distinct stylistic changes are noticeable in such late Akbarî MSS as the Nafahat-al-uns and Jog-Bâshisht, but this may be the result of the influence exerted by the prince and his enthusiastic band of painters. Salîm's interest was more on the living world of nature than in speculation of the spirit and he was more interested in the persons moving around him, in the girls attracting his attention, and in the birds and beasts so carefully noted by him, than in dry discourses of theology or in lessons of past history. This

20. PI, 98.

interest in living nature and in the human world is the keynote of the style of painting evolved during his time and followed both in the imperial atelier and in the Salîm Studio.

The practice of building up collections of miniatures of diverse sorts and calligraphic qitâ's is not an innovation of Salîm, such muraqqa's were prepared in large number in Persia and Turkey long before Salîm's birth.²¹ At least two muraqqa's collected or compiled in Humâyûn's time have survived.²² Abu'l Faẓl refers to the preparation of a sumptuous muraqqa' of exquisite portraits of princes and nobles at Akbar's order.²³ As the limited resources of Salîm's modest establishment did not permit the preparation of sumptuous MSS with numerous miniatures in the Akbarî model, and as Salîm's interest was mainly to collect pictures of various types, so the compilation of muraqqa's served his purpose well.

21. V. Minorsky, tr. Calligraphers and Painters, 5, 10, 141, 155, 183, 186; A.S. Beveridge, tr. Gulbadan Begam's Humâyûn nâma, passim.

22. Two such muraqqa's of calligraphic specimens, one with a brilliant circular shamsa painted by Bihzâd (B.W. Robinson, Persian Drawings, Pl. 29), were exhibited in the Burlington House Exhibition (PMP, 124 & 131, Nos. 109 & 131). One of them belonged to Akbar's mother Hamîda Bânû Begam, and other bears seals of Akbar and autograph notes of Jahângîr and Shâh Jahân.

23. Ain, I, 115.

He collected old Persian masterpieces, early Mughal works drawn by Khwâja 'Abd us-Samad, Farrukh Beg and also Mîr Sayyid 'Alî and Daswant.²⁴ His passion for European engravings and book illustrations is already noted. So when Âqâ Rizâ was employed, his first task was probably to arrange Salîm's collection of pictures in suitable muraqqa's.

Of the muraqqa's prepared in the Salîm Studio and continued during Jahângîr's reign and long after his death, only two,²⁵ the Gulshan album and the so-called Berlin album, definitely come from Jahângîr's time, and the rest from succeeding periods. No muraqqa' assembled exclusively in the Salîm Studio has survived, only the earlier of the two Jahângîrî muraqqa's, the 'Muraqqa'-i-Gulshan':

24. *infra*. Chapter VI

25. Some scholars think there was one grand muraqqa' and the folios in Tehran and Tübingen as well as the stray folios found in numerous collections all belong to it (cf: S. Digby's note in IC, XXXVII, 293; AIP, 156). The size of the folios vary very little: in Tübingen and Boston it is 41.5 cm x 25.8 cm, whereas in Tehran and Paris it is 40x24.5 cm. The decorations in the hâshiyas, though differ in details, are of a similar type. The Gulshan album contains 88 (92 according to PMP, vide, following note) folios and has a 19th century Persian binding, and the Tübingen folios (25 folios) were collected by Heinrich Brugsch Pasha from Persia in 1860-1 (IBP, 8). Wilkinson and Gray write on this problem in the following terms: "The question must remain open whether all these pages originally formed part of a single book." But for convenience of handling a number of handy volumes is much more desirable than one huge album. While referring to the albums the Jesuit fathers use the word registro in plural (J&J, 64-5) and a vague chronological sequence is also to be noted in the two remaining muraqqa's: the Tubingen album does not have anything dated earlier than 1608/9 and the Gulshan album has nothing beyond 1610/11.

contains some selected Persian masterpieces, original European engravings, early Mughal works and other materials spanning the years of the Salîm Studio, including the works of Âqâ Rizâ.²⁶

26. The Muraqqa'-i-Gulshan was brought to Persia by Nâdir Shâh from Delhi as booty. Since then it has been preserved in the Persian royal collection. When the album was first exhibited in the International Exhibition of Persian Art, at Burlington House, London, in 1931, it created a major surprise. However, in the exhibition only the Persian examples collected by Jahângîr were shown. In a subsequent article in the Burlington Magazine (April, 1935, 168-177), J.V.S. Wilkinson and Basil Gray gave an indication of its valuable content, and reproducing a number of superb Mughal miniatures and marginal drawings they wrote, "it would be an excellent thing if it could be published in extenso." (p.177). Since then the album has been exhibited in part or in full in various exhibitions (Leningard, 1935; Paris, 1948; New York, 1949; Rome, 1956; The Hague, 1957; Prague, 1948; and in various places in 1962) and a few folios published in catalogues, articles and books, but this valuable document has never been published in extenso.

In the catalogue of the Burlington House Exhibition (PMP, Appendix C, 192) the number of folios in the Gulshan album is given as 92, though in a recent publication (Eltzinghausen, infra) the number is given as 88. At least one folio reproduced by Eltzinghausen (fig. 6) and described as coming from a Tehran Private Collection was published only a few years back by Hájek (infra, Pl. 32) where the source is clearly stated as the Imperial Library, Tehran. For the published folios:

- PMP, passim. Pl. LXVII (double), LXXIV, LXXXVIIA & B, XCIV, CIIIB, CIVA & B, CVA & B.
 B. Gray & A. Godard, Iran: Miniatures from the Imperial Library, Unesco, Paris, 1960, Pl.XVI-XXIV (all in colour and in original size).
 B. Gray, Persian Miniatures from Ancient Manuscripts, London, 1962, Pl.16-24 (colour).
 J.V.S. Wilkinson & B. Gray, "Indian Paintings in a Persian Museum," Burl. Mag., LVI, 168-177, Pl. I-III (12 figures).

The earliest dated example of Âqâ Rizâ's work is found in a Gulshan Album folio (plate 3), where one of the seven figures spread all over the hâshiya bears the inscription: Shâh Salîm Ghulâm bi-ikhlas Âqâ Rizâ musawwir ... fi târîkh Ramazân 1008 / March 1600 A.D.²⁷

The figure shows a bearded man writing with a feather-pen on a scroll (Plate 3). Some Roman letters written on the scroll are still to be read above the Persian inscriptions. This as well as three other figures by

contd.

- Y. Godard, "Les Marges du Murakka Gulshan," Athar-e-Iran, I. [Paris, 1936], 11-33, (26 figures).
Survey, Pl. 893B, 911, 912B.
 A.U. Pope, Introduction to Persian Art, London, 1930, Pl. 50-51.
 Mehdi Bahrâmi, Iranian Art: Treasures from the Imperial Collections and Museums of Iran, New York, 1949, 30-31, figs. 34-35.
Mostra d'Arte Iranica, Catalogo, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Milano, 1956.
Perziche Miniaturen, Gemeentemuseum, The Hague, 1957, Pl. 5 & 7.
 H. Goetz, "The Early Murraqqa's of the Mughal Emperor Jahângîr", East & West, VIII [Rome, 1957], 157-185 (13 pls. & 17 figs).
 Muhammad Baqir, "Murraqqa' Gulshan", Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, V [Karachi, 1957], 158-161.
 Milo C. Beach, "The Gulshan Album and its European Sources", Bull. MFA, LXIII, No. 332 [Boston, 1965], 62-91, (28 figs.).
 R. Eltzinghausen, "New Pictorial Evidence of Catholic Missionary Activity in Mughal India." Perennitas, [Münster, 1963], fig. 4-6.
Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art, London, 1931, passim.
IMM, Pl. 8-32.
 27. Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, I, 13.

its side are obvious adaptations from European engravings of the Ascension of Christ²⁸ or similar subjects. Father Xavier's information of two painters "tracing out by the application of colour some small pictures" of European origin under the guidance of Salîm²⁹ is thus fully corroborated by these dated details.

It also confirms our proposition that murraqqa's with elaborate hâshiyas were being prepared from the early days of the Salîm studio. The drawings of Âqâ Rizâ are done in strong lines with opaque colour tinges applied lightly within the frame of the outline, with some hint of modelling, (Plate 3). They differ considerably, from the extensive shadowing and tonal variations adopted by Daulat, Bishandâs, Govardhan, Bâlchand etc. in the hâshiyas, some of which are dated 1608/1609,³⁰ or from the decorations found rather ^{un}expectedly in the margins of some folios of the Bâhâristân-i-Jâmî MS in the Bodleian Library, prepared in Akbar's studio in 1595/96.³¹ These decorations showing young prince on horseback, hawking, hunting or reading signed by Shirdâs, Bâlchand, Husain

28. ibid, Fig. 1.

29. MacLagan, JASB, 1896, 74.

30. infra, Ch. VII, Plates..39-43.

31. MS Elliot 254, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

and Khim are uncommon in Akbar's time.³² One is tempted to think that like the decorative details on ff 596-60a of the second copy of the Akbarnāma,³³ (Plate 148) now in the British Museum,³⁴ these marginal decorations were added in Jahāngīr's time. However, beyond the stylistic similarity and the appearance of Bālchand's name, which is also found in the 'Berlin album'³⁵, there is no other basis to strengthen this view, and the practice of drawing figures on the hāshiyas of the Jahāngīrī muraqqa's may well have been inspired by this MS.

In the hāshiya which contains the dated details by Âqâ Rizâ, beside four European figures at the top there are two other details showing a young prince resting on an elaborate bed and a beautiful young lady sitting on

32. Mughal Miniatures of the Earlier Periods,

Pl.10,11,12. Such details are found in folios 10,12b,17,21b,22,30,33,44,45b,60b and 61b as well as extensive designs in gold of floral and vegetal motifs, birds and landscapes, some of which are signed by Ghaffar and Ikhlâs. Also in two folios of the Dyson Perrings Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî (B.M. Or.12208, folios 132a, 169b). Similarity of the details reproduced in ibid, Pl.10,11 is very close with the Jahāngīrī muraqqa's, infra:

33. Martin, II, Pl.109-110.

34. Or.12988. 163 ff, 39 miniatures. Folio 134 bears the signature of Khem Karan and dated 21 Sha'bân, 1071/12 H. = 25 January, 1604.

35. IBP, Pl.38a (folio 13b).

a couch. She is shapely and attractive, wears a plumed headdress with a high rounded top and a Chaghatai-type dress and holds a spray of flower in her right hand. An aged man in Europeanised costume and hat is shown coming towards her with a round flower vase. It is likely that all other drawings of this hâshiya are also painted by Âqâ Rizâ, and in the same year.

Signed works of Âqâ Rizâ are, as reported by Madame Godard, also to be found on three other folios of the Gulshan album (ff 29, 145, 152).³⁶ None of them are dated, hence a strict chronological sequence of Âqâ Rizâ's style cannot be traced from them, because a number of later works painted by him are also found in the Gulshan album. Nevertheless, the hâshiya decorations are of absorbing interest. One of them shows a young prince, perhaps one of the sons of Salîm, reading a book on which the name of the painter is cleverly incorporated in an otherwise undeciphered Persian inscription. He is seated on a mound, fully coloured in deep tones and wears a heavy costume and trousers, painted in green, orange and pink. The portraiture of the prince ^{is} not comparable to the studies made by such specialists as Bishandâs and Daulat, but still it is quite satisfactory.

36. Y. Godard, op.cit., 13.

Other details of this hâshiya as well as another (f 68), show glimpses of the zanâna mahall. Princesses, their maids and companions (Plate 46), some playing on musical instruments, some preparing 'itr (a variety of which was in fact perfected in Jahângîr's household by Nûr Jêhân's mother³⁷), some carrying salvers of food or presents or vases of flowers or chaurîs, are minutely presented in these decorations.³⁸ These delightful female figures with their shapely bodies, slender limbs and graceful poise demonstrate a significant change in the attitude of the Mughals towards women. Women are portrayed in hundreds of Akbarî miniatures in scenes of birth, in court receptions, and in family scenes, as dancing lûlîs, musicians and attendants in the historical MSS, and as heroines in romantic tales, but with rare exceptions they remain impersonal and unrecognisable and devoid of character in their puppet like appearance. In the romantic eyes of young Salîm women were given more attention and the ladies of the royal household are portrayed for the first time in art. However, almost no

37. Tuzuk, I, 270-1.

38. Y. Godard, op.cit., figs. 5,6.

one of them can be precisely identified, as no authentic likeness of any Mughal princesses or empresses with their names written on them are preserved. Nevertheless, from their dignified and graceful countenance and their delicate beauty there is no doubt that these aristocratic and beautiful ladies seated on thrones or on couches, are indeed members of the royal household. As we shall see later, because of this change in outlook, artists were allowed to enter the zanâna to paint its members and also to train girls who painted delightful miniatures, some of which are preserved in the muraqqa's.³⁹ At least in two instances the name of Âqâ Rizâ is mentioned as the instructor (Plates: 121,129).

Of Madame Godard's other ascriptions, the vignette showing an old teacher giving lessons to his pupil, a young prince⁴⁰, may have come from Âqâ Rizâ's brush, because the subject matter is a familiar Persian motif and its

39. J.V.S. Wilkinson & B. Gray, Burl. Mag., 1935, 174. Other female names occurring in the Minto Album are Shafi'a Bânû who painted the picture of Shâh Tahmâsp (V & A; Clarke, Pl.XVIII), and Nînî (Plate 113) and in the Gulshan Album, Raqiyâ Bânû. The former also copied one of Bihzâd's famous work in the Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî in the British Museum, which is preserved in the Nâsir-ud-din Album. (Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1937, 266, fig. 110).

40. Y. Godard, op.cit., 1936, fig. 8.

treatment is reminiscent of Âqâ Rizâ's style. There is no such overwhelming stylistic or typological similarity for the other detail which shows a king looking like Akbar, seated on a throne under a tree while an attendant prepares sikh-kabâb in the open and a young noble offers drinks.⁴¹ Another folio illustrated by S.C. Welch⁴² showing similar hunting scenes drawn in a style similar to the above-mentioned detail, may have been painted by the same artist. Mention should also be made of some other hâshiya details of the Gulshan album, reproduced by Hájek⁴³ belonging to the same style. However, the folio reproduced by H. Goetz showing hunting scenes and attributed by him to Âqâ Rizâ⁴⁴ is a late 17th century Persian work and has nothing to do with our artist.

Four full page miniatures in the Gulshan Album are signed by Âqâ Rizâ, two with the appellation mu'îd-wa-ikhlâs-i-pâdishâh Salîm and the other two with the name of Jahângîr. The first two were apparently done in the Salîm Studio, while the appellation Jahângîr-Shâhî in the last two obviously put them in the

41. ibid, fig. 7.

42. AMI, Pl. 27: Collection of the Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City.

43. IMM, Pl. 28

44. H. Goetz, East & West, op.cit., fig. 15; collection of Musée Guimet, Paris.

post-1605 period.⁴⁵

The first one is a fine picture of a young and handsome prince holding court in an elaborate architectural setting; (Plate 2.). A large number of attendants and courtiers engaged in various activities are shown along with a portion of garden with the characteristic chanar and cypress trees and blooming creepers and part of the zanāna-mahall. The colouring is said to be strong⁴⁶, the designs of architectural details, carpets etc. are minutely drawn and the complex composition very effectively handled. The faces of the principal participants, especially of the prince, are delicately modelled. The effect is of effortless sophistication. The miniature shows similarity to a Persian masterpiece of the Harâti School, - a work of

45. Gray refers to an early work by Âqâ Rizâ in pure Safavid style, preserved in the Gulistan Library signed "the work of Rizâi, the disciple of Pâdishâh Salîm." It is not clear from his description whether this miniature is a part of the Gulshan Album. If Âqâ Rizâ was not appointed by Salîm before 1588/89, how a miniature signed with Salîm's name be assigned to 1580 is not clear: PI, 99.

46. PMP, 149, No.236. Curiously, the signature "Rizâi murîd-i-pâdishâh Salîm" is written on the top of the miniature.

Ūstâd Mîrzâ 'Alî (f 77b) in the Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî of 946-949H/1539-1543, prepared for the library of Shâh Tahmâsp, now in the British Museum.⁴⁷ There are some variations in architectural details or in the number of persons and their placings, obviously altered to cater for the taste of the Mughal prince. There is no doubt that Âqâ Rizâ was familiar with Mîrzâ 'Alî's work or used a charba of it before painting the Gulshan miniature. The Gulshan picture is undated, but from the appearance of the young prince, who is no other than Âqâ Riza's patron Salim, it ought to be placed not later than 1592/93.

The other miniature in the same album inscribed with the name of Âqâ Rîzâ, "murîd-i-pâdîshâh Salîm", shows a prince seated in an îwân.⁴⁸ A superb miniature in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston shows a bearded young prince playing a mandolin under a weeping willow tree and is inscribed raqm-i-Âghâ [sic] Rizâ Murîd bi-ikhâlâs with the words Sultân Salîm written in gold above the signature.⁴⁹ The portrait is very carefully drawn, with minute shading near the eyes and the nose, which give it a realistic look.

47. BM, Or.2265, folio 77b: Martin, II, Pl. 137.

48. Mehdi Bahrami, Iranian Art 31 No.69/14. Not illustrated.

49. Cat-MFA, VI, 30-31, Pl. XX1a.

Coomaraswamy identifies the subject with Salîm, probably considering Salîm's love for music and obsession with having his portraits made. But the identification is doubtful because the facial features are different from Salîm's and the prince is shown bearded, while Salîm is not known to have grown a beard.

The sketch-portrait of a young man seated on a chair reading, and inscribed râqimuhu Rizâi Jahângîr-Shâhi, in the Museum für Volkerkunde, Berlin⁵⁰ does not appear to be an authentic work of Âqâ Rizâ. The inscription looks rather unformed and the lines of the sketch faltering. In all probability it is a slightly later version based on an authentic charba.

Chronologically the miniatures bearing Âqâ Rizâ's signature in the Anwâr-i-Suhailî MS (BM.Ad.18579) completed in 1610/11⁵¹, follow these, because two of them are dated in the year 1604/5 and contain the appellation murîd-i-pâdishâh Salîm or bi-iklâs wa murîd. It seems that the MS was started in 1604 but because of the change in the political set-up the little studio of Salîm was wound up, and all works undertaken there were suspended,

50. Martin, II, Pl. 110, etc.

51. Infra, ...

52. J.V.S. Wilkinson, The Lights of Canopus, Pl. XXIX (in colour).

so the preparation of this MS was interrupted, and was not taken up until at a later date. Of the 34 other miniatures in this MSS, three are signed by Âqâ Rizâ (or Muḥammad Rizâ) and another, though ~~do~~ not bear^{ing} his signature, no doubt comes from his brush. From the strict stylistic point of view five out of these six belong to the same style, whereas the sixth miniature (f 331a) looks more Persian in character (Plate 4)⁵². All of them must be held as contemporary to the two dated folios.

In general, the miniatures of the Anwâr-i-Suḥailî MS are of variable qualities. Amongst them the miniatures painted by Âqâ Rizâ stand apart from the rest mainly because of their unmistakable Persian appearance. The golden sky (f 20a, 360, 331a), the stylised (multi-coloured piled-up rocks (f 20a, 21a, 36a, 40b, 54b), the profusion of blooming shrubs (f 20a, 40b, 331a), trees with dried-up branches (f 36a, 40b, 54b), outsize birds (f 36a), and effeminate youths are typical of ^{Âqâ} Rizâ's more Persian-inspired style. Heads popping up from behind the hillock on buildings (f 20a, 36a, 54b), the use of deep and bright monochromes in dresses, and depiction of architectural details showing inscriptions and decorative designs (f 40b, 54b, 331a), are remnants of the Persian tradition in which

52. J.V.S. Wilkinson, The Lights of Canopus, Pl. XXIX (in colour).

Âqâ Rizâ grew up. He continued to use these in his works and his pupils were also trained in the same way: The works of Abu'l Hasan (Plate 27) and Mîrzâ Ghulâm (f 63a, 64b, 311b, 396a) (Plate 29) in the same MS show distinct influence of Âqâ Rizâ's style.

Of the six miniatures painted by Âqâ Rizâ, the Feast of the King of Yemen on f331a (Plate 4) is undoubtedly the best. Here he has chosen a much used Persian setting, an open terrace outside an arched portico in a garden. The young King of Yemen wears long bright orange jâma, green drawers and Safavid turban and sits on a rich floral carpet. Three musicians, one of them playing a panpipe, provide music. Drinks are served in profusion: the courtier on the right is already drunk. The minutely painted carpets of gorgeous floral design and the white back wall showing conventional landscape scenes and animals in blue and the intricate geometrical ornaments on the wall show Âqâ Rizâ's love for details, which is also apparent in the Gulshan Album miniature of the Court of Salîm (Plate 2). In no other miniature of this MS is so much attention given to bring out the effective orderliness and intricate nuances of a composition. The men are shown in three-quarter profile with narrow eyes and short chins, and the faces of

beardless youths have an effeminate look.

Strangely enough, the stamp of Âqâ Rizâ's distinctiveness is not evident in the Dîwân-i-Amîr Hasân Dihlavî and Râjkunwâr, the two important MSS produced at Allahabad. He is not specifically mentioned in the Tûzuk excepting in one place where the emperor casually refers to the name of Âqâ Rizâ and declares his preference to Âqâ Rizâ's son Abu'l Hasan who is considered a better painter than his father.⁵³ Âqâ Rizâ was a good painter, fond of introducing realistic details and delicate modelling, but he lacked originality and that may be the reason of Jahângîr's uncharitable remarks about him. With his accession to the throne in 1605 Jahângîr inherited the whole of Akbar's painting studio along with the royal painters and the importance of Âqâ Rizâ was consequently diminished.

Âqâ Rizâ was appointed to supervise the mausoleum of Shâh Begam⁵⁴, who committed suicide in 1604. The mausoleum, in the Khusrâmbâgh at Allahabad, was completed

53. Tuzuk, II, 20.

54. M.A. Chaghatai, "Aqa Riza, 'Ali Riza, Riza-i-'Abbasi", IC, XII, 1938, 437. The inscription is:

at a later date and the name of Âqâ Rizâ Muṣawwir is mentioned in the inscription on the main gateway. But he did not completely leave the brush and continued to paint occasionally after Salîm became emperor. Though these works are to be regarded as products of the imperial studio, and not of the Salîm Studio, ~~still~~ it is proper to examine them in the present context as they will reveal an unbroken continuity of Âqâ Rizâ's individual style.

Two folios of the Gulshan Album are signed by Âqâ Rizâ with the appellation Jahângîr-Shâhî, instead of Pâdishâh Salîm. One of them shows two maidens bathing in a pool within the palace garden while a prince watches from an upper-storey balcony window.⁵⁵ The miniature reveals a favourite Persian subject treated in a wholly Persian way. The architecture, with its coloured decorations, and stylised arches, the garden with the cypress trees, the conventional thread-like silvery stream, the flowering shrubs, and the chanâr tree, the ladies with their Persian costume, slender body and small oval face, and the conventional hills in the background - everything makes it

55. H. Goetz, East & West, op.cit., Pl.XII; IMM, Pl.23 (colour). Goetz says the picture is not inscribed, but the inscription is visible in Hájék's reproduction, though not on the right as Hájék writes, but in the left hand corner.

look like a Persian work. Only the maidens who are taking their bath, especially the one on the right, shown stripped to the waist, are depicted in a realistic manner with some shadows in their faces and some hint of expression in their countenance. This may very well be an early work, but assembled in the royal muraqqa' at a later date.

The other painting shows a young prince conversing with an old bearded mullâ in a garden.⁵⁶ Behind the hill in the background part of the palace gateway is visible. Above it the sky is painted in gold with blue and white chinese-type clouds in the right hand corner. The garden is purely Persian in appearance, with a pair of cypress trees and blooming creeper-like plants, the conventional thread-like riverlet with stony banks, and the flowering shrubs. A young boy plays on a stringed musical instrument; on his right side stands the prince's horse, and to the left a heavily-built thickly bearded middleaged attendant with a hunting dog. A young boy is climbing on the hill where a tree with stylised leaves and a few others with bare branches are visible. The prince wears a rich red qabâ

56. Goetz, East & West, op.cit., pl.XI; R. Pinder-Wilson, "Gardens in Persian Miniature Painting." The Geographical Magazine, [London, 1957], colour plate following p.330. Goetz's identification of the scene as the meeting of Prince Salîm and Shaikh Salîm Chishtî is ridiculous, because Shaikh Salîm died in 1572, before the prince was in his third year!

with turned up golden collar and an elaborate turban; a prize shâhî falcon sits on his gloved right hand. The mullâ is a composed and reserved figure with a look of otherworldliness in his eyes. His fair complexion and snow^white beard are set off by his deep maroon coloured garment. The whole atmosphere is quiet, but the rich contrasting colour-tones and the profusion of diverse flowers give it a rare charm. It brings into the mind the wonderful miniature painted by Muzaffar 'Alî in the Garhaspnâma prepared at Qazwin in 1573⁵⁷, though there is no close similarity. It represents a much used Persian theme and looks earlier than the Court of Salîm or the pages of the Anwâr-i-Suhailî⁵⁸. The inscription in the top right hand corner of the miniature reads 'amal-i-murîd bi-ikhlas Âqâ Rizâ Jahângîrshâhî', but the scribbling in the top left hand corner could not be deciphered from the reproductions. The Hague Catalogue⁵⁹ gives the date as 1030H/1620-21. This brings in a problem, because no

57. Norah M. Titley, "A Manuscript of the Garhaspnâma." BMQ, XXXI, Pl. VI.

58. There are other comparative Persian examples of a similar style: cf. B.W. Robinson, Persian Drawings, Pls. 46 & 48 (in colour) showing a Hawking party in the mountain of c.1580 in Qazwin style by an anonymous painter.

59. Perziche Miniaturen..., The Hague, 1957, No.72, Pl. 72.

other miniature of this album is dated beyond 1020H/1611-2, and there is no evidence to show that Âqâ Rizâ lived that long. So, possibly this is a misreading of an unclearly written ر (2) as ر (3). The inscription is written in a coarse hand and does not appear to have been written by the painter or by the emperor; it may have been a later attribution to an earlier work of Âqâ Rizâ.

There is another miniature in the Gulshan Album showing a youth wearing a cloak with blue, green and brown ^{Stripes}, standing with a flask in his hands, which according to Gray, Wilkinson and Arnold is drawn in a style similar to Rizâ-i-'Abbâsî's⁶⁰. There is no identifying label, but as the presence of a copy of Rizâ-i-'Abbâsî's work seems unlikely in this royal album, assembled at an earlier date, Âqâ Rizâ may be assumed to be its author, the work being done in his earlier style. Some other examples of this style⁶ are found in this muraqqa': one illustrated by Beach shows a copy made by Râqiya Bâmî (fig.12).

The only other miniature where an authentic attribution to Âqâ Rizâ appears is in the "Kevorkian album", now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. It shows a youth who has fallen down from a tree while bird-nesting,

60. PMP, 174, No.336. Not illustrated.

his father kneeling by his side and crying in grief, while a mullâ, Khwâja Jahân, looks on. In all its parts and details the miniature has the touch of Âqâ Rizâ's hand. The face of the grieving father is charged with a deep emotion and the scene is moving. The attribution to Âqâ Rizâ is made by Shâh Jahân for whom the muraqqa' was prepared.⁶¹

We have no information about the date and time when Âqâ Rizâ died. But if the very fine miniature depicting the scene at the gate of a city in the Berlin Album (Plate 5) comes from his brush, then he was still working in the 12th regnal year of Jahângîr, because the inscription on the city-gate reads: "this picture was completed in the library of Hazrat Zill-Ilâhî Nûr-ud-dîn Muḥammad Jahângîr Pâdishâh Ghâzî in the year 12."⁶² It is a sumptuous miniature covering most of the 40 x 23.5 cm folio, and shows the elaborate details of a crowded scene. The chanâr and pomegranate trees, the Persian costume of the male and female figures, the architecture, the rich colour scheme of bright red, green, yellow, mauve and

61. For a late copy of this miniature in the Victoria & Albert Museum, (IM 126-1921): Clarke, Pl. 4 (falsely attributed to Farrukh Beg).

62. IBP, 9-10.

orange, the golden sky and similar other features of this miniature make it appear as a first class work by Âqâ Rizâ. If the attribution is correct then it would be easier to adduce authenticity to the inscriptions in the Gulshan Album miniature of the young prince visiting a mullâ, discussed above. Only it seems strange that Âqâ Rizâ maintained his position and continued working in his characteristic Persianized style even in the heyday of the Jahângîr School.

There is a large number of miniatures which are not signed but ascribed to Âqâ Rizâ by various authors. In many cases the attributions are wrong and the pictures look very different from the authentic miniatures painted by Âqâ Rizâ. In a few instances, however, they are closely related to Âqâ Rizâ's style and it is difficult to reject the attribution. A superb miniature of the Dîwân-i-Hâfîz (f 25) illustrated during Jahângîr's time shows unmistakable affinity to Âqâ Rizâ's style.⁶³ The subject is the scene of a drinking party organised in the courtyard of a madrasa. The theological master Faqîh and

63. I. Stchoukine, Gazette du Beaux Arts, VI, 1931, 160f., fig. 1. I am grateful to Mr. Simon Digby for helping me to decipher this extremely minute and difficult inscription. The term "al-'abd" should be noted, because Bihzâd used to sign his name with this appellation.

two other teachers from the madrasa sit under an iwân with pitchers of wine beside them. Four other theological masters or students in a state of drunkenness or ecstasy are shown before them in the courtyard. The setting is Persian, with intricate architectural details and ornamentation, bluish decorations on the whitewashed backwall. The costumes of the teachers are also Persian. The quality of drawing is extraordinary and its colouring is fascinating. In every respect it is a superior example of a Persian émigré painter. Stchoukine assigned it to Âqâ Rizâ, but rather hesitatingly. However, a minute inscription near the head of the teacher sitting on the extreme left, (which has not previously been noted, ^{and} reads: Sûara ol'abd Muhammad Rizâ), unquestionably putting it in the list of Âqâ Rizâ's work.

Three other unsigned miniatures, one in the Marteau collection of Musée Guimet, and another in the Náprstek Museum, Prague, probably both forming parts of the Gulshan Album, and a third in the Tehran Archeological Museum, may also have been painted by Âqâ Rizâ. The first miniature, now in the Náprstek Museum, Prague, pasted on a muraqqa' folio, shows a young prince wearing a rich gold-brocaded gabâ and a fur-lined headdress, ~~who is~~ seated on a tree with a curiously crooked trunk drawn in the Chinese manner. ⁶⁴

He drinks from a cup held on a saucer by his left hand. A hunting dog looks on and six disproportionately large birds fly over his head. The picture has been attributed by Hájek to Âqâ Rizâ, which is not improbable, though Hájek's comment that the young man is almost a counterpart of the young gentleman with golden cup in the Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Mass.,⁶⁵ is wholly untenable. Jahângîr writes in the Tuzuk that he did not taste wine before his seventeenth year and the youth of the Naprstek miniature looks younger than seventeen,⁶⁶ so it does not portray Salîm but some one else. The Fogg Museum miniature, discussed by Eric Schroeder⁶⁷ seems to be a work of Farûkh Beg and not of Âqâ Rizâ.⁶⁸ The second miniature,⁶⁹ also pasted on a Jahângîrî album folio and, known for a long time, showing the same subject but in a different manner, ~~is~~^{is} is of the same style. The third example published by Hájek,⁷⁰ shows an old teacher or calligrapher seated on a platform under a decorated canopy. A young page stands behind him, while a little boy, apparently the pupil of the teacher,

65. ibid., 75.

66. Tuzuk, I, 307; Hodivala/Studies in Indo-Muslim History, II, Bombay 1957, 321/ has shown that Salîm was in his 17th year, not 15 or 18.

67. E. Schroeder, Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Mass., 1942, 109-113, Pl. XIX.

68. infra, ...

69. IBP, Pl. facing p. 46.

70. IMM, Pl. 33.

waits nervously. Part of a hill is visible in the background and a blooming plant in the garden completes the composition. The subject is a favourite one in both Persian and Mughal art. The Tehran miniature has some similarity with the vignette in the *Gulshan Album folio* attributed by Madame Godard to Âqâ Rizâ, discussed above.⁷¹ Another miniature repeating the same subject, though not similar, reproduced by S.C. Welch and originally attributed by him to Âqâ Rizâ,⁷² does not appear to have been painted by Âqâ Rizâ.

Welch's attribution of the miniature in a *Bûstân* Ms. of 1605/6 showing a thief bound to a column⁷³ (Plate 24) may well be Âqâ Rizâ's work; but the group of miniatures in an album in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, are surely not painted by Âqâ Rizâ. Coomaraswamy himself is hesitant about their authorship⁷⁴ though he

71. *Supra*, Y. Godard, *op.cit.*, Fig.8. However, the style of the Tehran miniature shows some difference from the other two.

72. *AMI*, 30, Pl.17. In *AO*, V, 1963, p.223. Welch ascribed it to Âqâ Rizâ's name and only gives the date c.1585. K.J. Khandalavala in a recent review *Lalitkalâ*, XI, 1962, 9-13⁷ has ascribed a 19th century date to this miniature. The same subject painted on the wall of a building in a *Bâburnâma* MS: S. Tynlayev, *Miniatures of Bâburnâmah*, Moscow, 1960, Pl.18.

73. *AMI*, Pl.24; *infra*.

74. *Cat. MFA*, VI, 31-33, (MFA No.15.24, 15.26, 15.29, 15.31, 15.32), Pl.XXIb, XXIIa&b, XXIIIa, XXIVa.

attributes the picture of the young man playing a panpipe to Âqâ Rizâ.⁷⁵ It resembles Âqâ Rizâ's works in some ways and a parallel example of a panpipe player occurs in one of the British Musuem Anwâr-i-Suhâilî miniatures.⁷⁶ But Robinson's ascription of it to the Persian artist Mahammad Mu'min seem more probable.⁷⁷ The picture of a young noble in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, attributed by Percy Brown to Âqâ Rizâ,⁷⁸ is not a Mughal work, but a Persian painting of early 17th century,⁷⁹ belonging to the Rizâ-i-'Abbâsî style.

Âqâ Rizâ exerted considerable influence in the evolution of the Jahângirî style. He was working ~~at a~~ ^{at a time} ~~time~~ in the Salîm Studio when Mughal painting was evolving to a new synthesis after assimilating the diverse elements introduced by artists of very different traditions and when the Persian Şafavid idiom had almost been discarded. Âqâ Rizâ and the more elusive Farrukh Beg revived the Persianizing style in Mughal art. Âqâ Rizâ was not as distinctive or as talented as Farrukh Beg, but he must have been a good teacher and a good assimilater. In these

75. ibid., 31, Pl. XXIb.

76. J.V.S. Wilkinson, The Lights of Camopus, Pl. XXIX.

77. B.W. Robinson, Persian Drawings, New York, 1965, Pl.49 (colour).

78. IPM, 65-66, Pl.IIIb.

79. Cf Martin, II, Pl.165b.

Robinson, op.cit., Pl.56: Seated youth by Âqâ Rizâ [Rbbâsî], etc.

roles he helped to shape the separate identity of the Salim Studio. The early works of his son Abu'l Hasan easily show the stamp of his training. Amongst other artists showing Âqâ Rizâ's influence mention may be made of Mîrzâ Ghulâm. His most interesting pupil is Nâdirâ Bânû, daughter of Mîr Taqî, who includes the name of her teacher in her signature (Plate 121, 129). The name Mîr Taqî appears in two miniatures of the second MS of the Akbarnâma,⁸⁰ and one Muḥammad Taqî is mentioned in the Tûzuk as the dîwân of buildings,⁸¹ but there is no way of knowing whether they are the same person. It is interesting to note that the earliest miniature of Abu'l Hasan, (Plate 27), the earliest dated work of Âqâ Rizâ himself (Plate 3), and the work of Nâdirâ Bânû (Plates 121, 129) are all drawings copied from European engravings.⁸²

80. He painted the double page (f247b-248) showing Akbar breaking the fierce elephant Fath Mubarak in the Akbarnâma MS, now in the Chester Beatty Library. In f248 the name is simply signed as Taqî whereas in f247b he signs his name as Mîr Taqî on the miniature itself: Cat-CB, II, Pl. 34 (colour). S.C. Welch has published a tinted drawing from the Heeramaneek collection showing Dârâ and the herdsman, signed by Mîr Taqî (AMI, Pl. 6) and dates c1585. Welch (ibid, 163) equates Mîr Taqî with 'Alî Qulî, apparently without any convincing reason. This drawing is stylistically very different from the Akbarnâma miniatures.

81. Tuzuk, I, 258.

82. Infra, ...

✓ Of the two MSS definitely known to have been produced in the Salîm Studio at Allahabad the Dîwân, of Amîr Ḥasan Dihlavî is a full-size volume with fourteen delightful miniatures,⁸³ With one exception (f48), none of these miniatures are signed by the artist. Even on the only signed miniature the signature is difficult to decipher: it may be read as 'Alî Imâm Qulî, or, more probably, as 'amal-i-Salîm Qulî. Salîm Qulî contributed two pictures in the British Museum Anwâr-i-Suhaîlî MS,⁸⁴ and Raḥmân Qulî one. The name 'Alî Qulî is also found in two gorgeous and dated pictures in the Chester Beatty Library.⁸⁵ The association with Salîm is supported by three other factors: the colophon mentioning the date and place of the execution of the MS; the colophon-portrait

83. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, No.W.650. 188f, 31.5 x 20.5 cm, Nasta'liq script on gold-sprinkled cream paper. All 14 miniatures have been cut out and remargined with tan paper. Lacquer binding in a delicate strapwork design (Reproduced: R. Ettinghausen, "Near Eastern Book Covers", AO, III, fig.23).

I am grateful to Dr. Dorothy Miner, Librarian and Keeper of MSS, Walters Art Gallery, for kindly supplying all information regarding this MS and a set of photographs of the miniatures.

84. J.V.S. Wilkinson, The Lights of Canopus, Pl.XXXI & XXXIV (for Salîm Qulî), and Pl. XXII (for Raḥmân Qulî).

85. Ind. MS. 11A f23, Prince Bahrâm Gûr hunting; inscribed naql--'Alî Qulî and dated 1025 Hijra/1616: Cat-CB I,47; III Pl.87. f24 of the same album (Pl.88) is also signed by 'Alî Qulî.

with the picture of the calligrapher; and the appearance of the prince himself in two miniatures, both of which show him enjoying his pastimes in hunting and polo.

The miniature on f22b, reproduced by Ettinghausen in colour,⁸⁶ shows the pathetic scene of the martyrdom of Al-Hallâj (Plate 11). It is a fine work where the tragic episode is illustrated with sympathy as well as understanding by a sensitive and powerful painter. There are as many as twenty-four persons in the picture, and yet the atmosphere is ^{one} of a hushed silence. In it the chief concern of the painter is to render the agony and emotion in the facial expression of all the persons present. The most touching of all is the reserved and calm composure of Al-Hallâj who is shown just moments before his martyrdom. The expression of the moustachioed man in violet stooping low in the left hand corner and the bearded man wearing a pale blue jâma in the right, who have broken down in grief, are remarkably rendered by the unknown painter. The miniature has a well-balanced composition, which includes a portion of the red sandstone palace, the zigzag flow of the river, the distant city hidden by trees and the bluish hills and the high horizon with bluish clouds, all painted in an accurate

86. PSEI, Pl.8.

unitary perspective. The effect of bright patches of colour in the dresses of the attending persons is largely negatived by the pale green of the wide grounds covering nearly the whole area of the miniature and the general tonal effect becomes much soft and mellow.

Of the other thirteen miniatures many deal with subjects which were popular at this time both in the Salîm Studio and the Akbarî atelier. Such scenes as the court of Sulâimân (f157a), dancing of the Şûfîs (f62a), the royal hunt (f109b) and Majnûn in the wilderness (f15a) are also repeated in this MS. But in each case the miniatures are painted in a fresh and pleasant style. They can be classified in two categories: the first includes works where prince Salîm (ff 41, 109b) or young members of his household (ff 113, 140) and similar persons are shown; the second category includes works of an allegorical nature where accurate portrait studies or realistic rendering of a contemporary scene are not strictly necessary (ff 15, 32b, 62, 84b, 127 & 157).

In the first category of miniatures a large number of courtiers and attendants are presented in contemporary costumes. In Martyrdom of Al-Hallâj these figures are of a slightly larger proportion than in other illustrations.

The main concern of the painters is to portray accurate emotional reactions and a definite stamp of character in each individual. Folio 41 (Plate 12) shows Salîm, accepting a cup of wine near the polo field where five other players are engaged in the game in progress. The presence of attendants, musicians, and the doorman, the bhisti, and sword-bearer make it rather crowded, but the composition is carefully constructed to focus attention on the prince. Though in this painting the sensitivity and dynamic spirit of the Martyrdom of Al-Hallâj are lacking, the interest shown in the human world in it is admirable.

The hunting scene on folio 109b is characteristic of the period, with the usual clichés in rendering the Persianised hills and the landscape. The whole field of the miniature is divided into coulisses. Salîm is mounted on a fast-moving horse and draws his bow to shoot a black buck near a lily pool. A similar amalgamation of conventionalisation and realistic portrait-like faces is evident in the battle scene (f184b), only the ominous thick black cumulus rain clouds distinguish it.

The other three miniatures of this category (folios 48, 113, 140) show a quieter atmosphere and a coherent unity in the different elements of the subject matter. In the picture showing men of various stations as well as a

beautiful maiden watching the new moon (Plate 13), the artist 'Alî Imâm (?) Qulî (or Salîm Qulî), whose minute signature is written in the lower right hand corner, has successfully translated the feeling of expectation and excitement. The large number of people shown in the miniature are in conversation or point to the faint crescent moon just cleared out of thick bowl shaped veins of cloud, read from books and pray. The most dramatic part of the scene is shown in the lower half of the picture where an old man, stooping in age and weak in eyesight, fails to see the faint glow of the moon and a man gently holding his hand tries to turn his attention in the right direction.

A similar situation of excitement and expectation prevails over in the scene (f 140) where a prince with a spray of flower and attended by a waiter appears before his palace and ^{is} greeted by the courtiers, and learned men. The scene of a young prince's visit to the garden (f113), on the other hand, is much more quiet and reposeful (Plate 14). Here the prince is greeted by the owner of the garden who bows on the prince's feet, while a couple of gardeners continue their work. This miniature is very similar in spirit to one showing a prince wearing an Akbarî pointed jâma in a garden, now in the Bodleian Library.⁸⁷ Our miniature

87. Bodleian Library. Ouseley add. MS 170 f1:
Mughal Miniatures of the Early Period. Plate 13.

is much more refined and sophisticated with careful attention paid to details, and a superb finish. In fact, the refinement of the miniatures of this category can only be compared with the ^{MS of the} poetical masterpieces produced in Akbar's time during the 1592-1598 period; the difference of our miniatures lies only in the attention paid to render the human world with warm feeling and understanding.

In the second category the style is more formal and hard, very different from the suave naturalism of the first category. In folio 15 the familiar scene of Majnûn's father's visit to Majnûn in the wilderness is shown in a rather conventional manner (Plate 10). The hills look like a series of many coloured anthills, the thread-like rivulet, the animals, the gold background with tufts of grass arranged in a formal pattern and a narrow strip of blue and white cloud, all appear very unreal. A pair of chanâr trees are painted precisely according to the Persian norm. The scene of Solomon's Court (f157) may ^{have} come from the brush of the same painter; the same hill-type, golden field, formalised trees with birds sitting on their branches, appear in it. The figure of Solomon is closely similar to Majnûn's father. Both these miniatures resemble the style and details of the miniatures painted by Mîrzâ Ghulâm in the British Museum Anwâr-i-Suhailî MS, especially those on

folios 63a, 64b and 311b.⁸⁸ Similar golden background, ant-hill mountains, Persian type chanâr tree with a flamboyant hollow opening at the bottom of the trunk, and lively animals are found in the Walters miniatures. Folio 84b of Amîr Hasan's Dîwân has some similarity with the other two folios just discussed, but considerable difference is noticeable in the use of shadow in the faces and in the treatment of trees and the sky. The shadowing of the face of the grief-stricken Farhâd looks rather naïve. It may also be attributed to Mîrzâ Ghulâm because the young man attentively playing on a flute closely corresponds to the figure of a youth drinking in a landscape, signed by Ghulâm and inscribed with the name of Shâh Salîm.⁸⁹

The miniature showing an old man (f127a) lying ill is also painted by the same hand. Here the use of shadow in face, especially in those shown in profile, is more sensitive, though the face of the young nobleman shown in three-quarter profile is distinctive of Mîrzâ Ghulâm's style. Equally distinctive is the face of young man with a plump face and double chin, preparing medicine. The old woman who brought the false news of Shîrîn's death to Farhâd (f84b)

88. ~~Edwin~~ J.V.S. Wilkinson, op.cit., Plates VIII, IX, XXVII.

89. Previously in the Demotte Collection, Paris, Rep:
J. Strzygowski, Asistische Miniaturemalerie,
Tafel 76, Abb. 208.

is again shown in the picture, where she offers a skein of wool for Joseph sold in a public sale. Similar distinctive shadowing is noticeable in all the faces shown in this picture, as well as in the scene of Sûfî dance in a theological assembly inside a madrasa (f62). But the faces here are more expressive and the quality of modelling is much improved and more realistic than the earlier examples. The last mentioned picture is a remarkable exercise in depicting a subject with emotion and sensitiveness.

A noteworthy feature of this MS is the last miniature (f187a) painted around the colophon, showing the calligrapher at work (Plate 15). Calligraphers and painters are often portrayed in Persian painting.⁹⁰ But the introduction of their likenesses under the colophon of a MS is not so far met with in Persian art. Only one Akbarî MS, a Gulistân-i-Sa'dî written by Muḥammad Ḥusain al-Kashmîrî in 990H/1581 at Fatehpur Sikri, has a small miniature drawn under the colophon which shows the calligrapher and the young Manohar, son of Basâwan, who painted the miniature (Plate 18).⁹¹ The MS was reset and rebound, at a later date. Sumptuous decorations of birds abound on its pages and a band of floral design in each folio was added at the

90. V. Minorsky, op.cit., 35, Pl.4.

91. AIP, Pl.121.

at the time of rebinding. The MS is not illustrated with miniatures, so the sudden appearance of the interesting double portrait of the calligrapher and the painter looks rather puzzling. Gray thinks the double portrait is contemporary with the colophon, i.e. 1581, mainly on the basis of Manohar's appearance. Certainly Manohar does not look older than 15-18, which corresponds to his age in that year, because in his Gulshan Album portrait painted by Daulat (Plate 41) dated 1608/9, he appears to be in his mid-forties. But nowhere in the realm of Akbarî painting does a similar example of self-portrait or a colophon-portrait exist, and it seems improbable that such an example would occur at such an early date. The style of Mughal painting in 1581 was not close to the style of this miniature. The intense personal feelings expressed in the face of the calligrapher and the young attendant, as well as the self-portrait of young Manohar absorbed in his work, all points to a Jahângîrî association.^{91a}

The Walters miniature (Plate 15) shows the scribe Mir 'Abdullâh Kâtib, called Mushkîn Qalam, working on a platform in the shade of a tree and attended by an apprentice busy preparing the sheets. The painter of the miniature is neither showed nor named. On a sheet of paper before the calligrapher his name, the city, Allahabad, and the date

91a. In PI, 82, Gray acknowledges this as a Jahângîrî addition.

Muharram 27, 1011 Hijra, are written. After a few years Jahângîr ordered his painter Daulat to add a superb double-portrait of the painter himself and the calligrapher 'Abdur-Rahîm 'Anbarîn Qalam, under the colophon of the "Dyson Perins Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî" MS, prepared in 1595/6, in Akbar's atelier (Plate 16). Strangely enough, a very unexpected parallel is furnished by a Turkish MS prepared at Istanbul for the library of Sultân Mehmet III between 1600 and 1602, which shows the painter Hassan Pasha, the scribe, and one of their assistants, under the colophon (Plate 17).⁹²

There were commercial and some diplomatic contact with Turkey in Akbar's and Jahângîr's time and Turkish Sultâns appear in Jahângîrî miniatures.⁹³ Even a sumptuous Turkish MS prepared in the Library of Sultan Mehmet III made its way to the Mughal Imperial Library⁹⁴ at a later date,

92. I am indebted to Dr. G. Fehérvári of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for giving this valuable information and showing slides and photographs of this miniature. The MS is in the Topkapu Saray ~~Library~~, Istanbul, and deals with the Turkish occupation of Dr. Fehérvári's home town, Eger, and is to be published by him soon.

93. Ettinghausen, "The Emperor's Choice", 104-105, Fig. 1, 2, 3 & 7, for a detailed discussion on Turkish contact with Jahângîr's India. Cf. Plate 107.

94. An illustrated MS of the Shâhinshah-nama by Husainî prepared for Sultan Mehmet III (1595-1603) at Istanbul is preserved in the Bankipur Public Library: Cat-Bankipur, III, 1-3; and V.C. Scott O'Connor, An Eastern Library, Glasgow, 1920, 19-20, 70. But the MS did not arrive in India before the reign of Shâh Jahân. It bears the seal of his daughter Jahân-ârâ.

but there is no other evidence, so that a theory of artistic interrelation between Turkey and Mughal India cannot be propounded.

The other MS produced in the Salîm Studio is a sumptuous copy of Râjkunwâr, a prose romance popular all over north India.⁹⁵ In painting the 51 full-page miniatures of the MS the painters of the Salîm Studio have considerably departed from the conventionalisations of the Akbarî school, because now they are dealing with a story strong in local flavour and with enough scope to incorporate scene from the everyday life of Hindusthan. Poet Nawfî relates in his Sûz-u-Gudâz (British Museum, Or.2839), that Salîm's brother Dâniyâl (d.1604) told him: "The love story of Farhâd and Shîrîn has grown old; if we read at all let it be what we have ourselves seen and heard."⁹⁶ Salîm's reaction was not

95. Chester Beatty Library, Ind. MS.37. 132 ff with 51 full-page miniatures and an elaborate double-page frontispiece unwân in ff. 1b-2. Nastâliq, Written by Burhân. Unpublished. Only one miniature (f4) reproduced in colour: R.J. Hayes, The Chester Beatty Library. Dublin, Dublin, 1963, Pl.7.

I am grateful to Mr. Hayes and Mr. D. Zichy of the Chester Beatty Library for helping me in studying the MS in August 1966. I am also grateful to Mr. R. Skelton for supplying me a complete set of colour slides.

96. Cat.MFA, VI, 9.

much different from his brother's. However, in the Amîr Hasan Dîwân we notice the continuation of the trend already set in the Akbarî atelier when works like Jog Bâshisht⁹⁷, Nafahat al-Uns⁹⁸ and Bâbar-nâma⁹⁹ were produced. A parallel trend with much simpler treatment of the human and animal world, more realistic emotional expression and more unconventional technique came in vogue mainly through ~~the~~ the Khân-i-Khânân's studio. In such MSS as the dispersed copy of Razmnâma of 1598¹⁰⁰, the Râmâyana produced for the Khân-i-Khânân and completed in 1007H = 1598/99¹⁰¹, and the

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97. Chester Beatty Library, Ind. MS.5. Written in the 47 Ilâhî year/December 1602. Cat-CB, I, 21-5; II, Pl. 48 & 49; J.V.S. Wilkinson, "A note on an illustrated MS of the Jog Bâshisht", BSOAS, XII [London 1948] 692-4, Pl.4-11; PI, Pl. on p.94 (colour).
98. British Museum, Or.1362: Written at Agra in 1603. Cat-BM, I, 350; Folio 142a is often reproduced: PI, Plate on p.97 (colour). E. Wellesz, op.cit., Pl.35 (f 135b). Mrs. Wellesz wrongly states it as painted by Daswant and Basâwan. In fact, it is signed by Daulat: infra. Chapter VIII.
99. State Museum of Oriental Cultures, Moscow. The MS is undated and incomplete, but stylistically its 69 miniatures look later than the British Museum, Or.3714 MS or the "Agra College" MS dated 1597/8. I am grateful to Miss Tomilina Oksana, for giving all facilities to examine the MS. S.I. Tyulayev, Miniatures of Bâbur-nâma, (All miniatures reproduced, 20 in colour).
100. AIP, 147, No.654, for a detailed note. Many other folios are published since then: G.M. Meredith-Owens & R. Pinder-Wilson, "A Persian Translation of the Mahâbhârata," BMQ, XX, 1955-6, 62-3, 2 pls.
101. Now in the Freer Gallery of Art, No.07.271. PSEI, Pl. 4 7 5, and text facing the plates.

Zafarnâma of 1009H = 1600/1601,¹⁰² and elsewhere, miniatures are drawn in this style. For its subject-matter the latter followed Persian proto-types, but in case of the former MSS., the painters, Hindus and Muslims alike, painted in^a largely Indianized style. This trend is apparent in the Râjkunwâr, though the style is refined, since it was produced in a royal studio and under the sophisticated eye of prince Salîm. Girls look more real and lively in their slender limbs, graceful faces, fuller busts, freer movements and unabashed expressions (ff 12, 15b, 20b, 77a, 106a, 122a etc.) (Plates 7, 9). Wearing all sorts of jewellery and ornaments, short chôlî, odhnâ and colourful ghâgrâ they gossip amongst themselves (ff 69b, 93b), sing and dance (f 122a), sit on a throne as princesses (ff 65b, 72a, 73a, 106a, 115a), yet as lovers they passionately wait for their beloveds (ff 20b, 29b), swoon in grief, (ff 22, 32b), and enthusiastically entertain them when they arrive (ff 12, 15b, 16b, 122a). The artists of the Salîm Studio even go further; in two instances (ff 59b, 77a) they show erotic scenes, which are, however, drawn to illustrate episodes of the story.

102. British Museum, Or.1052. Cat-BM, I, 176; J.V.S. Wilkinson, "A Dated Illustrated MS of Akbar's Reign," Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, II [Calcutta, 1934], 67-9, 4 fig.

The female types represented in the Râjkunwâr miniatures correspond to the type already evident in the 1598 Razmnâma¹⁰³. Here they are freer and more attractive. With the more enlightened outlook of Salîm women got a more prominent position in social and cultural life as well as in art.

The style and composition of the Râjkunwâr miniatures do not radically differ from other late Akbarî examples. The landscape is similarly filled with hills of conventional as well as naturalistic shapes. The tree types and animals are lyrical and lively and the composition of court-scenes and outdoor happenings are almost the same. The principal difference of the Râjkunwâr painters lies in their interest in human figure. Nowhere the figure of patron Salîm unnecessarily occurs, yet the principal characters of the romances, the young hero who renounces the pleasures of the mundane world and becomes an ascetic, but returns to be happily reunited with princess in the end, look familiar. The princess with her lotus-petal eyes; an expression of deep emotional attachment and compassion on her face, and with a slender waist and heavy bust (Plate 7) easily attracts one's attention.

103. Cf folio 95 (by Banwârî Khurd) of the part now in the British Museum, Or.12076. For another type of female figures shown in folios 16b, 22, 29b, 36b, 42b, 65b, 72, 73 and 115 of Râjkunwâr, Cf. Razmnâma (Or.12076) folios 13b & 87. Vide, *infra*.

In another group of miniatures the female figures are drawn in a different manner; they look more earthbound with stunted and plump bodies, squarish faces and short thick-set necks (Plate 9). In order to make them more expressive and to translate their animated movements the painter varies the facial outline of some figures in a strange manner. A similar trend is noticeable in Bishandâs's signed miniature of the Sultân of Baghdad and the Chinese girl (Plate 28) in the Anwâr-i-Suhaillî MS, painted at a slightly later period. To the same painter at least two other miniatures of the Râjkunwâr MSS depicting similar themes and showing a number of comparable female figures (folios 15b & 122a) may be ascribed.

There is yet another female type represented in this MS; these look more delicate with their slender and gracefully poised elongated figures (folios 16b, 20b, 29b, 32b, 36b & 115a). They are thin and fragile, wear colourful dresses, and move quietly. In one instance (f 32b) the faintest figure of a girl looks exactly similar to the figure of the unfaithful wife in an Anwâr-i-Suhaillî miniature (f 280b) signed by Nânhâ.¹⁰⁴

104. J.V.S. Wilkinson, op.cit., Pl. XXV.

On the whole, the different types of femal figures of the Râjkunwâr come from the common stock, also represented not only by the 1598 Razmnâma already referred to (~~Plate III~~)¹⁰⁵, but by the Vijñaptipatra painted by Ustâd Sâlivâhana in 1610 (Plate 145)¹⁰⁶, by the Mâdhavânala-Kâmakandalâ series of c.1620-1625 (Plate 146)¹⁰⁷ and by a whole series of miniatures painted during the same time¹⁰⁸, outside the imperial studios.

In other examples of the Râjkunwâr, the painters take delight in depicting natural scenery (folios 8, 23b, 25, 26, 27, 28, 28b, 46, 46b, 48, 49, 54, 60, 88, 111, 121). With the exception of some Persianised hills, the landscape with trees, rivers, animals and human figures is naturalistically depicted. An exceptionally lively scene is painted on f25 (Plate 8), where the king meets his ascetic son under a tree. The landscape with a red sandstone fort in the background, the zigzag course of the rivulet and distant hills, closely resemble the landscape of the

105. Supra, ~~op. cit.~~, also; Pramod Chandra, "Ustad Salivahana and the development of Popular Mughal Art", Lalitkala, VIII, 1960, fig. 21.

106. ibid, Colour pl. A.

107. ibid, fig. 43d and, Cat-Khajanchi, Colour pl. B; Cf Plate 147.

108. Pramod Chandra, op.cit., fig. 22, 25, 26, 31, 43, 44.

Martyrdom of Al-Hallâj miniature in the Walters Dîwân of Amîr Hasan Dihlavî (Plate 11). Only the mood is quieter here and not charged with the emotion of the tragic episode in the scene of Al-Hallâj's martyrdom.

The composition of court scenes and palace scenes is, however, much more formal (folio 3, 4, 16b, 39, 65b, 71, 72, 73, 81b, 110). Similar formalisation is also noticed in the conventional treatment of hills and arrangement of details in the series of miniatures depicting the demon in his cave-abode (folios 50b, 55, 56b, 57b). Only in three examples (folios 44, 66, 115), probably all coming from the brush of the same painter, the settings are more lively and informal and the arrangement of figures more unconventional and suggestive than the earlier group. The colour-scheme of the latter group is also remarkably soft and mellow.

The only familiar theme associated with Salîm is represented on folio 4 where a game of polo is shown in progress (Plate 6). The scene is not very different from the Amîr Hasan Dihlavî Dîwân example¹⁰⁹, only in the present miniature Salîm is not represented and the composition is more uncrowded and balanced. The colour scheme is very distinctive here; and equally noticeable are the deep green trees outside the compound of the palace.

109. folio 41. Plate. 12.

The appearance of erotic scenes is rather unusual because in the large number of miniatures painted in the Akbarî atelier with the sole exception of a scene of bestial nature in the Dârâbnâma MS¹¹⁰, such scenes are conspicuously absent, though erotic subjects are not unknown in Persian art. Their appearance signifies Salîm's unconventional attitude. In a way these are the beginnings of a whole range of miniatures showing an unashamed attitude in depicting embracing couples produced throughout the later Mughal period.

The trend of manuscript-illustration was continued for some time and some miniatures of the Anwâr-i-Suhaîlî were painted, but with the reconciliation of Salîm with Akbar the Salîm Studio outlived its purpose. In the prosperity and enormity of the imperial atelier the individual identity of the Salîm Studio was lost for ever.

The miniatures of the three MSS which were produced in the Salîm Studio do not reveal much indebtedness to European or Persian ideals. In this respect, the muraqqa' pages provide a contrast. During the following years these diverse trends only continue until a final synthesis of the Jahângîrî style is reached.

110. British Museum. Or.4615, folio 41a.

H. Goetz, Bilderatlas zur Kulturgeschichte Indiens, Berlin, 1930, Plate, 17 Ab. 51 & 40 Ab. 109.

CHAPTER 4

The Continuity of Tradition

Akbar did not take any strong measures to curb Salîm's activities when the prince systematically disregarded his directives and fled to Allahabad. When Salîm's life became increasingly reckless and behaviour became unbecoming of a Mughal Prince, Akbar felt disgusted. After exhausting all attempts to persuade him to take the right course he decided to march to Allahabad on the head of a strong army in the autumn of 1604. Salîm, in spite of his utterly irresponsible acts, was fully conscious of the weakness of his position and of the probable outcome of any direct confrontation with his father, the most capable and seasoned strategist of the age. He was waiting for a suitable opportunity for reconciliation, which was unexpectedly found after the sudden death of Mariyam Mâkânî Hamîdâ Bânû Begam. Akbar was deeply grieved by his mother's death. When Salîm, who was always favoured and protected by her, expressed his intention to come to pay his respect for the departed soul, he readily agreed.

Salîm therefore came to Agra with his eldest son Parwîz and made his submission to Akbar.¹ After an honourable public reception on 9 November, 1604 and some heavy private chiding by Akbar the period of estrangement of the self-styled Shâh Salîm amicably ended.

Within a short time Salîm regained his position of crown prince. A decree was issued by Akbar commanding the Dîwâns to manage state affairs after consulting Salîm and to fix the seal of the prince on the grants of mansabs.² John Mildenhall reports about Salîm's independent assessment of the Portuguese made before his father in an open assembly which was goodheartedly accepted by all.³

But the relationship between Akbar and Salîm deteriorated again and came to the fore on the occasion of a fight between Salîm's elephant Giranbar and Khusrau's elephant Apurva. Akbar felt disheartened and the difference between father and son increased again. Within a few days Akbar became seriously ill with acute diarrhoea and died on 16 October, 1605. A flurry of intrigues went on during the short time when Akbar was lying ill between the Khân-i-Azam 'Azîz Kôkâ and Râjâ Mân Singh, who tried to

1. The decision to submit seems to have been Salîm's own, and made against the wishes of his counsellors:

Tuzuk, I, 65.

2. AN, III, 1257. For a grant issued in the name of Abu'l Muzaffar Sultân Shâh Salîm, dated 14 Shahrîyar of the 50 Ilâhî/August 1605, see: M.D. Desai (tr.) Bhanuchandra Caritra, 82-3.

3. ETI, 58-9.

place the young and popular Khusrau on the throne. The plot was foiled because other nobles did not want to override the Tîmûrîd convention of primogeniture. Salîm ascended the throne on 24 October, 1605, assuming the title Nûr-ud-dîn Muḥammad Jahângîr Pâdishâh Ghâzî.

Jahângîr tried his best to attain the popularity and the reputation for justice and benevolence which his father had enjoyed. He adopted various welfare and administrative measures which are fully recorded in Tûzuk. The Tûzuk, however, does not take any notice of artists or art-activities carried on during the opening years of the new reign. It only refers to the appointment of the aged and learned retainer Maktûb_Khân⁴ (Plate 104), as the superintendant of the royal library and picture gallery⁵. To indicate his interest in books, Jahângîr autographed on many of the important books and MSS of the library⁶.

4. Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta, (No.R.724), Inscribed: "Raqm-i-Murâr(?) Shabîh-i-Maktûb Khân."

5. Tuzuk, I, 12.

6. Y.K. Bukhari & S. Digby. IC, XXXVII, No.4, 283-94. Jahângîr's autograph note on the fly-leaves of many other MSS are known. Amongst them are:- Akbarnâma and Futûhât-Makkiya in the Victoria & Albert Museum; Bûstân in the collection of Phillip Hofer; Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî in the collection of A.C. Ardeshir; Gulistân in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Sup. Pers, 1958); Tuhfat-al-Ahrar, Dîwân-i-Shâhî, Musibatnâma and Lavâ'ih of Jâmî in the Chester Beatty Library (Per. Nos.215, 257, 121 & 280 respectively); Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî and Akbarnâma in the British Museum (Or 6810 & 12988), Tasâwwuf by Ânsârî in the Rampur Collection and the famous Dîwân-i-Hâfiz, the Yûsuf wa Zulaikha presented by Khân-i-Khânân and Dîwân-i-Kâmran in the Bankipur Public Library; Yâqûti Qur'ân presented to Sayyid Muḥammad at Gujarat in the 13th r.y., in the Salar Jung Museum; and two other MSS in the Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University.

The painting atelier was certainly reorganised by Jahângîr when his own favourite painters and old employees were given good positions and the services of the eminent members of the Akbarî atelier were also retained. The tradition of MS painting, which was the sole concern of the Akbarî atelier, continued for some time, though preparation of elegant MSS embellished with dazzling miniatures was not particularly encouraged by the new emperor. The reason for the continuance of the tradition of MSS painting in spite of his lukewarm interest is the sudden change that took place in the political scene after Khusrau's rebellion. In Akbar's time the production of MSS hardly suffered from the absence of the emperor from the capital, because Akbar wanted some selected books to be translated and copies of them prepared with suitable miniatures, but the style of these miniatures was not supervised by him, on limited by his taste. He encouraged the production of good miniatures, richly rewarded the painters preparing them, but nevertheless, miniatures of *indifferent* qualities were also produced in a large number because of the great volume of work. Jahângîr was too vain and too squeamish about paintings and tried his best to supervise the work of his painters. This is the main reason why

the volume of pictures produced during his time is much less than the immense production of the Akbarî studio, and their overall quality so good and uniform.

During Akbar's lifetime Khusrau was a strong contender for the throne, but when Jahângîr ultimately became emperor his treatment towards his son was not very harsh, he was kept under vigilance and his movements were restricted. One day on the pretext of visiting his grandfather's tomb at Sikandra, Khusrau fled from the fort with a handful of young retainers and started his ill-planned rebellion. Jahângîr was scared at the thought of the possibility of collusion between Khusrau and Râjâ Mân Singh and a widespread revolt against his authority, which were proved unfounded. Jahângîr himself followed the prince's trail and within a few weeks the imperial commanders arrested the prince with all his accomplices. The life of the prince was spared and he was kept in chains (Plate 65). Most of his supporters were, however, savagely punished.⁷ The short-lived rebellion was thus crushed and the ambition of the luckless prince⁸

7. Tuzuk, I, 68-69. See Beniprasad, 135-6.

8. The adjective is Jahângîr's own. The portrait of Khusrau watching a cockfight is inscribed in Jahângîr's autograph; "Shabîh-i-Khusrau Kambakht": Plate 61.

ruthlessly destroyed. With three brief periods of freedom Khusrau spent the rest of his life in captivity.⁹

When the excitement subsided Jahângîr made a long and quiet stay at Lahore. By the end of 1606 he had reverted to his usual routine of work and enjoyment. The painting atelier and the library were transferred from Agra to Lahore. The evening assemblies were regularly held and various topics on religion were discussed at length.¹⁰ He gratefully accepted a copy of the Gospels translated into Persian by Father Xavier.¹¹ On the advice of the emperor the father began to revise the Persian translation of the Lives of the Apostle, "Dâstân-i-Ahwâl-i-Hawâriyân", which was originally done at Akbar's time. The book was prepared 'interleaved with many pictures of their sufferings', and was presented to Jahângîr when he came back to Lahore after his Kabul visit.¹² The very fact of having the book illustrated presupposes the presence of capable painters in Lahore. The copy of Dâstân-i-Ahwâl-i-Hawâriyân MS under discussion has not been found so far, but if the style of the surviving miniatures in other MSS of Christian subjects,

9. Tuzuk, I, 111, 252; II, 107. Khusrau was murdered by Shâh Jahân in 1622.

10. JGM, 74-5.

11. J & J, 30-31, 32, in September 1606.

12. ibid, 43-4. The fathers noticed in 1608 elaborate paintings on the walls of the palace at Agra whose designs were copied from this book: ibid, 64.

like the Dâstân-i-Mâsih,¹³ is taken into consideration, it would be found that these MSS were illustrated by artists of lesser merit not coming from the imperial studio. The old set-up of the studio was no longer continued: those who could not match the new emperor's exacting demand for quality and finesse had ultimately to quit, and only the talented ones were kept in service.

A few selected members of the studio along with a part of the royal library, were included in the entourage when the emperor decided to visit Kabul.¹⁴ The visit was not a long one but it helped to rejuvenate his spirit. ^{He re-established} ~~with~~ ^{the cultural bond with} Kabul and Persia that had so long united his forefathers. The royal party returned from Kabul in the autumn of 1607 and after a brief halt at Lahore came back to Agra in early 1608. For the next few years Jahângîr did not undertake any ambitious military campaign; life remained restricted to his usual routine of work and enjoyment.

During these years Jahângîr devoted considerable time and energy for the development of arts, especially for painting. Preparation of MSS, elegantly written by noted

13. JGM, plate facing 203; Felix zu Lowenstein, Christliche Bilder in Altindischer Malerei, Münster, 1958.

Pl. 38, 39, 49; Sotheby's Sale Catalogue.....

14. Tuzuk, I, 104-5, 109-10, 112-3.

calligraphers, embellished with pictures painted by established masters, and handsomely bound was the principal preoccupation of the Akbarî atelier. Jahângîr's concern was more with things of immediate perception, with the din and bustle of the living world, with the persons around him, the sights seen and the sounds heard by him. He was fond of Persian classics and proud of his lineage, but his interest was not profound enough to encourage production of new works of history or biography or translation of Hindu or Greek books in Persian. Music and poetry reading were his favourite pastimes; learned writers and lawgivers flocked around him, but his susceptibility to fulsome flattery and the absence of a genuine quest for knowledge failed to encourage the production of any outstanding literary work.

However, this did not hamper the growth of the library in any way. Repeatedly he consulted the royal MSS, read from them, and even wrote marginal notes on their pages.¹⁵ Perhaps while going through enormous library built up by his father, he decided to give further attention

15. See: Dîwân-i-Hâfiz in the Bankipur Public Library: Cat. Bankipur, I, 231-52, III, Pl.1.

to some of the treasured volumes. Not only did he testify their value¹⁶ or the handwriting of his father or grandfather (Plate 150)¹⁷ or the authenticity of the miniatures,¹⁸ but also selected a few from the huge collection for further attention and 'treatment'.

He also allowed the completion of those MSS which were under production during the change in succession. Thus there are three distinct categories of MSS: the first includes those works which were left unfinished but allowed to be completed; the second includes some valuable and important MSS taken up for further embellishment with miniatures, colophon portraits or hâshiya decoration; and the third category includes the few new MSS prepared during his reign.

16. See: Yûsuf wa Zulaikhâ in the same collection: ibid, II, 76-80 (No.196), Tuzuk, I, 168. Also, PMP, 130, No.131 (an album of calligraphic qita's), and the following note.

17. Cf: Zafarnâma in the John Hopkins University Collection: T.W. Arnold, Bihzâd and His Paintings in the Zafarnâmah, MS, 1-6. Plates facing pp. 1 and 22.

18. See: Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî (Or.6810) in the British Museum: T.W. Arnold and F.R. Martin, The Nizâmî MS. in the British Museum, Vienna, 1926; B. Gray Persian Painting, (SKIRA), 1961, 114-5.

At last three important MSS known to us were under production in 1605, when Akbar died and Jahângîr ascended the Mughal throne. These are: an Akbarnâma, divided between the British Museum and the Chester Beatty Library¹⁹; an 'Iyâr-i-Dânish, divided between the Chester Beatty Library and the Cowasji Jehangir Collection²⁰, and a Bûstân of Sa'dî, in the Rothschild Collection.²¹ The Akbarnâma lacks a colophon, but, rather unexpectedly, one of its folios is dated 1012 Hijra,²² the 'Iyâr-i-Dânish also lacks a dated colophon, but according to Karl Khandalavala's report the MS originally had a colophon dated 1015 Hijra,²³ and the Bûstân is dated 1014 Hijra.

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19. Chester Beatty Library, Ind. MS. No.3. 268ff, 61 miniatures: Cat-CB, I, 4-12; II, Frontispiece & Pl. 6-37 (6 in colour). & British Museum, Or. 12988. 163ff, 39 miniatures. Reported and two miniatures published in colour in: The British Museum Report of the Trustees, 1966, London 1966, 69, Pl. LII & LIII.
20. Chester Beatty Library, Ind. MS. No.4. 130ff, 96 min.: Cat-CB, I, 12-21; II, Pl. 38-47 (some in colour) & Cowasji Jehangir Collection, 52ff, 52 min.: Cat-Cowasji, 17, No.7 & col. pl. C. Here the MS is described as Anwâr-i-Suhafî.
21. Maurice de Rothschild Collection, Paris, 201ff, 26 min.: I Stchoukine, "Un Bûstân-de-Sa'dî'illustré par des artistes moghols," RdAA, XI, 68-74, 5 fig.
22. The inscription written in a quick careless hand reads: "1/0 /12 sha'ban 21 mâh Ilâhî sannah 47 'amal-i-Khem Karan." The date is equivalent to 25 January, 1604.
23. K. Khandalavala, "Five Miniatures in the Collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart. Bombay," Marg, V, 2, [Bombay, 1952], 30.

From the stylistic point of view the miniatures of all three MSS belong to the later Akbar tradition, only some miniatures of the Bûstân bear distinct stamp of the sophistication associated with Jahângîr.

No illustrated Akbarnâma MS complete with dated colophon prepared in Akbar's or Jahângîr's reign has so far been found.²⁴ Sir Chester Beatty acquired in 1923 the second and third volumes of a copy whose 61 miniatures show a style which is later than the Victoria and Albert Museum version.²⁵ Recently the British Museum has acquired the first volume of this work, which was only partially known through the publication of a few folios by F.R. Martin.²⁶ The fly-leaf of this volume contains a long autograph note by Jahângîr²⁷ and another by Shâh Jahân which help to

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24. The large fragment in the Victoria & Albert Museum with 116 miniatures, produced in a sumptuous scale, is generally believed to be a part of the royal copy. E. Wellesz, "An Akbarnâma Manuscript," Burl.Mag. LXXX, [London, 1942], 135-41, 12 fig. Some folios from it are preserved in the Pozzi Collection, Freer Gallery of Art, Indian Office Library, Heeramanek Collection etc. Sukumar Ray mentions the existance of another illustrated version preserved in the Kabul Museum in his monograph Humayun in Persia and publishes a miniature from it (facing P.42). But he does not give any other information about the MS.
25. T.W. Arnold & J.V.S. Wilkinson, Chronicles of Akbar the Great, Oxford, 1937, [For Presentation to the members of the Roxburge Club]; Cat-CB, op.cit. (note 19).
26. Martin, II, pl. 102, 183, 209-10.
27. I am grateful to Mr. G.M. Meredith-Owens and Mr. R. Skelton for helping me to decipher the difficult inscriptions and to make a detailed study of the miniatures.

identify it beyond any doubt as an important royal production undertaken during the last couple of years of Akbar's reign.

The one hundred miniatures still bound with the volumes and the folios detached at an early date from the work and preserved in different collections throughout the world²⁸ belong to a style which is more or less uniform, and characteristic of the first decade of the seventeenth century. But there are several considerations, which would after a close examination reveal that the work, though commenced in

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28. Folios from either of the above-mentioned sets (or other versions) are found in:
- i. Gulistan Library, Tehran: fragment of a MS with 12 miniatures - PI, 95.
 - ii. National Museum, New Delhi: W.G. Archer, Indian Miniatures, London, 1960, Pl. 21 (colour).
 - iii. India Office Library, London, Johnson VIII, f4: W.G. Archer, ibid, Pl. 22 (colour); also Johnson VIII, f6 & VIII f3.
 - iv. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC: S.C. Welch, AO, III, 140 fn 37 & Islamic Art, Cleveland 1944, Pl.25.
 - v. Demotte Collection, Paris. 11 folios: E. Blochet, Catalogue of an Exhibition held at Demotte, Inc., New York, 1930, No.166-74 & AM, Pl.187-220,221.
 - vi. Jaipur Royal Library: AIP, 149, No.664, Pl.127.
 - vii. J. Pozzi Collection: E. Blochet, Les Peintures Orientales de la Collection Pozzi, Paris, 1928, Pl. XXVII-XXVIII.
 - viii. John D. Macdonald Collection: S.C. Welch, op.cit., fig. 12.
 - ix. S.C. Welch Collection: ibid, fig. 7.
 - x. Heeramaneck Collection: Cat.Heeramaneek, Pl.201
 - xi. Chester Beatty Library, MS 61, No.9-12, & MS 62, No.1: unpublished.
 - xii. E & M Kofler-Truniger Coll. Luzern: Sammlung E und M Kofler Truniger. Luzern. Catalogue of Exhibition held at the Kunsthaus. Zurich, Zurich, 1964, No.1200, Pl.130.

late 1603, soon after Abu'l Fazl made the final additions and was murdered, was completed only in Jahângîr's reign.²⁹ Jahângîr's autograph note is not dated in the year of his accession; on the other hand, it is dated 1618. The circumstances in which the MS was kept out of the imperial library for such a long time are not known. Some of the miniatures³⁰ appear ^{less} colourful and pale, suggesting as if they were left unfinished, ^{or} at least the final coating of colours and the calendering remain to be done in them. In a few examples the artists are unknown and unfamiliar.³¹ The hâshiyas ^{of the} opening folios of the first volume are decorated with elaborate geometrical design and animal

29. T.W. Arnold also has the same view: "It is possible that some, if not all, of the miniatures are a little later than 1605." Chronicles of Akbar the Great, 26.

30. Folios 61a, 125b, 129a, 134b, 137b, 139a of the BM volume and folios 1a, 7a, 10b, 11a, 18a, 19a, 23b, 25a, 27b & 268b of the CB volumes. Cf: Cat-CB, III, Pl. 6, 7, 9-14, 37.

31. e.g. Kanak Singh (or Ganga Sen?) Karîm Dâd, Hîrânand, Mîr Taqî. A painter called Manak Singh Chela worked in the "Dyson Perrins Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî" (folio 281a) and in Bankipur Timûrnâma. Mîr Taqî is the father of Nâdirâ Bânû, the female painter who did the colouring of two European engravings in the Gulshan Album (Plates 121, 129), done in the Salîm Studio. The name of Karîm Dâd (f 137b BM) ~~also~~ is not met with in other Akbari MSS. ^{One} Hîrânand who was Jahângîr's jeweller, is mentioned by Hawkins: ETI, 11.

motifs in gold interspread with figures of poets and young men in gouache, ^{(Plates 148a&b),} which resemble the later folios of the "royal muraqqa's"³² painted at about the time when Jahângîr wrote his note. 'Abdur-Rahîm Khân-i-Khânân came to meet Jahângîr in late 1618 when the latter was returning to Agra after the long tour of Ajmer, Mandu and Gujarat.³³ It may be assumed that the MS, which was probably removed from the imperial Kârkhâna and by chance reached the noted bibliophile Khân-i-Khânân's ^{Library,} was presented to the emperor by the Khân-i-Khânân.

The 'Iyâr-i-Dânish MS is also fragmentary in its present form. Two substantial parts of this lavishly illustrated copy are preserved. According to the testimony of the dealer who sold these two fragments, the remaining portion, whose whereabouts are unknown, had a dated colophon. Though this dubious evidence is not accepted by scholars,³⁴ many of the one hundred and fifty old miniatures of this MS are signed, where their names are preserved, by well-known painters working in the last few years of Akbar's reign. The delicate colour scheme, the straight forward mode of story telling and the idyllic description of nature found in these miniatures are not very different from the Jahângîrî norm.

32. *infra*, Chapter VI.

33. The Khân-i-Khânân met Jahângîr's party near the Ghati-Chanda pass: Tuzuk, II, 57.

34. B. Gray in AIP, 144-5, No. 646; R. Pinder-Wilson, "Three Illustrated MSS of the Mughal Period," AO, II, 415 fn5.

The Akbarnâma miniatures also reflect a similar feeling for expression, but for the requirement of the subject-matter, their depiction is necessarily restricted to political events, fightings and personalities. Folios 168b & 169a of the Chester Beatty part painted by Daulat³⁵ and folio 158a of the British Museum part painted by Govardhan³⁶ are especially noticeable. Their warm colouring ^{achieved} by using a strong palette and the close attention paid to the individuals easily connect them with their later works done in Jahângîr's studio.³⁷

The Bûstân MS in the Rothschild Collection³⁸ ~~is~~, on the other hand, contains miniatures of different styles and various qualities. The colophon on folio 198 gives the calligrapher's name as 'Abd ur-Rahîm al-Harâwî and the date of completion as 1014 Hijra/1605-6. According to Stchoukine most of its 26 miniatures are painted in a style closely related to the late Akbarî idiom. However, there are a few which reveals a distinct Jahângîrî flavour and in some hardly surprising European elements (ff 58,92,101 & 176), as well as predominant Persian elements (ff 2 & 75) are noticed.

35. Cat-CB, II, Pl. 28 & 27.

36. Unpublished.

37. Infra, Chapter VIII.

38. Supra, note 21.

Folio 147 is said to be influenced by the Deccanese style. Unfortunately none of these folios are reproduced by Stchoukine. Judging from the few examples published by him, the miniature illustrating the story of Dârâ and the Herdsman seems to be one of the finest in the MS (Plate 19). Though this superb composition of horses do not repeat the composition of the famous Bihzâd miniature in the Bûstân MS now in the Cairo Museum,³⁹ there is no doubt that the painter had sufficient knowledge of the Bihzâd miniature.⁴⁰ Another remarkable work is painted by Daulat (f 92), which shows the Sûfî crossing the water on his Prayer-carpet (Plate 20). This is the only example in the MS where the painter's name is preserved.

Three other miniatures, reproduced by Stchoukine (ff 11, 67 & 89)⁴¹, compare favourably with the Anwâr-i-Suhaîlî miniatures painted by Âqâ Rizâ and Mîrzâ Ghulâm. Large disproportionate heads on stunted torsos, serrated hills, trees with barren branches are familiar in Âqâ Rizâ's work in the Anwâr-i-Suhaîlî MS.⁴² Stchoukine attributes the miniature on F101 with its overwhelming European elements to Keśav Dâs.

39. PMP, Pl. LXIX (colour).

40. Cf. PSEI, Pl.7, where Bihzâd's composition has been repeated.

41. Stchoukine, op.cit., Pl.XXIV.1, XXVI.4 & XXVI.5.

42. J.V.S. Wilkinson, The Lights of Conopus, Pl. IV & VIII.

Chronologically the Bûstân MS, now in an anonymous private collection in the U.S., described by S.C. Welch, belongs to the same phase. From the meagre information given by Welch it appears that the MS was written at Agra during the first year of Jahângîr's reign, 1605-6. The number of miniatures or the names of artists working in it are not given precisely by Welch. He publishes one miniature from it which is very much in the Persian style.⁴³ Perhaps the overwhelming Persian elements in this superb miniature (Plate 24) led him to attribute it to Âqâ Rizâ.⁴⁴ The figure of the thief bound to the column is drawn with sympathy; an expression of hopelessness is apparent from the pathetic look of his eyes. The twisted figures of the guards complete with their shields and weapons trying to snatch a nap after a tiring and hard day in whatever posture they found convenient are arranged in such a way as to direct the eye to the figure of the thief standing upright near the blazing flames of the torch in the centre of the composition.

The number of MSS in the imperial library which were left unillustrated, was not very small. Some of them were collected by Jahângîr's predecessors, some were

43. AMI, 70, Pl. 24.

44. Supra. pp.

produced in Akbar's Kârkhâna, and the rest was added to the collection by Jahângîr himself. Instead of having new MSS prepared at a great cost, Jahângîr probably decided to fill up the blank spaces reserved for miniatures in some of the existing volumes. Thus the treasured Shâhnâma, formerly in Bâbar's possession and bearing an autograph of Humâyûn, now in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society, London,⁴⁵ the Gulistân prepared at Bukhara in 1567, now in the British Museum⁴⁶, the Bûstân prepared at the same time, now in the Philip Hofer Collection,⁴⁷ and similar other works brought down from the stacks for the "new treatment". The "Dyson-Perrins Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî", distributed between the British Museum and the Walters Art Gallery,⁴⁸ a Dîwân-i-Hâfiz, divided between the British Museum and the Chester Beatty

45. Now on permanent loan to the British Museum. R.A.S. Pers 239. J.V.S. Wilkinson, The Shâhnâmah of Firdausî, London, 1931, 24 plates.

46. British Museum, Or.5302. Colophon dated 975 Hijra/1567 and written by Mir 'Alî al-Husainî al-Kâtib as-Sultânî. Uncatalogued. PI, 79-81, 99.

47. AMI, 70-71, 165-6, Pl.23.

48. BM Or 12208; G. Warner, Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Collection of C.W. Dyson-Perrins, Oxford, 1920 & Walters Art Gallery, MS. W.613; S.C. Welch, "The Emperor Akbar's Khâmsa of Nizâmî," Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, XXIII, (Baltimore, 1960), 87-96.

Library⁴⁹, a Bâbarnâma in the British Museum⁵⁰, the "Atkinson Lailâ-Majnûn" in the Bodleian Library⁵¹, and a tiny Diwân-i-Hâfiz MS in the British Museum⁵² may also be included in this group. All of them show definite indications of the emperor's decision either in the form of autograph notes or in the identity of the painters who are known to be working only in the imperial ateliers. A number of MSS prepared earlier in Persia contain miniatures which are stylistically related to the Jahângîrî school. As none of them have any royal seal or autograph note and the painter's name do not survive in any of them, ~~as~~ it is difficult to say whether these were produced in the imperial atelier or in the establishments of the nobles. Among them are a volume of Hâtifî's Khusrau wa Shîrîn in the Bodleian

49. BM, Or.7573: I. Stchoukine, "Quelques images de Jahângîr dans un Diwân de Hâfiz," Gazette des Beaux Arts, VI, [Paris, 1931], 160-7 & Chester Beatty Library, Ind. MS. 15. 53ff, 1 miniature: Cat-CB, I, 78-80; III, Pl. 97^a-97^d.

50. BM, Or.26200: Cat-BM, I, 244.

51. Lailâ Majnûn by Nizâmî: Bodleian Library, MS. Pers. d102. 110ff and 9 miniatures: Cat-Bodleian, III, 92, No.2845. Also: A.F.L. Beeston, "The Atkinson Laila Majnun", Bodleian Library Records, New Series, IV [Oxford, 1952-3], 63-6.

52. BM, Grenville XLI; 258ff, 19 miniatures: Cat-BM, II, 629, Miniatures unpublished.

Library,⁵³ a Hadîqat ul-Haqiqat of Sanâ'î in the Chester Beatty Library,⁵⁴ a slender volume of Nizâmî's Lailâ Majnûn in the India Office Library⁵⁶, a MS of Jâmi's Panj Ganj in the Chester Beatty Library⁵⁶ and a large book of Ghazals compiled from various authors in the Bodleian Library.⁵⁷

Though the production of illustrated MSS was severely curtailed in the imperial atelier, the tradition was by no means discontinued. In the establishments of the Khân-i-Khânân and some other nobles such richly illustrated works as Razmnâma⁵⁸, Shâhnâma⁵⁹, Khâmsa of

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53. Bodleian Library, MS. Whinfield 84: 81ff, 17 unfinished miniatures: Cat-Bodleian, III, 39, No.2632; Miniatures unpublished. see: Plate 143.
54. Chester Beatty Library, Ind. MS. 38. Uncatalogued and unpublished.
55. India Office Library, MS. 384, Written by Muḥammad Bâqîr ibn Mullâ Mîr 'Alî in 965 Hijra/1557-8; 50ff, 5 miniatures: Cat-IOL, I, 605, No.1000; R. Pinder-Wilson, "Three Illustrated Manuscripts of the Mughal Period", AO, II, 413-5.
56. Chester Beatty Library, Ind. MS. 20, 177ff, written by Sultân 'Alî, dated 926 Hijra/1519-20; 3 minute miniatures in each folio. Unpublished.
57. Bodleian Library, MS. OMs Ad.175, 317ff, 11 miniatures, written by Mîr 'Alî al-Kâtib, dated 927 Hijra/1521. Contains Ghazals of Hâfiz, Maghribi and Kâsim Anwâr: Cat-Bodleian, I, No.816,859,863. The miniatures probably belonged to a Shâhnâma produced during the Jahângîr period.
58. Razmnâma of 1025 Hijra/1616, produced for the Khân-i-Khânân and written by 'Abdullâ, Now dispersed; about 50 folios in various collections: S.C. Welch, op.cit., AO, V, 228-30, for bibliographical reference.
59. British Museum, MS Add 5600, 585ff, 90 miniatures, nearly all signed by Banwarî, Bulâ, Bhagwatî, Kamâl, Qâsim and Shimâl. A fly-leaf inscription [in later hand?] states that the MS was presented by Jahângîr to Ilavardî Chela in the 8th Jûlûs. Another inscription partially cut and faded give the name Mîrtaqid Khân and the year 20th Jûlûs (1625) of Jahângîr's reign.

Amîr Khusrau⁶⁰, Silsilah-al-Zahab⁶¹, Jâmi's Haft-Aurang⁶², and Nizâmî's Khâmsa⁶³, etc., were illustrated or their new copies prepared. A large number of Hindu and Jaina works and Râgamâlâ sets were also prepared in the courts of vassal kings and powerful Hindu courtiers, which reveal a close relation of artistic ideals and techniques with the Jahângîrî style. Jahângîr's policy of reducing the activities of the imperial studio and confining the number of personnel employed there to the selected and highly skilled ones, may have boosted the growth of such productions in regional schools.⁶⁴

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60. Preussische Staatstibliothek, Berlin, MS Orient, Folio 1278. In a note dated 1617 ~~the~~ Khân-i-Khânân writes that the MS was purchased in Gujarat as a masterpiece jointly executed by the calligrapher Sultân 'Ali and the most renowned Bihzâd. But in the present volume the miniatures are signed by Hashim, Qâsim, Nâdir etc. : T.W. Arnold & A. Grohman, The Islamic Book, Pl.84-87 and text.
61. Chester Beatty Library, Ind. MS. 8; 123ff, 3 miniatures; Colophon dated 1022 Hijra/1613. Prepared for Nawâb Murtazâ Qulî Bukhârî and written by Muhammed Qâsim: Cat-CB, I, 38-9, III, Pl.73.
62. Indian Institute, Oxford, MS. Per 8. 250ff, 62 miniatures of sub-imperial quality, all unsigned; Cat-Bodleian, III, 36, No.2617. The colophon is dated 974 Hijra/1566.
63. Chester Beatty Library, Ind. MS. 14; 326ff, one miniature written for Nawab Bahâdur Khan / Bahâdur Khan Uzbek Abu'l Nabî in 1022-23 Hijra/1613-14: Cat-CB, I, 76-7; III, Pl.96.
64. Infra: Chapter:xi, Epilogue

For the alacrity of Daulat the MSS in which new illustrative materials were added may be fitted into a fairly accurate chronological sequence. On Jahângîr's instruction Daulat painted a number of portraits of his colleagues (Plates 40-43) and copied a portrait of Jâmî from an original by Bihzâd⁶⁵ on the hâshiyas of the royal muraqqa'. At the same time he was asked by Jahângîr to add a fine double portrait of himself and the calligrapher of the MS 'Abd ur-Rahîm 'Anbarîn Qalam (Plate 16), below the final colophon of the superb Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî produced at Agra at the end of 1595. In the much damaged inscription around the wall and on the volume lying before them⁶⁶ Daulat mentions the emperor's command. The inscription is dated both in the Hijra reckoning and in the julûs era; though the final digit of the Hijra date is damaged beyond recognition, it can be easily corroborated by the mention of the 4th regnal year

65. Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, I, fig. 21.

66. supra, Note 48. The full inscription reads:
"Allah-u-Akbar. Behukme-Shâh Jahângîr naqqâsh-
i-în taswîr nemud be-man Daulat shabîh-i-khûd
sannah 5....muaffaq....sannah 101 / Last digit
 lost. kamtarîn khânazâdân faqîr al-haqîr
Daulat." On the book: shabîh-i-'Abdul-Husain
'Anbarîn Qalam âj 'amal-i-bânda-i-dargâh Daulat.

(julûs). This Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî MS is one of the best produced and preserved Mughal MSS and there is nothing to show that besides the colophon portrait any other of its 42 miniatures were added in Jahângîr's time, though certain characteristics which are more expected in a Jahângîrî production than in ^{an} Akbarî one are, ^{however,} found: the incorporation of a delightful hunting scene by Khwâja 'Abd us-Samad which was certainly painted earlier⁶⁷, the appearance of European paintings in the background of a miniature by Mişkîna⁶⁸, the introduction of an organ with European pictures painted on it in the composition "Plato playing his fantastic music" by Mad⁶⁹h/û, and the distinctive and unusual palette of Farrukh Chela's work,⁷⁰ which is comparable in some measures with folios 15a, of the Amîr Hasan Dihlavî's Dîwân (Plate 10).

Another notable MS ^b which ~~easily drew~~ Jahângîr's attention, ^{was drawn} is a fabulous Gulistân, now in the British Museum. It was prepared at Bukhara in 975 Hijra/1567, by the celebrated calligrapher Mîr Husain al-Husainî. Six of a

67. IPM, Pl. XXXVI (f82a).

68. Warner, op.cit. Pl. CXXH (f23b).

69. Martin, II, Pl. 181 (f298a).

70. IPM, Pl. XXXVIII (f123a); Cf: the miniature 'Khwâja Khizr bathing the grey horse' on f281a, drawn by Kanak Singh Chela: Warner, op.cit., Pl. CXXV.

total of thirteen miniatures in it are painted in a style not far from that of contemporary Bukhara. But curiously enough, two of them contain the name and full appellation of Akbar. Their artist, Shahim Muzahhib, who signs his name on four of them, is unknown in India, though his miniatures show familiarity ~~of~~ Indian costumes, especially of the typical Akbarî pointed jama.⁷¹ The rest of the miniatures are superb works painted in a very different style. They cover the whole of the folio and show a wide landscape gradually receding towards the distant horizon (folios 50a, 70a, 103a). Through streams flowing in angular course, mountains of gradually diminishing heights and diagonal architectural projections, the painters exhibit a wonderful mastery of the science of perspective. The mellow and subtle colour-scheme with a wide range of mixed tones help to create a graceful and quiet atmosphere. The principal persons of each miniature are drawn with scrupulous care to ensure a correct expression of mood and the precise psychological situation. On the whole, these

71. Martin, II. Pl. 146, 147 (ff 30a, & 25b). A MS of Hâtifi's Timûrnâma (BM Add 22.703), produced at Bukhara at about the same date, has several battle scenes which seem to be prototype of the crowded mêles popular in Akbarî painting: B.W. Robinson, Persian Miniature Painting, London, 1967, 108, No.164. The pictures of the Timûrnâma may actually have been painted in the Mughal atelier.

miniatures successfully combine the richness of the Bodleian Bâhâristân⁷² with the emotionalism of the Walters Dîwân (Plate 11).

The miniature describing the plight of Sa'dî and young marksman, who being untried in battle dropped his weapon in terror (Plate 25), is probably the finest of the group added later. The portraiture of Sa'dî, being disrobbed by the intruders, and of the young man from Balkh, who is on his knees and whose gold-handled dagger, belt and turban etc. are being removed by the robbers, are painted with a sense of realism unmatched elsewhere in the MS. The city-scape, the zigzag river with boats floating on it, the woods, etc., painted vividly in the background, closely resemble a similar landscape in the background of a hunting scene signed by Manohar Dàs, now in Leningard (Plate 90). The remarkable depiction of dramatic action counterpoised by the quietness of nature, the distinctive colour-scheme and the use of shadow for subtle modelling are reminiscent of the work of a master, who can ^{hardly} not be anyone else but Manohar. The scene of lion hunt cannot be equated with any incident described in the Tûzuk, but from the way Manohar signs his name,⁷³ it appears to have been painted very early in Jahângîr's reign.

72. PI, Pl. on p. 88 (colour).

73. Cf. J.V.S. Wilkinson & B. Gray, Burl.Mag., 1935, Pl. IIIa & b; Cat-CB, I, 45-6.

All seven miniatures of this group are ascribed to Jahângîr's reign-period by Stchoukine⁷⁴ and Gray.⁷⁵ From a defaced and washed out inscription on the fly-leaf of the volume the year 1017/Hijra /1607-8, and 3rd Julús could be read. So it is almost certain that this Gulistân was also selected by Jahângîr in 1608, along with the Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî, discussed above, for filling up the blank folios with miniature.

The Bûstân MS in the Philip Hofer Collection, appears to be a companion volume of the Gulistân as it was also prepared at Bukhara and written by the same calligrapher. It was prepared for the library of Sultân 'Abdul 'Azîz of Bukhara who ruled from 1540-1550. The MS was acquired or inherited by Jahângîr, and Welch informs us⁷⁶ that three miniatures were added to it by Jahângîr's order. Two of them are said to be very close to the Bukhara style while the third (Plate 30), shows qualities associated with the the style of Jahângîr's atelier.

74. LPI, caption of Pl. XX.

75. PI, 81 & 99.

76. AMI, 70, 165-6. Another MS a Matla' ul-Anwâr written by Mîr 'Alî in 947 Hijra and prepared for Sultân 'Abdul 'Azîz of Bukhara and illustrated with 4 miniatures is preserved in the Bankipur Public Library: Scott O'Connor, An Eastern Library, 64-5.

It is no wonder that two of the miniatures closely follow the Bukhara style, because contact between Bukhara and Mughal India was very close indeed. Apart from this set of Sa'âi's twin classics, a large number of MSS, illustrated or unillustrated, were in the Mughal Library: the sumptuous volumes coming from the pen of the celebrated calligrapher Mîr 'Alî were especially treasured. It is not known whether some of them were specially commissioned for the Mughal library, with places for illustration left vacant. The style of Bukhara art was familiar to Mughal artists and many of its familiar examples were borrowed by them and introduced into Mughal art. Such passages are by no means rare in the works of Âqâ Rizâ and Farrukh Beg.⁷⁷ The Harâtî idiom, so often encountered in Mughal works, is in many cases imitated from the Bukhara versions.

This miniature ~~ap~~ply illustrates the confrontation. The architectural details of the Indian temple of Somnath, rather amazingly, correspond with a similar form of architecture painted by Mîrak in a miniature of the Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî, ^{(Plate 31),} prepared in 931H/1523-4 for the Safavid Royal Library.⁷⁸ The MS never came to India and the Mughal artists

77. Supra, ~~Chapter~~ III and infra ~~pp~~ Chapter VIII.

78. Martin, II, Pl.98; M. Dimand, Persian Miniature Paintings, Milan, n.d., Pl.IX (colour). The MS is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

had little chance to look at it. But rather unexpectedly the source of the Mughal painters' familiarity with the theme is provided by another miniature in a MS (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) which was in the Mughal Library. This is a Lisân al-taîr by Mîr 'Alî Shîr Nawâ'î and was prepared at Bukhara in 1553.⁷⁹ (~~Plate 34~~).

Another MS, prepared in the same centre, in 954H/1547 for 'Abd al-'Azîz Bahâdur, a Bâhâristân of Jâmtî,⁸⁰ has a miniature with an exactly similar composition.

It shows a large number of human figures, priests, worshippers, devotees and learned men, some reading from scriptures, some offering blessings, some counting the rosary, and some ^{quietly} worshipping. They appear to have been observed from close quarters for a long time and were painted from life. Only the figure of Sa'dî obviously an adaptation from some authentic Persian model, stands out in isolation. Welch attributes the miniature to Bishândâs, and there is no ground to dispute his attribution.

The Shâhnâma of Royal Asiatic Society, London,⁸¹ is another fine MS, which was in the Imperial Mughal Library.

79. MS. Turc. 996, Folio 20: E. Blochet, Les enluminures des Manuscrits Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1926, Pl. XLIII.

80. E. Kühnel & B. Gray, Oriental Islamic Art: Collection of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, 1963, Pl. 122.

81. J.V.S. Wilkinson, The Shahnamah of Firdausi, op.cit., note 45.

It was prepared at Harat in about the fourth decade of the 15th century and it preserves some of the finest paintings of that period. The MS was collected by Bâbar in as early as 906 Hijra/1500-1, and bears the seal of every Mughal emperor till Aurangzeb and a long autograph note by Shâh Jahân.⁸² One of its twenty four miniatures stands isolated from the rest and shows definite signs of retouching or repainting in the early 17th century style. (f531a).⁸³ The subdued colour scheme, the improved technique of indicating depth and the landscape in the distant background connect it with the Akbarnâma miniatures, discussed above.

The "Atkinson Lailâ Majnûn"⁸⁴ lacks a colophon, but there is an Akbarî seal of 971 Hijra/1563 on f28. Nine miniatures were added later in the MS by the painters who are known to have worked only during the closing years of Akbar's reign and later. Eight of them are signed by Âsî, Bâhan, Bhagwân, Banwâlî Khurd, Dhanûn (2), Dharamdâs and Luhanga Chela, whereas the attribution under the painting on f47 is rubbed beyond recognition. Miniatures prepared

82. ibid, Pl. I.

83. ibid, Pl. XXIV (colour).

84. Supra, note 51. From the Nastalîq script the MS is assumed to be a 15th century work. The miniatures are reproduced by A.F.L. Beeston, op.cit., and in Mughal Miniatures of the Earlier Period, Oxford, 1953, Pl. 1-7.

by all of them except Bâhan are to be found, among others, in 'Iyâr-i-Dânish and Akbarnâma just discussed, and Bâhan's work is found in the 1598 Razmnâma.⁸⁵ Almost all the miniatures of the MS are of good artistic quality and comparable to the style and quality of the miniatures in the above-mentioned works. As in them the general flavour is Akbarî, but the Jahângîrî preoccupation for the expression of mood and emotion, is noticeable in the paintings of Bâhan (f82),⁸⁶ Dharamdâs (f105)⁸⁷ and Dhanûn (f55)⁸⁸. The figures of Salîm and Majnûn sitting under a tree in the wilderness amongst mask-faced animals in f82 are striking. Though not indicated in the attribution under the miniature, the faces were probably retouched by a major portraitist like Manohar or Dharamdâs. The delightful study of Lailâ with her large retinue in a lush green palm grove in f55 indicates careful attention paid in respect of facial expression. Distinct Western inspiration in the rendering of two female servants waiting outside the wall is noticeable. This is a feature found in the works of Dharamdâs, a major participant in most MSS associated with Jahângîr's reign.

85. Maggs Bros., Bibliotheca Asiatica, No.452, London, 1924. Lot 452 K.

86. Mughal Minatures of the Earlier Period, Pl.6.

87. ibid, pl. 7.

88. ibid, pl. 5.

But in this instance Dharamdâs creates a simple unencumbered but highly moving atmosphere in the touching scene of Majnûn's pathetic death on his lover Lailâ's tomb. It appears that Dharamdâs draws here from the experiments made by Manohar.⁸⁹ The work of Banwâlî Khurd (f53)⁹⁰ and Bagwân (f41)⁹¹, on the other hand, show the indifference of a characteristic which is responsible for much inferior painting even in first-rate Akbarî MSS. Taken as a whole, the Lailâ Majnûn belongs to the phase when the special requirements of Jahângîr's taste and refinement were just beginning to have their effects.

The Hadîqat ul- Haqiqat of Sanâ'î has only three miniatures and all of them are of very fine quality.⁹² the miniature on f28a "at the holy man's place" is a particularly charming example, whereas the ~~illustration~~ illustration of the story of the old woman, his sick daughter and the errant cow whose head was stuck within the rim of a pitcher on f36b recalls the fine work of Dharamdâs in the British museum Anwâr-i-Suhafîlî MS (f295b)⁹³. The MS is tentatively dated C.1610 in the descriptive label of the Chester Beatty Library; stylistically the three miniatures are of the early Jahângîrî style with a heavy overtone of later

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89. Cf Manohar's pastiche in the Gulshan Muragga': Wilkinson & Gray, Burl.Mag., 1935, Pl.IIIa & b.
 90. ibid, pl.3.
 91. ibid, pl.2.
 92. Chester Beatty Library, Ind.MS.No.38. Unpublished.
 93. J.V.S. Wilkinson, The Lights of Canopus, Pl.XXVI.

Akbarî elements.

The copy of Hâtifî's Khusraû wa Shîrîn in the Bodleian Library is a "confused and incomplete" small and elegantly written MS.⁹⁴ It is important and interesting as all but one of its 19 miniatures are left unfinished after primary sketching, with partial colouring started in a few examples, ^{(plate 143).} The only finished one (on f14v) is unfortunately done by an unskilful late artist.

The sketches of this MS give a good idea of the technique of painting such manuscript illustrations. The outline is drawn in very thin but strong and sweeping black lines. From the partially coloured examples on folios 12b, 32a, 37b and 73b, it is apparent that the next stage in preparing the miniatures was to colour the landscape in the foreground. The more important task of drawing the human figures were taken up next, and only after this was done at the end, the details of faces were painted.

The last MS in this category, the Grenville Dîwân-i-Hâfiz,⁹⁵ is equally interesting as its illustrations are intermediate in style between the works of the first three years of the reign and those of the following period,

94. Cat-Bodleian, III, 39, No.2632.

95. British Museum, Grenville, XLI, Unpublished.

when manuscript illustration itself was going out of fashion. All but one of its nineteen miniatures are unsigned and unattributed. The signed miniature is on f167a, and shows a young prince reading, while two youths drink wine and another plays a musical instrument. The almost illegible signature of the artist written on the book may probably be of Ustâd Madû. The MS is undoubtedly a royal copy as an autograph note of Shâh Jahân, covered up at a later date, reveals.

Hâfiz was Jahângîr's favourite poet. Jahângîr always carried a copy of Hâfiz's Dîwân and also was in the habit of taking auguries from it.⁹⁶ So it is no wonder that quite a few MSS of Hâfiz were prepared or embellished during Jahângîr's reign. The splendored copy, written by Khwaja 'Abdus-Samad Shirin Qalam in Akbar's reign⁹⁷ was selected by Jahangir for adorning with miniatures. This copy bears a seal of Nur Jahan,⁹⁸ which probably indicates

96. Tuzuk, I, 214, 381. For the royal copy bearing extensive marginal notes by Jahângîr and the previous owner, Humâyûn, but no miniature: V.C. Scott O'Connor, An Eastern Library, 25-27; Cat-Bankipur, I, 231-52; III, pl.1; another autographed copy is in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad: Y.K. Bukhara, op.cit.

97. Supra, Note 49.

98. Cat-CB, I, 78-80. The seals of Akbar (dated 1582) and the colophon written by 'Abd-us-Samad are not relied upon by the learned authors of the Catalogue.

that it was presented to the empress by Jahângîr. Another MS written by the famous calligrapher Sultân Muḥammad Nûr in C.1525 was embellished with beautiful birds in full colours in the panels above each section, exactly in the same manner as that of the former, and with golden ornamental designs on the margin of each folio.⁹⁹ The book of Ghazals in the Bodleian Library written by the celebrated Mîr 'Alî Ḥazâvi in 927H = 1521 also contains the full Dîwân of Ḥâfiz.¹⁰⁰

The dainty miniatures of the pocket size Grenville MS are of delightful colours and minute workmanship. Unfortunately some insensitively orthodox Muslim owner obliterated the faces of all human and animal figures by painting a gaudily coloured flower on each of them. Many of the miniatures have been badly damaged by amateurish attempts to remove these floral overpaintings in recent times. In spite of all the obliteration and damage enough remains to appreciate the fine workmanship of the miniatures. The composition is in most cases simple with a minimum of details showing a rigid restraint from drawing ornamental designs, minute urban views or landscapes though such details are

99. A.J. Arberry, M. Minovi, E. Blochet & B.W. Robinson. The Library of A. Chester Beatty. A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures, Dublin, 1927(?), I, 86-7; II, Pl. 37-39. Also PI, 82.

100. Supra, Note, 57.

indicated in a sketchy manner in some examples. In spite of the thoughtless obliterations the faces, where they are visible, are expressive of mirth or joy or despair or other emotions.

The choice of subject for illustration shows preference for youthful pastimes, drinking parties, musical soirées, poetry reading (folios 32b, 66b, 135a, 167a, 192a, 244b), and such scenes as a game of polo, a wine seller, the meeting of Lailâ riding on a camel with Majnûn in the wilderness, Noah's Ark, the Court of Solomon and audiences scenes (folios 232a, 228b, 216b, 112b, 14a, 115a & 200b respectively). The picture of Noah's Ark shows a European couple clad in period costumes, and folio 104b illustrates a scene of public hanging comparable with the description of the "Martyrdom of Al-Hallâj" in the Dîwân of Amîr Ḥasan (Plate 22).

The last important group of MSS completed during the early part of Jahângîr's reign comprises a handful of works, a few of which are dated, and others approximately assignable to a chronological sequence on grounds of style and subject-matter. Of these, the Anwâr-i-Suhaîlî containing Âqâ Rizâ's signed and dated works was completed in 1610/11. The miniatures of Âqâ Rizâ were painted in 1604, so the MS was under production in Allahabad when Jahângîr left his

semi-independent court there.¹⁰¹ The miniatures of the British Museum - Chester Beatty Dîwân-i-Hâfiz and nine surviving miniatures from a lost MS of Gulistân, in two American collections also belong to this period.

Stylistically the nine miniatures of the Dîwân-i-Hâfiz¹⁰² are related to those of the Râjkunwâr and the Dîwân of Amîr Hasan Dihlavî. The size of Hâfiz's Dîwân is only 142 x 90 mm. Its elegant Nastâliq in dazzling black is written by Khwâja 'Abd us-Samad Shîrîn Qalam in 990H=1582. The folios were remounted at a later date, so it is not known whether there were any decorations on their margins, but the blank spaces at the head of each verse are decorated with a pair of tiny birds in a variety of colours and forms.

Of the miniatures, three on folios 194b (Plate 21), 218b (Plate 22) and 249b (Plate 23), show the likeness of Jahângîr; the last one illustrates ~~ANXEXEN~~ a court scene showing Jahângîr with the princes and the leading nobles and it could perhaps be assigned to the year 1608. Ivan Stchoukine made a detailed study of these three miniatures but he took only passing notice of the rest.¹⁰³ His

101. Chapter III.

102. Supra, notes 49 & 98.

103. I. Stchoukine, "Quelques images de Jahângîr dans un Dîwân de Hâfiz", Gazette des Beaux-Arts, [Paris, 1931], 160-7.

tentative identification of the first miniature (f25) with 'Imâd ud-dîn Faqîh's party is correct. What he apparently overlooked is the fragmentary inscription giving the name Muḥammad Rizâ. This delightful miniature has already been noticed in Chapter III.¹⁰⁴

The second painting, showing a handsome young man entering a feast,¹⁰⁵ is also a first rate work. All the participants of the feast, especially the shy young man and the aged mullâ, appear to be real persons and not just the members of a faceless crowd. The evening sky, the solitary tree, the flying bird, the architecture of the building, even the China wine-cups, are accurately observed and naturalistically depicted. The minute brush work, the use of deep tones, and the striking portrait studies, especially of the dark bearded man in the right and the mullâ welcoming the young noble, are characteristic of Daulat's style. The successful use of green, in a wide tonal range breathes the air of youth and wonderfully express the pleasant mood of an evening of drinking and poetry.

But the real masterpiece is to be found on f66b, showing the dance of two dervishes.¹⁰⁶ There is no formal

104. Supra.

105. Stchoukine, op.cit., fig 6; PI. Pl. on p.100 (colour).

106. PI, Pl.101 (in colour), Stchoukine, op.cit. fig.7.

setting, no background, except patches of pale green, and three Western style winged cherubs peeping in wonder through shell-shaped bluish clouds at the top. The two old dervishes are engaged in the frenzied ecstasy of their mystical religious dance to the ~~rythm~~ rhythm of the four singers and their instruments. The fervour and mysticism of the theme are rendered in the expression of the faces of the dancing dervishes. Jahângîr was very fond of Sûfî dances and frequently mentions his attending such performances in the Tûzuk. For instance on 1 Safar 1019H/1610 he witnessed a religious assembly when Samâ' and Wajd dances were performed by Shaikhs Husain Sirhindî and Musâṭafâ at his request. He notes in the Tûzuk, "hilarity and frenzy were not wanting" on this occasion.¹⁰⁷ This miniature well portrays the hilarity and frenzy of that evening.

The gathering of sages by a water reservoir, painted on f88a is a scene of an animated discussion between a learned mullâ and two nobles along with three others.¹⁰⁸ Here the atmosphere is serene, filled with calmness. The colour-scheme is subdued and the absence of red or yellow or any bright tones lends an air of serious detachment.

107. Tuzuk, I, 172-3.

108. Stchoukine, op.cit., fig. 8.

The expression of the participants of the debate is that of wholehearted absorption, oblivious of all outside differences.

On the other hand, the wineseller in the open air on f138b¹⁰⁹, is of a very different mood. The large storage jars containing wine, the matter-of-fact looking wineseller, the young workers distilling wine, the mullâ taking cover at the side of the earthen jars and the prince, looking very much like a member of Jahângîr's household, paying money - everything here is expressed in a languorous and intoxicating mood. The colour-scheme is neither very gay nor very subdued but the draughtsmanship is powerful. In the interesting miniature on f194 emperor Jahângîr is shown engaged in a game of polo with two of his sons, Parwîz and Khurâm, along with another noble, probably I'tiqâd Khân, sone of I'timâd-ud-daulâ (Plate 21). Jahângîr's fondness for polo is expressed in two other miniatures painted in the Salîm Studio (Plates 6,41). Here the artist has succeeded in capturing the fast movement of the game which requires speed, alertness and accuracy, by juxtaposing the fast-running horses and the hard-hitting swing of the emperor's polo stick shown dangling in the air. His white horse, the only one

109. ibid, fig. 9.

shown in full, his violent bodily movements and his thoughtful placing in the centre of the composition, easily capture the focus of attention. Stchoukine attributes this fine miniature to Manohar.¹¹⁰

The picture showing Jahângîr setting out on a hunt (Plate 22), on the other hand, is an example of effortless simplicity. The unusual feature of the miniature is the introduction of a winged angel who is fixing up the stirrup of the emperor's bluish horse. This detail, though illustrates the words of the poet, is directly borrowed from some European engravings. The angel is of fair complexion and his head is full of blonde curls. It also exemplify for the first time the idea of theophany which was further developed at a later date¹¹¹ and expressed in miniatures (Plates 1, 107, 109, 110). The rest of the picture, the attendants and page-boys, the dog-keeper with a pair of impatient hounds, the faintly visible distant city-scape on the other side of the typically constructed hills, everything is painted in minute details. The picture cannot be firmly ascribed, but may possibly be by Abu'l Hasan.

110. ibid, 161.

111. Supra, Chapters I, IX.

The last miniature in the British Museum part of the MS shows a very interesting court scene presided over by the emperor (Plate 23). This tiny miniature shows as many as 18 princes and nobles besides the emperor, all painted with extraordinary accuracy. It can be regarded as the forerunner of a large number of similar court-scenes, depicting the emperor in his public and private assemblies. In the numerous illustrations of court-scenes in historical MSS done during Akbar's time only a handful of courtiers could be identified and that also in examples where the important faces were specially drawn by some renowned portraitists.

Stchoukine made a detailed study of this miniature and identified most of the nobles present in it.¹¹² On the basis of his findings he identified the scene as to have happened in 1607, when Jahāngīr visited Khurram's house in the Ūrta garden in Kabul on the occasion of the latter's 16th lunar birthday.¹¹³ But Stchoukine overlooked two facts: the existence of a good miniature, probably a part of the Jahāngīrnāma, in the British Museum (No.1948-10-9-69) illustrating the same episode (Plate 67)

112. ibid, 164-7.

113. ibid, 163-4.

the presence of Rājā Mān Singh.¹¹⁴ But the problem of identifying the exact episode described in the picture is by no means solved when we read in the Tuzuk about Jahāngīr's presentation of a ruby and two single pearls of the value of Rs.40,000 to Prince Khurram on 17 Jumādāi-ākhir.¹¹⁵

Clearly the painting ^{here} does not illustrate this event because Mān Singh and Mahābat Khān were away by that time, and the painting ~~represents~~ ^{depicts} presentation of pearls to Jahāngīr, not from Jahāngīr. So the only likely proposition is that, it illustrates an event of the year 1608 when all the important courtiers shown were present in the court.¹¹⁶

The last painting of the Dîwān-i-Hāfiz which is to be found in the portion now in the Chester Beatty Library, is also a fine work.¹¹⁷ This again, shows a young prince. From the clever use of deep colours - green, mauve, black, violet, purple and blue, and their deft handling to express depth and volume, and the characteristic expression of

114. Rājā Mān Singh did not come to Kabul with Jahāngīr in 1607. He met the emperor only in early 1608, before, the Naurāz festival (Tuzuk, I, 137-8), when the imperial party was waiting outside Agra. He was sent to the Deccan a few months afterwards (ibid, I, 148).

115. ibid, I, 156.

116. Mān Singh was sent to the Deccan in the end of 1608: ibid, I, 147.

117. Cat-CB, ¹¹⁷ III, Pl.97.

personality and emotion this also seems to be painted by Daulat.

The Anwâri-Suhaîlî in the British Museum¹¹⁸ has not only a dated colophon but also signature and dates written on two of its 36 miniatures. As many as 32 miniatures of it are either signed or the name of the artist is written on the lower margin. One of the remaining four, two can be attributed to renowned artists. It contains some rare examples of Âqâ Rizâ's book illustration; an early work of Abu'l Hasan; some fascinating compositions by Mîrzâ Ghulâm and Anant; and pictures by such renowned painters of the period as Dharamdâs, Bishandâs, Nânhâ and Madhu. The names of Manohar, Mansûr, Govardhan and Daulat, who attained prestige and position during Jahângîr's time are conspicuous by their absence. The MS was in full progress in the Salîm Studio in 1604, when Âqâ Rizâ signed two of his works (folios 36a, 54b), but its publication probably was abandoned at the sudden turn of events leading to Salîm's reconciliation with Akbar and the subsequent developments, for it to be brought out again in 1610/11 for completion.

118. British Museum, Add 18579, 426ff, 36 miniatures; Cat-BM, II, 756; J.V.S. Wilkinson, The Lights of Canopus, n.d. London, with 36 colour facsimiles in the original size.

As the MS took a long time to be completed, the miniatures vary from indifferent to good quality. Two of its best miniatures are Âqâ Rizâ's 'the Feast of the King of Yeman' (Plate 4), discussed in Chapter III, along with his other works,¹¹⁹ and his son Abu'l Hasan's 'King Dabshalîm's visit to the sage Bidpâî' (Plate 27). The latter work can be considered as an early masterpiece by the talented painter. It shows obvious Persian features like the serrated hills, drawn in bright contrasting tones of chocolate, green, pink, blue and yellow, its boulders placed like fleeting clouds, and the deep blue sky. The juxtaposition of milky white turbans and the white cloak worn by the old sage against the coffee-coloured cave enhances the dramatic effect. The facial features of the sage closely resemble the portrait of an old dervish in the Rothschild Collection, also painted by Abu'l Hasan.¹²⁰ The wonderful portrait studies of the young prince and the weathered sage show full promise of this young painter.

The painter who contributes most, after Âqâ Rizâ, is Anant. As many as five miniatures of uniformly good quality (folios 6a, 130b, 169b [Plate 139], 197a & 267a)

119. Supra, pp.

120. IPM, Pl.XVII.a.

come from Anant's brush.¹²¹ These are characteristic of the transitional phase between the basically simple and straightforward style of the Salîm Studio and the sophistication of the later Akbarî style. The drawing of architectural details (folios 6a, 130b, 197a & 267a) shows Anant's technique of indicating accurate perspective. He avoids bright tones and takes delight in using mauve, purple and violet. His tendency is always to create an atmosphere of hushed action through the use of a subtle tonal range of colours. But, though his characters are neatly drawn and their facial expression carefully modulated, the overall impression is that of a static woodenness, lacking the dramatic element so evident in the works of Nânhâ (folio 280b),¹²² Dharamdâs' (folios 218b & 295a)¹²³ or Mîrzâ Ghulâm (folios 630, 64b, 311b & 396a: Plate 29).¹²⁴ Only the miniature illustrating the story of the camel rider, the snake and the buffalo (Plate 139) is free from this fault.

Mîrzâ Ghulâm is no doubt a powerful artist. His works have an increased proportion of Persian elements uncommon in these years except in the work of Âqâ Rizâ and Farukh Beg. At the same time he has a highly individual

121. The Lights of Canopus, Pl. I, XIV, XVII, XVIII & XXIV.

122. ibid, Pl. XXV.

123. ibid, Pls. XXI & XXVI.

124. ibid, Pls. VIII, IX, XXVII & XXXVI.

125. Supra, Chapter III.

approach. The use of purple for hills and architecture and gold for the sky, the stock Persian motif of cypress and almond blossom and the geometrical ~~like~~ patterns - all are characteristic of Mîrzâ Ghulâm's work. The agony of the man at whose sneeze the women died and his expression of grief and surprise ~~and~~ painted in a superb manner on folio 64b. The animal world pictured on folio 311b appears real, unlike Ustâd Husain's wooden studies on folios 146a and 201b. The last miniature of the MS (folio 396a) is Mîrzâ Ghulâm's masterpiece (Plate 29). He has chosen here a gayer colour-scheme, - strong patches of brown, mauve, violet, purple, interspersed with touches of yellow, vermilion, moss-green, with a patch of ultramarine on the top of the footstool. The use of lighter colours in the dress of the young prince and his minister is perhaps to emphasise their positions of importance in the composition. The atmosphere is of a gay abandon with a serious and subtle liveliness created through the verdant green of the trees and the neatly drawn flowers. The stooping figure of the youth in the left appears to have been adopted from some Western print.

The miniature depicting the tragic end of the fox who through his own folly was crushed to death between

two fighting goats (f63a)¹²⁶ can certainly be associated with Mîrzâ Ghulâm. The fine miniature depicting the principal characters of the story, the ox Kalilah and the fox Dimnah (folio 87b)¹²⁷ is painted in a very different colour-scheme, and the liveliness and expressiveness of the animals depicted in it are remarkable. It may also have come from the brush of the same painter.

The miniatures on folios 280b and 320a are individual works of outstanding quality. Folio 280b¹²⁸ is attributed to Nânhâ, a leading member of the Akbarî studio. He outlived Akbar and remained a painter of importance in Jahângîr's reign. He was commissioned by Jahângîr to copy the famous picture of a camel fight by the celebrated Persian master Bihzâd (Plates 60,61) in 1017H/1608-9. It is very probable that the tragic story of the Unfaithfull Wife painted on f280b was also painted by Nânhâ in about the same time. It is a remarkable work, painted with precision and ease. By adopting mellow colour-scheme and eliminating unnecessary details he has transferred a tragic scene into one of suave drama. Except for thr bright orange of the unfaithful wife's silwâr, a touch of red in the

126. ibid, Pl. VIII.

127. ibid, Pl. XI.

128. ibid, Pl. XXV.

saddle of the prince's horse, and the dark green of the two isolated trees cleverly introduced to balance the composition, he has avoided bright colours and masterfully created an atmosphere of sombreness. The animals, especially the horse, galloping away in bright, are well painted. The blue tinged sky, the burnt sienna hills and the touches of green of the ground, the swift flowing stream and the hazy cityscape in the background - all help to create a naturalistic impression.

The scene of the Sultân of Baghdad and the Chinese princess, painted on f329a, is a work of a different character by Bishandâs (Plate 28). It gives intimate view of a zanâna, with a host of beautiful damsels where the youthful King of Baghdad is the only male member. The King of Baghdad unpretentiously depicted is no different from any Mughal prince, and the Princess of China is none other than a Mughal princess. The intimate setting, the details of physiognomy, the translucent muslim cholis and jâmas of the girls, the dancing lûlis, female musicians, all are well known to us from the scenes of Râjkunwâr (Plate 9).¹²⁹ The depiction of a dark aged attendant woman, the 'chaurî-bearer' wearing a piece of scarf in the left and the shapely beauty standing behind the Chinese Princess bear an

129. Supra, Chapter III.

extraordinary resemblance to the ladies assembled near the well in a picture of the Râjkunwâr already discussed.

Folios 77b, 111b, 244b, 350b and 363a could be classified in one category, where the composition is simple, the colouring unremarkable and intricate details or minute brush works and shading are generally avoided. Folio 77b drawn by Durgâ is a simple work,¹³⁰ comparable to the drawings of the Bâbarnâma MS produced in the first years of the 17th century.¹³¹ But his work in folio 111b¹³² is reminiscent of the products of the Salîm Studio; the expression of the contemplative Qâzî at the sight of the dishonest partners fighting with each other, and that of the man wearing pale blue jâma are comparable to those of the grief stricken watchers in the Martyrdom of Al-Hallâj (Plate 11). Though here the composition is simple.

Hariyâ's work on folio 135a¹³³ is somewhat different from the scene illustrated by Durgâ. It depicts the moving story of a darvish who was delivered from calamity by a Shaikh. The sense of drama and emotion is expressed, though not very subtly. The human figures are anatomically

130. J.V.S. Wilkinson, op.cit. Pl. X.

131. Cf. the fragment in Moscow. S. Tyulayev, op.cit., passim.

132. ibid, Pl. XIII.

133. ibid, Pl. XV.

disproportionate and the bright patches of red and violet distract attention and fail to convey the atmosphere of the scene. Similar indiscriminate use of mauve and yellow in the miniature illustrating the cat's treachery in folio 209b¹³⁴ distracts attention without achieving the desired effect. The works of Hariyâ have a naïve naturalism, often met with in sub-imperial products.

The dramatic effect of the story of the foolish ape who was about to stab his master while trying to kill with a sharp knife the ants moving over his body is subtly conveyed by Rahmân Qulî in his only work in the MS (folio 244b)¹³⁵. In a very simple manner, by using lighter colour tones and without drawing outline he has created the soporific atmosphere of night ; the candle in the right hand corner appears to be superfluous. The startled expression of the master who is yet to realise the meaning of the crazy behaviour of his faithful pet is well shown.

Two miniatures signed by Dharamdâs (folios 218b and 295a)¹³⁶ convey an almost similar effect but in a different way. Both are sophisticated productions, where the compositions are cleverly planned and a wider range of

134. ibid, Pl. XX.

135. ibid, Pl. XXII.

136. ibid, Pls. XXI & XXVI.

colour and tonality is employed. Folio 218b is the only example in this MS where two artists have participated in one miniature. Padârat, was perhaps responsible for the colouring because its colour-scheme is considerably different from the other one. The second picture, illustrating the story of the old woman, her sick daughter and the cow whose head was stuck inside a vessel, is a very fine work. The theme appears to have had a wide popularity at that time: in the Hadîqat ul Haqiqat of Sanâ'î (folio 36) and in the 'Iyâr-i-Dânish MSS (No.68)¹³⁷, both in the Chester Beatty Library, we notice illustrations of it. The figures of the sick girl, weak and motionless, in pale colours against a deep blue pillow, and that of the cow jumping in wild hopelessness, are juxtaposed, with the startled figure of the wicked mother to maintain the balance of the composition.

Mohan's solitary work (f264a), illustrating the story of the devotee and his wife, is a fine miniature (Plate 26). Though Mohan's name is associated with the Khân-i-Khânân studio¹³⁸ and Akbarî MSS, this one is more in the style of the early Jahângîr period. Of special interest are the superb portraiture of the devotee and the half-seen figure of the girl peeping from behind the

137. Cat-CB, I, 19, No.68, by Thirpal.

138. PSEI, text facing Pl. 4.

half-opened door, a familiar Persian motif in the bottom. The wife of the devotee with her slender limbs belongs to the prevailing female type of this period.

Salîm Qulî's work in folio 363a¹³⁹ appears rather uncommon. It differs from all others in its dusky colour-scheme, in which different tones of brown, buff, purple, mauve and violet predominate over other colours. The effect is magnificent. The king of Hindustan sits rather uncomfortably but majestically on the golden throne, with an elaborate jewelled tiara on his head. Wilkinson saw in him some likeness to Jahângîr, which is rather far-fetched.¹⁴⁰ But the courtiers in their light-coloured jâmas and the attendants in their dark heavy dressed no doubt resemble Jahângîrî characters. The picture of the animals are drawn with great sympathy and the rendering of the elephant in white is meaningful because a white elephant is the symbol of râj-chakravartîn.¹⁴¹ Salîm Qulî paints in a more traditional than experimental style.

But the converse is true about the next miniature (folio 368b), the name of the artist of which is unfortunately lost.¹⁴² This is an imaginary subject and

139. J.V.S. Wilkinson, op.cit., Pl. XXXIV.

140. ibid, 51.

141. Cf the splendid white elephant portrait in Bharat Kala Bhavan: Moti Chandra, "The White Elephant", Lalitkala, I-II, [New Delhi, 1955-56] 96, Pl. G (colour).

hence the painter has introduced many details which are not traditional. The figure of the winged peri carrying a book in her hands, is ~~absent~~ almost certainly an adaptation from some European source. Even her hair is blonde. The other winged jinn to the right and the arrangement of the heavy drapery around the throne have also some foreign traits. In all other respects it is a perfect Jahângîrî work, closely resembling a similar painting in the Amîr Hasan Dîwân (f157) tentatively attributed to Mîrzâ Ghulâm.¹⁴³ The birds of this picture are well drawn and appear more lively than Ustâd Husain's birds on folio 201b.¹⁴⁴

The other folio signed by Salîm Qulî (f338b)¹⁴⁵, one of the three subjects selected from the Tenth Book, is a charming work, but differs greatly from his other miniature on f.363a. It is difficult to believe that both the miniatures are by the same hand. Folio 338b is a simple work which shows the hunter galloping away his deep brown horse after taking away the leopard skin by beheading the other hunter after a fierce fight. Amidst the sad sight of the dead hunter, the lynched leopard, the watchful lynx and the gaily attired hunter merely galloping away provide a sharp contrast. In the picture on folio 339a which bears

142. ibid, Pl. XXXV.

143. Supra, ...

144. ibid, Pl. XXIX.

145. ibid, Pl. XXI.

the name of 'Abd us Salîm¹⁴⁶ the entire atmosphere is reversed to the tragic inevitability of the story - the recently victorious hunter and the galloping horse, still in the gay colour-scheme of bright orange, blue, green and deep brown, but now lying shattered in the monotony of mossy green of the hilly terrain. The technique of minute hatching, otherwise unknown in this MSS, is quite effective in rendering mass and volume.

The last work still to be examined is one of the most notable miniatures in this MSS: the Washerwoman and the Crane (folio 350b) drawn by Madû¹⁴⁷. This, also is a simple work without sophistication, but on a close scrutiny, it reveals a masterly sense of perspective and use of colour, adopted in the simplest possible manner. The tonal range is limited; green, faint touches of pink, pale blue, darkish flesh tints of the washerman, a dash of red on the neck of the crane and some traces of mauve. The pathetic end of the greedy crane, and the eager and elated washerman are wonderfully expressed through a minimum of effort. The lucky pigeon flies away and only the washed garments hang listlessly on the line.

146. ibid, Pl. XXXII.

147. ibid, Pl. XXXIII.

The predominant note of the Anwâr-i-Suhaîlî is simplicity. Like the fables, the paintings are drawn in a simple manner, their compositions are less complex, ~~the~~ colours less varied and lineworks limited to the minimum. The mode of story-telling adopted in them is direct and straightforward with a minimum of decorative or subsidiary details. Exceptions to this generalisation are the folios drawn by Nânhâ, Dharamdâs, Âqâ Rizâ and Abu'l Hasan.

On the whole the 36 miniatures of the Anwâr-i-Suhaîlî furnish a valuable evidence of the gradual development of the Jahângîrî style from the Salîm Studio to the early years of his reign when the trends and tendencies of the later Akbarî style were giving way to the discriminating taste of the new emperor. The folios painted by Abu'l Hasan, Mîrzâ Ghulâm, Âqâ Rizâ and Salîm Qulî show definite Jahângîrî trends. The miniatures by Dharamdas, Nânhâ, Hariyâ, Rahmân Qulî, on the other hand, provide the continuity of the late Akbarî style. The result of this mixture is not particularly happy, and in view of the existence of indifferent and careless works with a few good miniatures, the Anwâr-i-Suhaîlî, may be regarded an important but not quite first-class work.

The nine detached miniatures of the lost Gulistān MS fully exhibit the refined sophistication of the developed Jahangirî style. The keynote of the miniatures is not what is told in them but how they are told. As Ettinghausen has shown¹⁴⁸ the nine extant examples, seven of which are in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore,¹⁴⁹ and two in an anonymous private collection in the U.S.A.,¹⁵⁰ form only a part of what was a sumptuous MS with numerous miniatures. The miniatures were detached from the MS and were mounted on murzaqa' leaves, three in one instance and two each in three others.

Like other miniatures drawn in this period, these paintings portray dramatic events with a special interest on the psychological situation, depicted through subtle and accurate expressions of the principal characters. To make his characters important and their attitude more meaningful and symbolic within the situation, the artist has composed them in a horizontal format, eliminating the problems of painting landscapes, architectural details,

148. PSEI, Pl. 10 (colour).

149. AIP, 153, 155, Nos.683,695, Pl.133; Ettinghausen, op.cit.

150. S.C. Welch, "Early Mughal Miniature Paintings from two Private Collections shown in the Fogg Art Museum," AO, III, 142-3, Fig.18; AMI, Pl.25A,B. E.J. Grube, 'The World of Islam', Pl.100 (colour).

trees or sky in a proper perspective. The horizontal format was by no means an innovation, because all earlier pro-Mughal and even some early Mughal MS illustrations were done in that way, but amongst the numerous developed Akbarî examples it was rarely adopted. The revived tradition was continued and a Shâhnâma, prepared most probably in the Khân-i-Khânân's atelier during the middle of Jahângîr's reign¹⁵¹ and two sumptuous MSS of Bûstân¹⁵² and Gulistân¹⁵³ prepared in the first two years of Shâh Jahân's reign show similar horizontal illustrations (in 1039 and 1038H = 1629 and 1628/9 respectively).

Of the seven miniatures in the Baltimore Collection two remain unpublished. The published ones along with the folio in the private collection¹⁵⁴, show considerable development in technique and differences in style, though the essential qualities remain the same with the illustrations of MSS discussed above. The faces are brimming with living expression, of serious involvement, of concern, of aloofness

151. Supra.

152. British Museum, Add 27.262. R. Pinder-Wilson, "Three Illustrated Manuscripts of the Mughal Period," AO, II, 423-428, Figs. 6-12.

153. Chester Beatty Library, J.V.S. Wilkinson, "An Indian Manuscript of the Golestan of the Shah Jahan Period", AO, II, 423-425, Figs. 1-13.

154. S.C. Welch, op.cit.; PSEI, Pl. 10.

or disgust; some faces appear to be replicas of some of the well-known courtiers. The colouring and tonality are remarkable: in some compositions (Plate 44 upper), the colour-scheme is soft and mellow, in some it is tuned to the sombreness of the atmosphere with a choice of deep and darker tones (Plate 44 lower), while in others it is gay (Plate 44 middle). The faces of the principal characters are delicately modelled, and the eyes are directed to the specific person or object at which they are supposed to look. The pale drawn-in face of the dying King in the Baltimore folio (Plate 44 middle), the expression of the beaten imposter Hajji and the sceptical courtier conferring with King in another miniature¹⁵⁵, the dervish showing the ecstatic dance (Plate 44 upper) or the good and bad natured ministers¹⁵⁶ - all are very successfully drawn. The faces of the conferring shaikhs in another miniature (Plate 44 lower) are drawn differently and the colours employed are generallyⁱⁿ dark, green, violet, blue, turquoise blue, aubergine purple, deep chocolate brown, and dark red. The effect is not only charming but successful in rendering the real mood of the scene. This particular miniature appears

155. Grube, op.cit., Pl. 100 (colour).

156. AIP, Pl. 133 (upper).

to be from Daulat's brush, while the upper one in the same folio from Govardhan's. Welch ascribes the top one of the folio published by him to Manohar¹⁵⁷, but this as well as the top one illustrated by Gray¹⁵⁸, which is obviously by the same hand, do not seem to show the characteristics of Mahohar's style - Gray reads the signature 'Dust(?)', in one of the miniature. This may be Daulat, because the lower panel of the folio published by him is in Daulat's characteristic style.

The penchant of the painters for the minutest details as evidenced from the designs of textiles, the book-bindings, and pencases, the painted tiles and elaborate carpet designs, is noticeable as is the extent of European influence. The frightened prisoner in the miniature of "the criminal condemned to death", resembles, as Welch remarks, "a St. Sebastian from whom the painter has conveniently removed the arrows."¹⁶⁰

157. AO, III, 142.

158. AIP, op.cit.

159. ibid., 155, No.695.

160. AO, III, 142.

PART TWO THE NEW SYNTHESIS

CHAPTER 5

Power and Glory

The talented painters of Jahângîr could not remain content with the preparation of a handful of new MSS or the addition of one or two miniatures or colophon-portraits here and there in existing MSS. As soon as the emperor settled down in Agra after the Naurûz of 1608, the royal painters embarked upon the production of ambitious works reflecting their real ability. Mughal art is a court art which depended on the wishes and ideas of the court; in the time of Jahângîr the dependence was carried upto the extreme as the paintings were required to be modelled on the ideals arbitrarily set by the emperor. When the painter could work according to the emperor's set principles he was likely to get the fullest attention, otherwise he was destined to incur the wrath of the patron.

The paintings produced in the royal studio during Jahângîr's lifetime are essentially products of the emperor's specific demands. When the emperor could not devote enough time or spend sufficient attention to them the number of miniatures sharply decreased, and when he was more relaxed and in good spirit, the painters received

the right impetus and the quality of the paintings gradually improved. So far a proper appreciation of Jahângîrî paintings and an analysis of their style and contents, the power and glory achieved in various fields of life during this time which ultimately determined the mood of the patron emperor, must be taken into account. We have already tried to estimate the character of Jahângîr and to specify how it was shaped, and in what ways it resembled or differed from his predecessors, who were all considerable patrons of the arts.

Jahângîr's long stay in Lahore after the crushing of Khusrau's rebellion already revived in his mind the elements which patronised ^{and} guided the ~~production~~ of works of art and paintings from his princely days. The decision to visit Kabul, instead of coming back to Agra, though necessitated by obvious ^{political} considerations, was also typical of Jahângîr's temperament.

The journey to Kabul was "traversed with great enjoyment and pleasure", sometimes looking at the beautiful oleanders (karabî) or the flaming orange of the palâs blossoms, sometimes visiting the forts, old monuments or buildings, and sometimes in drinking parties, or in sports and fishing. Following his father's practice¹ Jahângîr

1. AN, III, 62-9: also, Cat-CB, I, p.xxii.

included a number of painters and calligraphers in the royal party in order to record the principal events as well as the uncommon sights encountered during the journey. When the party halted at Bikrami and the emperor was shown "a piebald animal like the flying mouse", never seen by him before, he was impressed and at once ordered the painters "to draw the likeness of it."²

The brief sojourn at Kabul was spent in a whirlwind manner with frequent outings, sports meetings, garden parties and drinking bouts. The royal party visited many beauty spots around Kabul and all its magnificent gardens and also went ^{to} ~~to~~ ^{see} Bâbar's mausoleum along with the members of the zanâna. Fetters were removed from Khusrau's legs so that he might walk on the rich carpet-like turf of the Shahr-ârâ garden.³ In fact, Jahângîr enjoyed every moment of his stay as though he had regained his lost youth!

In that atmosphere of exuberance and hilarity the painters received the right incentive. Jahângîr also mentions ordering them to take the likeness of a strange mountain-goat known as mârkhar (Plate 98), an animal which he had never seen before or imagined.⁴ He describes a few

2. Tuzuk, I, 104.5.

3. ibid, I, 111.

4. ibid, I, 111, 113. Supra. Chapter VII.

other strange and curious animals and a variety of fruits of unusual shape and size in the Tûzuk.⁵ It is only probable that the emperor wanted to have pictures of many of them prepared by his painters.

Jahângîr's stay in Kabul was not long, and he commenced his return journey in the early autumn of 1607, which was made at a quicker pace. But that did not prevent him from visiting interesting places or watching spectacles.⁶ After a brief stay in Lahore, the imperial party arrived near Agra just before the Naurûz of the 3rd julûs.

Once Jahângîr settled down in Agra the Mughal capital regained its place of pre-eminence. Henceforth a new awareness of strength prevailed in Jahângîr's political designs, and an eagerness for further moral and material achievements shaped his peacetime ideals. Râjâ Mân Singh and 'Abdur-Rahîm Khân were recalled from their respective strongholds and were given commands in the Deccan along with Khân-i-Âzam 'Azîz Kâkâ. Jahângîr's plans for enlarging the empire further to the south, however, did not materialise, and the appointment of his son Sultân Parwîz, with reinforcements under Khân-i-Âzam and Mahâbat Khân,

5. ibid, passim.

6. Cf. ibid, I, 117; IPM, Pl.XIX.

all proved to be of little avail. Similarly, the exploits against Rânâ Amar Singh of Mewar proved futile.

In the beginning the affairs of the Deccan and Rajasthan had little effect on the smooth and peaceful life of the emperor in the capital. As usual, his mind remained preoccupied with 'honest intentions'. Even before he arrived at Agra, he despatched his surgeon and courtier Muqarrab Khân along with Father Pinheiro to Goa.⁷ But the venture was more to collect rarities and jewels than to establish a diplomatic contact with the Portuguese. In fact, when Muqarrab Khân after postponing the mission for several times, finally reached Goa in 1611 and came back to Agra in April 1612, the emperor was overwhelmed at the sight of the turkey cock (Plate 96), pheasant and novelties of that sort, and did not bother about political matters at all.⁸ As an unhappy ~~result~~ of this, there was a complete breakdown in the relation of the Mughals with the Portuguese, during the following years, for which, of course, the high-handedness of the Portuguese pirate ships, was equally responsible.

The relationship with the Bijapuri ruler Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh was cordial. The learned Mîr Jamâl-ud-dîn Husain

7. JGM, 77-8.

8. Tuzuk, I, 215f.

Injû was despatched to Bijapur⁹ and the dialogue started by Akbar was successfully continued. This helped to maintain a two-way traffic between the culturally rich State of Bijapur and the Mughals.

In 1611 Shâh 'Abbâs^{/sent} a belated letter of mourning at Akbar's death through his envoy Yâdgâr 'Alî Sulţân.¹⁰ Active diplomatic relationship with Persia was maintained by Jahângîr and gifts and objects of every description arrived at the Mughal capital in large number: Jahângîr also sent an embassy led by his trusted lieutenant Khân-i-'Ālam in 1613.¹¹ An envoy from the Sharîf of Mecca / came to Agra to be received by Jahângîr with honour and rich presents.¹²

The atmosphere of stability and prosperity made Agra the focal point of trade and of the attention of foreign travellers. The first indication of a systematic English attempt to gain trade concession in Mughal ports and cities was signalled by the arrival of the self-styled English ambassador William Hawkins. He was followed by other Englishmen, including Robert Coverte, William Finch, John Jourdain, Thomas Coryat, Paul Canning, Nicholas

9. ibid., I, 176, 178, 182.

10. ibid., I, 193.

11. ibid., I, 248.

12. ibid., I, 133.

Witkington, Thomas Kerridge, etc., and ultimately by first ^{the} authorised ambassador from the Court of St. James, Sir Thomas Roe. Though the English failed to gain the expected trade concession from the Mughals, an active contact was established for the first time between the non-missionary Europeans and the Mughals.¹³

The Jesuit fathers were already held in esteem for their learning and controversial discussions with the orthodox Muslim scholars in the Mughal court.¹⁴ Books and pictures on Christian subjects were presented by them to Jahângîr. Their prestige reached a climax when Jahângîr ordered baptism of his three nephews, the sons of Dâniyâl.¹⁵ But hostile action of the Portuguese naval force had a devastating effect on the confidence and trust so diligently built up by the Jesuits, and their influence diminished considerably within a short time.

The Jainas continued to enjoy the patronage of the Mughal court. Farmâns were issued by Jahângîr prohibiting animal slaughter¹⁶ on certain festive days, and granting rent-free lands. But soon the young Jaina scholar resident in the court fell into Jahângîr's disfavour,¹⁷ and the

13. W. Foster, England's Quest of Eastern Trade, London, 1933; ETI; Roe.

14. J & J, 49f, 58f, etc.

15. JGM, 72-3; ETI, 148; Not mentioned in the Tûzuk.

16. BC, 82-3 (August, 1605), 83-4 (1608), 85 (April 1610); M.S. Commissariat, A History of Gujarat, II, Bombay, 1957, 261f.

17. BC, 20, 52-8. Commissariat, op.cit, 260-1.

Jainas felt his disapproval for some years.

Some noticeable changes are observed during this time in Jahângîr's attitude towards Islam. He began to show "special respect to the Law" and ordered the Mîr-i-'Adl and Qâzî, "who are the pivot of affairs of the divine law" not to kiss the ground in sijda before him.¹⁸ A few months before this he had sacrificed three sheep with his own hand in the festival of 'Îd-i-qurbân.¹⁹

The days of the emperor were spent in enjoyment and happiness with frequent drink parties, longer hunting expeditions and hilarious private assemblies in the evenings. The quantity of his drink went up, double-distilled 'araq and opium were now required to give him the right "kick".²⁰ In the end of 1610 he had a providential escape from death when the brave Rajput Anûp Rây saved his life from a ferocious lion, and obtained liberal royal favours and the ~~xxxxx~~ title Anîrâ'î Singh-Dalan (the Lion-slayer).²¹

Considerable changes occurred in Jahângîr's family life. He married the grand-daughter of Râjâ Mân Singh in 1608,²² and the daughter of Râmchând Bundela in early 1610.²³

18. Tuzuk, I, 203.

19. ibid, I, 189.

20. ibid, I, 308-10.

21. ibid, I, 185-8.

22. ibid, I, 144-5.

23. ibid, I, 160.

But his last marriage in May 1611 with Mehr-un-nisâ, the intelligent, accomplished and beautiful widowed daughter of I'timâd-ud-daula,²⁴ left a marked effect on not only his own life but also on his time. Within a short time, the family of the new queen, who became the Shâh Begam after Salîmâ Sultân Begam's death in the beginning of 1613,²⁵ steadily came into prominence and power. I'timâd-ud-daula became the Madâr-~~ut-Mulûk~~ and rose high on the ladder of power and position,²⁶ his elder son received the title and high position of Âsaf Khân after Ja'far Beg's death in 1612.²⁷ The swift rise of the house of the new queen, along with her own ability and the steady decline in the emperor's health and capacity, considerably altered the course of Mughal history.²⁸ // Many novel and uncommon objects were collected by Jahângîr and repeated references to painters are made in the Tûzuk in course of recording detailed description of them. Mûnis Khân presented a rare and valuable jade wine-jar with a riqâ' inscription of

24. Beniprasad, 162.

25. Tuzuk, I, 232.

26. Beniprasad, 172.

27. Tuzuk, I, 260.

28. Beniprasad, Chapters, VIII & XIV. This theory is however challenged by R. P. Tripathy in his Rise and fall of the Mughal Empire and S. Nurul Hasan, The Theory of the Nur Jahan 'Junta' - A Critical Examination, Aligarh, 1958 (a pamphlet).

Mîrzâ Ulugh Beg's time.²⁹ Muqarrab Khân presented various European craft-objects and interesting pictures of European workmanship.³⁰ Mahâbat Khân offered European jewelled boxes³¹ and Khân Dauran presented Chinese procelain, sable pûstîns and other rare objects.³² The Khân-i-Khâ^hân's offering in one year ~~ec~~onsisted of a rare volume of Yûsuf-wa Zulaikhâ in the handwriting of the celebrated Mîr 'Alî, and in a beautiful gilt binding, which was valued at 1000 muhrs by the emperor.³³ Yâdgâr Khwâja of Samarqand brought a rare muraqqa' from Balkh,³⁴ Muhammad Husain Chelebî was sent to Istanbul by way of Iraq to procure jewels and rarities.³⁵

29. Tuzuk, I, 146. Three jade wine cups originally prepared for Ulugh Beg and inscribed with his name, which were collected by Jahângîr, are preserved in Bharat Kala Bhavan, British Museum and Calouste Gulbenkian Collection, Lisbon. These are inscribed in the 6th, 5th and 8th ^{of the year} ~~julûs~~ of Jahângîr's reign, so the whereabouts described here is not known: R.H. Pinder-Wilson & W. Watson, BMQ, XXIII, 19-22, pl. XI; R.H. Pinder-Wilson, BMQ, XXVI, 50, fn 4; R. Skelton, "Jades Moghols", L'Oeil, 92, Paris, 1962, 44, 89.

30. Tuzuk, I, 144, 153-4, 167, 215-6, 234, 237.

31. ibid, I, ~~206~~ I, 65.

32. ibid, I, 206.

33. ibid, I, 168.

34. ibid, I, 193.

35. ibid, I, 237-8.

With these came a deonâk monkey from Ceylon,³⁶ a turkey-cock (Plate 96) and another variety of monkey from Goa,³⁷ an Abyssinian elephant,³⁸ a Sumatran parrot,³⁹ some European and Iranian hunting dogs, a Shâhînfalcons,⁴⁰ white cheetahs⁴¹ and a zebra (Plate 101),⁴² and similar other rare birds and animals from various places. Wrestlers, fencers, jugglers, poets, musicians and persons employed in many other professions flocked in the Mughal capital and were patronised.⁴³ Mullâ Mîr 'Alî Muhrkan and the chelas of the imperial kârkhâna produced wonderful seals,⁴⁴ the blacksmiths like Ustâd Dâûd prepared swords of unbeatable quality and the goldsmiths and inlayers like Puran, Kalyân and Hûnarmand prepared ornaments, jewellery and thrones of novel designs.⁴⁵ For the first time a painter, Farrukh Beg, and a calligrapher | Muḥammad Ḥusain Kashmîrî are mentioned in the Tûzuk by name.⁴⁶

36. ibid, I, 143.

37. ibid, I, 215-6.

38. ibid, I, 323.

39. ibid, I, 272.

40. ibid, I, 283; II, 107-8. cf Plate 109.

41. ibid, I, 139.

42. ibid, II, 201. See infra.

43. ibid, I, 335; I, 253; I, 422; I, 141, et passim.

For musicians: Chapter I, Note 70.

44. ibid, I, 200-1.

45. ibid, II, 204; II, 98-99; II, 80, 82.

46. ibid, I, 159; I, 159, 169-70, 228; Ain, I, 35.

The splendid mausoleum over Akbar's tomb at Sikandra was completed and Khwâja Jahân Dûst Muhammad laid the foundation of a new fort at Lahore.⁴⁷ The same man built a delightful mahall inside Agra fort within only three months, which won the emperor's unstinted praise.⁴⁸ Large sums were spent in building mansions, pleasure-houses and mosques all over the empire.⁴⁹

In the midst of such hectic activities in fields of various peacetime occupations, the shadow of the failures of his son Parwîz and the most capable generals in Rajasthan and in the Deccan cast a gloom upon the emperor's mind. In the middle of 1612 he became ill with the disease khûn-pâra⁵⁰ and longed for a change of air. For some time he was contemplating to pay a visit to the mausoleum of Khwâja Mu'in-ud-dîn Chishtî.⁵¹ As his presence at Ajmer was expected to make his generals more responsible and overawe his enemies, and therefore, his decision to move southwards from Agra can be regarded as a long-overdue political move.

The artists, as usual now, followed the emperor's trail. Only Bishandâs was sent with Khân-i-'Alam's embassy

47. ibid, I, 152; I, 219.

48. ibid, 191.

49. ibid, I, 241-2, etc.

50. ibid, I, 226.

51. ibid, I, 249-50.

to the court of Shâh 'Abbâs because Jahângîr wished to have a faithful record of the Shâh and the Persian Court.⁵² As we shall see later, the mission, as far as Bishandâs is concerned, was most successful (Plates 85, 86, 88).⁵³

The royal party arrived Ajmer in November 1613 and settled down for a long stay till November 1616, after which Jahângîr moved to Mandu and Khueram went further south to lead a more concerted campaign in the Deccan. From Mandu Jahângîr went on a sight-seeing tour of Gujarat and visited the ancient part of Cambay, and Ahmadabad, and also engaged in elephant hunting at Dohad. After once postponing the journey on account of the outbreak of bubonic plague in Agra, the royal party finally returned there in the beginning of 1619. By the end of the same year he left for Kashmir and arrived there after the Naurûz of his 15th julûs. The journey to Kashmir and his stay of seven months in the Vale was most enjoyable. By the end of 1620 he returned to Lahore and Shâh Jahân left for the Deccan to tackle with the renewed trouble there. Father and son were never to meet again. Jahangir finally returned to Agra at the beginning of 1621. His health was failing and the political affairs were changing fast.

52. ibid, II, 116.

53. infra, Chapter VIII.

Though Jahângîr's journey to Ajmer and Mandu was prompted by specific military necessities, he did not himself participate in any battle, but wholly depended on his son Khurram and his generals. In fact, the history of this period is the history of the steady rise of the power and prestige of Prince Khurram. Within a few months after his appointment as the leader of imperial forces against Rânâ Amar Singh, the Rânâ offered his submission to the prince, and sent a large tribute including a rare ruby. When Khurram triumphantly returned to the court at Ajmer with Karan, the son and successor of the Rânâ, Jahângîr's long cherished dream of winning a victory unachieved even by his father, was fulfilled. The success of Khurram put him in an enviable position of power and prestige. In his twenty-fourth birthday, observed after a few months, he was given the first cup of wine by the emperor himself⁵⁴ and was loaded with gifts and favours.

Khurram's next task was to lead the imperial army in the Deccan. Parwîz was recalled from Burhanpur and was ignominiously posted to the governorship at Allahabad. Khurram received the title Shâh Sultân and left for the

54. ibid, I, 308.

Deccan in November, 1616.⁵⁵ The gains achieved by Khurram in the Deccan were not as substantial as those in Rajasthan, but nevertheless he was able to put the rife-torn Mughal army in order and show certain gains. The delighted emperor bestowed the unprecedented rank of 30,000zâts with 20,000 sawârs and the title Shâh Jahân on his proud son.⁵⁶ Thus within a short span of time the able military leadership of his young son shed lustre on Jahângîr's reign.

Meanwhile Jahângîr was spending his time pre-occupied with his usual pastimes - drinking, hunting and holding private assemblies in the evenings. More and more traders, diplomats and persons conversant with the arts, literature and theology were coming to the court. With the submission of Mewar the whole of the Rajput domain was on friendly terms with the Mughals. Karan made a long stay in the court and became friendly with Shâh Jahân, and the emperor who loaded him with rich gifts and favours.⁵⁷ More envoys came from the Iranian court and also from the court of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh of Bijapur. Though there were visitors and traders coming to the Mughal court from England, it was only in

55. ibid, I, 337-9; Roe, 281-2.

56. Tuzuk, I, 395. Cf. the picture of Nûr Jahân's reception in the Freer Gallery and Art & V. & A. Museum. infra

57. ibid, I, 277, 280, 281, 287, 289, 293, 329.

January 1616 that a duly accredited envoy from the court of St. James's, Sir Thomas Roe arrived.⁵⁸ Roe's trade mission did not fully succeed and he returned empty-handed. But he was an adventurous and learned man and from his interesting and vivid journal and letters much of first-hand information about Mughal court life is known. As he did not understand the language spoken in the Mughal court, and did not travel much within the country, ~~so~~ his accounts of political events and of the factions of the Mughal court is to be treated with caution. Nevertheless Roe's journal and letters are full of important sidelights on Mughal history and a good deal of information concerning the arts is to be found in them.

Some minor territorial gains were achieved in the frontier regions of Orissa, Saurashtra, Kishtwar and Kangra, which helped to boost the pride of the emperor, but not much else. On the other hand, clouds were gathering on Qandhar, and the political equilibrium in the Deccan was shattered as soon as the imperial party withdrew in the north.

58. Roe, 84-87. The first audience was held on 10 January, 1616 at Ajmer. Roe's name is not found anywhere in the emperor's memoirs.

Jahângîr began to show signs of piety and became increasingly religious. In one place of the Tuzuk he declares that a principal purpose of his coming to Ajmer is to visit the shrine of Khwâja Mu'în-ud-dîn Chishtî.⁵⁹ He visited it nine times, donated a pair of huge cauldrons for the preparation of food, held religious assemblies and built a golden railing around the tomb of Mu'în-ud-dîn. He also became the "earmarked" slave of the Khwâja by having ^{the} lobe of his ears perforated.⁶⁰ The Jainas obtained further farmâns prohibiting animal-slaughter and allowing freedom of worship to all Jaina monks.⁶¹ According to Jaina sources the emperor even wanted to resolve the factional dispute between their two principal sects.⁶² A rapprochement with the Portuguese was established and the wave of hostility against the Jesuit fathers ended.⁶³ The old and somewhat exhausted Father Xavier finally left

59. Tuzuk, I, 249. He visited the Khwâja shrine nine times: ibid, 341., five of them are described in the Tuzuk: ibid, I, 253-4, 256, 267, 297, 329. For pictures representing three of these visits, see infra. Chapter VII and Plates 71, 76.

60. ibid, I, 267.

61. BC, 82-4, 88-9.

62. M.S. Commissariat, A History of Gujarat, II, Bombay, 1957, 260-2; BC, 20, 59 fn 90.

63. JGM, 84f; Rev. Father Felix, "Mughal Farmans, Parwanahs and Sanads issued in favour of the Jesuit Missionaries," JPHS, 1916, Pl. III, fig. 5a, 5b.

the Mughal court from Ajmer in 1614. Father Joseph de Castro joined the mission at Agra, while Father Corsi stayed with the imperial party ~~when~~ it moved from place to place.⁶⁴ In accordance with his practice of sight-seeing the emperor went to see all mosques and mausoleums and paid their due respect during his tour of Gujarat.⁶⁵ The shaikhs and Sayyids of the province were accorded a warm welcome and given money, religious books and other signs of favour (Plates 74, 75). They accompanied the emperor to various places and joined in religious discussions with him.

This increase of religious feeling, instead of inducing humility in Jahângîr, led the emperor and his courtiers and painters to lay stress on the divine aspects of the imperial person. A set of miniatures was painted where the emperor is invariably shown resplendent like the sun and the moon, looming over the heads of powerful monarchs from distant regions of the earth and showing favours to saints, dervishes and shaikhs. The angels rejoice at him, the cherubs smile, and the symbol of universal kingship hangs over head (Plate 107, 108, 109 110).⁶⁶

64. JGM, 98 fn 105, 234.

65. Tuzuk, I, 424, 425-6, 428, 436.

66. Supra, Chapters I & X.

The changed political atmosphere associated with the steady rise of Khurram, led to some interesting new developments in court-politics. Parwîz became a political non-entity and the luckless Khusram an unwanted burden. One of the first acts of Nûr Jahân, after she was married to the emperor, was to make alliance with the rising star, Khurram by arranging his marriage with her niece, the daughter of Âsaf Khân, Mumtâz Mahall. The old political set-up was broken down after the death of such stalwarts as Âsaf Khân Jâfar Beg, Râjâ Mân Singh, Râjâ Râmdâs Kachchwaḥa, Shujâ'at Khân, Mîrzâ Ghâzî, Amîr-ul-Umarâ Sharîf Khân, and curbing the powers of the Khân-i-Khânân and the Khân-i-A'zam. This was the beginning of a fierce rivalry between a handful of nobles and a steady decline of the power of the emperor which was systematically usurped, by the empress and by Shâh Jahân.

However, Jahângîr devoted his full attention for the promotion of the arts and the effects of the backstage political drama were not apparent before the end of the second decade of the 17th century.

The intimacy with the house of Mewar and with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh brought a new stimulus to Mughal culture. Though not specifically mentioned in the Tûzuk the new bond

of friendship with the Rânâ of Mewar certainly helped to form an easy two-way traffic between Mewar and Agra. The Râgamâla set prepared at Chawand in 1604 (Plate 142) already shows signs of intimate knowledge of the achievement of the Akbarî painters, and unceasingly strong Mughal influences in the art of Mewar become apparent in the later years of Jahângîr's reign.⁶⁷

The Tûzuk refers to the arrival of gifted artisans, musicians, wrestlers, fencers, poets etc. from the Deccan, and specially from Bijapur, along with gifts of every description.⁶⁸ The prolonged stay of the learned Mîr Jamâl-ud-dîn Husain Injû, who was given the title 'Azud ud-daula and appointed tutor of Shah Shujâ',⁶⁹ at Bijapur, and the frequent exchange of envoys with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, must have led to a close link between cultural fashions current at the Mughal and the Bijapuri courts. Such fine miniatures as the "Boston Poet" (Plate 39), the portrait of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh in the British Museum,⁷⁰ and the splendid folio of royal muraqqa' bearing Farrukh Beg's name, in the Náprstek Museum (Plate 37) could never have

67. infra, Chapter XI, Epilogue. ~~Plate~~

68. Tuzuk, I, 110, 178, 271-2, 298-9, 335, 387-8, 400-1; II, 36-7, 288, 290.

69. ibid, 320; II, 82.

70. PI, colour pls. on p.126; also on p. 125, 127.

been produced had not there been a close cultural relationship between Bijapur and Agra.⁷¹ Signs of this became even more apparent in other fields of creative art like textile, furniture, decorative arts, ornament design etc.⁷²

The presence of Thomas Roe opened up yet another unknown source of inspiration to the Mughal artists.⁷³ Jahângîr's amazement at the sight of an English miniature of a lady⁷⁴ and his pleasure in accepting gifts of non-religious subjects and portraits of noblemen and ladies,⁷⁵ provide us with a fair idea of his taste. The period when Roe's presents of miniatures were made to Jahângîr in Ajmer and Mandu coincides with the phase in Jahângîr's painting when some of the finest portraits of his reign were painted (Plates 51, 54, 56, 57, 83, 84, 105) mainly by

71. infra, Chapter VIII.

72. J. Irwin, "Golconda Cotton Paintings of the Early Seventeenth Century," Lalitkala, V [Delhi, 1959], 11-48; R. Skelton, "Documents for the study of Painting at Bijapur in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centures", AA, V, 97-125; D. Barrett, Painting of the Deccan, London, 1958.

73. infra, Chapter X.

74. Roe, 188-90, 199-200; Terry, 135.

75. Roe, 221-4, 125-6, 132, 322-4, 357.

Manohar and Abu'l Hasan. Roe's description of the exhibition of European pictures⁷⁶ and the lengthy account of preparation of faultless replicas of one of them⁷⁷ amply prove how enthusiastically these pictures were collected and studied by the Mughals.

Jahângîr's interest in European art was not confined to miniatures only. Roe mentions the name of two English painters of doubtful merit who were warmly received by the emperor⁷⁸. Mention should be made here of the talented French jeweller Austin of Bordeaux⁷⁹, whose delicate craftsmanship in gold was highly appreciated by the emperor⁸⁰.

Like Jahângîr himself in his princeley days, Shâh Jahân also seems to have maintained his own atelier. Though there is no mention of a painting studio established by Shâh Jahân, there are frequent mentions of his goldsmith's shop⁸¹, his blacksmith's works⁸², his garakyarâq⁸³ or department of

76. ibid., 125-6, 337.

77. ibid., 188-90, 199-200.

78. ibid., 187-8, 447, 468n.

79. P.S. Allen, JPHS, IV, 1-14.

80. Tuzuk, II, 80, 82-3.

81. Tuzuk, II, 78; P.S. Allen, JPHS, IV, op.cit.

82. Tuzuk, II, 96.

83. ibid., II, 79. The word has been wrongly transcribed and translated by Rogers & Beveridge. It is a Turkish word meaning 'providers of what is necessary.' Used in the Â'in-i-Akbarî (A'in, I, 93 fn6) slightly differently, possibly in the sense of employers of the department of royal furnishings. Also, Tuzuk, II, 47: where Shâh Jahân's workmen prepared a boat in the Kashmirî fashion.

royal furnishings, etc., in the Tuzuk. Judging from the neatly written autograph notes giving many interesting information on the flyleaves of valuable MSS in the royal library (Plate 150) and his identifying notes carefully written on the mounts (unlike his father's practice of writing on the miniature itself) of pictures collected in muraqqa's built up by him,⁸⁴ it is possible that his impeccable taste in these arts may also have been apparent in paintings.^{84a} The works produced in the heyday of his power may have continued to develop the same artistic qualities as those works produced under his patronage before his ascent of the throne.

The paintings prepared during the middle of Jahângîr's reign against this background may be divided into several distinct groups. The trends of the Salîm Studio were not exhausted in the continuation of the tradition of MS illustrations, individual portraits were more in demand than books and MSS. The sumptuous muraqqa' that was being built up in the Salîm Studio by Âqâ Rizâ and his associates was completed and a new one was taken up. When the old collection of Persian and early Mughal masterpieces and European engravings was exhausted new

84. Clarke, passim; Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 12
December, 1929, etc.

84a. vide: Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 15 June, 1959, Lot 118,
for a muraqqa' containing miniatures with calligraphic specimens from Khurram's pen, dated 1020H/1611.

miniatures and portraits were mounted on the folios. Portraits of the emperor were sent to the neighbouring kings and selected nobles⁸⁵. When Roe brought an ordinary picture of the emperor from the bazaar and the emperor saw it, he felt unhappy that Roe did not approach him directly and offered him one, with his autograph written on it. The original miniature has never been found but an unknown English engraver prepared a woodcut painted by Samuel Purchas with the account of Roe's Chaplain Edward Terry (Plate 136).⁸⁶ The inscription runs: "Sannah 1(0)26, dar shahr-i-Mândû. Râqimutun Manohar. Dar sann-i-panjâh sâlagî bûndam", which means that the portrait was painted in the emperor's fiftieth year in 1026 Hijra/1617 in the city of Mandu by Manohar. Similar portraits of the emperor, the princes, nobles and courtiers of all professions were prepared in large numbers for not only the royal muraqqa's but also for the collection of the princes and some leading nobles. Jahângîr presented copies of the Jahângîrnâma to his sons, Shâh Johân, Parwîz and to I'timâd-ud-daula and Âsaf Khân,⁸⁷ all of whom probably had their own libraries and picture

85. Tuzuk, II, 36-7, 90; Roe & Letters Recd. passim.

86. Purchas His Pilgrimes, London, 1625, II, 1474.
Roe, Introduction pp. LXXVIII-LXXIX.

87. Tuzuk, II, 26-27, 37, 69.

collections. The names of such important bibliophiles as the Khân-i-Khânân and Shaikh Farîd Bukhârî and such nobles as Mahâbat Khân, 'Azud-ud-daula and Mustafâ Khân are to be added to the list.⁸⁸

The miniatures of the Jahângîrnâma form another category, because of the descriptive details of actual happenings incorporated in them. As Jahângîr specifically mentions in the Tûzuk of the preparations of one grand volume of the first twelve years' account, it is reasonable to assume that all illustrations describing events which happened during the first twelve years were painted before the beginning of 1619.⁸⁹

Besides the above-mentioned types many paintings were prepared outside the imperial studio and in the vassal states. Though they dealt with different subject-matter and followed a different tradition, these paintings cannot altogether be excluded from the study of Mughal painting. However, with the exception of a few dated examples, very little is known about their exact provenance, date and authorship.⁹⁰

88. infra, Chapter XI Epilogue.

89. Tuzuk, II, 26-7. infra, Chapter VII.

90. infra, Chapter XI.

And lastly there are detailed and specific descriptions of wall-paintings painted on royal chambers, audience halls, zanâna mahalls and garden-houses etc., preserved in the journals of foreign travellers as well as in the Tûzuk.⁹¹

91. infra, Chapter XII.

CHAPTER 6

The Muraqqa's

Jahangir's principal interest lay in building up a formidable collection of paintings, starting from rare Persian miniatures to European engravings, and including early Mughal works and portraits of his ancestors and contemporaries. These were mounted on well-produced muraqqa's, and kept ready at hand so that the emperor may select some of them as subjects of wall-paintings, take up some engravings to initiate theological discussions with the Jesuit fathers or, as the story given in the Ma'âsir-ul-Umarâ reveals, start noting comments on them.¹

As we have tried to show earlier, the first task of Âqâ Rizâ after his employment was to arrange this collection in muraqqa's, to fill up the lacunae with suitable miniatures prepared by him and to embellish the hâshiyas with elaborate golden designs and coloured details. The earliest example of his work is preserved in the Muraqqa'-i-Gulshan where a hâshiya detail is dated 1599/1600 (Plate 3).²

1. MU, I, 99.

2. Supra, Chapter 3. For a detailed note on the Gulshan Album: Note 26. of the same chapter.

Besides the Muragga'-i-Gulshan a large number of detached folios of similar size and similar hāshiya designs containing outstanding miniatures or calligraphic qit'as as the centerpiece, are found all over the world. A total of 25 such folios were bound in Persia in early 19th century and were collected by Heinrich Brugsch Pasha in 1861. It was subsequently deposited in the German State Library and substantial portions of it were published by Kühnel and Goetz.³ Other stray folios are found in the Musée Guimet, Paris, coming from the bequest of G. Marteau,⁴ Otto Sohn-Rethel Collection,⁵ Náprstek Museum, Prague,⁶ William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City,⁷ Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.,⁸ a private collection, Tehran,⁹

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3. German State Library, now deposited in University Library, Tübingen, No. Lib. Pict. A.117. E. Kühnel & H. Goetz, Indische Buchmalereien aus dem Jahangir Album der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Berlin, 1924; English tr. IBP.
 4. IBP, Pl. facing pp. 46 & 48; LMI, 35-6; Marteau & Vever, II, Pl. CLXVII-CLXVIII. (~~Munich 1931, pp. 385-9, Abb. 2, 3~~)
 5. E. Kühnel, "Die indischen Miniaturen der Sammlung Otto Sohn-Rethel", Pantheon, VIII (Munich, 1931) 385-9, Abb 2, 3.
 6. IMM, 70f, Pl. 8-20 & 21-32.
 7. Handbook of the Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, 1959, 237; AMI, Pl. 27; Art of Greater India, San Francisco, 1950, Pl. 99.
 8. R. Ettinghausen, "New Pictorial Evidence of Catholic Missionary Activity in Mughal India (early XVIIth century)", Perennitas; Festschrift für P. Thomas Micheles OSB, Münster, 1963, 391-95, Fig. 7-8.
 9. ibid, Fig. 4-6.

Naslee M. Heeramanek Collection, New York,¹⁰ Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,¹¹ Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Mass.,¹² Chester Beatty Library, Dublin,¹³ J. Pozzi Collection, Paris,¹⁴ formerly P. Stchoukine Collection, Moscow¹⁵ and Cincinnati Art Museum.¹⁶ Fragments of the hâshiya are found in the Musée Guimet,¹⁷ the British Museum,¹⁸ and in the collections of M. de lue de Luyens,¹⁹ Cowasji Jehangir, and M. de Nemes, Budapest.²⁰

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10. Art of Greater India, 60, Pl.100; ^{Cat-}Heeramanek Catalogue, 1967, Pl. 198 a,b,c; Apollo, February, 1967, Pl. IX.
11. Cat-MFA, VI, 50, Pl. XXXIXb.
12. S.C. Welch & Milo C. Beach, Gods, Thrones and Peacocks, New York, 1965.
13. AIP, 156, No.704.
14. E. Blochet, Les Peintures Orientales de la Collection Pozzi, Paris, 1928, Pl. VIII.
15. Catalogue des objets et peintures persanes de la Collection P. Stchoukine, Moscow, 1907, Pl. XXX.
16. Cincinnati Art Museum News, March, 1950.
17. No.7174 CS No.55; 7175 No.56; 7176 No.57; 7177 No.58. Unpublished.
18. No.1955-10-8-015 (J.C. French Collection). Unpublished.
19. Martean & Vever, Pl. 260a & b.
20. E. Kühnel, La Miniature en Orient, Paris, n.d. (1923), Pl. 115; from the Leonce Rosenberg Collection (Martean & Vever, No.238-40, Pl. CLXIX); F.R. Martin & F. Sarre, Meisterwerken der Muhammadanischer Kunst in München, Munich, 1912, Pl.3.
Cat-Cowasji, No. 14, 15.

The average size of these folios is 41 x 25 cm. The large size is adopted to accommodate more than one miniature or calligraphic qit'as in a presentable manner. Sometimes one large painting, drawn on paper or linen,²¹ occupy the whole folio, but in most instances two or four, or even more than four, miniatures of unequal size are pasted on the central panel. Clever attempts are made by painting trees, creepers on landscape to give the apparently unrelated portrait-studies a concerted appearance. Otherwise no systematic chronological, or stylistic sequence is followed in their arrangement. The folios are fairly thick, made up of layers of bluish, pinkish or buff-coloured papers and are highly glazed.

The hâshiya is uniformly wide on the top and at the bottom and on the side further from the spine. Delicate designs of creepers and trees, hillocks and streams, mythological and real birds and beasts, curious clouds and strange geometrical patterns in gold are painted on it. In some cases animals with cartouches of small birds in

21. At least two large paintings drawn on prepared linen are mounted in these muraqqa's: The picture of a pair of magpies in the Berlin Album (f17b, IBP, Colours Pl.10) and the picture of an unidentified foreign ruler (A. Sakisian, "La Miniature a l'Exposition d'art persan de Burlington House", Syria, XII [Paris, 1931] fig.2, tentatively identified as Sultan Mehmet II of Turkey).

brilliant colours abound amongst these golden ornamental and landscape designs.

The arrangement is almost the same in the folios where calligraphic qit'as replace the miniatures in the centre. Fine calligraphic specimens are always treasured in the Islamic world and given even greater value than miniatures. A number of muraqqa's containing specimens of writing from the pens of celebrated Persian calligraphers were collected in the imperial Mughal Library.²² Jahângîr had some of them mounted in his muraqqa's. The spaces between the lines and between the qit'as are carefully embellished with elaborate golden designs and various floral motifs and small birds. The principal difference of the folios containing calligraphic qit'as from the folios containing miniatures lay in the hâshiyas. In order to offset the monotony of the angular and curvilinear letters of the calligraphic panels Jahângîr ordered his painters to draw small vignettes within which human figures were painted. At first, under Âqâ Rizâ, these were drawn in sketchy outlines in translucent water-colour, but later on, these

22. PMP, 124, 130, Nos.109 & 131. One of them contain a shamsa showing old age and youth painted by Bihzâd and autograph notes by Jahângîr and Shâh Jahân. The second one was in the collection of Akbar's mother Hamîdâ Bânû. The first album is in the Freer Gallery of Art (No.44.48): B.W. Robinson Persian Drawings, Pl. 29.

were replaced by gouache drawings resembling small miniatures. Gradually vignettes and cartouches were eliminated and the figures were placed directly within the golden designs.

The marginal figures provide us with a new element so far unrepresented in court art. The principal subject-matter remains the members of the royal household; the emperor, hunting, flying hawks or seated on a throne, attending parties, drinking wine, or resting under a tree; his predecessors (Plate 48); his young sons engaged in their studies before an aged teacher, hunting, drinking, listening to music or even making love (Plates 45, 47, 59). Royal princesses are depicted on the hāshiyas of a number of folios (Plate 46, 47), while on others are depicted members of various trades and professions, such as, calligraphers and poets, astrologers and astronomers, binders, paper-makers and gold sprinklers, distillers and wine blenders, hunters, falconers, fishermen, weavers, shepherds, carpenters, jewellers, retainers, infantrymen, horsemen, elephant riders, fencers and jugglers. Dervishes, mullās, learned teachers and recluses also remain favourite subjects. On one folio the various functions of the Khanzanchi's department are illustrated. The members of the harem are frequently represented and in one instance

the celebration of 'holi' festival is depicted on the hâshiya. The hâshiyas are full of a large number of small details showing various types of figures taken from European engravings. Wilkinson and Gray have compared this practice of illustrating ordinary occupations of craftsmen and labourers with the Luttrell Psalter.²³

Akbar and Jahângîr both took interest in the development of the arts and crafts. The kârkhânas were situated near the royal quarters, Akbar occasionally went there and even participated in their works. Jahângîr was no less interested in the production of novel and uncommon works of art and jewellers and blacksmiths, like painters, calligraphers, architects, poets and astrologers, are frequently mentioned in the Tûzuk.

Possibly another source for these representations may be sought in playing cards. According to Abu'l Fazl Akbar took interest in playing cards and the system of the game was revised by him. New sets of cards with figures of the king and the court, the queen and her retainers, the army, the wazir and his subordinates, the officers of the

23. J.V.S. Wilkinson & B. Gray, Burl.Mag., 1935, 173.

treasury, and so on were prepared.²⁴ Both the Gulshan Album and the Berlin Album illustrate figures resembling some of these subjects, although they are not done in any systematic or orderly manner.

A reason for the production of these ^{/fine} figures on the hâshiyas to the muraqqa's may be found in Jahângîr's active interest in Persian and European paintings. Many interesting details of these pictures fascinated him, but as such related details could not always be incorporated in the portrait-studies or in the Jahângîrnâma illustrations, so he may have decided to get these fascinating details copied on the hâshiyas. Similarly, many talented craftsmen and scholars whose abilities were appreciated and valued by the emperor but fuller attention to them in the form of separate portrait-studies could not be given in the strict social hierarchy for their humble status, may have been selected for depiction on the hâshiyas. The details copied from European prints and drawings supplied new materials which were incorporated in the mainstream of Jahângîrî

24. Ain, I, 318-20. Gulbadan refers to a kind of card game played in Humâyûn's time: A.S. Beveridge, The History of Humayun by Gulbadan Begam, London, 1902, 178. Designs of similar sets of card showing 8 different subjects are preserved in the Johnson Collection, India Office Library, London; Album V, f3, 4. Cf: R.V. Leyden, "Some Playing Cards of Rajasthan", Marg, XI, 2, Bombay, 1958, 30-31, 7 figs.

painting. Thus these hâshiyas provide the Jahângîrî painters with a unique opportunity to experiment.

Signatures of many of the principal Jahângîrî painters, such as, Âqâ Rizâ, Bishandâs, Bâlchand, Daulat and Govardhan, are found on these hâshiyas. The names of three of Jahângîr's best painters, Abu'l Hasan, Manohar and Mansûr have not been found, but a large number of unsigned folios are painted in their styles, and their non-participation is inconceivable. The name of Basâwan on one folio of Gulshan album (f84b)²⁵ is puzzling.

The Gulshan album contains folios dated between 1008 Hijra/1599-1600 (Plate 3) and 1020 Hijra/1611-12.²⁶ Nânhâ's copy of Bihzâd's study of camel-fight is dated 1017 Hijra/1608-9 (Plate 50), and this was taken as the terminal date of the album by Wilkinson and Gray.²⁷ The dating was further strengthened by the fact that no material dated before 1017 Hijra/1608-9 has been found in the Berlin Album.²⁸ But since then two important folios of the Gulshan Album have been published, one showing Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh (Plate 37) dated 1019 Hijra/1610-11, and the other showing

25. J.V.S. Wilkinson & B. Gray, op.cit., 173.

26. R. Pinder-Wilson, Geographical Magazine, London, December 1957. Colour pl. following p. 330, where it is dated 1620. See supra, Chapter III.

27. J.V.S. Wilkinson & B. Gray, op.cit., 168.

28. IBP, 10.

the meeting of a young prince and an aged mullâ painted by Âqâ Rizâ and dated 1020 Hijra/1611-12,²⁹ have been published. So it appears that Jahângîr devoted considerable attention to his collection of pictures soon after returning from Kabul in 1608. While the album already under production from 1008 Hijra was being completed, the compilation of another album started at the same time. Nânhâ was ordered to copy ^{the} famous Bihzâd (Plates 49, 50) and Daulat to draw the portraits of his fellow artists (Plates 40-43) in the same year. At the same time Daulat painted the double-portrait under the colophon of the Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî MS (Plate 16). Probably this is also the time when Daulat added the golden hills in the beautiful Haratî-style hunting scene attributed to Maḥmūd Muzahhîb by Mehdi Bahrami,³⁰ made additions to another miniature of the same album, copied the portrait of 'Abd ur-Rahmân Jâmî from a Bihzâd original³¹ and painted the miniature in the Rothschild Bûstân (Plate 20). The latest additions to the Gulshan Album were made in the following couple of years when Farrukh Beg's remarkable portrait of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh

29. R. Pinder-Wilson, op.cit.; H. Goetz, East & West, 1957, 176-8; Perzische Miniaturen, The Hague, 1957, No.72, Pl. 7.

30. M. Bahrami, Iranian Art, New York, 1949, No.69/4; PMP, Pl. C III B.

(Plate 37) and Âqâ Rizâ's delightful study of the prince's interview with the mullâ were included.

Meanwhile we may conjecture, work had already started on the other album which continued during the emperor's journey to Ajmer, Mandu and Ahmedabad. It was not completed before Jahângîr came back to Agra in early 1619.³²

The picture mounted on these muraqqa'-folios can be divided into several distinct categories. The master-works of Bihzâd, Mahmud Muzahhib and other unidentified Persian masters may be included in the first category. While the early Mughal works coming from Khwâja 'Abd us-Samad, Kesâvadâs, Farrukh Beg and possibly from Mîr Sayyid 'Alî and Basâwan come under another category. The large number of European materials, monochrome engravings and book-illustrations, and their polychrome Mughal versions and copies are included in a third category and will be discussed in detail in Chapter XII. The whole range of contemporary materials, portraits, genre-scenes and figures of yogis and dervishes, and so on, illustrate some of the

31. Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1936, 26, Fig. 21.

32. Tuzuk, II, 65.

many facets of Jahângîr's life and time, and in many instances precise chronological data can be had from them. So it is prudent to include these works with the miniatures of the Jahângîrnâma, to be examined in a detailed manner in the following chapter.

The Gulshan Album is rich in Persian miniatures of fine quality, many of which are well-known throughout the world.³³ The great Persian master Bihzâd attained considerable fame during his life-time, and by the time of the Mughals his fame became proverbial.³⁴ Bâbar's judicious remarks on Bihzâd were certainly made from his familiarity with Bihzâd's works;³⁵ MSS containing Bihzâd's drawings collected by him have survived.³⁶ Humâyûn is likely to be far more familiar with the works of Bihzâd and important Persian MSS containing his works started

33. First made known in the Exhibition of Persian Art, at the Burlington House, London, 1931, and published in: Persian Art, Exhibition Catalogue, London, 1931; PMP, (published in 1933), and Survey (published in 1938-39).

34. See, R. Pinder-Wilson, "Bihzad", EWA, II, for a detailed account and a full bibliography.

35. See Chapters I & IV.

36. Zafarnâma MS of 1467, now in the John Hopkins University Library (T.W. Arnold, Bihzad and the Painting in the Zafarnamah MS, London, 1930), was in Bâbar's collection.

finding their ways to the Mughal Library from his time. To Jahângîr Bihzâd was a haloed name, so it is no wonder that Bihzâd's miniatures would be enthusiastically collected by him.³⁷

Jahângîr's enthusiasm was not limited by only collecting MSS illustrated by Bihzâd, or detached miniatures signed by him, he encouraged his own painters to copy them and incorporate details from these compositions. At least two works of this kind are preserved in the Gulshan Album, and one in an album compiled at a later date. The most notable of these three is Nânkhâ's copy of the well-known scene of camel-fight said to be painted by Bihzâd in his 70th year³⁸ (Plates 49, 50). The copy is no doubt a close

37. Tuzuk, II, 20, 116; Besides the Zafarnâma the following MSS containing Bihzâd's works were in Jahângîr's library:

Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî, Dated 900H/1494: BM Or.6810.

Muraqqa' of calligraphic qit'as. Freer Gallery of Art No.48.44.

38. PMP, 130-1, No.132-3, Pl. LXXXVII A, B. The motif of camel fight is a much-used one and has been copied from the early times to a much later date. See: R. Ettinghausen, "Four Istanbul Albums", AO, I, 102, fig. 63; Rai Krishnadasa, "Mughal Miniatures", New Delhi, 1955, Pl. 5, where it has been attributed to Hunhar. Karl Khandalavala attributes it to Nânkhâ and so does Moti Chandoo: Indian Art, Bombay, 1954, Pl. XXVII. W.G. Archer's opinion of its being a Shâh Shafî' period Persian work is probably not too off the mark: Burl.Mag., December, 1956, 456.

one and justifies Jahângîr's pride for the ability of his painters to prepare copies of any picture made to Roe at a later date.³⁹ The emperor was satisfied with Nânhâ's work and put an autograph note in a cartouche on the miniature itself.⁴⁰

The second instance of copying Bihzâd's work is revealed by a note written by Daulat near the figure of an old poet. He identifies the poet as Jâmî and records that it was copied from an original by Bihzâd.⁴¹

The third example is found in the Nâsir-ud-dîn album and is signed by a woman painter named Saḥîfa Bânû.⁴² It is a copy of Bihzâd's work found in the Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî, prepared in 1494, now in the British Museum.⁴³

A few other Persian miniatures are also found in this album. Two of them, signed by Maḥmud Muzaḥḥib, were repainted by Jahângîrî artists.⁴⁴ In one case the painter

39. Roe, 189-90.

40. The inscription reads: "Allah-u-Akbar. This work of Ustâd Bihzâd was seen and copied by Nânhâ the painter according to my order. Written by Jahângîr son of Akbar Pâdishâh Ghâzî. Year 1017(Hijra)".

41. Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1936, 26, Fig.21. The Bihzad original is lost.

42. Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1937, 266, f68, fig. 110.

43. British Museum, Or 6810, f 154b, Reproduced in colour on p.116 of : B. Gray, Persian Paintings London, 1961.

44. PMP, 102, Nos.95,96, Pl.CIIIB (No.96). A. Godard & B. Gray, Iran, Paris, 1956, Pl. XIX, XVIII.

happens to be Daulat. Of the other Persian examples, one is attributed to Qâsim 'Alî.⁴⁵

Like the Gulshan Album the Berlin Album also contains a number of Persian miniatures. Though these are not as interesting as the Persian masterpieces in the Gulshan Album, they deserve attention, which has strangely been denied them. One of them (f 19 b) bearing an attribution of the Jahângîrî period to Bihzâd, but rejected by Kühnel & Goetz for reasons best known to themselves, is a superb work. It shows the meeting of a Persian lady, identified by an inscription as the mother of Sultân Muḥammad of Khwârizm, with Shaikh Majd-ud-dîn Baghdâdî, also identified by another inscription.⁴⁶ The miniature was repaired and enlarged, but it still retains marks of the master's brush, especially in the distinctive and restrained colour-scheme and in the well-knit composition. There is no reason to mistrust the Jahângîrî attribution to Bihzâd. Kühnel and Goetz write elsewhere in their study that this picture is most closely related to those of the Bihzâd School.⁴⁷

45. PMP, 100, No.87, Pl. LXXIIIA. Other notable examples: PMP, No.163, 226, 224. Not illustrated.

46. IBP, 6, 51, not illustrated. Probably an illustration to the Majâlis ul 'Ushshâq associated with Sultân Ḥusain Bajqârâ.

47. ibid, 30.

The seconding painting, a large miniature on f 12a, showing a sea-battle is perhaps the best example of Persian art in the whole of the Berlin Album.⁴⁸ Its distinctive colour-scheme consisting of different tones of blue and green along with the occasional use of yellow, red, faded gold, violet, buff, grey and black, its highly effective composition and ^{the} dramatic fury of the fierce battle on the turbulent sea are reminiscent of the work of Bihzâd. It is neither signed by Bihzâd nor attributed to him by any inscription. Kühnel and Goetz think that the work was directly inspired by him, but not coming from his brush. They assign it to a putative school of Bâbar⁴⁹; in a later study Goetz writes that this miniature of sea-battle reminds him of 'somewhat later historical pictures describing battles in or near the gulf of Cambay' :⁵⁰

In the same vein Goetz thinks the splendid miniature showing Humâyûn's meeting with Mîrzâ Hindal in a rocky landscape to be 'an archaic but not an early work'. He even thinks the highly conventionalised Persianesque landscape consisting of curious serrated cliffs in multi-colour sometimes vaguely shaped like elephants and other animals

48. IBP, 31, Pl. 3 (colour).

49. ibid, 51.

50. H. Goetz, East & West, 1957, 162.

as 'a most graphic and correct description of the "Ridge" to the West and Southwest of Delhi' !⁵¹ It is of course totally unlike the Ridge at Delhi. It is a picnic scene and shows a large number of persons including the royal ladies. Humâyûn and Mîrzâ Hindal are identified in an inscription written on the miniature. Hindal is shown as presenting a picture of a young man to Humâyûn while a young prince, presumably Akbar, stands near Humâyûn. The figures are drawn in a highly stylised manner, wearing curious high headdresses and sophisticated Persian costumes. No horizon is shown and trees and plants with multicoloured leaves and mountain cliffs of curious shapes divide the composition into various compartments. It is a fine work showing no resemblance to any early Mughal painting, and if it was indeed done by any contemporary painter the choice would fall on Mîr Sayyid 'Alî, though there is not much of the Mîr's wonderful portrait-studies and his harmonious and poetic description of nature in it.

On the other hand the Persian miniature mounted on folio 11a showing the entertainment of a Persian emperor, identified by Kühnel and Goetz as Shâh Ismâ'îl, in a

51. ibid, 162.

landscape does not show the slightest touch of Bihzâd's genius,⁵² To these learned scholars, however, this miniature has a strong resemblance to the work of the "Persian Raphael", though they admit that it hardly seems to belong to the same 'spiritual type' of the miniatures referred to above. The miniature is much retouched and does not appear to an outstanding example of Persian art.

Another miniature, identified by an inscription as illustrating the Sikandarnâma, which shows a Persian king holding court in a landscape (f 9b) is a Persian painting of good quality.⁵³ Iskandar is meeting a lady by night. The full-toned blue and green indicate the darkness of the night, with the figures illuminated by candles and torches, these lend a certain distinctiveness to the miniature. The sides of the miniature were much enlarged and repainted in Jahângîr's court to bring the whole to a convenient size for the muraqqa'. The portrait of the old poet with white beard is striking. The landscape in the far right background with blue, green, yellow and pink trees, buildings and river is very characteristic of the style of Farrukh Beg.⁵⁴

52. *ibid*, 4, 18, 51-2, Pl. 33.

53. *IBP*, 4, 25, 50, 52. Not illustrated.

54. Cf Farrukh Beg's works reproduced by R. Skelton, AO, II, figs. 12, 15.

A majority of the large number of Mughal miniatures found in the Gulshan Album were painted in the early days of Mughal painting, but the same is not true about the Berlin Album and other stray folios. When Salîm was forming his collection the founders of the Mughal School of painting Mîr Sayyid 'Alî and Khwâja 'Abd-us-Samad were most probably already dead. The greatest of the Indian painters of the first part of Akbar's reign, Daswant, was also dead. We have no idea of Basâwan's last days, but in all probability he died or ceased to paint just before the turn of the century. Farrukh Beg was the reigning master of the day, along with Âqâ Rizâ directing the Salîm Studio.

The miniatures painted by Âqâ Rizâ have already been noted and those by Farrukh Beg will be discussed in full details in Chapter VIII. No inscribed miniature of Daswant Basâwan or Mîr Sayyid 'Alî has been found in any of the albums or on the stray folios. However, some pictures of Salîm's collection may be attributed to them.

Passing references have been made to the pictures painted by Khwâja 'Abd-us-Samad found in the Gulshan Album, in Chapter II,⁵⁵ The Heeramaneck Gallery possesses another hunting scene painted in a style similar to that of the Khwâja.⁵⁶

55. Chapter II, Note 18.

56. Cat-Heeramaneck, NO. 198^b.

The same is applicable to the folio, again of a scene of hunt by a young prince, published by A.C. Ardeshir from his own collection.⁵⁷

A folio in the Gulshan Album showing the scene of Mughal general's camp in the evening after a hard day's work, is attributed by Hájek to Basawan.⁵⁸ It is a good study where factual details of a camp scene in the evening are naturalistically rendered. The style is not far from Basawan's works in the Victoria and Albert Museum Akbarnāma and in the Jāmi'-ut Twārikh, now in the Gulistan Palace Library, Tehran. It may have come from Basawan's brush. A picture in the Berlin Album,⁵⁹ showing the scene of a ghastly murder, resembles Daswant's style. It is a large painting and depicts the episode in a continuous narrative as in the Hamzanāma. The strikingly realistic rendering of the expression of agony on the murdered man's face and that of animal fury and ruthlessness on the face of the murderer are comparable to the scene of Bhīma, dressed as a woman, killing Kīchaka in the Razmnāma MS now at Jaipur.⁶⁰ The

57. A.C. Ardeshir, Roop-Lekha, I, No.2, Pl. 4. The work is inscribed and the inscription is written sideways in a manner comparable to the signed examples of the Khwāja in the Gulshan Album.

58. IMM, Pl. 24, 25, 26.

59. IBP, Pl. 2 (colour). f 16b.

60. T.H. Hendley, Memorial of Jeypore Exhibition. Vol.IV: The Razmnamah MS, Jaipur, 1884. P. XXXII (f 41).

colour-scheme with bright patches of red, yellow, saffron, purple, blue and green and the strange architectural details also resemble some other miniatures of this MS.⁶¹ Wilkinson and Gray report the work of Basâwan on the hâshiyas⁶² of one folio of the Gulshan Album. The folio remains illustrated and no further details are given either by them or by anyone who examined the album in the subsequent exhibitions where it was shown. If at all the hâshiya illustrations of this folio were painted by Basâwan then these would appear to be the result of the young prince's persuasion of the aged master to contribute something for his newly started venture.

The name of Keśavadâs is always associated with copies of European engravings, because a number of signed pictures copied from European originals are found not only in the Jahângîrî muraqqa's but also in other muraqqa's.⁶³ His signature is suddenly found in an isolated but conspicuous picture in the Berlin Album. It shows an old mendicant, stooped in old age, and leaning on a stick, wearing a dhoti, scarf and turban, all in white, presenting a paper-scroll. In a Nagri inscription the name of the artist along with the exact date of its execution in the Saka era are written on the paper scroll.⁶⁴

61. ibid, Pl. LXVI, LXXXI, XCIII.

62. J.V.S. Wilkinson & B. Gray, Burl.Mag. 1935, 173 (f84b).

63. infra, Chapter XE.

64. IBP, Pl. 39. The inscription is dated 1646 Samvat = 1590. Albrecht Weber's translation is given in IBP, 9.

The group of miniatures painted during or after 1608 and illustrating the passages of the Tuzuk are discussed in the following chapter, because in spite of their presence in these muraqqa's they belong to the group of Jahângîrnâma illustrations.

CHAPTER 7

The Jahângîrnâma

Like his illustrious great-grandfather Bâbar, Jahângîr preserved occasional notices of contemporary events and personalities, and sometimes even a day to day description of his movements in the form of an autobiographical narrative. This memoir was written down by him upto his 17th regnal year, after which it was continued by his learned courtier Mu'tamad Khân for a further couple of years, and is commonly known as the Tûzuk-i-Jahângîrî.

The accounts of the Tûzuk begin from the day of Jahângîr's accession, but the actual writing may have started from a slightly later date. The first direct reference to the Jahângîrnâma, which is the real name of the work, occurs in the course of Jahângîr's description of a turkeycock and a monkey brought by Muqarrab Khân from Goa:

Among those were some animals that were very strange and wonderful, such as I had never seen, and upto this time no one had known their names. Although King Bâbar has described in his Memoirs the appearance and shapes of several animals, he had never ordered the painters to make pictures of them. As these animals appeared to me to

be very strange, I both described them and ordered that painters should draw them in the Jahângirnâma, so that the amazement that arose¹ from hearing of them might be increased.

The next reference to the Jahângirnâma is made at a much later date, in October 1616, when he records an exact copy of a friendly letter written to him by Shâh 'Abbâs, and sent through Muḥammad Rizâ Beg.² References to it are more frequent in later days³, and more explicit in an entry of the 13th Julûs when copies of the accounts of the first twelve years were prepared and presented to the first favourite Shâh Jahân⁴ and then to I'timâd-ud-daula, Âsaf Khan⁵ and Parwîz⁶. It appears from the contents of the Tûzuk that the emperor directed the wakîls of his kutubkhâna to prepare one master copy for the library illustrated in a sumptuous manner and a number of copies for distributing amongst his "special servants" and sending to the "various cities, so that administrators (arbâb-i-daulat) and the auspicious might adopt them as their code."⁷

1. Tuzuk, I, 215; Syud Ahmud's text, 105. For Hodivala's more accurate translation: Supra, Chapter, I, Note 33.

2. ibid, I, 337.

3. ibid, I, 353; II, 20, 26, 37, 69.

4. ibid, II, 26-7.

5. ibid, II, 33.

6. ibid, II, 69-70.

7. ibid, II, 26-7.

The first copy, which was presented to Shâh Jahân, was prepared on 8th Shahrîyar of the 13th julûs/20 August 1618. Two months before this the celebrated painter Abu'l Hasan painted the striking frontispiece which profoundly impressed the emperor.⁸ So, finishing touches were surely being given and suitable illustrations were being added to the memoirs of the first volume of the work at that time. Though not specifically indicated by Jahângîr, from the short time in which the copies for I'timâd-ud-daula, Âsaf Khân and Parwîz were prepared⁹, it would appear that these copies contained only the written text and no illustrations.

The royal copy of the Jahângîrnâma for which Abu'l Hasan painted the frontispiece which earned such high praise from the emperor and the title Nâdir-uz-Zamân, has not been found. Only a few miniatures, produced on a grand scale (12 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 9"), but no text, ^{which} survive in the Raza Library, Rampur, appear to belong to it; and a number of miniatures illustrating some episodes of the Jahângîrnâma,

8. ibid, II, 20-1. The entry was made in the last days of the Ilâhî month of Tîr.

9. Copies presented to I'timâd-ud-daula and Âsaf Khan were prepared in the beginning of the month of Mihrej. The copy meant for Parwîz was sent through Nasrullâh in the month of Bahman of the same year.

and probably forming parts of it, are found in various collections throughout the world. An incomplete copy of Jahângîrnâma running upto the 7th julûs, acquired by the National Museum, New Delhi, is believed, from the handwriting, to be a royal autograph¹⁰. From internal evidence it appears that the emperor himself kept his diary, because in one place he writes:

On this date an event occurred such that, although I was greatly desirous of writing it down, my hand and heart have failed me. Whenever I took my pen my state became bewildered, and I helplessly ordered I'timâd-ud-daulah to write it.¹¹

He again writes in his 17th regnal year:

As in consequence of the weakness that came over me two years ago and still continues, heart and brain do not accord. I cannot make notes of events and occurrences. Now that Mir'tamâd Khân has come from the Deccan, and he had the good fortune to kiss the threshold, as he is a servant who knows my temperament and understands my words, and was also formerly entrusted with this duty, I gave an order that from the date which I have written he shall hereafter write them with his own hand, and attach them to my Memoranda. Whatever may occur hereafter he should note after the manner of a diary, and submit them for my verification, and then they should be copied into a book.¹²

10. Y.K. Bukhari, "The Manuscript of Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri in the National Museum, New Delhi", "The Emperor Jahangir's Autograph on Paintings." A Note by Simon Digby, IC, XXXVII, 289-94; Manuscripts from Indian Collections, New Delhi, 1964, 105-6.

11. Tuzuk, I, 326. [Urdûbihisht, 11th Julûs].

12. ibid, II, 246. Cf Hawkin's evidence: "...he hath writers who by turnes set downe everything in writing which he doth, so that there is nothing passeth in his lifetime which is not noted," ETI, 116. Note, Plates 62, 64, 65, 66, 75.

But there is some uncertainty whether the manner in which the earlier portion was written was the same as has been indicated here.

Storey in his Bio-Bibliographical Survey recognises three versions of the memoirs in the available MSS¹³. The first consists of what is generally accepted as the "authentic" version, written down by the emperor up to the 17 julûs and continued to the beginning of the 19th julûs by Mu'tamad Khan. The text of this version was edited and lithographed by Syud Ahmud in 1864 from a single defective MS¹⁴. A. Rogers's not too accurate English translation of it was edited and completed by H. Beveridge and was published in 1909 and 1914¹⁵. Only one contemporary MS containing the account of the first 12 years and bearing the royal seals of Jahângîr and Shâh Jahân is known to exist.¹⁶

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13. C.A. Storey, Persian Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey, Section II, M. History of India, London, 1939, 556-60.
 14. Syud Ahmud, Toozuk-i-Jehangeeree (with Muḥammad Hâdî's continuation), Alligarh, 1863-4.
 15. A. Rogers, tr., and H. Beveridge, ed, The Tûzuk-i-Jahângîrî or Memoirs of Jahângîr (without Hâdî's continuation), London, 1st Vol, 1909, 2nd Vol, 1914. W.H. Lowe translated only one fasciculus in 1889. W. Erskine translated the account of the first nine years which was never published. The best translation of the Tûzuk is in Hindi and made by Brajaratna Das (Jahangir ka Atmcharit, Varanasi).
 16. Storey, op.cit., 557: From an article in Urdu in Oriental College Magazine, II, No.4 [Lahore, 1926], 51-2.

The second version is found in a MS originally in the library of Jahângîr's contemporary Muḥammad Qutb Shâh of Golkenda; this abruptly ends in the 3rd julûs and was written at Hyderabad on the 5th julûs¹⁷. The third version called by Storey the "garbled memoirs", is apparently an amplification and extension of this early version. Noting

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17. ibid, 556. The MS is now deposited in the Bankipur Public Library. Cat-Bankipur, VII, 557; Scott O'Connor, op.cit, 57. The presence of this copy in the royal library at Golkenda, when Jahângîr's work was in such an unfinished state, is curious. The explanation probably lies in the fact that Sultân Muḥammad Qutb Shâh was outstanding among the Muslim rulers of India as a bibliophile and book collector. Possibly as soon as he heard of Jahângîr's composition he may have indicated his desire for a copy, or his name may have occurred to Jahângîr as a most obvious person to whom to send the first fruits of literary composition. A great number of fine manuscripts with the seal and often the autograph of Sultân Muḥammad Qutb Shâh are extant today. For MSS of his predecessor's Dakhnî verse Diwân with Sultân Muḥammad's autograph see Kulliyât-i-Sultân Muḥammad Quilî Qutb Shâh, Hyderabad, 1940, Plate facing p.333. See also Manuscripts from Indian Collections, New Delhi, 1964 pp. 92, 93-4. Another witness to the interest of Sultân Muḥammad Qutb Shâh in the literary productions of the Mughal court is a MS of Fayzî's celebrated Mathnavî, Nal wa Daman, bearing a note by Sultân Muḥammad Qutb Shâh recording its presentation to them by Rizâ Qutî in 1023/1614. (~~See the Writer's Handlist: Accession No. 50~~). Also Oriental College Magazine, Feb. 1928. I am grateful to Mr. S. Digby for supplying these bibliographical references.

the exaggerated statistics and the alterations in passages reflecting on Shâh Jahân, Rieu suggests that the third version was written in the early part of Shâh Jahân's reign.¹⁸ Most of the MSS of this version contains at the end a Pandnâma, or collection of moral precepts, ascribed to Jahângîr with a prologue by I'timâd-ud-daula. The garbled version was translated by Major David Price in 1829.¹⁹

We have already noticed Jahângîr's practice of including painters in the royal entourage and having pictures of curious birds and animals or notable incidents drawn by them.²⁰ Though painters accompanied the royal party on its leisurely journeys to Kabul and drew pictures, we cannot be certain whether these pictures were incorporated in the Jahângîrnâma. The whole range of miniatures illustrating specific events described in the Tûzuk, persons visiting the court or objects attracting the emperor's fancy, noted and sometimes narrated elaborately in the Tûzuk, may be divided into two distinct groups: in one group, the miniatures are drawn in a larger scale, and lavishly produced with particular attention given to the

18. Cat-BM, I, 254-5.

19. Major D. Price, tr., Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangueir, London, 1829.

20. Supra, Chapter V.

details of the incident, to the persons actually present and to the surroundings of the place (Plates 62-68, 71-72, 74, 76, 78-80); while in the other group the painters just illustrate the object which attracted the emperor's fancy or portray the person who arrived in the court at a certain time and place, the details of which are sometimes written on the picture itself by the emperor (Plates 54, 55, 57, 77, 81-83, 93, 101-106, 108, 136).

The first group of pictures was probably prepared when Jahângîr decided to have the accounts of the first twelve years compiled in one volume.²¹ Some miniatures of the second group may have been included in it, though the majority was preserved in muraqqa's. This would explain the presence of the portraits of the Khân-i-Khânân who met the emperor in late 1618 (Plate 105),²² of Râo Bhâro who came to the court in the same year (Plate 50)²³ of Jassâ Jâm who succumbed to Mughal rule towards the end of the 12th julûs and travelled with Jahângîr's party till the beginning of the 13th julûs,²⁴ of Bakhtar Khân Kalâwant who arrived at Ajmer in the beginning of 1615 (Plate 57),²⁵ and of others specifically referred to in the entries of

21. Tuzuk, II, 26-7.

22. ibid., II, 57.

23. ibid., II, 19.

24. ibid., I, 443-4; II, 2-3.

25. ibid., I, 271-2.

Tûzuk, in the Berlin muraqqa'. The miniatures which were not included in the Berlin muraqqa' may have been kept aside for other muraqqa's or for their future use as illustrations to the second volume of the Jahângîrnâma comprising the accounts of the subsequent years, which was never completed. However we have no evidence that the Jahângîrnâma included smaller pictures of other than the full page format consistently favoured in the production of royal manuscripts of court-chronicles, from the illustrated Akbarnâmas to the Pâdishâh-nâma of Shâh Jahân's reign now at Windsor Castle.

As the accounts of the Jahângîrnâma begin with the description of Jahângîr's coronation to the throne, the emperor probably wanted a double page illustration to describe the details of festivities and portray accurately the large number of nobles present on the occasion. He entrusted the task to Abu'l Hasan, who completed it in the beginning of the 13th julûs, and presented it when the royal party was leaving Gujarat for Agra. This was only a few weeks before the first copy of the first volume of the Jahângîrnâma was prepared.²⁶ The emperor was pleased when

26. ibid., II, 20-1: entry of 20th Tîr 13th julûs. The first copy which was presented to Shâh Jahân, was prepared on 8th Shahîyâr of the same year (August 1618).

he saw it, and recalled that he had paid close and careful attention to Abu'l Ḥasan since his birth in the imperial household; and that he had conferred on him the title Nâdir-uz-Zamân. This key passage in the Tuzuk has already been referred to many times. The double page frontispiece (Plates 62-3) is preserved in a muraqqa' of Persian and Mughal miniatures and calligraphic qūt'as in a Leningrad Collection.²⁷

The left half of the double-page composition (Plate 62) shows the rejoicings of the people on the coronation day. The gate of the palace has been opened not only for the nobles, higher officers, and foreign envoys and priests, but also for the ordinary subjects scrambling for coins stamped with the name of the new emperor. Musicians and dancers, horsemen and elephant riders, poets and reciters, wrestlers and fencers, hunters and falconers, Jesuits priests and Iranian ambassadors have all assembled in the palace courtyard. On the architrave of the gateway Abu'l Ḥasan gives the date of coronation 1014H/1605, but as we have already noted, the picture was painted at a much

27. Leningrad Branch of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, U.S.S.R. Academy of Science. No.E.14. The album has 98 folios containing 115 Indian and 30 Persian miniatures. It was compiled by Mirzâ Mâhdî, a dignitary of Nâdir Shâh's court in the middle of the 18th century: A.A. Ivanova, T.V. Grek, O.F. Akimushkina and L.T. Gyuzabyana, Album Indijskikh i Persidskikh Miniatur XVI-XVIII. VU, Moscow, 1962 (in Russian, with a 24pp catalogue in English).

later date in 1618. This double-page picture may be regarded as one of the finest examples of Abu'l Hasan's work, and deserves the unstinted appreciation that the emperor made. The artist's sense of balance and harmony is apparent in the composition consisting of such a large number of people, each of whom can be easily identified, below the huge arched gateway whose red sandstone structure and white marble dome stand majestically against the blue sky.

The right half (Plate 63) of the composition shows the emperor seated on the throne under a canopy and attended by a large number of nobles and important officers, all standing within the special enclosure. Here the figures are of a slightly larger proportion and arranged in orderly rows with their heads shown in full or three-quarter profile. In many instances the names of the nobles are given by the painter. The portraits of the principal nobles like Khân-i-Khânân, Khân-i-A'zam, I'timâd-ud-daula, Râjâ Râmdâs Kachchwaha, Âsaf Khân Ja'far Beg, Mahâbat Khân, Râjâ Bîr Singh Deo, Anîrâ'î, Mîrzâ Ghâzî, Rustam Mîrzâ, Muqarrab Khân, etc., are not difficult to identify even without reading the inscriptions, because their portraits are drawn not from life but probably from the Album of portraits collected in the imperial library. Similar likeness, copied from the same source or the same charba, are repeated time and again in other court groups.

(Cf Plates 64, 68, 70, 73, 80), especially when they depict events which happened long before and were painted when many of those nobles were dead or living in far-away provincial capitals. But the portraiture of the emperor, and the princes and nobles in pictures describing contemporary events (65, 71, 72, 74, 76, 78, 79) are less stereotyped and taken from life.

The right half of this double-page composition is not signed, but as the name of Abu'l Hasan is prominently displayed in the other half, it seems that the same painter is responsible for this superb group picture. Special attention has been given by the painter to the colour scheme of the whole composition and to the intricate designs of carpet, textile, and the decorative cloths covering the circular tents put up for members of the seraglio. Two pictures on European subjects on ^{the} back wall, painted in many colours, give an idea of the use of these pictures and of their subjects. The Jesuit father painted in the left half of the composition, seated wearing a dark brown cossock and holding a book seems to be Father Jerome Xavier, who was present in the Mughal court on that occasion.

One notable point in the double-page composition is the absence of the sons of the emperor, except Khurram. Is it because the eldest son Khurram became rebellious and was virtually imprisoned, and the second son Parwîz was not in

favour at the time of its painting? Similar reasons have been propounded for the substitution of the figure of a young prince for a nobleman in a scene of private party (Plates 69, 70).²⁸ The acceptance of this theory depends solely on the identity of Khusra^h. As seen from the likeness of Khusra^h in the portrait authenticated by Jahângîr's autograph note (Plate 61),²⁹ and a large genealogical picture in the Rothschild Collection (Plate 53), the young man offering wine to Jahângîr in the British Museum picture (Plate 70) does not appear to be Khusra^h. The Rothschild picture itself is an example of a similar change in the emperor's attitude: it is very probable that originally the lower half of this genealogical picture showed Jahângîr's third and most favoured son, Shâh Jahân with his sons, but because of his rebellion declared in 1622 the angry emperor probably ordered to cover up that portion with another detail showing his predecessors, originally painted by Dhanrâj.³⁰

The British Museum version of the private party also shows Parwîz carrying a salver full of cherries and Khurram

28. Leningrad Album, op.cit., English résumé, 1-2.

29. Islamisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, No. I-4593, Fol. 5a.

30. I. Stchoukine, "Portraits Moghols IV: La Collection du Baron Maurice de Rothsilde," RdAA, IX, 192-7, fig. 1.

with the chaurî. Jahângîr was fond of cherries and frequently ate them during the days of his sojourn at Kabul. On one occasion he records:

At the stage of Daka they brought from Kabul, ^{gîlâs} (cherries) which my [father] [revered] and had entitled Shâh-âlû. As I was much inclined to eat them, inasmuch as I had not (hitherto?) obtained them, I ate them with great zest as a relish to wine.³¹

In the Leningrad version (Plate 69) the setting and description of the scene remain exactly the same, only Parwîz does not carry the salver of cherries and instead of the unidentified youth, a formidable looking noble offers wine to the emperor. Both versions are signed by Manohar and the colour-scheme of both pictures is similar. Only in the Leningrad copy there are fewer decorative designs and jewels on the body of the emperor.

Three miniatures, depicting scenes of royal births and found in Boston (Plate 67)³² and Leningrad,³³ probably come from the royal copy of the Jahângîrnâma. All three are uninscribed and no part of the text is visible in any of them. The size of these pictures do not agree with the extra-large illustrations, undisputedly belonging to the royal copy (22.5 x 38 cm approx).

31. Tuzuk, I, 102. Ref. to cherries: I, 104, 116;
II, 145, 159, 162.

32. No. 14.657 & 17.3112: Cat-MFA, VI, 17-8, Pl. III & IV;
V, VI & Frontispiece (colour).

33. Martin, II, Pl. 174. Details not given.

The portraiture of the persons presented in these pictures reveals Jahângîr's predilection for accurate likenesses and a realistic rendering of mood and emotion. The exact episodes illustrated in these pictures cannot be definitely identified because only brief mention of the births of his sons Khusrâ, ³⁴ Parwîz (born in Kabul), ³⁵ Khurram (born in Lahore), Jahândâr and Shahriyâr ³⁶ are made by the emperor and no other details are given in the Jahângîrnâma. Moti Chandra's identification of the scene as that of the birth of prince Khurram is not unlikely and Welch's attribution of the picture to Bishandâs also looks very probable. ³⁷ The women crowding the zanâna-mahall resemble the female figure in Bishandâs's other works (Plates 9, 28 and 30).

A considerable part of the Jahângîrnâma is devoted to the description of the rebellion of Khusrâ, how it was crushed and how he was captured. Amîr-ul-umarâ Sharîf brought the captured prince to the garden of Mîrzâ Kâmrân near Lahore, for the trial. The trial is thus described

34. Tuzuk, I, 15.

35. ibid, I, 18-9.

36. ibid, I, 19-20.

37. AMI, 166, No.26. S.C. Welch writes: "We are grateful to Dr Moti Chandra for the suggestion that this scene, perhaps from a Jahângîrnâma, may represent the birth of Prince Kerim [sic]."

by Jahāngîr:

On Thursday, Muharram 3rd, 1015, in Mîrzâ Kamran's garden, they brought Khusra~~M~~ before me with his hands tied and chains on his legs... They made Husain Beg stand on his right hand and 'Abd-ur-Rahîm on his left. Khusra~~M~~ stood weeping and trembling between them....I....handed over Khusra~~M~~ in chains, and ordered these two villains to be put in the skins of an ox and an ass.³⁸

The episode is illustrated in a brilliant picture, now preserved in the Raza Library, Rampur (Plate 64). It was published by Percy Brown,³⁹ but unfortunately he wrongly identified the scene as Kaukab's disgrace, an incident of little importance which took place in the Man~~M~~akar garden near Agra in 1609. The whole scene of Khusra~~M~~'s trial is so graphically depicted in this picture that Brown's identification seems completed unwarranted.

The depiction of Mîrzâ Kamran's garden with tall realistically rendered mango-trees and a reservoir with a fountain create a soothing atmosphere of suave naturalism and verve rarely found in MS illustrations. The emperor is shown as visibly annoyed at the conduct of his son, while the whole assembly of nobles waits in hushed silence to hear the emperor's verdict. The disgraced prince is shown standing, 'weeping and trembling', as has been described

38. Tuzuk, I, 68.

39. IPM, 137, Pl. XLIX.

in the Tuzuk. The expression ~~of~~ distress following his failure is sensitively painted by the artist, whose signature has been defaced, but may be read as Manohar.

In the following summer the imperial party moved from Lahore to make a short visit to Kabul. The emperor's description of the journey and of his enjoyable stay in the delightful city of Kabul is sufficiently detailed. On two occasions the emperor records the description of two animals the like of which he has never seen before. On both occasions he instructed his painters to record their likenesses. One of them is a "piebald animal, like the flying (i.e. jumping) mouse," while the other is a mârkhor, of which he writes:

The same Afghans killed and brought a mârkhûr (Erskine translates this 'a serpent-eating goat'), the like of which I had never seen or imagined. I ordered my artists to paint him. He weighed four Hindustani maunds, the length of his horns was $1\frac{1}{2}$ gaz.⁴⁰

A superb likeness of a mountain-goat with long voluted horns majestically standing in a landscape is preserved in the "Minto Album", now in the Victoria & Albert Museum, answers to the description (Plate 98) and may represent the same

40. Tuzuk, I, 112-3. The mârkhor is a large mountain goat having splendid horns with one or more convolutions and upto 60" long, found in Kashmir, in the Western Himalayas, Hindukush and Pamir.

animal described by Jahângîr. The name of the painter as written on the mount is 'Inâyat.⁴¹ If the identification is correct then this picture will have to be regarded as one of the earliest of Jahângîrî paintings, specifically mentioned in the Tuzuk. The background of the picture is painted in blue-green with pinkish patches of cloud in the twilight sky. The small bush in the right hand corner probably indicates the enormous size of the animal. The same painter contributed three miniatures in the Akbarnâma, distributed between the British Museum and the Chester Beatty Library.⁴²

The emperor took a special fancy of the delightful gardens of Kabul and held sports meetings and threw parties in many of them. In the famous Shahr-ârâ garden he held several entertainment parties with his intimate courtiers, and some with the ladies of the harem. On one night he watched the famous Afghan "goomb" dance of which he writes:

At nights I ordered the learned and the students of Kabul to hold the cooking entertainment, bughra, and the throwing of bughra, together with arghushtak dances.⁴³

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41. Clarke, Pl.13 and text; AIP, 153-4, No.686. Clarke's identification with another mârkhor described in Tuzuk, I, 83-4 is less likely, because in the passage quoted above Jahângîr specifically mentions his order of having a picture of the animal made by the painters.
42. BM, MS 12988, f25a; Chester Beatty Library, Ind. MS 3, f230 (signed as 'Inâyat Khânzâd) and f268b (Pl.37 of the Cat-CB, II).
43. Tuzuk, I, 107.

This night-party scene is illustrated in a picture painted by Abu'l Hasan, formerly in the A.C. Ardeshir Collection (Plate 68).⁴⁴ The party is limited to the intimate few of which the portraits of Khurram, Râjâ Bhão Singh, I'timâd-ud-daula, I'tibâr Khân, and Muqarrab Khân can easily be identified. Jahângir is shown wearing a sleeveless nâdirî, a dress of his own invention⁴⁵ and several strings of pearls. Five old bearded bughra'icyân are shown performing the dance before the emperor. The leaves of the trees of the Shahr-ârâ garden dazzle in the light of the candles and the flames of the fire on which a large round cooking pot is placed.

Another important event described in the Tûzuk, which was chosen for illustration, is the weighing of prince Khurram (Plate 66). The celebration of the anniversary is thus described:

On Friday, the 6th Rabî'ul-âkhir, I came to the quarters of Khurram, which had been made in the Ūrta Garden. In truth, the building is a delightful and well-proportioned one....In this year, which was the commencement of my son Khurram's 16th lunar year....., I gave an order that they should weigh him according to the prescribed rule, against gold, silver, and other metals, which should be divided

44. A.C. Ardeshir, "Mughal Miniature Painting. The School of Jehangir", Roop Lekha, II, No.3, 34-5, Fig. 2.

45. Tuzak, I, 384.

among faqirs and the needy. The whole of that day was passed in enjoyment and pleasure in the house of Bâbâ Khurram, and many of his presents were approved.⁴⁶

There can hardly be any doubt about the correct identification of the scene, because the last sentence of the passage quoted above is preserved at the top of the picture and the young prince appears to be not older than 16, which age he reached in 1607. Gray revises⁴⁷ his earlier opinion about its identification,⁴⁸ but the pearl ear-studs worn by the emperor and the prince seems to have puzzled him. It is probable that when the picture was painted in 1618, at the time of the production of the royal copy of the first volume of the Jahângîrnâma, the painter made a mistake in showing the pearl ear-studs which Jahângîr started wearing only in 1614.⁴⁹ The names written on the courtiers need not pose

46. ibid, I, 115.

47. AIP, 157-8, No.710. Gray writes, "This can hardly be the occasion mentioned in the Tûzuk-i-Jahângiri (sic) to mark Prince Khurram's 16th (lunar) year (cf. Rogers translation, I, p.115) since Pîr Khân only received the title of Khân Jahân later this year (A.D. 1607)." But he accepts Stchoukine's suggestion and ascribes C.1620 to it in another place (AIP,98).

48. PI, 105-5, colour plate on p.103. Here he writes: "Khurram, appears in the picture to be not more than sixteen, an age which he reached in 1607; but the emperor wears pearl earrings, a fashion which he apparently started only in 1614, when he records that he had his ears pierced. It is ~~merely~~ therefore possible that the drawing may not be contemporary with the event depicted. It can hardly be later than 1615 however on Stylistic grounds."

49. Tuzuk, I, 267-8.

any problem because these are written later by an unformed hand. The identification of the Khân-i-Khânân is certainly inaccurate because the likeness of the bearded old man is different from that of the Khân-i-Khânân (Plate 105), and the latter did not accompany the emperor to Kabul. He may be identified with Qâzî 'Arîf, son of Mullâ Sâdiq Halwâî, who was appointed a few weeks earlier than Mîr-i-'Adl and the Qâzî of Kabul by Jahângîr.⁵⁰

The picture is a fine example of Jahângîr's taste for accurate representation and realistic portraiture. The Chinese porcelain and glasses arranged in the niches, the novel design of the carpet, the factual depiction of the gifts of textile and jewellery arranged in trays, and the part of the Ūrta garden as shown beyond the new building on the right, all reveal the sharp eye of the painter for minute details. The picture is rightly attributed by Gray to Mahohar.⁵¹

To the same painter is attributed by Percy Brown another wonderful picture illustrating the unusual scene of a fight between a spider and a snake⁵², of which the emperor writes:

50. ibid, I, 104.

51. AIP, 157-8.

52. IPM, Pl. XIX.

As we were going along I saw near 'Alî Masjid and Gharîb Khâna a large spider of the size of a crab that had seized by the throat a snake of one and a half gaz in length and half strangled it. I delayed a minute to look on at this, and after a moment it died (the snake) [sic].⁵³

This much damaged picture is preserved in the Raza Library, Rampur, and shows the emperor riding on a horse watching the big crab like spider fighting with a black snake. The landscape is hilly as the royal party was then passing through the Khyber pass on its way to Lahore. A stream flowing through the valley shown in the background and the battlements of the fort of Kâhmard in the foreground accurately indicate the place of the occurrence of this strange spectacle.

No picture of the part of the royal copy of Jahângîrnâma dealing with the account of the next few years has been found, but a few miniatures describing several incidents that happened during these years are known. Possibly the painters were spending most of their time over this period in preparing the royal muraqqa's and adding new miniatures in old MSS. The most notable MS of this kind which incorporates miniatures describing events taking place

53. Tuzuk, I. 117. The fort of Kâhmard is described in the following page of the Tuzuk.

after the emperor came back to Lahore in early 1608 is the British Museum - Chester Beatty Diwân-i-Hâfiz, already discussed in detail,⁵⁴ where we have tried to show that the court scene illustrated on f249a of the British Museum part (Plate 23) probably depicts some presentation scene taking place in the year 1608 when Râjâ Mân Singh was attending the court. The scene of religious dance painted on f66b⁵⁵ may represent the samâ' and wajd dance of Shaikh Husain Sirhindî and Shaikh Mustafâ as described in the Tûzuk.⁵⁶

The well-known picture of private audience within a garden in a hilly country, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Plate 73) is one of the finest of all Jahângîrî group pictures.⁵⁷ The likenesses of the emperor, one of his sons, and sixteen leading nobles occupying the key positions in the administration are vigorous and animated. By virtue of minute observation and accurate depiction the individual likenesses have a stamp of authenticity and, in fact, we have adopted these portraits as our key. The name of the painter is not preserved but

54. Supra, Chapter IV.

55. PI, colour plate on p.101.

56. Tuzuk, I, 172-3.

57. Victoria & Albert Museum, I.M., 1925-9. Part of the Minto Album. Discussed in detail I. Stchoukine, "Portraits Moghols: Deux Darbâr de Jahângîr", R.d.A.A. 1931, 215-27.

scholars like Gray and Stchoukine have attributed it to the most successful portraitist of the time, Manohar.⁵⁸

It has not been possible to identify the interesting audience scene with any passage of the emperor's memoirs. Ivan Stchoukine made a detailed study of it and with the help of minute inscriptions written on their garments identified all the courtiers shown in it.⁵⁹ The prince shown as handing over a cup of wine to the emperor, seated on a takht with the volume of Dîwân-i-Hâfiz in his left hand (which was his constant companion⁶⁰), is identified as Parwîz. Parwîz met the emperor late in 1606 near Labore, after Khusrau's rebellion had been crushed.⁶¹ He was in favour with his father for some years, and in 1609 he was sent to the Deccan⁶² and did not again meet Jahângîr before 1619, when he came from Allahabad and was received in a grand assembly.⁶³ The most likely year the assembly depicted

58. AIP, 155 No.694; LPI, Pl. XXVIII.

59. I. Stchoukine, op.cit. Only in the case of the aged noble in brown standing near the left hand side of Jahângîr there is no inscription. At first Stchoukine identified him as Râjâ Bhao Singh, but later correctly identified him with Râjâ Mân Singh: Gazette des Beaux Arts, VI, 166-7.

60. Supra, Chapters I & IV.

61. Tuzuk, I, 73, 74.

62. ibid, I, 156, (October).

63. ibid, II, 93 (June).

in the picture could have taken place is 1608, when both Râjâ Mân Singh and the Khân-i-Khânân were present in the court. However, the presence of Muqarrab Khan and Mîrzâ Ghâzî pose a problem because the former left for Cambay by the end of 1607⁶⁴ and the latter took leave from the emperor to join his assignment as the governor of Qandhâr in January 1608.⁶⁵ On the other hand, Râjâ Mân Singh arrived only a few days before the Naurûz festival in March 1608⁶⁶ and the Khân-i-Khânân did not come to Agra before August of that year.⁶⁷ The only probable explanation of this discrepancy is that the picture was painted at a later date when the whereabouts of some of the nobles were not carefully checked by the artist. As the importance of Râjâ Mân Singh and the Khân-i-Khânân is likely to be more than others, the painting probably depicts some event that happened during 1608, when both of them were present in the court. It is difficult to ascribe a definite date for the time of its painting. From the absence of pearl ear-studs Ivan Stchoukine attributed it to the period between 1610-14, but probably it was painted much later. It is smaller in size (27 x 20 cm without border) than the Jahângîrnâma miniatures and there is no reason to think that it was

64. JGM, 77-8; ETI, 88fn.

65. Tuzuk, I, 133.

66. ibid, I, 137-8; left in August: ibid, I, 148.

67. ibid, I, 147; left in November; ibid, I, 153.

painted during the time when the Jahângîrnâma was being prepared. Again it is certainly later than 1614 because I'tiqâd Khân received the title Âsaf Khân only in 1614, and the names inscribed on the portraits appear to be contemporary with the picture. In all probability, the picture was prepared for a muraqqa' at a time when many of the nobles represented in it were either dead (Râjâ Mân Singh, Jafar Beg, Râjâ Râmdâs Kachhwaha, Mîrzâ Ghâzî were dead by 1614) or away from the court.

If we accept that the portrait of Parwîz in this group picture shows his likeness in 1608-9, then we may ascribe the same date to the additions made in the famous and intriguing picture "the Princes of the House of Tîmûr", because the likeness of Parwîz in this is strikingly similar (Plate 58). As we have noted before, this was the time when the emperor was taking interest in the collection of the library and picture gallery, selecting old MSS for further embellishing, and old miniatures for mounting on the royal muraqqa's.⁶⁸ "The Princes of the House of Tîmûr"

68. Supra, Chapter IV.

is an important document of Mughal art.⁶⁹ The gigantic composition is painted on fine linen in colours, whose mellow effects is still retained in spite of neglect and irreparable damage done to it. It was probably painted during the early years of Akbar's reign by one or both of the émigré masters, Mîr Sayyid 'Alî and Khwâja 'Abd us-Şamad. The likenesses of Humâyûn, Akbar, Jahângîr and Shâh Jahân seated within the central canopy were added later at different times. The portraits of Akbar and Humayun were probably added first, in the 1580s as Akbar looks middle-aged. Judging from their appearances the portraits of Jahângîr holding a choice falcon and his two sons ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Parwâz and Khurram seem likely to have been added during 1608-9. Shâh Jahân's bearded portrait was included under the central conopy at a much later date; ~~and~~ to avoid duplication his earlier portrait, to the right of Humâyûn's head, was purposely defaced.

69. British Museum, No.1913-2.8.1: L. Binyon, A Persian Painting of the 16th century: Experors and Princes of the House of Timur, London, 1930; L. Binyon & T.W. Arnold, "A Painting of Emperors and Princes of the House of Timur", Burl.Mag., XXXV, 55-6; L. Binyon, "A Painting of Emperors and Princes of the House of Timur: Re-consideration," Burl.Mag., LIV, 16-22. Supra, Chapter II, Note 11.

A similar example of retouching at a later date is furnished by another well-known miniature, captioned on its lower border as Jahângîr contemplating the portrait of Akbar (Plate 51). The picture shows Jahângîr richly attired in costly clothes and valuable jewels and with a halo behind his profile, holding a jharoka - picture of his father, Akbar.⁷⁰ Akbar looks old and fragile; he is dressed in pure white and holds a globe in his left hand.⁷¹ Two other inscriptions, one written under Jahângîr's arms, and other written at a later date on the lower mount make it possible to date this remarkable study. The first inscription⁷² reveals that the picture was originally painted by another artist (whose name is lost) when Jahângîr was in his thirtieth year and was retouched by Nâdir-uz-Zamân. That the retouchings were done after 1605 is sufficiently indicated by the inscription on the globe; and in all probability it was done in the year 1614, when Jahângîr saw Akbar in dream urging the release of 'Azîz Khân Khân-i-'Azam.⁷³

70. Musée Guimet, No. 3676B.; LMI, 26-29, Pl. 6.

71. "Shabîh-i hazrat 'Arsh Ashiyânî 'amal-i-Nâdir-uz-Zamân." Jahângîr explains in the opening pages of the Tuzuk (I, 5) that the term 'Arsh ashiyani is employed to refer to his father.

72. Written under the arms of Jahângîr: "Shabîh-i-hazrat Jahângîr Pâdishâh keh dar sannah-si sâlagi sakhtehand 'amal-i- ... va chitrah islâm-i-Nâdir uz-Zamân." The inscription on the mount reads: "Shabîh-i-hazrat Jahângîr Pâdishah keh shabîh-i-hazrat Akbar Pâdishah-ra mî binad." vide, LMI, 27.

73. Tuzuk, I, 269. Stchoukine assigns a similar date on the basis of Jahângîr's pearl earring (LMI, 27). Gray's date is "about 1615 AD" (AIP, 157, No. 706). S. G. Welch does not accept this dating and ascribes Circa 1599-1605 (AMI, 167, Pl. 29).

The portrait of Râjâ Sûraj Singh Râthôr (Plate 55) mounted on a folio of the part of royal muragga' now in Tübingen was painted by Bishandâs when the Râjâ came to the court^s in April, 1608, with a Rajput "Châran-poet", whose flattering verses very much pleased the emperor.⁷⁴ Jahângîr, in his characteristic way, wrote on the miniature, "the work of Bishandâs, portrait of Râjâ Sûraj Singh, the maternal uncle of Khurram, who made a stay in the year 1017(Hijra)."

A few more portraits of this type may also have been painted by the leading portraitists, Manohar, Abu'l Hasan and Nânhâ, around this time, but to ascribe a definite date to Mughal portrait studies when they are not accompanied by a dated inscription is extremely hazardous. Almost equally problematic is another painting, produced in the larger format and found in the Raza Library, Rampur, showing a processional scene.⁷⁵ Two gigantic elephants lead a procession of groups of musicians, dancers and footmen carrying standards and other items of regalia. The scene may be identified as one of the celebration of a royal marriage. Several marriages contracted by Parwîz and Khurram are mentioned in the Tuzuk⁷⁶

74. Tuzuk, I, 140-1.

75. IPM, Pl. XXXI (colour), also XLI fig.2 & LXII for two enlarged details. Brown dates it 1605.

76. Tuzuk, I, 81, 180, 224-5; II, 187, 295-6.

and this picture appears to describe the celebration of Khurram's marriage with I'tiqâd Khân's (Âsaf Khan) daughter Arjumand Bânû, later designated as Mumtâz Mahall, held in April, 1912.⁷⁷ The picture is signed by Manohar, but it shows certain features, especially in shadowing the faces of the girls in the lower right corner and the arrangement of the footmen and standard-bearers, which indicate a later date and show stylistic characteristics associated with painters like Govardhan. The group of dancing figures in the distant background, are, as pointed out by Wilkinson and Gray, directly derived from Flemish originals of the school of Breughel⁷⁸ and the whole composition betrays an overwhelming European favour not noticeable in any of Manohar's later works.

77. ibid., I, 224-5.

78. J.V.S. Wilkinson & B. Gray., Burl.Mag., 1935, 174.

Jahângîr's plan of having pictures of birds and beasts made for the Jahângîrnâma simultaneously with its writing has already been referred to.⁷⁹ The wonderful study of the turkey-cock brought by Muqarrab Khân from Goa was prepared just after it was shown to the emperor in April 1612. Muqarrab Khân's choice was highly appreciated by the emperor who was attracted by the bird and incorporates a long description of it in the Jahângîrnâma. Mansûr's fascinating study not only fully illustrates the emperor's description, but also wonderfully expresses the majesty of the bird's movement. It is difficult to refrain from quoting Jahângîr's description:

When it is in heat and displays itself, it spreads out its feathers like the peacock and dances about. Its beak and legs are like those of a cock. Its head and neck and the part under the throat are every minute of a different colour. When it is in heat it is quite red - one might say it had adorned itself with red coral - and after a while it becomes white in the same places, and looks like cotton. It sometimes looks of a turquoise colour. Like a chameleon it constantly changes colour. Two pieces of flesh it has on its head look like the comb of a cock. A strange thing is this, that when it is in heat the aforesaid piece of flesh hangs down to the length of a span from the top of its head like an elephant's trunk, and again when he raises it up it appears on its head like the horn of a rhinoceros, to the extent of two finger-breadths. Round its eyes it is always of a turquoise colour and does not change. Its feathers appear to be of various colours, differing from the colour of the peacock's feathers.⁸⁰

79. Supra, note 1.

80. Tuzuk, I, 215-6.

Though it is virtually impossible to reproduce the full colour range of Mansûr's work, a fair idea of it can be had from the fine colour reproduction published by the Victoria and Albert Museum, where the original study bearing Mansûr's signature is preserved (Plate 96).⁸¹

Another version of the same bird is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.⁸² Like the Victoria and Albert Museum example it also is mounted on a muraqqa' folio with wide shashiyas of golden floral design and bears the royal seal of Jahângîr, but unlike the former it is not signed by Mansûr and there are certain very small but considerable difference in the minute designs of the feathers. The size of the Indian Museum picture is slightly larger and the floral shrubs in the foreground are replaced by grassy plants. But the drawing is so similar to the signed example that it would not be improbable to ascribe it to the same painter, who may have painted ^{this} copy for Khurram at a slightly later date.

Jahângîr describes a monkey of a strange variety, also brought by Muqarrab Khân along with the turkey-cock in the same vein, but unfortunately no picture of it has survived. The wild pheasant called tazar born in Jahângîr's

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81. Victoria & Albert Museum, Wantage Bequest, No. IM 135-1921. The minute inscription in the left foreground reads; "'amal-i bandah-i-dargâh Mansûr Nâdir al-'asr Jahângîrshâhî."
82. Indian Museum, Calcutta, No. R.120: E.B. Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting, London, 1908, Pl. LXII (colour).

household and described in the same place⁸³, may be identified with the study of a pheasant standing in a hilly landscape, and signed by Ustâd Mansûr (Plate 91) in the same album in the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁸⁴ This picture may also be of the bird called jân-bahan which was presented to the emperor in 1621 by Bâso'î, the Zamindar of Talwâra⁸⁵, because the variety represented in the picture is of the Himalyan cheer pheasant family.⁸⁶ Two other versions of this study are known to us, one in the Baron Maurice de Rothschild Collection⁸⁷ and the other a reversed copy, obviously copied from a charba in the wrong way, formerly in the hands of Bernard Quartich.⁸⁸ None of these versions is signed by Mansûr, and the background differs in each case.

83. Tuzuk, I, 216-7.

84. Victoria and Albert Museum, No. IM 136-1921.
Wantage Bequest. Signed: "'amal-i-Ustâd Mansûr.
The bird is painted in full colours in grey, brown bistre and white, while the background is painted in faint washes.

85. Tuzuk, II, 220.

86. Clarke, No. 24, Pl. 16; AIP, 159, No. 715.

87. IPM, Pl. IV.

88. Martin, II, Pl. 220.

The royal party arrived Ajmer on 8 November, 1613 and the first act of the emperor was to visit the mausoleum of Khwâja Mu'în-ud-dîn Chishtî. During his stay of three years the emperor paid nine visits to the Khwâja shrine⁸⁹, including occasions when he presented a ~~pair~~ of huge cauldrons and held a large assembly⁹⁰, became an ear-bored disciple of the Khwâja by piercing his ears⁹¹, or attended the "Urs" festival and watched religious dances.⁹² Three fine pictures preserve valuable documentary evidence of these visits.

The first one, in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, records the emperor's visit to the shrine to attend the "Urs" festival.⁹³ The visit cannot be equated with the one made in the beginning of 1614 when the giant cauldron specially cast in the imperial workshops at Agra was donated by the emperor and enough food was cooked in it to satisfy five thousand poor and needy devotees,⁹⁴ because both Khurram and Karan are shown in the picture and all are wearing shining pearl ear-rings. No other visit to Khwâja's shrine is mentioned in the memoirs when a similar assembly of needy and poor people were fed from the cauldron, so the incident

89. Tuzuk, I, 341.

90. ibid, I, 256.

91. ibid, I, 267-8.

92. ibid, I, 297.

93. Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, No.29.6257: Indian Art, Bombay, 1954, Pl. XXIII (colour).

94. Tuzuk, I, 256.

illustrated in the picture may be of some other visit which is not recorded. The picture is unsigned and definite marks of repainting are visible in it. It has been dated in the Catalogue No. 1613, which is not probable because Khurram and Karan did not come to Ajmer before March 1615.

The second picture, now preserved in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta (Plate 71)⁹⁵, illustrates the emperor's visit to the Khwâja shrine in August, 1615. The event is thus described in the Jahângîrnâma:

On the night of Sunday, as it was the anniversary of the great Khwâja (Mu'înud-dîn), I went to his revered mausoleum, and remained there till midnight. The attendants and Sûfîs exhibited ecstatic states, and I gave the fakirs and attendants money with my own hand; altogether there were expended 6,000 rupees in cash, 100 Saub-Kurta (a robe down to the ankles), 70 rosaries of pearls, coral and amber, etc.⁹⁶

The picture shows the emperor seated in European fashion on a throne and distributing money and gifts to an old bearded dervish, while others perform ecstatic dance to the accompaniment of music. The principal courtiers including I'timâd-ud-daula, Âsaf Khân, Muqarrab Khân, Mahâbat Khân, Râjâ Bhão Singh, Khwâja Abu'l Hasan, Râjâ Sûraj Singh, Khwâja Jahân, watch the spectacle. Prince Khurram, fresh from his success in Mewar, the vanquished Rajput Karan, and

95. JGM, Pl. facing p. 84.

96. Tuzuk, I, 297.

a Jesuit priest, very probably the old Florentine Father Corsi, are also to be seen. As it was a night assembly, the painter has showed the illuminated façade of the shrine with its domes and cupolas faintly visible in the background. This fine picture may have come from Abu'l Hasan's brush.

The other example showing the emperor's visit to the Khwāja shrine along with Khurram (Plate 76), now preserved in the Raja Library, Rampur,⁹⁷ probably illustrates the event when a golden railing with lattice work was presented to the shrine. The visit is only briefly indicated in the Jahāngīrnāma with no description of the celebration.⁹⁸ But the occasion cannot be any other than this because no other visit to the Khwāja shrine is described in the memoirs between Prince Karan's departure in April, 1616⁹⁹ and Khurram's departure for the Deccan in the November of the same year.¹⁰⁰

The miniature is unsigned and several problems arise while attributing it to any known painter. The meticulous rendering of the fort and palace in the distant background is similar to the style of Bishandās, who painted the fascinating work, the House of Shaikh Phūl, in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (Plate 106). It can also be compared with the

97. IPM, Pl. XX.

98. Tuzuk, I, 329.

99. ibid, I, 324.

100. ibid, I, 337.

the fine domestic scene in the Nafahat-al-Uns MS attributed here to Daulat.¹⁰¹ In 1616 Bishandâs was away in Iran and he did not come back before the end of 1619; on the other hand, there is no concrete evidence to show Daulat's presence in Ajmer during this time. Though the aged Shaikh with long white beard is painted in a superb independent study by Manohar¹⁰², the likenesses of both Jahângîr and Shâh Jahân are too weak, and cannot be ascribed to that wonderful and experienced portraitist.

Three other miniatures preserved in different collections, show both Khurram and Karam, and faithfully illustrate events described in the Jahângîrnâma. Khurram received a tumultuous welcome when he returned victorious from his Mewar campaign in 1615. Karan accompanied Khurram and stayed for some months in the Mughal court. During this short period Jahângîr in his attempt to woo the warlike Rajput showed him much favours and showered heaps of presents on Karan. The well-known miniature of lion hunt in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Plate 72) is one example when the emperor wanted to impress the Rajput prince by exhibiting

101. British Museum, Or 1362, f142a: PI, colour plate on p.97; Supra,

102. Lala Radhamohan Lal Collection, Jaipur. Mounted on a muraqqa' folio similar to those of the Minto Album and bears a seal of Jahângîr on the floral hâshiya. Signed: Manohar Banda: Kanwar Sain, "A Note on Five Rare Old Paintings of the Moghul School," JPHS, IX, Pt II (Calcutta, 1925), 161-171, Pl. I. Mr. Sain identifies the Mullâ with Jahângîr in the pose of a saint!! The Mullâ is no other than Bhaikh Husain Ajmîrî. Cf. Plate 107.

his skill in hunting.¹⁰³

The identification of the second picture (Plate 65) is made easy by the preservation of a part of the text at its top, which gives the correct description of the scene:

On the 13th [Tir] took place the meeting of the festival of the Ab-pâshân (rose-water scattering), and the servants of the Court amused themselves with sprinkling rose-water over each other.¹⁰⁴

The picture is signed by Govardhan and is preserved in the Raza Library, Rampur.¹⁰⁵ Brown's identification of the scene with celebration of the previous year¹⁰⁶ is however wrong, because Khurram and Karan who are shown in the picture, were not present at that time. The life size representations of two Portuguese soldiers on the back wall provide ^{with} a remarkable feature, which indicates that pictures on European subject were painted on the walls of palaces and royal abodes, whenever it might have been.¹⁰⁷ The designs of the golden throne on which the emperor sits and of the pillow on which he rests his body are also novel.

103. Fully discussed in my paper, "Mughal Royal Hunt in Miniature Paintings", Bulletin of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, II, No.1, (Calcutta, 1967), 19-23, ~~15~~, colour pl.

104. Tuzuk, I, 295.

105. IPM, Frontispiece (colour).

106. Tuzuk, I, 265-6.

107. infra, Chapter XII. Cf Nûr Jahân's reception scene discussed below. Clarke, Pl.7; R. Ettinghausen, Peremtas, Figs. 2-3.

The third known group picture prepared at Ajmer during this time is an allegorical work painted by Abu'l Hasan (Plate 75). This is an important work requiring further enquiry, which will be made at a subsequent stage.¹⁰⁸

A number of portraits of officers and important visitors, and known events painted before Jahângîr left for Mandu, are preserved in different collections. Probably these were not meant to be used as illustrations to the Jahângîrnâma, because they are smaller in size, and they only preserve the bare likenesses of the persons concerned. Probably they were meant for the muraqqa's in which they are found.

One of these portrait-studies records the visit of Khurram's maternal uncle Râjâ Sûraj Singh Râthôr, (Plate 55) noted above. A few other portraits are found in the "Berlin Album" which were painted during this time. The young and handsome 'Abd-al-Wahhâb, son of Akbar's learned physician Hakîm 'Alî, mounted on folio 4b¹⁰⁹ may record his arrival from Burhampur in 1609 with a group of Karnatic jugglers.¹¹⁰ The jugglers impressed the emperor

108. infra, Chapter IX.

109. IBP, Pl 5 (colour). For a portrait of Hakîm 'Alî, inscribed by Jahângîr and painted by Manohar:

Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1937, fig. 106.

110. Tuzuk, I, 143.

by showing various tricks and games. A group of female acrobats and jugglers are in fact illustrated on the hâshiya of a folio of the "Gulshan Album."¹¹¹ Painters were ready at hand on that day as the emperor mentions ordering them to take a likeness of a strange and ugly tailless monkey called deonâk, brought by a dervish from Ceylon,¹¹² so it is probable that the acrobats were painted at the same time.

The portraits of Bakhtar Khân Kalâwant, prince Karan and the wrestler called Fîl Safîd, found in the 'Berlin Album' are also to be included in this category. The portrait of Bakhtar Khân clearly corresponds with his visiting to the Mughal court in 1615,¹¹³ because the autograph note of Jahângîr written on the picture itself (Plate 57) reads, "Year 1024, portrait of Bakhtar Khân Kalâwant who is the son-in-law of 'Âdil Khân. He made his obeisance on arriving in Ajmer." The text of the Tûzuk describe the visit in the following way:

111. H. Goetz, East & West, 1957, No.2, Pl. VIII;
Perzische Miniaturen...., The Hague, 1957,
No.49, Pl. 5.

112. Tuzuk, I, 143.

113. ibid, I, 271-2. The portrait is mounted on
f4b. IBP, 9 & 21, Pl. 8 (colour).

In the same days Bakhtar Khân Kalâwant, who was closely connected with 'Âdil Khân, inasmuch as he ('Âdil) married his own brother's daughter to him, and made him his preceptor in singing and durpat guftan, appeared in the habit of a dervish. Summoning him and enquiring into his circumstances I endeavoured to ~~honour~~ him.....¹¹⁴

A wonderful portrait of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh himself was painted by Farrukh Beg and was prominently displayed in the royal muraqqa' (Plate 37). As has been indicated elsewhere,¹¹⁵ the origin of Farrukh Beg's superb study seems to be a Deccani work presented by the Bijapuri ruler through his own envoys or through Mîr Jamâl-ud-dîa Husain Injû who returned from Bijapur in early 1610.¹¹⁶

A fine portrait of Jahângîr dressed in a long flowing Deccanese costume and holding a bow and arrow,¹¹⁷ may be regarded as a further example of the result of this mutual reciprocation. In this picture the emperor ^{is} wearing the pearl ear-studs, and the caption at the top styles him as Salîm, not as Jahângîr. It is difficult to say whether it is a Deccanese copy of a Mughal original or a Mughal work showing the emperor wearing a Deccanese costume.¹¹⁸ This can hardly be the portrait which was

114. Tuzuk, I, 271.

115. infra, Chapter VIII.

116. Tuzuk, I, 160-1.

117. LPI, Pl. XXIII. Formerly in the H. Vever Collection, Paris. Stchoukine dates it in 1614.

118. Jahângîr took a fancy in wearing dresses of different types when he was presented with such dresses: Cf: Roe, 427, et passim.

sent to Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh with the emperor's autograph note in 1618.¹¹⁹

The portrait of prince Karan mounted in the Berlin Album¹²⁰, was probably painted during his stay at the Court between March 1615 and April 1616.¹²¹ The painting is unsigned. Another portrait of Karan, where he is shown slightly older, is preserved in the Nâṣir-ud-dîn Album.¹²² This portrait is painted by Abu'l Ḥasan. The picture of the wrestler called "Fîl Safîd", the White Elephant (Plate 83) may also be assigned to this period. Jahângîr does not refer to any wrestler of this name in the Tûzuk,¹²³ but writes of an expert wrestler of Mugal lineage named Shîr 'Alî, who was born and brought up in Bijapur and was sent to the court by Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh in 1616.¹²⁴ He defeated the best court wrestlers by his skill and was retained by Jahângîr in his service. But the title given to him was "the athlete of the Capital", not Fîl Safîd, so it seems that our portrait probably depicts the Chief court

119. Tuzuk, II, 36-7.

120. f22b: IBP, Pl. 35.

121. Tuzuk, I, 277. He left for home (I,293), returned to the court again in March 1616 (I,317). He left Ajmer in the following month for his marriage (I,324).

122. Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1937, Fig. 81. There is another portrait of Karan in the Museum of Ethnology, Berlin (No.I.C.24345,f7a): IBP,22. Unpublished.

123. Tuzuk, I, 329. The translation of the line "be-dargâhî goshtîgîr fîl marhammat shod", may also be, "rewards was given on the house of the wrestler named Fîl."

124. Tuzuk, I, 335.

wrestler, painted by Manohar. From the Rothenstein Collection now it has come to the Victoria and Albert Museum.¹²⁵ The swordsmen painted on the hâshiya of f20a of the Berlin Album may be identified with the swordsmen who were invited by Jahângîr to come to Ajmer from Bijapur.¹²⁶

A set of portraits of the member of the royal family was also painted by the royal artists, Two of them are to be found in the Berlin Album and two others in later albums. The first of them shows Jahângîr standing facing right (Plate 56) where a portrait of his father curiously dressed in a kilt-like garment and a thin chaddar covering his bare upper body is painted.¹²⁷ As Jahângîr does not wear the pearl ear-ring, the picture may rightly be assigned to a pre-1614 date, but not much earlier, because his appearance favourably compares with the Jahângîrnâma illustrations discussed above.¹²⁸

The other portrait found in the Berlin Album is that of prince Khusrâu, Jahângîr's ill-fated eldest son.¹²⁹ The

125. No. I.S.217-1951. L. Binyon, "Indian Painting at Wembley: The Retrospective Exhibition; Rupam, No.21, (Calcutta, 1925), Pl. I.

126. Tuzuk, I, 335. IBP, Pl.18 (detail in colour), 22.

127. f18b: IBP, Pl.36b.

128. Cf Plates 71, 73, 76 etc.

129. f23a. Kühnel & Goetz make no mention of this picture in IBP. The portrait is to be found with three others, of the Khân-i-Khânân, Jassâ Jâm and Râo Bhâro, all inscribed and dated. Plates 54, 103. For the picture of Jassâ Jâm: IBP, Pl.37 (lower).

portrait was not so far identified, but from a casual reference made by Roe it can now be identified with certainty. The prince, dressed in white and sporting a thick ~~grown~~ beard, ^{is} seated on an ordinary mat or bedspread with designed borders and resting on a red takiyâ. His likeness is strikingly similar to Jahângîr, but he cannot be Jahângîr because Jahângîr never grew beard and his portraits are far too well-known. In his account of 3rd February 1617, Roe records his meeting with "Sultan Corsoronne, the king's eldest restrayned sonne". Roe writes: "His [Khusrau's] person is good and countenance cheerfull; his beard growne to his girdle."¹³⁰ From the genealogical picture in the Rothschild Collection (Plate 53) the similarity of Khusrau's facial features with those of his father is apparent. So, here we have a rare portrait-study of Khusrau. Only a month before Roe's meeting with Khusrau he recorded rumours about Khusrau's entente with Âsaf Khan in his diary.¹³¹

The other ~~two~~ portraits, ^{deserving mention} are of Shâh Jahan and Shahriyâr. The picture of Shâh Jahân ~~was~~ painted by Abu'l Hasan (Plate 60) and Shâh Jahân himself writes on the lower

130. Tuzuk, I, 342.

131. ibid, I, 325.

mount that this good portrait of him in his 25th year was painted by Nâdir-uz-Zamân. Shâh Jahân was born on 5 January, 1592, and his 25th birthday was celebrated with pomp and ceremony in 1616, when he was weighed and given the first cup of wine by his father.¹³² The title Shâh Sultân was given later that year when he left for the Deccan¹³³, but the title Shâh Jahân was given only in the following October.¹³⁴ So, it appears that Abu'l Hasan Nâdir-uz-Zamân added the halo, the words "Shâh Jahân" and "the auspicious portrait of the qibla and the lord of mankind" and his own signature with the usual appellation,¹³⁵ only after Shâh Jahân became emperor, probably ^{and at the time} when the muraqqa' was being prepared.

The portrait of Shahriyâr mounted in the Nâsir-ud-dîn Album, is unsigned and undated, but it shows similar floral background and stylistic quality,¹³⁶ as seen in Shâh Jahân's portrait.

On his way to Mandu the royal party made a halt at Ujjain in February 1617, because the emperor was eager to meet the celebrated Hindu Sanyâsî and Vendantic scholar Gosvâmî Chidrup.¹³⁷ The Emperor was highly impressed and

132. ibid, I, 306f.

133. ibid, I, 338.

134. ibid, I, 395.

135. Victoria & Albert Museum No. IM.14-1925.

136. Y. Godard, op.cit., fig. 101.

137. Tuzuk, I, 355-7: Roe, 343, entry of 11 February 1617.

met him again on two occasions when the imperial party was returning to Agra in December 1618¹³⁸, and again in the following October, at Mathura¹³⁹. It is not possible to say which of these interviews is illustrated in the fine unsigned picture in the Musée Guimet (Plate 79)¹⁴⁰, but surely it illustrates one of the three meetings held at the humble cave-like dwelling place of the Sanyâsî on the bank of Kâliyâdaha, near Ujjain, parts of which are visible in it.

Khurram's short stay in the Deccan was profitable because for the time being it created considerable political stability. However, the emperor became overwhelmed, and exaggerated his son's modest achievement to a great extent. When the victorious prince made his triumphant return in October 1617 to the court, then sitting at Mandu, the emperor accorded him a warm welcome:

After he had performed the dues of salutation and kissing the ground, I called him up into the jharokha, and with exceeding kindness and uncontrolled delight rose from my place and held him in the embrace of affection.¹⁴¹

138. Tuzuk, II, ~~104~~ 49, 52-3.

139. ibid, II, 104, 105, 106-7.

140. Musée Guimet, Paris, No.7.171. The size of the picture is comparable with the Rampur folios 32.5 x 19.5. LMI, 32-3. No.41, Pl.VI. Jahângîr writes of his father's meeting with the Gosvâmi (TUZUK, I, 357) which is illustrated in another picture, now in the Fogg Museum of Art: E. Schroeder, "The Troubled Image", Art & Thought, ed. by K. Bharatha Iyer, London, 1947, fig.8. Also see: A.K. Coomaraswamy, "Portrait of Gosa'in Jadrup", JRAS, 1(London, 1919) 389-93 & M.A. Chaghatai, IC, 1962, 119-128 for a later work at Allahabad.

141. Tuzuk, I, 393-4.

The famous elephant Sarnâg and a box of jewels sent by 'Âdil Shâh were presented to the emperor and the prince received the high rank of 20,000 ~~pat~~ and 10,000 shawâr and the lofty title Shâh Jahân.¹⁴² Three pictures, an unfinished and much damaged sketch in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston¹⁴³ and two disputed miniatures of identical subject in the Victoria and Albert Museum¹⁴⁴ and the Freer Gallery of Art¹⁴⁵, vividly illustrate the events. The first one, an inscribed brush drawing, shows the emperor embracing his son. The face of the prince is a replica of the face in the portrait painted at the age of 25 in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Plate 60). The likenesses of the nobles as well as the portrait of the great elephant renamed after a few days as Nûr-bakht¹⁴⁶ are sensitively rendered. Coomaraswamy makes a very objective analysis of the picture and two other versions of the same theme¹⁴⁷. The India Office Library version¹⁴⁸ signed by

142. ibid., I, 395.

143. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, No.17.2696: Cat-MFA, VI, Pl. XXXIII.

144. Victoria & Albert Museum, No.IM,115-1921. Clarke, Pl.7.

145. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. No.07.258.

R. Ettinghausen, Perennitas, 391, Figs. 1-3.

146. Tuzuk, I, 395-6.

147. Cat-MFA, VI, 43-4.

148. India Office Library, London, Johnson Album IV: J.V.S. Wilkinson, Mughal Painting, London, 1948, Pl.7 (colour); IPM, Pl.LVIII; AIP, 161-2, No.732. A finished miniature painted by Murâr is found in Windsor Castle Shâh Jahân-nâma, which is based on this drawing.

Râjâ Manohar Singh, an unfamiliar name, seems to be a late copy, where the description of the present subject has been unsuccessfully altered by a weak artist.

The other picture shows the prince attending the entertainment party given by the Empress Nûr Jahân, held a week after the prince's arrival. The list of Nûr Jahân's gift included a fabulous array of costly jewels, ornaments and dresses.¹⁴⁹ Two versions of this picture are known, one in the Wantage Bequest, Victoria & Albert Museum, and the other in Freer Gallery of Art.¹⁵⁰ Both of them have been discarded as late copies¹⁵¹, but there is little ground to reject the Freer version as an 18th century copy of ^a17th century original. It appears to be an authentic and stylistically a first class work giving an intimate view of the zanâna. The rich carpets of novel designs, the picture of Christ and Virgin along with of birds, beasts and trees on the outer wall of the pavilion, the portraiture of the emperor and Shâh Jahân, and ^{the} garden setting, with every detail, have been carefully rendered. There is no reason to discard it as it shows a zanâna scene.

149. Tuzuk, I, 396-7.

150. Notes 144, 145 Supra.

151. Moti Chandra, Technique of Mughal Painting, Lucknow, 1945; Ettinghausen, op.cit., 391fn31.

For the enlightened emperess¹⁵² who could shoot a lion with a single shot, cure her husband's maladies when the recognised physicians had given up hopes of cure, send an envoy to Turan¹⁵³, design dresses and ornaments, form new rules and take up the reins of the empire¹⁵⁴ virtually in her own hand at the time of the emperor's physical crisis, it was not impossible to break old conventions and create new ones. Thus in this picture we get an authentic glimpse of the Mughal zanâna, and a likeness of Nûr Jahân. The portrait of a beautiful lady standing with a flower in her hand, found in the Nâsir-ud-dîn Album, can be identified with the help of this picture as Nûr Jahân's.¹⁵⁴ Incidentally the jade wine cup which she offers to her husband is of a shape similar to an example in the British Museum, inscribed with the name of Shâh Jahân and dated 1647.¹⁵⁵

Once Shâh Jahân established some kind of suzerainty over the Sultanates of the Deccan, the purpose of Jahângîr's journey to the south was served. As the emperor wanted to see the salt sea and make a sight-seeing trip, and also to hunt elephant in the "elephant-Khedas" at Dohad, the royal

152. Beniprasad, Chapter VIII.

153. Tuzuk, II, 205.

154. Y. Godard, op.cit., 254, f56, fig. 102.

155. R. Skelton, "Jades Moghols", L'Oeil Vol.96 [Paris, 1962], fig. 4.

party moved westwards from Mandu. A large number of pictures, mostly portraits of officers and vassal chiefs visiting Jahângîr's travelling court, is preserved. Quite a few of them are autographed by the emperor and some of them are mounted in the Berlin Album. The portraits of Râo Bhârôn, the chieftain of Kachh and 'Abdur-Rahîm Khân-i-Khânân (Plate 105) are also dated.

In March 1618 the emperor presented the shaikhs and learned men of Gujarat, who were accompanying the royal party, in compliance with the royal wish, various gifts including books on religious subjects:

To each of them I gave a book from my special library, such as the Tafsîr-i-Kashshâf, the Tafsîr-i-Husainî, and the Rauzâ-i-ahbâb. I wrote on the back of the books the day of my arrival in Gujarat and the day of presentation of the books.¹⁵⁶

A Freer Gallery miniature¹⁵⁷ accurately portrays the event (Plate 74). The emperor is seated under a large canopy within an enclosure of sâyabâns erected in the manner described in the Â'in-i-Akbarî¹⁵⁸ and shown as presenting books to Shaikh Haider, Sayyid Muḥammad and the sons of Shaikh Wajîhuddîn. The old noble standing with a book near

156. Tuzuk, I, 439-40.

157. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. No.31.20.

158. Ain, I, 47, 55-7

the emperor seems to be Shaikh Ahmad, the Sadr, who was in charge of religious administration.¹⁵⁹ The picture is not signed, but may be assigned to either of the three masters accompanying the emperor, Manohar, Abu'l Hasan and Govardhan. It is difficult to agree with Ettinghausen's identification¹⁶⁰ of the Persian envoys, who were present in the Mughal Court¹⁶¹, with imaginary portraits of foreign kings.

The portraits of Jassâ Jâm¹⁶², Râo Bhâro (Plate 54)¹⁶³ the Khân-i-Khânân (Plate 101)¹⁶⁴ and 'Abdullâ Khân¹⁶⁵, collected in the Berlin Album, the portraits of the Dying Man, correctly identified as the dying noble 'Inâyat Khân,

159. Tuzuk, I, 419, 426, 440.

160. Ettinghausen, "The Emperor's Choice", 113.

161. Roe, passim.

162. Berlin Album f23a Painted by Nâdir-uz-Zamân
IBP, 10, 21-2, Pl. 37.

163. ibid, f23a; painted by Govardhan; IBP, 10, 21, Pl. 36.

The portrait is inscribed in Jahangir's hand:
"Portrait of Râo Bhâron, Prince of the land of Kachh, painted by Govardhan in the 13th year, that is 1027 (1617/8). He came to the town of Ahmadabad to pay his respect to Hazrat Nûr-ud-dîn Jahângîr, son of Akbar Pâdshâh. The aforesaid Bhâron is the most important of the princes of the provinces of Gujarat and never yet appeared before any of the rulers of the land." Also: Tuzuk, II, 19.

164. Berlin Album, f23a. Painted by Manohar: IBP, 19-20, Pl. 36.

165. ibid, f4b; IBP, 18-19, Pl. 6.

in the Bodleian Library (Plate 81)¹⁶⁶ and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Plate 82)¹⁶⁷ were painted when they came to the court. The pictures of Jahângîr receiving a pair of pearls from the Khân-i-Khânân, painted by Hashim,¹⁶⁸ of the emperor seated on a throne in the European fashion under a canopy with old I'timâd-ud-daula standing before him, painted by Manohar,¹⁶⁹ and the superb double portrait of Râo Bhâro and Jassâ Jâm, painted by Bishandâs,¹⁷⁰, all found in muraqqa's compiled by Shâh Jahân, seem to be based on contemporary charbas and prepared at a slightly later date, because Bishandâs came back from Iran in late 1619.¹⁷¹

The portrait of the dying noble 'Inayât Khân is truly regarded as one of the supreme achievements of Mughal painting

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166. Bodleian Library, Oxford. Ousley Ad. 171. Signature defaced and cannot be deciphered. For a brief note: AIP, 162, No. 733.
167. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, No.14.679. Unsigned: Cat-MFA, VI, 42, No. 70, Pl. XXXII.
168. Kevorkian Album, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 12 December 1929. Lot 131. Inscribed by Shâh Jahân: "good portrait of Khân-i-Khânân Sipâh-sâlâr, work of Hashim."
169. ibid, Lot 108. See also: M. Dimand, "An Exhibition of Islamic and Indian Paintings", Bull-Met., XIV, 2953 Pl.96. The picture is signed by Manohar banda Jahângîr-Shâhî.
170. Victoria & Albert Museum, No. IM 124A - 1921. Minto Album: AMI, 168, Pl. 34 (colour).
171. Tuzuk, II, 115, 120.

and a great drawing of all times.¹⁷² The preliminary drawing representing the Khan in the last stage of emaciation only a day before his death (Plate 82) can easily be regarded as an example of the remarkable artistic ability of the great master whose name is unfortunately lost. The emperor was overawed at the wretched condition of his favourite noble when he was brought before him in a palanquin and writes:

He appeared so low and weak that I was astonished. "He was skin drawn over bones". Or rather his bones, too had dissolved. Though painters have striven much in drawing an emaciated face, yet I have never seen anything like this, nor even approaching to it. Good God, can a son of man come to such a shape and fashion? ... As it was a very extraordinary case I directed painters to take his portrait.....Next day he travelled the road of non-existence.¹⁷³

The coloured version (Plate 81) takes away much of the strength and vigour of the sensitive and extremely powerful lines of Boston drawing, but, nevertheless, the expression of death-agony can hardly be surpassed.

172. A.K. Coomaraswamy in Cat-MFA, VI, 42;
R. Ettinghausen in Ira Moskowitz, ed., Great Drawings of All Times, VI, New York, 1962, Pl. 877 (colour);
E. Schroeder in Art and Thought, op.cit, 73-86;
L. Binyon, Spirit of Man in Asian Art, London, 1935, etc. etc.

173. Tuzuk, II, 44.

Jahângîr's intention to watch elephant-trapping in the mountainous regions near Dohad originated from his active interest in elephants. The Tûzuk is full of long descriptions of elephants either in his possession or presented to him from time to time. The royal diarist not only minutely describes them and their behaviours but gives their names, dimensions, value and in some instances even their history. A number of fine pictures of majestic elephants definitely coming from Jahângîr's time still survive, and some of them may easily be compared with the great elephants associated with the life of his brave father whose fondness to the noble animal is almost proverbial.¹⁷⁴ Probably the earliest of these Jahângîrî elephant portraits is the picture of a white elephant, in the collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan.¹⁷⁵ Jahângîr refers to a number of albino birds and beasts in the Tûzuk,¹⁷⁶ but he does not mention any white elephant, and a white elephant is such a great rarity that he is not likely to forget mentioning it. Stylistically the majestic white elephant in Benaras belong to the early 17th century,

174. AN, passim; Tuzuk, II, 18, 41-2, Cf IPM Pl. XXXIX; LPI, Pl. XVI, XVII, XVIII.

175. Moti Chandra, "The White Elephant", Lalitkala, I-II, 96, Pl. G (colour). Helen McGraig identifies it with "Chanchal, the White Elephant": "Elephant in Indian Art", Times of India Annual, 1962, colour pl. on p.55.

176. Tuzuk, I, 139-40.

and as Moti Chandra has shown, it probably depicts an imaginary portrait of the unique white elephant in the possession of the King of Arakan. The great and dignified animals standing under a canopy while his keepers prepare his food, in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Plate 103) is named Gaj-Ratan, in a contemporary inscription¹⁷⁷. The more interesting points of this picture are that it is painted on linen and shows part of an Akbari-type landscape at the top. Landscape of a comparable nature is also to be seen in a large picture showing two magpies, mounted on a folio of the Berlin Album, which is again painted on linen.¹⁷⁸ Two more large pictures of elephants of excellent quality painted on linen are found in the Lady Harringham Bequest, Bedford College, London¹⁷⁹ and the National Museum of India.¹⁸⁰

177. Indian Museum, Calcutta, No.R.647. Unpublished. This elephant may be identified as the one presented by Ratan, son of Bhojahâra, in March 1608: Tuzuk, I,140. It was subsequently presented to Khân Jahân in 1621: ibid, II,209. Another elephant of a similar name, Ratan Gaj, was presented to prince Parwîz in 1623: ibid, II,260.

178. Jahângîr Album, now in the University Library, Tübingen, f17b, IBP, Pl.10. There is a picture of a rooster and chicken in the British Museum (No.1953-2-14-02; AIP, 155, No.697) and picture of short-tailed partridge in the H. Vever Collection, Paris (LPI, Pl. XXVIb), which are painted on linen.

179. B. Gray, "A New Mughal Painting on stuff," ArsIslamica, IV, [Ann Arbor, 1937], 459-61, 2 figs.

180. AMI, 168, No.36.

The Bedford College picture shows an enormous elephant marching at the head of six other elephants and a calf. The subject-matter has been identified by Gray as the triumphant return of a young prince, probably Salîm, from a military exploit and dated 1585-90.¹⁸¹ Whatever may be the subject-matter, the majesty of the giant elephant is remarkably rendered in the picture. The National Museum picture (Plate 102) portrays the famous 'Alam Gumân, the chief elephant of Rânâ Amar Singh, which was captured by Khurram and sent to Jahângîr at the time of the Naurûz of 1614.¹⁸² It was very much approved by the emperor, who himself probably wrote the details on the picture.¹⁸³ Unfortunately the name of the artist is damaged and cannot be read. Portraits of two other elephants are to be found in the royal muraqqa's, one in the Gulshan part¹⁸⁴ and the other in the Berlin part.¹⁸⁵ In each case the animals are

181. Gray, op.cit.

182. Tuzuk, I, 259, 260. Another elephant of the same name was presented to Râjâ Mân Singh in 1610; ibid., I, 170.

183. The inscription is believed to be written by Jahângîr (S. Digby IC, XXXVII, No.4, 293), but the handwriting is rather neat, and not very similar to his other autographs.

184. Gulshan Album, Tehran, f79a: J.V.S. Wilkinson & B. Gray, Burl.Mag., 1935, Pl. IIIId.

185. f24b. IBP, Pl. 34.

sensitively portrayed by artists whose names are not preserved. Considering the time when many of the portraits found in the Berlin Album were painted, the elephant ^{which} is shown as being harnessed seems to be the giant named by Jahângîr as Pâvan and described by him as "the pick of my catch".¹⁸⁶

The memoirs were regularly kept for a few more years but it becomes increasingly difficult to trace miniatures accurately illustrating the written text. The emperor was taking more interest in animal pictures and a great many of them were prepared in the following years. He looked at the flowers and fruits, birds and beasts, rivers and mountains more carefully than before, and was ~~not~~ ^{more} feeling ~~flattered~~ by eulogies and costly presents given by the nobles. Painters were of course included in the royal entourage and Mansûr ~~was~~ specifically singled out by the emperor for painting hundreds of pictures of the numerous varieties of rare and beautiful flowers found in the Vale of Kashmir. ~~His~~ painting style will be studied in appropriate details in a later chapter.^{187.}

186. Tuzuk, II, 18. Of a very large number of fine elephant portraits found throughout the world the following ones appear to have been painted in Jahângîr's time:

- a. Indian Museum, R.8b., IPM, Pl.LVI; AIP, 162, No.734. Painted by Bichitr in 1620/1. The name of the elephant is given as Iqbâl.
- b. British Museum No.1939-5-13-013. B. Gray, BMQ, XIII, fig.
- c. Sitaram Sahu Collection, Benaras: N.C. Mehta, Studies in Indian Painting, Pl.47 (colour).

187. infra, Chapter VIII.

Brief notice of five pictures depicting some happenings occurring during this time should be made here. One of them is a very large composition showing 67 courtiers, nobles and other selected persons, and is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Plate 80).¹⁸⁸ It is an important document because the portraits of many of these nobles are identified by contemporary inscriptions. But the exact occasion when such a large number of courtiers and both Parwîz and Shâh Jahân assembled remain undecided. The picture is well-known for more than half a century and reproduced ~~for~~ numerous times.¹⁸⁹ Stchoukine made a detailed study¹⁹⁰ of this picture and identified the scene as the public reception of Parwîz given on 9th June 1619.¹⁹¹ But the passage in the Tûzuk describing Parwîz's arrival hardly pre-supposes such a lofty assembly and, as Stchoukine has rightly shown, many of the nobles shown in the picture were either dead or away from the court at that time. The inscription regrettably enough ^{was} cut off by some unwary binder, only the words " 'amal-i-Kamtarîn-i-Khânazâdân" can be read now. Curiously enough, the words have always

188. No.14.654: Cat-MFA, VI, 44-6.

189. First published by R. Graul, "Die persischen und indischen Miniaturen der Sammlung Walter Schulz", Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, V, [Leipzig, 1907-8]. Pl. facing p.16 (in colour).

190. I. Stchouskine, "Portraits Moghols: Deux Darbâr de Jahângîr," RdAA, 1931, 228-41.

191. Tuzuk, II, 93.

been taken by scholars to denote the presence of more than one painter,¹⁹² whereas the appellation has been repeatedly used by Daulat and Abu'l Hasan before their names.¹⁹³ It seems from what is left of the inscription that Abu'l Hasan was the painter of this remarkable assembly.

The picture of Jahângîr's pilgrimage to his father's mausoleum (Plate 78)¹⁹⁴ seems to illustrate the visit the emperor made in early 1619 after coming back from his tour.¹⁹⁵ The picture is of excellent quality with a subdued colour-scheme, accurate portrait-studies of the principal nobles and a wonderful sense of optical perspective. The arrangement of the standard-bearers and footmen is comparable with Manohar's work in the Rampur Library.¹⁹⁶ The figure of the prisoner brought before the emperor closely resembles the figure of a prisoner in a Gulistân illustration, now in the S.C. Welch Collection, discussed

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192. Gray writes: "The remains of a signature indicate that the painters were two (or more) Khânahzade (Palace-born) artists. The ~~greater~~ part may be attributed to Abu'l Hasan Nâdir al-Zamân." AIP, 161, No. 729. Stchoukine suggests Abu'l Hasan Nâdir al-Zamân & Daulat; op.cit. 229; Coomaraswamy thinks Abu'l Hasan and Manohar: Cat-MFA, VI, 44; supported by S.C. Welch, AMI, 167.
193. infra, Chapter VIII.
194. J.V.S. Wilkinson, Mughal Painting, Pl.5 (colour); AIP, 161, No. 730.
195. Tuzuk, II, 101.
196. IPM, Pl. XXXI (colour).

above.¹⁹⁷ Both figures have been adopted from some European St. Sebastian figure with the arrows removed from his body. The later work has been attributed to Manohar, and this picture may also be attributed to him.

The picture of Jahângîr's celebrating the "holi" festival in the company of Nûr Jahân and the member of the zanâna in the Chester Beatty Library¹⁹⁸ may depict the celebrations of the 'feast of Basant-bârî' as described in the Tûzuk. It was the day when a valuable pearl and a ruby lost by Nûr Jahân during hunting were found, the news of the defeat of Sûraj Mal arrived and coincided with the day of the emperor's lunar weighing.¹⁹⁹ The other two pictures, one showing the emperor and infant prince Shujâ' painted by Hashim, to be found in the Nâsir-ud-dîn Album²⁰⁰ and the other showing Shâh Jahân riding in a hilly country with his son Dâra, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Plate 84)²⁰¹ were painted in Kashmir when the imperial party was travelling there. The latter one is a superior work

197. Supra, Chapter IV; AMI, Pl.25 (upper); S.C. Welch, AO, III, 142; E. Grube, The World of Islam, Pl. 100 (colour).

198. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Album 7, f4: Cat-CB, I, 28; III, Pl.56.

199. Tuzuk, II, 74.

200. Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1937, fig. 70.

201. No. IM 12-1925: LPI, Pl. XXXIII; W.G. Archer, Indian Painting, London & New York, 1957, pl. 5 (colour).

showing good likeness of Shâh Jahân and his handsome young son Dârâ Shukoh, painted by Manohar and the pink coloured hills appear to be the mountain range beyond the Dâl Lake. W.G. Archer thinks that originally the picture showed Jahângîr and Shâh Jahân, which was at a later date repainted in the present fashion.²⁰² The basis of Archer's theory is the minute signature of Morâr who retouched the faces. Morâr or Murâr (not Murâd as thought by Archer and Gray) is a Shâh Jahânî painter who started working in the end of Jahângîr's reign when he painted a number of miniatures including the portrait of Maktûb Khân (Plate 104) in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.²⁰³ He is responsible for the large group picture in the Windsor Castle Pâdishâhnâma showing Shâh Jahân's leave taking.²⁰⁴ But Archer's theory is not warranted by fact and minor retouching of faces was a standard practice in Mughal art (Cf: Plate 51).

202. W.G. Archer, op.cit. text facing pl. 5.

203. No. R.736. Unpublished. Inscribed on the portrait in Jahângîr's autograph: Râqimuhu Murâr Shabîh-i-Maktûb Khân. The old librarian holds a picture of the Virgin.

204. AIP, 162, No.732; Y. Godard, op.cit., fig. 103, 104.

CHAPTER 8

The Leading Painters of Jahângîr

No Abu'l Fazl has kept any record of the leading painters working in Jahângîr's time or give any information about ~~of~~ their activities. Only the emperor himself makes a few passing references to his painters giving their names and fields of specialisation in the Tûzuk, which help us in a very modest way to start with. Jahângîr's practice of having pictures of specific events or persons, or things made by his leading painters working alone helped them to develop their own styles, and it is not impossible to trace the individual styles of a few painters, especially of Farrukh Beg, Daulat, Manohar, Mansûr, Bishandâs and Abu'l Hasan. The names of Nânhâ, Bichitr and Govardhan also come to the mind but pictures indicative of their individual styles are by no means sufficient for a critical assessment.

Of the six leading painters the names of Daulat and Manohar are not mentioned by Jahângîr in the Tûzuk. The omission of Manohar's name is surprising because a majority of the remarkable portrait studies and court groups come from his brush, and the exquisite quality of these portraits and their sheer quantity easily prove the emperor's reliance

on his abilities. The omission of Daulat's name is also puzzling because the artist emphatically mentions on more than one occasion the emperor's command for drawing portraits of the leading painters, including his own. Farrukh Beg is mentioned in the Tuzuk only once, in a routine list of the recipients of his favour. The adjective used by him, "muṣawwir ke aj bîbadlân 'asr ast"¹, "the painter who is unrivalled in the age"², is however revealing. The name of Âqâ Rizâ, whose works have already been examined in details in Chapter III, is referred to by the emperor in a somewhat perfunctory way.³ The remarks made by him on Abu'l Hasan, Mansûr and Bishandâs are, on the other hand, more specific.⁴ The importance of two of them, Abu'l Hasan and Bishandâs, along with of Manohar, Govardhan and Daulat ^{is} ~~are~~ however acknowledged in the emperor's decision to have them portrayed on the hâshiya of the royal muraqqa' (Plates 40-43). Two other portraits of painters at work are preserved in the Berlin Album,⁵ and in at least three

1. Syud Ahmud's text, p.76.

2. Tuzuk, I, 159.

3. ibid, II, 20.

4. ibid, II, 20 (Abu'l Hasan); II, 20, 108, 145, 157 (Mansûr); II, 116, 117 (Bishandâs).

5. f21a: IBP, Pl.39a, b. The identity of these painters remain uncertain. One of them is old and wears pince-nez and is shown as drawing the picture of ^{the}Madonna. He has been identified by Maclagan as Keśavadâs (JGM, 251) but without any convincing reason. The other painter is shown as painting a landscape scene, and may be identified as Mansûr, who was very much active in the time of the compilation of the muraqqa'.

occasions painters are shown as presenting their works to Jahângîr.⁶ Karl Khandalvala mentions a self-portrait of Farrukh Beg in the collection of A.C. Ardeshir.⁷ The leading painters of Jahângîr's time probably enjoyed a better status in the Mughal hierarchy: the reported remarks of the sharp-tongued 'Azîz Khân Kôkâ to Muhammad Sharîf were made because Sharîf's elevation to the post of Amîr-ul-umarâ aroused fierce jealousy in the court.⁸ From the evidence of Roe it seems that the painters enjoyed a considerable position.⁹

6. India Office Library, Johnson Album XXVII f 10; H. Goetz, Bilderatlas..., Pl. 135; AIP, 158, No.712. Cabinet des Estampes, Paris, No.OD 49 f 40: LPI, Pl. XXIV b.

There is another picture pasted on f 21a of the Berlin Album which shows an old man stooping down to present a portrait, apparently his own. This is neither described nor reproduced in IBP.

7. "Some Paintings from the Collection of the late B.N. Treasurywala," Marg, I, No.1, 50.

8. Quoted in Beniprasad, 122 fn 12, and Cat-CB, I, p. XXV. The remark made by 'Azîz Kôkâ is: "I say Nawâb, you do not seem to be my friend. Now your father 'Abd us-Samad the mullâ, was much attached to me. He was the man that painted the very walls of the room we sit in."

9. Roe, 189-90, 199-200.

Farrukh Beg

Farrukh Beg was already working for twenty years when Jahāngīr ascended the throne in 1605.¹⁰ He contributed in such major Akbarī MSS as the Victoria & Albert Museum Akbarnāma,¹¹ the Bankipur Tīmūrnāma,¹² the Ardeshir Khānsa-i-Nizāmī,¹³ the Rampur Dīwān-i-Hāfiz (Plate 38) and also, as we shall presently see, in a dispersed copy of the Bābarnāma. Notwithstanding his position as an important Akbarī painter, Farrukh Beg may equally be regarded as a leading Jahangīrī painter because his works are found not only in the muraqqa's but also in loose miniatures, some of which are autographed by the emperor (Plates 34, 35, 36), and his name is mentioned by Jahāngīr in the Tūzuk¹⁵ as a painter of unequalled fame.

10. Supra, Chapter III.

11. ff 96, 117. R. Skelton, "The Mughal Artist Farrukh Beg." AO, II, Fig. 1, 5; Another miniature from this MS signed by Farrukh Beg is in the collection of Edwin Binney III: Persian and Indian Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney III; Catalogue of an Exhibition..., Portland, 1962, No.57.

12. ff 80, 89b, 99: Cat-Bankipur, VII, 40-8.

13. A.C. Ardeshir, Moghul Miniature Painting, Roop-Lekha, I, No.2 [Delhi, 1940], 32, 37, Pl. 7; R. Skelton, op.cit., Fig. 3.

14. S.C. Welch, "Miniatures from a MS of the Diwan-e-Hafiz", Marg, XI, No.3, 56-62.

15. Tuzuk, I, 159.

Farrukh Beg painted in a highly individualistic style which is strikingly different from those of other leading painters of the time. It agreed quite well with Jahângîr's taste as he preferred talented painters who could develop their own styles. Farrukh Beg came to the Mughal court in 1585 from the court of Akbar's half-brother Mîrzâ Muḥammad Ḥakîm at Kabul.¹⁶ As his name occurs amongst the nobles leaving for Qandahar in 1590¹⁷ so it is possible that he started painting in Akbar's studio at a date later than this. Jahângîr refers to Farrukh Beg in late 1018H/1609,¹⁸ and one of his works is mounted on a royal muraqqa' folio dated 1019H/1610-11 (Plate 37).¹⁹ An identical note written on several miniatures (Plates 34, 35, 36) states that these were painted by him at the age of 70.²⁰ No other biographical information about Farrukh Beg is known to us.

16. AN, III, 714.

17. ibid, III, 887. In the Â'in-i-Akbarî Abu'l Faẓl writes his name as Farrukh the Qalmaq:
Ain, I, 114.

18. Tuzuk, I, 159. Entry of 22 Ramazan, 1018/
9 December, 1609.

19. infra, for full translation of this important inscription.

20. "Raqm-i-['amal-i] Farrukh Beg dar senne haftâd sâlagî Kashîdeh."

Attracted by Farrukh Beg's fascinating style Robert Skelton made a painstaking study of all available paintings signed by or associated with this master-artist.²¹ Unfortunately the literary evidence cited by Skelton is not too dependable and this has made the theory of Farrukh's career propounded by him as unsound.²² Notwithstanding this drawback Skelton's study of Farrukh Beg's artistic style and its antecedents and precedents, is one of the best done so far on any Mughal painter.

We have virtually no knowledge of Farrukh's early life and we are not aware of any early work which can definitely be attributed to his pre-Lahore days. The miniatures of the small Khâmsa of Amîr Khusrau in King's College Library, Cambridge²³, though bear his name in attribution made at a much later date, are more related to the style of the well-known Harâtî painter Muḥammadi, ²⁴ than

21. R. Skelton, "The Mughal Artist Farrokh Beg", AO, II, 393-411, 19 figs.

22. Nazir Ahmad, "The Mughal Artist Farrukh Beg", IC, XXXV, 115-29.

23. Pote Collection, No.153; B.W. Robinson, Persian Miniature Painting, 1967, 110-1, No.170; R. Skelton, op.cit., 395-6, Fig. 4.

24. B.W. Robinson, Persian Drawings, 1965, Pl. 45 (colour); Cat-MFA, VI, Pl. XXIIa, XXIIb, XXIIIa, XXIVa. Robinson attributes the Man playing the panpipes to Muḥammad Mu'min: op.cit., Pl. 49 (colour); Cat-MFA, VI, Pl. XXIIb.

The main reason for rejecting Skelton's reliance on the inscription, which is also supported by Robinson, is that the title Nâdir-ul-'asrî has never been used by Farrukh Beg, and there is no record of its conferment on him by Akbar or Jahângîr. Secondly, the use of shadow, which is so characteristic even in Farrukh's earliest known works, is completely absent here.

of Farrukh Beg's miniatures in the Akbarî MSS. We have already noticed the practice of adopting designs and compositions of well-known Persian miniatures by Mughal artists for their own use²⁵, so the apparent similarity of the composition of Farrukh Beg's Akbar's entry into Surat in the Akbarnâma²⁶ MS with the scene of the reception of Zulaikhâ's procession in the Haft-Aurang MS of 1555-65 in the Freer Gallery of Art²⁷ need not pose any problem. Farrukh Beg may or may not have lived and worked in Ibrâhîm Mîrzâ's court at Khurasan, the evidence of such compositional similarities in support of this do not hold good.²⁸

None of the royal MSS in which Farrukh Beg contributed, the Bankipur Khândân-i-Tîmûriya, the Ardeshir Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî, the Rampur Dîwân-i-Hâfiz, as well as the Victoria & Albert Akbarnâma, are firmly dated, but they are generally thought to have been produced during the last five years of the 16th century²⁹. Of these the Ardeshir Khâmsa is an early MS which is stated to have been brought by Humâyûn and embellished with 35 miniatures at a later date of which Farrukh Beg contributes four or five.³⁰ The beautiful royal copy of

25. *Supra*, Chapter IV: Cf Plates 30, 31.

26. R. Skelton, *op.cit.*, fig. 5.

27. *ibid.*, fig. 6.

28. *ibid.*, 396. See B. Gray's review of Skelton's paper in Oriental Art, New Series, IV, [London, 1958], 83.

29. R. Skelton, *op.cit.*, 409; *op.cit.*, 395; S.C. Welch, *op.cit.*, Lalitkala, X, 9-10 fn8; R. Skelton, *op.cit.*, 393 fn5.

30. A.C. Ardeshir, *op.cit.*

Dîwân-i-Hâfiz now in the Raza Library, Rampur may be of a slightly later date than what S.C. Welch assigns to it, because it does not contain any miniature by Basâwan, whose latest works occur in the Khâmsa of Amîr Khusrau MS dated 1597/8, now dispersed in various American collections.³¹

Apart from this modest output in only five major Akbarî MSS, no work of Farrukh Beg is found in any of the later Akbarî production. This is rather difficult to explain. However there is no secure evidence to show that Farrukh Beg travelled southwards to Bijapur.³² The close similarity of Farrukh's individualistic style with a group of miniatures, some unsigned and some attributed to Muḥammad 'Alî, and the exquisite portrait-studies of the 'Âdil Shâhî rulers of Bijapur,²³ easily allures one to search for some kind of association between Farrukh Beg and the great patron of all arts Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II. It has been suggested that Farrukh Beg was included in the Mughal embassy sent to Bijapur under

31. Distributed between the Walter Art Gallery (W.624), the Metropolitan Museum of Art, & Cincinnati Art Museum. The folio attributed to Basâwan and published by Hâjek, IMM, Pl.6 (colour) from the collection of the Archaeological Museum, Tehran, also belong to MS: S.C. Welch, Lalitkala, X, 7-17; AMI, 163, No.7, 8.

32. R. Skelton, op.cit., 401f.

33. ibid, fig. 9, 17; also fig. 14, 16; PSEI, Pl. 9; LPI, Pl. XLIII; PI, Pl. 126, 127 (colour).

Mir Jamâl-ud-dîn Husain Injû³⁴ in 1601, but we have no evidence to prove it. He could not have been included in the first mission of the Mir sent in Jahângîr's time because the solitary occurrence of Farrukh's name in the Tûzuk³⁵ is found just before the entry recording the Mir's return from Bijapur in early 1610.³⁶

Farrukh possessed the qualities which could easily attract the attention of the connoisseur emperor: a precise style of great technical competence and an individual aesthetic sensibility revealing itself in a high and peculiar range of colour. From the miniatures found in the Gulshan Album signed by him and the few examples found in different collections bearing his signature one notices several features some of which occur almost invariably in each of Farrukh Beg's pictures: the liberal use of shadow in modelling the facial features, the stylised gait of the body if the person illustrated is an old man, the stylised neatly folded ends of the garment, the exuberance of decorative details, flowers and plants of fantastic shape and strange colour, landscapes with trees with luminous edges and a very

34. R. Skelton, opcit., 399 f. For this embassy: AN, III, 846; See P.M. Joshi, "Asad Beg's mission to Bijapur, 1603-4", Prof. D.V. Potdar Sixty-first Birthday Commemoration Volume, ed. S.N. Sen, Poona, Poona, 1950. See also: Ain, I, 499-501.

35. Tuzuk, I, 159: entry of 9th December, 1609.

36. ibid., I, 160: entry of 12th January, 1610.

judicious use of mixed colour tones. These stylistic features lend a rare charm and a distinctiveness to the work of Farrukh Beg which easily catch the eye of even the most discriminating critic. So it may not be improbable to assume that his services were requisitioned by Jahângîr even before his father's death. The main reason for such assumption is the presence of a number of his works in the Jahângîrî muraqqa' (Plates 32, 37), the existence of a group of miniatures with an inscription, probably in Jahângîr's autograph (Plate 34, 35, 36), and the glorification of the cults of the youthful prince and of the learned mullâ, two of Salîm's passions, made in almost all the available works (exception: Plates 35 and 37) of Farrukh Beg.

While carefully examining the well-known miniature, Abu'l Adyân sitting alone on a mat on a fire while a crowd of people watch in the Nafahat-al-uns MS, the name of Farrukh Beg was found mentioned in an inscription written on it as the teacher of Daulat, the famous painter who mainly worked in Jahângîr's time.³⁷ This helps us to strengthen

37. British Museum, MS No. Or.1362. f 135b: E. Wellesz, Akbar's Religious Thoughts as Reflected in Mughal Painting, London, 1952, Pl. 35. The MS is dated 1012H/1603-4: Cat-BM, I, 350. The inscription written on the architrave of the gateway reads: Allah-u-Akbar mashq-i-Kamtarîh Shâgird-i-Farrukh Daulat Chela. The name Daulat is written elsewhere as well. I am grateful to Mr. Simon Digby for helping me to read this minute and damaged inscription. The miniature seems to have suffered damage in recent times, and Mrs. Wellesz's plate preserves the undamaged inscription. See, infra for Daulat.

the view that Farrukh Beg headed the Akbarî atelier after Basâwan, but at the same time it would be more difficult to explain the absence of Farrukh's works in the early 17th century Akbarî MSS.

Two pictures of a similar size and probably belonging to the same historical work dealing with the Tîmurîd dynasty or of the Bâbarnâma pasted on the folios of the royal muraqqa' are known to us.³⁸ Marteau & Vever published another folio from the collection of H. Vever which also seems to belong to the same MS.³⁹ The last one is signed by Farrukh Beg, and of the ones mentioned first, the folio in the Otto Sohn Rethel Collection is correctly attributed by Kühnel to Farrukh Beg, whereas the picture found in the Gulshan Album may also be attributed to Farrukh, because it bears the unmistakable stamp of his style and the characteristic elements associated with him.

Godard and Gray have published a fine miniature of a young noble standing carrying a white falcon, from the Gulshan Album which is signed by Farrukh beg (Plate 32).⁴⁰

38. One in the Otto Sohn-Rethel Collection, Dusseldorf: E. Kühnel, "Die indischen Miniaturen der Sammlung Otto Sohn-Rethel", Pantheon, VIII [Munich, 1931], 387, Abb. 4; R. Skelton, op.cit., Fig. 12. The other is in the Gulshan Album: J.V.S. Wilkinson & B. Gray, Burl.Mag., 1935, 175, Pl. III C.

39. Marteau & Vever, II, Pl. 109; IPM, Pl. XIV; R. Skelton, op.cit., Fig. 2.

40. A. Godard & B. Gray, Iran, Paris, 1956, Pl. XX.

This is one of his "several miniatures" found in the same album,⁴¹ amongst which there is a portrait of an aged dervish on which is written that it was painted when Farrukh was 70.⁴² Similar writing is found on at least three other pictures depicting a young page boy in the Chester Beatty Library (Plate 36), an aged mullâ in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Plate 34)⁴³, and a moustachioed gentleman reading, in the Alwar Durbar Library (Plate 35).⁴⁴ The motif of the aged mullâ also appears in full colours in a miniature of fine quality now in the Bankipur Library (~~Plate 33~~)⁴⁵ and in the form of a drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁴⁶ The cult of youth is repeated in a signed miniature to be found in the Nasir-ud-din Album showing a young noble holding a parrot⁴⁷ and in an unsigned study of a young noble with a golden cup in the Fogg Museum of Art.⁴⁸ The most important miniature coming from Farrukh Beg's brush

41. ibid, 22-3.

42. ibid, 22; Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1937, 214.

43. No. IM 10-1925.

44. First published: S.K. Banerji, Humayun Badshah, II, Lucknow, 1941, Frontispiece.

45. Pramod Chandra, ed. The Art Heritage of India, Bombay, 1964. Pl. 51C.

46. No. IM 11A-1925: R. Skelton, op.cit., fig. 10.

47. Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1937, 240, Planche 46, Fig. 95. A copy of this picture is in the Cowasji Jehangir Collection: Cat-Cowasji, Pl. M. (colour).

48. E. Schroeder, Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Mass., 1942, Pl. XIX.

for our study is found in the Náprstek Museum, Prague (Plate 37), which is dated 1017H/1610-11.⁴⁹ A few other miniatures attributed to him in various times and discussed in the following pages are also to be taken into account.

The likeness of the young prince with an albino falcon in the Gulshan Album (Plate 32) appears strikingly similar to the young prince riding on a white horse just behind Akbar in the Victoria & Albert Akbarnâma illustrating Akbar's entry into Surat.⁵⁰ The graceful chanar branch extended at the top of the picture, the conventionalised trees on the hill with luminous edges, and the soft and distinctive colour scheme of the picture associate it with the works of Farrukh Beg in the Akbarnâma⁵¹ and the Rampur Dîwân-i-Hâfiz (Plate 38). Only the face of the Gulshan prince is more naturalistically modelled, which probably indicates that a fuller attention was given to its rendering. Then the date of its execution cannot be far removed from the Akbarnâma. The part of Akbarnâma in the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum lacks a dated colophon and various suggestions have been made for its dating.⁵² The MS is

49. IMM, 70-3; Pl. 10-14, (colour).

50. R. Skelton, op.cit., fig. 5.

51. ibid., fig. 1.

52. ibid., 393, and fn 4, 5; AIP 150-1, No.670; etc.

almost universally acknowledged to be a royal copy in which the ablest royal painters participated. Considering the episodes illustrated in this part which were just written down by Abu'l Fazl from 1585 to 1590 and the occupation of the royal artists in producing the series of poetical MSS and works like the Jamî'ut-Twârikh in 1595 to 1600, an early dating of the Akbarnâma, within 1590-95, seems more likely. No conclusive evidence for the dating of the folios of the unidentified MS painted by Farrukh Beg which were collected in the Jahângîrî muraqqa's or the Gulshan Prince can be made from this revised dating, and it may be hazardous to think that these were produced in the Salîm Studio just after it was started, because no other evidence of Farrukh Beg's presence in the Salîm Studio is found. Though a few folios of the Dîwân of Amîr Hasan Dihlavî produced in the Salîm Studio show shadowing of faces in the manner of Farrukh Beg, no miniature actually signed by him has been found in this MS or in the Râikunwâr.⁵³

Stylistically the pictures painted by Farrukh Beg found elsewhere other than the Jahângîr Albums belong to the same phase of his career. The portraits of aged mullâs

53. Supra, Chapter III.

in Bankipur Library (~~Plate 33~~) and Victoria & Albert Museum (Plate 34), and of handsome youths in the Chester Beatty Collection (Plate 36) and Nasir-ud-din Album⁵⁴ are finished works with full colours, whereas the portraits of another aged mullâ in the Victoria & Albert Museum⁵⁵ and the Gentleman Reading Book in the Alwar Durbar Library (Plate 35) are line-drawings. Skelton attributes C.1615 for the three pictures found in the Minto Album⁵⁶. He assigns C.1605-8 for the Nasir-ud-din Album Prince with a Parrot taking it as one of the last miniatures painted by Farrukh at Bijapur.⁵⁷ Since the theory of Farrukh's stay at Bijapur cannot be proved with any certainty, this miniature should also be included in the above group. The whole group may now be dated with some certainty in view of some additional data provided by other miniatures. The Nâprstek picture of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh playing on a string instrument in a musical assembly (Plate 37) has the following inscription written by the well-known calligrapher Muḥammad Ḥusain Kashmîrî:

Likeness of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Khân, Tarafdâr of Bijâpûr, who in the science of music of the Deccan considers himself the chief of the practitioners of that art. The work of Farrukh Beg in the 5th year of the

54. R. Skelton, op.cit., fig. 11.

55. ibid., fig. 10.

56. ibid., 397.

57. ibid., 407.

auspicious reign corresponding to the year 1019 Hijra. Written by the least slave Muhammad Husain Zarrîn Qalam Jahângîr-shâhî.⁵⁸

From the phrasing of the inscription it appears to have been copied by the calligrapher from a comment made by Jahângîr. It reveals that Farrukh Beg and Muhammad Husain were engaged in the preparation of the royal muraqqa's in 1019 Hijra/1610-11. The portrait of Shâh Tahmâsp in the Kevorkian Album, now in the Freer Gallery of Art, bears an inscription giving Farrukh's name and the date 1020 Hijra/1611-12. It appears to be a copy of a Jahângîrî original painted by Farrukh Beg at the given date⁵⁹. Lastly the presence of a miniature in the Gulshan Album inscribed to the effect that it was executed by Farrukh Beg at the age of 70 in Jahângîr's autograph gives⁶⁰ us an additional point to believe that Farrukh Beg had

58. S. Digby, IC, XXXVII, 294, where he criticises the grossly erroneous translation made in Hâjek's book: IMM, 70. I am grateful to Mr. Digby for kindly translating this inscription for me. In spite of my best efforts and preparations I was not able to examine the original during my stay in Prague in the summer of 1965. From colour transparencies of this valuable picture one can see how hopelessly distorted are the reproductions in Hâjek's book. See: Plate 18 for Muhammad Husain Kashmîrî's portrait. For reference to his work etc: Ain, I, 109; Tuzuk, I, 91, 159.

59. Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 12 December, 1929, Lot 116; R. Skelton, op.cit., 410, No.36. Skelton thinks it a C.1800 copy.

60. Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1937, 214; A. Godard & B. Gray, Iran, 22-3.

already attained 70 when the Gulshan Album was completed in about 1020 Hijra/1611-12.⁶¹

So far we have only discussed chronology, but the accomplished works of Farrukh Beg call for more attention. The fine illustrations to the five Akbarî MSS mentioned above easily strike the eye in their ingenuous colour-scheme and perfect compositional unity. The earliest miniature in our reckoning which can be connected with Jahângîr is the portrait of young prince holding a tûyghân⁶² falcon in the Gulshan Album (Plate 32). The prince is richly attired in a pustîn of large floral designs over his red full-length jâma, also of large floral designs of a different sort, a narrow patkâ of geometrical patterns in black, red and gold, and a golden-yellow turban with black plume. He stands alone on the bank of a river or pool of water faintly indicated at the lower part of the picture. In the background a mauve and greyish violet hill looms against the sky painted in pure gold. A few flowering shrubs are painted on it, while two large flowering plants of the hollyhock type are painted on both sides of the prince. Deep bluish green trees with luminous edges, a gracefully carved branch of a chanar tree — on which a number of chirping birds are seated and a rich

61. Supra, Chapter VI.

62. Cf. Tuzuk, I. 140.

velvet-like turf of deep green in the foreground, complete the composition. The young prince stands in a nonchalant mood with his eyes directed outside the picture to the right. He wears a moustache and thick-set tufts of hair are visible over his long and slender neck. His face is small and drawn with infinite care by subtle shadowing. He holds a tûyghân falcon of majestic shape which, curiously enough, sits on his ungloved left hand, while a small white wine-cup is held in his blue-gloved right hand. The prince remains unidentified; he does not resemble Salîm. The young prince on a white horse following Akbar in the picture of the latter's entry into Surat in the Victoria and Albert Museum Akbarnâma, whose figure the Gulshan portrait closely resembles, cannot also be Salîm because the prince could not have accompanied his father in the seige of Surat in 1572, as he was born only in 1569. The young prince seems to glorify the cult of the adorable youth which was popular in Persian literature and also in the time of the youthful Shâh Tahmâsp and again in 'Urfî's writings on Salîm.⁶³

63. R. Skelton, op. cit., 398, fn 29; A large number of portraits of youthful prince are found on the hâshiyas of the Jahângîr Albums and as centerpieces in it: Cf. IBP Pl. 9, plate facing p. 46, et passim. For other examples in the British Museum, India Office Library Demotte Collection, Pozzi Collection etc: AM, Tafel 76, Abb. 208; Marteau & Vever, II, Pl. 236; E. Blochet, Musalman Painting, London, 1929, Pl. CXCI. The India Office Library portrait of a young prince is unpublished (Johnson VII, f12). Mr. S. Digby has prepared a long note on the "Cult of the youthful prince" and I am grateful to him and to Mr. Skelton for detailed discussions on this point.

The portrait of the page boy in the Chester Beatty Library (Plate 36) and the youth in the Nasir-ud-din Album express a similar spirit.

A number of unsigned pictures showing such "adorable youths" are found in various collections, which have puzzled the art-historians. The tinted drawing of a young noble in the Fogg Museum of Art⁶⁴ and a fully coloured miniature of a young Safavid prince in the Pozzi collection⁶⁵ clearly resemble the Gulshan portrait of the young prince with the albino falcon (Plate 32). Schroeder correctly recognises the Fogg Museum drawing as a Mughal work and attributes it to Āqâ Rizâ Jahângîrshâhî. The Pozzi miniature is well-known through Blochet's publication and Skelton notes it in his study of Farrukh Beg, and assigns it to the Deccan.⁶⁶ The close similarity of pose and attitude of all three of them, in spite of their representing a different person in each case, cannot be fortuitous and Farrukh Beg appears to be the painter in each case. The Pozzi miniature was painted first, the Gulshan miniature was probably painted afterwards for Salîm with suitable alterations, and the Fogg Museum drawing was

64. E. Schroeder, op.cit., 109-13 Pl. XIX.

65. E. Blochet, Les Peintures Orientales de la Collection Pozzi, Paris, 1930, Pl. XI, XIbis (colour).

66. R. Skelton, op.cit., 411.

prepared still later. The latter example cannot be attributed to Âqâ Rizâ, because the subtle shadowing of the face and the type of the youthful prince are more typical of Farrukh Beg's style. The curious motif of exaggerated daman shown in the Fogg drawing⁶⁷ is noticeable in a number of late Akbarî MSS as well as in the Rothschild Bûstân⁶⁸, Moscow Bâbarnâma⁶⁹ and in the enigmatic portrait of the yogîni in the Chester Beatty Collection.⁷⁰

The type of the aged mullâ is also a favourite theme repeated over and over in Jahângîr's time. Jahângîr's respect for mullâs and dervishes and admiration for learned people was genuine, as even a cursory glimpse of the Tûzuk will reveal. In the pictures of mullâs and dervishes signed by or associated with Farrukh Beg, their identifications are rarely disclosed, and they appear more or less like representing a set type. Portraits of aged mullas or learned teacher signed by Farrukh Beg are found in the Minto Album, now in the Victoria & Albert Museum (Plate 34)⁷¹, the A.C. Ardeshir Collection⁷², and the Bankipur Library (Plate

67. E. Schroeder, op.cit., 109-10.

68. I. Stchoukine, "Un Bustan de Sâdi illustre par des artistes moghols", RdAA, XI, Fig. 2.

69. S. Tyulayev, Miniatures of the Babur Namah, Moscow, 1960, Pl. 32 (colour).

70. D. Barrett, Painting of the Deccan: XVI-XVIII Centuries, London, 1958, Pl. 7 (colour).

71. Victoria & Albert Museum No. IM 10-1925, IM 11A-1925: R. Skelton, op.cit., fig. 7 & 10 respectively.

72. A.C. Ardeshir, RoopLekha, II, No.3, 31.

33)⁷³. Pictures showing an assembly of learned men or dervishes are found in the Rampur Diwân-i-Hâfiz (Plate 38) and in a Leningrad Collection,^{(Plate 33).}⁷⁴ A number of miniatures showing such scenes as the presentation of a book by an author painted in a style closely resembling Farrukh Beg's, but probably not painted by him, are also found.⁷⁵

The Aged Mullâ in the Minto Album (Plate 34), like the Chester Beatty Page Boy (Plate 36) and the Alwar Reading Gentleman (Plate 35), has the inscription referred to above, written on it. The writing is in a "spidery hand", as Skelton describes it, and according to him, much different from Jahângîr's or Shâh Jahân's handwriting; he thinks it as the autograph of the aged painter himself.⁷⁶ The signature written on the lower part of the Nasir-ud-din Album Young Noble with a Parrot is also believed by him as the painter's own writing, which is not unlikely.⁷⁷

The picture of the old dervish in the Bankipur Library (~~Plate 33~~) shows an old man standing on the bank of a river or water-pool supporting a long stick and holding his rosary in his left hand. The landscape is similar to Farrukh

73. Pramod Chandra, ed, The Art Heritage of India, Bombay, 1964, Pl. 51C.

74. The Hermitage, Leningrad; Skelton, op.cit., fig. 15.

75. See, infra:

76. R. Skelton, op.cit., 397.

77. ibid., 398.

Beg's other finished works, with the characteristic Persian style hillocks and flowering plants. The mullâ wears a white turban, a heavy flowing dark-coloured dress, and a long scarf of simple design hangs over his shoulders. Curiously enough, the portrait of the mulla has a close similarity with the figure of an old man sitting near the prince in the delightful miniature in the Rampur Dîwân-i-Hâfiz, which shows the scene of an evening of music, drinking and poetry-reading in a garden pavilion (Plate 38). The young prince who presides over the party may show an idealistic representation of Prince Salîm. The same princely figure is portrayed in a miniature in the Gulshan Album, where he is shown as receiving a book presented by an author.⁷⁸ Unfortunately the miniature could not be examined in original and the quality of reproduction made by Goetz⁷⁹ and Hâjek is so bad that it is difficult to make any definite assertion. From whatever could be seen the picture appears to have originated from the circle of Farrukh Beg or Âqâ Rizâ.

The attention given to religious persons is evidenced in the Leningrad picture (Plate ²³), a large composition showing four dervishes in an imaginary landscape scene.⁸⁰ The portraiture

78. IMM, Pl. XXII.

79. H. Goetz, East & West, 1957, Pl. III.

80. R. Skelton, op.cit., fig. 15.

of the saintly persons with their subtly modelled faces, long **f**izzly beards and expressive eyes, and the crisp neatly folded edges of their draperies are typical of Farrukh Beg. The profusion of flowering plants and shrubs full of flowers of different and sometime unrealistic shapes and colours, the Deccanî type forts in the distant background and stylised trees with luminous serrated edge occur in other works of Farrukh Beg.

The 'Aged Mullâ' (Plate 34) in the Minto Album is a stooping figure standing on a curved bank under a tree. A curious plant with leaves of yellow, saffron, red and white intermixed with the characteristic green spreads over most of the upper half of the picture. He wears a long and heavy robe, and a thin long yellow scarf is spread over it, whose neatly folded ends swing in the air. The 'Page Boy' in the Chester Beatty Library (Plate 36) is more colourful and rich in appearance. He wears a costly pusîin diapered with stylised Chinese clouds. The pallav of his long scarf and patkâ have the same bold geometrical patterns as are found in the Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh portrait. The plant before which the page boy stands bears delightful blossoms as do the slender creeper like branches: all have flowers of five white petals with a touch of red at the lower end of each, and a yellow centre, visible in the manuscript-illustrations referred to

above as well as in the portrait of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and in the Saint in a landscape.

In many respects the atmosphere and details of the "Boston Poet" (Plate 39), especially the flowers and the narcissus plants, the curved bank of the rivulet or pool faintly indicated to the lower left corner of the picture, and the dress of the poet, resemble the works of Farrukh Beg, yet one cannot be sure of the attribution.⁸¹ The princes depicted in pictures now in the Rothschild Collection⁸² the Freer Gallery of Art⁸³ and in the Leningrad Album⁸⁴ show much similarity in details, but the refined subtlety of the facial expression of the 'Boston Poet' has nothing to do with the conventionalised faces of the princes. Indeed the expression of thoughtfulness and the mood of profound feeling and poetic imagination apparent in the portrait of the 'Boston Poet' should be regarded as one of the finest achievements of refined naturalism. It may very well be a Deccanî work, because for a painter who could draw such fine portrait studies of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh in the British Museum and of an unidentified noble in the India Office Library, it could not be an impossible task.⁸⁵

81. R. Skelton, *op.cit.*, 399-400; AIP, 98, 154, No.688; Cat-MFA, VI, 35, No.LVI; PI, 145-5.

82. R. Skelton, *op.cit.*, fig. 9.

83. PSEI, Pl. 9 (colour)

84. Leningrad Album, Pl. 81.

85. PI, Colour plates on pp 126-7. Here Gray has assigned it to Golconda. (*ibid*, 124-5). See R. Skelton, "Documents for the study of Painting at Bijapur", Ars.A.V, 124-5 for full bibliography.

The Alwar miniature (Plate 35) is a line drawing with touches of colour. Only the face is sensitively modelled in the characteristic touch of Farrukh Beg. The moustachioed gentleman wears a long flowing jâma touching the ground, and a plain shawl is worn around the upper part of his body in a way as if he is protecting the book he is reading from sun or rain or other people's gaze. The same 'spidery' inscription is written near the left side. Another inscription, obviously late and unreliable, reads: "Sabîh Shâh Tahmâsp, Shâh-zâdgî," picture of Shâh Tahmâsp as prince.

It is interesting to note that virtually the same figure occurs on the hâshiya of a folio of the Gulshan Album⁸⁶. In this case the gentleman is riding on a galloping horse and holds a greenish falcon on his gloved right hand, but the same morose and downward look of the eyes, similar modelling and facial features closely connect both the figures. The appearance of this typical Farrukh Beg work on the hâshiya of the Gulshan Album leads us to believe that Farrukh Beg was working in the Jahângîrî atelier from the very beginning.

86. IMM, Pl. XXX.

The second portrait of a mullâ in the Minto Album is a tinted drawing drawn completely in Farrukh Beg's style.⁸⁷ The attribution, probably made by Shâh Jahân, lends authenticity to it. But no value can be attached to attributions made on or below a number of apparently late miniatures.⁸⁸ Only in two instances the attributions cannot be so outrightly rejected. One of them is a copy of what seems to be a genuine Farrukh Beg dated 1020 Hijra, found in the Kevorkian Album, now in the Freer Gallery of Art. It gives ~~that~~^{the} indication that Farrukh Beg was working till that date. The second one, a portrait of a young prince apparently in the late-Jahângîrî/early-Shâh Jahânî style⁸⁹, contains an inscription, which in all probability comes from the pen of Jahângîr.⁹⁰ Unfortunately the last two digits of the date appended to this autograph note are damaged beyond repair and the facial features of the prince do not betray the slightest indication of Farrukh Beg's style. As the golden clouds near the inscription clearly reveal, the picture was extensively repainted at a time later than the inscription. In that case, if we accept the autograph note

87. R. Skelton, op.cit., fig. 10.

88. From the list~~s~~ given by Skelton (ibid, 407-411) the following ones do not appear to be Farrukh Beg's work: Nos. 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 24, 25-31, 34, 36-9.

89. Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1937, fig. 78;

R. Skelton, op.cit., fig. 19.

90. ibid, 403-4.

is from Jahângîr's pen then the easy explanation of the problem will be that an original Farrukh Beg drawing with a royal autograph was repainted at a slightly later date.

Daulat

Many painters were working in the painting atelier of Agra when Jahângîr became ~~the~~ emperor, but only a few could impress him and came upto ^{the} rigid standard set by him. Daulat was one of them. His name occurs in several MSS prepared towards the end of 16th and early 17th centuries; the Agra College Bâbarnâma⁹¹, the Nafahat-al-uns⁹², in the British Museum, the 'Iyâr-i-Dânish⁹³ and Akbarnâma⁹⁴ fragments in the Chester Beatty Library and ~~in~~ the Rothschild Bûstân⁹⁵. His self-portrait is found in a double-portrait painted under the colophon of the Dyson Perrins Khâmse-i-Nizâmî (Plate 16), as well as ^{on} the hâshiya of a Gulshan Album folio (Plate 43).

91. Now in National Museum, New Delhi: Rai Krishnadasa, Mughal Miniatures, text facing pl. 2, 3.

92. Reproduced by E. Wellesz, Akbar's Religious Thoughts..., Pl. 35.

93. Cat-CB, I, 14, No.2, 3; not reproduced.

94. ibid, I, 7 (f52), 10 (ff 168b & 169); not reproduced.

95. supra, Chapter IV.

His full name is given as Daulat Muḥammad in the Rothschild Būstān (Plate 20) and in one hāshiya drawing.⁹⁶ He also writes the appellation khānazāde in some of his works⁹⁷, yet nowhere does he give his father's name. From his appearance in the self-portraits in the Khānsa-i-Nizāmī colophon picture (Plate 16) and in the hāshiya detail (Plate 43) he looks to be in his early thirties; so though he was born in the royal household and presumably grew up there, it seems that he did not take up painting as a profession at an earlier age.

In ~~all~~ the MS-illustrations Daulat's work shows much distinctiveness. The use of strong colours in deep tones, subtle modelling and intense interest in expressing exact mood and vigorous character make his pictures look so different from the works of his colleagues. In an inscription written on the architrave of the gateway in a picture of the Nafahat al-uns MS, Daulat gives the name of Farrukh as his teacher⁹⁸. This would explain his delight in drawing portrait-studies, his wonderful sense of composition and his predilection with colours. So he possessed the particular talents which would attract Jahāngīr's attention.

96. Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1936, Fig. 18.

97. ibid; in the Būstān miniature reproduced in Plate 20 and in the Bābarnāma MS.

98. supra, note. 37

His signed miniature in the Rothschild Bûstân (Plate 20) of 1605 shows certain departures from his earlier work in the Nafahat-al-uns and the Akbarnâma MSS; the composition is neat and relatively uncrowded, the colouring much milder, and the portrait-studies more accurate and penetrating. It is very probably because of the exquisite portrait-studies that Daulat was selected by the emperor to paint the series of pictures of himself and his four well-known colleagues on the hâshiya of a folio of the royal muraqqa' (Plates 40, 43), and to add the exquisite double-portrait under the colophon of the Dyson Perrins Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî (Plate 16). He was also entrusted with the task of retouching some Persian miniatures which were mounted in the royal muraqqa' at the same time. On at least one occasion Daulat records the fact that he added the golden hills in a mid-16th century Bukhara copy of a 15th century Harâtî hunting scene, attributed by Mahdi Bahrami to Mahmud Muzahhib⁹⁹. He was asked to draw a portrait of the celebrated Persian mystic poet 'Abdur Raḥmân Jâmî, which as he mentions in the accompanying inscription, was copied from a study by Ustâd Bihzâd.¹⁰⁰

99. Mehdi Bahrami, Iranian Art, New York, 1949, No.69/4;

A. Godard & B. Gray, Iran, Paris, 1956, Pl.XIX (colour).

100. Y. Godard, op.cit. 29, fig. 21.

In the double-portrait under the colophon of the Dyson-Perrins Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî Daulat mentions that his portrait was added at the express command of the Pâdishân in the fourth julûs. The idea of incorporating the portrait of the calligrapher under the colophon seems to be a typical Jahângîrî practice, though portraits of calligraphers are by no means rare in Persian art¹⁰¹. For the first time we notice the incorporation of such colophon portrait in the MS of the Dîwân of Amîr Hasan Dihlavî prepared at Allahabad in 1604 (Plate 15). Here only the portrait of the calligrapher ~~was~~ painted, along with ^{his} ~~a~~ young assistant. The portrait of the painter ~~was~~ not included neither ~~was~~ his name ^{been} mentioned. In the Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî MS the colophon portrait includes representation of the painter as well. Daulat's portraits of his colleagues, Manohar, Govardhan, Bishandâs, Abu'l Hasan, and his self portrait on the hâshiya of the royal album must have greatly satisfied the emperor when ^{he} commanded the inclusion of the painter's portrait along with that of the calligrapher.

Abu'l Fazl mentions the names of important Akbarî painters and calligraphers; it seems unlikely that ^{their} likenesses ~~of them~~ were preserved in the royal muragga', because their social and economic position, especially that of the painters, was not so high in Akbar's time. It was Jahângîr who took a

101. supra, Chapter III.

personal interest in the styles and techniques of individual painters and encouraged them to specialise in the fields in which they excelled. He singled out the talented ones and encouraged them to work according to their forte. Thus instead of a huge atelier, a manageable establishment employing a very select number of painters doing exclusive and specialised jobs was organised. Consequently, the members of this special department, directly supervised by the emperor himself, gained in prestige and position. This may be the reason why portraits of some of the principal Jahângîrî painters are found on the hâshiyas and in separate miniatures in the royal muraqqa'.

Of these portrait studies the third figure from the top in a clockwise direction, is that of Abu'l Ḥasan (Plate 40), the young son of Âqâ Rizâ. He was about 21 years old in 1608 when the portrait was drawn by Daulat. Though his name does not figure in any known work done in this period with the exception of the miniature in the British Museum Anwâr-i-Suhailî MS (Plate 27), Abu'l Ḥasan was probably already an active member of the studio. He is shown in this study as engaged in drawing with close attention a miniature by his left hand¹⁰².

102. Cf Plate 118 and see infra, Chapter IX.

The next figure is that of Mahohar, son of Basawan (Plate 41), a portly person in his forties, engaged in drawing a miniature portrait. Bishandâs, who is described in the inscription as the nephew of Nânhâ (Plate 42) comes next. He is shown with a folio of the muragga' on which he is working. The bearded and dark-complexioned Daulat and the young and handsome Govardhan sit face to face at the bottom of the folio (Plate 43). Govardhan is the son of Bhawânidâs¹⁰³, a famous Akbarî master. He worked in a number of important late Akbarî MSS, including the Chester Beatty-British Museum Akbarnâma¹⁰⁴ which include his well-known miniature Abu'l Fazl's Presentation of the Second Volume of the Akbarnâma to Akbar¹⁰⁵. Govardhan is shown as turning his face and speaking with Bishandâs sitting behind. The posture is no doubt prompted by the need to express liveliness and dynamism in which Daulat has achieved considerable success.

In his self-portrait Daulat is shown as holding a sheet in his left hand on which is written: Allahu Akbar. Be-hukm-i-Shâh Jahângîr naqqâsh-i-în taswîr nemûd. Bande Daulat shabîh-i-khûd tahrîr qâ'iluhu wa râqimuhu faqîr al-

103. 'Berlin Album', f25b: IBP, 9, 50, Pl. 39. The drawing shows a poet or teacher and his young pupil and is dated 1018H/1609-10.

104. Cat-CB, I, folios 49b, 176b, 177, 201; II, Frontispiece (colour), Pl. 16, 31; and BM, MS 12988, Fol. 158, unpublished.

105. ibid., II, Frontispiece (colour).

haqîr Daulat. The inscription is identical to the one written in the colophon portrait of the Dyson Perrins Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî¹⁰⁶. In the muraqqa' folio on his lap, on which he is apparently working, a minute portrait of Jahângîr is faintly visible.

Another folio of the same album¹⁰⁷ shows a series of seven figures, of whom six are young princes. Four of these drawings accompany the signature of the painter Daulat Muhammad, of which one is dated in the month of Zulqa'da, 1018/beginning of 1610. The princes are not identified, but two of them may portray Jahângîr's youngest sons Shahriyâr and Jahândâr, who were in their 6th year in 1610.

Daulat's work is found on many other folios of the royal muraqqa'. Wilkinson and Gray reproduce part of a folio showing the preparation of a thick sheet of paper for the muraqqa'¹⁰⁸ and report a whole series of hâshiya details on two folios (77v & 78r) illustrating the different stages of paper-making and calligraphy¹⁰⁹. Similar details of paper-making and calligraphy are also depicted on the

106. supra, Chapter IV.

107. Y. Godard, op.cit., 24, fig. 15. (whole folio), 16-19 (details).

108. J.V.S. Wilkinson & B. Gray, Burl.Mag., 1935, Pl. IA, IIA.

109. ibid, 173.

hâshiya of f18^a of the Berlin Album¹¹⁰, though there is little stylistic similarity with the Gulshan examples. Madame Godard reports the presence of the picture of a handsome prince signed by Daulat in another folio¹¹¹, and assigns the fine portrait of young Parwîz¹¹² to him. Daulat is also responsible for an excellent study of Jahângîr showed shooting a pair of deer by ~~plucking~~ his long gun on a forked stand on the ground¹¹³. She also attributes to Daulat a haloed portrait of Jahângîr seated on a golden throne and dressed in immaculate white costume and wearing rich jewels and ornaments, drawn on another folio¹¹⁴. Goetz's ascription to Daulat of a set of five figures of young princes in the company of bearded teachers or writers on the hâshiya of a folio of the same album is probably correct¹¹⁵. Then suddenly we do not hear of Daulat or find any work signed by him. His style was successfully adopted by Govardhan, to whom the excellent folio of the Heeramaneck Collection may be assigned¹¹⁶.

A fine miniature in the S.C. Welch Collection of a dervish and a musician is one of the very surviving isolated

110. IBP, Pl. 20.

111. Y. Godard, op.cit., fig. 20.

112. ibid, fig. 25.

113. ibid, fig. 22, 23.

114. ibid, fig. 24.

115. ~~ibid~~ H. Goetz, East & West, 1957, Pl. XIII; figs.V,VI.

116. Cat-Heeramaneck, No.198, Pl. 198 & colour detail.

miniatures signed by Daulat¹¹⁷. The principal subject of this miniature, 'the somewhat foppish holy man who has burnt and slashed his arms as acts of love', remains unidentified. A pair of cranes and a little doe, with a 'sweetly innocent' look stand fearlessly before the dervish, while a musician plays on a curious-looking ektârâ. An amusing smile fills his countenance¹¹⁸.

A painter named Daulat Kallân signs on a portrait and a few hâshiyas of the Wantage Album in the Victoria and Albert Museum¹¹⁹, but no doubt he is late artist¹²⁰. As it was Bishandâs, not Daulat who was sent with Khân 'Alam's embassy to Persia, and described by the emperor as unrivalled in the art of portrait painting, Daulat probably ceased to paint by the time Bishandâs was chosen in 1613.

117. S.C. Welch & M.C. Beach, Gods, Thrones & Peacocks
New York, 1935, 35, 117, Pl. 8.

118. There is a copy of this picture in the Musée Guimet -
No. 367D; LPI, 44, No. 61.

119. No. IM 122-1921, 123A-1921.

120. Moti Chandra, The Technique of Mughal Painting,
Lucknow, 1949, 80-1.

Manohar

Manohar was the most prolific of all Jahāngīrī painters. Many of the Jahāngīrnāma illustrations, portrait-studies of the emperor and his leading courtiers and pictures of royal assemblies ~~were~~ painted by him. But who is Manohar and how much ^{of} his biographical details are known to us? The answer will be that almost nothing is known except that he was the son of one of the greatest of Akbarī painters, Basāwan. This information is appended to the signature on the sheet of paper held by a young painter under the colophon of a Gulistān MS in the Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society, London (Plate 18)¹²¹.

Manohar's name is found written in three different ways: Manohar, Manohar Dās and Manohar Bandeh (Banda). The name Manohar Dās is found on two folios of the Gulshan Album showing scenes from the story of Lailā and Majnūn¹²² and in a picture illustrating the same story in the Chester Beatty Library¹²³. All three are tinted drawings adapted from European engravings which are connected with a series of similar drawings signed by his father Basāwan¹²⁴. Our

121. supra, Chapter IV.

122. Gulshan Album, ff30b, 38b: J.V.S. Wilkinson & B. Gray, Burl.Mag., 1935, 174, Pl. IIIB, IIIA.

123. Cat-CB, I, 45-6. Not illustrated.

124. Musée Guimet, Paris, No.3.619: LMM, 15-6, No.9; AIP, 150, No.669, Pl.128. The same folio has three other drawings, one signed by Manohar and two attributed to Basāwan. The last two do not seem to be authentic. Cf: AIP, 164, No.746, Pl. 137, attributed to Basāwan by S.C. Welch: Lalit Kala, X, 13fn1.

knowledge of Basâwan's life is also hopelessly limited. W. Stâde and S.C. Welch¹²⁵ devote considerable attention to the study of this great Mughal master and the style of his painting, but no definite information of his life or ancestry could be given by them¹²⁶. From a signed folio of the Cleveland Tûtînâma¹²⁷ it is apparent that Basâwan worked in the Akbarî Studio from its early days. He achieved considerable fame as he probably took charge of the atelier after Daswant's death in 1585. The list of his qualities as a painter as given by Abu'l Fazl is formidable:

In back grounding, drawing of features, distribution of colours, portrait painting, and several other branches, he is most excellent, so much so that many critics prefer him to Daswanth.¹²⁸

Manohar is not mentioned in Abu'l Fazl's admittedly short list of the principal Akbarî painters; presumably he was

125. W. Stâde, "Contribution a L'etude de Basâwan", RdAA, VIII, 1-18; idem, "Les artistes de la cour d'Akbar et les illustrations du Dâstân-i-Amîr Hamzah", Asa, II, 47-65, 88-111; idem, "Basâwan", EWA, II, 384-6; S.C. Welch, "The Paintings of Basawan", Lalitkala, X, 7-17.

126. Pramod Chandra thinks that Basâwan's name places him in the Âhir caste of Uttar Pradesh: S.C. Welch, op.cit. 8.

127. AMI, Pl. 3A.

128. Ain, I, 114. S.C. Welch, op.cit. 8, quotes this variant translation made by R. Skelton. Skelton's translation is an improvement on Blochmann. But the most likely version is: "Basâwan became the unique one of the age in outline-composition (tarrâhî) the portraiture of faces, the blending of colours (rang-âmezî), the painting of real likenesses (mânind-nigârî) and other operations of this art. Many connoisseur (dîdavarân-i-shinâsâ) prefer him to Daswanth." I am grateful to Mr. Simon Digby for translating this passage for me.

then only a rising young artist¹²⁹. Manohar's works are not found in the Jaipur Razmnâma, the earliest Akbarî MS where the names of the painters are systematically given or in the British Museum Dârânâma, which is generally accepted as an early MS. Pictures signed by Manohar suddenly become common in the historical and political MSS painted in 1595 and afterwards¹³⁰. His contribution in the Victoria and Albert Museum Akbarnâma is limited to the colouring of only one folio drawn by Mukund, which may be regarded as one of his earliest major works.

129. The Â'in-i-Akbarî was completed in 1597. The section on painting is included in Â'in 34, hence it may have been written considerably earlier.

130. 1. Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî, British Museum, Or 12208, ff 13b, 72a, 132a: Martin, II, Pl.178.
 2. Jami'ut-Tawârîkh, Gulistan Library, Tehran: J. Marek & H. Knizkova, The Jenghiz Khan Miniatures, London, 1963, Pl.3.
 3. Anwâr-i-Suhaîlî, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benaras: Manuscripts from Indian Collections, New Delhi, 1964, 102.
 4. Khâmsa of Amîr Khusrau Dihlavî, Metropolitan Museum of Art, No.13.228.33: AIP, Pl. 124.
 5. Tîmûrnâma, Bankipur Library, Patna: Cat-Bankipur, VII, 44-8.
 6. Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî, A.C. Ardeshir Collection: A.C. Ardeshir, Roop-Lekha, I, 7.
 7. Diwân-i-Hâfiz, Raza Library, Rampur: S.C. Welch, Marg, XI, No.3.
 8. Bâbarnâma, British Museum Or.3714, f 283b: F.G. Talbot, Memoirs of Baber, Emperor of India, London 1909, Pl. facing 167.
 9. Akbarnâma, Victoria and Albert Museum, f 71.
 10. Akbarnâma, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ind. MS.3, ff 32b, 57a, 212a, 212b: Cat-CB, III, Pl. 15, 18.
 11. Akbarnâma, British Museum, Or.12988, ff 32a, 129a.

Manohar could not have made his debut in the colophon portrait of the 1581 Gulistân (Plate 18), because the date is too early for such portrait-studies to be introduced and for Manohar to draw in that mature style¹³¹. It seems to be a clever attempt on the part of this fine portraitist to paint his self portrait as he was a young man in 1581.

Manohar easily became a leading painter in Jahângîr's atelier as he was a capable artist with a mastery over the science of perspective and proficiency in drawing accurate and lively portrait studies. In addition, the balance and harmony expressed in a mellow and subdued colour scheme infusing a distinctiveness in his works must have pleased the connoisseur emperor Jahângîr. Though Manohar's name has never been mentioned in the Tûzuk, his position as a leading painter is attested by the presence of his portrait on the hâshiya of the Gulshan album (Plate 41), painted by Daulat in 1608-9¹³². In it Manohar appears to be a man in his mid-forties, with a successful career lasting for a good many years more ahead of him. That he accompanied Jahângîr in the latter's journey to

131. Gray revised his early opinion expressed in AIP, 94, 143 No. 642, and acknowledges in PI, 82, that this is a Jahângîr period addition. See supra, Chapter III.

132. supra,

Ajmer, Mandu, and Ahmedabad in 1613-1618 is proved by the portrait of Jahângîr (Plate 136) presented to Sir Thomas Roe and of the picture of the Khân-i-Khânân (Plate 105), on which the emperor wrote his autograph note giving the date and the place of their painting.¹³³

In most of the pictures painted during this period his name is written as Manohar. Only on a number of portraits and animal studies which are compiled in later muraqqa's his name is sometimes written as Manohar Bandeh. He seems to have stopped working during the last years of Jahângîr's reign or at the beginning of Shâh Jahân's reign, soon after the fine study of Dârâ Shukoh's white horse called Dilpasand was painted¹³⁴. The name Râjâ Manohar Singh written on a drawing, depicting the meeting of Jahângîr and Shâh Jahân, in the India Office Library¹³⁵, is as mentioned before¹³⁶, a fictitious attribution.

Manohar must have been sufficiently at home with European engravings. He studied them and carefully copied

133. supra, Chapter VII.

134. India Office Library, Johnson, III, f 1:
HFA, 1911 ed., Pl. CXXV.

135. India Office Library, Johnson, IV: IPM, Pl. LVIII.

136. supra, Chapter VII.

them as exercise in modelling and perspective¹³⁷. Gradually with the development of his personal style, his paintings began to show well controlled modelling and accurate perspective. In miniatures painted by him in such MSS as the Dyson Perrins Khâmsa-i-Nizâmî, the Rampur Dîwân-i-Hâfiz the British Museum Bâbarnâma, the dispressed Khâmsa of Amîr Khusrau, and the British Museum-Chester Beatty Akbarnâma, the composition is almost invariably well-planned and the figures lively. Manohar's style of portraiture is much influenced by his father's almost unequalled mastery in this branch of painting. He avoids using shadows and drawing "type characters", which are so characteristic of Farrukh Beg and Âqâ Rizâ, and concentrates his attention not only in having a precise likeness but also giving it life and character.

He must have played an important rôle in the first few years of Jahângîr's reign while the tradition of manuscript painting continued. The fine miniature showing

137. Besides the pastiche works in the Gulshan Album and the Chester Beatty Library, there are drawings in the Musée Guimet (LMM, 17 No. 13) and in the Leningrad Album ff 53, 88 (Leningrad Album, Pl. 21, 20) which are either copies of Western engravings or based on them. S.C. Welch attributes a tinted drawing showing a ~~pe~~ Presentation Scene obviously copied from one of more European engravings to Manohar: AO, III, 226, fig. 11.

the Disgrace of Sa'dî and the untried Young Marksman, (Plate 25) which was added to the British Museum Gulistân MS of 1567¹³⁸, has been attributed to Manohar mainly for the wonderful portraiture of the persons and the delightful river and wood landscape drawn in a precisely accurate perspective. The hunting scene in the Leningrad Album (Plate 90) shows a virtual replica of this miniature. The scene cannot be certainly identified but as Jahângîr appears rather youthful and as he is not shown with his retinue of nobles and attendants, it seems to have been painted during his princely days. Manohar signs his name as Manohar Dâs and thus it is connected with the group of three Lailâ-Majnûn illustrations where the figure of Lailâ is copied from European engravings. Similar additions or incorporations of European elements are also noticed in two Jahângîrnâma miniatures, A State Procession¹³⁹ and Jahângîr's visit to Akbar's Tomb (Plate 78), and in a miniature of some lost MS of Gulistân¹⁴⁰ all attributed to Manohar. In each of the last two, a figure of a prisoner is introduced which is adopted from a European St. Sebastian "from whom the painter has compassionately and conveniently removed the arrows"¹⁴¹.

138. supra, Chapter IV.

139. IPM, Pl. XXXI.

140. S.C. Welch, AO, III, Fig. 18.

141. ibid, 142.

A miniature signed 'Manohar Bandeh' and detached from a small unidentified MS is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta¹⁴². It shows a group of masons building a wall, while in the foreground an old man bows his head before a dark-complexioned mullâ. The miniature is drawn in subdued colours and its association with Jahângîr is further strengthened by an inscription written on the arch of the mosque giving the name Shâh Jahângîr.

With the passage of time Manohar specialised in portrait and animal studies. The young prince standing in a pavilion holding a book, in the Gulshan Album (Plate 59), may be regarded as an early work of Manohar. An inscription in Shâh Jahân's autograph written on it identifies the subject as a likeness of young Khurram.¹⁴³ If the fine portrait of Dâniyâl, identified by Jahângîr ⁱⁿ by an inscription written on it¹⁴⁴, is regarded as a contemporary likeness of the Prince then it is apparent that Manohar was painting portraits from the end of Akbar's reign.

142. Indian Museum, Calcutta, R.201: IPM, Pl. LIX, fig 1.

143. Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1936, 31-2.

144. Kevorkian Album, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York. Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 12 December, 1929. Lot 124. There is a fine replica of the portrait in the British Museum which is signed by Muḥammad Nâdir Samarqandî: No.1920-9-17-013(34).

Manohar's contribution in the Jahângîrî muraqqa's is not very substantial. There are at least four portraits which are either signed by Manohar or attributed to him by Jahângîr. The portrait of Jahângîr (Plate 56) found on f 18^b of the Berlin Album may have been painted by him because traces of his mastery in modelling are apparent in the vigorous expression of the emperor's face. Two other portraits of unidentified nobles found on the same folio are also painted by Manohar, though Kühnel and Goetz read it as Manôshahr¹⁴⁵. The portrait of the Khân-i-Khânân on f 23^a (Plate 105) bears a note signed by Jahângîr which states that it was painted by Manohar in the 13th julûs¹⁴⁶.

A large number of Manohar's works are found in the later muraqqa's which were probably collected by Shâh Jahân from his princely days and bound in albums later during his reign. In the Minto Album, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the signed portrait of Shâh Jahân and his eldest son Dârâ Shukoh (Plate 84) riding in a hilly landscape, probably in Kashmir, and the picture of Jahângîr's private assembly

145. IBP, 55-6, Pl. 37.

146. supra, Chapter VII.

(Plate 73) are preserved. The latter is not signed by Manohar, but attributed by scholars to him¹⁴⁷. The faces of Shâh Jahân and Dara Shukoh in the former example are retouched by a Shâh Jahânî painter called Murâr, so it is possible that Manohar ~~could~~ not complete the picture, and that it was completed by Murâr at a much later date.

At least four authentic works ^{of Manohar} are found in the Wantage Album in the same Museum. Two of them portray Mîrzâ Ghâzî Beg¹⁴⁸ and Murtazâ Khân¹⁴⁹, a third shows Jahângîr's reception of Qutb-ud-dîn Khân Kôkâ¹⁵⁰, while the fourth portrays a tame big black buck led by its keeper (Plate 99)¹⁵¹. ~~The~~ ^{last one} is inscribed Shâh Jahângîr at the top and signed Manohar Bandeh. The identity of the animal remains uncertain, but it may represent the emperor's favourite antelope called Mansarâj or Râj on whose grave a minâr was built¹⁵². Another example of Manohar's venture in the field of animals-portraiture is found in the collection of Geoffrey C.N. Sturt, Painswick, which shows a small falcon on a perch¹⁵³. Besides the portrait of Dâniyâl referred to above, the Kevorkian Album contains a fine portrait of Mahâbat Khân¹⁵⁴ and another picture of good

147. supra, Chapter VII.

148. Clarke, Pl. 4; AIP, 154, No.690.

149. ibid, Pl. 11.

150. Clarke, Pl. 7; AIP, 153, No.685.

151. Clarke, Pl. 8 wrongly labelled 'Jahangir leading a black buck'; AIP, 156, No.703, dates C.1610.

152. Tuzuk, I, 90-1.

153. AIP, 159, No.720.

154. Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 12 December 1929, Lot 134.

quality showing the emperor seated on a throne with I'timâd-ud-daula standing before him¹⁵⁵. The Nasir-ud-din Album contains many portrait-studies, but the album was compiled at a much later date; ~~the~~ ^{as} the attributions are not always reliable. However, the quality of portraiture in the pictures of the Khân-i-Khânân, ^(Plate 105) Âsaf Khân and Hakîm 'Alî seems adequate¹⁵⁶. The attribution of the picture of the meeting of young prince and an aged dervish need not be doubted because all the faces in the picture are wonderfully drawn¹⁵⁷. Reference has been made to the pictures of the royal wrestler called Fîl Safîd (Plate 83) and of ~~the~~ Shaikh ^{Husam Ajmîl} ~~unidentified Mulla~~ in a private collection¹⁵⁸ in an earlier chapter.

155. *ibid*, Lot 108; M. Dimand, *Bull.Met.*, XIV, 1955, Pl. 96.

156. Y. Godard, *Athar-e-Iran*, 1937, figs. 100, 80, 106 respectively.

157. *ibid*, 238, fig. 93.

158. Lala Radhamohan Lal, Jaipur Collection: Kanwar Sain, *JPHS*, IX, Pl. 1.

Bishandâs and his visit to Persia

Bishandâs is mentioned in the Tûzuk in the 14th julûs soon after Khân-i-'Alam was received by the emperor in the garden of Kalanaur. The entry reads:

At the time when I sent Khâm 'Alam to Persia, I had sent with him a painter of the name of Bishan Dâs, who was unequalled in his age for taking likenesses, to take the portraits of the Shâh and the chief men of his State, and bring them. He had drawn the likenesses of most of them, and especially had taken that of my brother the Shâh exceedingly well, so that when I showed it to any of his servants, they said it was exceedingly well drawn.¹⁵⁹

On the same day Bishan Dâs was honoured by the emperor by the gift of an elephant. Khân-i-'Alam's mission was sent to Persia just a month before the emperor left Agra on ^{his} way to Ajmer in September 1613¹⁶⁰. The idea to include a painter of repute in the party is novel and characteristic of Jahângîr¹⁶¹. Before the hostility, long impending between Iran and Mughal India, finally broke out in the middle 1621, relations between Shâh 'Abbâs of Iran and

159. Tuzuk, II, 116-7.

160. ibid., I, 248.

161. In the light of this decision of Jahângîr, R. Skelton's attempt to connect Farrukh Beg with the Bijapur Court and the style of its painting does not appear to be very improbable. But the court chronicles are completely silent on this point. We confront a similar enigma when we notice the presence of several portrait studies of members of the Rânâ of Mewar's family, painted by Nânhâ. Did Nânhâ accompany prince Karan when the latter returned to Mewar in 1616 to draw a series of portraits of Jahângîr's vanquished enemies, now exalted as friends? Cf: Cat-MFA, VI, 18, Pl. LII; Sotheby's Sale Catalogue 12 December 1929, Lot 133 (Bhîm Kunwâr).

and Jahângîr were cordial¹⁶². Ambassadors with big retinues, rich presents and flattering letters from the Shâh came to the Mughal Court and made long stays¹⁶³. Two fine miniatures in the Freer Gallery of Art (Plates 108, 109) bear witness to this friendly relation. According to ~~the~~ inscriptions written on one of them, ~~the~~ miniature was painted hurriedly before the Naurûz to represent a dream of Jahângîr, of visit by Shâh 'Abbâs in a well of light (Plate 108). It also gives us the information that the painter Abu'l Hasan inquired about the likeness of the Shâh from many people who had seen him. On the basis of these enquiries and using his imagination and skill, he achieved a portrait which most agreed was like the Persian emperor. So it is quite clear that the picture was painted before Bishandâs returned from Persia with the portraits of the Shâh drawn by him. It also gives us an indication of the emperor's wish to have a good collection of portraits of important personalities¹⁶⁴.

162. Beniprasad, Chapter XVI; Tuzuk, I, 193-6, 237-8, 248-9, 282-3, 284, 298-9, 310, 336-7, 334, 398; II, 94, 107, 115-7, 178, 186-7, 198, 201, 211.

163. Cf. Roe, 262-3: "This is but the first act of his [the Persian ambassador Muhammad Rizâ Beg who came in October 1616] presenting. The play will not be finished in ten days."

164. PSEI, Pl. 6 text.

On the painting-board held by a thinly-built middle-aged moustachioed man of sharp features (Plate 42) the painter Daulat writes a note identifying the man as Bishandâs, a nephew of Nânhâ, a well-known Akbarî master¹⁶⁵. The portrait, painted on the hâshiya of a Gulshan Album folio, is associated with other leading painters, Manohar, the young Abu'l Hasan, Govardhan and Daulat himself, and thus recognises the pre-eminence of Bishandâs as an important member of the Jahângîrî atelier. His works are found in at least three Akbarî MSS, the Bharat Kala Bhavan Anwâr-i-Suhaflî¹⁶⁶, the Victoria and Albert Museum Bâbarnâma fragment¹⁶⁷ and in the Chester Beatty Library Jog Bâsisht¹⁶⁸. The first one is dated 1596/7 and the last one 1602; so it seems that Bishandâs was active in the Akbarî atelier for at least five years. His works are not found in the British Museum-Chester Beatty Akbarnâma¹⁶⁹. The Nafahat-al-uns miniature, showing a vision of future married bliss for Abu Bakr Duqqi as foreseen by Abu'l Husain Karâfi¹⁷⁰, attributed by Coomaraswamy to

165. Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1936, 23; 18-23.

166. Manuscripts from Indian Collections, New Delhi, 1964, 102.

167. IM 276-1913: A.K. Coomaraswamy, Arts & Crafts of India & Ceylon, London, 1913, fig. 166; L. Binyon & T.W. Arnold, The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls, Oxford, 1921, Pl. IV.

168. Chester Beatty Library, Ind. MS. No.4, f 249, signature cut-off: Cat-CB, I, 21-5, not illustrated.

169. supra, Chapter IV.

170. British Museum, Or 1362, f 142^a; PI, Pl. on p.97 (colour).

Bishandâs¹⁷¹ seems more likely to be a work of Daulat¹⁷².

If our attribution of a group of miniatures in the Râj Kunwâr MS (Plate 9)¹⁷³ to Bishandâs, which has an undoubted similarity with his only miniature in the British Museum Anwâr-i-Subaîlî MS (Plate 28) is correct, Bishandâs must have left Agra before 1603 in order to join Prince Salîm's Studio at Allahabad.

S.C. Welch's attribution of a miniature of Sa'dî's visit to the Temple ^{of} Somnath, in a Bûstân MS (Plate 30) to Bishandâs appears to be irrefutable¹⁷⁴. Bishandâs' signature is found again on the hâshiya of the Gulshan Album, a detail from which ^{a detail} showing a calligrapher at work, has been published by Wilkinson and Gray¹⁷⁵. Welch also attributes to Bishandâs the birth scene, which might have formed an illustration to the Jahângîrnâma (Plate 67)¹⁷⁶. The signed picture of the House of Shaikh Phûl (Plate 106), in the Bharat Kala Bhavan may also be assigned to the same period when the Scene of a Royal Birth was painted¹⁷⁷.

171. A.K. Coomaraswamy, "Notes on Indian Painting, 4: Bishandas and Others, Artibus Asiae, II (Dresden, 1927) 286.

172. supra,

173. supra, Chapter III.

174. supra, Chapter IV.

175. J.V.S. Wilkinson & B. Gray, Burl.Mag., 1935, 173, Pl.IIB.

Y. Godard also refers to it: Y. Godard, op.cit., 31.

176. AMI, 21.

177. S.C. Welch assigns C.1610 for the birth scene which is not improbable from the stylistic point of view. The Jahângîrnâma illustrations were not, however, painted before C.1615: supra, Chapter VII.

Bishandâs was selected to accompany Khân-i-'Alam, but not many of Bishandâs's portrait studies are known to us. The only exception is the portrait of Râjâ Sûraj Singh Râthôr of Jodhpur (Plate 55), painted in 1608 when the Râjâ came to the court¹⁷⁸. Most of the known portraits of Bishandâs were either brought by him from Persia or painted after his return.

The best known amongst the group of pictures painted in Shâh 'Abbâs's court is the scene of the reception of Khân-i-'Alam by the Shâh, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Plate 86)¹⁷⁹. The meeting apparently took place out of doors, probably when the Shâh was out hunting. According to Jahângîr's report the Shâh's attitude towards Khân-i-'Alam was cordial. The Shâh even permitted him to smoke in front of him, though the use of tobacco was banned in Persia. Bishandâs's picture shows the Shah examining a crystal or jade cup presented by the Mughal emperor while an attendant brings a small huqqa to Khân-i-'Alam.¹⁸⁰ The picture is mounted on a hâshiya showing late Shâh Jehân period drawings of attendants carrying guns, swords, falcons or preparing

178. IBP, 10, 12, 23; Tuzuk, I, 140-1.

179. Cat-MFA, VI, 46-8.

180. Tuzuk, I, 370-1. R. Pinder-Wilson thinks the little glass huqqa-bowl held by the servant standing behind Khân-i-'Alam as the earliest representation of a huqqa in Indian painting: "A Glass Huqqa Bowl," BMQ; XXV, 92. The crystal cup held by the Shâh may be the one sent by Jahângîr to him.

sikh-kabâb. A number of copies of this picture¹⁸¹ and a Persian version of the scene¹⁸² are also known. The best likeness of the Shâh painted by Bishandâs is to be found in a fine miniature in the Leningrad Album (Plate 85)¹⁸³. This shows him seated under a canopy in a garden and examining a falcon. Only a few of the large number of portraits that Bishandâs must have painted during his long stay in the Iranian Court are known to us. The portraits of Khodabanda Mîrzâ (Plate 88), who abdicated in favour of his son 'Abbâs in 995 Hijra/1586-7 and was long dead at the time of Bishandâs's visit, in the Nasir-ud-din Album, and of 'Isâ Khân Qurchî Bashî, a general of Shâh 'Abbâs, in the Baron Maurice de Rothschild Collection, Paris¹⁸⁴, must have come from this group.

The portraits of Bahadûr Khân Uzbek and Khizr Khân Khândeshî in the Berlin Album¹⁸⁵ and the double portrait of

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181. Coomaraswamy gives a list of them in Cat-MFA, VI, 46-8.
Also: idem, Artibus Asiae, II, 283-90.
182. Martin, II, Pl. 160; E. Blochet, Enluminures..., Pl. CVIIb, CVIIc. & P. Schulz, Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei, Leipzig, 1914, II, Pl. 119.
183. Leningrad Album, f. 37. Pl. 15 (colour).
184. I. Schoukine, "Portraits Moghols, IV..." RdAA, IX, 197.
Not reproduced. A copy of Khodabanda Mîrzâ's portrait is preserved in a folio in the British Museum (No. 1920-9-17-013(24)).
185. Bahadûr Khân Uzbek: F 22^b of the Berlin Album, IBP, Pl. 35. He visited the Mughal Court at the end of 1620. (Tuzuk, II, 192). The portrait is signed by Bishandâs. But the portrait of Khizr Khân Khândeshî on f 4^b: IBP 22, Pl. 7 (colour), is not signed. He also met Jahângîr in 1620 near Gokula (Tuzuk, II, 196, 198, 211).

Râo Bhâro and Jassâ Jâm in the Wantage Bequest, Victoria and Albert Museum¹⁸⁶ represent Bishandâs's work after his return from Persia. The last-mentioned picture along with the picture of Râjâ Sûraj Singh Râthôr bearing Shâh Jahân's autograph¹⁸⁷ and the folio showing an imaginary assembly of three Kings Bâbar, Tîmûr and Humâyûn, attended by two unidentified nobles, also found in the Nasir-ud-din Album¹⁸⁸, seem to have been prepared for Shâh Jahân at about the same time or later during his reign.

The unsigned picture of another imaginary meeting of Jahângîr and Shâh 'Abbâs in the Freer Gallery of Art (Plate 109) could not have been painted before Bishandâs's return, because the likeness of the Shâh is very close to Bishandâs's portrayal of him in the garden scene in the Leningrad Album (Plate 185). Apart from the wine vases and curiosities noted by Ettinghausen¹⁸⁹ it also shows the dagger, the hilt of which was made of wabrus ivory (dandân-i-mâhî) sent to Jahângîr by the Shâh through his employee Hâfiz Hâsan in the middle of 1619¹⁹⁰ and the Shâhîn falcon presented to Khân-i-'Alam by the Shâh.¹⁹¹

186. Victoria & Albert Museum, No. IM 124A-1921; AMI, Pl. (colour).

187. Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 12 December 1929, Lot 138.

188. Y. Godard, op.cit., fig. 63. Cf: Martin, II, Pl. 214 for another version painted by Hashim in 1604 Hijra.

189. PSEI, Pl. 13 (colour) and text.

190. Tuzuk, II, 94.

191. ibid., II, 107-8.

Mansûr

It was not very easy for any painter to match the enthusiasm and acumen with which Jahângîr looked at the animal and vegetal world: of all his leading artists only the genius of Mansur could breathe life into birds and beasts and an eternal freshness into trees and flowers. The rare birds and unfamiliar animals described in the Tûzuk become real and familiar when we look at his inimitable portrayals of them.

Mansûr like his illustrious colleague Manohar, started his career in the Akbarî atelier when it was at its zenith. However, his was a humble beginning as he was neither a Khânazâd nor related to any of the leading masters; starting from the position of an assistant or naqqâsh, preparing ornamental unwans¹⁹² or colouring designs of the famous masters like Basâwan¹⁹³, Miskinâ¹⁹⁴ and Nânhâ¹⁹⁵, Mansûr gradually established himself in the Mughal studio as a leading exponent of animal art. By the

192. In the Khâmsa of Amîr Khusrau dated 1597/8.
PSEI, text of Pl. 6.

193. Folio 112 of Akbarnâma MS in the Victoria & Albert Museum was designed by Basâwan and painted by Mansûr.

194. Folio 56 of the same MS was designed by Miskinâ and painted by Mansûr.

195. Jamî'ut-Twârikh, dated 1596/7, Gulistan Library, Tehran; one folio designed by Nânhâ and painted by Mansûr. The portraits were added by Mâdhav: A. Godard & B. Gray, Iran, Pl. XXX.

time when copies of the Bâbarnâma¹⁹⁶ were being prepared Mansûr's talent as a specialist in animal painting became apparent. Many of the unsigned animal portraits of the Moscow Bâbarnâma, Bharat Kala Bhavan Anwâr-i-Suhailî and the Chester Beatty-Cowasji Jehangir 'Iyâr-i-Dânish MSS may have come from his brush.

He does not seem to have worked in the Salîm Studio, as no miniature in the British Museum Anwâr-i-Suhailî is signed by him. On the other hand, four miniatures of the British Museum Akbarnâma¹⁹⁷ bear his name. The miniature portrait of an unidentified musician playing a vînâ (Plate 89) ~~and~~ signed by him is generally assigned to this period¹⁹⁸. The portrait of a falconer wearing a gold jâma curiously embroidered with birds, animals and hunting scene in the Heeramanek Collection may also be by Mansûr¹⁹⁹. The only other portrait attributed to him is that of Jahângîr seated on a throne in the Leningard Album (Plate 52). It is

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196. British Museum, Or 3714: ff 387^a, 387^b, 389^b. V.A. Smith, HFA, 1911, Fig. 249-50. He also contributed in the Agra College Bâbarnâma. Also a stray folio in the Frezer Gallery
 197. British Museum, Or 12988. ff 35^b, 110^a, 110^b and 112. Under two of these the name is given as Ustâd Mansûr and in one folio it is written as Mansûr Naqqâsh.
 198. AMI, 31, Pl. 18; B. Gray, AIP, 98, 159, No. 717. Gray & Moti Chandra identify him with Naubat Khân: Ars Islamica, XV-XVI, 146-9; AMI, 165.
 199. AMI, 31, Pl. 19; Cat-Heeramanek, No. 203. (No credence should be given to Karl Khandalava's unjustifiably harsh criticism: Lalit-Kala, XI, 9-13.)

not signed by him but attributed jointly to him and Manohar in the inscription written on the inner border.²⁰⁰

Though Mansûr concentrated on natural history drawings and numerous delightful studies of birds, animals and flowers carry his name, it is not very easy to draw up a chronological sequence of his work. Mansûr's name is mentioned in the Tuzuk for the first time in 1618 - when the well-known remarks of the emperor on his connoisseurship and on his paintings were recorded²⁰¹. He was already given the title Nâdir-ul-'asr and recognised by the emperor as 'unique in his generation' in the art of drawing. Yet his pictures, coming as they do from the early days of Jahângîr's reign, are by no means common. Evidently, he was ready at hand when Muqarrab Khân returned from Goa with the Turkey-cock, as Mansûr's vigorous and lively portrayal of the bird, preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Plate 96) reveals²⁰².

A large number of bird and animals drawings are collected in the later muraqqa's like the Minto Album²⁰³,

200. T. Grek, Leningrad Album, English résumé p.8. Her opinion that this is a coronation portrait of Jahângîr is not backed by any corroborative evidence.

201. Tuzuk, II, 20-1.

202. supra, Chapter VII.

203. Distributed between Chester Beatty Library and Victoria and Albert Museum: Cat-CB, I, Ind. MS. 7 7 11a.

the Wantage Album²⁰⁴, the Kevorkian Album²⁰⁵, Leningrad Album²⁰⁶, Dârâ Shukoh's Album²⁰⁷, and Nâsir-ud-dîn Album²⁰⁸, and most of them are attributed to Mansûr at various times. Only a few are, however, actually signed by the master, or authenticated by autograph notes of Jahângîr or Shâh Jahân. Amongst these authenticated ones are the pictures of a Zebra (Plate 101), a pair of Indian cranes, a bustard (Plate 93) and a hornbill (Plate 94). The picture of the zebra not only carries a long note written by Jahângîr on it, but is also described in detail in the Tûzuk:

At this time I saw a wild ass (gûr-khar), exceedingly strange in appearance, exactly like a lion [tiger]. From the tip of the nose to the end of the tail, and from the point of the ear to the top of the hoof, black markings, large or small, suitable to their position, were seen on it. Round the eyes there was an exceedingly fine black line. One might say the painter of fate, with a strange brush, had left it on the page of the world. As it was strange, some people imagined that it had been coloured. After minute inquiry into the truth, it became known that the Lord of the World was the Creator thereof. As it was a rarity, it was included among the royal gifts sent to my brother Shâh'Abbâs.²⁰⁹

204. In the Victoria & Albert Museum: Clarke.

205. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 12 December 1929; M. Dimand, Bull-Met, XIV, 85-102; idem, A Handbook of Muhammadan Arts, 3rd edition 1958, Addendum, Figs. 224-8. Also in the Ferson Gallery of Art.

206. Leningrad Album.

207. In the India Office Library, London, largely unpublished. Only a few pictures published in MFA & IPM.

208. Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1937, 179-277, fig. 63-113.

209. Tuzuk, II, 201.

The painting is inscribed: "A zebra which the Turks who came with Mîr Ja'far brought from Abyssinia in the year 1030 Hijra. Its picture was drawn by Nâdir-ut-'Asrî Ustâd Mansûr in the 16th year." The picture vividly depicts the deep grey stripes on its yellowish body which appeared so wonderful to the emperor.

While drawing his bird and animal studies Mansûr gives all his attention to ^{depict} ~~the~~ its appearance and behaviour. He avoids unnecessary details or an elaborate background, and uses only a few symbolic shrubs or boulders or a faint indication of the horizon, and sometimes in order to indicate the exact environment of the subject an occasional tree or rock. The pair of cranes drawn in a fascinating study now in the Victoria and Albert Museum²¹⁰ may represent the pair of cranes domesticated and paired by Jahângîr and described in so great detail in the Tûzuk²¹¹. The single

210. AIP, 158, No.714, Pl. G (colour).

211. Tuzuk, II, 16-8, 23-4, 32-3, 39, 42.

In a letter to the Victoria & Albert Museum, Mr. G.S. Keith of the American Museum of Natural History writes: "Scientifically it is interesting because these are not in fact the common Indian Sarus Crane, Grus antigone. They are a rather rare Tibetan crane Grus nigricollis, which nests in Tibet and winters in the Yunnan. It does not occur in India at all." I am grateful to Mr. R. Skelton for showing this letter. Vide, Chapter X, Note 124.

crane studied in another miniature (Plate 97) may represent one of the offsprings of the pair. Though this picture is not signed, its very minute brush work and the stamp of distinctiveness expressed in its posture can only occur in Mansûr's work.

Amongst others the turkey-cock (Plate 96), the bustard (Plate 93) and the Himalayan Cheer Pheasant (Plate 91) have already been noticed²¹². The pictures of a pair of peafowl in the Maurice de Rothschild Collection (Plate 92)²¹³ and of a vulture in the Chester Beatty Library (Plate 100) are not signed by Mansûr nor are they referred to in the Tûzuk. Many of these animal and bird pictures are found in pairs, one, evidently the master-copy signed by Mansûr rather in an elaborate fashion²¹⁴, and the other a close replica not signed by the master. Even after a close and careful examination only minute differences are noticed in the second copy. So it is not improbable that these were painted either from the charba of the original

212. supra, Chapter VII.

213. Peafowl is a common motif painted in numerous miniatures in Akbarî MSS. A fine example of a pair of this beautiful bird is preserved in the British Museum Bâbarnâma MS (Or 3714, f 383^b lower: HFA, 1911 ed. fig. 246). Cf: Bâbar's description in the Bâbarnâma: tr. A.S. Beveridge, II, 493.

214. " 'Amal-i-banderâh (Ustâd) Mansûr (Naqqâsh) Nâdir-ul-asrî Jahângirshâhî."

or the master himself might have drawn the outline while his assistants applied the colours. A study showing a cinerous vulture and a Griffon vulture with white neck signed by Mansur is found in the Kevorkian Album²¹⁵, so the fully coloured version in the Chester Beatty Collection^(Plate 100) may be a contemporary or slightly later copy²¹⁶.

The picture of a black and white great hornbill in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Plate 94) and that of a 'White Eye' which was in the Eckstein Collection (Plate 95) are authenticated by inscriptions. Similar studies of Chameleon²¹⁷, West Himalayan Spotted Forktail²¹⁸, Indian Red-wattled Lapwing²¹⁹, Himalayan Blue-throated Barbet²²⁰, Partridges²²¹ etc. signed by Mansur are also found in the above-mentioned

215. Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 12 December 1929, Lot 144.

216. Cf: similar duplicate versions of the Victoria & Albert Museum Turkey Cock (Plate 96) in the Indian Museum (IPM, Pl. LIII); of the Victoria & Albert Cheer Pheasant (Plate 91) in the Rothschild Collection (IPM, Pl. LIV) of the Metropolitan Museum Hornbill (Plate 94) in the collection of G.C.N. Sturt (Lilliput, 1948, April 2, AIP, No.718), and many more.

217. AIP, 160, No.724, Pl. 135: in the Royal Collection at the Windsor Castle.

218. Sotheby's...op.cit., Lot 147. The bird is identified on the base of Salim Ali, Indian Hill Birds, London, 1959, 57, Pl. 28.

219. Victoria & Albert Museum, No. IM 126a-1921: Clarke Pl. 15.

220. Victoria & Albert Museum, No. IM 137-1921: Clarke Pl.15.

221. Formerly in the V. Golobew Collection: Martin, II, Pl. 219. Other pictures of the bird is found in the Vever Collection, (LPI, Pl. XXVIb) and Pozzi Collection (E. Blochet, Les Peintures Orientales de la Collection Pozzi, 1928, Pl. XIXd.)

albums, Numerous unsigned bird and animal pictures in his style are known to us. This proves the success of Mansûr's creative style, which made the study of wild life and natural history subjects a fascinating part of Mughal painting. Though Mansûr cannot be regarded as an innovator of this mode, he can certainly be called its most successful systemiser.

At the time of his first visit to the vale of Kashmir during his reign, Jahângîr was enchanted by the charm of the numerous flowers and verdure of the place. The tour lasted from late spring to autumn in 1620. Even before he entered the vale he saw long stretches of the hilly countryside covered with many known and unknown flowers. After reaching the valley he spent his time in looking at them and writing their accounts in a language charged with emotion²²². Not unexpectedly, Nâdir-ul-'aqrî Ustâd Mansûr was ready at hand to draw delightful picture of these beautiful flowers. In one place the emperor records the number of pictures painted by Mansûr as exceeding 100, and this was not long after the royal party arrived at Srinagar²²³. Practically no example of Mansûr's

222. Tuzuk, II, 124, 134, 143-5, 153-4.

223. ibid, II, 145.

drawings of Kashmir flowers is preserved for posterity. Only a single authentic example of his work ^{on flowers} is preserved in the collection of Sitaram Shahu, Benaras (Plate 111). It shows a shrub of bright red tulip-like flowers, full-blown and bud, and a butterfly of many colours²²⁴. Madame Godard refers to a few drawings of flowers in the Nâsir-ud-dîn Album, but none of these is reproduced²²⁵. The tradition of flower painting was enthusiastically continued by Muḥammad Nâdir Samarqandî, whose work are found in various collections²²⁶.

Before concluding this rather unfairly short note on Mansûr, mention should be made of the fine picture of a Chanâr tree in the India Office Library, London (Plate 112). This large and highly finished picture of many colours takes a close look at the life of a family of squirrels. The large number of frolicking and playing, alert and frightened ^{squirrels} are rendered with a scientific acumen and an almost unbelievable sensitiveness. The picture is ~~tr~~ generally ascribed to Abu'l Hasan²²⁷. Abu'l Hasan

224. Reproduced in colour: N.C. Mehta, Studies in Indian Paintings, Bombay, 1926, 79f, Pl. 31.

225. Godard, op.cit., 271, 274.

226. Cat-Cowasji, Colour Pl. E.; Blochet, Eulumineries,... Pl. CLXVIII, British Museum No.1920-9-17-013(24); LPI, Pl. XXVIA etc.

227. AIP, 163, No.737; J.V.S. Wilkinson, Mughal Painting, Pl.6 (colour), W.G. Archer, Indian Miniatures, London, 1960, Pl. 25 (colour).

painted a few pictures of birds and beasts²²⁸; but a study of such scientific precision, close familiarity with the animal behaviour and sympathetic rendering could only have been painted by Mansûr. No reliance can be given on the late attribution written on the back of the picture²²⁹, because it contains not only Nâdir-uz-Zamân's name but also of Nâdir-ul-'Asr's.

228. e.g.: Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 12 December, 1929
Lot. 146.

229. AIP, 163.

PART THREE SEARCH FOR NEW STANDARDS

CHAPTER 9

Abu'l Hasan, Bichitr and the
Iconographical Drawings

The course of Mughal history changed rather suddenly after Shâh Jahân left Lahore for the Deccan in December 1620, and within a few years many unexpected events occurred: Parwîz, so long neglected and despised for his mediocrity, was recalled from Allahabad; Shahriyâr was married to Lâdlî Begam, daughter of Nûr Jahân by her previous marriage; Jahângîr himself became gravely ill; immediately after his recovery he decided to embark on yet another tour of the Vale of Kashmir and of the newly conquered fort of Kangra; news of Khusrau's suspected murder by his brother Shâh Jahân was coolly received and recorded by the emperor; Qandahar was annexed by the Shâh of Iran and finally Shâh Jahân, the most beloved and efficient of the princes, declared open rebellion. So, when Jahângîr reached his 53rd year in 1622 the political situation of his vast empire had become confused and complicated. In addition he lost one of his most efficient advisers, the mild-tempered, learned and responsible I'timâd-ud-daula, who died in January 1621.

We may discern a pattern in these reverses resulting from the diminishing authority and power of the emperor and from the rivalry between the able but ambitious and haughty Shâh Jahân and his step-mother, the shrewd but somewhat tactless empress Nûr Jahân. The exact course of development of this conflict has been the subject of recent historical controversy¹, but the fact remains that Jahângîr was too powerless and physically sick to intervene. The 'World Gripper' had to remain content with his own imaginary world where defeat was an ugly word and victory was a matter of will; where kingly rights were unquestionable and approached the divine; where power and authority were bestowed by God and inalterable by human actions.

Such were the political situation of the empire and the psychological state of the emperor when the court painters tried to please their patron by preparing a series of paintings of excellent quality where the eulogies of the flattering court poets and the outward semblance of authority of the emperor were presented as real and inevitable. Jahângîr's unorthodox and tolerant religious outlook and the remnants of his father's Dîn-i-Ilâhî,

1. S. Nurul Hasan, The Theory of the Nur Jahan 'Junta' - A Critical Examination, Aligarh, 1958 (a pamphlet). See R.P. Tripathi, Rise & Fall of the Mughal Empire, Allahabad, 1956, Chapter 17, 18; Beni Prasad, Chapters 14-22.

accorded well with the theophany emphasized by the painters. There is no reason to think that the ideas depicted in these pictures were evolved by the painters themselves, or that these pictures were not commissioned by the emperor. The emperor must have reacted with satisfaction in the same manner as when at the beginning of his reign he heard and recorded the fulsome flatteries of the Rajput 'Châran' poet brought by Râjâ Sûraj Singh Râthôr, who found the world devoid of night for the resplendence of the emperor². As we have tried to show³ the idea of a divine inspiration for his birth and for the events leading to his accession to the throne was deep-rooted in his mind, and his dreams, his belief in astrology, numerology and omens taken from Hâfiz, and his fondness for religious company all tended to encourage this belief in his destiny.

The pictures mirroring this self-complacent and contemplative attitude of Jahângîr may be divided into two groups. Those which depict him meeting ascetics and holy men, bestowing favours on them, or which depict his dreams and pious intentions should be included in the first group.

2. Tuzuk, I, 140-1.

3. supra, Chapters I, V.

(Plates 71, 74, 75, 76, 79). The second group consists of a number of pictures where the emperor is shown in impossible assemblies, performing impossible feats or receiving divine inspirations (Plates 107, 108, 109, 110).

Jahângîr associated with learned and devoted men from his early life. To help the poor and needy, to look after the selfless devotees, and to discuss religion and philosophy with pious and learned doctors were considered by him as his primary duty⁴. The regard that he expressed for some of them was not just a perfunctory courtesy of his royal office but reflected his own sincere belief. The religious discussions held at Agra in 1608-9 of which the Jesuit fathers keep a full record⁵ may appear as frivolous, but the interviews he held with Gosvâmi Chidrup (Plate 79) were of a more serious nature, as Jahângîr's reactions recorded in the Tûzuk, reveal⁶. Such seriousness on his part is also noticeable in the episode narrated by Roe when Jahângîr to the English ambassador's surprise, embraced and ^{made} much of a religious begger, "a poor silly ould man, all ashd, ragged, and patched."⁷ Jahângîr's attitude towards religious leaders was uniformly sincere, except when they tried to

4. vide, Chapter I.

5. J & J, 49f, 58, 63-7; E. Maclagan, JASB, 1896, passim.

6. Tuzuk, I, 355-6, 359; II, 49, 52, 104-7.

7. Roe, 328.

foment political troubles, which he always took as a serious threat to his kingly authority. Usurpation of power on the part of a devotee in any form was always ruthlessly suppressed by Jahângîr⁸.

Pictures of meetings of the prince and the devotee modelled according to the set Persian pattern were painted in large numbers in Mughal literary MSS, and Abu'l Ḥasan's first major work found in the British Museum Anwâr-i-Suhaîlî MS is devoted to this subject (Plate 27)⁹. The commissioning of Abu'l Ḥasan is interesting, because his first dated work (Plate 118) is copied from Dürer's St. John, a religious subject. Jahângîr takes pleasure in mentioning the fact that Abu'l Ḥasan was his favourite painter who grew up in the imperial household and developed his style under his careful attention¹⁰. So the selection of Abu'l Ḥasan to draw many of the iconographical and allegorical subjects should be regarded as more than coincidental.

Abu'l Ḥasan was born in Jahângîr's household after his father Âqâ Rizâ took service in the Salim Studio. The

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8. vide, Chapter I; S.A.A. Rizvi, Muslim Revivalist Movement in Northern India, passim.
9. Cf: R. Ettinghausen, "The Emperor's Choice", fig.13,14; Mughal Miniatures of the Earlier Periods, Pl.19 (wrongly identified as Akbar); British Museum, No. 1948,10-9,080; 1920,9-17,04, (unpublished); India Office Library, Johnson, XXVI, f3, VI f12; H. Goetz, Indian & Persian Miniature Painting, Amsterdam, 1958, Pl.6.
10. Tuzuk, II, 20-1.

The copy of Dürer's St. John (Plate 118) painted in 1599-1600 is claimed to have been painted by him when he was only thirteen, which was indeed a marvellous feat. At that time Jahângîr was living a rebel life at Allahabad and the painters of his studio were, among other things, absorbed in the task of copying European pictures on the hâshiyas of a muraqqa' which was being prepar@d¹¹.

By the time when Daulat painted the series of portraits of his principal colleagues (Plates 40-43) Abu'l Hasan had established himself as a leading painter. The slightly-built fair-complexioned young man drawn by Daulat (Plate 40) was already destined to be an artist of fame. The picture of the "old pilgrim" in the Rothschild Collection¹² closely resembling the figure of sage Bidpâî in the British Museum Anwâr-i-Suhaîlî miniature (Plate 27), was probably drawn before Daulat made his portrait-study. None of the hâshiya details of the Muraqqa'-i-Gulshan or of any other folio belonging to the Jahângîrî muraqqa's bear Abu'l Hasan's name, but this should not prevent us in attributing many of the European details painted on the hâshiyas to Abu'l Hasan as most of the hâshiya details are unsigned. The hâshiya

11. vide, Chapter, III.

12. IPM, Pl. XVIII, fig. 1.

showing the same figure of St. John, though drawn in reverse (Plate 114) may well have been decorated by him.

None of the excellent illustrations of the tiny Dîwân-i-Hâfiz MS are signed, and so no certainty can be lent to their attribution. However, the miniature showing Jahângîr setting out for hunting (Plate 22) may have come from Abu'l Ḥasan's brush as it shows a notable feature: a winged angel modelled on a European original. The depiction of an angel kissing the stirrup of the emperor is an early example of these symbolical pictures exalting the Kingship of Jahângîr. Abu'l Ḥasan was capable of doing justice to similar situations and it seems likely that he was selected to draw this picture.

Jahângîr does not mention anywhere in the Tûzuk the date and occasion when he conferred the title Nâdir-uz-Zamân on Abu'l Ḥasan and Nadir-ul-'Aşr on Mansûr¹³. If our identification of the picture of Jahângîr contemplating the picture of Akbar (Plate 51) with the episode of Jahângîr's dream of his father requesting him to release Khân-i-A'zam is correct¹⁴, Abu'l Ḥasan got his title before 1614¹⁵. The subject illustrated in this picture is somewhat unusual.

13. It is not clear from the passage in II, 20-1, of the Tuzuk.

14. Tuzuk, I, 269.

15. supra, Chapter VII.

What could be the reason of Jahângîr's contemplating his father's portrait and why should it be illustrated? Jahângîr's devotion to his father is unquestionable, as it is borne out by numerous passages of the Tûzuk. The portrait of Jahângîr is mentioned to have been painted in his 30th year (1599/1600) by another artist whose name is damaged in the inscription below the arm of Jahângîr. The miniature portrait of aged Akbar is, however, definitely stated in the inscription written on the globe held in his hand as a work of Nâdir-uz-Zamân. The use of the term Hazrat 'Arsh Âshiyânî necessarily implies that Akbar was already dead.¹⁶ The picture could not have been painted before 1614, since Jahângîr wears a shining pair of pearls on his newly-bored ear-lobes, which was done only a few days before the dream¹⁷. In view of the circumstances in which the other iconographical pictures were commissioned Jahângîr's contemplation of his father's picture long after his death may be the result of a

16. Tuzuk, I, 5.

17. ibid, I, 267: the idea of boring the ears was the result of an "occurrence".

dream or a divine revelation¹⁸.

Another dream sequence was illustrated by the same painter in a more elaborate and highly finished picture, now in the Freer Gallery of Art (Plate 108). The episode is not described in the Tûzuk, but indicated in inscriptions written all over the picture by the artist. Ettinghausen has ascribed the work to C.1618-1622, but he overlooks the fact that Abu'l Hasan "restored" the likeness of the Persian emperor on the basis of first-hand descriptions combined with his own imagination and artistic skill¹⁹. This would have been unnecessary after 1619, when Khân-i-'Alam and Bishandâs returned from Iran with albums of portrait-studies of the Persian monarch²⁰.

A number of complicated iconographical formulae are vividly presented by Abu'l Hasan in this remarkable picture. In his attempt to portray an imaginary meeting

18. Another important development took place during this time when Jahângîr decided to issue the last series of the famous set of "Portrait Muhrs". In this series he holds a gourd shaped wine-cup (not a goblet like the earlier series). His head is shown against a halo. A small radiating sun, a couplet and the legend "Yâ Muîn", are inscribed on the reverse. For a very interesting and learned paper on the "Portrait Muhrs", vide, S.H. Hodivala, Historical studies in Mughal Numismatics, Calcutta, 1923, Chapter XI.

19. PSEI, Pl. 12, text.

20. Tuzuk, II, 115.

of the two emperors, visualised in a dream, Abu'l Hasan depicts it as an unearthly, supernatural event. The scene is set against an immense halo composed of the resplendant sun and a fantastic crescent moon in the blue sky²¹. Jahângîr the holder of the whole world, proudly stands on a huge globe, and embraces the bending figure of the dark-complexioned Shâh. The figure of Jahângîr is bigger in size than the Shâh and the attitude of the Mughal emperor is that of a great monarch generously patronising an inferior rival. This highly partial assessment of their relative strength is symbolised in the animals on which they stand. Jahângîr stands on a sturdy lion, the King of beasts, whereas the Shâh is made to stand on a meek lamb. The globe on which they stand symbolically illustrates the whole world which they have divided between themselves, with of course the lion's share going to the Mughal. The terrestrial globe which is very close to European examples of the period, shows with some cartographical accuracy the ~~regions~~ regions of the world and their names are written upon it. A pair of winged cherubs taken from European paintings complete the composition.

21. According to Abu'l Hasan's inscribed note on the picture the dream was set "in a well of light" as experienced by Jahângîr.

The Freer Gallery of Art has another miniature of interesting iconographic content, painted by Abu'l Hasan (Plate 108). At first it appears to be one of the numerous assembly scenes with Jahângîr as the presiding figure. In fact, it depicts something more than an ordinary assembly scene. Jahângîr is shown in full figure, seated on a rectangular throne under a red canopy. He looms large amongst the other members of the assembly. His expression is calm and his distant gaze is directed outwards to the left of the picture. He rests his feet on a carefully painted globe placed on a golden stand, cleverly introduced for emphasizing his victory of the world, as his name symbolically indicates. The globe has a key-hole which is visible in the picture. On the red velvet ~~velvet~~ of the curved canopy are painted a pair of winged peris in gold who hold an arabesque in their hands on which the name of the emperor is written. Above it is another canopy painted in green, violet and purple where a Western type crown is held by a golden winged cherub indicating divine authority for Jahângîr's sovereignty.

The symbolism of the picture will be easy to understand and the definite date of its execution could be ascertained if the princes and courtiers shown in it are correctly identified and the circumstances leading to

its painting are properly explained. Abu'l Hasan writes on the globe that the picture was painted by him at Ajmer. Jahângîr came to Ajmer in 1613. But it could not have been painted before 1615, because it depicts both Prince Khurram and Prince Karan. They arrived at Ajmer only in February 1615, after Khurram's successful campaign against Rânâ Amar Singh. Ettinghausen suggests several emendations of Stchoukine's description of the picture²². He correctly reads the name of the mace-bearing foreigner standing to the extreme upper right of the picture as 'the Emperor of Rûm in ancient times.' He points out that the boy-prince standing near the feet of the emperor cannot be Shujâ' because Shujâ' was not born until June 1616. Ettinghausen also notices the name of the place where the picture was drawn, and reads the word Bakshî written after Khwâja on the paper held by the courtier standing in the lower left corner. Both Stchoukine and Ettinghausen are however wrong to identify the handsome youngman standing near the emperor as Parwîz, because Parwîz never visited Ajmer during the period of Jahângîr's stay. The richly bejewelled prince does not seem to be anyone else but Khurram and the handsome youngman may be identified as Jahângîr Qulî Khân, the

22. R. Ettinghausen, op.cit., 112 note 45.

capable son of Khân-i-A'zam. From the presence of Dayânât Khân, Murtazâ Khân, Ibrâhîm Khân and Prince Karan the date of the picture can be fixed precisely at February/March 1615. Dayânât Khân was imprisoned at Gwalior for insulting I'timâd-ud-daula within a few days after Khurâm's arrival²³. A few weeks afterwards Murtazâ Khân was sent to Kangra²⁴ and Ibrâhîm Khân left for Bihar²⁵. Prince Karan returned to Mewar within about four months of his arrival²⁶.

Jahângîr attached much importance to his son's victory as is apparent from the lengthy accounts in the Tûzuk²⁷, and from his taking an omen from the Dîwân-i-Hâfiz²⁸. The quantity of gifts and favours showered on Prince Karan was also unusual. Abu'l Hasan's pictorial commentary of the emperor's "grand achievement" apply portrays the emperor as the world-siezer, who holds the key to the globe on which he rests his feet. The key is the "Key of victory over the two worlds.....entrusted to his hand."²⁹ The presence of the ruler of ancient Rûm with a royal insignia in that assembly adds weight to his prestige and power.

23. Tuzuk, I, 278.

24. ibid, I, 283.

25. ibid, I, 286.

26. ibid, I, 293.

27. ibid, I, 272-8.

28. This is noted in an autograph note written two days before Khurâm's victory on f73^a of the emperor's personal volume of Hâfiz's Dîwân, now in the Bankipur Oriental Library: Cat-Bankipur, I, 231-59

29. vide, R. Ettinghausen, op.cit., 112. Written on the picture reproduced here as frontispiece. See infra.

A miniature in the same collection again illustrates the theme of Jahângîr's exaggerated might and employs a number of iconographic symbols (Plate 109)³⁰. The name of the painter is unfortunately not preserved, but the picture has all signs and stylistic elements of Abu'l Hasan's brush. It depicts an imaginary meeting of Jahângîr and Shâh 'Abbâs. Both of them sit on a raised cushioned throne. Jahângîr, as in similar representations, is of a slightly larger size than his friend and brother³¹ Shâh 'Abbâs. They are attended by Âsaf Khan, who offers wine in a small goldcup, and by Khân-i-'Alam who holds a European metal wine-vessel shaped like Diana riding on a stag in one hand ^{and} a majestic Shâhîn falcon in the other. Various flagons and Venetian and Chinese wine cups are placed on an Italian table, Metal incense-burners, rare fruits and valuable jewels etc., are set out before them in trays and dishes of different colours.

The entertainment takes place not under a canopy or within a Shamiyâna, but under the blue-green open sky, amidst the gold and violet-pink clouds. Both the emperors are haloed, but the splendour and importance of Jahângîr are exaggerated by his majestic posture and by the number of

30. PSEI, Pl. 13, text.

31. Near the head of the Shâh's portrait, Jahângîr writes:
'Shabîh-i-barâdarâm Shâh 'Abbâs', portrait of my brother Shâh 'Abbâs.

valuable gems and jewelled ornaments he wears. His importance is further emphasized by a golden half-circle held by two winged cupids and part of the blazing sun. On the golden half-circle seals giving the names of his exalted line are drawn. The emperor's name is written on the partially visible sun.

Ettinghausen reckons the date of this picture at 1618-1622, and believes that it immediately follows the painting illustrating Jahângîr's dream (Plate 108). In view of the introduction of some details which can be identified, the picture may be attributed to a more definite date. The close similarity of the Shâh's portraiture with that of Bishandâs's signed study (Plate 85), the presence of Khân-i-'Alam with the much-praised Shâhîn falcon ^{presented} by the Shâh and the walrus-ivory handle of the daggers depicted in it rule out any possibility of a pre-1620 date³². The lower chronological limit of March, 1622 is most likely because Jahângîr could no longer have addressed the intruder in his empire as his brother. The presence of Âsaf Khan instead of his much respected father I'timâd-ud-daula probably points

32. vide, supra, Chapter VII.

to a date close to the latter's mortal illness³³. Jahângîr, in fact, addresses Shâh 'Abbâs as his brother in two entries made in the Tûzuk during the end of 1621 when he sent him some golden oriole (murgh-i-zarrîn) through the Iranian ambassador³⁴.

The most important picture in this iconographic series is found in the Chester Beatty Library (Plate 110)³⁵. The painter is again Abu'l Ḥasan. In this picture all previous symbolic elements are combined with many new ones. It shows Jahângîr shooting arrow on the severed head of a

33. Tuzuk, II, 222, end of January 1622. The couplet of Anwârî recited by him at the time when Jahângîr came to see him on his death-bed is revealing:
 Were a mother-born blind man present
 He'd recognise Majesty in the World-Adorner.
34. Tuzuk, II, 221. The Shâh's envoy came a few months earlier: ibid, II, 209. The bird described as murgh-i-zarrîn is translated by Steingas as 'yellow-hammer' or 'golden finch(?)' and by Rogers & Beveridge as golden birds or goldfinchs, but it seems that either golden pheasant or golden oriole is meant by the word.
35. Cat-CB, I, 31-2, where the inscriptions written all over the picture by Abu'l Ḥasan are translated. The picture became a stock motif and was often copied. Three notable ones amongst them are: 1) Freer Gallery of Art: R. Ettinghausen, op.cit., fig 12; 2) Berlin V&A Museum; H. Goetz, Geschichte der Indischen Miniaturmalerei, Berlin 1936, Tafel 10; 3) Present whereabouts unknown; Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Pl. XXXIX a 7 b (here the composition is more elaborate).

dark-complexioned man. The emperor wears richly embroidered ankle-length dress and gems and jewelled ornaments in profusion. He balances his feet on a globe which although placed on a European metal frame, is held by an ox on its back standing on an enormous fish. The severed head of Malik 'Ambar, as the inscription reveals his name, is placed on the piercing blade of Javelin~~g~~ planted in the ground. An owl sits on the head, while a dead one dangles from it, probably to illustrate the idea given in the inscription written near it 'the face of the rebel has become the abode of the owl'. The emperor draws a bow as if to despatch an arrow, although an arrow has already pierced through the mouth of the severed head. From the clouds above a pair of Western-inspired cupids supply arrows and a sheathed sword to the emperor, indicating a divine support for him. A line of golden bells is hung from the globe to the javelin³⁶, and a pair of perfectly balanced scales hang from this chain symbolising the emperor's sense of justice: "through the justice of Shâh Nûr-ud-dîn Jahângîr the lion(sic) has sipped milk from the teat of the goat." The metaphor is fully illustrated on the globe where a cow is shown nurshing a lion, a tiger a goat and cats and mice are shown sitting together. Behind

36. Representing the Chain of Justice hung by Jahângîr soon after his accession: Tuzuk, I, 7.

the emperor is a stand similar to a European candlestick over which ^{is} the elaborate seal of Jahângîr. It depicts nine circles enclosing the names of Jahângîr's nine predecessors around his own name^{36a}. It is topped by a European style crown with feathers. A bird of paradise flies over it. An inscription near the seal declares: 'Thy Mine ancestors were crowned by God.'

Two possible dates for the picture can be given, 1621 or 1625. In 1621 Afzal Khân brought the news of Shâh Jahân's victory over the Deccanî Sultanates dominated by Malik 'Ambar. The detailed entires in the Tûzuk extol the victory and it is not improbable that Abu'l Hasan was directed to illustrate the glorious victory in a suitable manner³⁷. The alternative date is 1625, when Malik 'Ambar died at the ripe age of 80. It was then no longer possible for the emperor to intervene in the affairs of the Deccan as he had been made powerless by the rebellion of Shâh Jahân. Some of the inscription written by Abu'l Hasan on the picture, e.g.

36a. vide: Father Felix, "The Mughal Seals", JPHS, V, 1916, 100-125.

37. The Ma'âshî-ul-Umarâ records an incident (MU, 99) when after the news of 'Abdullâh Khân's foolish retreat from the Deccan in 1611, Jahângîr asked his painters to prepare portraits of him and other generals and made comments on seeing them.

Thy arrow that lay the enemy low, sent out of the world 'Ambar, the owl who fled from the light.... The belly of thy pig-like enemy is sated with blood through thy spear.... When thou dost come in the bow, thou dost drive colour away from the face of the enemy

point to a date after Malik 'Ambar's death, for which no credit could possibly be given to Jahângîr.

A picture of Jahângîr in the Kevorkian Album³⁸ depicts him standing on a golden footstool wearing a curious dress for battle and a helmet. It bears the signature: Kamîarîn Murîdzâda ikhlâs Mâdir-uz-Zamân. Jahângîr, in addition to the shield and sword, carries an orb of sovereignty on which the symbolic co-existence of the lion and other domesticated animals is depicted. The battle dress and helmet are also symbolic for his desire to lead the army against Shâh 'Abbâs, which however was beyond his capacity.

All these iconographical symbols, lying down together of the lion and the lamb, the scale of justice, the little cupids carrying the imperial insignias of sword, crown and parasol, the praying mullâs and the halo, are repeated in a picture of Shâh Jahân found in the same Kevorkian Album. He is similarly shown as standing on a globe. The picture appears to be a coronation portrait

38. Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 12 December, 1929, Lot 110 plate.

as it was painted by Hashim in 1038 Hijra/1628³⁹.

The iconographical drawings were further developed by another painter: Bichitr. We are not aware of his earlier activities. His first few works are associated with Jahângîr, although his main works were drawn in Shâh Jahân's time. Of all his pictures the most famous one is the unique study in the Freer Gallery of Art, showing Jahângîr paying attention to a Sûfî Shaikh while ignoring the kings (Plate 107). Professor Ettinghausen has devoted a long and thought-provoking paper to this picture. He has tried to show how the self-complacent thoughts of the old, physically sick, politically overshadowed Jahângîr verged towards theophany and made possible the conception of such a theme, unique in Islamic art⁴⁰.

Very little needs to be added beyond what Ettinghausen has written. His suggestion regarding the identity of the figure shown in the lower left corner, however, is not acceptable. The presence of the painter in an ordinary

39. ibid, Lot 111. Another version of this picture in the Chester Beatty Library, Cat-CB, I, 32; III, Pl.63. A Hindu prince paying homage is added to the composition. A third version which includes the portraits of Shâh Jahân's four sons is also found in the same Collection: Cat-CB, I, 29-30, not reproduced.

40. "The Emperor's Choice", Der Artibus Opuscula, XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky, ed. M. Meiss, New York, 1961, 98-120, 19 figures.

court scene is not an impossibility, but in an allegorical picture depicting rulers of different lands the figure of a painter serves no apparent purpose. The rule of tying the jama in different ways for Hindus and Musalmans was never strictly observed by Jahângîr's painters. The figure, therefore, is not necessarily a Hindu. In the company of these other rulers, he is most likely to be a King. From his sharp facial features, thick-set beard, typical Deccani turban, and from the relatively smaller size of his figure he seems to be the King of Bijapur, Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II⁴¹. He is depicted as looking towards the Mughal emperor holding a picture on which an elephant, a couple of horses and a man bowing down are painted. Probably this was to indicate the lesser but friendly ruler's homage to the 'Great King' Jahângîr, who looms large in the composition.

A further symbolic drawing by Bichitr in the Chester Beatty Library (Frontispiece) shows Jahângîr standing holding an orb in his right hand. As Arnold and Wilkinson point out, this is the right part of a double-page composition, the other part showing an old dervish clad in pure white⁴².

41. Cf: PI, Pl. on p.127; vide, R. Skelton, Ars Asiaticae, V, 124-5 for a full bibliography of portraits of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II.

42. Cat-CB, I, 30-1; I, Frontispiece (colour).

He is incorrectly identified by them as Shâh Daulat, but during Jahângîr's lifetime Shâh Daulat could not be as old as the Shaikh depicted in the picture⁴³. The Shaikh is shown as symbolically presenting the emperor a globe on which is written: 'the key of victory over the two worlds is entrusted to thy hand.' The same words occur on the picture of the emperor. In these pictures the iconographical symbolism is restricted to the globe and the orb, which are adopted from Christian engravings⁴⁴. The fact that the Shaikh is depicted as bestowing the charge of the two worlds adds emphasis to Jahângîr's preference to the seekers of the Divine, a theme recurring in a number of miniatures coming from the later years of his reign⁴⁵. As his last days brought bitterness and frustration he tried to get solace from his religious belief. All along his life he enjoyed material prosperity and towards the end of his life it was agony and despair. In order to escape from it he turned against the world of kingship, and looked towards his inner

43. Mr. R. Skelton proposes the identification of the Shaikh as Shaikh Mu'în-ud-dîn Chishtî, the guardian saint of the Mughals.

44. A copy of the same picture of Jahângîr is in the Collection of Shanti Kumar Morarji, Bombay: Rai Krishnadas, Mughal Miniatures, Pl. X.

45. Notable examples are found in the Walters Art Gallery, British Museum, Chester Beatty Library, Victoria & Albert Museum, India Office Library, etc:
R. Ettinghausen, op.cit., figs. 2, 4, 5, 9, 10.

self and the allegorical world of spiritual force⁴⁶.

Abu'l Hasan was equally skilful in painting portraits, court assemblies and genre scenes. A number of his studies dealing with these subjects are found in the royal muraqqa's. As he continued to paint for a good many years during Shâh Jahân's reign, it is often difficult to isolate the examples which come within our scope. Three excellent pictures of Jahângîr, Shâh Jahân and an unidentified infant prince, out of a large number of portrait-studies of the emperor and his family should be noted here.

The well finished portrait of Jahângîr, ~~ex~~ collected in the Polier Album, British Museum is a tiny miniature of 4.5 x 8.8 cm⁴⁷. In this picture the emperor stands with a falcon on his right hand while his left hand holds the jewelled hilt of a knife. He appears healthy and vigorous, and as he is not wearing the pearl ear-rings, Abu'l Hasan's study is likely to be of a pre-1614 date.

The picture of Prince Khurram (Plate 60) can be dated with a fair amount of accuracy as it bears a note in Shâh Jahân's handwriting: "A good portrait of myself in my

46. A number of portrait studies of Jahângîr in his old age depict him as a weak and drawn man, clasping a crown, a globe or an orb. Two of them, in the Chester Beatty Library, are signed by Hashim: Cat-CB, I, 30, No.12,13; III, Pl. 61. See: British Museum.: J & J, frontispiece; R. Ettinghausen, op.cit., fig. 11.

47. British Museum, 1920,9-17,0110, Unpublished.

twenty-fifth year well done by Nâdir-uz-Zamânat"⁴⁸.

The third picture on our list shows the lively study of a chubby infant whose name is not mentioned⁴⁹. It is excellent and interesting picture, revealing obvious familiarity with European prototypes⁵⁰. S.C. Welch identifies the infant prince as Shâh Shujâ', Jahângîr's favourite grandson, who was born in 1616.

Abu'l Hasan is the painter of the fine study of Jaswanta, the Jâm of Kathiawar, found in the Berlin Album⁵¹. An old man of good health and dark-complexion, he visited Jahângîr's court at Ahmedabad in early 1618⁵². The portrait of 'Abdullâ Khân Firûz-jang in the Minto Album, shown standing with a severed head, bears the signature of Nâdir-uz-Zamân⁵³. It may depict the incident of Khân Jahân Lodî's death in 1631, but the breast-plate worn by 'Abdullâ Khân shows Jahângîr's name. The portrait of 'Abdullâ Khân pasted on a folio of the Berlin Album seems to be a work of Bishandâs, rather than

48. vide, supra, Chapter VII.

49. AMI, Pl. 31.

50. The Jesuits refer to the picture of Child Christ as very favourite to Jahângîr: A & J, 127, 187; J & J, 33.

51. IBP, 10, 21-2, Pl. 37.

52. Tuzuk, I, 443-4; II, 3. Cf: AMI, Pl. 34 (colour) for a study by Bishandâs.

53. Victoria & Albert Museum, IM, 16-1925. There is a close copy of the same subject in the Kevorkian ~~Album~~ Album, signed by one Muhammad 'Alam.

that of Abu'l Hasan⁵⁴. As many as five versions of a picture showing old 'Abdullâ Khân Uzbek hawking in a hilly region, are associated with Nâdir-uz-Zamân's name⁵⁵. Of these only the Victoria and Albert Museum copy appears to be the original because it bears Abu'l Hasan's signature and a note in Shâh Jahân's handwriting, saying: "This is the picture of 'Abdullâh Khân Uzbek done by Nâdir-uz-Zamân." The Leningrad version (Plate 87) is also signed, Nâdir-uz-Zamân. It seems to be a duplicate coming from his brush.

Lastly, reference should be made to a number of copies prepared from European engravings which are associated with Abu'l Hasan⁵⁶. Of these the fully-coloured miniature of the youthful Christ in the Chester Beatty Collection deserves special attention⁵⁷. Abu'l Hasan's early acquaintance with European materials certainly helped him to develop his individual style. His portrait studies are accurate and

54. IBP, 18-9, Pl. 6 (colour): Is it the copy mentioned in the Ma'âshir-ul-Umarâ (Tr.99)? vide note 37, supra,

55. i) British Museum, 1920,9-17-013(1), Martin, II, Pl.177.
 ii) Victoria & Albert Museum, IM, 20-1925.
 iii) British Museum, Ecstein Bequest: Martin, II, Pl.149.
 iv) Leningrad Album, f43; Pl. 14 (colour).
 v) Rampur Raza Library: IPM, Pl.IX: (wrongly described as Amir Shaikh Hasan Noyan.)

A late sketch version is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Cat-MFA, VI, Pl.XXXa. vide, AIP,154-5.

56. Cf. Leningrad Album, Pl. 12, 13.

57. Cat-CB, I, 30, No. 12. Unpublished.

lively although they lack the penetrating depth and sensitiveness of the portraits painted by Daulat or Manohar. Jahāngīr praised Abu'l Hasan highly for his mastery in evolving and developing the elaborate iconographic symbolisms which, to a great extent, fulfilled his inner desire, and his superficial claim for greatness. Abu'l Hasan's familiarity with Christian pictures provided him with a wide repertoire of iconographic symbols prevalent in European religious art, such as, the orb, the globe, the cherubs and cupids, the birds of paradise (in preference to the huma or simurgh), the golden crown, the key and so on. These were intermingled with such accepted Islamic and Indian symbols as the halo, the gesture of the hands, the fish, the co-existence of ferocious and domesticated animals, the sun and the moon, etc. The appearance of dervishes and servants became meaningful and symbolic. Soon their identity was lost and their use became more frequent to bestow boons and moral support, as well as to

lend a touch of the Divine to the princes and emperors⁵⁸.

58. vide, R. Ettinghausen, "The Emperor's Choice", 114-118. The sentiment is best expressed by a quatrain of Hakîm Şadrâ Maşih-uz-Zamân, quoted in the Tûzuk (I, 304):

Although we have the business of kingship before us,
 Every moment more and more we think about dervishes,
 If the heart of our Dervish be gladdened by us
 We count that to be the profit of our kingship.

This is confirmed by the inscription written above and below the Freer drawing (Plate 107):

Shâh Nûr-ud-dîn Jahângir, son of Akbar Pâdishâh.
 He is emperor in form and spirit through the grace of God.
 Although to all appearances kings stand before him,
 He looks inwardly towards the dervishes (for guidance).

CHAPTER 10

The Impact of Europe

Jahângîr's quest for new aesthetic ideals was to a large extent stimulated by the presence of a considerable number of European pictures, engravings and various kinds of decorative arts in the Mughal court. In order to assess the true impact of these European art-objects of novel styles on the art of the Mughals, the whole background of the introduction of Europeans and European art in Mughal India needs to be briefly re-examined.

Since the establishment of a Portuguese base at Goa in 1510 sporadic visitors, traders and art objects of European origin were not altogether uncommon. A serious interest in Europe, its learning, its religion and its art was however shown for the first time by Akbar when he met a Portuguese delegation led by Antony Cabral during the siege of Surat in 1573¹. He next came across a European in 1576/7 when the Portuguese commandant of Satgaon in Bengal, Pedro Tavares, came to Fatehpur Sikri². Obviously

1. AN, III, 37; A & J, 217ⁿ².
2. AN, III, 349; A & J, 14-5.

with them a few European objects of art also reached the Mughal Court³. Tavares found the emperor interested in Christianity and told him about Julian Pereira, the Portuguese priest-in-charge of Satgaon who was invited to Fatehpur Sikri. But Pereira failed to satisfy the emperor's inquiries about Christianity and the Scriptures in the evening assemblies of the 'Ibâdatkhâna in 1578/9⁴. On Pereira's recommendation Akbar sent his special envoy 'Abdullâh Khân to Goa with a royal farmân⁵ requesting the immediate despatch of a few capable Christian scholars to the Mughal capital. It resulted in the arrival at the end of February 1580 of the first Jesuit mission under the leadership of the learned Father Rudolph Aquaviva with Francis Henriquez and Antony Monserrate⁶.

The mission received a warm and courteous welcome from the emperor, and a new period of intercourse between Muslim India and the Christian world commenced. Akbar

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3. Already there were Christian pictures, including those of Jesus, the Virgin and Moses, when the first Jesuit mission arrived in 1580: Commentary (See infra, note 6), 29.
 4. JGM, 23-4. Badâ'ônî's reference to the presence of Firangi priests in the Mughal capital in 1575/6 (MT, II, 215) remains uncorroborated. Julian Pereira was introduced to Akbar by Pedro Tavares.
 5. Father Hosten's translation of the farman is quoted in JGM, 24.
 6. Father Monserrate's latin work Commentarius.... is the main source of our knowledge about the activities of this mission: For its English translation: J. Heyland & S. Banerjee, The Commentary of Father Monserrate, Oxford, 1922.

wanted to gather a first-hand knowledge of the Christian faith and the nonsense of his expected conversion to Christianity was nothing but a pious and unrealistic hope of the zealous Jesuits⁷. From that point of view the continuous presense of Christian priests was a frustrating failure, though from the point of mutual understanding between two worlds, different in cultural and religious matters, the arrival of Father Aquaviva's mission ushered in a new era in Mughal history.

The learned fathers vigorously defended their faith in prolonged religious debates in the 'Ibâdatkhâna, and presented various books, religious paintings, statuettes and other art objects to the emperor⁸. Few people read those Greek or Latin books but many looked at the illustrations, few people tried to understand the sermon preached by the fathers in their small chapel at Fatehpur Sikri, but many of them went there to look at the large

7. The point was made quite clear by Abu'l Faẓl in his remarks: A & J, 36.

8. Their first present was an atlas of the world (Commentary.. 28), followed by a set of seven sumptuous folio volumes of Christopher Plantin's Polyglot Bible. The work was printed in Antwerp in 1569-73 for King Philip, and was completed in eight volumes. It contains frontispiece and illustrations by Jan Wierix, Philip Galle, Peter van der Heyden etc. (M.C. Beach, Bull-MFA, No.332, 91^{fn2}); reproduced: AM, Tafel 36, Ab.105; W. Staude, RdAA, V, 102-5, Pl.XLVIII-III) Then gradually paintings of Jesus and the Virgin were presented to Akbar: A & J, 19-20; Commentary....., 49, JGM, 225-6. Father Xavier saw at least 20 volumes of Christian literature in Akbar's library when he came to the Mughal Court in 1595: A & J, 63, JGM, 68-9. For other references to presentation of pictures to Akbar: A & J, 82, 110-1, 154, 166.

pictures of Christ, the Virgin and the Saints, which were hung inside it by the fathers⁹. When they imported the famous pictures of the Madonna and the Adoration of the Magi, unending streams of visitors of all faiths thronged⁹ in the Jesuit church to see them¹⁰.

The arrival of these paintings, engravings and illustrated printed books of a new style and novel technique must have opened up a new horizon to the artists of the Mughal studio. At that time the highly Persianised early Akbarî style was already undergoing a process of transformation by a synthesis with indigenous stylistic elements, and the European works, the products of long years of artistic and technical development, came as a boon to inspire the Mughals in their attempts to solve many technical problems. The Mughal interest in European works is evident in the interesting pictures copied and coloured by Kesavdâs

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9. The emperor with his sons visited the Father's Chapel housed near the royal chambers:
Commentary....., 59; for Salîm's visits:
ibid, 48, 60.
 Also: A & J, 25-7 & JGM, 32-3.
10. JGM, 227, 228-34; A & J, 160-72, Chapter XVI
 (incident of 1601-2);
J & J, 65-6; JGM, 234 (incident of 1608).

from European engravings or drawings¹¹. Similar studies made by such leading Akbarî masters as Basâwan, Sânwala and Mishkinâ also testify to their serious interest in European workmanship¹². Slowly, their own works began to show occasional introduction of European figures¹³, and a considerable improvement on the techniques of shadowing, depiction of perspective and effective modelling. The distant backgrounds of many Mughal miniatures of contemporary times were almost replicas of similar features in European pictures¹⁴.

11. LPI, Pl. XIX; A Bull-MFA, No.332, fig 1 & 1a; IBP, Pl.42: there is another unsigned picture of Madonna on the same folio of the Berlin Album, which may be attributed to Keśavadâs; Cat-CB, III, Pl.83: another signed Keśavadâs - Tobias Recounting His Marvellous Adventure to His Father Blind Tobit - Ind. MS.41(2); the coloured copy of a houri with two attendant angles (Ind.MS.62(2)) may also be from Keśavadâs's brush.

The story of Keśava's presentation of an album of copies of European works (IPM, 167; HFA, 2nd edn, 220, JGM, 236) is based not on any sound evidence but probably on A. Weber's misreading of the Devanâgrî inscription in a Jahângîrî album miniature (IBP, Pl.39) signed by Keśava: A. Weber, Indian Antiquary, VI, (London, 1877), 353-4.

12. For Basâwan: supra, Chapter VIII, Note...., for Sânwala Cat-CB, III, Pl.81; For Mishkinâ; JGM, pl. facing p.23, Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1937, 222, No.29.

13. Cf; PSEI, Pl.7; PI, Pl.88; AMI, Pl.25A; IPM, Pl.XXXI; S. Tyulayev, The Baburnamah Miniatures, Pl.16,27; Also: Plate 78.

14. Cf: IPM, Pl.XXXV; AIP, 95; Pl.124,131; LPI, Pl.X,XX; PI, 86-9,92; J.V.S. Wilkinson, The Lights of Canopus, Pl.21; etc.

Although these features may not be regarded as sufficient to alter the whole character of Mughal painting, nevertheless, their adoption considerably inspired the Mughal painters in their search for a new direction. In Jahângîr's atelier the impact of European art became even more apparent because the painters were not happy with the use of the same motifs and at that time they were making a great effort to create a new iconography for which the European religious motifs and symbolisms were of great value to them.

Before examining the specific instances where the impact of European ideas made itself felt, some indications of Jahângîr's obsession for European art-objects should be given.

When the first Jesuit mission came to Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar entrusted the teaching of his second son Murâd to the fathers, but the traditional method of education continued for the prince-regent Salîm¹⁵. Salîm, however, led the way by showing a lively interest in the activities of the strangely-dressed Jesuits, and particularly in the pictures, engravings and art or craft objects brought by

15. supra, Chapter I.

them. In his letter of 20th August 1595, Father Xavier wrote to his Provincial how Salîm became seriously angry with the Muslim guide who went to Goa 'for not bringing with him no image of the Mother of God' and bade another 'to make extensive purchases' and not to fail to bring with him a fine picture of our Lord¹⁶. In the same letter the Father requested the Provincial to send Akbar and Prince Salîm 'a beautiful and large picture of the Holy Virgin or of the Nativity', which they would receive 'with much affection and kindness'.

When Salîm started building up his own collection, he was eager to possess as many European pictures as possible. Father Xavier relates the episode of how Salîm who went to the Jesuit Chapel in Fatehpur with Akbar, wished immediately after seeing replicas of the Child Jesus and a crucifix, to have similar images made of ivory by his own workmen¹⁷. He borrowed European pictures from the fathers

16. A&J, 66-7; E. Maclagan, JASB, 1896, 66-7. Also, A&J, 81-2.

17. JASB, op.cit., 67: mentioned in Father Xavier's letter of August 20, 1595. A picture of youthful Christ as the Master Mariner is painted on the hâshiya of a Jahângîrî Album folio, now in the Freer Gallery of Art (Plate 117). The British Museum possesses an ivory plaque of excellent quality (No. 1959, 7-21, 1), which depicts the same subject in a precisely similar manner. It is described as an early 17th century Goanese work but almost certainly is the same piece made by Salîm's ivory-carvers. I am grateful to Mr. Simon Digby for suggesting its identification and to Mr. Douglas Barrett giving facilities for its study.

for copies to be made by his own painters and even employed an unknown Portuguese painter to copy a beautiful Picture of Madonna brought by the fathers in 1596, which his own painters are said to have 'failed to copy properly'¹⁸.

Further requests for 'large and beautiful pictures of the Holy Virgin or of the Nativity' were made to the Provincial by Father Xavier and in his letter he added:

Salim was so anxious for things imported from Portugal and [Peninsular] India and especially for the picture of our Saviour and the Blessed Virgin, the Queen of Angels (to whose care he says he commends himself) that he excites our wonder¹⁹.

Such examples can be multiplied as Father Xavier noticed on many occasions the Prince's enthusiastic pursuit of the collection and study of similar Christian pictures. It went on unabated even after he became ~~the~~ emperor. The Father found him going through the albums (registros)²⁰,

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18. A&J, 67,82; JASB, op.cit, 67,76. Father Xavier's letters of August 20, 1595 and July 26, 1598. For similar references in Roe's diary: Roe, 223, etc: supra. It is not impossible that some of the coloured copies prepared by Kesavadâs found in the Jahângîrî Albums and elsewhere were, infact, prepared for Salim, because the date of the Oxford St. Matthew is not far from the date of Father Xavier's first letter.
19. Father Xavier's letter of December, 1597: JASB, op.cit 73-5. Also see A&J, 190: "...Indeed, the Fathers could make him no more acceptable present than a well-executed representation of either; though he employed the most skilled painters and craftsmen in his father's kingdom in making him the like."
20. J&J, 49,58 ("one evening, the King was looking through a portfolio containing the pictures..."). Also: A&J; 190-1: "He [Salim] also had painted in a book pictures illustrating the mysteries of His life, death and passion..." Some pictures from the royal collection were lent to the fathers in the Christmas celebrations of 1607 at Lahore: A&J, 45.

selecting original engravings for preparation of coloured replicas or enlarged designs for wall-paintings and supervising the works of his painters²¹. He used to send them to the Jesuit chapel for consulting the fathers "as to the colour to be given to the costumes and to adhere strictly" to what the fathers told them²².

When Jahângîr settled down in Agra in 1608 regular sessions of religious discussions were held in the evenings in which the royal muraqqa's were brought by the librarian (Maktûb Khân, Plate 104) and Christian pictures were picked up for initiating prolonged and controversial discussions of them²³. The emperor wanted to know their underlying symbolism, questioned their credibility and noted their subtle qualities. Thus the large number of European pictures that arrived at the Mughal court were not only collected with enthusiasm but also studied with interest. When the walls of the halls and chambers where

21. Father Xavier's letters of December, 1597, July 26, 1598 and September 24, 1608: JASB, op.cit., 74. The letter of September 24, 1608 gives a detailed description of the numerous drawings of Christian subjects painted on the walls of the Mughal palace at Agra. This important letter has been translated by Father Hosten, JPHS, VII, 60-2 and quoted in full by E. Maclagan; JGM, 238-40.

22. J & J, 65 (letter of 24th September, 1608).

23. J & J, 49, 58, 63, 66; JASB, op.cit., 74; JGM, 248.

the emperor gave his audience, held his private assemblies in the evening and spent his time in holding pleasure parties were fully covered with such pictures, it is not difficult to imagine the number of European pictures going to Mughal India and the kind of attention they received²⁴.

Not unexpectedly most of the pictures presented by the Jesuits were of religious character²⁵. The pictures of

24. The walls of private and public chambers of all palaces and garden-houses were painted. Jahângîr himself records such paintings executed in a wonderful manner by his painters at Srinagar and at Lahore (Tuzuk, II, 151, 161-2, 183). Roe observed pictures including that of the Kings of France and other Christian Princes painted on the walls of the newly built garden-house called Chasma-i-Nûr at Hâfiz Jamâl, near Ajmer (Roe, 211). Similar observations of wall-paintings are made in the letters of the Jesuits (Father Xavier's letter of September 24, 1608: JGM, 238-40) and in the accounts of William Finch and William Hawkins. Finch gives a graphic description of the wall-paintings and the subjects illustrated there, seen by him at Fatehpur (ETI, 149-50), Sirhind (ibid., 158), Lahore (ibid., 162-5), Allahabad (ibid., 177-8) and Agra (ibid., 186-7). He does not refer to the paintings of Sikandra noticed by later travellers (JGM, 237-8), so, it seems that these paintings were added after his visit in 1611. Also: See Roe, 70ⁿ, Cat-CB, I, P XXXII; E. Smith, Moghal Architecture of Fathpur Sikri, I, Pl. CIX; JGM, 237-42. Cf: Plates, 62-3, 65, 80, 107; and G. Warner, op.cit., II, Pl. CXXII, IPM, XXIV; Clarke, Pl. 7.
25. J & J, 49, 58, 63-7, 78; JGM, 247-8, passim. The only recorded exceptions are the pictures of Albuquerque and of the Portuguese Viceroy Saldanha (A & J, 154) presented to Akbar in 1602, and of Ignatius Loyola presented earlier (A & J, 82).

the Christ Child and the Madonna had a natural appeal to the Mughals and a large number of them must have found their way into India²⁶. These pictures were collected with equal enthusiasm not only by the Mughal emperors but also by the principal nobles like Mahâbat Khân, Âsaf Khân, Khân-i-'Azam, Muqarrab Khân and Mîr Jamâl-ud-dîn Husain Injû, as the records of the Jesuits and the English factors reveal²⁷. With declining influence of the Jesuits and the increasing interest of the English traders the character of European pictures arriving in India changed. Instead of the large number of religious pictures the English factors selected portraits of their King and Queen, the director of the East India Company and of known and unknown society women, as presents²⁸. Requests for scenes

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26. Cf: Plates 80, 104, 116, 117, 132 & 134. For a number of adaptations found in the Berlin Album: IBP, Pl. 29, 30, 41, 42, and in the Gulshan Album: Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1936, fig 1; M.C. Beach, Bull-MFA, No.332, fig. 4, 5, 9. See *infra*.
27. Mahâbat Khân: Letters Recd., III, 64; Âsaf Khan: *ibid*, III, 64, 91-2, Roe, 415ⁿ; JGM, 241 (quoting Manrique); Khân-i-'Azam, JGM, 232; Muqarrab Khân: Roe, 167; Letters Recd. II, 138 (reference to the picture of "Tamberlaine" given to Muqarrab Khân which he subsequently presented to Jahângîr: Tuzuk, I, 153-4); Mîr Jamâl-ud-din Husain Injû: Roe, 215. Pictures were also presented to Mîrzâ Beg (Roe, 143) and Zulfiqar Khân (Letters Recd., IV, 82).
28. Letters Recd., I, 239, II, 138, 246; III, 15, 63-4, 85-6, 91-2; IV, 82, 207-8; V, 49, 72. For Roe's evidence of these paintings exhibited during Naurûz: Roe, 125-6, 357.

of 'some story with many faces', of royal hunt and the King in Parliament²⁹ and later on of battle pictures, comic scenes and even of nude studies were sent to the principals by the factors³⁰. The miniature portraits created a tremendous impact in the court and easily won the emperor's approval. Sir Thomas Roe's letters to the East India Company were full of requests for such pictures, and always with a special reminder of their quality:

Your pictures not all woorth one penny.....Here are nothing esteemed but the best sorts: good cloth and fine and rich pictures, they coming out of Italy overland and from Ormus; soe that they laught at us for such as wee bring³¹.

Good pictures of beautiful women were warmly greeted³².

The picture of a Diana presented by Roe gave much content to the Mughals³³ and the account of an excellent portrait of a mysterious woman narrated at great length by Roe evidences the sort of interest these pictures evoked in the Mughal Court³⁴.

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29. Letters Recd., III, 68 ("....and for the King and some of the Chiefs...some courtlike pictures, as the running at tilt, the King and nobility spectators, the King sitting in Parliament, and suchlike will be graceful and give content, being done curiously, that his own people may come short in imitation, of whom he hath and some skilful..."), 88; Roe, 99.
30. W. Moreland & P. Geyl tr. Pelsaert's Remonstrante, Jahangir's India, 26-7.
31. Roe, 77. For other requests: Roe, 99, 312ⁿ, 459. Repeatedly Roe and the factors had to put emphasis on quality: Letters Recd. III, 67-8; IV, 243-4, 280, 297; V, 337.
32. Terry's Voyages (1777 edn), 368; Letters Recd., III, 67-8.
33. Roe, 459.
34. ibid, 189-90, 199-200, 222-4. See also, Terry, op.cit, 135.

The accounts of the Jesuit fathers, European travellers and Roe are aptly corroborated by a series of original European engravings and European-inspired drawings preserved in the Jahângîrî muraqqa's as well as in the later muraqqa's. From the number of original engravings pasted on the folios of the royal muraqqa's some indication of Jahângîr's collection of European engravings can be had. Many of these were coloured or copied, in some cases, with minor variations, by his painters. More interesting examples are found on the hâshiyas of the folios of calligraphic qit'as in the royal muraqqa's, where various details and figures forming integral parts of these engravings were cleverly introduced. This unique method provided the Jahângîrî painters with a wonderful opportunity for studying the engravings and making experiments with them. They must have felt fascinated by this exercise and by the decorative and figural details which were slowly synthesized in their own productions. The result of this synthesis is obvious in the iconographical drawings discussed in the previous chapter. Though portrait painting was already an important branch of Mughal art and Jahângîr's leading painters were great masters in this branch, the presence of European portraits of excellent quality certainly helped them to a great extent in their pursuit of new ideals.

Of the large number of original European engravings only those which were pasted on the folios of the royal muraqqa's can be securely put in a chronological order, as the time of their arrival and their collection by Salîm is noted in most instances by the fathers. For the rest it is a matter of conjecture. However, with ever-increasing trade connections between the English and the French the flow of Catholic pictures must have diminished to a large extent.

The Berlin Album contains a Massacre of the Innocents and the Holy Family Journeying to Nazareth engraved by Jan Sadeler after Martin de Vos along with the small prints of the 'Four Evangelists', 'Descent of the Holy Ghost' and on another folio those of 'Adoration of the Kings' and 'noli me Tangere'³⁵. On folio 8^a there is a Flaying of Marsyas engraved by Theodor Galle after John Stradanus along with a couple of small engravings of the 'Resurrection' and 'Descent into Hell', probably forming part of Raphael Sadeler the younger's Little Series of Passion³⁶. Folio 9^a contains St. John the Evangelist (signed R.S.) along with the Ape on tree, adopted from Albrecht Dürer's famous Madonna. (Heller No.642)³⁷. Milo Beach has recently published two folios from

35. IBP, 2, 3; folios 3^a & 7^b.

36. ibid, 3, 58; the Galle engraving is not reproduced but the small engravings are illustrated on Pl. 42.

37. ibid, 4, 50; only the Dürer Ape is reproduced Pl.43.

the Gulshan album - one contains five small engravings by Hans Sebald Beham and two 'putti' panels by two different German Monogramists, while the other contains four small engravings and two panels engraved by Hans Sebald and Barthel Beham, The Battle of Achilles and Hector and The Winged Helmeted Genii³⁸. The folios in the Náprstek Museum described by Hájek contain four original engravings of similar size³⁹. Another small engraving showing St. George is pasted on a Leningrad album folio⁴⁰, Ettinghausen publishes a few folios from a private collection in Tehran forming a part of the Jahângîr Album, which have four original European engravings pasted on them. One of them shows Jan Sadeler's Madonna Feeding the Christ Child engraved in 1581 after Martin de Vos's work, along with a Descent from the Cross and Interment of Christ apparently by the same artist⁴¹. The second folio shows Christ with the Women of Samaria at the Well by Hieronymus Wierix⁴². Madame Godard mentions two more original engravings of the Virgin and a European prince in the Nasir-ud-din Album at

38. MC. Beach, Bull-MFA, No.332, 67-9, fig. 1, 2.

39. IMM, 70-75 Pl. 10 illustrates two of them, Pl. 9 reproduces the center-piece but does not reproduce the other engravings.

40. Leningrad Album; Pl. 50 (folio 92).

41. R. Ettinghausen, Perennitas, 392, fig 4.

42. ibid, fig. 5.

Tehran⁴³.

The number of original engravings, which were coloured with slight alterations by the Mughal artists is not very less. The Muraqqa'-i-Gulshan has two fine pictures, coloured by a female artist called Nâdirâ Bânû whose name is inscribed on them (Plates 121, 126)⁴⁴. The colour scheme of Nâdirâ Bânû's pictures closely corresponds with the originals of Peter Candido and Martin de Vas⁴⁵, from which the engravings were made by the Sadeler Brothers (Plates 125, 130). There is no evidence to show that coloured reproductions of these pictures ever arrived at the Mughal court; it seems that she was guided by the Jesuits resident in the court. In fact, Father Xavier reports of painters being sent to them by Jahângîr to ascertain the colour-scheme of the originals while preparing large size sketches for the wall-paintings⁴⁶ or "illustrating some small pictures by putting on colours and pigments"⁴⁷.

Nâdirâ Bânû is an unexpected name and no other works signed by her are known to us. As she mentions in her

43. Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1937, 275, not illustrated.
 43a. Other examples. British Museum Nos. 1942-1-24-03, 1920-9-17-031, 1954-4-8-02. Johnson Album XIV folio 5 (India Office Library), and elsewhere.

44. Bull-MFA, No. 332, 70-1, 73, figs. 4, 10.

45. J.V.S. Wilkinson & B. Gray, Burl.Mag., 1935, 174.

46. JGM, 239.

47. E. Maclagan, J.A.S.B., 1896, 74: Letter of 26 July 1598.

signature the name of Âqâ Rizâ as her instructor so it seems these pictures were prepared in the Salîm Studio about the time when the young Abu'l Hasan copied the Dürer engraving of St. John (Plates 118, 119) in 1599-1600⁴⁸. Another female artist whose name is found on a drawing in the Gulshan album is Râqiyâ Bânû. But Râqiyâ copied a Persian drawing and the European figure of a seated male nude copied from the figure of Adam occurring in an engraving by Jan Sadeler after Crispin den Broeck's Adam and Eve after the Fall⁴⁹ remains unsigned. If it is attributed to her then the same figure painted independently on a larger scale, now preserved in the Chester Beatty Library, shall also be attributed to her⁵⁰.

The painter whose name is closely associated with coloured copies of European works is Keśavadâs. We have no definite means to connect him with the Salîm Studio, though a number of his works occur in the royal muraqqa's⁵¹. It is

48. supra, Chapter III.

49. Bull-MFA, No. 332, fig. 12. The Crispin den Broeck original is illustrated in Gerard de Jode's book Thesaurus Sacrarum Historiarum Venteris Testamenti, published in Antwerp in 1585: reproduced by Beach: fig 12a.

50. Cat-CB, I, 44; III, Pl. 77.

51. supra, Note 11.

not impossible that while still in Akbar's employment he prepared a series of copies from European works for the crown-prince or he served Salîm for a few years after the third Jesuit mission arrived at Lahore in 1585. The motif of a love-lorn lady, writing letters or eagerly waiting for one, looking pensive and mor^ose, sitting in a pavilⁱon or in a landscape, alone or being accompanied by an angel or a group of men, seems to be a favourite theme developed by Keśavadâs from some European source for Jahângîr. At least in one instance the picture bears his signature⁵². The theme of a love-lorn heroine, the nâyikâ, was becoming increasingly popular at that time after the composition of the famous romantic work Rasikapriyâ by poet Keśavadâs of Orchha⁵³. The analogy is not fortuitous because the patron of the author of Rasikapriya was Râjâ Bîr Sîng^h Deo Bundela, Salîm's close friend and trusted courtier⁵⁴. A Jahângîr period MS of this work lavishly illustrated with the

52. Bull-MFA, No.332, fig. 1; Other examples: ibid, figs. 2, 4 (lower); Cat-MFA, VI, 50, Pl. XXXIXb; British Museum, 1948-10-9,072 (unpublished, late?); Cat-CB, I, 45; III, Pl. 81 (the central fig.).

The original from which Keśavadâs adopted his motif remain unidentified. An engraving of a similar style is found in Palomino de Castro y Velasco, El Museo Pictorio y Escala Optica, Madrid, 1715-24.

53. The Rasikapriyâ was composed in 1591.

54. The murderer of Abu'l Fazl.

miniatures in the traditional style but showing great similarity with Mughal art, especially in costumes, architectural details and in the depiction of female figures, are known to us through a few folios and a number of miniatures detached from them⁵⁵.

A few miniatures of excellent quality faithfully copied from European engravings or carefully overpainted directly on the originals are also preserved. The best-known one is to be found in the Wantage album in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which shows a copy of Jerome Wierix's The Martyrdom of St. Cecilia⁵⁶ delightfully coloured (Plate 113). The name of the painter as written on the lower mount in what appears to be Shâh Jahân's handwriting, is Nînî. From the name the painter appears to be a woman, but nothing definite can be added beyond that. A tinted drawing

55. Cat-MFA, VI, 19-29. Pl. VIII-XIX; FI, 109 (colour); Cat-Khajanchi, 27, No.15 fig. 25. One miniature from this MS is in the British Museum. Other folios or miniatures are found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and the Preussisch Staatsbibliothek: H. Goetz, Geschichte der Indischen Miniaturmalerei, Berlin, 1936, Pl. 12b; Metropolitan Museum Studies, III, 1930; AIP, 111-2, No.407; B.Gray, Treasures of Indian Miniatures, London, 1951, Pl. VI, VII; Cat-MFA, V, Pl. CC.

56. JGM, 255; Clarke, Pl. 33 text.

of Nativity based on what appears to be an Italian original of the late 16th century⁵⁷, a finely-coloured copy of Albrecht Dürer's well-known work, The Virgin and Child Seated by a Tree⁵⁸, a coloured copy of The Virgin, Child and the Angel signed by an otherwise unknown painter named Mahabbat⁵⁹, an unsigned picture of Christ, the Virgin and St. Anne⁶⁰, a fully coloured copy of Tobias (Plate 133)⁶¹ and a coloured version of a European picture showing a visiting scene painted by Sânwala⁶², may also be included in this category.

57. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Cat-MFA, VI, 50-1, Pl. XL.

58. Windsor Castle Library: AIP, No.666, Pl. 121.

Gray reports that the colours of this fine picture conform to the European fashion of the late 16th century and that it may have been copied from a hand-coloured engraving. The same subject is repeated on the hâshiya of folio 5^a of the Berlin Album, but there it is shown without the tree or the landscape of the Dürer original. Furthermore, it was not copied after Wierix's engraving, which is in reverse to the Dürer (Alvin 625), as thought by Maclagan: JGM, 249: reproduced: IBP, 47, Pl.30.

59. Bodleian Library, MS. Douce Or a1, f 42^b:

E. Wellesz, Akbar's Religious Thought...., Pl. 37.

60. James Ivory Collection, New York; AMI, Pl.14.

61. Musée Guimet, No.3619 H.a.; LMI, 18, No.15.

Signature of Husain on the lower mount.

62. Chester Beatty Library: Cat-CB, I, 45; III, Pl. 81.

The pictures of the Holy Family with St. John⁶³, Women and Angels at the Tomb of Christ⁶⁴ and Christ and the Instruments of His Passion⁶⁵, all vividly coloured and found pasted on the folios of Jahângîrî Albums are, in fact, original engravings overpainted by Jahângîr's painters. The popular subject of Madonna and the Child is coloured, copied and adopted in various forms from various sources. Three versions of an unidentified original are known; a copy directly based on the original is pasted on a folio of the Gulshan Album⁶⁶, while the same theme is repeated in a picture signed by Muḥammad Mîrzâ al-Ḥasanî, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, but in a reverse manner⁶⁷. A copy of the original design is painted on a reduced scale on the hâshiya of the Gulshān Album where the details of the setting have been omitted⁶⁸. Figure of the Madonna and Child is also found on a folio of the Gulshan Album (Plate

63. IBP, 57, 64-5, Pl. 41. The original Sadeler engraving is reproduced: ibid, Pl. facing p. 54.

64. ibid, 57, Pl. 41.

65. H. Goetz, East & West, 1957, 166^{fn35}, Pl. IX. On the authority of Prof. R. Berliner, Goetz identifies it as a copy of some Netherlands-German Romantist of probably the Circle of Sustris 1524/26-1599. Also see, Wilkinson & Gray, Burl.Mag., 1935, 174.

66. IMM, 78-9, Pl. 32 (colour).

67. Cat-MFA, VI, 49-50, Pl. XXXIX.

68. Bul-MFA, No.332, 72, fig. 5.

115) which appears to be a slightly altered version of a copy of the world-famous Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (Plate 116)⁶⁹. Another version of this picture is found in the Leningrad Album⁷⁰ which may belong to a slightly later period.

Figures of the Madonna copied from other models are also found on the same Gulshan Album folio discussed above (Plate 115); on another folio⁷¹ where the design is copied by 'Alî Qulî with much variation from a Jan Sadeler engraving *The Early Education of Jesus*⁷²; in the India Office Library⁷³, Pozzi Collection⁷⁴, Indian Museum, Calcutta⁷⁵, the Leningrad Album⁷⁶, and in many other collections of Mughal paintings throughout the world.⁷⁷ Of particular interest amongst them are two examples in the Leningrad Album (Plate 134) and in the British Museum. The Leningrad picture is of excellent quality and shows the graceful face of the young Virgin with a lotus bud in

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69. John E. McCall, "Early Jesuit Art in the Far East", Artibus Asiae, XI, [Ascona, 1958], fig 22, 47.
 70. Leningrad Album, Pl. 54.
 71. Bull-MFA, No.332, 81, fig 9.
 72. ibid, fig 9^a; R. Ettinghausen, (Perennitas, fig.4) reproduces another folio from the same album where the original Sadeler engraving is presented.
 73. India Office Library, Johnson, XIV, f2; LPI, Pl.XXIa.
 74. E. Blochet, Les Peinturs Orientales de la Collection Pozzi, Paris, 1928, Pl. XXXVII; Pl. XXVI^a shows a late version.
 75. Rupam, [Calcutta, 1930], 23-24.
 76. Leningrad Album, Pls. 51, 54, 55.
 77. JGM, 250-2.

in her hand, carefully copies from a picture of Mary engraved by Jan Sadeler after an original by Aachen⁷⁸.

The main interest of the British Museum monochrome drawing of the Virgin and Child lies in the fact that it was drawn by Ghulâm for Prince Salîm, both of whose names are inscribed on the picture⁷⁹.

The details on the hâshiyas of the royal muraqqa's show a wide variety of subjects, many of which were copied from a large number of European engravings. In most cases these were drawn in thin gold lines, and sometimes on a smaller scale so that they could be properly enclosed with the cartouches and arabesques designed on the folios. The figures are generally isolated details thoughtlessly lifted from well-knit compositions, resulting in a considerable loss of dramatic effect. So, in many instances the figures gaze outside at no one, raise their hands for no apparent reason or show meaningless poses and attitudes.

78. Leningrad Album, English résumé, 12-3, No. 50.

79. British Museum, No. 1942-1-24-02. Unpublished. The sketch is based on an engraving of the School of B. van Orley (1492-1542).

For other Mughal pictures copies from European engravings:-

British Museum Nos. 1920,9-17,031; 1920,9-7,013(21); 1942,1-24,03; (based on an engraving of a painting by Isaac Gillisz Coninxlo 1544-1609); 1954,5-8,02 (engraved portrait of François Dauphin de France by Thos. de Léu, c1600). India Office Library, XIV-8, XXII-13.

Of the painters and engravers whose works reached the Mughal Court Dürer and the Sadeler Brothers were very popular. Whether the Mughal painters were aware of the fame and greatness of Albrecht Dürer is not known to us, but they did not fail to recognise the vigour and clarity of his lines, and the subtle sensitiveness of the faces in his works, which they seriously studied. Apart from his St. John (Plate 119) copied by Abu'l Hasan at the age of 13 (Plate 118), the Virgin under the Tree copied by an unknown painter and Madonna With the Ape, referred to above, a few more of his well-known works were copied by Jahângîr's painters. There are as many as four details copied from his works on a folio of the Berlin Album⁸⁰, whereas a Gulshan Album folio shows a fine study of his Frederick the Wise of Saxony⁸¹. The figure of his Burgandian Standard bearer was drawn on a folio now in the Musée Guimet⁸², while the young prince seated on a throne drawn on a folio in the M. le duc de Luynes Collection was modelled on the figure of the old man from his engraving Jesus and Caiaphas⁸³. Madame Godard refers to a picture of a

80. IBP, 47, Pl. 30: Two original Dürer engravings reproduced: Plate 119, 120.

81. Bull-MFA, No. 332, 72, fig 5; J.V.S. Wilkinson & B. Gray, Burl.Mag., Pl. IE.

82. LMI, Pl. V; IBP, Pl. facing p. 48. J. Wierix version: Alvin 1580.

83. Marteau & Vever, II, Pl. 260. ^{See} Pl. 260^a for the original Dürer.

dervish drawn by Mishkina which was adopted from Dürer's work⁸⁴, and Kühnel writes of a slightly later work in the Berlin Collection which was again copied from Dürer⁸⁵.

The Sadeler Brothers were fairly prolific in their production of engravings and the number of their works arriving at the Mughal court seems to be quite large. Along with Jan Wierix, Goltzius, Crispin van den Broeck, the three Sadeler Brothers, Jan, Aegidius and Raphael, belonged to the Antwerp Guild. In the sixteenth century Antwerp was a key centre of book-production and painting, and it was from there that the Jesuits brought most of their books and pictures to the East⁸⁶.

Besides the signed works of Kesavadâs, Nâdirâ Bânû and 'Alî Qulî mentioned earlier⁸⁷; the picture of Dialectica of a Leningrad Album folio⁸⁸ signed by Abu'l Haşan, the fine copy of the Holy Family with St. John in Berlin Album⁸⁹ and a couple of female figures drawn on a Gulshan Album folio copied from a picture of St. Mary Magdalen praying⁹⁰, were

84. Y. Godard, Athar-e-Iran, 1937, 222, not illustrated.

85. E. Kühnel, Miniaturmalerie im Islamischen Orient, Berlin, 1922, Tafel 141.

86. Bull-MFA, No.332, 91^{fn15}.

87. supra.,

88. Leningrad Album, Pl.12.

89. IBP, Pl. 41; the original reproduced on pl. facing p.54.

90. H. Goetz, East & West, 1957, 166, Pl.10 and fn.36.

based on engravings made by the Sadeler Brothers⁹¹.

The engravings of Hans Sebald Beham are also pretty common in the royal muraqqa's of Jahângîr⁹². Similarly, the series The Seven Liberal Arts and the Five Senses engraved by George Pencz were also popular with the Mughals⁹³. Motifs from George Pencz's St. Joseph Telling his Dream to His Father were spread over the hâshiya of a Gulshan Album folio⁹⁴.

91. For other Sadeler engravings copied by Jahângîr's painters: Bull-MFA, No.332, fig. 11 & 11a, 12 & 12a; Cat-CB, I,49, (the identification proposed in it has now been proved wrong); III, Pl.77; Leningrad Album, Pl. 50 & 51B. According to Kühnel & Goetz the hunting figures on f 15^b of the Berlin Album (IBP, Pl.27) were adopted from Aegidius Sadeler's engraving made after R. Savery (ibid, 47)
92. For his engravings: Berlin Album, f 4^a, 9^a, 11^b: IBP, 2, 47-8, Pl. 29 (only f 11^b reproduced) and Pl. facing p.55 showing the Beham original. Gulshan Album: Bull-MFA, No.332, fig. 5; J.V.S. Wilkinson & B. Gray, op.cit., Pl. IB (the St. Lukas was adopted from H.S. Beham). E. Kühnel, "Die indischen Miniaturen der Sammlung Otto Sohn-Rethel", Pantheon, VIII, Abb.3.
93. Bull-MFA, No.332, figs. 6 & 6^a, 7 & 7^a, 7^b. A better version of Arithmetic from the Seven Liberal Art Series was drawn by Manohar (Leningrad Album, Pl. 20). The figure of Geometria from the same series was repeated on the hâshiyas of a royal muraqqa' folio; now preserved in the Gulshan Album, f. 1 (Ettinghausen, Perennitas, fig 7).
94. Bull-MFA, No.332, fig. 3. The original engraving is traced by Mrs. Cabot and reproduced in ibid, fig. 1a See fig. 1 for another adaptation from the same engraving; Cf. Plate 29.

The works of Theodor Galle⁹⁵, Etienne Delaune⁹⁶, Crispin de Passe⁹⁷, Jacob Goltzius⁹⁸ and Cornelius Jacobz Drebbel⁹⁹ also appear on the hâshiyas of these muraqqa' folios.

Apart from these many other European pictures illustrating various Christian subjects including portraits of the Saints were copied by the Mughals. According to the reports of the Jesuits, Salîm had pictures made of the life and death of Christ and ordered "the insertion in a book of a picture of Christ crucified and of the Virgin with her infant Son with His arms about her neck"¹⁰⁰. The Muslim belief based on a Qura'nic passage (IV.156) that Christ did not die on the Cross because someone else of His appearance was placed there instead, was thus disregarded by the Mughals. Along with the original Descent from the Cross engraving¹⁰¹ the Gulshan Album has other representations of the Crucifixion¹⁰².

95. IBP, 3, 58; not illustrated.

96. Bull-MFA, No.332, fig. 3 & 3a.

97. ibid, fig.8. The copy is much modified with many drastic additions and alterations from de Passe's, The Sacrifice of Noah, engraved after Martin de Vos: ibid, fig. 8a.

98. ibid, fig 10 (top right); for the original; fig. 10a.

99. ibid, fig 11 (top right); for the original; fig. 11^b.

This nude figure of Poetry was often copied by the Mughals. Govardhan's slightly altered version is reproduced by N.C. Mehta in Studies in Indian Painting, Pl.36. Another late copy is found in the Cowasji Jehangir Collection: Cat-Cowasji, No.54.

100. JGM, 226; A & J, 190.

101. Ettinghausen, op.cit., fig. 4.

102. Wilkinson & Gray, op.cit., 174, not illustrated.

In one folio, while copying the Pencz engraving of Geometria shown (in reverse) the ingenious Mughal artist has transformed Geometria as a painter examining a panel held by a young attendant showing Crucifixion¹⁰³. Folio 106 of the Berlin Album has a Woman and Angel at the Tomb of Christ where the figures were taken from more than one source but effectively amalgamated¹⁰⁴.

The MSS of different Christian works translated into Persian by Father Xavier were illustrated with many miniatures¹⁰⁵. The Victoria and Albert Museum picture showing the Inn at Bethlehem is one of these¹⁰⁶. A few miniatures from a small MS of a Christian biographical work in Persian from the collection of Mr. Howard Hodgkin were sold at Sotheby's auction¹⁰⁷. A large folio of excellent quality showing a Prophet, perhaps Moses, disputing with a Crowd in a landscape, sold in another Sotheby auction held a few

103. Bull--MFA, No.332, fig. 7.

104. IBP, Pl. 41.

105. JGM, 70, 203; J & J, 101. For a list of Father Xavier's Persian works: JGM, Chapter XIV, & A. Campos, IC, XXXV, 166-76.

106. JGM, Pl. facing p.203.

107. Sotheby's Sale Catalogue,.....
For other examples of this series but coming from a different MS in Lahore: Fr. ~~WJ~~ Lewenstein, S.J., Christliche Bilder in altindischer Malerei, Münster, 1958.

years ago, may also have come from a Christian work¹⁰⁸. Such subjects as Noah's Ark¹⁰⁹, King Solomon's Court¹¹⁰, or the Good Shepherd¹¹¹, with parallel stories in Islamic mythology, were often illustrated by Mughal painters and in many cases from European models.

After making a thorough study of all the European materials at their disposal the Mughal painters tried to introduce motifs and designs from them into their works. Occasional figures of European origin were painted in places where their appearances were most unexpected. We have noted a few examples of this kind appearing in a number of miniatures painted by Basawan, Miskina, Kesavadās, Sānwala and Manohar, mostly coming from the atelier of Akbar¹¹².

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108. Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 15 June, 1959, reproduced; found in an album belonging to Prince Khurram whose calligraphic handwriting dated 1020H/1611 is found on the reverse of each folio. Three other pictures found in this album were copied from European works. Another folio of a similar size (31 x 18.5) showing Idris Teaching the Art of Weaving is in the collection of the India Office Library: Johnson, VIII, f5.
109. Indian Museum, Calcutta: AM, Tafel 80, Abb.215; Freer Gallery of Art; S.C. Welch, Marg, XI, No.3, & Islamic Art, Cleveland, 1944, Pl. 24. The later example is attributed by Welch to Miskin.
110. Private Collection, U.S.A.: S.C. Welch & M.C. Beach, Gods, Thrones & Peacocks, Pl. 5; AO, III, fig.11. Bodleian Library, Douce, Or a1, f 51^b; etc.
111. JGM, Pl. facing p.23; India Office Library, Johnson, XVI, f1, XXII f B; etc.
112. supra, Chapters VII & VIII.

In Jahângîr's time such outright incorporation of foreign figures was not so common, unless the likeness of Jesuit priests or European traveller present in the court were purposely added (Cf Plates 62, 63, 71, 75, 80, 107, 144)¹¹³. The impact of European art on Jahângîrî paintings became apparent in three directions: in such technical matters as colouring, modelling, indications of depth and true perspective, and the like; in changing the general attitudes of both the painters and the viewers; and in incorporating various motifs and symbols, mainly of religious nature, to evolve a sort of iconography for depicting the theophanic ideas of Jahângîr.

The colour schemes of many late Akbarî miniatures, especially in the poetical works where the miniatures were painted from start to finish by one painter, show a wonderful

113. Two Portraits of unidentified Jesuit priests, fully coloured and probably drawn from life, are found in the Chester Beatty Library (Ind MS 41(2), unpublished) and in the National Museum ~~KIHRZ~~ of India, New Delhi (EWA, X, Pl. 121). Portraits of European travellers or soldiers and European men and women in period costume, in most cases drawn by Mughal painters, are frequently met with. Precise indication of date of many of these cannot be given - e.g., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Cat-MFA, VI, Pl. XXVI; Victoria & Albert Museum; AIP, 162, No. 735, H. Goetz, Geschichte der Indischen Miniaturmalerie, Berlin, 1936, Tafel 6; Martin, II, Pl. 170, 171; LPI, Pl. XIX^a. A few later examples are found in the British Museum: 1955, 10-8, 0165; 1936, 6-13, 01; 1948, 10-9, 072; 1955, 10-8, 017; all unpublished.

feeling for effect achieved through a very judicious use of mixed colour tones often juxtaposed with strong primary colours. This is particularly true of a number of painters including Basâwan, La'l, Sûr Gujarâtî, Miskina^h and Mâdhav, Farrukh Beg stands apart because his highly effective use of a limited range of colours was of a different kind¹¹⁴. The leading Jahângîrî painters, Daulat, Abu'l Hasan, Mansûr and Govardhan adopted a different technique, which shows a substantial improvement of colour-mixing and the use of new materials¹¹⁵. Daulat's earlier works, as we have already noted, were remarkable for his use of strong patches of violet, blue and yellow¹¹⁶. The same tendency is noticeable in Abu'l Hasan's early works in the British Museum Anwâr-i-Suhailî folio (Plate 27) and in the picture of an "old pilgrim" in the Rothschild Collection¹¹⁷. A similar tendency characterises the early signed works of Govardhan, unlike his later works which showed a different technique; a crisp and mellow colour-scheme, a strong and powerful line work and an

114. supra, Chapter VIII.

115. The English traders imported the costly scarlet dye-stuff collected from Mexican Cactû called cochineal: Letters Recd., VI, 124, 149.

116. Cf: Plate 16, and E. Wellesz, Akbar's Religious Thought... Pl.35, PI, Pl.97 (colour), attributed here to Daulat; and ff 168^b and 169 of the Chester Beatty Akbarnâma; Cat-CB, III, Pl.27,28. vide, supra, Chapter VIII.

117. IPM, Pl. XVII.

unusual emphasis on the expressions of the principal characters. This emphasis on the facial expression of a figure in order to correctly depict his exact psychological situation is an important feature of all successful Jahângîrî works, and The placid Madonnas or pensive Mary Magdalens, and the Saints with their emotionally charged expressions, may have inspired the Jahângîrî painters in this line. Of course, it would be wrong to suggest that the colouring of all pre-Jahângîrî miniatures is ineffective and dull and the faces of the numerous characters presented there are devoid of all subtlety and expression; Our purpose here is to suggest that the moving characters of the Jahângîrî world and the distinctive compositions and colour-schemes of the Jahângîrî miniatures probably indicate something more than the logical course of development of a style. ~~This~~ is largely the result of the stimulus received from the emperor's personality and taste as ^{well as} from the presence of these European art objects. In the succeeding years these tendencies became far more pronounced and the stamp of the impact of Europe became unmistakable.

From the lengthy account of Sir Thomas Roe of the tremendous interest created by an Isaac Oliver miniature,

'a small limned picture of a woman'¹¹⁹, in the Mughal court, there can hardly be any doubt about the popularity of the pictures of women. Since the days of the Salim Studio the interest in woman has been keen and objective. The first definite indication of the practice of portraying the empress is given by the picture showing the Reception of Shâh Jahân on his triumphant return from the Deccan¹¹⁹. This change in attitude made the pictures of nude women (Plate 126) and nude athletic men¹²⁰ possible. The appearance of numerous amorous scenes, of loving couples, of dancing girls and of shapely princesses in the next few years must have resulted from this slackening of moral attitude which made the figures of delightful damsels of the Râgas and Râginis, of the heroines of Hindu romantic works quickly accepted by the court and court-artists¹²¹.

118. Roe, 189-90, 199-200; 190ⁿ. Note the numerous figures of women in marginal drawings of the royal muraqqa's Vide, Chapters III & VI.

119. Clarke, Pl. 5 & R. Ettinghausen, Perennitas, fig 1. The pictures of Christ and the Virgin on the outer wall of the garden pavilion in the background are especially noticeable. Vide, supra, Chapter VII.

120. Bull-MFA, No.332, fig 12; Cat-CB, III, Pl. 77. There are figures of nude or semi-nude women in the Dârâbnâma MS (British Museum, Or 4615) but these are not painted in a naturalistic way. Vide, Chapter III (Râjgunwâr MS).

121. Vide, infra.

The change of attitude is also noticed in the choice of subject-matter, painted both on the hâshiyas of the royal muraqqa's and elsewhere. The large number of genre scenes and details showing ordinary occupations of the humble folks were almost certainly inspired by European antecedents¹²². The natural history drawings by Mansûr not only mirror the personal wish of the emperor to preserve the likeness of strange and rare birds, animals, trees, fruits and flowers for posterity but also reveal change in the attitude for bringing nature closer to man and discarding the stereotyped scenes of battles and atrocities which filled the pages of the historical MSS prepared in the early days. Birds and beasts, creepers and flowers appear in numerous forms, shapes and colours as motifs and designs on the hâshiyas of the muraqqa's, on buildings, on metal objects, glassware, and on textiles. There was nothing new in the idea, but there was definitely a new impetus to make them look more realistic and lively. Much similarity is noticed in some of these floral and vegetal designs painted in Shâh Jahân's time with the illustrations of drawings of herbs and plants which were being published in England and in Europe during this time¹²³.

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122. J.V.S. Wilkinson & B.Gray, Burl.Mag., 173; point out some similarity with the Luttrell Psalter. Vide, supra, Chapter VI.
123. Cf. a slightly later work: J.Gerarde, The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes, London, 1636. I am grateful to Mr. R. Skelton for this reference. Mr. Skelton is working on these floral motifs and result of his research is expected soon. Also: Crispian de Pas, Jardin de Fleurs, Contenant en soy les plus Raves et plus excellentes Fleurs que poyr etc. [Book of Engravings of flowers], 1615.

The process seems to have set in earlier, from Jahângîr's time, because even a few of Mansûr's animal drawings were modelled after foreign materials¹²⁴.

The other notable result of the impact of European art was the appearance of European-inspired iconographical symbols associated by the Mughal painters with Jahângîr and continued during Shâh Jahân's time and later. This has been fully discussed in the previous chapter.

On the whole, the presence of European art objects considerably influenced Jahângîr's taste and attitude and also the styles of his painters. Jahângîr was a cultured man who was not very easily susceptible to fads. However, he was not one of a very rigid temperament, so he did not hesitate to accept whatever suited his taste, helped to develop it and enlarged the sphere of his knowledge and idea. Most of the European materials in his collection must have seemed thematically dull to him, since their subject-matters were not always of his liking, but their aesthetic contents and decorative details do not appear to have escaped his discerning eye. His painters, who were already making great

124. W. Blunt, "The Mughal Painters of Natural History," Burl. Mag., XC, 49-50. Mr. Blunt points out the similarity of Mansûr's drawing of a pair of cranes in the Victoria & Albert Museum (AIP, colour Pl. G) with a Ming period Chinese work. Cf: Otsuka Kogeisha, The Pageant of Chinese Painting, Tokyo, 1936, Pl. 475.

efforts to break new grounds, readily accepted the superior technique of the Europeans and for the sake of variety and emphasis on certain aspects of their works introduced many decorative details found in the European pictures. Talented artists as they all were, whatever they accepted from the West was thoroughly integrated in their style leaving nothing more than some faint traces of what they borrowed.

Epilogue:

Stylization and Disruption

Mughal painting developed remarkably in Jahāngīr's time. The progress from the suave naturalism and simple charm of the Rāj Kunwār or Anwār-i-Suhaīlī of 1610 to the complex allegorical drawings of Abu'l Hasan and Bichitr was tremendous. The portraits painted in Jahāngīr's atelier were vigorous and lively, the studies of birds and animals realistic and exciting. In every single production of the Jahāngīr atelier a conscious attempt to render movement and meaning became apparent. The balanced composition, harmonious colour scheme and technical perfection of a fully-developed Jahāngīrī picture could hardly be surpassed.

The rarefied sophistication achieved in Jahāngīr's time, however, proved self-destructive. The atelier was fully devoted to picturising the activities, dreams and ideals of the patron and hinged on his personality. With the turbulent political situation during the later part of his reign, the personal capacity of the old and sick emperor became limited, and as an inevitable consequence art became repetitive and insipid. Isolated from the mainstream of Indian life, Jahāngīrī painting lost quickly

its creative vigour. With their iconographical symbolisms and ample borrowings from the West the sophisticated productions of Jahângîr's atelier turned into carefully-nurtured hot-house plants. Once the glass walls of imperial patronage were withdrawn they faced virtual destruction.

However, the achievement of Mughal art was so enormous and great that the process of disintegration was necessarily slow and gradual. The miniatures of a couple of MSS devoted to Sa'dî's twin classics produced only within a year of Jahângîr's death show some evidence of that decadence of the style¹. The imperial studio did not cease to function, but the quality of miniatures produced there, with the exception of the works of a few notable masters like Govardhan, Bichitr and Hashim, was nowhere near the style of Akbarî or Jahângîrî examples.

From now on the artistic genius of India was set itself at work not in the imperial studio, but outside it, in the modest establishments of wealthy nobles or vassal chiefs. Instead of confining itself to the depiction of royal life or preferences, it started portraying the basic

1. Gulistân and Bîstân, both completed by Hakîm Ruknâ at Agra in Jumâdâ I, 1038H/December 1628-January 1629 and Rabî I/November 1629 respectively: J.V.S. Wilkinson, "An Indian Manuscript of the Golestan of the Shah Jahan Period," AO, II, 423-5; R.H. Pinder-Wilson, "Three Illustrated Manuscripts of the Mughal Period," AO, II, 415-8.

sentiments and moods of Indian life as expressed in romance and poetry, in religious lores and music. Early in his career, in the Salîm Studio, Jahângîr showed some interest in these aspects of Indian life. The delightful pictures of the Râj Kunwâr MS testify to it. But in the atmosphere of splendour and prosperity of court life the interest was no longer kept alive.

The reorganisation of the imperial atelier must have rendered surplus a considerable number of talented painters, most of whom were employed by the wealthy nobles and vassal kings. Some of them continued to work in the Persianised tradition, although in a much inferior manner, while the others followed their own indigenous styles. At least two richly illustrated MSS dealing with Hindu romantic works and prosody, the Rasikapriyâ² and the Mâdhavânala-Kâmakandalâ³, point to the continuity of this tradition.

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2. vide, supra. I am grateful to Mr. J.G. Burton-Page for showing me photographs of two folios from the same set, now in the Freer Gallery of Art. The no. of the BM miniature is: 1925,12-9,01. Professor Ettinghausen has dated the whole set ~~in~~ C.1617. I am not aware of the reasons given to advance such specific dating. The provenance of the whole set may well be Agra. Our knowledge of Râjâ Bîr Singh Deo's studio is not sufficient for attributing the set to Datia. I am also grateful to Mr. R. Skelton and Mr. S. Digby for showing me photographs of wall paintings found in Bîr Singh's palace.
 3. Cat-Khajanchi, 27-29, colour Pl. B & fig 24; P. Chandra, Lalitkala, VIII, 42, fig 32. Also: idem, figs. 23-27, 39, 40: Cf. W.G. Archer, Indian Miniatures, London, 1960. Pl.39 (colour). For the text of this work: M.R. Majumdar, Mâdhavânala Kâmakandalâ Prabandha, Baroda, 1942.

Unfortunately, these MSS are incomplete and without dated colophons. No definite information of either their provenance or of the authorship of the numerous miniatures of unsurpassable excellence found in them is known to us. Pramod Chandra has devoted considerable attention to these miniatures and tried to trace their style in the parallel tradition prevalent throughout the early Mughal period⁴. His nomenclature of this parallel style is 'Popular Mughal', a term which all scholars think unhappy and inadequate⁵. We do not propose to re-examine the whole mass of materials as we restrict ourselves within the sphere of the imperial court, but a few points need to be added to our study.

Painters were freely available and pictures regularly painted outside the Mughal court even during the heyday of early Mughal art. The situation obviously became somewhat desperate after Jahângîr adopted the policy of employing only a limited number of masters in the royal atelier. Besides the thriving atelier of 'Abd-ur-Rahîm Khân-i-Khânân, a number of other leading nobles including Shihâb ud-dîn Ahmad Khân,

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4. "Ustad Sâlivâhana and the Development of Popular Mughal Art," Lalit Kala, VIII, [New Delhi, 1960], 25-46, Col. pl. A & fig. 1-45. Cat-Khajanchi, 14-6.
5. Cat-Khajanchi, op.cit., 15; Mr. B. Gray prefers the term Provincial Mughal: PI, 107-14.

The governor of Gujarat⁶, Shaikh Farîd Bukhârî⁷, Bahâdur Khân Uzbek⁸, Jâfar Beg⁹ certainly employed calligraphers and artists because a number of MSS commissioned by them have survived.

'Abd-ur-Rahîm's eminence as a scholar, writer, bibliophile and connoisseur is well-known to all students of Mughal history. Choice MSS, copiously illustrated with

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6. The Anwâr-i-Suhailî dated 1009H/1600-1 in the British Museum (Or. 6317 - to be published by Mr. R. Pinder-Wilson in a forthcoming paper) was produced at Ahmedabad. The style of its 143 miniatures is not very far from that of Khân-i-Khânân's studio.
 7. A Dîwân-i-Hasan dated 1610/1601, now in the Bankipur Library was prepared for Shaikh Farîd (Scott O'Connor, An Eastern Library, 65). A Silsilah al-Zahab MS, now in the Chester Beatty Library, (Ind. MS. 8, Cat-CB, I, 38-9; III, Pl.73) was produced for his library after he received the title Murtazâ Khân. His likeness was included by Sâlivâhanama in the court scene illustrated in the Vijñaptipatra prepared in 1610; P. Chandra, op.cit., 30 fig. 1.
 8. A Khâmsa of Nizâmî dated 1022-3/1613-4 was prepared for the library of Bahâdur Khân Uzbek (Ab'ul Nabî): Cat-CB, I, 76-7; III, Pl. 96.
 9. Vide: A Khusrau wa Shîrîn, now in the Bankipur Library, was written for him in 1022/1613 by the famous calligrapher Mullâ Muḥammad Husain Kashmîrî. Scot O'Connor, op.cit., 71.

miniatures, were prepared in his atelier¹⁰. A few painters originally associated with the imperial studio might have joined his services: such names as Ibrâhîm, Govind, Qâsim, Mâdhav, Banwârî are found in Akbarî and Jahângîrî MSS as well as in the Khâmsa of Amîr Khusrau Dihlavî, Razmnâma, Shâhnâma, produced in the Khân-i-Khânân's establishment. Similarly, talented painters originally working in his atelier were chosen to work in the imperial studio. A notable name amongst them is that of Hashim, who worked for the Khâmsa of Amîr Khusrau Dihlavî (Plate 140),

10. Among the illustrated MSS produced in Khân-i-Khânân's atelier are:

1. Râmâyana, produced between 1587/8 - 1598/99. Now in the Freer Gallery of Art: PSEI, Pl. 3 & 4, text.
2. Shâhnâma; mentioned by H. Goetz, "Indian Miniatures in German museums and Private Collections," Eastern Art, II, Philadelphia, 1930, 147.
3. Khâmsa of Amîr Khusrau Dihlavî, Illustrations added by Khân-i-Khânân's painters after 1617: H. Goetz, op.cit., 147, and T. Arnold & A. Graham, The Islamic Book, Pl. 85-87. Plate 140; PSEI, Pl. 7, text.
4. Razmnâma, dated 1616. Now dispersed. For full Bibliography: S.C. Welch, AC, V, 229fn 33.

The following MSS, though do not bear Khân-i-Khânân's seal or any note written by him, may be attributed to his studio on the ground of stylistic similarity of their miniatures:

1. Shâhnâma, (British Museum, Ad.5600). The miniatures are signed by Bulâ, Banwârî, Bhagwatî, Kamâl, Mâdhav, Qâsim and Somâl.
2. Dîwân-i-Jâmî, (Mme. de Béhague Collection). With illustrations by Husayn Naqqâsh.

For the Khân-i-Khânân's library and atelier; S.A. Zafar Nadvi, "Libraries During the Muslim Rule in India," IC, XIX, 323-6; M. Mahfuzul Haq, "The Khan-e-Khanan and his Painters," IC, V, 621-30.

produced in the Khân-i-Khânân's atelier in 1617 or slightly afterwards, but ultimately became a leading painter of Shâh Jahân's court¹¹.

This 'Lesser style', however, was not continued for a long period because most of the influential and wealthy nobles became entangled with the poticial conflict between Shâh Jahân and his father. This gave an opportunity to the indigenous painters to produce a large number of Râgamâlâ series, and illustrated MSS of biographical works and Hindu religious and romantic texts. Their style was not as refined and Mughal-inspired as that of the Rasika-priyâ and Mâdhavânala-Kâmakandalâ¹².

The pictures of the Mâdhavânala-Kâmakandalâ series show a remarkable similarity to the 1597 Razmnâma and the Râjkunwâr. The close resemblance of the female types (Cf. Plates 9 and 146), of the general colour-scheme, architectural and decorative details and costumes certainly point to a chronological proximity of the Mâdhavânala series to the Râj Kunwâr¹³. A similar resemblance of the female type is also noticed in a Râginî picture, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay¹⁴. Râginî Mâlaśrî, personified as

11. vide: PSEI, Pl.7, text.

12. vide, Pramod Chandra, op.cit., 38-46; Supra, Chapter IV.

13. ibid, Pl.43 d; Cat-Khajanchi, 27-29, No.17^a-17^j;
Col. pl. B, fig.24.

14. Pramod Chandra, op.cit., fig. 31.

a graceful lotus-eyed girl (Plate 147) is closely similar to the figure of the princess in the Râj Kunwâr (Plate 9).

That painters of good calibre were available for taking commissions outside the court is evidenced by an illustrated Vijñaptipatra now preserved in the Sri Hamsavijayaji Jaina Gyana Bhandar, Baroda¹⁵. This valuable document was painted by Ustâd Šâlivâhana, described in the inscription as a "pâtishâhî Chitrakâra" or a royal painter, in 1610. It illustrates the event of Jahângîr's granting a generous farmân prohibiting animal slaughter on certain days. It not only provides us with a vivid description of the royal court (Plate 144 shows two Europeans present) as seen by someone outside the influence of the emperor, but also shows certain features which help us to determine the character of the so-called Popular Mughal style. The female type (Plate 145) is well-set and closely akin to the figures of the Hindu works referred to above.

From the evidence of the English factors we know that the English engravers produced prints of the portraits of Jahângîr which were such bad replicas ~~and~~ that their sale had to be withdrawn¹⁶. Probably the factors could procure

15. P. Chandra, op.cit., fig. 1-4 and details in Col. Pl.A, fig. 5-8.

16. Letters Recd., III, 67; "The Mogoll's picture drawn in England is nothing like him; so will serve no use at all."

only a poor likeness of the emperor which they sent to England. Roe collected a similar poor quality picture of the emperor which when shown to him caused his annoyance. The emperor promised to give an authentic likeness of himself to the English ambassador. Though other authentic pictures of the emperor autographed by him found their way to England (Plate 136), this particular picture has never been found¹⁷. These humble "commercial painters",¹⁸ whose existence is thus proved beyond doubt, may be called Popular Mughal painters. The large number of pictures found in many collections which show ~~early~~ Mughal ~~early~~ features expressed in crudely painted drawings of bad quality may have come from the brushes of these painters.

The reorganisation of the Mughal atelier during the early years of Jahāngīr and its gradual decentralisation in the last few years of his reign resulted in yet another kind of change: the indigenous traditions which were being continued from the early days in non-Mughal centres became more and more exposed to the improved technique and variegated decorative details of the Mughal paintings.

17. Roe, 200-1: "Wherat I showed him a picture I had of His Majestie farr infearior to be woorke I now sawe, which caused mee to judg of all other by that which was delivered mee as the best. He asked me where I had it? I told him. Why said hee, doe you buy any such thing? Have not I the best...."

18. vide: Roe, Introduction by W. Foster: pp.LXXVIII-LXXIX.

Coming from the outlying centres of the empire like Gujarat, Gwalior, Kashmir and from the adjacent regions of Bundelkhand and the present-day Uttar Pradesh the Ahirs and other indigenous painters brought about revolutionary changes in the Persianised art imported by Humayun and continued in the first few decades of Akbar's rule. Now even the traditional biographical works, Hindu and Jaina religious texts and the Ragamala series produced in centres relatively less exposed to Mughal cultural influence started introducing Mughal costumes, carpets, decorative art objects, and ^{the} technical know-how of the Mughals (Cf Plate 142)¹⁹. No wonder, a MS like the Salibhadra Charitra produced in 1624 shows undoubted Mughal features (Plate 138)²⁰.

Like many other invading peoples and cultures before them the Mughals became in course of a short period just an integral part of the Indian way of life and culture.

The End

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19. Cf. the set of Ragamalas produced at Chawand: G.K. Kanoria, "An Early Dated Rajasthani Ragamala," Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts, XIX, [Calcutta, 1952-3], 1-5, 4 figs. and colour pl. For Khandalavala's later theory on this set vide: Lalit Kala, XI, 63.
20. P.S. Nahar, "An Illustrated Salibhadra MS", op.cit., I, 1933, 64-7, plates; Sarabhai Nawab, Jaina Chitra Kalpadruma, Ahmedabad, 1939, pl. LXXXVI-LXXXIX; Pramod Chandra, op.cit., fig.9-12. etc.

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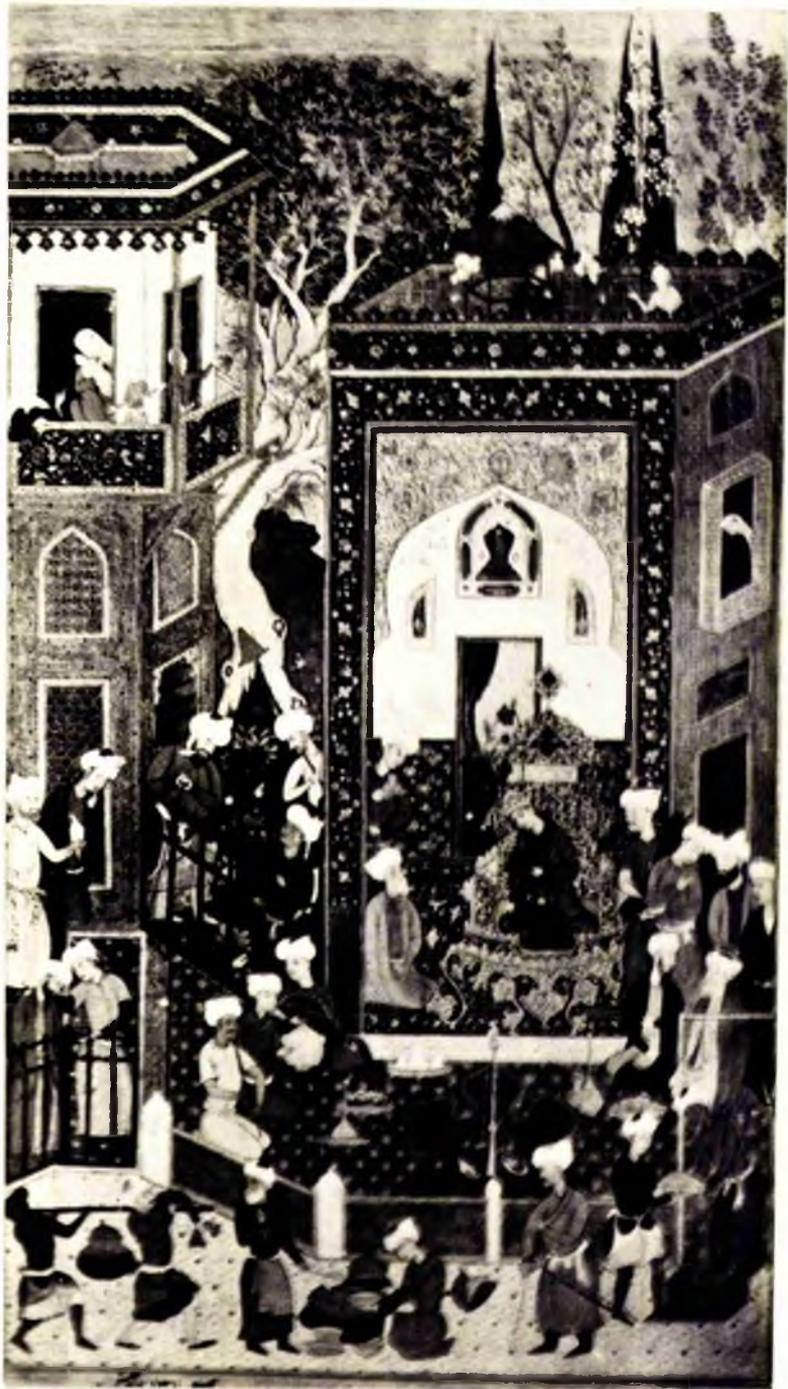
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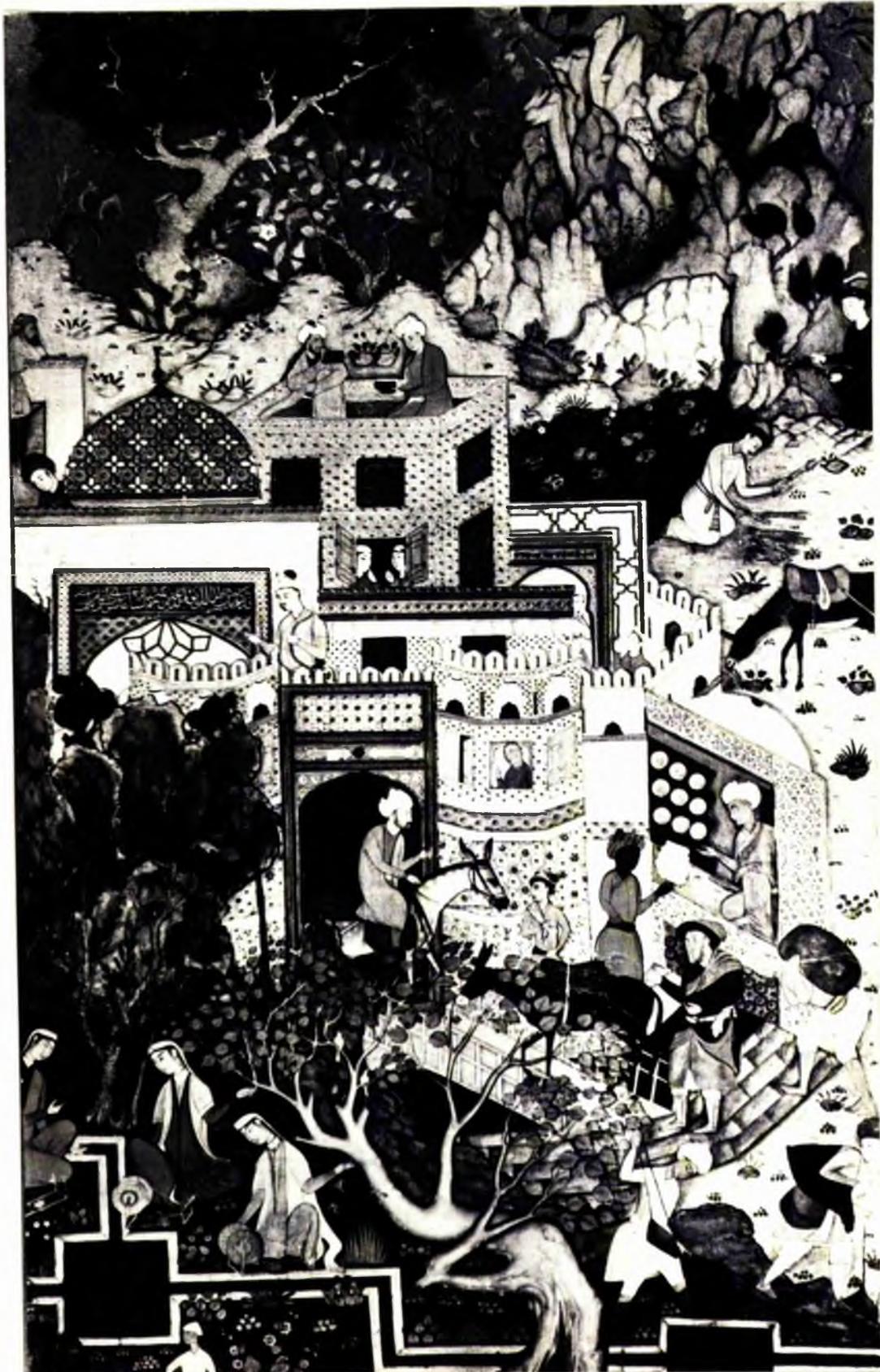




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دولت‌آباد در وقت بخت و حال که همه در آن زمین در میان می نشست برادران و فرزندان بی بی بی





دی پوی سپرد لال رخ پیغام داهم باد	بوشه تخطا
تایش او افتد مکرانک چشم زوشان	در ماه نشیر کیم از بوشه افشارا
مجنون لعل مستان شمش لعل حال زد	پند انباش در سوا می در دارا



فروزمندان عشق در نظر
 سمدراز بیکون شوق
 کرم جوگان بجز پربزن کو

پس دواک ز در حصار
 مراد پی طالب در افکار
 کورین بر آبی آن در است



ب شیرت در گناه ام است
 اگر سانی تو خوسیه بود ما
 نه نور گلک چند حلقه

اگر شیرت تویی شکوه ام است
 کسب کیو که نمی رودن کرات
 من آنقدر که بر بالایی است





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سپهر ایچره ناره کیتی فروز | کد پنهان شب اول پندای روز



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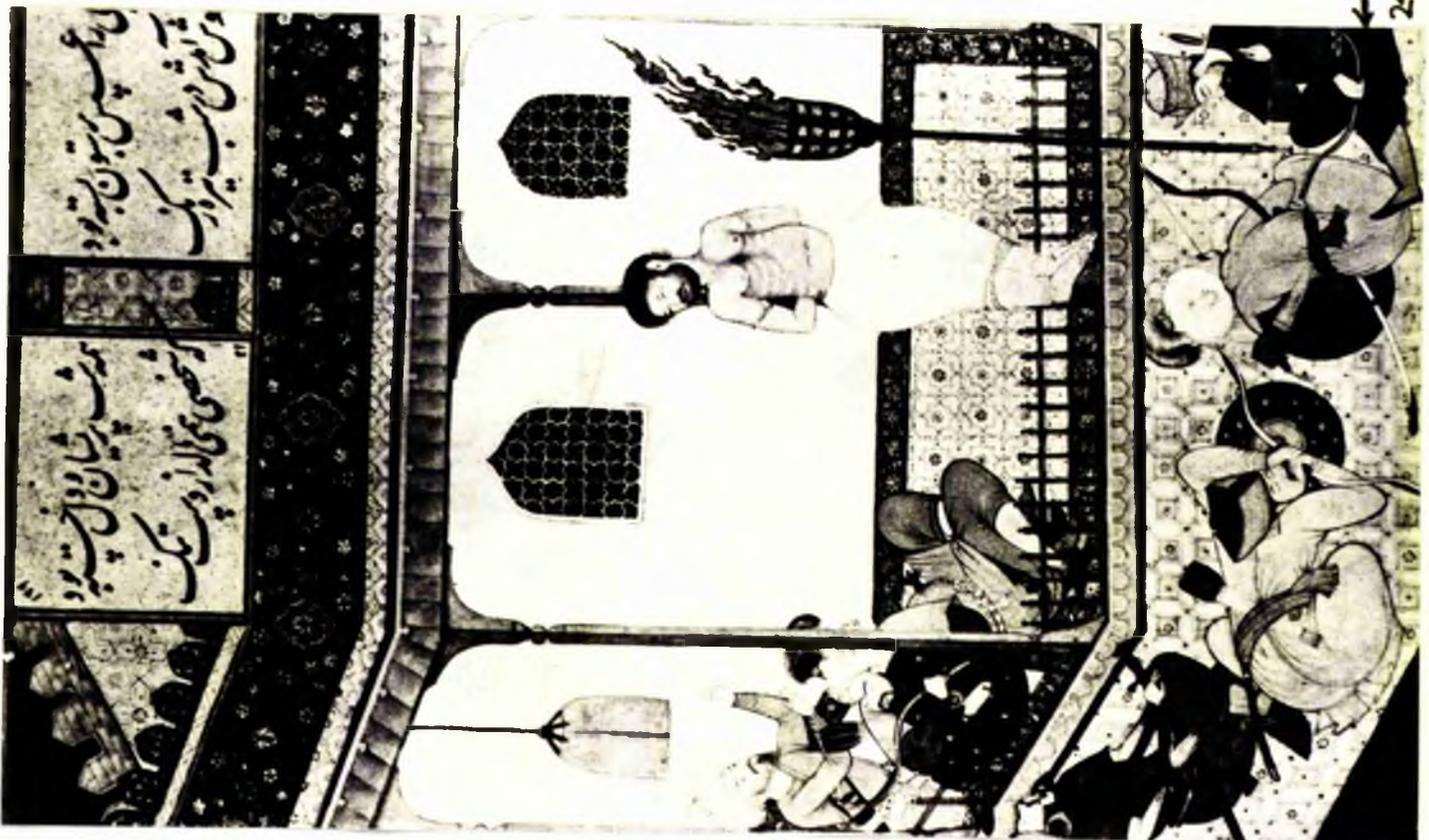
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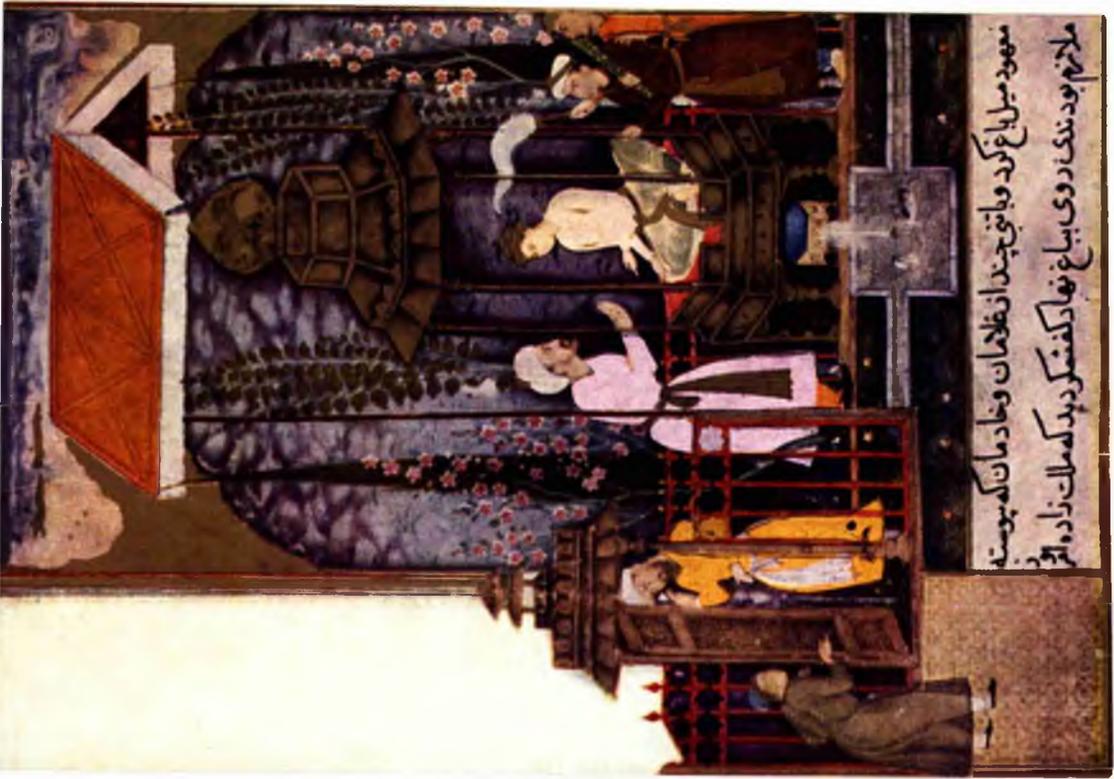


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نزدند يك روز زن را گفت ای مویس

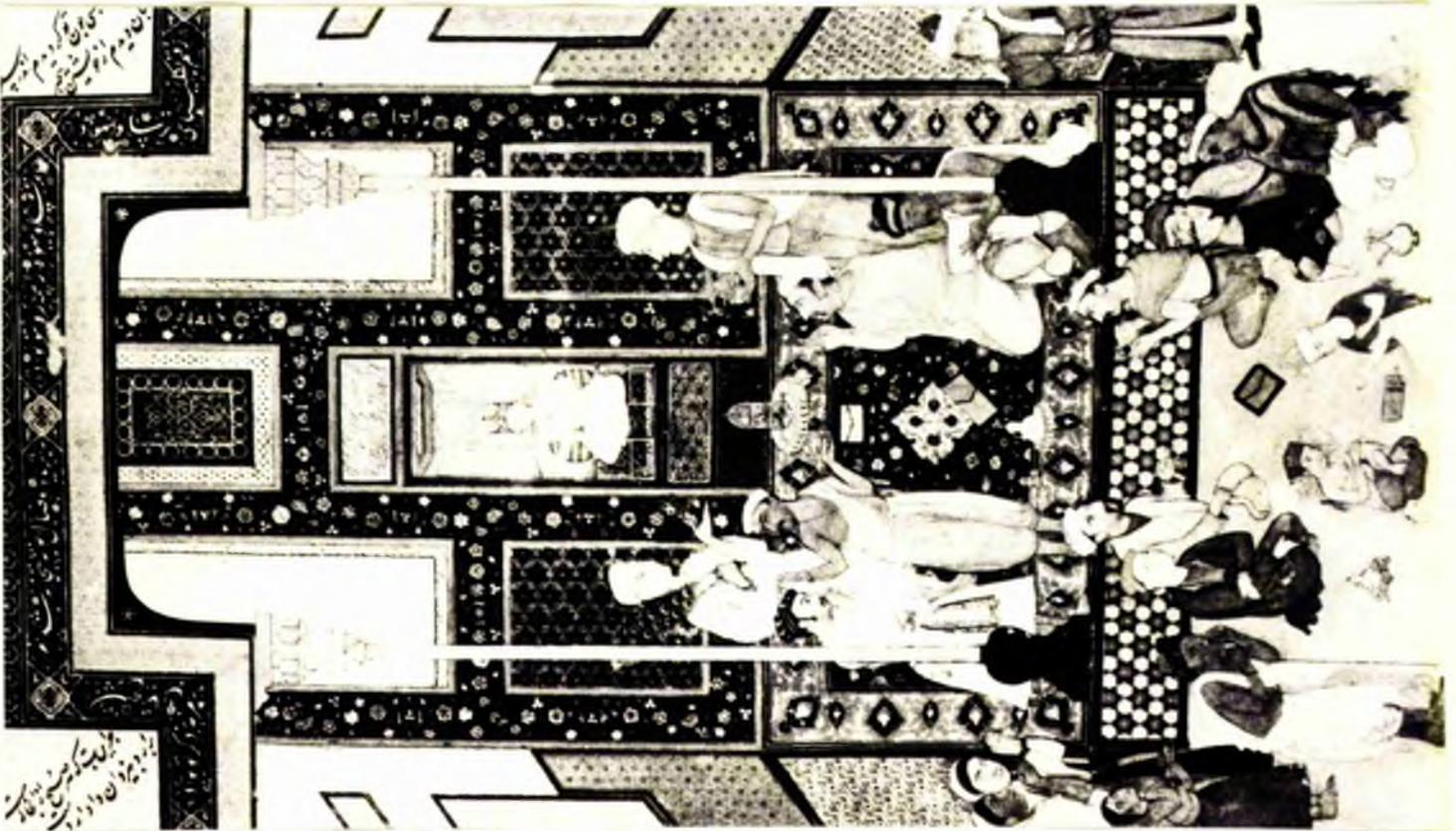
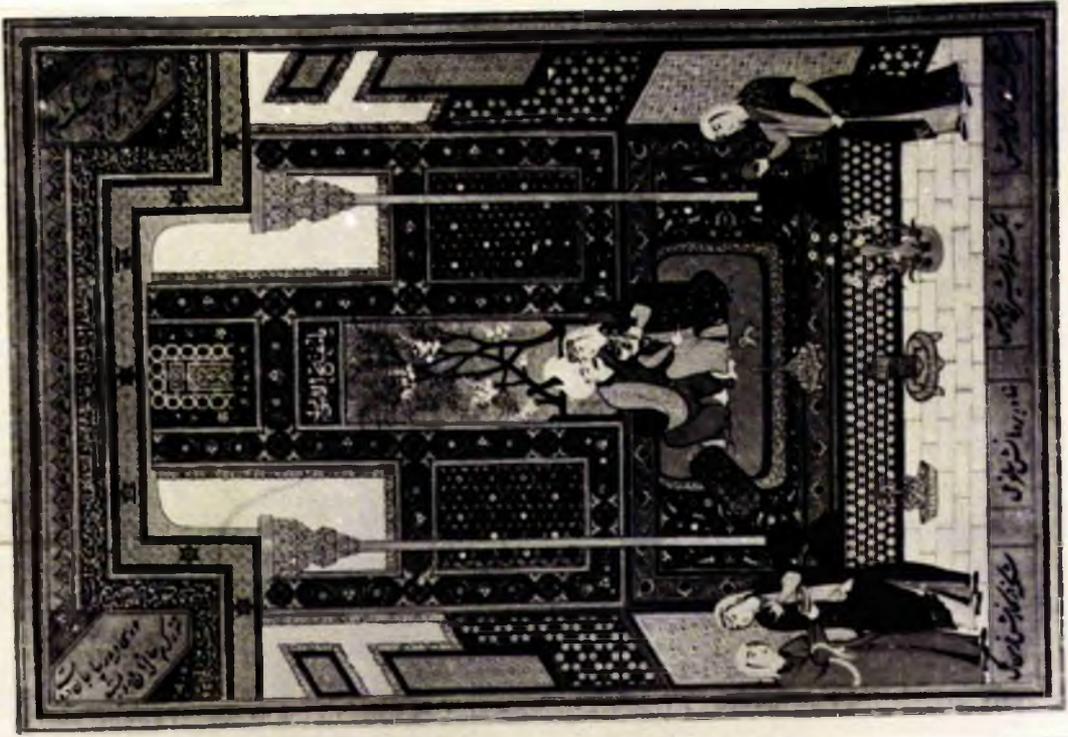
کوه شاهوار از صدف دم قویس اصل ظهور آید و پسر زیبارو
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منهود میل باغ کرد و باقی چند از غلامان و خادمان که پوسته
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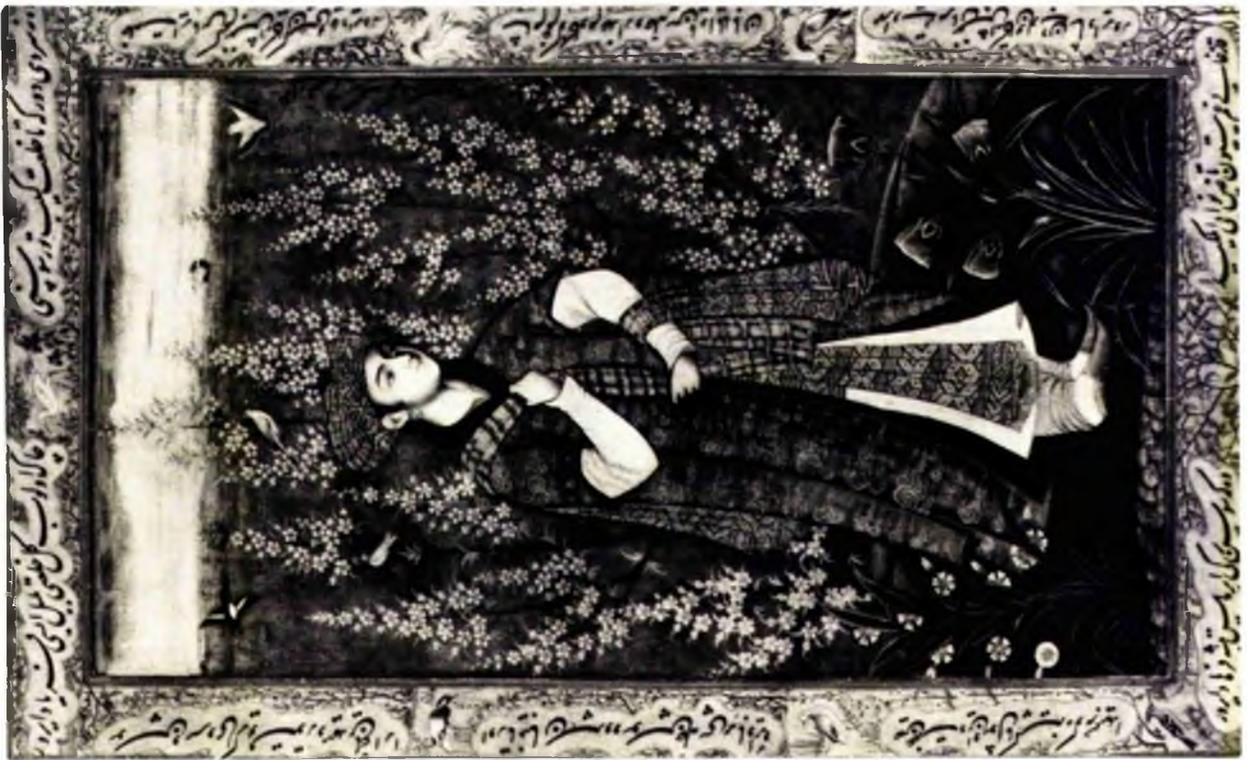


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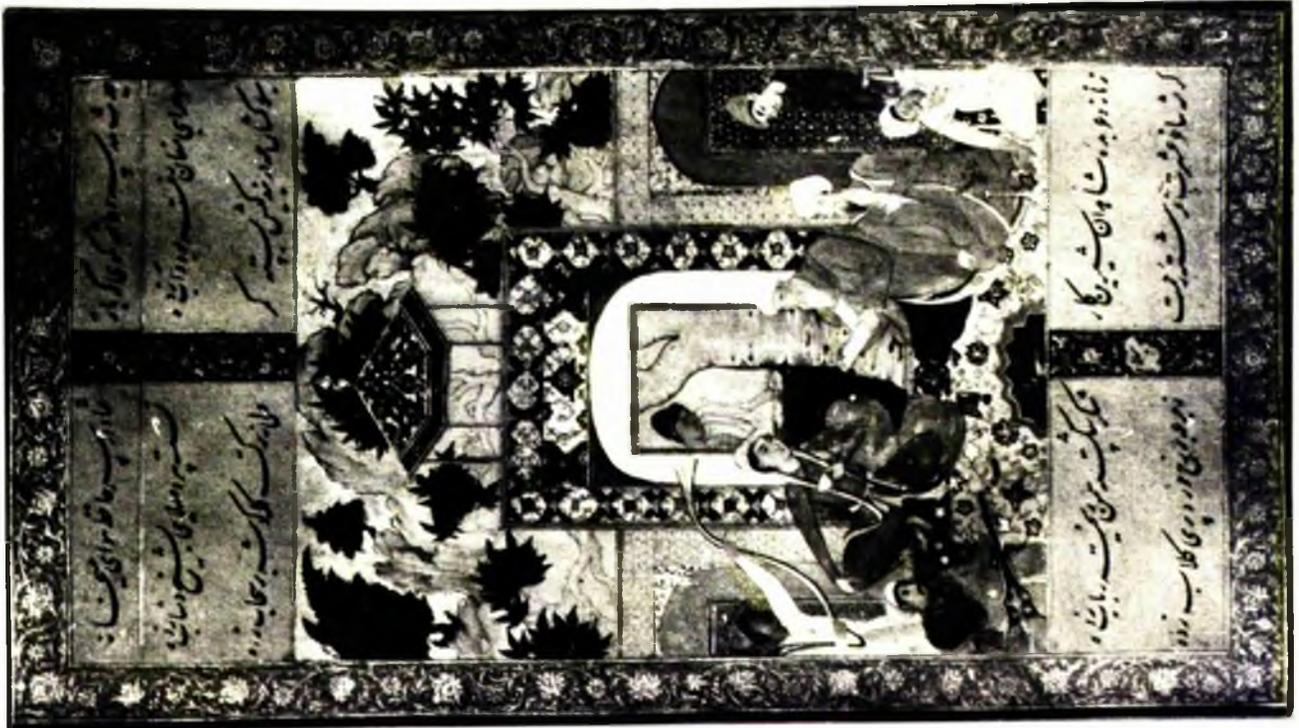






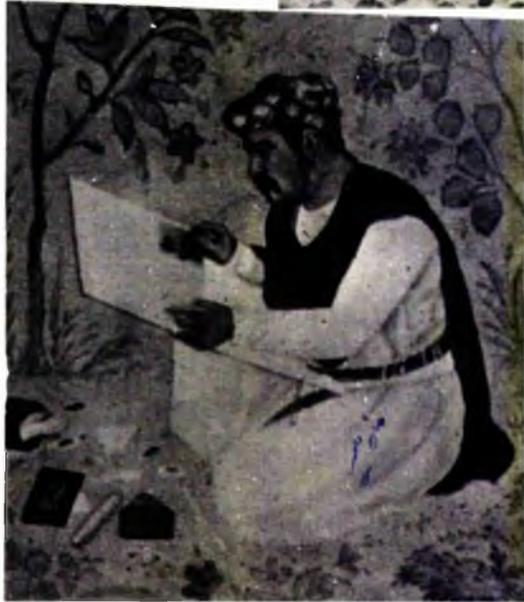




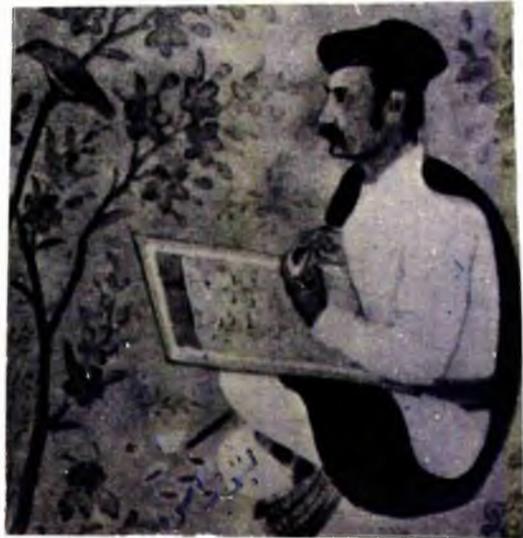




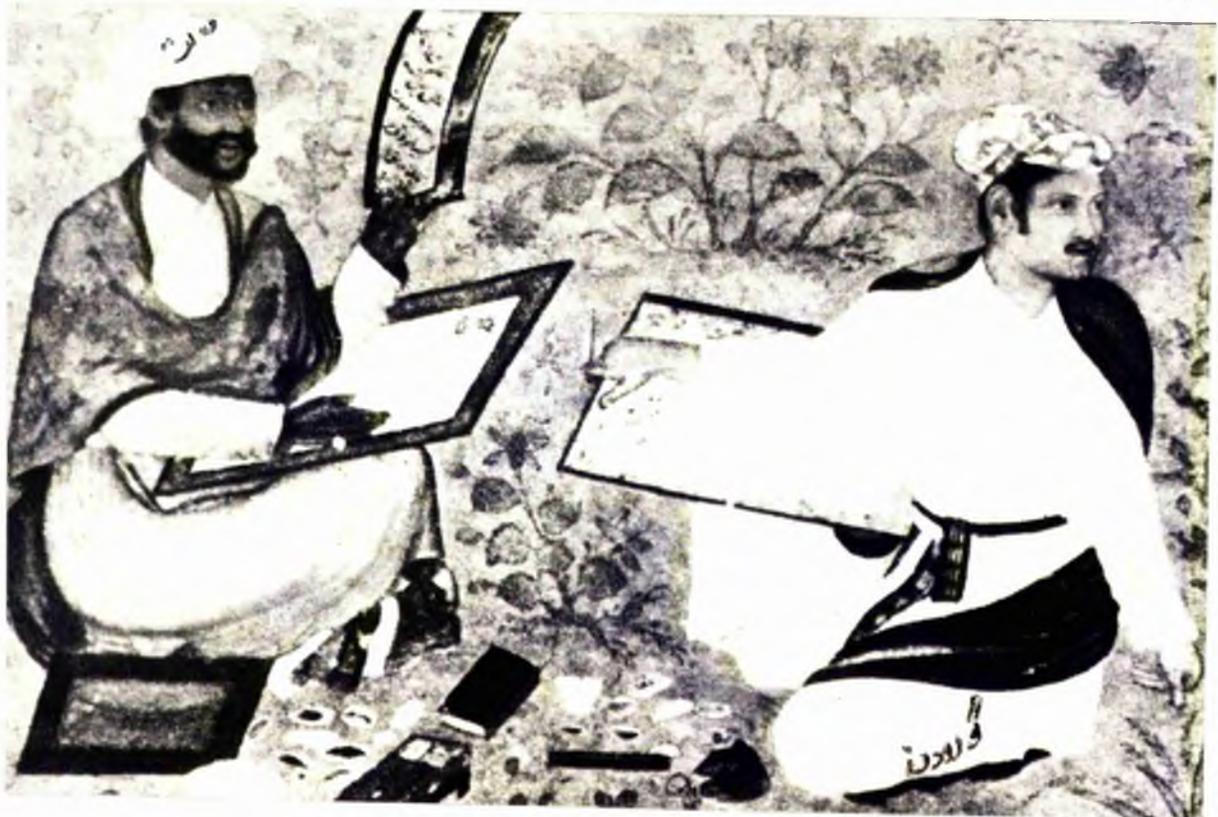
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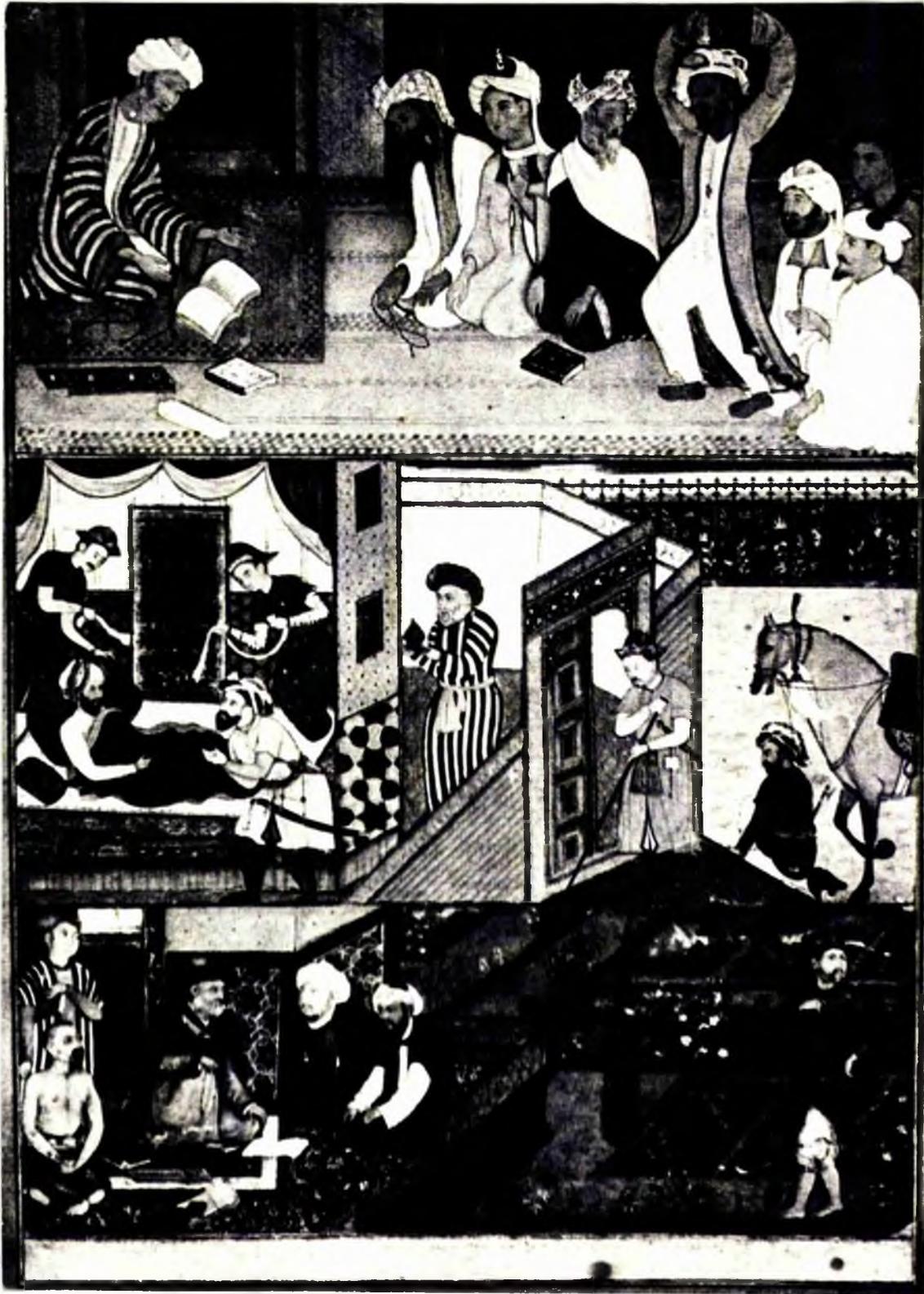
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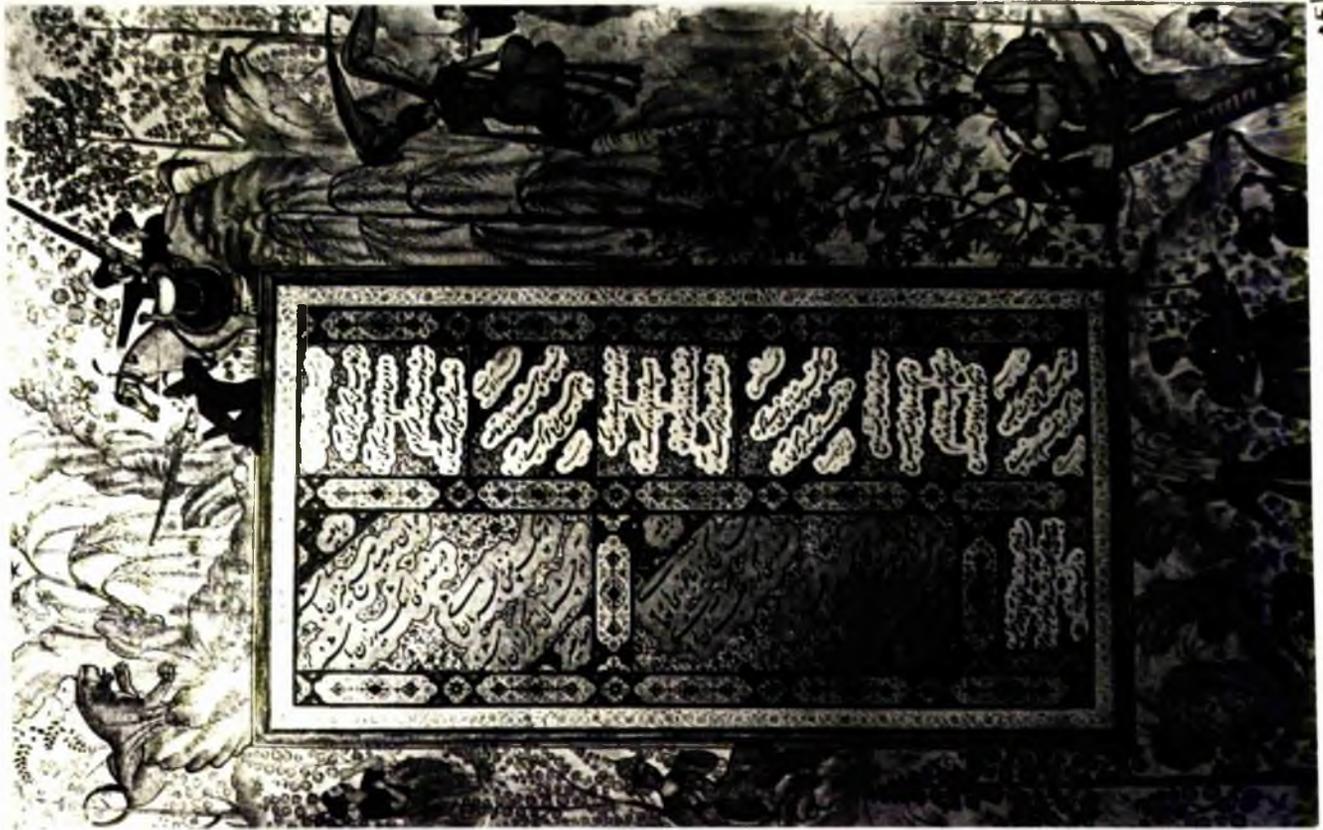
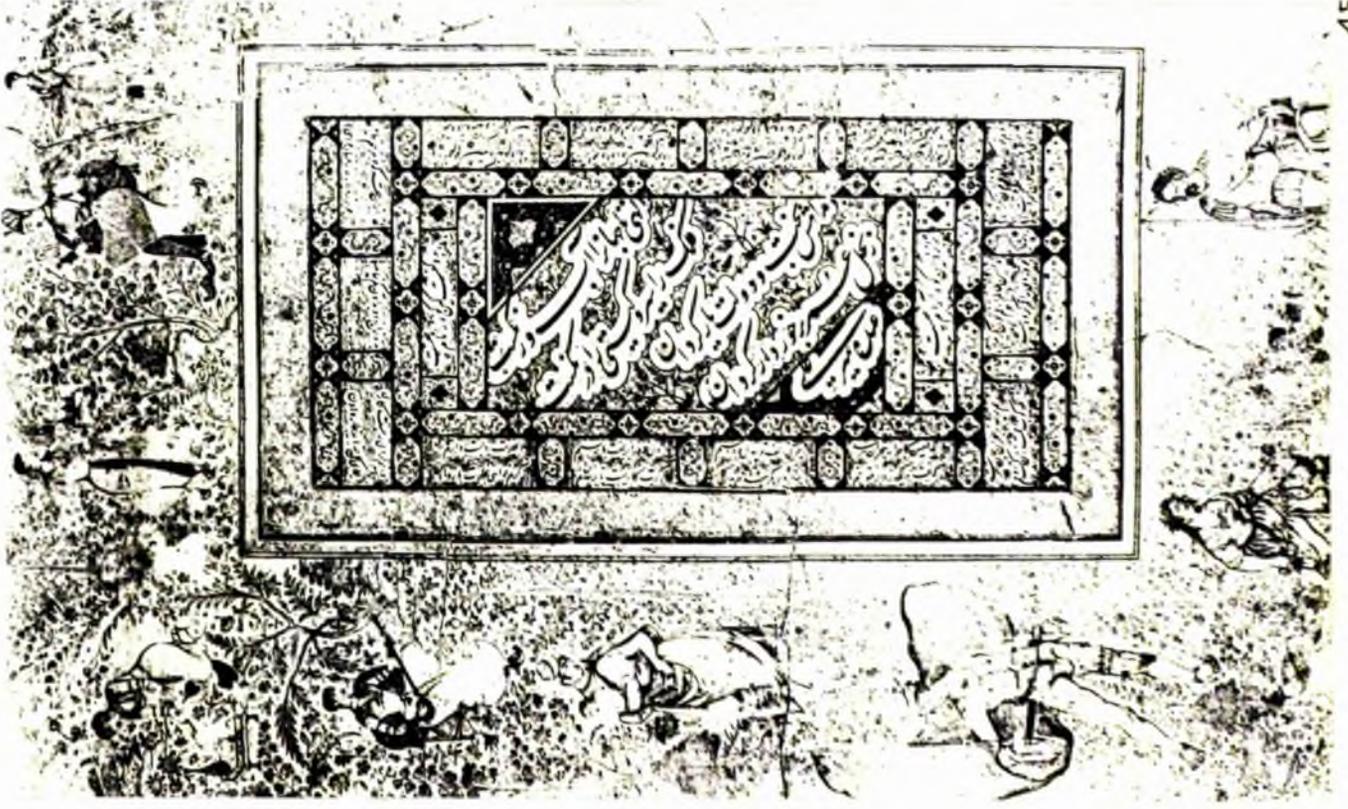


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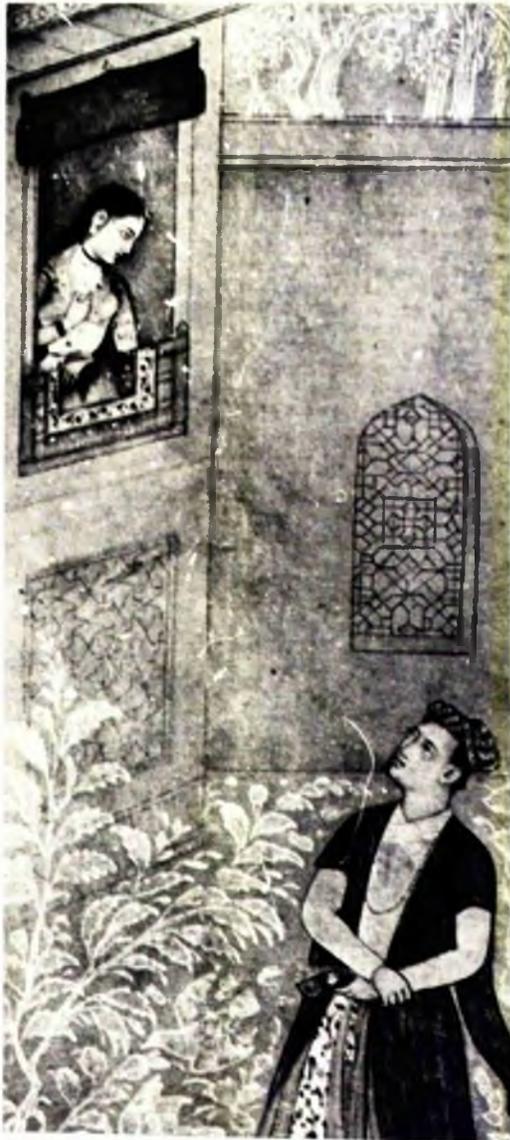
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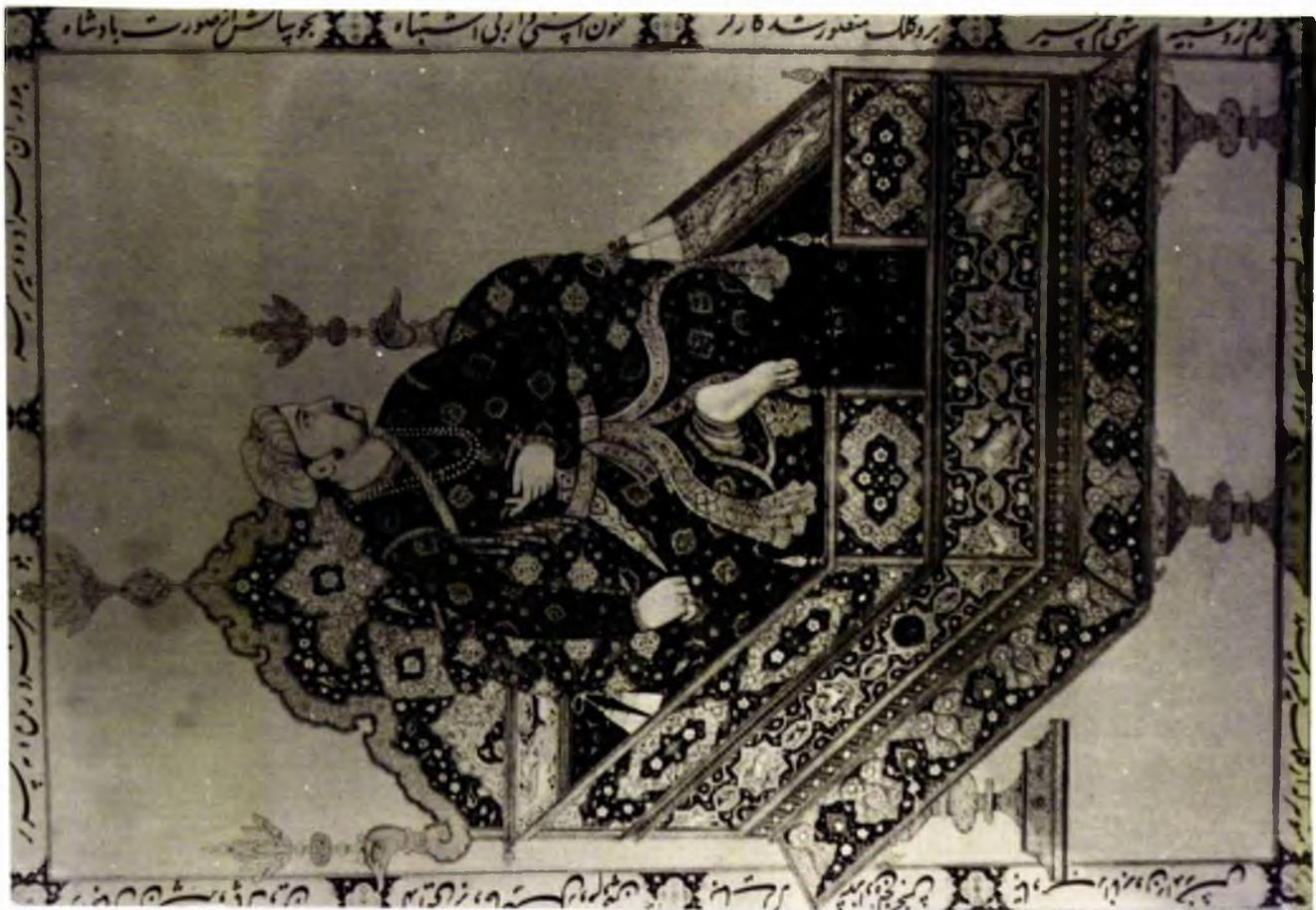


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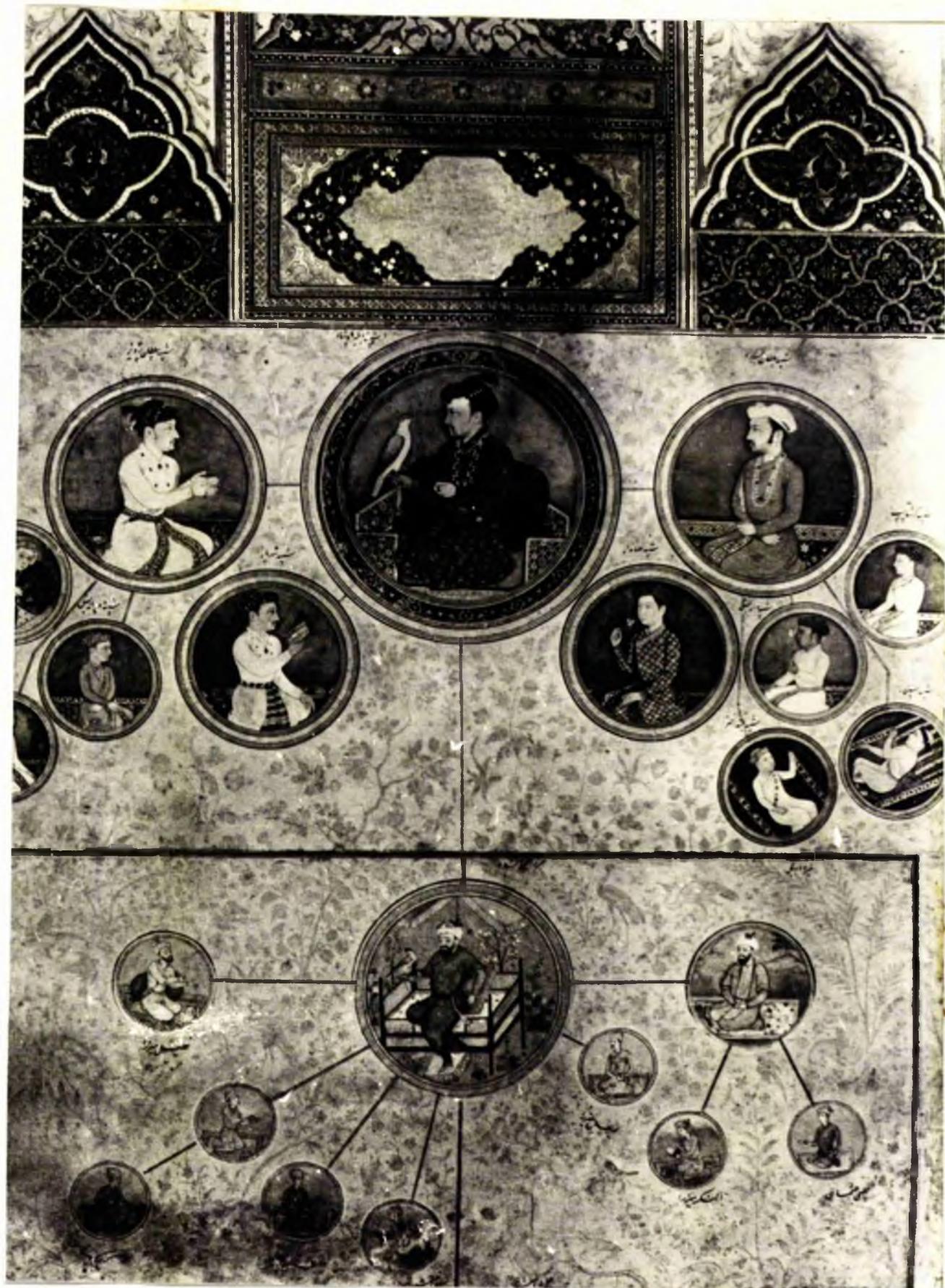
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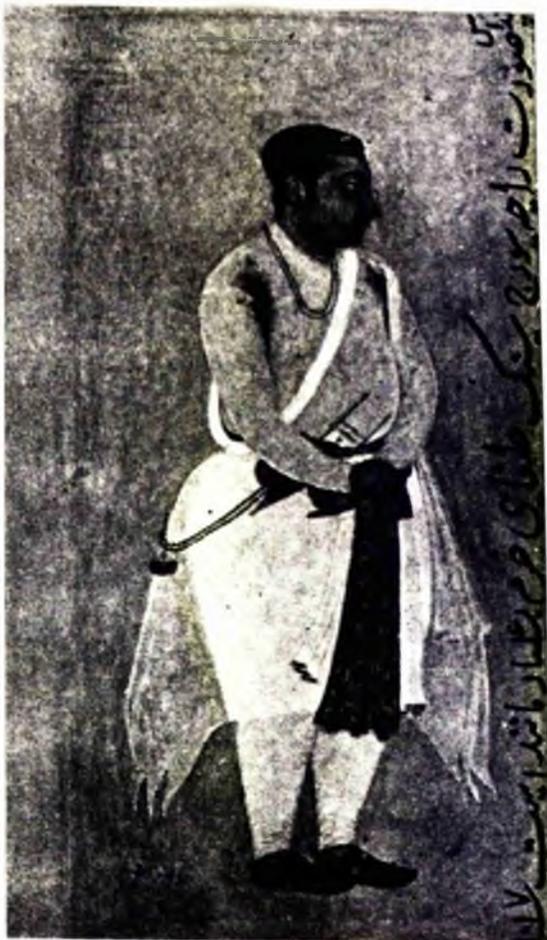


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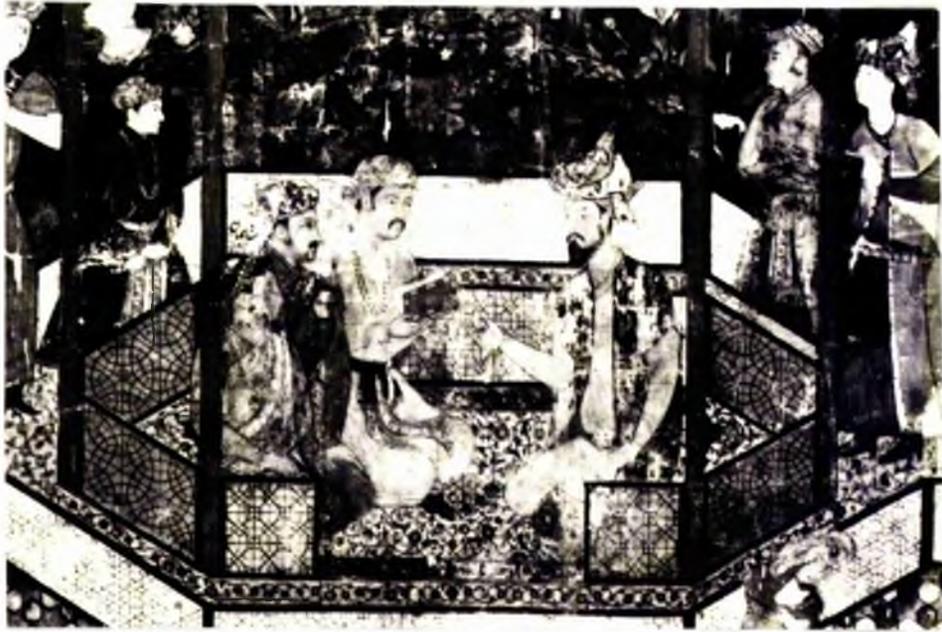


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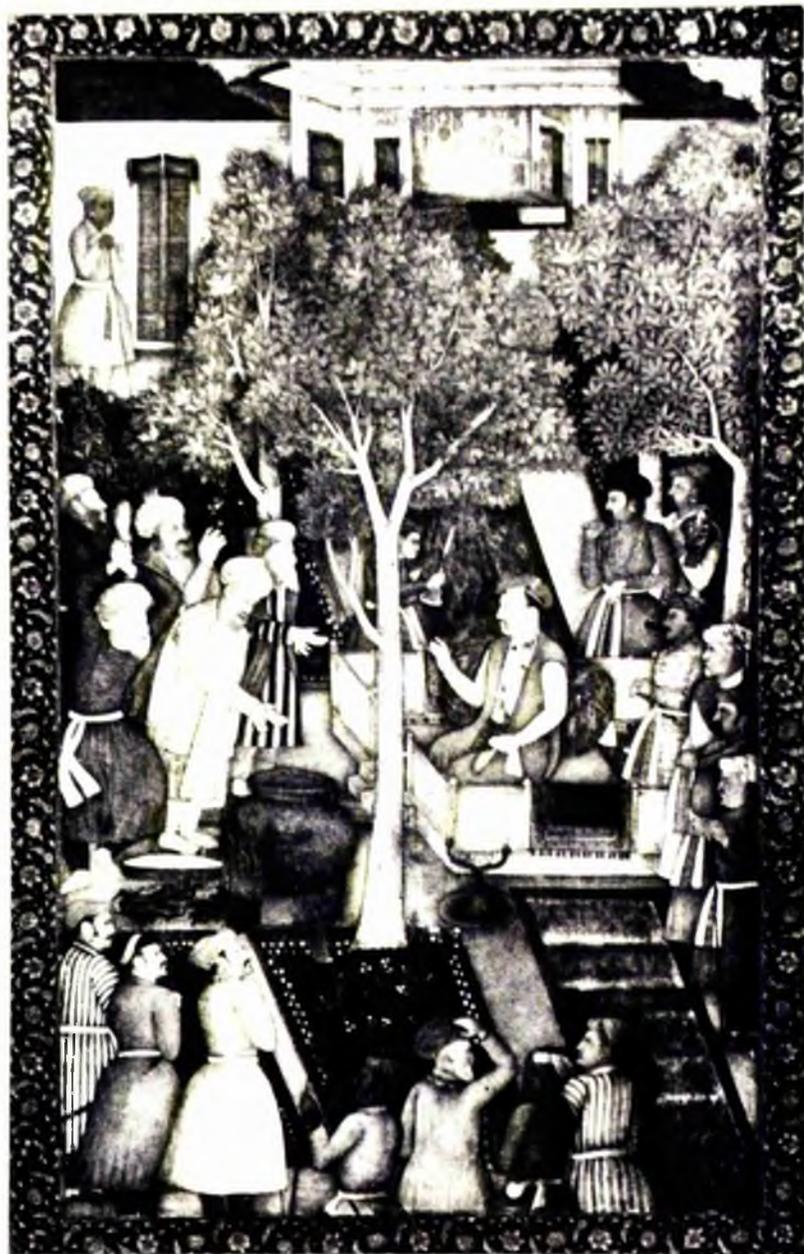


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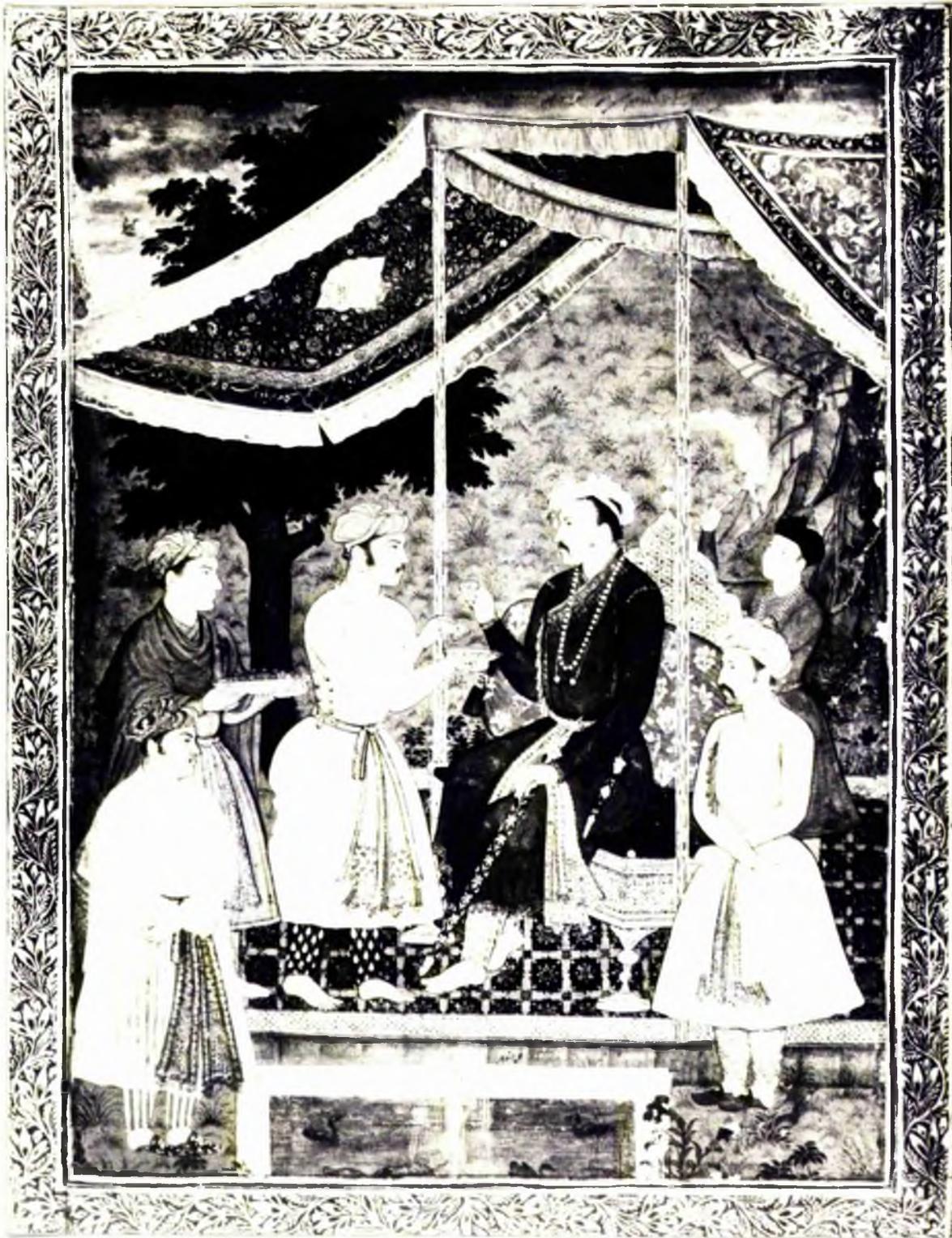
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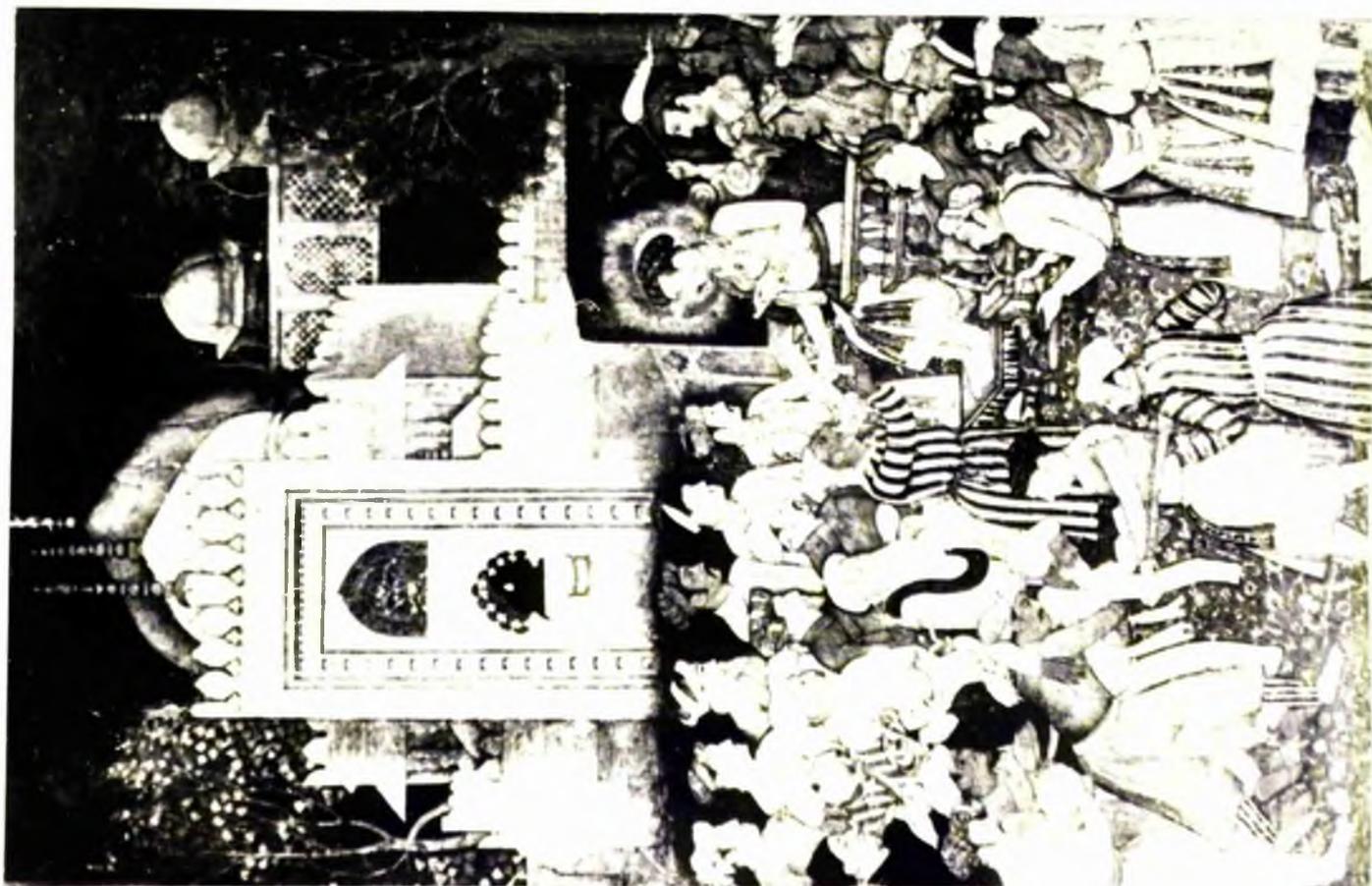




















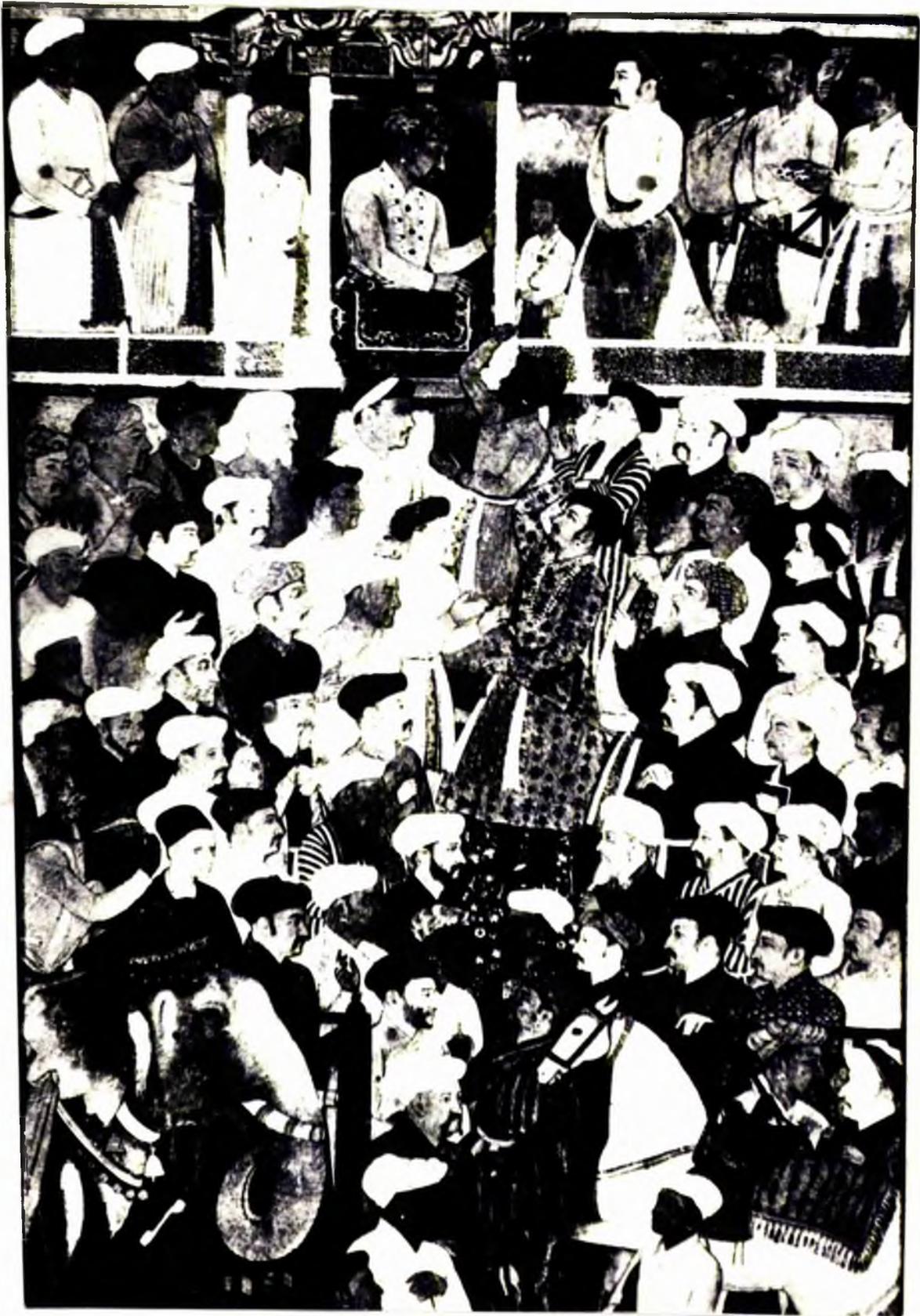


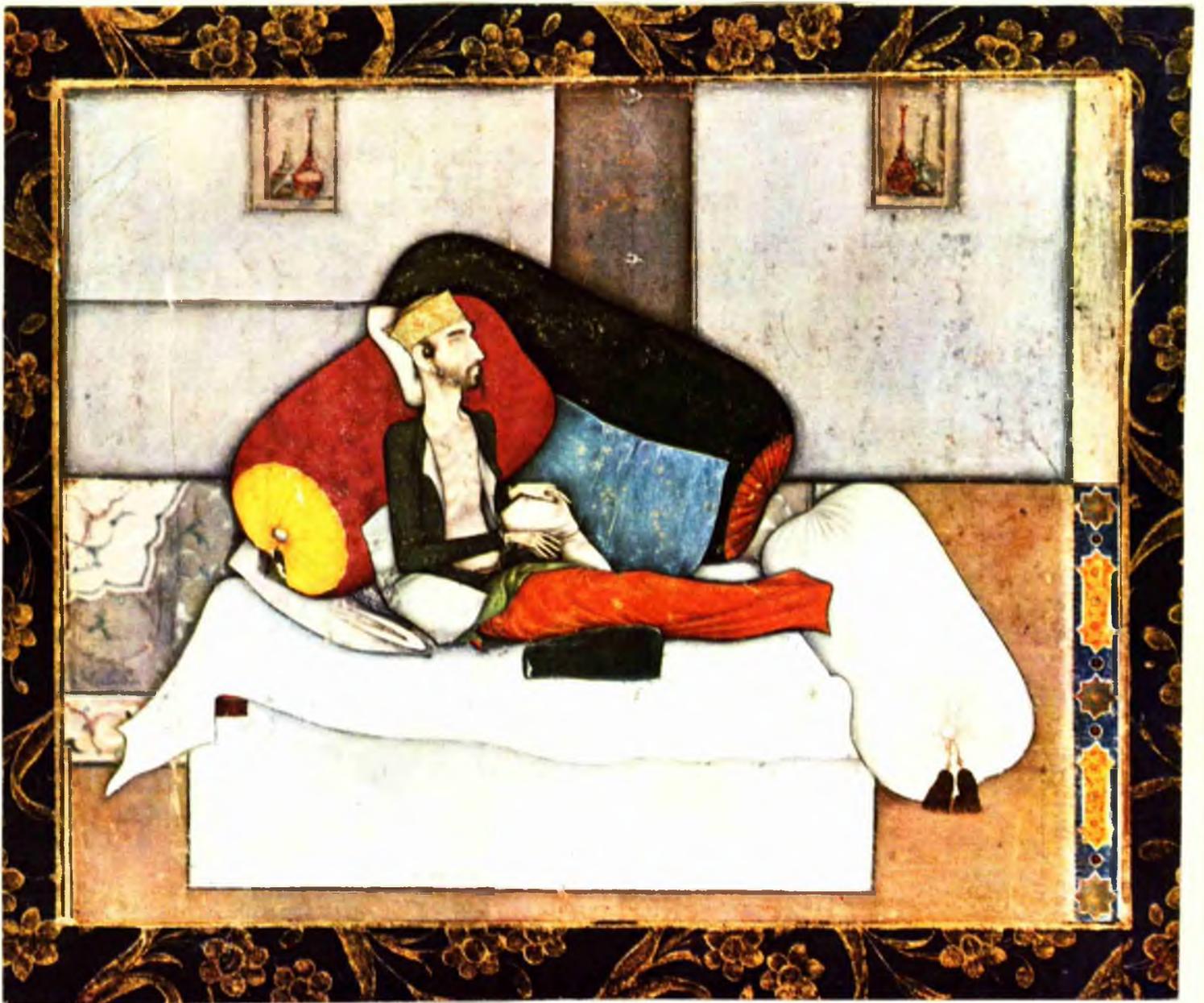
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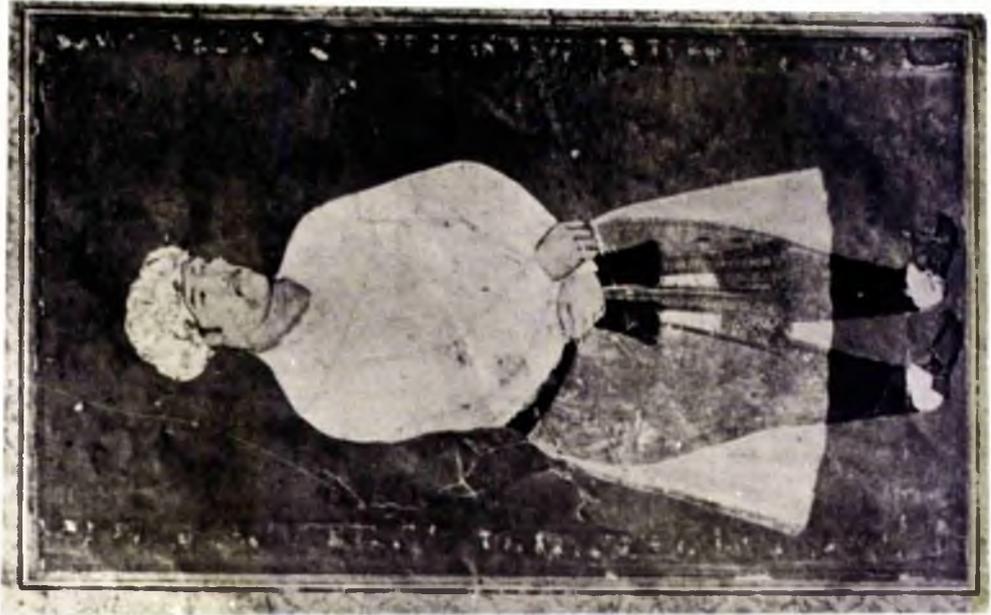
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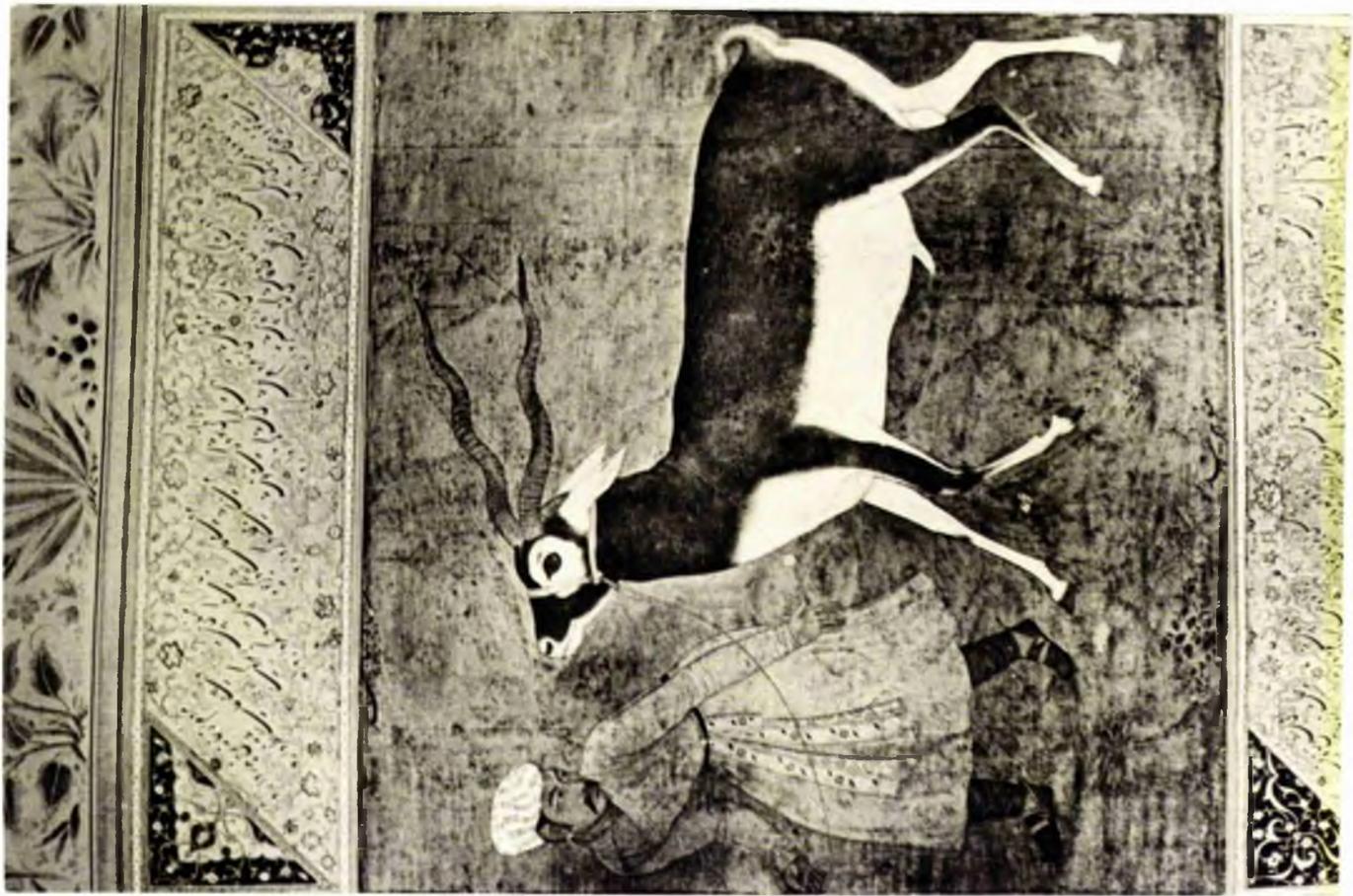


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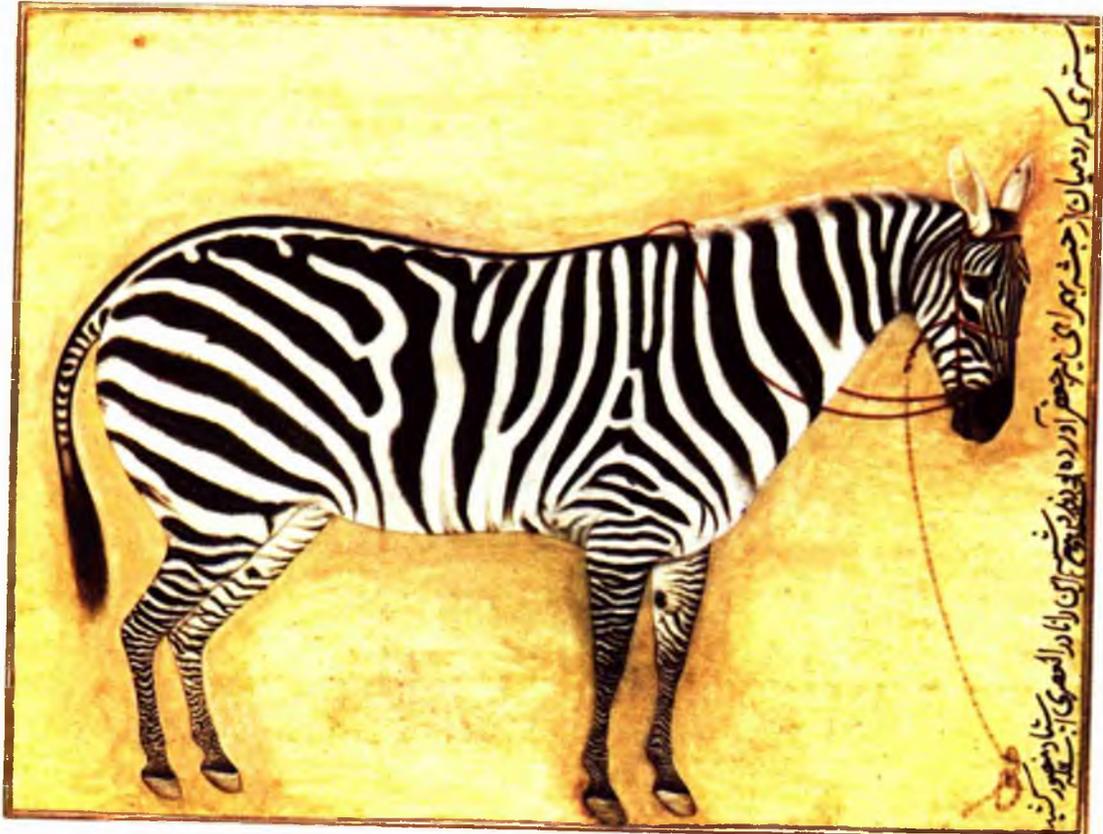
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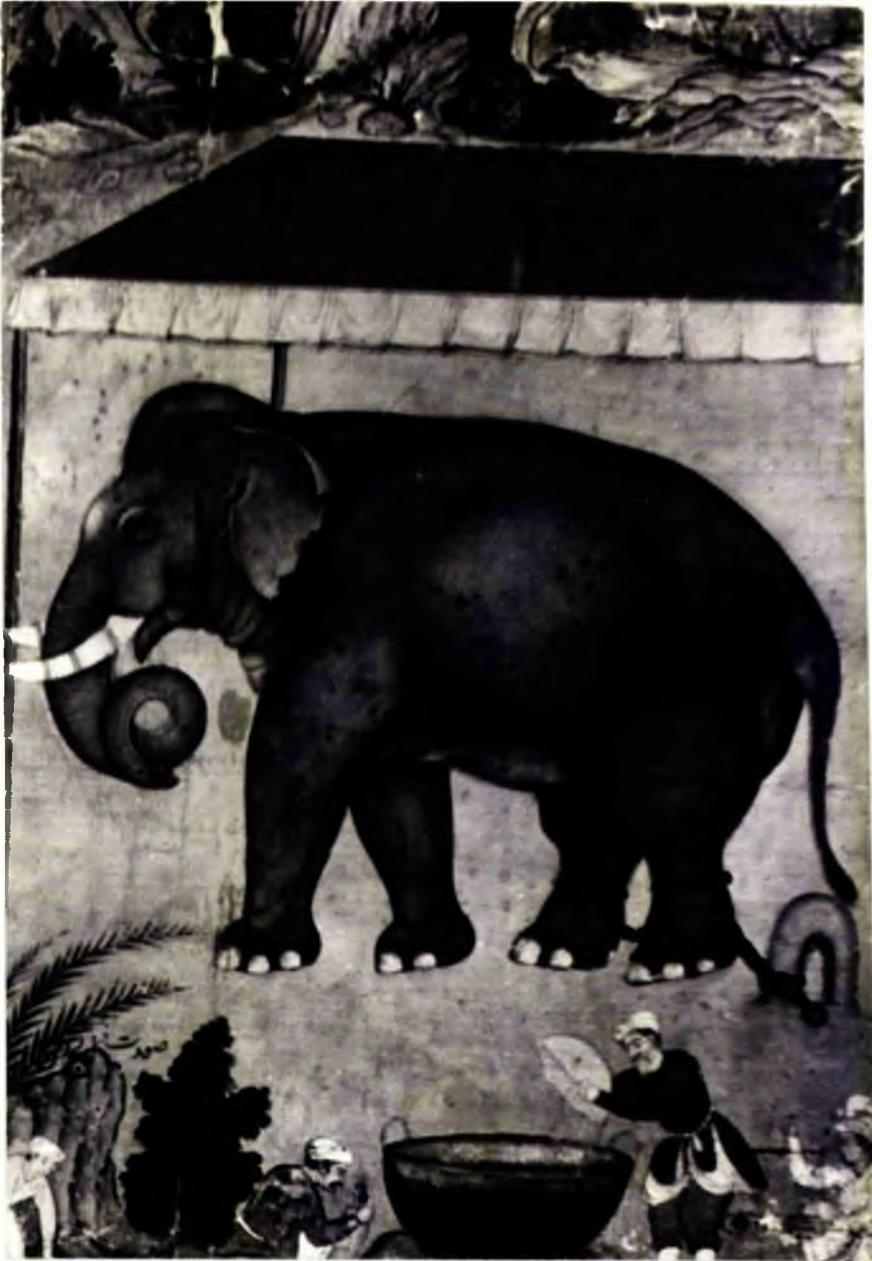


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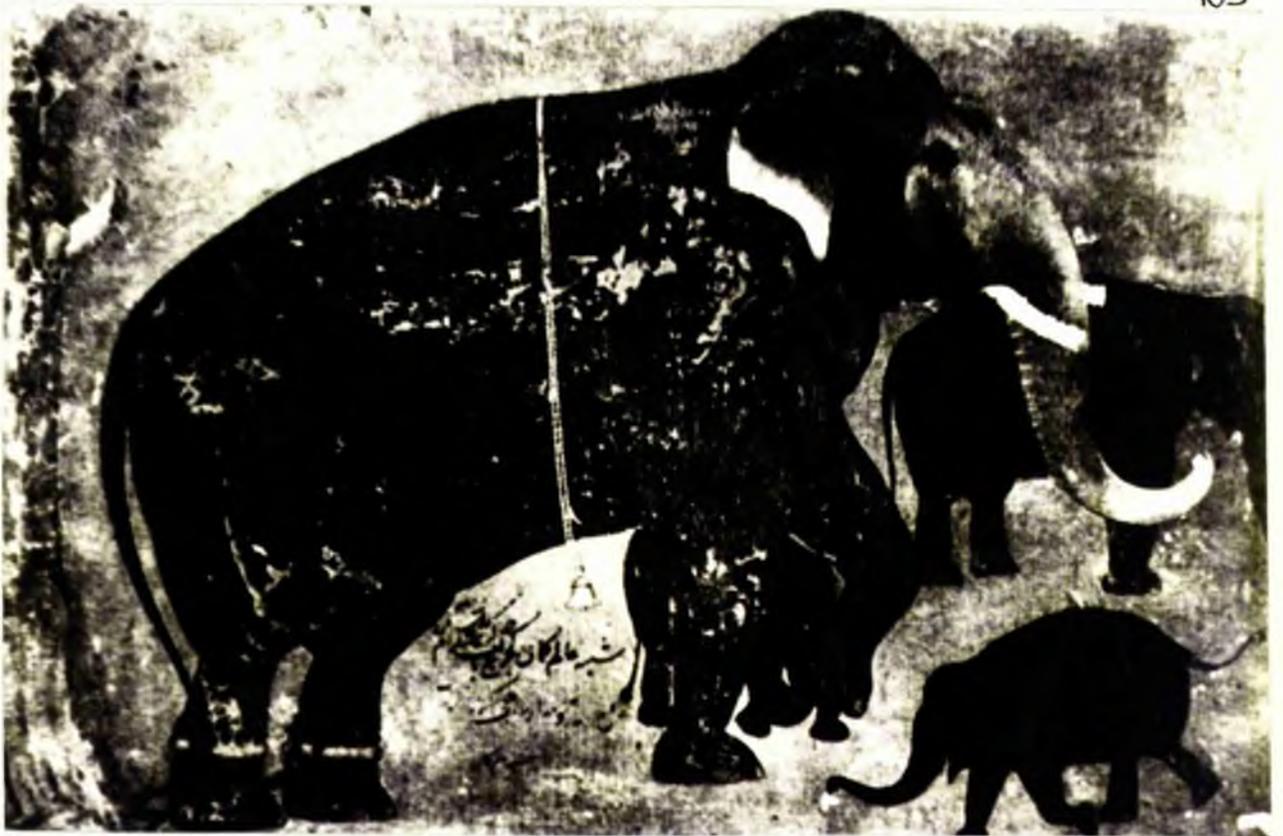
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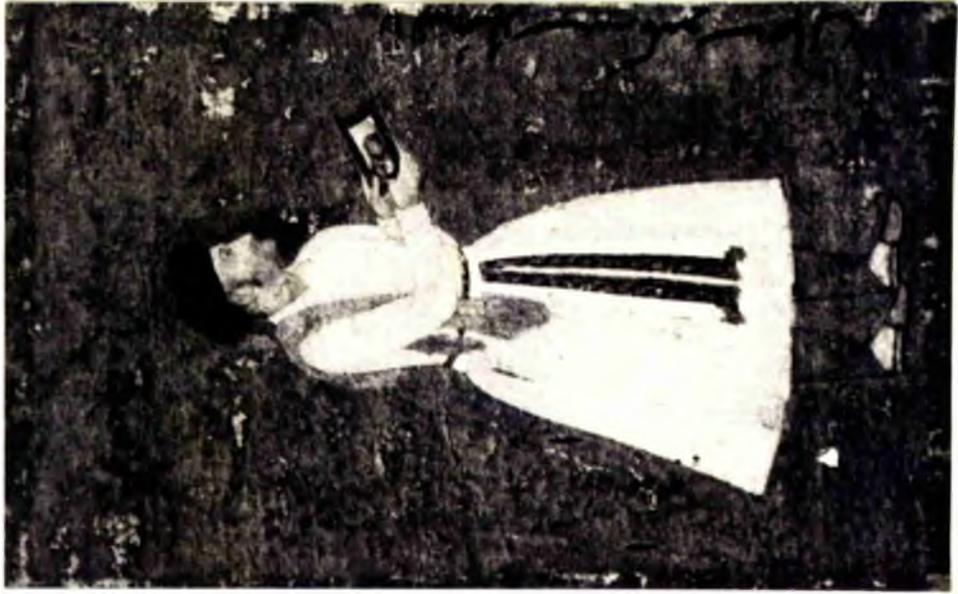
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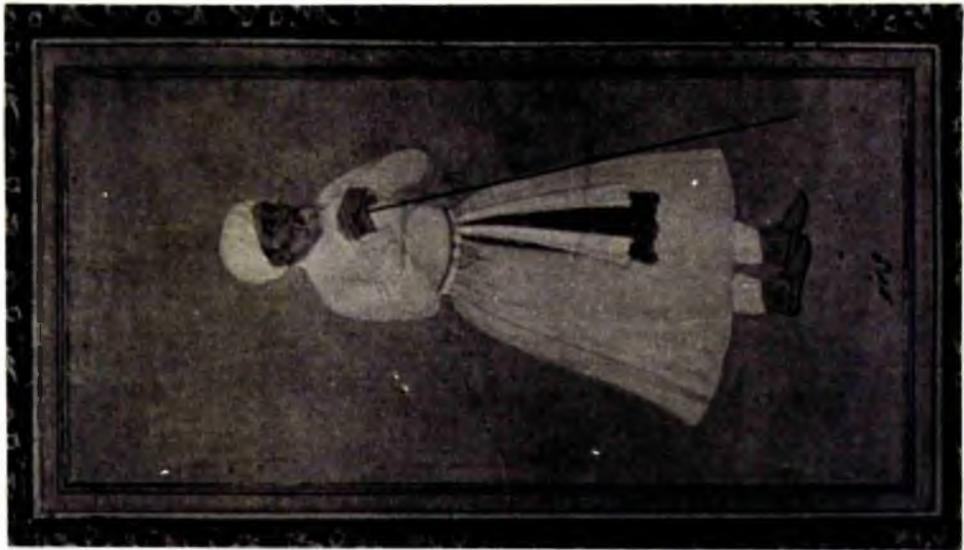
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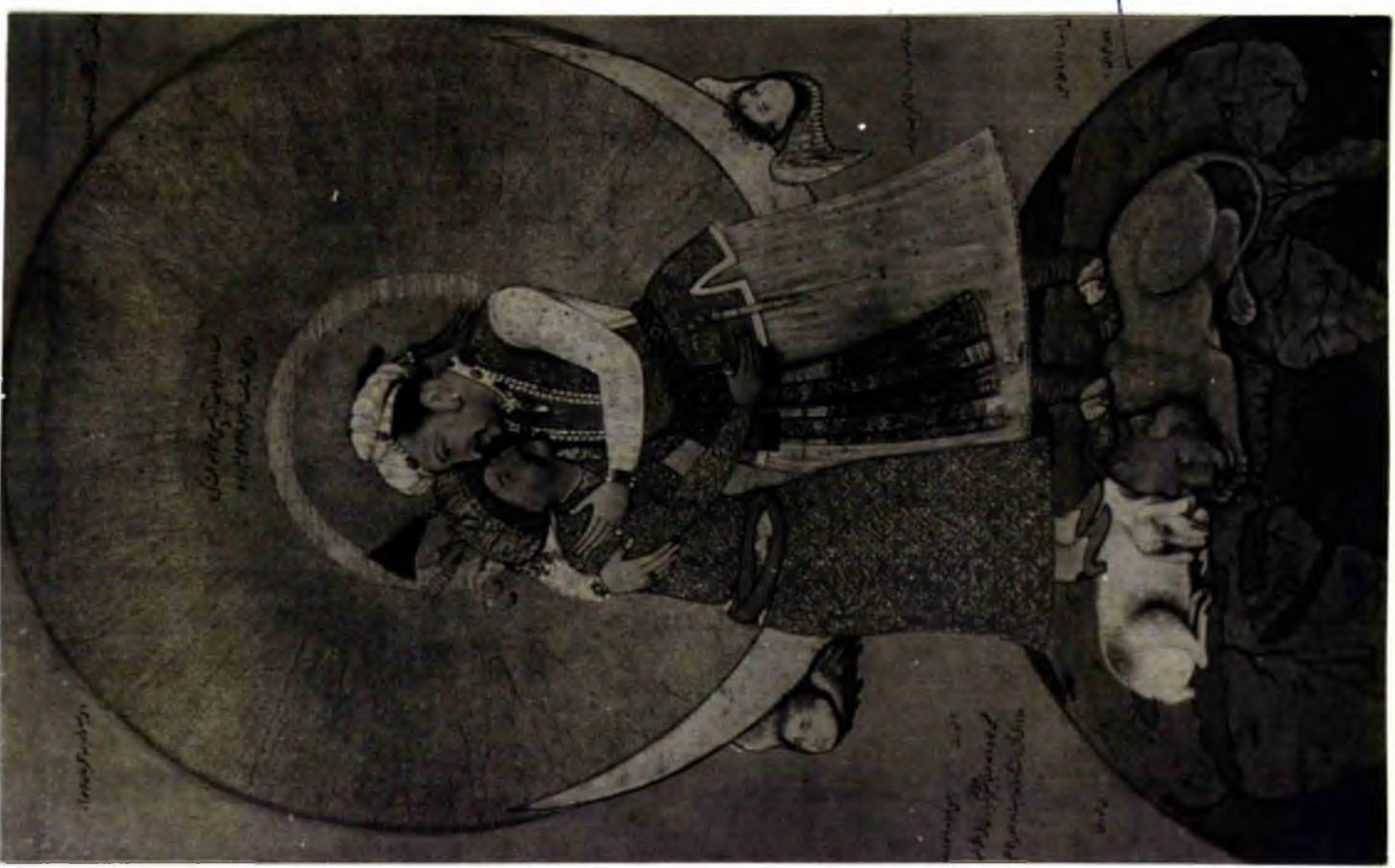
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بمان آواز در حستان
 پشیمان خسته جهان
 جویار و بارگرم ز غم
 آهی دولت ز غم

پوشا بهما که غم خاست
 دوشا بهما که غم خاست
 بشا که غم خاست
 بودت شسته سستی



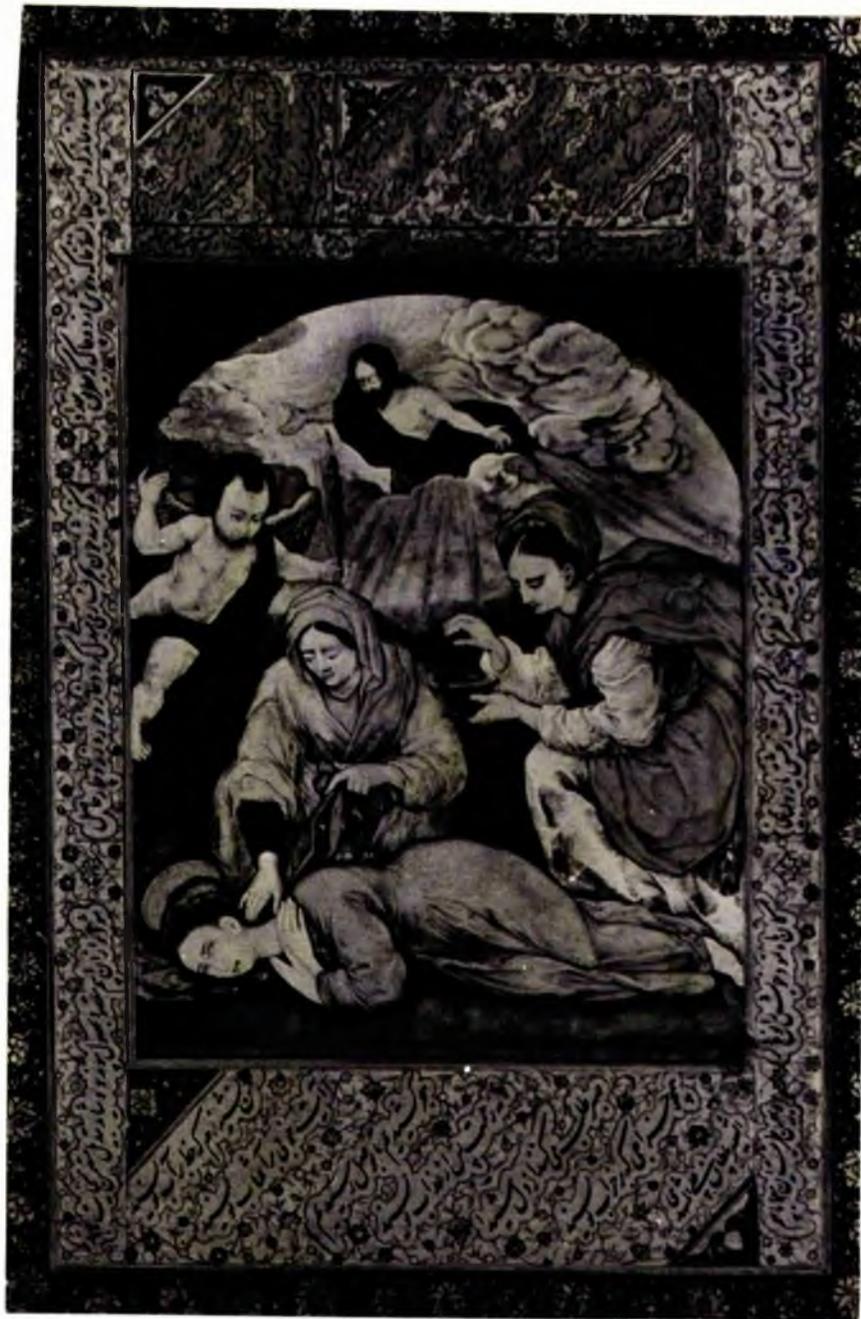
110

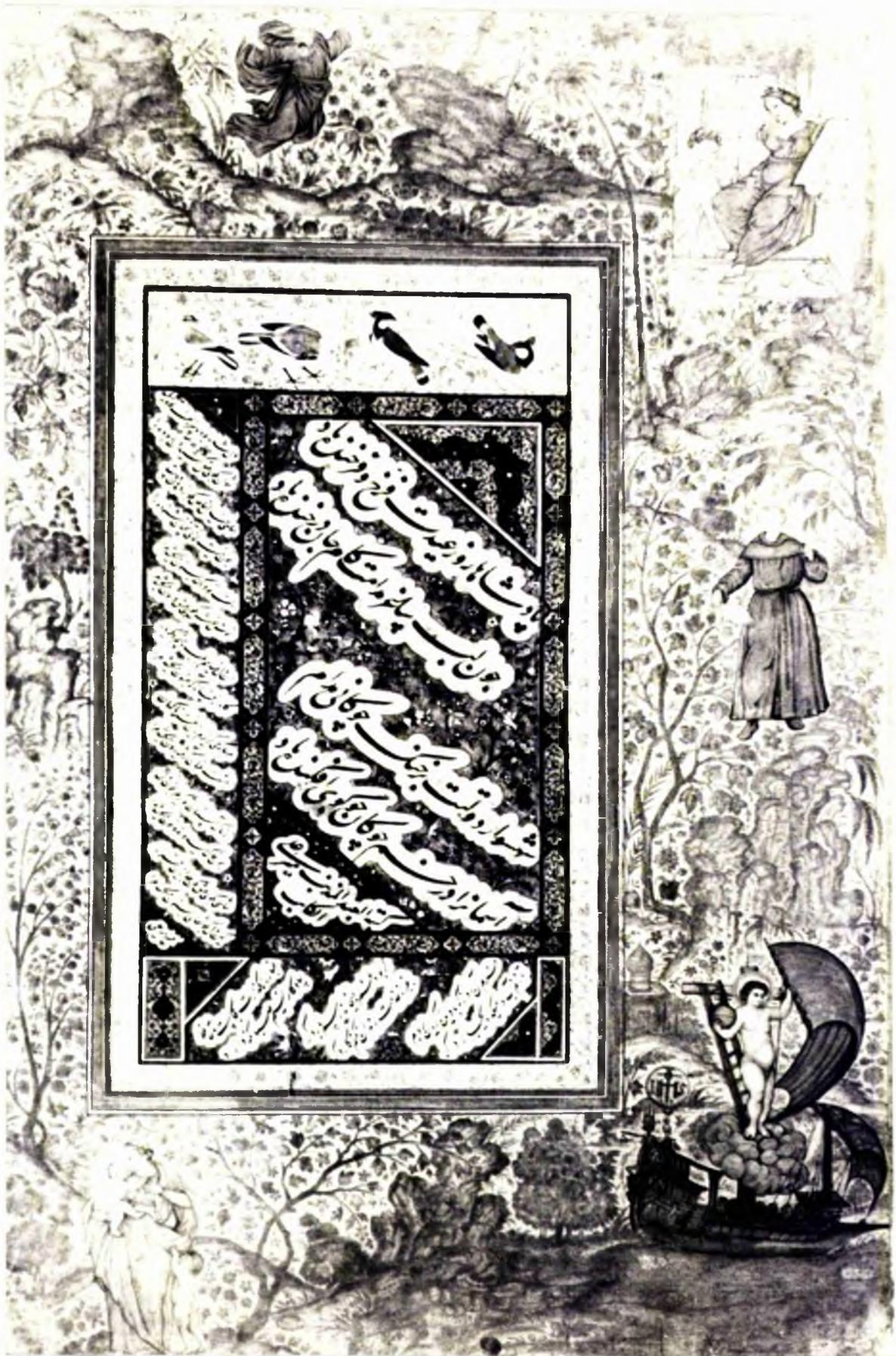


110a

















120



118



119



123



Milani. f. 4.
Deus, illis fides omnia vincit. Audiamus. Et, qui plus legi non in verbi.
Quamvis illa veritas non debet esse. *Et, quod non timet, sed dicitur.*

122



124



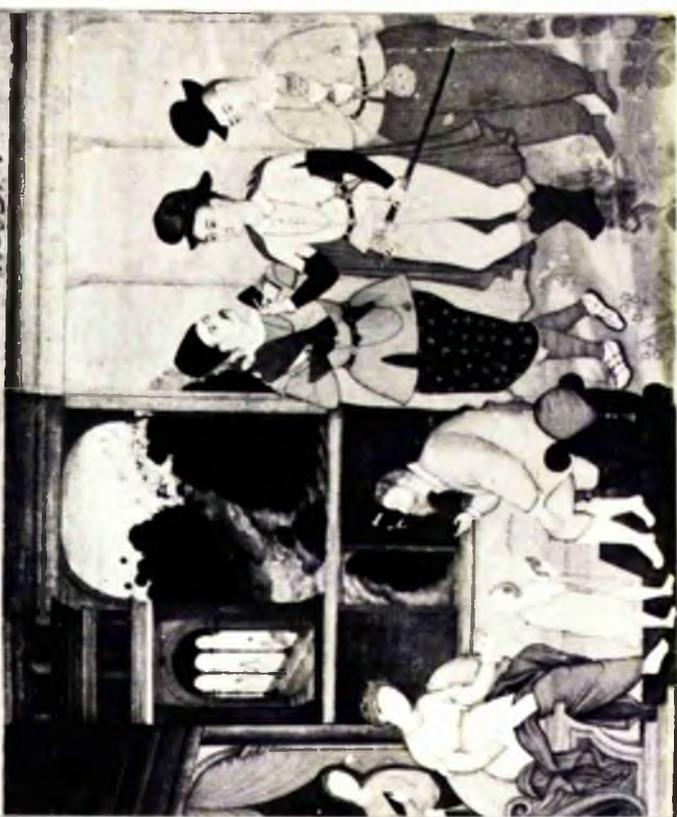
Fœcundat scriptis arenam HIERONIMUS orbem,
Scilicet exhaustas e cruce fundit opes.
Petrus Cantab. mens. DC. miliat.

125





Beatus vir, qui passim tentationem, quantum non probatus fuerit, accepit coronam vitae, quam expressit eius dignitas, s. i. i. i.



Beatus vir, qui passim tentationem, quantum non probatus fuerit, accepit coronam vitae, quam expressit eius dignitas, s. i. i. i.



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132





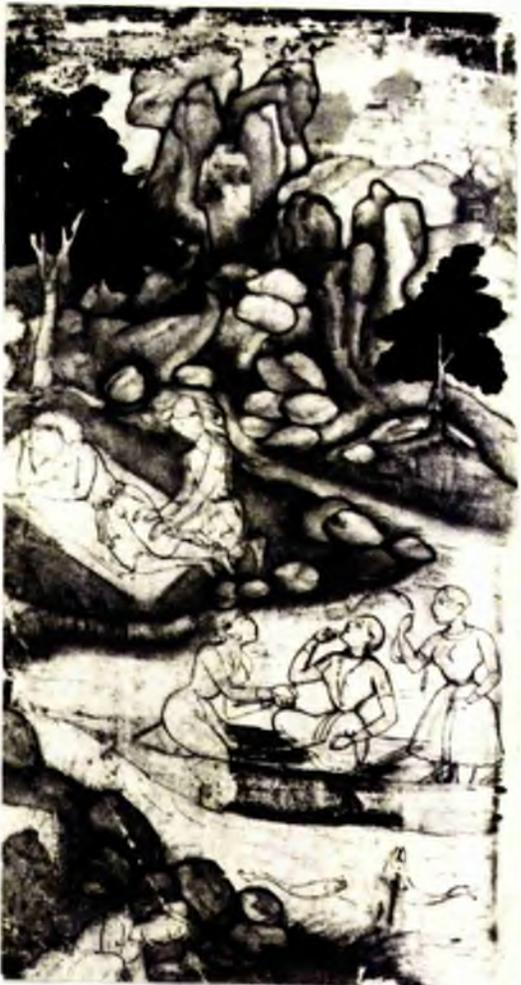




رسیدن برین نو آید نام
مردان برین نمانند کوشش



142



135



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145



147



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