Akbar demanded that equal attention be paid to both a subject's inner essence and its outer form. His determination that any given form should lead the viewer to a deeper, esoteric meaning is one of the main factors that makes Mughal painting from Akbar's reign so visually and emotionally satisfying. Some of these new powers of artistic expression had a decided practical use, allowing Akbar to gauge, for example, the true character of a courier through his portrait and also strengthened the didactic possibilities of painting. On a metaphysical level, the search for the inner essence behind a given outer form was ultimately seen to bring both patron and artist to a fuller awareness of the Divine, and the power of God the creator.

NOTES

CHAPTER I (pp. 13-35)

3. Ibid., p. 599.
8. Ibid., pp. 551-58.
18. Ibid., p. 479.
19. The Persian term is bidshahdan.
23. Ibid., p. 67.
25. Ibid., p. 449.
35. Illustrated in Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, Persian Miniature Painting, pl. 67 No. 212.

CHAPTER II (pp. 35-55)

2. For a detailed discussion of this activity see Prasad Chandra, The Titi-Nama of the Ceylon Museum of Art (Galle: Archaeological Department, 1976), pp. 46-46.
6. Ibid., pl. cxxviii.
9. British Museum, 1901, s. 81.
10. Reproduced in part and discussed at length in Chandra, The Titi-Nama, pp. 44-46, pl. 97-100.
13. Quoted in Chandra, The Titi-Nama, pp. 175-76.
15. Despite the assertion in Hayyajani's letter (quoted by Hayyajani Bihari) that Mir Sayyid Ali and Abd al-Samad arrived at Kabul in 1533, both artists appear to have entered the emperor's service in 1549. See, for instance, the Akhbarnama, Vol. I, p. 552.
20. Chandra, The Titi-Nama, p. 69.
22. Chandra, The Titi-Nama, p. 86.

25b. Detail of Manuscript of the Gulistan of Sadi (1582-83).
received the additional name of “City of Victory" after Akbar's conquest in 1572. The second edition of the manuscript, printed in 1580, was significant for its preservation and dissemination of the original text.

40. Muntashir al-Tashri, p. 116. The manuscript is a rich source of information about the city.

41. Muntashir al-Tashri, p. 116. The manuscript is a rich source of information about the city.

42. Muntashir al-Tashri, p. 116. The manuscript is a rich source of information about the city.

43. Muntashir al-Tashri, p. 116. The manuscript is a rich source of information about the city.

44. Muntashir al-Tashri, p. 116. The manuscript is a rich source of information about the city.

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51. Muntashir al-Tashri, p. 116. The manuscript is a rich source of information about the city.

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99. Muntashir al-Tashri, p. 116. The manuscript is a rich source of information about the city.

100. Muntashir al-Tashri, p. 116. The manuscript is a rich source of information about the city.
1. The Infant Akbar Wrestling with Ibrahim Mirza

From an imperial copy of the Akbarnama (see p. 73) is divided between the British Library in London (Vol. I, Or. 1288) and the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (Vol. II and part of Vol. III, Ms. 2).

According to a note on folio 1 of the manuscript by Jahangir, his calligrapher was Muhammad Husayn al-Kashmiri Zarin Qalam (see p. 60). Folio 154b is inscribed with the date Shaban 23, A.H. 1012 (January 23, 1604). For a list of other dispersed miniatures from this manuscript, see Milo C. Beach, The Imperial Images, Washington, 1981, pp. 116-123. This wrestling scene belongs to a series of dispersed miniatures from the manuscript that were remounted within borders taken from the Forbodings of Jahangir, an early seventeenth-century Mughal dictionary. It has been identified by Toby Belga (Colnaghi, Persian and Mughal Art, London, 1976, p. 171) as showing a wrestling contest that took place in the Shah-ara Garden outside Kabul between the seven-year-old Akbar and his slightly older cousin Ibrahim Mirza in 1545 (Akbarnama, Vol. I, pp. 455-456). Mirza Kamran (Humayun’s brother and the father of Ibrahim Mirza) is shown seated in the center of the tent adjudicating the fight, which arose over a symbolically prestigious kettle-drums. A woman standing on his right is presumably Babur’s sister Khazinda Begam, in whose garden pavilion the young Akbar was staying at the time.

2. Alaudda and Her Three Sons

From an imperial copy of the Chinajnuma (see no. 35) ca. 1596

Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 22.7 cm., W. 21.2 cm.
Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M. 78.2.99)

The text that accompanies this miniature describes it as a picture of Alaudda and her three sons. Divorced by a ray of light after the death of her first husband, Alaudda was the mythical ancestor of the Mughals. Abul Faiz, in his description of her life (Akbarnama, Vol. I, pp. 175-81), emphasizes the purity of her character and the sacredness of the light that caused her pregnancy. On several occasions he compares her to Mary, thus elevating her offspring to the same status as Jesus. Alaudda gave birth to triplets, Baiguun Qunui, Yashui Sidqi and Buzanar Qan. The descendants of these three boys, according to Abul Faiz, were known as nairun or light-produced. Although Buzanar Qan was the youngest of the triplets, it was through him that this hidden light was passed from Chingiz Khan, to Timur, and ultimately to Akbar. Presumably he is the last of the triplets shown next to Alaudda in this miniature. For a detailed discussion of this chain of light and its implications for Mughal ideology see pp. 14-15.

3. Battle Scene

From an unidentified historical manuscript ca. 1590

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper
Painting: H. 32.7 cm., W. 31 cm. Page: H. 42 cm., W. 36.4 cm.
A. Sozadvar Collection

This is one of the most dramatic Akbari portrayals of armed combat. Each of the painting’s figures is charged with a sense of dynamism that is accentuated by the image’s bold colors and exciting juxtapositions. The enormous elephant in the lower right, for instance, provides the perfect counterpart to the warrior above on his white steed, while the tranquil landscape in the upper portion of the picture stands in stark contrast to the battlefield strewn with decapitated heads. The miniature is mounted on an early-seventeenth-century album page that once formed part of the Gulshan Album (Munawar-i Guilan) that used to be in the Gulistan Palace in Tehran. While it is tempting to attribute this page to a historical manuscript, such as the Akbarnama, its presence in an early-seventeenth-century album suggests that it may have been intended for a manuscript that was never completed, or one that was dismembered in order to be reused as part of another book (see Beach, The Imperial Image, p. 85, for an elaboration of this idea). On the reverse of the page is a calligraphy signed by Mir Ali.

4. Akbar Attacking the Fortress at Chittorgarh

Design by Miskin, painting by Bhura
From an imperial copy of the Akbarnama (see no. 14) ca. 1590

Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 27.5 cm., W. 32 cm.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (15.2-1860, 60/137)

Akbar’s decisive victory against the Rajput state of Mewar was at Chittorgarh in February, 1568 is given great prominence in the ca. 1590 Akbarnama. Four miniatures illustrate what was arguably Akbar’s single greatest military accomplishment, a victory that paved the way for the great social and political experiments of the 1570s. This miniature forms the left side of a double-page illustration depicting an accidental explosion that caused the loss of hundreds of lives on both sides at Akbar’s generals were attempting to breach the fortress with mines in December, 1567 (Akbarnama, Vol. II, p. 468). The full painting was designed by Miskin, with Bhura painting this half and Sarwan the right half (both sides are illustrated together in R. H. Forder-Wilson, Painting from the Mughal Courts of India, London, 1976, pp. 48-49). Akbar, whose resolve to capture Chittorgarh was only strengthened by this tragedy, is shown at the bottom left corner directing operations from his tent camp as the explosion turns the sky orange and red with flame.

5. A Youth and a Musician

ca. 1570-80

Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 19.7 cm., W. 28.3 cm.
The St. Louis Art Museum (1941.23)

The attribution of this painting to Mughal patronage was originally suggested to us by Stuart Cary Welch. The subject of this fascinating miniature reflects the leisurely life of the court and has its iconographic roots in tenth- and eleventh-century poetry as well as the imagery of Islamic metalwork of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

6. A Young Scribe

By Mir Sayyid Ali ca. 1590

Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 21.7 cm., W. 19.8 cm.
Leant by Edwin Binney, III (1486.57)

Mir Sayyid Ali was one of the artists who left Iran to join Humayun, first in Kabul and then in India, and was responsible for helping to develop the conventions of Mughal painting. This miniature, painted prior to Humayun’s return to India, reflects the emperor’s concern for naturalism and detail. The folio writing to the right of the scribe bears two inscriptions. The upper one reads “On the frontispiece of his mind he has written, ‘Better a forceful master than a father overkind.” The lower inscription states that “Mir Sayyid Ali, who is the rarity of the realms (sotiir al-mulk)” of Humayun Shah, painted this.”

7. A Prince Hunting

ca. 1590-95

Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 12.6 cm., W. 18.8 cm.
The Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (FD.79.1948)

Hunting imagery is one of the most common features of royal Islamic art. Often, a manuscript’s patron is depicted in the guise of the hunter. This important early Mughal painting seems to be a representation of the young Prince Akbar and perhaps refers to a specific event in 1555 (when he was thirteen years of age) which was later recorded by Abul Faiz in the Akbarnama (Vol. I, p. 154). This hunt took place on the very day Humayun re-entered Delhi after his final victory over the last Suri sultan, and only one year before Akbar ascended the throne of India after his father’s premature death.

8. The Parrot Mother Caustions Her Young

Attributed to Dasturqan

From an imperial copy of the Tuzinanum ca. 1590-95

Opaque watercolor on paper
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. A. Dean Perry (64.279, f. 1097)

The Tuzinanum (Tales of a Parrot) is a Persian rework- ing, completed by Ziya ad-Din Nakhkhuh in 1529-30, of an earlier translation of the Sanskrit prose classic Shaskantapati (Seventy Tales of a Parrot) where stories from the Panchatantras, the Sindobhaanuma, and the...
9. A Donkey in a Tiger's Skin  
Attributed to Basawan
From an imperial copy of the Tuti-Nama
ca. 1600-65
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 31.97 cm., W. 27.77 cm. Page: H. 20.32 cm., W. 15.97 cm.
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland. Gift of Mrs. A. Dean Perry (61.279, 1927)

On the thirty-first night, to illustrate the point that a person of base origin will inevitably betray himself, the parrot tells a story about a poor merchant who sent his starving donkey out into another man's pasture wearing a tiger's skin (a lion's skin in the text) in order to scare the watchmen. But the donkey eventually revealed his identity by braying aloud, leading Nakhshab to conclude the basis of similarities to the miniature on the reverse side of the folio, which is ascribed to the same artist.

10. A Storm at Sea
From an imperial copy of the Tuti-Nama
ca. 1600-65
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 16.9 cm., W. 10.6 cm. Lent by Edwin Burmei, 1863

On the thirty-second night, the parrot tells the story of a young woman named Khushid who encountered numerous misfortunes on account of her great beauty. This full-page miniature illustrates an episode in which a sudden storm arose when Khushid was sold into slavery during a voyage to Mecca (Simsar, p. 204). Elements of European costume apparent on the blood passenger near the stern of the boat, and perhaps also on the boatman, reflect the eclectic sources that inspired the development of early Mughal painting.

11. Amr and a Fallen Stranger outside the Castle of Fulpal
From an imperial copy of the Humaunama
ca. 1600-77
Opaque watercolor on cotton
Painting: H. 17.02 cm., W. 16.11 cm.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1933 (33.234-1)
The Humaunama, one of the greatest manuscripts to be made for Akbar, originally consisted of fourteen hundred illustrations, in fourteen volumes, though only one hundred and fifty are now known. The manuscript describes the adventures of Hamza, the Prophet Muhammad's uncle, and his friend Amr. Among the many calligraphers who worked on the manuscript was Mir Dawri, who was also responsible for copying the Ashga of Amir Khusrau (see pp. 26, 28, 29), another early Mughal illustrated manuscript. Although no complete study has ever been done on the manuscript it has been published extensively. Most notable among these publications are H. Gluck's seminal study Die indischen Miniaturen des Humaunama im Österreichischen Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Wien und in anderen Sammlungen von 1924 and Gerhart Egg's Humaunama, Graz, 1974.

12. Muzammil Treating the Sorcerers
From an imperial copy of the Humaunama
(see no. 11)
ca. 1600-77
Opaque watercolor on cotton
Painting: H. 9.67 cm., W. 7.32 cm.
The Brooklyn Museum (24.29)

This painting depicts Muzammil, the leader of a mule caravan, treating a group of sorcerers. The bright colors, lively gestures, and dramatic setting of the miniature are typical of the most exciting pages from the Humaunama. The vignettes of the mendicant approaching the castle's gate, the reclining woman, and the odd figures behind Muzammil charge the scene with a sense of immediacy. Beach has attributed this page (which is illustration No. 84 from Book XII) to Mahesh (The Imperial Image, p. 65).

CHAPTER II
Fatehpur-Sikri: Akbar's City of Victory

13. Akbar Praying at a Tomb
From an unidentified historical manuscript, possibly an Akbarnama
ca. 1600
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 18.3 cm., W. 27 cm.
The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Ms. 61, no. 9)
The miniature has been mounted in borders from the seventeenth-century Farangi-i Jahangiri, making it difficult to identify the manuscript it was originally made for. Similar pages, also mounted in borders from the Farangi-i Jahangiri, belong to the ca. 1604 Akbarnama (see no. 1). The proportions of this page, however, are not consistent with the more vertical format of the latter. It is tempting to think that the incident depicted here represents Akbar visiting one of the white marble Chishti tombs such as that of Mu'in ad-Din in Ajmer or that of Nu'aim ad-Din in Delhi.

14. The Birth of Prince Salim
From an imperial copy of the Akbarnama
ca. 1650
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 27.5 cm., W. 23 cm.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (J.5-1896 78/127)

The ca. 1650 Akbarnama (see pp. 72-73) provides the earliest visual documentation of Fatehpur-Sikri. Both the city itself and important events that took place there were singled out for attention by Akbar's artists. Prince Salim was born at Salim ad-Din Chishti's monastery in Sikri on August 30, 1569 (Akbarnama, Vol. II, pp. 502-503) and although the palace setting shown in this miniature is anachronistic (Prince Salim was born in Shakhj Salim's monastery before the new city had even been planned), the artists have accurately depicted the view looking north over the lake from Akbar's palace compound as the rising sun illuminates the eastern sky. Kesu the Elder (Kesu Kalan, also known as Kesu Das) also designed the next miniature in the manuscript, showing Akbar receiving the news of Salim's birth in Agra ( folio 79/177), as well as a double-page miniature depicting Akbar's return to Fatehpur-Sikri from the conquest of Gujarat (fig. 3).
16. Akbar Inpecting the Construction of Fatehpur-Sikri (p. 44)

Design by Tilu the Elder, painting by Bandi, portraits by Madhu the Younger
From an imperial copy of the Akbarnama
ca. 1600
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 37.5 cm, W. 35 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(L.S. 3·1896 91/17)

Highlighting Akbar's interest in the construction of Fatehpur-Sikri rather than following a specific description in the text of the Akbarnama (Vol. II, pp. 150-11), this miniature shows the emperor inspecting the work of his stone-masons. If the building on the right is, in fact, a highly schematic representation of the Jani Masjid with the white marble tomb of Salim ad-Din Chishti, this painting must be read as looking south, with the palace complex on the left. Tilu the Elder (Tilu Kalan) also designed the miniature showing the construction of Fatehpur-Sikri in this manuscript (no. 15).

17. Musad Husayn and Co-conspirators (p. 49)

Presented to Akbar by Husayn Quli Khan
Design by Basawan, painting by Mansur
From an imperial copy of the Akbarnama
ca. 1600
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 37.5 cm, W. 35 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(L.S. 3·1896 112/17)

This scene is recorded in Volume II of the Akbarnama (p. 16) where Abul Fazl writes: "He [Husayn Quli Khan] brought Musad Husain M. and all the prisoners, who had fallen into his hands in the battle, wrapped up in cowhides from which the horns had not been removed; and thereby excited great joy at court." Badami also records this event. His description in Volume II of the Mushtakhab as-Tawarikh (p. 161) is slightly more detailed than Abul Fazl's and is consistent with Basawan's depiction of the scene. Badani noted that the rebels, "numbered nearly 500 persons, and he brought them prisoners before the emperor with the skins of asses, hogs, and dogs drawn over their faces. Some of them were put to death by various ingenious tortures, and the remainder were let go free."

18. Akbar Presiding over Discussions in the Idabakhshana (p. 53)

By Nar Singh
From an imperial copy of the Akbarnama (see no. 1)
ca. 1600
Opaque watercolor on paper
Page: H. 28 cm, W. 20 cm
The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Ms. 3·F. 296v)

The episode illustrated here, from the second Akbarnama, occurred in the Idabakhshana (House of Worship) in 1578. Father Acquaviva, one of the Jesuit missionaries at Fatehpur-Sikri, was debating with several of Akbar's mullas when the latter began attacking the Gospels, Acquaviva ultimately challenged the mullas by saying, "If this faction have such an opinion of our book, and regard the Qur'an (the Koran) as the pure word of God, it is proper that a leprous fire be lighted. We shall take the Gospels in our hands, and the Ulama of that faith shall take their book, and then let us enter that testing place of truth. The escape of any one will be a sign of his truthfulness" (Akbarnama, Vol. III, p. 169). To Abul Fazl's delight and no doubt also Akbar's, the mullas declined Acquaviva's challenge.

CHAPTER III

The Kitabkhana: The Imperial Library

19. Manuscript Atelier (p. 59)

From an imperial copy of the Akhlaq-i-Nawiri
ca. 1590-91
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 23.7 cm, W. 14.3 cm
Lent by Prince Sadruddin Aqa Khan (Ms. 39, f. 1962a)

The Akhlaq-i-Nawiri was one of the books Akbar would have read out to him time and time again (Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 101). Written by Nasir ad-Din Tusi in 1235, the text, which has been fully translated and annotated by G. M. Wickens (The Ndertak Ethics, London, 1964.), is divided into three broad discourses dealing with ethics, economics, and politics. Lackung earlier illustrated models with an established iconography, the selection of passages illustrated in this

Mughal manuscript takes on additional importance. It has been established by A. Welch and S. C. Welch (The Arts of the Islamic World, Ithaca, 1982, p. 175) that this representation of a working kitabkhana or manuscript atelier illustrates a section of the Na'urin Ethics dealing with communication specialists" (English translation, p. 210). Here, the painters have been emphasized as masters of communications, an idea not found in the original text (see p. 58).

20. Illuminated Calligraphic Folio (p. 60)

By Muhammad Husayn al-Kashmiri
Zarin Qalam
ca. 1620
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper
Page: H. 40 cm, W. 20 cm
The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Ms. 31/3)

Although Muhammad Husayn Zarin Qalam (The Golden Pen) was Akbar's favorite calligrapher and copied several major manuscripts as the 1582-83 Guflistan (no. 25) and the ca. 1604 Akbarnama, separate calligraphic folios signed by him are extremely rare. Surrounded by the very finest of Mughal illumination, these unidentifiable couplets read:

Pass by Old Wife Time like a real man of God,
Look not at the ruby of her sunnet or the pearl of her dawn.
For they are not rubies or pearls—for the sake of deception
It is just the evening and morning making redness and white.

The calligrapher's signature, which takes up almost one third of the page, reads: "written by the sinner, the distinguished Muhammad Husayn Zarin Qalam Akbar Shahi (may God forgive his sins) in the capital of the empire (dar as-sultanan) Agra."

21. Koran (p. 64)

Copied by Habibullah al-Husayni
Dated A.H. 960 (1557-58)
226 folios
H. 31 cm, W. 22 cm
The British Library, London (Add. 18497)
Folio 118b-120b: Double-page illumination at the beginning of Sura 12 (Mary)
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper

To date, this is the only Koran that can be securely attributed to Akbar's reign. A note on folio 2440b states that it was copied by Habibullah al-Husayni (an otherwise unknown Mughal calligrapher) for the "Sultan of Lahore" in A.H. 960 (1557-54), a time when that city was firmly under Akbar's control. This copy of the Koran has been described in some detail by Jeremy P. Losty, who first published it in 1982 (The Art of the Book in India, London, 1982, p. 83). Few texts from Akbar's reign can match the bold design of this double surrea-heading with its mixture of gold, blue, and red illumination, and interplay of musalqqaq, nakshi, and rupa scripts executed in a variety of black, blue and gold ink.

22. Murder Scene (p. 62)

From the Berlin Jahangir album (assembled ca. 1608-11)
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 41 cm, W. 25 cm
Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin (Lbr. Pict. A. 117 F. 168)

It has not been possible yet to identify the subject and origin of this grisly murder scene that stands among the boldest and most direct of all the paintings created for Akbar: only the Ham znalaz (nos. 11, 12) can match its intensity. With three actions compressed into the single picture "frame," the story unfolds by means of true continuous narrative, a rare feature in Mughal painting. The attacker, wearing a brown jamna and a shield slung over his back, has forced his way into a conventionally represented Hindu temple by breaking through its wall with a pick. Once inside, he accosts his bearded victim and brutally twists his head off. Finally, the same attacker is seen, in smaller scale, at the top of an adjacent tower moments after he has flung the severed head into the midst of the milling crowd below. The page has been removed from its original context and in the early seventeenth century it was mounted in an album compiled for the emperor Jahangir.

23. Boat and Landscape (p. 63)

From an unidentified poetic manuscript
ca. 1580-85
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 7.7 cm, W. 3.2 cm
Page: H. 14 cm., W. 9.6 cm
Private Collection

It has been suggested by S. C. Welch that this miniature and several other small scale images such as the
Courtesan (no. 50) were mounted in a royal album compiled by Jahangir at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The couplet at the top and bottom of this page, which have been translated by Annemarie Schimmel, are from Haiji:

**Upper**
We are those whose boat is broken—Oh favorable wind, blow—
Perhaps we may see again that well known (or swimming) friend

**Lower**
My crying will destroy the world—Bring Noah’s ark here for it is the flood.

The composition of this miniature is closely related to two paintings. One of these, in a manuscript of the Avari’s Shahristi dated 1516, is signed by Miskin, to whom the second page, from an unidentified manuscript has long been attributed (both are published by Beach, *The Imperial Image*, pp. 122-23). While the boats in both pages are more elaborate than the one in this miniature, the figures falling into the water are almost identical.

24. **A Prince Riding an Elephant**

This painting forms part of a larger image, the second half of which is now in the Calcutta Museum. It has been suggested by Terrence McInerney (*Indian Paintings 1521-1825*, London, 1982, pp. 15-17) that originally these paintings may have adorned a tent or other structure and that their execution is extremely close to the work of Abd al-Samad.

25. **Manuscript of the Gulistan of Sadi**

Copied at Fatehpur-Sikri by Muhammad Husayn Zarim Qalam

Dated A. H. 990 (1582-3) 150 folios, 1 minature

Painting: H. 21 cm., W. 13 cm.

Royal Asiatic Society, London (Ms. 258)

Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper

a) Folio 119b-213r (p. 66)

b) Detail, folio 126b (p. 128)

The Gulistan is perhaps the best known work of the great Iranian author Moslih ad-Din Sadi (1189-1231). This copy of the manuscript is written on sumptuous, gold-spinkled, biscuit-colored paper. Folio 128r depicts the manuscript's calligrapher, Muhammad Husayn Zarim Qalam and the artist Manohar, whose father, Basawan, was one of Akbar's most important painters. The artist holds a folio on which is inscribed the words "The work of Manohar, the son of Basawan." A second inscription on a sheaf of paper held by the calligrapher reads "Allah is Great! Portrait of Husayn Zarim Qalam."

26. **Anvari Entertains in a Summer House**

*Attributed to Basawan* (p. 67)

*From an imperial copy of the Divan of Anvari*

*Completed at Lahore on 1 Dhul-Qada, A. H. 990* (September 23, 1585)

Opaque watercolor on paper

Painting: H. 15.97 cm., W. 9.48 cm.

Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1906.0.173, f. 117)

The luxurious copy of the poems of the twelfth-century Iranian panegyrist Anvari, from which this miniature has been removed, contains three hundred and fifty-four folios. The jewel-like quality of this image matches the elegance of the author's poetry. *Anvari Entertainments in a Summer House* does not appear to fit readily into the present textual arrangement of the manuscript though it clearly belongs to this copy of the Divan. The poem accompanying this miniature begins with the following lines (as translated in Schimmel and S. C. Welch's monograph of the manuscript, *Anvari's Divan: A Pocket Book for Akbar*, New York, 1983, p. 74):

I came, quite drunk, into my house last night
And had with me a royal and pleasant friend;
And I discovered on the windowsill
A half full bottle of my nightly wine,

Pure as the promises of loving friends
And bitter like the loves of those who love.

27. **It's the Day for the Garden**

*Attributed to Mahesh* (p. 67)

*From an imperial copy of the Divan of Anvari 1585* 20 x 15 cm.

Opaque watercolor on paper


Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1906.118.5, f. 172b and 172a)

Folio 172b, on the right, contains the end of a poem (qasida) praising the Seljuk courtier Majd ad-Din Abu al-Hasan al-Imani (d. ca. 1000), while folio 172a marks the beginning of another. Imani was a supporter of Anvari who was probably responsible for introducing the poet to Sultan Muzaffar ad-Din Sanjar (r. 1118-17). Given the Mughals' long love of gardens, it is hardly surprising that Akbar chose to add a miniature illustrating the first two couplets of this second poem, which read (as translated in Schimmel and S. C. Welch, *Anvari's Divan*, p. 86):

It's the day for the garden, for cheer and for joy;
It's the day for the market of bud and rose.
The dust is all mixed with amber and musk;
The skirt of the asphyx spreads fragrance and scents.

28. **Krishna and Balarama Arrive in Brindaban**

*From an imperial copy of the Ramayana 1585* (p. 68)

Opaque watercolor on paper

Painting: H. 30.44 cm., W. 18.7 cm.

Page: H. 40.64 cm., W. 24.51 cm.

The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (68.8.30)

The *Ramayana* (Genealogy of Hari [Vishnu]) forms an appendix to the *Mahabharata*, one of the two great Hindu epics. In the imperial illustrated copy of the *Mahabharata*, which was translated for Akbar as the *Ramayana* (the Book of Wars) in 1584 (see page 67), the *Ramayana* was treated as part of the main text. Shortly afterwarads Mawlama Shiri was commissioned to make a separate translation, which he completed by the time of his death in 1586. At least twenty-eight miniatures are known from this version (the text of which, along with six illustrations, is now in the Lucknow Museum [57.6-0] as compared with just seventeen paintings at the end of the *Ramayana*). The image illustrated here shows Krishna and his fair-skinned brother Balarama accompanying their father Nanda on his return to Brindaban. They are greeted by Yasoda (Nanda’s wife), who presents them with a tray of refreshments. The gentle landscape and pastoral setting of this image reflect Krishna’s soothing impact on the poor herdsmen, whose conditions are rough but who are made to feel special—indeed immortal—by his presence. (M. N. Dutt, *A Persian Translation of Harivamsa*, Calcutta, 1857, p. 272).

29. **Krishna and Balarama Fight Jarasandha's Army**

*From an imperial copy of the Harivamsa ca. 1589* 21 x 15 cm.

Opaque watercolor on paper

Painting: H. 19.2 cm., W. 8.9 cm.

Page: H. 14.9 cm., W. 9.6 cm.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (38.61.2)

This scene has been tentatively identified by Beach (*The Imperial Image*, p. 72) as representing the blue-skinned Krishna and his brother Balarama waging war with the army of King Jarasandha (M. N. Dutt, *A Persian Translation of Harivamsa*, Calcutta, 1857, p. 4:8). Its composition shares a number of similarities with the representation of the same scene in the imperial copy of the *Ramayana* (P. Banerjee, *The Life of Krishna in Art*, New Delhi, 1978, fig. 18). The relationship between the *Harivamsa* and the *Ramayana* is discussed by Robert Skelton in "Mughal Paintings from Harivamsa Manuscripts," *Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbook*, 2 (1966), 47-54.

30. **Manuscript of the Jaga Baisheer**

Dated 5 Araw, 47th maham whisk (December, 1603) 122 folios, 41 miniatures

Folio 187r: "Saraswati, the King of the Hunters. Seeks Instruction from the Sage Mandavaya"

Opaque watercolor on paper

Painting: H. 17 cm., W. 28 cm.

Page: H. 14 cm., W. 27 cm.

The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Ms. 5)

The Jaga Baisheer is a Persian translation of the Sanskrit philosophical work *Yogavaiseshikdharma Bhasya* (The Great Story of Rama and the Yoga-teaching of Vasistha) completed by the otherwise unknown scholar Farnamul in 1602. Through a series of stories, the sage Vasistha instructs Rama as to the main themes of Vedanta philosophy, in which it is held that the Absolute can be attained without physical separation from worldly affairs. Vedanta, with its rigid notion of the indivisibility of all matter, was as central to Hindus in Akbar’s time as the Al-Arab’s similar concept of wahdas al-awliyya was to the contemporary mystical Islam.
32. Akbar at the Chistis Shrine in Ajmer
Design by Basawan, painting by Ikbas, portraits by Nausha
From an imperial copy of the Akbarnamah
ca. 1600
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 24.5 cm., W. 23 cm.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(J.S. 2-1949 51/17)

The event portrayed here occurred in 1602, when Akbar went to Ajmer in the company of Azam Khan and several other members of his court. The text that corresponds to this miniature records that "...the expedition went with all possible speed to Ajmer and arrived at the Vaisnag tour city in an auspicious hour. The visit to the illustrious shrine of his holiness the Kiwaja [Mum ad-Din Chishti] was performed, and the persons in charge of the sacred city were the recipients of fortune" (Akbarnamah, Vol. 1, p. 243).

33. Babur Restoring Ulagh Beg's Garden at Isfahan
Design by Mirkin, painting by Nand Gawaior
From an imperial copy of the Baburnamah
ca. 1589
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 25.4 cm., W. 26.3 cm.
Private Collection

Babur was an inveterate horticulturist. He built eleven gardens in the environs of Kabul alone (in one of which he is buried, according to his final wishes, in a simple grave open to the sky), and one of his very first actions upon the conquest of India was to build a garden in Agra. This miniature from the ca. 1658 copy of the Baburnamah is the left side of a double-page illustration showing Babur restoring the garden at Isfahan (near Kabul) which had formerly been in the possession of Timur's grandson Ulagh Beg (Baburnamah, p. 216). Both pages were designed by the artist Mirkin, this miniature painted by Nand Gawaior, and the right page (now in a private collection) by Sana- wala. It was in gardens such as those that the Mughal emperors refined their knowledge of nature. Trees, flowers, birds, beasts, and the landscape itself all came under their loving scrutiny, their pleasures frequently heightened by the use of opium and wine.

34. Feast at Sultan Jalal ad-Din's House at Karranh
From an imperial copy of the Baburnamah
ca. 1589
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 31.5 cm., W. 31.4 cm.
The Art Museum, Princeton University, Gift of Carl Otto von Kienbusch, for the Carl Otto von Kienbusch Collection (71-30)

The Baburnamah was translated from Turki into Persian by Abd ar-Rahim Khan Khanan. According to the Baburnamah (Vol. III, p. 862) the Khan Khanan presented his completed work to Akbar on November 24, 1589. Fourteenth century illustrated copies of the manuscript exist (see pp. 14, 70, 73). This miniature comes from one of the earliest copies of the Baburnamah (fourteen of whose illustrations are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum), which was probably the actual manuscript presented to Akbar by the Khan Khanan. The manuscript originally had approximately five hundred and ninety folios with fourteen lines to a side and space for one hundred and ninety-three paintings, though only one hundred and twelve are presently known. This miniature, which has not been published before, illustrates a scene that occurred in March 1590 and is described on page 625 of the Baburnamah: "I dismounted at Suraj Kothar fort where, host-like, he served me a portion of cooked meat and other viands." This event is also illustrated in the other three copies of the Baburnamah (Titulayev, Miniatures of Baburnamah, Samarqand, 1960 pl. 68 has published in color the version in the State Museum of Oriental Culture, Moscow).

35. Chingiz Khan Dividing His Empire between His Sons
Design by Basawan, painting by Bhim Gajari
From an imperial copy of the Chingiznamah
ca. 1596
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 24.1 cm., W. 30.5 cm.
Page: H. 38 cm., W. 24.4 cm.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,
Francis M. Weld Gift Fund, 1948 (48.144, 7.79)

The main portion of the copy of the Chingiznamah that this miniature comes from was in the former imperial library in Tehran. The manuscript has three hundred and four folios measuring thirty-three by twenty-four centimeters and ninety-eight illustrations. According to J. M. de la Mare, the manuscript was completed on 27 Ramadan, A. H. 1004 (May 25, 1596). The manuscript is often referred to as the Janis ad-Tarnisrib, but all of the known illustrations from the present copy are from the second half of the first section of the Janis ad-Tarnisrib, which is devoted to the life of Chingiz Khan (Kubad-i Chingiz Khan) and it is by that name that Abul Fadl refers to this manuscript in the Asr-i Akbari (Vol. I, p. 151).

36. Abba Khan Entertained
Design and portraits by Farnakh (also known as Farnakh Chela), painting by Ali Quli
From an imperial copy of the Chingiznamah
ca. 1596
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 38.3 cm., W. 28.1 cm.
Page: H. 38 cm., W. 24 cm.
Private Collection

The one line of writing in this miniature, executed in red ink, is not from the text of the Chingiznamah (which is also preserved in a manuscript in the British Library, but functions instead as a label for the scene depicted and reads: "representation of the court of Abaqa Khan ibn Hulagu Khan ibn Tolui Khan ibn Chingiz Khan") but rather a description of the occasion: "In 1265 until 1282, was the great-grandson of Chingiz Khan and the grandfather of Ghazan Khan, who commissioned this historical treatise. Abaqa must have been fascinated by the religious affiliations and tolerance of his Mongol ancestry, for Abaqa Khan was a Buddhist with close ties to Nestorian Christians, but his brother Tagudar (r. 1282-84) converted to Islam and adopted the name Ahmad, and Abaqa's son Arghun Khan (r. 1284-91) remained a Buddhist while governing through a Jewish waris (Sad ad-Dawla). Although Mongul artists were careful to show that Mongol costumes were a far cry from contemporary Muslim fashions, their depictions of elements such as the magnificent plumed headdresses seen in this miniature should not be regarded as entirely historical.

37. A Fortress under Siege
Probably from an imperial copy of the Chingiznamah
ca. 1596
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 35.6 cm., W. 23 cm.
Lent by Edwin Binney, 3rd
This miniature has been tentatively assigned to the Chingizanuma by Beach (The Imperial Image, p. 101): its size certainly fits within the range of other known pages and its composition also matches closely that of other miniatures from this manuscript. Its exact subject matter is less certain. An inscription over the gate of the fortress identifies the scene as “the fort of Bihm in the district of Ghazni, the army of Sultan Mahmud,” but it is highly unusual for such labels to be added directly within the field of painting rather than in a text panel. More importantly, the fact that the exploits of Sultan Mahmud, who led many raids into India from Ghazni, one hundred and sixty kilometers (one hundred miles) southwest of Kabul, during the first quarter of the eleventh century, are not covered by the Chingizanuma further suggests that the inscription is a later addition. It is also possible, though less likely, that this miniature originally belonged to the Tarikh-i Khudsan-i Timurian (fig. 8) which measures 19 cm. by 24 cm. and is among folios 81 through 84 from the section dealing with Timur’s campaign in India.

38. A Cow and Calf (p. 78)
Attributed to Basawan
Opaque watercolor on paper
c. 1790
H. 28.17 cm., W. 17.7 cm.
Private Collection
From the early Fathepur-Sikri years, individual animal studies were commissioned alongside human portraits and miniatures destined for illustrated manuscripts. This tender representation of a cow and calf, one of the earliest known examples of this genre, has been attributed most plausibly by Robert Skelton as an early work of the artist Basawan. The choice of subject matter in this quintessentially Indian image might be interpreted as proof of Akbar’s sensitivity towards the special status of the cow among his Hindu subjects. Little is known about the original function of these animal studies, such as whether or not they were placed together in a single album.

40. Dervish (p. 78)
By c. 1770
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 19 cm., W. 12.7 cm.
British Museum, London (11.6.8 lott. 44)
This bold figure in a fur-trimmed blue jama and flowing red shawl depicted against an unpainted background probably represents a qalandar, a dervish on the wilder side of the Islamic mystical fringe. Wandering saints of this sort were frequent visitors to Akbar’s court, where they often made extravagant claims that they were unable to fulfill. The elaborate golden jewelry and other fine possessions worn by this qalandar immediately bring to mind figures in Akbar’s Hamzanuma, which was illustrated between 1612 and 1777 (see in particular the bare-chested mystic in a page illustrated by S. C. Welch in Imperial Moghul Painting, pl. 3).
Published in color: Christie’s sale catalogue, Islamic, Indian, South-East Asian Manuscripts, Miniatures and Works of Art, June 15, 1983, p. 18.

41. A Learned Man (p. 79)
Attributed to Basawan
From an imperial portrait album
c. 1757-80
Black line with washes of color on paper
Page: H. 20 cm., W. 15.7 cm.
Private Collection
This figure with his bulging stomach, intent gaze and lively hands, was first attributed to Basawan by S. C. Welch (Indian Drawings and Painted Sketches; New York: The Asia Society, 1976, p. 15). The miniature was mounted in 1651/12 in an album made for Prince Khurram, the future Shah Jahan. On the back of the page is a long inscription in Khurram’s hand. Twenty-five leaves from this album were owned, at one time, by the Kevorkian Foundation in New York.
(For other pages from this album see Binney, Indian Miniature Painting from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd, no. 44 and Ernst Grube, Islamic Paintings from the 18th to the 18th Century from the Collection of Hans P. Kraus, New York, n.d., nos. 239-40 and pl. LIII).

42. A Schoolmaster and Pupil (p. 79)
By c. 1845
Black line and washes of color on paper
Painting: H. 9.5 cm., W. 7.8 cm.
Private Collection
Education played an important role in the formation of a Muslim prince’s character. Akbar began his formal education at the age of four (see p. 16) and was “strongly drawn to the composing of Hindi and Persian poetry and is critical and hair splitting in the niceties of poetic diction” (Akhurnamah, Vol. I, p. 150). The emperor at first personally directed the education of his own sons, but eventually thought better of it because “it is an old custom that far-seeing great ones should commit their capable children to the instruction of teachers adorned with outward and inward knowledge so that by seeing and hearing from them, their qualities may be developed.” (Akhur- namah, Vol. I, p. 150).

43. A Flowering Pomegranate Tree (p. 80)
By c. 1757-70
Opaque watercolor on cotton cloth
Painting: H. 27.5 cm., W. 19.68 cm.
Private Collection
While this highly decorative flowering pomegranate tree stands in contrast to the expressionistic exuberance of Basawan’s extraordinary tree in his contemporary study of a cow and calf (no. 58), it nevertheless displays the same keen interest in the natural world. This can also be seen in the numerous examples of Indian flora singled out for illustration in the imperial copies of the Bahurunamah (see for example, Binney, Indian Painting from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd, Portland, 1973, p. 37). Here, the unidentified artist has added multicolored birds that appear to have migrated straight from the realm of myth to this amusing conjunction of reality and fantasy.
46. A Family of Cheetahs

Attributed to Basawan
ca. 1775-80
Opaque watercolor and gold on cotton
Painting: H. 24.6 cm, W. 18.5 cm. Page H. 40.1 cm., W. 27.1 cm.
Lent by Prince Satraddun Aga Khan

Akbar learnt to hunt with cheetahs as a child in Kabul in 1555 (Akbarnamah, Vol. II, p. 630), when a captured animal was presented to Humayun by Wali Beg. The cheetah was named Fatehbaaz (Player of Victory) and its keeper, Dunhu, was given the title of Fateh Khan. The emperor remained extremely fond of these animals throughout most of his life and on the eve of the birth of his daughter Khuram, in 1669, he rode from Agra to Gwalior in order to personally oversee the capture of another trapped animal (Akbarnamah, Vol. II, p. 506). The powerful limbs and lively gestures of the cheetahs portrayed in this painting reveal the animals' beauty, and suggest the fascination they must have had for Akbar.

Published in color: A. Welch, Arts of the Islamic Book, No. 50.

47. Rajai Rai Singh of Bikaran

Attributed to Basawan
From an imperial portrait album
ca. 1900
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 11.8 cm, W. 6.6 cm.
Private Collection

Rai Singh was the son of Kalyan Mal of Bikaran. He belonged to the Rathor tribe and entered Akbar's service at Ajmer during the fifteenth year of his reign. Rajai Singh, who is mentioned often in the Akbarnama, became the ruler of Bikaran in 1717. He served Akbar loyally for many years and played an important part in the emperor's Gujrat campaigns. His daughter was married to Prince Salim on June 26th, 1586. Like Raisal Darbai (no. 54) he often was put in charge of guarding the imperial harem by the emperor. By the end of Akbar's reign, he attained the impressive rank of leader of 4,000 and was promoted to the rank of leader of 8,000 by Jahangir shortly after the latter's accession to the throne. Rai Singh died in 1612.

The identification of this courtier as Rai Singh of Bikaran was first made by S. C. Welch (Art of Moghul India, New York, 1963, p. 164).

48. Wandering Ascetic

From an imperial portrait album
ca. 1585
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 14.6 cm, W. 9.1 cm. Page H. 38.8 cm., W. 26.8 cm.
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Sewantse A. Milliken (67.244)

This figure, like the dervish (no. 40) is typical of the strange assortment of visitors that frequented Akbar's court. The emperor's interest in ascetics and holy men, which went beyond mere curiosity, is reflected in a statement of his recorded by Abu Fazl, "Although I am the master of so vast a kingdom, and all the appliances of government are to my hand, yet since true greatnss consists in doing the will of God, my mind is not at ease in this diversity of sects and creeds, and my heart is oppressed by this outward pomp of circumstance; with what satisfaction can I undertake the conquest of empire? How I wish for the coming of some pious man, who will resolve the distractions of my heart" (Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. III, p. 411).

49. Self-Portrait

By Kesu Das (also known as Kesu the Elder)
ca. 1595
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 15.6 cm, W. 8.3 cm. Page: H. 35.4 cm., W. 22.2 cm.
Williams College Art Museum, Williamstown, Karl E. Wiestow Fund (84.44)

Kesu Das, seen here with his drawing board under his left arm and a coconut held between his hands, was one of Akbar's leading artists. In this painting, as in another self-portrait dated 1589, now in an album made for Jahangir in the Staatsbibliothek für Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Kühnel and Goets, Indische Bildmalerei, p. 30), the artist has chosen to present himself as a rather humble, almost timid, man. His work figures prominently in the Razmnama, Tarikh-i Khwarizmi, the 1999 Akbarnama, as well as several other major Moghul manuscripts. Kesu Das was particularly interested in European prints and engravings and made numerous copies of them. He has been extensively studied by Beach ("The Moghal Painter Kesu Das," Archives of Asian Art, Vol. XXX, 1976-77, pp. 14-52).

50. Courtesan

ca. 1590
Opaque watercolor on paper
Page: H. 9.4 cm, W. 3 cm.
Private Collection

This figure of a courtesan with a vibrant orange and red skirt and mustard-yellow bodice profiled against a light green background gives us a rare glimpse into the life of women at Akbar's court. The lively diva, perhaps a dancer or singer of renown, is captured in an intimate moment as she applies coyllium to her eyes with the help of a small hand mirror. The unidentified couplets on this page, which might be later additions, are well matched to the subject of the painting:

UPPER
Since your form defies description after just one glance,
What can I say in praise of your beauty but, "see yourself in the mirror"
LOWER
Such a tree does not grow in the gardens of Iran;
Such an idol is not found in the picture house of China.

51. A Chaghatay Noblewoman

From an imperial album
ca. 1590
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper
Painting: H. 22.6 cm., W. 13 cm. Page: H. 45.9 cm., W. 33.2 cm.
Private Collection

Inscribed beneath the noblewoman is a false attribution to the artist Nadir-i-Zamani (Colozzi, Indian Painting, 1978, p. 25). While the identity of this corpulent and rather daunting figure remains a mystery, her headdress reveals her ancestry. Chaghatay noblemen and women were an important part of Akbar's court as the emperor related to many of them. Moreover, it was through this side of his family that he was able to trace his lineage back to Chingiz Khan. In 1573-76 Akbar even revived several old Chaghatay customs including the spreading of royal tables full of food in the audience hall at Fatehpur-Sikri, during Mirza Solyman's stay there. Badaduni (Muntakhab as-Taraviz, Vol. II, p. 220) noted, however, with a certain amount of disdain, that after the Mirza's departure the revived customs also departed.

52. A Muslim Courtesan

From an imperial portrait album
ca. 1585
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 10.1 cm., W. 7.8 cm.
Private Collection

Muslims from India, Iran and Turan formed the largest part of Akbar's court. Feelings between these various groups were often tense, possibly because the Indian Muslims and the Turanis were Sunni while many of the Iranians were Shiites (see page 46). Although the identity of this figure remains unknown, his religious affiliation is indicated by the fact that his coat is tied under his right arm (as opposed to his left which was the Rajput practice).

53. A Rajput Soldier

ca. 1575
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 12.16 cm., W. 7.6 cm.
Lent by Catherine and Ralph Benkaim

The slight but wily-looking soldier (presumably) high rank shown in this portrait against an unpeanned background personifies one of the great benefits Akbar derived from his victories over the Rajputs, and the treaties they subsequently concluded. On the one hand peace was brought to large areas of the volatile "western front" and on the other hand large numbers of able-bodied Rajput soldiers (along with their brilliant generals) were acquired for the ever-active Moghul army. In an economy whose sole means of expansion was the conquest of new territories and treasures, the worth of this soldier with his frightening array of finely crafted weapons cannot be over-estimated. The fact that he was selected to sit for a portrait perhaps indicates that he had served Akbar particularly bravely in one of the emperor's triumphs of the 1570s.

54. Portrait of Raisal Darbai

From an imperial portrait album
ca. 1586-87
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 24 cm., W. 17 cm.
The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Ms. 44, No. 2)
CHAPTER IV
The Kitabkhana as a Center of Collection

57. Manuscript of the Zafarnama (not in exhibition)

Copied by Shir Ali for Sultan Husayan Mirza
Dated 1148 Sh. (1440-41)
155 folios
6 double-page miniatures
54cm x 36cm
John Work Garrett Library, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore
Faculty 583 & 593 "Timur Granting an Audience in a Garden at Balkh on the Occasion of His Succession to the Line of the Chaghatai Khans spilled over in my presence and shall frequently be read." Both the subject matter and brilliant compositions of such miniatures as "Timur Granting an Audience in a Garden at Balkh" must have appealed greatly to the Mughals, who prized their relationship to Timur and saw themselves as the legitimate inheritors of his empire.

58. Two Camels Fighting
By Abd as-Samad
1390-91
Opaque watercolor on paper
Paintings: H. 11.8 cm., W. 15.4 cm.
Private Collection
Signed by Abd as-Samad in tiny writing at the bottom of the left text column, this painting is a reversed copy after an original by the famous Persian master Bihzad datable to c. 1425 (Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, Persian Miniature Painting, 1933, pl. LXXIV 7A). The touching message written by Abd as-Samad in two panels at the top of the painting recalls the personal plea left by the seventy-year-old Bihzad on his original version (Ibid., p. 131). Addressed to his son Muhammad Sharif Khan, who was also a painter but later became one of Jahangir's leading ministers, it reads:

This master and shahb (Abd as-Samad), whose faculties have stopped working, whose pen has stopped moving, and whose perfect sight has grown weak, prepared this with a broken pen and sent it off as a souvenir for his knowledgeable, witty, and astute son Sharif Khan, who is happy, fortunate, prosperous, and chosen by the mercy of the Merciful. This same fighting camel motif was also used on a contemporary Mughal carpet (see no. 73).

59. Manuscript of the Gulistan of Sadi
Copied at Bukhara in A.H. 947 (1540-41)
128 folios, 15 miniatures
H. 34 cm., W. 23 cm.
The British Library, London (Or. 3103)
Folio 502: "The Old Wrestler Who Withheld One of His Secrets to Overthrow an Arrogant Pupil" by Shams Muazzam.
Ink, opaque watercolor and gold on paper
Six of the paintings in this copy of the Gulistan (Rose Garden) of Sadi are contemporary with the manuscript, the remaining seven were added at the Mughal court during the early 1600s. The colophon, which appears to be genuine, states that the manuscript was calligraphed by the great Mir Ali al-Husayni (waliqara bi-kazvatuna al-abd al-Mahdubh), who is generally thought to have died in 1556. Two of the miniatures (folios 90a and 90b) have identical inscriptions stating: "It was ordered in the days of the prosperity of the great king Jalal ad-Din Muhammad Akbar, may Allah perpetuate his kingship and sovereignty." Shahn, the artist of the miniature illustrated here and three other paintings in the manuscript, according to Loo (The Art of the Book in India, p. 186) worked for Sultan Abd al-Aziz (r.1519-49) in Bukhara.

60. The Head of Saint John the Baptist
By Abd as-Samad
1380
Stone
H. 6.6 cm., W. 5.2 cm. Depth: 4.1 cm.
Private Collection
This unique sandstone plaque is probably connected with the 1573-77 artistic mission to Portuguese Goa. Although the European image from which it is derived remains unknown, its shape, material and size suggest that it once was set into a wall, possibly in an area such as the emperor's Hall of Public Audience. Similar kinds of objects can be seen in several Mughal paintings (albeit of a slightly later date) such as the Darbar of Jahangir now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (see S. C. Welch, Imperial Mughal Painting, pl. 17).

61. Polyglot Bible
1668-72
Volume I
Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge (Bible A: 909)
When the first Jesuit mission arrived at Fatehpur-Sikri in 1580, it brought with it seven of the eight volumes of the Polyglott Bible, which had been printed between 1568 and 1572 by Christophe Plantin in Antwerp under the sponsorship of King Philip II of Spain. This volume is from the same edition, but not part of the actual set taken to India and presented to Akbar in the first week of March, 1580 amidst lavish ceremonies in which the emperor kissed each volume as a sign of great reverence. Vol. I contains the beginning of the Old Testament in Hebrew, Latin Vulgate, and Greek Septuagint versions, along with a literal Latin version of the Septuagint, with a Chaldean paraphrase at the foot of the left page and a Latin translation at the foot of the right page—the variety of scripts must have instantly aroused Akbar's interest. The title pages in Vol. I were conceived by the Lord High Almoner of Spain (Don Luis Manrique) and designed by Pieter van der Nordt before being engraved by the Flemish artist Pieter van der Heyden (Ebbe Koch), "The Influence of the Jesuit Mission on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors." *Islam in India*, 1 (1982), p. 10. Title pages in other volumes were also engraved by the Flemish artists Jan Wierix, Philipp Galle, and Gerard van Kampen.

62. *Joseph Telling His Dream to His Father*  
After Georg Pencz (p. 100)  
Germany, 1544  
Engraving on paper  
Engraving: H. 10.9 cm, W. 7.3 cm.  
*The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin* (Ms. 62, No. 2).

63. *Joseph Telling His Dream to His Father*  
By Keesu Das (also known as Keesu the Elder) (p. 100)  
ca. 1590  
Detached page from the Manasqa-e-Gulshan (Gulshan Album)  
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper  
Painting: H. 24.4 cm, W. 18.3 cm. Page: H. 43.2 cm, W. 30.3 cm.  
St. Louis Art Museum, Gift of J. Lionelburger Davis (403.12).

64. *Three Angels in a Landscape* (p. 101)  
ca. 1584  
Opaque watercolor on paper  
Page: H. 40.7 cm, W. 31.1 cm.  
*The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin* (Ms. 62, No. 2).

65. *Four Europeans* (p. 101)  
ca. 1590  
Opaque watercolor on paper  
Painting: H. 26.4 cm, W. 17.5 cm.  

66. *Madonna and Child*  
Attributed to Basawan (p. 102)  
ca. 1580-82  
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper  
Page: H. 40.7 cm, W. 34.7 cm.  
Lent by Edwin Binney, 3rd.

67. *A Scholar with His Pupil*  
(p. 103)  
ca. 1570-80  
Opaque watercolor on paper  
Painting: H. 25.1 cm, W. 17.3 cm. Page: H. 25 cm, W. 17.3 cm.  
Lent by Edwin Binney, 3rd.

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*Museum of Fine Art, Boston, Harvey D. Parker Collection* (P.154).

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Opaque watercolor on paper  
Page: H. 40.7 cm, W. 31.1 cm.  
*The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin* (Ms. 62, No. 2).

Although they have been set into a standard Mughal landscape with rocky outcrops and a distant cityscape, these angels with their following robes appear to have been copied from a European print. However, it has not been possible to identify the subject of this curious scene showing an angel presenting a fish to another angel, who is seated on a European throne by the banks of a river or lake, while attended by a third angel. Nor has it been possible to identify the European print from which some or all these figures were taken. Such problems highlight the fact that by the 1580s Mughal artists were able to successfully integrate local and extraneous elements into a unified whole.

65. *Four Europeans* (p. 101)  
ca. 1590  
Opaque watercolor on paper  
Painting: H. 26.4 cm, W. 17.5 cm.  

Although the figures in this scene are clearly European, their source is not immediately identifiable. It is also possible, indeed likely, that the artist conjured up one or two of the figures from his imagination, which might account for some of their awkward gestures, strangely skewed clothing and the pseudo-European writing on the book held by one of the attendants. On the reverse of this painting is a Persian quatrain written in nasta‘iq by the Mughal calligrapher Abd al-Rahim al-Haravi and dated 1597-98.

66. *Madonna and Child*  
Attributed to Basawan (p. 102)  
ca. 1580-82  
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper  
Page: H. 40.7 cm, W. 34.7 cm.  
Lent by Edwin Binney, 3rd.

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(p. 103)  
ca. 1570-80  
Opaque watercolor on paper  
Painting: H. 25.1 cm, W. 17.3 cm. Page: H. 25 cm, W. 17.3 cm.  
Lent by Edwin Binney, 3rd.

The iconography of this painting, as A. Welch (*Arts of the Islamic Book*, p. 160) has noted, derives from Ira- nian prototypes of artists or rulers meeting poor clerics. The contrast of these two aspects of society symbolize the juxtaposition of spiritual and temporal authority, a theme of great interest to Akbar.


69. *A Prince Hunting with Falcons* (p. 105)  
Attributed to Abd al-Samad (but inscribed with the name Mir Sayyid Ali) (p. 105)  
ca. 1585  
Opaque watercolor on paper  
Painting: H. 21.9 cm, W. 15 cm.  
Lent by Ralph and Catherine Benaim.

Although this painting bears an inscription in the top right corner that reads "the work of Mir Sayyid Ali the artist," it can be attributed on stylistic grounds to Abd al-Samad, another Safavid master Akbar inherited from his father. Furthermore, Mir Sayyid Ali left India in 1572 while this representation of the traditional royal hunt exhibits the hallmarks of Akbar painting from the mid-1560s. In contrast to his unhappy colleague, Abd al-Samad stayed on in India and received a number of commissions outside the hitakabba, including that of supervisor of the mint at Fatehpur-Sikri in 1577.
72. Pictorial Carpet

CA. 1850-90
Cotton warp and weft, woolen pile
699,500 knots per square meter
H. 2.42 m, W. 1.64 m.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Gift of Mrs. Frederick L. Ames in the name of Frederick L. Ames (91.1480)
This is one of the uniquely Moghul "pictorial carpets." While its imagery is clearly related to contemporary paintings, the carpet's composition lacks the visual cohesiveness of a miniature. Instead it is divided into a series of vignettes with a genre scene of figures in a palace at the top, a hunting scene with a cheetah on a cart in the middle, and a phoenix attacking a composite beast that in turn is attacking seven elephants at the bottom. Although the origin of this strange beast is not known, an almost identical one, also attacking seven elephants, decorates the Delhi Gate at the Red Fort in Agra. Interspersed between these images are a series of animals that link the various parts of the carpet to each other. The peculiarities of this rug's composition and the fact that this kind of imagery rarely appears in other Moghul rugs suggest that weavers and designers found it easier, ultimately, to work with more traditional approaches towards the fields of their carpets.

73. The Widener Animal Carpet

LATE 17TH CENTURY
L. 403.5 cm, W. 301.3 cm
Cotton warp and weft, woolen pile
568,900 knots per square meter
This small green jade jar with fluted sides was first attributed to Moghul India in an unpublished article by Amy Poster, who also pointed out similar examples in paintings from Akbar's reign, such as the ca. 1570-80 miniature of scholar and pupil (no. 67), that allows it to be tentatively dated to the sixteenth century. Probably used as an inlay, it is one of the earliest known Mughal jades, a material especially fancied by Jahangir, who was particularly keen on collecting original Timurid jade objects.
hijra date on the reverse. In 1577 Akbar completely revised the operation of his mints and also introduced square coins (Akbarnama, Vol. III, pp. 120–21), which have a long history in India but had not been used before by the Mughals (ibid., p. 18). It was in this same year that the mint at Fatehpur-Sikri started to produce gold and silver coins in great quantities under the direction of the famous artist and calligrapher Abd as-Samad, but production ceased again after only four years. In A. H. 986 (1578–79) both round and square mohurs were minted at Fatehpur-Sikri but after that only the square coins were produced.

78. Silver Coins (p. 119)

a) Square rupee
Minted at Fatehpur-Sikri in A. H. 986 (1577–78)
Weight: 11.37 gm., 21.3 x 21.3 mm.
American Numismatic Society, New York:
1977.208.352
b) Square rupee
Minted at Fatehpur-Sikri in A. H. 986 (1578–79)
Weight: 11.02 gm., 18 x 18 mm.
American Numismatic Society, New York:
1977.207.623

Square silver coins are among the oldest types of money to survive in India. Akbar’s use of these coins which were minted as early as 1576-77 and were struck at Fatehpur-Sikri from 1577-78 to 1580-82 reflect his efforts of adopt local monetary traditions (Deyell, "Development of Akbar’s Currency System," p. 18). Rupees are relatively large (25 mm.) coins with a standard weight of approximately 16.6 grams (.40 ounce). Prior to the promulgation of the Din-i Ilahi in 1581 all of Akbar’s rupees were inscribed on the obverse with the kolahma surrounded by the names of the four Companions of the Prophet and on the reverse with the emperor’s full name, Jalal ad-Din Muhammad Akbar Badsheh Ghazi, and the mint and date. According to Abul Fazl the emperor minted nine different types of silver coins, of which the rupee was the most important (Abu-i Akbari Vol. I, p. 36).

79. Copper Coins (p. 119)

a) Round damu
Minted at Fatehpur-Sikri in A. H. 986 (1578–79)
Weight: 20.75 gm., Diameter: 21 mm.
The American Numismatic Society, New York:
1977.179.10
b) Round damu
Minted at Fatehpur-Sikri in A. H. 987 (1579–80)
Weight: 20.40 gm., Diameter: 22 mm.
The American Numismatic Society, New York:
1977.179.17

The thick copper damu, based on the older Suri paisa, was the least valuable Akbari coin and also the simplest in terms of design. Its standard weight was 21 grams (.73 ounce) and it was usually about 7 mm. thick. Unlike the Akbari gold mohur and the silver rupee, the copper damu carried neither a religious reference nor the emperor’s name, listing only the mint in which it was manufactured and the hijra date. Based on surviving catalogued coins, the mint at Fatehpur-Sikri produced copper damu from A. H. 984 (1577–78) until A. H. 986 (1578–82).

80. Farman (p. 120)

ca. 1582
Ink, with red, blue and gold highlights on paper
Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Agra, India.

Few Akbari farman (official documents) have survived. This one, issued by Akbar to the Jesuit Fathers in Surat (see p. 121), with its background of floral and animal designs, is one of the finest. It can be attributed to the late 1590s on the basis of both its formal characteristics and subject matter. In the upper right hand corner of the document is a seal composed of a central circle bearing Akbar’s name and eight smaller circles inscribed with the names of Akbar’s Timurid ancestors. We are grateful to Dr. Shakeri for providing us with the following translation:

When it was surmised to the emperor that the fathers (padriyan) of ..., wanted to build a House of Worship (ibadatkhana)
in the city of Cambay (Khambayat) this august farman was issued enjoining the ruler (Sikandar) of the city of Cambay not to stand in their way and allow them to lay the foundation of it and keep themselves busy in worshipping, Issued on the seventh day of the month of Furwardi of the year...

CHAPTER VI
Akbar and the Power of Images

81. Shah Abu al-Maali (p. 125)
By Dust Muhammad
ca. 1150–60
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting: H. 17.5 cm., W. 14.5 cm. Page: H. 31.7 cm., W. 24.6 cm.
 Lent by Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan (Ms. 160)

Dust Muhammad was one of the talented Safavid artists who joined the Mughal court at Kabul in the 1550s. According to Bayazid Biyat (as quoted by Dickson and S. C. Welch, The Huntington Shahnama, Vol. I, p. 190), he entered the service of Humayun’s brother, Kamran, because “he could not get by without the wine the Shah (Tahmasp) had forbidden!” After Kamran’s death in 1550, he went to work for Humayun. He was a pupil of the great Timurid master Bihzad, and was as accomplished a calligrapher as he was a painter. His stay in India, however, was brief, for he appears to have been back in Iran by the first years of the 1560s where he worked on a number of projects, including the copying of Korans (ibid., p. 118).

This intensely observed, though slightly awkward, portrait of Shah Abu al-Maali, one of Humayun’s closest friends, was probably executed shortly after the emperor’s death in 1556. Inscribed on the folio that Abu al-Maali is holding are the words, “God is Great. Jannat Ashiani [a posthumous title for Humayun]. This portrait is the likeness of Shah Abu al-Maali of Kasigar, whom his Majesty keeps close to him in royal service. The work of Master Dust the Painter.” Despite Abu al-Maali’s friendship with Humayun, he rebelled against Akbar in 1564. His demise, at the hands of Mirza Sulaiman, is recorded by Abul Fazl (Akbarnama, Vol. II, pp. 120–21), whose dislike of the Shah is obvious. “At the time of his being strangled, his impure character displayed itself, and he made entreaties and lamentations in order that he might, perhaps, by a thousand humiliations, gain a few more days of life... But the result was only to show his worthless character... The world was cleansed of his hateful existence, and he by his own acts hastened to the pit of destruction.”
Chronology of Important Historical and Artistic Events

1556 Babur defeats Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi at Panipat and captures the throne of India.

1557 Babur commissions a Garden of Victory at Sikri near Khurja, where he has just defeated Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar.

1558 Babur dies and is succeeded by his son Humayun.

1559 Income from the district of Sikri granted as a ‘naya’ (religious endowment) for Babur’s tomb.

1560 Sher Shah Suri defeats Humayun and forces him to abandon Agra and Delhi. On his way to temporary exile in Iran, Humayun resists in the Garden of Victory at Sikri.

1562 Akbar born in Umarkot.

1565 Humayun retakes Qandahar and Kabul.

1569 Akbar conquers Chittoragah in Mewar.

1568 Illustrated manuscript of Amir Khusrau’s Ashiga completed.

1569 Commemorative statues of Jaimal and Patra, Rajput enemies who fell at Chittorgarh, completed at the Elephant Gate of Agra Fort.

1570 Akbar’s first son, Prince Salim, born at the monastery of Shyakh Salim ad-Din Chishti in Sikri.

1571 Akbar’s second son, Prince Murad, born.

1573 Akbar conquers Gujarat.

1576 Mileposts and caravanserais constructed along the route from Agra to Ajmer via Fatehpur-Sikri.

1575 Mileposts and caravanserais constructed along the route from Agra to Ajmer via Fatehpur-Sikri.

1576 Koran copied for Akbar in Lahore by Ibadullah al-Husayni (No. 33).

1574 Translation Bureau established at Fatehpur-Sikri.

1575 Akbar orders the construction of the House of Worship at Fatehpur-Sikri for the staging of religious debates.

1576 Akbar orders the construction of the House of Worship at Fatehpur-Sikri for the staging of religious debates.

1577 Akbar orders a reorganization of the imperial mint.

1378 Father Pereira, the Jesuit Vicar-General of Bengal, arrives in Fatehpur-Sikri at Akbar’s invitation.

1579 Akbar reads the Friday sermon in the Jama Masjid at Fatehpur-Sikri.

1580 Akbar establishes an experimental House of the Dumb outside Fatehpur-Sikri.

1581 Rebellion breaks out in the eastern provinces of Bihar and Bengal.

1582 The Dh-i-Ilahi, a new code of religious behavior, is formulated.

1583 Akbar orders the translation of the Mahabharata into Persian as the Razmnama (Fig. 7).

1584 Akbar reorganizes the administration of his empire, with the three princes placed in control of the main branches of government.

1585 Akbar orders the construction of a fort in Allahabad at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna rivers.

1586 Lahori becomes the new Mogul capital.

1587 Prince Salim marries a daughter of Raja Bhagvan Das of Amber amid extensive celebrations in Fatehpur-Sikri.

1588 Akbar leaves Fatehpur-Sikri for the Punjab in the wake of Mirza Hakim Muhammad’s death in Kabul.

1589 Lahore becomes the new Mogul capital.

1590 Akbar conquers Orissa in eastern India.

1597 Akbar orders a reorganization of the imperial mint.

1598 Abd as-Samad placed in charge of the Fatehpur-Sikri mint.

1599 Prince Murad dies.

1600 Prince Salim rebels against Akbar while he is absent in the Deccan.

1601 Akbar captures Khandesh.

1602 Illustrated manuscript of the Jai Bahadur, Farsali’s translation of the Tājumarāmahāvamsa, is completed (No. 10).

1604 Prince Dariyal dies.

1605 Akbar dies, and is succeeded by Prince Salim as the Emperor Jahangir.
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