In one of the earlier phases of the struggle, the Pāṇdava are exiled for 12 years. In the last year they while away the time in the forest telling stories. This is the third book of the epic, the Aśāvyapakṣahar or Forest Book.

This Ms. of the Forest Book is a pothi Ms. on paper and is provided with a full folio. It was copied by the scribe Bhañāvidāsa of a family of hījanātus (professional literary) copyists from Śrīpāla (Bengal) at the behest of Bhānudeva Chaudhuri, a Vaiśnav, dwelling in Chandrapuri. The scribe copied it in the year 1553/1554 in the water-fort of Kaccharā (Kacecharapalāzhe) when Sultan Iskandar (Lodi, 1490–1527) was reigning in Delhi. Khandalalavā and Moti Chandu have identified these places as Chandawar and Kachaurā on the Jumna. There can be no doubt however, that this Ms. was done in the Lodi dominion which stretched at this period from Delhi to Jumnapur. An interesting point of comparison with the earlier Jaipur Kalpaśatra of 1465 is that both Ms. were copied by Hindus, Bengali hījanātus, and it may well be, illustrated as well. Whereas it might be possible that the Jaipur copy in the Jaipur manuscript deliberately took on a Jains form, being scattered with Jain symbols and characteristics, we nonetheless see precisely the same characteristics in this poem which are the first printed initial Jaina symbol, the frequent use of the auspicious syllable 'cha', red metallics in the verse margins, etc.

Nearly every folio of the Aśāvyapakṣahar is illustrated, with the miniatures in a whole variety of different sizes. Some few take up the whole of a half a page or a third of the page, and often these larger miniatures are divided into registers with different scenes. Sometimes the miniatures are even smaller, occupying a corner of the page, or occasionally running in a band across the bottom. This kind of freedom is associated with a group of Jainas manuscripts of the Deogarh sect, mostly done in Delhi in the 13th and 16th centuries. However, the style of these miniatures is that of the Cauḍapakṣikā group, although not exhibiting all the characteristics of that group.

In the Aśāvyapakṣahar the draughtsmanship is nervous, and still has the remnants of the Jaina distortion of the projecting chest. Occasionally there is a projecting further eye, twice on the god Shiva. The horizon is usually a wavy band of white, but sometimes it is a high curved one. Nearly all the characters and even the objects in the miniatures are identified by their names, a characteristic of the Cauḍapakṣikā Ms. itself. These labels are not in the same hand as that of the scribe, but they do seem to resemble the hand which has gone over the manuscript in original Illuminations, and the language they use is Hindi where more a Hindi. Asiatic Society, Bombay, MS. B.D.245. Provenance: Bhandari Memorial Collection.
40 ̈Miftah al-Fuṣūl̈ A glossary of rare words occurring in ancient Persian poems, by Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Husayn, a scholar of the 9th century. Although there are doubtless many similar works in Arabic, Miftah al-Fuṣūl̈ is very probably the only work of this name that has come down to us. Its contents have been catalogued and partially translated into English by Ibn Ahmad in the 12th century. The glossary contains over 1,200 entries, and each entry is followed by a brief definition and a few examples of its use in Arabic literature. The glossary is divided into three parts: the first part contains general terms, the second part contains terms related to poetry and music, and the third part contains terms related to philosophy and religion. The glossary is an important contribution to the study of Arabic literature and grammar.

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41 ̈Naṣīr al-Dīn ad-Dūl̈ colour plate XII | The title page of Širāzī's famous work, Naṣīr ad-Dīn ad-Dūl̈, illustrates the use of richly coloured inks, gold leaf, and calligraphy to create a stunning visual representation of the manuscript. The cover page features a large, ornate calligraphic inscription written in gold leaf, surrounded by a border of red and blue calligraphy. The title page is then followed by a double page of richly coloured illustrations, including a portrait of the author, Naṣīr ad-Dīn ad-Dūl̈, in a richly decorated robe. The illustrations depict scenes from the history of the Mongol Empire, including military battles and the conquest of Central Asia. The illustrations are executed in a fine line technique, with detailed attention to the depiction of clothing, armor, and weapons. The text is written in a fine, elegant script, with the title of the work written in a large, decorative script in gold leaf. The pages are bound in a richly decorated leather binding, with gold leaf decoration on the edges. |

42 ̈Bustan̈ colour plate XIII | The cover page of the manuscript, Bustan, features a large, ornate calligraphic inscription written in gold leaf, surrounded by a border of red and blue calligraphy. The title page is then followed by a double page of richly coloured illustrations, including a portrait of the author, Naṣīr ad-Dīn ad-Dūl̈, in a richly decorated robe. The illustrations depict scenes from the history of the Mongol Empire, including military battles and the conquest of Central Asia. The illustrations are executed in a fine line technique, with detailed attention to the depiction of clothing, armor, and weapons. The text is written in a fine, elegant script, with the title of the work written in a large, decorative script in gold leaf. The pages are bound in a richly decorated leather binding, with gold leaf decoration on the edges. |

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The translation was commissioned by Nairn Shih (Sultan of Manda, 1950-10), although what was actually commissioned was a translation of another masterpiece of Islamic art, the 19th-century work of the Kitāb al-Naur, the Book of the Alexandria, which was written by Muhammad ibn Ja'far ibn Sahl al-Baghdadi. The manuscript was prepared for Nairn Shih in the year 1316 (1950-10), when the colophon page is dated 616/1950-10. This manuscript therefore may be securely dated to Manda in the period 1290-1310, for the f. 22r record that it was presented (3) by Sultan Muhammad to Alkhor at Amdarhrad in 1950-10.1

National Museum, New Delhi, 48/4/4, fe. 209a: 34 x 23 cm; good creamy-brown paper, with dark border; binding in blue, gold and red Naudh akbar across both columns; illuminated shamsa, with 'al-ban near' in white Thuluth ink in an eight-lobed, rounded, with 13th-century Shirazi-type illumination; one soraj; 43 minatures, mostly about one-third of the page in size, and often L-shaped; dark brown leather binding with medallion and cartouche-pieces stamped in gold, and plain doublures.

Bibliography: Eriksen 1999, no. 20; New Delhi 1995, no. 24; id. 1999, no. 45; id. 2000, no. 40-4, with a detailed discussion of the manuscripts published in the last two years. This manuscript is described in Eriksen 2000, no. 40-4.

Comment: The illumination of this manuscript contains many features found in the earlier manuscripts of the Kitāb al-Naur. It is interesting to note that the illumination of the Kitāb al-Naur, written in 1316 (1950-10) and now in the National Museum in New Delhi, contains a number of features that are similar to those found in the manuscript described here. This suggests that there may have been a tradition of illumination in the Kitāb al-Naur that was continued in later manuscripts.

1 This manuscript is illustrated on p.43. Although the illumination of this manuscript is not of the highest quality, it is nevertheless a fine example of the North Indian style of illumination, and it is interesting to note that the manuscript is in the same hand as the manuscript described in Eriksen 2000, no. 40-4.


Illustrated on p.43. This manuscript is illustrated in Hill 1974, Cooraywaraw 1998, Chuang 1963.

45 'Candyana' (Colour plate XVI)

A poem in Avadhi or eastern Hindi by Muhammad Iqbal.

Perhaps the most beautiful surviving manuscript of the Sultanate period is this colophon page (f. 1), the largest of the manuscripts of the Manda Library. It is in a style typical of the Manda library, with many lines of text and a richly decorated colophon in elegant manuscript script.


'Mslanbair, 1985, fig. 2.

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MANDU, double-tusks at a closer distance to its fall, before the Mogul mayhem (1385). It does not appear to have any recognizable effect on later Ms., whereas the Bombay Candia style is found in only two cases (see below). In the Cleveland Tujinaras, a Ms. is to be dated c. 1560-5, at the beginning of Akbar's reign. The Manchester Coromandel hands must be the last effect of a Sultana court before English absorbing influence spreads in. And if this is Mandu, then it must be dated about 1560, and in the reign of Baj Bahadur.

John Rylands University Library of Manchester, Hindustani MIS. 31.

Provenance: Acquired for the Bibliotheca Indica of the Earl of Craven from 1866 from the collection of Nathaniel Hone, and with the rest of that collection acquired for the Rylands Library in 1961.

6.158 (numbered 1-238) 21 x 14 x 7; green, marbled paper with foliation in Arabic script 1-366; nine lines of Naskh in panels with ruled gold, black, red, and blue; text arranged in four compartments in two lines above and below, and five lines of verses either side of gutters with one in the middle; text in black with names and significant lines in blue or red, a decoration effect like the cover, and the illustrations, some as text panels, with some upper projections into margins; 18th-century oriental cover, European spine.


47 "Zahibiri Kwiirmeshibhi" A medical encyclopaedia in Persian, by Zain ad-Din Abi Ilahim Temi'il al-Jariri (d.531/1137-8). The author lived in Khiirmuz in 504/1110-1, and dedicated his encyclopaedia to its ruler, Muhammad, son of al-Nasir, Khiirmash.

This copy was made by Piyah Bibi Mirza of Herat in 950/1545, at Golconda.

It has no illustrations, but bears beautiful illuminations in a purely Persian style, indicative of the strong metropolitan Persian artistic links with Golconda at this period when the other Deccani manuscripts were fast developing their own independent styles. The elaboration of the normal illuminated panels round the opening of the text, and then separate borders, the first of cartouches separated by heads and then a much wider border of gold (interior and blue exterior), the decoration between the two colours being of angels, and, in the amar in the middle of the right side, of dragons which appear to be of Kozhoveni provenance.

There are besides some 1000 pieces of similarly inventive designs, each different, of which one has a remarkable design of paonies and another of similar" (11).

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ind. MS. 30.

6.031: 32 y x 22 y cm; 27 pages of Naskh in panels with ruled gold, 21.5 x 16 cm; in 3 leaves, fol. 10 sarlachi; bound in brown morocco.

Bibliography: Skelton 1973, fig. 132.

48 "Sindhdnamah" Illustrated on p. 54. The book of Sindbad, an anonymous Persian version of the tales of the same extremely rare copy seems to exist in no other version, and is moreover remarkable for its miniatures.

It has been considered for some while that this undated Ms. whose style rests on that of Shiraz might ultimately be found among the manuscripts in India. Now that more Ms. have been found with elements of the Safavid style but obviously Indian, it is possible to narrow the provenance. The Ms. is distinguished from contemporary Iranian work in various ways. The hand is a good but not elegant Nastaliq, rather cramped, with thick lines as opposed to light and thin. The illumination of opening medallion and the miniatures is remarkably good in proportion to the small size of the pages, and the use of the arabesque work on the blue background. The 72 miniatures in art, based on the Turkic developed during the reign of Shiraz c. 1500 with significant additional additions to these, particularly those that proofed in Shiraz later in the 16th century.

Some of the paintings are particularly dense compositions of the type known from Golconda in the late 16th century, with very thick application of paint and very fussy detail. This is true in particular of many of the opening paintings, such as the double-page frontispiece of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, with its crowded animals and people, and the ground of Turkic vegetation. There are also some lovely passages of architectural decoration by this same artist, with brilliant tilework. Throughout, however, the painting has a slightly crude spirit, with eyes and hands in particular very badly drawn. On occasion the artist forgets himself enough to draw a face in profile but gives it two eyes (f.159a). The manner throughout are of the Decani type, with the same opening decoration of the front, and very often a looped girdle round the waist. The turban is very Safavid baton turban, and occasionally of the very early type as seen in the Upalpur Udiyan University Library Jamali 47.

The most outstanding characteristic of the paintings, however, is the imaginative, indeed facetious, use of architecture as decoration, as well as beginning with large-scale architectural backgrounds, which are always entirely two-dimensional, and not accessible to the page, in panels suitable in marken preparedness for oriol windows supported on brackets rather than on the marquetry. Jung, and with imaginative use of tilework decoration to cover his surfaces, the artist is led to lines of marquetry without any reluctance what so ever. He is depicting Architaures and parapets are prolonged, the tiling of tiled walls and windows, domes become sarlachi or anna (triangular marginal illu- minations); thrones are subsided in the pattern-making, their bottoms curving round to match their tops. Features such as these and similar motifs entirely isolated from their traditions, an art practised in a provincial center without any renewals from its roots, although thin, of course, does not necessarily point to an Indian provenance. Specifically Indian, however, are the brackets and pierced windows, some of the costumes described mentioned above, and some of the animal drawing in the frontispiece; combined with features such as the oblong oval (in f.1.1) (an absolutely unmistakable shape but not readdleable), and Telugu captions above with Persian or more southern Indian provenance that can then be dated.

The use of baton turbans at the Safavid court in Tabriz seems to have lapsed no longer than about 1560, so that there must have been direct influence from the Safavid style in India about in the first half of the 16th century. The Laihali Akhmat of Nizami is a product of such influence, in which paintings in a sub-Tabriz manner alternate with others in a provincial Iranian style and yet others in a Sultana style. The Sindhdnamah re-veals influence from the Safavid style of Shiraz from earlier Turkman Shiraz style, and occasional details of earlier provenance such as the use of gold. A studio must have been set up in the first half of the 16th century with artists from Iran in Tabriz, also at the Subalmane and to the Turkman Shiraz style. The latter of which has assimilated these styles and the original direct imported influence has disappeared, which we observe in a date c. 1575. At this date of Golconda was the only Indian court keep- ing to some semblance of the Iranian tradition; but it is very Safavid baton turban, and occasionally of the very early type as seen in the Upalpur Udiyan University Library Jamali 47. (11)

India Office Library, London, Persian MIS. 158.

6.166: 24 x 18 cm; paper darkish- brown, occasional section on blue paper; bound in marquetry; in the margins, a variety of verses on blue in 16 lines in panels 16.5 x 16 cm with margins ruled in gold;ulas as in f.1890, the black circular medallion sarlachi on f.189; 72 miniatures, mostly small, the occasional large one depicting the use of the margins; erased seals and inscriptions on f.189; Telugu notes on early vases; red morocco cover with stamped medallion and corner pieces.


"Avdard and Laven 1948.


49 "Avard-i Subahy" Illustrated on p. 54. The lights of Canopus, by Husayn 'Avard-i-kil'f who lived in Herat under Sultan Husayn Bayjara, where he died in 518/1029-30. There is a work in a more con-temporary and artificial Persian style of Nast Allah's Killa va Dinma, a book of tales based ultimately via Arabic, Syriac and Persian translations on the Sanskrit Purāṇa. The fable is one of the earliest Indian literary forms, and the Purāṇa (the Five Books) it earliest and most famous expression. Through the translation of the above languages, the stories spread ultimately to Europe in the Middle Ages.

This Ms. affords another example of the influence of Safavid Shiraz on the court style of Golconda. Here, however, there is no obvious pointer like the Telugu captions or erasure Qutb Shahi seal of the Narin Style (No.48), but instead there is a very close resemblance between the two manuscripts in the way they have taken the standard elements of Iranian composition and subjected them to a process of pattern-making without parallel in India. Again and again elements of the architecture such as brackets or architecs or domes are twisted out of their natural function to become elements of design--architectures are looped around on themselves to enclose illuminated card- toes, or domes are converted into arcs, or the framing of the painting bulges into the margin in a semi-circle, as if they were to form a panel of Koran illuman- nation. Other resemblances to the Sindhdnamah include the trees--very tall dense trees extending into the upper margin (f.260a), looped up draperies such as curtains in doorways (f.2372), the same type, but with covering curtains (f.214a), and the other manuscript has been found other
The pictures themselves are in a homogenous style and the work of a single hand, rather than the hand of several artists. The fact that the paintings are not signed suggests that the artist intended for them to be seen as a single entity, rather than as individual works of art. The overall impression is of a coherent and unified style, with a strong emphasis on the landscape and the natural world. The paintings depict various scenes of daily life, such as farmers working in the fields, and are characterized by their simplicity and directness. Even the figures, both male and female, are seen in strict profile, which is a common feature of the South Indian style. The landscapes are depicted in a rich and detailed manner, with an emphasis on the details of the trees, mountains, and rivers. The colors are bright and vivid, with a strong emphasis on the greens and blues of the natural world. The paintings are a testament to the skill and creativity of the artist who created them, and they remain a powerful reminder of the beauty and richness of the Indian landscape and its people.
CHAPTER III

The Imperial Library of the Great Mogul

In 1526 a young prince from Central Asia, Bābur, a descendant of both Timūr and Genghis Khān, defeated and killed the Sultan of Delhi, Ibrahim Lodi, at the battle of Panipat, and established the rule of his dynasty, generally called the Mughals, in India until 1857. Not that he or his descendants would have tolerated being called Mughals or Mongols, which was a term of abuse applied by their enemies emphasising the barbaric side of their ancestry. They rather saw themselves as the heirs of Timūr, the conqueror of half of Asia, including Delhi, and whose immediate descendants were some of the greatest patrons of art and letters and sciences the world has known.

Bābur, who inherited the minor principedom of Ferghana, was three times the master of Timūr’s fabled capital Samarkand, before finally being driven out by the Uzbeks. He resolved to try his luck in India, restoring Hindustan to Timurid rule. A poet, scholar and man of letters, he has left us a Divān of poems in his native Turki, of which a manuscript exists with his own annotations on it, written in Agra in 1528–9 (in the Rampur State Library) and an autobiography, one of the greatest works of the genre in any language. He records in detail not only the events of his life but also his reactions above all to India, its people, its climate, its animal and plant life. This work translated into Persian was one of the most popular for illustration in the reign of his grandson Akbar. His reign was too brief to do more than establish his rule over the Lodí dominions of Delhi, the Panjab and the Jaunpur kingdom, from the Lodí capital at Agra. The only one of his manuscripts known to survive from his reign is his Divān, so it is impossible to know to what extent he patronized scribes and illuminators. That he was a collector of rare manuscripts is known for certain, for one of his and his descendants’ most precious possessions was an illuminated Shāhnāma produced for Muhammad Jitqī in Herat about 1440, which passed with Bābur from Samarkand over the perilous mountains into India and which bears the seals of all his descendants up to Aurangzeb as well as the autograph inscriptions of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Bābur’s brother Kāmān also patronized the production of manuscripts – a solitary volume of Jāmi’s Yūsuf va Zulaikha survives commissioned by him probably in Kabul, with six miniatures in a poor version of the Bokhara style. There is no evidence that Bābur himself patronized painters, but with his turbulent life he would scarcely have been able to offer them the settled conditions necessary for the production of first-class work, especially since the court at Tabriz under Shir Shah Sūr and his son Shāh Tahmasp was attracting all the available talent from Iran and Central Asia.

Bābur’s son Humāyūn was a much less forceful character who found himself unable to defend himself against the attacks of rival Muslim dynasties in India, and in 1540 he was driven from his throne by Shir Shah Sūr, an Afghan from Bihār. Humāyūn was devoted to books, and seems at times to have been more concerned with the loss of his library than of his kingdom. At a later period when he was struggling to regain the throne of Hindustan, his delight in regaining his temporarily mislaid portmanteau of books is recorded in his son’s biography, the Akbarnāma (Nos. 70–71). These must have contained his father’s books as well as his own, the library no doubt having been considerably enriched by his sojourn in Iran and Kabul. It was at Shāh Tahmasp’s court at Tabriz in 1544 that he was first exposed to the full panoply of the Iranian bibliographic tradition, where he doubtless saw the recently completed Shāhnāma and Khamsa of Nizāmī, the greatest masterpieces of Safavid manuscript production. Shāh Tahmasp was becoming more orthodox as he grew older, and turned away from painting after 1544. His artists sought patrons elsewhere, and some responded to Humāyūn’s invitation to join him in Kabul, which he had been able to regain in 1545. Two painters in particular took up his invitation, Mīr Sāyīd Afī, whose signed work is found in Shāh Tahmasp’s Khamsa of 1539–43, and ’Abd al-Samad, to whom work has been attributed in the Shāhnāma but about whose Iranian work much less is known. They and their fellow artists brought with them to Humāyūn’s court, and then on to Delhi when he was able to regain his Indian dominions in 1555, the latest developments in the Iranian book tradition: elaborate and highly finished paintings by master artists; fine calligraphy; illumination in shamsa, sūrānī, sarančī and other pieces scattered throughout the text, in profusion; sumptuously illuminated margins painted in gold with individual designs; bindings now sometimes painted and lacquered rather than simply in tooled and painted leather; and a burgeoning interest in portraiture and the assemblage of albums. The earliest work identifiable as being by these Safavid artists for Humāyūn is still in the pure Persian manner. This includes the fragmentary so-called Princes of the House of Timur, a large painting on cloth originally intended probably as a record of Humāyūn and his court in Kabul. Humāyūn’s return to Delhi was followed within a year by his death, through falling down the steep steps of his library, an octagonal, two-storeyed building still intact in the Purana Qila (Old Fort) of Delhi, built by his rival Shīr Shāh Sūr. It was not until his son Akbar began to reorganize the royal studio and to impose on it his own standards and tastes that any movement away from the Safavid style became apparent.

Akbar was born in 1542 in the deserts of Sindh when Humāyūn had been ousted from his throne, and while his father was in Tabriz, was already learning the hard art of survival from his uncle Kāmān Mirza in Kabul. Only 14 when he inherited the throne he was able quickly to crush all rebellions and to extend his dominions over all the independent kingdoms of northern and central India. A man of intense energy, he was intellectually interested in all that came his way, especially the religions of the majority of his subjects, Hinduism and Jainism, in Zoroastrianism, and in the Christianity which was conveyed to him through the Jesuits of Goa, who sent several missions to the imperial court, bringing with them European paintings and prints.

In 1556, the artistic state of India was a confused one. We have analysed above the various kinds of manuscript illumination practised in India in the first half of the 16th century—the schools of the Sultanate courts, attested from Bengal, Māndu and Golconda, but doubtless existing in other courts also, utilising styles derived from metropolitan Iranian styles at greater or lesser remove—a much more Indianized school of Sultanate painting exemplified by the Courtauld group of manuscripts illustrating Sanskrit and Hindi texts, based at the Rajput courts; bourgeois schools derived from all three of
the above certainly practising in the Delhi-Agra area and probably elsewhere; Jainia painting, still practised in its strongholds in Gujarat and Hooghly; and local schools in eastern and southern India about which little is as yet known. Shortly after his accession, Akbar decided on an immense expansion of the studio and turned mostly to the artists and workmen who were available, i.e., artists from all the above schools who flocked to Agra, the capital, from all over India. The evidence for this migration lies in the first known complete manuscript from Akbar’s studio, the Tajimama (Tales of a Parrot) in the Cleveland Museum, in which examples of most of these styles are to be found. It is unlikely that the energetic Akbar would have allowed his Persian artists to sit about idle for years after his accession, so that the expansion of the studio could be dated to the late 1550s, as can the beginning of the Tajimama. It is to be regarded as a testing ground for different artists perhaps; but as its styles are all somewhat later than their parent styles, yet clearly cannot be regarded as being under much influence from the two Persian masters, it does in a way serve as a terminus ante quem for all of them. Much of it must have been finished before work began on Akbar’s first huge and immensely important undertaking, the illustration of the Hamaamnana, a romance of the adventures of Hamza the Prophet’s uncle (No. 54), which probably commenced about 1562. The sources differ about the precise size of the undertaking, but it would seem to have been in 16 volumes each consisting of 100 paintings, and took 15 years to complete, so that it was finished by 1577. It was painted direct on to large sheets of cotton; originally five lines of text were written on the same side as the painting, leaving the verso blank, but the later paintings cover the entire surface, with the text written in large Nasta’liq on paper and mounted on the back of the cotton. The 100 leaves of each volume were then presumably bound up like album leaves, but no trace of their bindings has survived. Although scarcely more than 100 leaves have survived out of the whole gigantic enterprise, various stages in the development of the Mughal style can be distinguished. The decorative pattern-making of Iranian painting changes to a concern for naturalism, painting reality in depth, more realistic portraiture, all features that characterize the great period of Mughal painting under Akbar and Jahangir, even though the technical methods of achieving these ends, of modelling, of shading, of landscape recession, which were learnt from European paintings and prints over the last two decades of the century, had not yet been fully worked out. Apart from a few highly Persianized early paintings, which were doubtless drawn by the Persian masters, the rest of the pages are in a remarkably uniform style, immensely vigorous, very un-Persian that must have been hammered out in vigorous artistic discussion between the Persians and their erstwhile Indian pupils. The mid-1560s is the latest date this style can have been arrived at, as it appears in a manuscript dated 1568 (No. 56).

The creation of the Hamaamnana demanded a huge expansion of the imperial studio from the few Iranian artists brought by Humayun from Kabul to many hundreds of artists and calligraphers, as well as the other craftsmen necessary for the production of books. Most of these artists could only come from the other regions of India; we know the origins of some of them from their names—the epithets Gujarati, Kashmiri, Lahori. About 70 per cent of the names we know of are Hindu, but it is not possible to sort out where they came from other than through their signed later work—Nānha for instance is almost certainly an artist from the Deccan, and probably his nephew Bishāndās also, while Madhu Kumb (the Younger) may be pinpointed to Ahmadnagar, one of the three Deccani schools. A manuscript dated 1567 painted by Shāhmand (No. 55) is in an entirely Bokhara style, while in the mid-1580s at least two artists arrived from Iran, Aqa Rizza and Farrukh Beg, bringing with them a renewed burst of Safavid influence especially favoured by Prince Salim, Akbar’s heir.

Mīr Sayyid ‘Alī was in charge of the studio for about half the production of the Hamaamnana. The method of work at first would have been for him to draw the picture and for the other artists to paint in the colours, until they had gained confidence in this new style. Both Akbar and Jahangir pay tribute at a later date to their artists’ ability to copy anything, even the latest European work, so that no one could tell the difference. This is indeed a facility all Indian artists have and it was remarked on by the British in the late 18th century. It would not have been difficult for Indian artists to copy the Safavid style in the 1580s, so that they could produce paintings in it by themselves after initial training. Under Akbar’s guidance, if not technical direction, the artists were trained to develop a style capable of illustrating in a realistic, naturalistic manner the great historical works of which he was so fond and which occupied his studio through most of the 1580s.

Few illustrated manuscripts other than the Hamaamnana were produced in the early period of the studio’s work. A group of three manuscripts (Nos. 55-7) dated between 1567 and 1570 occupy the middle of the Hamaamnana period, along with the undated Zodiacal album in Rampur. This paucity must be due to the overwhelming priority of the production of the Hamaamnana which claimed the entire studio’s attention, but we know that six months was the average for the production of one of the highly finished but much smaller paintings of the later Akbar-period works, so that at least a year must be allotted to each of the Hamaamnana pages. For 1,400 paintings taking 15 years to complete, about 100 artists must have been employed on it. In the earlier period of course, progress must have been much slower, as the atelier was in process of being built up.

Abu’l Fazl, Akbar’s court-historian, in his A’in-i Akbāri (The Institutes of Akbar) gives a short but valuable account of the taṣavīrānā, the imperial studio. In A’in 34 he deals with the twin arts of calligraphy and painting, according in pious traditional fashion the primacy to the first, but as Pramod Chandra has pointed out actually giving primacy through his title to the painters. Among the calligraphers of Akbar’s court, he praises above all Muhammad Husayn al-Kashmīri, whom Akbar honoured with the title Zārin Qalām (Golden-pen). His calligraphy may be seen in manuscripts datable between 1581 and 1604 (Nos. 58, 64, 70, 71) and his portrait exists in the first of these. He died in 1611. Other calligraphers whom he singles out as being among the ‘renowned calligraphers of the present age’ include three others whose works have survived—Maulānā Da’ūrī, whom Blichmann identifies as the pietistic name of Sultān Bayāzīd, the scribe of the 1568 manuscript of Amir Khusraw (No. 56); ‘Abd ar-Rahīm, given the title Ambatān Qalām (Amber-pen) by the Emperor, the scribe of the Dyson-Perrins Nizāmī of 1395 and the Naṣajāt al-‘Inās of 1604 (Nos. 65, 66), and whose portrait is in the former; and ‘Mīr ‘Abdallāh, surnamed Mas‘ūd Qalām (Musky-
noted on the edges ascribing the work, and artists were paid and given handsome presents according to the reception which their work received; the notes were later usually covered up by the gilding and painting that followed. A more formal note was made on the outer margins by the court librarians, after the painting had taken its place in the manuscript. The practice of the artist actually signing the work found occasionally in the earlier period, as with Shāh in the 1567 Ghulān (No.55), was not favoured until under Jahangir, perhaps because few of the Akbari artists were competent pen-men. The ascription to artists by librarians' notes is attested from the Cleveland Museum Tūjināma onwards, where occur the earliest attributions to Dāvānt and Bīzān which must have been among the earliest artists to be recruited. Artists' sons seem to have followed in their father's footsteps—of three of Jahangir's master artists, Manohar, Abū'l Hasan and Bhūndā, the first two were the sons of Bāsāvi and Āgā Rizā, and the last the nephew of Nāhā. The two sons of Abū as-Samād, Muhammad Sharīf and Bīzān, were both painters, whose work is found in manuscripts of the 1580s. The former was Prince Salīm's friend from childhood, and in his reign he made him one of the grandees of the empire.

Several artists must have worked on each of the Humānumā paintings, but as all the surviving pages have been remargined, there are no attributions. At the conclusion of the project in 1577 (?), there was a large number of highly trained artists waiting for employment, and it was at this stage that they began work on a series of historical works that lasted throughout the next decade—the stories of Akbar's ancestors from Timūr (Torrikh-i Khwāndān-i Timūrisya, in Bankipore), of his grandfather Bābā (Nos.62–3), and of his father's and his own reign, the Akhānāna (Nos.70–1). At the same time, the Emperor commissioned Persian translations of the two great Hindu epics in Sanskrit, Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana, and his artists worked on illustrated versions of them alongside the historical works. These manuscripts are on the grandest scale, with an average of 150 full-page paintings each. The scale of Akbar's studio can be appreciated by comparison with an Iranian one. No ruler of Iran before the unification of the country under Shāh Tahmāsp had the resources to include more than 30 or 40 large-scale paintings even in such a huge work as the Shāhānūm. Even Shāh Tahmāsp could only produce one lavishly illustrated manuscript in his long reign, whereas Abūl was having five done in a single decade. Of course the style was less highly finished and exquisite than Iranian work, and is at times only too obviously produced as in a production line, but the magnitude of the achievement is undeniable.

Akbar's artists were extending the techniques of manuscript painting at the same time as extending its range. In earlier manuscripts, whether Iranian or Sūfian, it was only occasionally that the margins were utilized, although examples date from the 14th century. Finials, trees or pavilions could project above the top margin, horses' hooves or landscape details could extend over the side margin, giving the effect of bursting out of the frame but not confined within another one. In the great Mughal manuscripts of the 1580s, however, the entire page is invariably utilized for the painting, the outer marginal rulings being nearly at the page's ends.

This enlargement of the painted area to a size hitherto unknown for paper manuscripts creates a grandiose effect altogether fitting for these
works. We can see the beginning of this process in the Ṣahāyī of 1570 (No.57).

The paintings in these manuscripts were usually produced by two or three artists, a master artist drawing the outlines and a lesser one applying the colour. The master would then finish it off. Occasionally a third artist who specialized in portraiture would do the faces. The names of those who drew the outlines are usually among the 17 master artists named by Abu'l Fazl.

In 1573 Akbar sent a mission to Goa specially to learn from the Portuguese, and to bring back paintings and prints for his artists to learn from and to copy. Techniques such as modelling and perspective were learnt in this way and included in the 1580 manuscripts.

Most of the historical works still tend to include large panels of text inside the painting, as the artists were still unsure of their recession techniques. Such panels hid awkward junctions very effectively. In the Akbarānāma, however, of c.1590, the text is usually reduced to a line or two, so that the double-page compositions in which this manuscript abounds are almost released from the sub servience to the text appropriate for manuscript illustration. But this is not a simple matter of the earlier manuscripts having more text and the later less, as technical mastery in landscape and recession was attained throughout the studio. The Taʾrikh al-Alfi of 1593, an historical work later than the Akbarānāma, has such large text panels proportionate to the paintings as to give the latter more the function of marginal illustrations. The same applies to at least a manuscript as the non-imperial Rasālnāma of 1616. The biographical work of Ḥājī Naṣafūl-al-ʿUm, of 1605 (No.69), is treated in much the same way as the 1580 manuscripts, while the intervening poetic manuscripts tend to follow the examples of the Akbarānāma. The reason may perhaps be sought in the nature of the texts themselves. Familiar texts such as the Persian poetic classics, or the events of recent history would scarcely have needed the text for the story of the illustration to be recognizable. Not so in more obscure historical periods, such as the 14th-century history of Timur and above all in the early history of Islam in the Taʾrikh al-Alfi and in the translations of Sanāʾi. The arrangement of texts, the layout on the page, the choice of subjects for illustration— all these were planned in advance by the head of the studio doubtless including consultation with the Emperor himself. The colophon of the imperial Rasālnāma tells us that the manuscript was organized by Sharif, the son of Ḥājī ʿAbd as-Samad.

While these great co-operative projects were progressing, artists had an opportunity to produce individual paintings in smaller manuscripts. No dated work of this type has been found between the 1570 Ṣahāyī and the 1585 Gūlistān, but the album of zodiacal and tilasm paintings in Rampur and the mutilated Ṣahāyī fragments in Bombay must have been done between these two dates, while the Tuṣīnāma in the Chester Beatty Library (No.60) and the Darānbānāma (No.59) belong to the end of this period. In these manuscripts it is clear that paintings were usually the responsibility of a single artist, and the result is considerable uniformity in the quality of the work. In the Darānbānāma, for example, a masterpiece by Fāsānī with a rare jostle of the most garish and crude of all Akbar-period paintings. There has been speculation that this might reflect the change of capital from Fatḥpur Sīkri to Lahore in 1585, when possibly new recruits were added to the studio from the locality, the epithet ‘Lahori’ being added to two names in the inscriptions on the Darānbānāma. There is good reason however to suppose that the Darānbānāma was begun before the move to Lahore, as the work of certain artists in it seems to predate work in the historical manuscripts. Nāhā for example is exposed as a Deccani artist of promise in the Darānbānāma, whereas in the manuscript of the history of Timur, which appears to have been begun in the late 1570s on the evidence of its early pages, he contributes a double-page scene of great power and originality in the developed historical style. It is probable however that work was continued on all these undated manuscripts of the 1580s for a very long time indeed, perhaps for over a decade in the case of the Timur manuscript in Bankipore.

Two poetical manuscripts have survived from the imperial studios of the 1580s, a Divān of Anvari dated 1588 at Lahore, and an undated Khamsa of Nizāmī (No.61) now in the Kher Collection attributable to 1585–90 on grounds of style as well as the two-artist system of production. This latter system was apparently found unnecessary for the smaller-scale miniatures of the manuscripts of poetical and other literary works, and for the superb-quality manuscripts produced during the 1590s the system was abandoned. Instead, each miniature is the responsibility of one master, and finished to the highest degree. Such manuscripts are of thick, creamy paper, highly burnished, and contain illuminations of superb quality, in which Mughal illuminators or naqqāsh are seen to have finally diverged from their Iranian counterparts, through a heavier use of reds, oranges and other strong colours, an extreme fondness for floral arabesque, and in more daring shapes to their ‘unkūns and sarłużūs. In the finest manuscripts as in the Nizāmī and Bahārīsēn of 1595 and the Amir Khurshad of 1597 (Nos.64–6), all the margins are painted with landscape, figural and floral designs. This kind of treatment is borrowed from Iran, where it reached perfection in Shāh Tahmāsp’s Nizāmī of 1539–43, but quickly degenerated in both Iran and India into stereotyped designs applied using stencils. In manuscripts of high quality, however, all the margins are individually painted, although the themes tend to be repetitive and stock-like. The chasing or mauling deer is one of the most frequent. This type of work appears to have been done by artists at the beginning of their careers—two of Jahangir’s great artists, Mansūr and Bālchand, worked on the illuminations and margins of Nos.64, 66 and 70. Finally the manuscript was bound in a luxurious cover—very few Mughal covers have survived, two of the finest being on the 1595 Nizāmī and the 1597 Amir Khurshad, both painted and lacquered (Nos.65–6). There is no known leather binding which can safely be attributed to the period of Akbar, though one or two are known which may be Jahangiri.

During the 1590s historical texts were not neglected. Akbar commissioned, in order to mark the one-thousandth anniversary of the Hijra a history of the past 1000 years called the Taʾrikh al-Alfi which was presented to him in 1593, a millennium (alif) after the flight of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina, the base of the Muslim calendar. This work is now dispersed and only fragments of it are known. The Chingiznāma (History of Genghis Khan) from Rashid ad-Din’s History Jamiʿ at-Tawārīkh, now mostly in the Gulshan Palace, Tehran, was illustrated in 1597. After receiving the initial manuscript copy of Abd ar-Rahim’s translation of Babur’s memoirs in 1586, Akbar ordered other
copies to be made and distributed so that the work would be better known. Three other full-scale illustrated versions from the royal studio are known from between 1590 and 1592 (Nos.62-3). Abu’l Fazl’s Akbarnamā is originally presented to the Emperor in 1590, was continued by the author up to his murder in 1601 by the partisans of Prince Salim, and it may have been as a tribute to his dead friend that Akbar ordered another illustrated copy to be prepared. This, now divided between the British Library and the Chester Beatty Library (Nos.70-1), is incomplete, and bears only a date on one of the pictures equivalent to 1604. Work on it may have stopped on Akbar’s death in the following year. Unlike the others in this group of historical manuscripts, the Akbarnamā’s paintings are mostly by two artists, a system apparently considered unnecessary for the others.

All the manuscripts of the 1590s are in the fully mature, eclectic Mughal style, in which all its elements, Iranian, Indian and European are now fully assimilated into a balanced, harmonious whole. In the manuscripts after 1600, however, is found a change of direction with a cooler palette in transparent blues and greens, while many paintings are in ‘nimqalam’ which are really drawings with washes of brown and highlighting in colours and gold. Perhaps it was the influence of European drawings and prints brought by the Jesuits and other visitors to Akbar, or drawings in the Persian manner from Isfahan, which set Mughal artists off along this path, in reaction against the richly coloured palette favoured hitherto.

In 1598 Akbar left Lahore, which had been the capital for 14 years, and returned to Agra, of course bringing the studio with him. The following year Salim the heir to the throne left court without permission and took his studio with him to Allahabad where he remained until 1604. Salim, who took the throne name Jahangir (World-Conqueror) on his accession in 1605, tells us in his Memoirs how great a connoisseur he was. He had an enquiring mind, which delighted in observation, and had his painters record things which pleased or intrigued him—animals, birds, flowers, curious happenings and so on. He tells us that the Iranian painter Aqa Rizā was in his employ from his entry into India some time before 1584, as was his son Abu’l Hasan born in the palace in that year. He strongly favoured the elegant, facile art of Iran at this time, perhaps in youthful, filial antagonism to his father’s ideals in art. It is not known how many artists were in his studio, since of the three manuscripts known to have been produced at Allahabad for him (Nos.72, 74-5), only one (Amāriz-i Suhayli) has attributions to artists. Aqa Rizā and his son Abu’l Hasan were both with him, since the Amāriz-i Suhayli contains work by the former dated 1602 and dedicated to Shah Salim, the title he took in rebellion. Ghulām, another Iranian painter, is to be numbered among the Allahabad group on the basis of an inscription on a painting mentioning Shah Salim, and also Bahānās, whose work unmistakably appears in the Rāj Kamār of 1603-4. Work on the Amāriz-i Suhayli was continued until 1610, so that it is impossible to determine which of the other painters did their work at Allahabad and which were present in the imperial studio at Agra when Jahangir took possession in 1605. Work done in Allahabad and in Akbar’s studio at Agra after the return from Lahore in 1598 share very similar ideals, so that it is not possible to attribute to Salim’s taste alone the changes from the style at Lahore. Akbar in his last years shared Salim’s taste for portraiture and both of them were compiling albums at this time. Abu’l Fazl tells us that Akbar had the likenesses taken of all his chief nobles and the portraits bound up in albums. Only a few of these portraits appear to have survived. However some of Salim’s albums have survived intact—the Gulshan Album in the ex-imperial library in Tehran and another album in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (No.78).

The practice of collecting pictures and specimens of calligraphy into albums or muraqqā was already long established among Muslim bibliophiles by the end of the 16th century—Shāh Tahmāsp for example had a famous collection, now in the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul. Muraqqā were more than scrap-books; they could exhibit a patron’s taste to the most exquisite degree, far more so than a manuscript, since the subject of individual paintings was directly under his own control. It was usual to alternate facing pages of paintings with pages of calligraphy, apocryphal verses written by famous calligraphers especially for such collections, and illuminated with floral designs and arabesques. The paintings and calligraphic specimens were pasted on to thin card made up of many layers of paper, the margins decorated through the addition of arabesques, floral paintings, designs in gold or any number of other decorations. The finished mounts were then bound up into an album with leather or lacquered covers.

Jahangir’s albums are at once the earliest and greatest Indian muraqqā to have survived. Some of the earliest of all Mughal paintings are in the Gulshan Album, but it is unlikely that Salim began putting his albums together much before 1599. Signed work in the Tehran volume is dated between 1599 and 1609, and in the Berlin volume between 1608 and 1618. The paintings of the Mughal school in the volumes are mostly portraits or genre scenes, animals and flowers, along with Persian and Deccani paintings, and European prints or Mughal versions of them. The works of the most remarkable however for the exquisite paintings in the margins. We have seen above at the imperial studio in Lahore how at least three of the luxurious manuscripts of the 1590s had their margins all decorated with paintings in gold. In all three there occur little vignettes of figures or animals in part or full colour, standing out from among the gold. Miraculously, the attributions of these little vignettes in the Bahārāstān (No.64) have been preserved from the binder’s knife—Khmān, Shīvānās and Bāzial, the last named at the beginning of a glittering career under the Emperors Jahangir and Shāh Jahān. In the albums this concept is expanded so that fully-coloured or half-coloured portraits, of aesthetics, courtiers, artists, Christian saints, float in front of the shimmering gold background. It is the Jahangiri albums which develop this technique to the highest pitch of expressiveness, so that it is inextricably linked with his taste, but the same phenomenon also occurs in the first two pages of the 1605 Akbaramā (No.70). Other great albums also are known from the first half of the 17th century associated with the other Mughal emperors and princes in which the marvellous freedom of the Jahangiri border paintings can be seen slowly petrifying into stereotyped portrait figures or floral designs.

To artists so dependent on patronage, the change of ruler in 1605 brought great changes to their lives. Jahangir had no interest in the mass production of heavily illustrated manuscripts of inevitably uneven quality; for him perfection was what was required, which could necessarily only be achieved by the few. He was not particularly interested either in the idea of illustrating manuscripts, since his freedom
as a patron would necessarily be limited by another’s choice, that of the author. His greatest artists—Abū’l Hasan, Mansūr, Goharshād, Bishndālī, Bālchand, Bishīrī, etc.—had so perfected their technique towards the realism he expected, that they could perfectly implement his wishes. By commissioning individual paintings, whether of portraits, of animal and floral studies, or scenes from his life to illustrate his Memoirs, he was able to exercise complete freedom of patronage and show his individual taste for the rendition of the real world, echoing Prince Daniyal’s earlier cry to poets to write of the world they knew in India, not the fanciful one of Iran (No. 81). Thus, overwhelmed by the beauty of the spring-flowers of Kashmir, he ordered Mansūr to prepare an album full of them, or to take likenesses of rare creatures, such as a zebra and a turkey, which were presented to him. At the beginning of his reign however he still had some manuscript illustrations prepared—work on the Amāsī or Ṣubaylī seems to have continued until 1610, while a Bāstān, Gūl斯坦 and Kullīyat of Ṣa’dī appear to have been commissioned about 1625. He also indulged in the age-old habit among Muslim patrons of testing artists with earlier manuscripts. Thus the artist Daulat added a self-portrait to the colophon-page of the 1595 Nizāmī (No. 65), and seven unsigned paintings were added to the 1567 Gūl斯坦 (No. 53). Goharshād, Nīnāh, and Manohar added superb paintings to a Khamas of the Turkī poet Navāʾī, now in Windsor Castle (No. 77), and nine paintings were added to a minute Dirās of Hāfiz (No. 70). Other Iranian manuscripts were subjected to a partial process of repainting, replacing the Mongoloid features of the Persian style with realistic Mughal ones, creating a very strange amalgam. Jahāngīr seems also to have started the habit among the Mughal emperors of inscribing manuscripts which he held, and just brought to him from the library, and dating them. The dates occur throughout his reign; his successor Shāh Jahan continued himself with recording that they came into his possession on his accession in 1627.

Throughout the last decade of the 17th century, and the first of the next, the two concepts of book-illustration which we have termed Iranian and Indian, had been battling in the Mughal studio for supremacy, and Jahāngīr’s accession finally marked the victory of the Indian method. In most manuscripts of the 1590s, the lines of text allowed to intrude across a painting are very few, and in the c. 1604 Akhbarnama these disappear entirely. Although text is found at top and bottom of paintings from this time on, the painting itself was released from subservience to the text and its composition allowed to follow its own logic. It is in his reign too that the invariable Indian method of painting people in full profile triumphs in the Mughal school also.

Some of Jahāngīr’s early manuscripts revert to the 14th-century manner of illustrating the text with horizontal paintings across the middle of the page, and this is continued by two of Shāh Jahan’s (r. 1627–58) earliest manuscripts commissioned in Agra in 1629–30, one of which he sent as a present to King Charles I (No. 80). Shāh Jahan was far less interested than his father in painting, but appears to have maintained his father’s academy. Numerous paintings from the time are signed with the same names as occur on Jahangir’s paintings. His major productions include a few magnificent albums and an illustrated history of his reign (the Padshahnama, now in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, No. 82) in which the Mughal style is displayed at its most

sumptuous. Lacking any serious motivation in patronage of artists other than as glorification of himself and his achievements, Shāh Jahan’s reign marks the culmination of Mughal painting as a serious art form but heralds no new developments. The interests which Jahangir had in his painters of representing the real and natural world and of cultivating their own artistic personalities as individuals, both previously unheard-of developments in a Muslim context, ruined them for manuscript illustration, an art which requires both imaginative efforts and a submergence of artistic personality which by this time would have been foreign to their work. Shāh Jahan’s successor Aurangazeb (r. 1658–1707) was a fundamentalist Muslim who reverted to the traditional condemnation of painting—under him the arts of the book suffered a lingering decline. The great library of the Mughals with its reputed 24,000 manuscripts, many of them illuminated, was sacked by the Afghan Nādir Shah in 1739 and many of its treasures carried off as booty to Iran. Little now survives to represent the achievements of the book-artists of the reigns of Akbar and Jahangīr, but what does survive shows them to have been among the greatest in this field the world has seen.

53 Qu’ran. The Holy Koran, unillustrated in the text.
A note on the 1446 in Persian states that the work was copied by Hitb Allah al-
Hamadani for the use of the Sultan, Lahore, 985/1575-6. There seems no reason to
doubt this ascription, as the Ms. is unquestionably a product of the second half of
the 16th century, and in quality and good enough for a royal provenance. The Sultan of Lahore in 1573 was of course the Emperor Akbar.

The text is enclosed within gilt and coloured margins, and is written in dif-
ferent scripts, the first, middle and last of the 17 lines being in large Muhappīn,
alternately gold and blue, on a white ground, the intermediate shorter lines in a
fine smaller Nābīhī contained between illuminated upright panels. The nābīhī
readings are usually in gold in the Buq’ī script on blue, with polychrome illu-
mination, and the humāīnī on a gold ground underneath. There are two double-pages
of ‘askain, the first being a composite. The central two pages of illumination
(55.118b-119a) are around the beginning of the Sūrat Maryam. Other points
worthy of note are that three of the folios (55.29b, 32 and 246a) have margins dec-
orated in pen and arabesque in gold, and that the recto of every folio immediately
above the text contains the impression of a small papercut into the seal, all obliterated. It
is the fondness for certain colours—pinks, oranges, greens—which first distinguishes
Mughal illumination from its Safavid counterpart before the actual content diver-
ges, and this fondness is shown only occasionally in this Ms., indicating a com-

54 Hamzanāma. Illustrated on p. 76.
The Romance of Amir Hamza (see No. 33). Although this work is not unknown in
India, as it is one of the few surviving Safavid manuscripts, it seems strange for
the young Akbar to have chosen to have it illustrated on such a vast scale, as its
theme of the slaughter of ‘injilī’ is foreign to his tolerant nature. Perhaps it was the heroic exploits and deeds of derīrī which appealed to the young-
ner. However, we know from both Buddinī’s and Abu’l Farā’ī’s accounts that
work on it took 13 years, that it consisted of 1,400 paintings on large sheets of cloth
bound in 14 (or 12) volumes, and that it was finished some time before 1582.
Pranud Chandra has rigorously analyzed all the literary evidence on the dating of
the work and we follow him in assigning an early date as possible to it, c. 1572-77.
Of the just over 102 surviving paintings, a few are included below. One of them is in blue and white paper pasted above and below the painting on the obverse, but the majority have full-size paintings on the obverse, and the text in 14 lines on paper pasted on the reverse. The attempt to integrate text
53 'Gulistan': A Legacy of Poetry

The Rose-garden, a collection of moral tales, one of the most famous works of Persian literature, by Morteza A’dini (c. 1365-1405). The manuscript consists of 292 leaves in a beautiful illuminated calligraphic style. It was written in the 14th century and is one of the most important manuscripts in the world. The text is written in fine black ink, with some red and blue accents. The illuminations are exquisite, with detailed scenes and intricate designs. The text is presented in a traditional Persian script, with the pages divided into columns. The text is beautifully laid out, with a clear and readable font. The manuscript is a fine example of the art of manuscript illumination in Persia.

56 Delvani Rani Khizr Khan

The Delhi Rani, the princess of the Hindustan, was a highly influential and powerful figure in the court of the Delhi Sultanate. She was known for her beauty and intelligence, and was a key figure in the political and cultural life of the time. The manuscript contains a description of her life and times, and is a valuable source for understanding the social and cultural context of the period.

57 'Avad-ı Baghah': The Lights of Canopus

The Lights of Canopus, also known as Avad-i Baghah, is a collection of Persian poetry written by the great poet Hafez. The manuscript consists of several hundred pages, and is beautifully illuminated with detailed calligraphic and decorative elements. The text is written in a traditional Persian script, with the pages divided into columns. The text is beautifully laid out, with a clear and readable font. The manuscript is a fine example of the art of manuscript illumination in Persia.
Marathas, by their one of the great artists of the studio, having deliberately painted a portrait of himself as he was 25 years old; but this is as far as the scene goes. After 15 years, the scene especially as the style of this scene seems very much work of the 1580s. It is easy to imagine the appearance of the studio; their work move him. Nigel Sivanshali allowed to print this colophon page as a reward for his students, particularly as the year's progress of hard work in the birds and animals of the British Library, London, Or.4.2.1583: 333.5 x 213mm; cream-brown pa- style scene on its sides and occu- a century modern binding:

[20] Dārāshnāma. "colour plate xxvi"

The story of Dārā, son of Zāl, and the "The story of Dārā, son of Zāl, and the story of his father also in the Islamic tradition of the Alexander the Great, with the Great, in which he is the main &"; is mentioned in the texts of the middle Akbar style, and ev- &;; is mentioned in the texts of the middle Akbar style, and ev-

This particular copy is one of the most enigmatic of Mogul manuscripts, and is an early Mughal manuscript; all that is known of its author is that he is called Nashik. It is not known whether it is the work of a single artist, or whether it is the work of several artists, who contributed to it. This manuscript, with its strug- enous style, is strongly influenced by the style of Mughal art, as can be seen in the use of gold dust and the use of gold in the decoration of manuscripts. However, the style of this manuscript is very different from that of the manuscripts produced in the Mughal court, and it is not known whether it was produced as a commission for a particular patron, or whether it was produced as a work of art for its own sake.

[21] Dārāshnāma. "colour plate xxvii"

The Tale of a Parrot, by Zayā ad-Dīn Sayyid Mīrak (1526-1609), is a Persian work that was written in the Mughal court in the 16th century. It is a story about a parrot that is owned by a rich merchant. The parrot tells the merchant about the wealth and prosperity of the Mughal court, and the merchant is so impressed that he decides to give the parrot a new home. However, the parrot is not satisfied with this new home, and he continues to tell the merchant about the wealth and prosperity of the Mughal court. The merchant is so impressed that he decides to give the parrot a still better home.

"The Tale of a Parrot" is a story about the Mughal court, and the wealth and prosperity of the court are described in detail. The story is told through the eyes of the parrot, who is a symbol of the Mughal court, and the story is an allegory of the wealth and prosperity of the court. The story is a celebration of the Mughal court, and it is a reminder of the importance of the court to the Mughal empire.

"The Tale of a Parrot" is a story that is told through the eyes of a parrot. The parrot is a symbol of the Mughal court, and the story is an allegory of the wealth and prosperity of the court. The story is a celebration of the Mughal court, and it is a reminder of the importance of the court to the Mughal empire.

89

88

separate artists are named in the attribu-
tions, while five paintings lack any attribution. The trio of Bāsāvā, Miskīn, and Lāl, who contributed so heavily to the composition of the 10th Bakhshāni, and
to the earlier historical and Hindu manus-
cripts, are conspicuous by their absence, a fact which may lead us to the conclusion that they were too busily engaged with the composition of the Bakhshāni at this time to be spared, and thus confirming the date of c.1390. In the double-page compos-
tions of this Bakhshāni, there is a cer-
tain uneasiness between the two halves which are almost invariably the work of two different artists, unlike the 1386 Bakhshāni and the Bakhshāniāras which the composition of both halves is the work of the one master artist. Although the gen-
eral illustrative pattern of the 15th manus-
script is followed throughout, it is not slavishly copied; many of the paintings show slight later or earlier moments in the same story, while in others a single-
page painting is expanded to a double, or visa
versa.

Ellen Smart has pointed out that the Ms.
has suffered the removal of some of its paintings, in particular half of the double-page compositions. This probably hap-
pened about 1800, in the large scale "fur-
ishment" of the imperial library; the gaps were cleverly concealed by cutting up the text on the other side of the folio (invariably double-sheets) and mounting it on the bassi arabesque by added absis-
ques. The "areae also belongs to this period, surrounding the original opening of the text, and the covers, which have since been removed.

British Library, London, Or.3714
fl.58v: 32 v.; copper-brown paper, original, with lighter colored additions; 12 lines of large Nastalīq in panels 260 × 260 cm, with margins ruled in gold and colours; 141 miniatures mostly with attributions (see fl.1977, pp.122-5) and numbers running up to 183; 70 are full-
page miniatures, the remainder smaller paintings of the flora and fauna described by Bābār; double-page "areae", 1.8900; many folios remarqued and decorated at same time, with similar signatures at the same date; now in modern binding, on guards.


63 'Bakhshāniāras'

Illustrated on p.79.
The Persian translation by Abd-er-Rahim Khakāhnāri of the memoirs of the Emperor Bābār (see No.62). This album with 31 miniatures is part of the third Akbari, written for Akbar, attributable to the years 1590-5,
of which only the paintings have survived. The major part of it is in the Benárus Museum of Eastern Cultures, Moscow. No attributions are left in the Baltimore Ms., which was remastered in the 18th/19th century.

Warriors Art Gallery, Baltimore, W.596.
nfl.52v: 21 v.; copper-brown paper, with a few folios in panelled colours; Nastalīq script in panels ruled in colours and gold; six paintings; margins all decorated with gold designs, with some colour washes, a few very slightly in red and green; 17th century red velvet binding with gilt orna-
mental turnings.

Bibliography: Smart 1977, Tyuliev 1990 (repr. of the Moscow portfolio).

64 'Bakhshāniār' COLOUR PLATE XXV

'The Garden of spring', a collection of didactic stories in prose and verse by the Persian poet Nūr ad-Dīn 'Abd-er-
Rahim Jāmī (1871–98;1414-93), who lived in Herat under the Timurid rulers. This is one of the most famous of Persian classics, composed in imitation of the earlier Gaštānā of Sūdāl (No.93).

The court of Akbar had left Fathpur Sikri in 1553 for Lahore in the north-west of the Punjab, partly because of the political and ter-
restory activities against the Safavid ruler of Iran. The imperial studio must have been established also in Lahore, but dates from this period undertaken in Lahore is not common. The most famous miniaturist of the Bakhshāniār manuscript was probably an artist named Divān of Avarī, of 1588, who is the most substantial piece of evidence, since the only other known manuscript of both state that were copied in Lahore. The Bakhshāniār was copied in the 39th regnal year of Akbar and also by the scribe Muhammad Sur in the 45th painting, un-
numbered, on the colophon page shows the scribe; Abd-er-Rahim Bahānītārī. Of the 44 paintings, those num-
ered 12 and 27 are thus missing, of which Nos.12 and 25 to 28 are in Baltimore. All of these paintings are attri-
buted to master artists of imperial status. Two of these miniatures by the scribe Mohammad Sur have had imperial seals and inscriptions, and in fact the upper inscription is dated 1022 (1616–17); the lower one is too badly damaged to yield any information. A ghir apasha seal, of the same shape as that of Shih Jalāl and Auranjib, in the cover on the Bakhshāni which has been covered with gold leaf, while the lower imprint has been erased.

British Library, London, Or.1266.

Papers: bequeathed by C.W. Denson-Perrins.

fl.325v: 50 × 35 cm; light brown polished paper; folios in panels 19 × 15 cm; with gold margins; outer margins with designs in gold 26.5 × 15 cm; laid into frames of darker and paler tone of green, blue and brown with added margins in green, blue and brown in various designs inscribed; inscribed; in fact the upper inscription is dated 1022 (1616–17); the lower one is too badly damaged to yield any information. A ghir apasha seal, of the same shape as that of Shih Jalāl and Auranjib, in the cover the Bakhshāni which has been covered with gold leaf, while the lower imprint has been erased.

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