hide joins, while one (fo. 50a) has the most ambitious attempt, a whole page of Mughal painting. The marginal drawings, in addition to the drawings in two tones of gold seen in the preceding manuscript, appear in the mid-1590s (No. 64), although this time without any miniatures. All the borders are decorated with floral designs, and the gold and polychrome of gold, of animals, hunting-scenes, landscapes and pavilions.


fo.48b: 33 x 23 cm; polished paper; text in elegant Nastaliq script in panels with margins ruled in gold and red; gold; 23 lines of text in gold; some illuminations; Alwahar binding by Aszur-Rahim (see Aszur-Rahim, p. 199, 138).


68 ‘Jog-bahshish’

COLOUR PAGE XXI

A Persian translation of the Sanskrit work Yogāṇavaliḥumārājanaman, the Great Story of Rāma and the Yogā-teaching of Vaishnavī, a great poetic work in which the sage Vishvakarman instructs Rāma in Vedanta philosophy by means of long narratives demonstrating the illusory- ness of physical reality. A much condensed Persian translation of the work was undertaken apparently at Akbar’s command in 1596-97 (fo. 310b). This is the present copy of the Persian translation, which was commissioned by the Cambridge University Libraries. It is in a highly polished, biscuit-coloured paper, with gold sprinkling on the edges of the pages. The text is written in a highly polished, biscuit-coloured paper, with gold sprinkling on the edges of the pages. The text is written in a highly polished, biscuit-coloured paper, with gold sprinkling on the edges of the pages. The text is written in a highly polished, biscuit-coloured paper, with gold sprinkling on the edges of the pages. 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73 'Divān' of Hafiz

colour plate xvi

The collected shorter poems of the Persian poet Hafiz of Shiraz (d.719/1319/20).
Hafiz of Shiraz ranks as the greatest of Persian lyricists, as well as one of the greatest of Sufi poets. The Moghal emperors were patrons of Hafiz, and indeed Jahan was a Ms. of Hafiz, a copy of which is now in the British Library in the Persian Ms. which belonged to his grand-son, Humbayi, with notes in both their handwriting. It has survived as a facsimile copy of the work in the Rampur State Library, and two and a quarter of Moghal provenance, both in the British Library.

The smaller of the two is this miniature Ms. (the panels of text originally measuring 7.9 x 15 cm), with 15 miniatures, all of the same line, is an extremely rare and unique Ms. in Moghal provenance, both in the British Library.

Provenance: Thames Green-Ville Collection by bequest.

74 'Râj Kavanī'

A romance in Persian, of dubious title ('Kanī's son'), apparently anonymous, is an anonymous Hindi story, concerning a prince who is obliged to disguise himself as a wandering mendicant and go through various fantastic adventures in order to win his beloved. The Ms. is dated 1616-20, and was done at Allahabad. It is unknown where it was done or where it was done.

One of the 19 paintings has an attribution, probably to Shah Jahan, and is possibly the work of the Shah Jahan dated 1616-20, recorded in Shah Jahan's library. It is a very rare and unique Ms. in Moghal provenance, both in the British Library.

75 'Avâr-i Suhaylī'

colour plate xvi

The Lights of Canopus, by Husayn Ya'qubi (see No. 49).

Of the manuscripts produced for Sultan at Allahabad this is the one which is given the poet's beautiful name, painting a miniature in the Ms.

Provenance: Thames Green-Ville Collection by bequest.

76 'Divān' of Hafiz

colour plate xxiii

The collected poems of Hafiz of Shiraz (d.719/1319/20) in the present volume. The poems are arranged according to the order in which they are found in the work of Hafiz.

Provenance: Thames Green-Ville Collection by bequest.

The present volume contains 33 manuscript leaves of the poems of Hafiz of Shiraz, arranged in the order in which they are found in the work of Hafiz.

The presentation of the poems is in the same manner as that of the other volumes in the series. The poems are arranged according to the order in which they are found in the work of Hafiz.

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paper; nine lines of exquisite Nasta'liq script in double columns in panels 7 x 4 cm ruled in gold; the outer margins are of much later date, of a grey paper; one Ilham, one Surdari, with prominent blues, greens, pinks, and purples; eight miniatures, added about 16 years after the Ms., about 8 x 5 cm to 10 x 15.5 cm, in spaces left blank, now under glass; text in modern binding, in guards.

Bibliography: 1866, 259, 32, 1877, p.6o, Stichoukine 1931, Barnett and Gray 1935, p.100-1, ex-libris of f.24o and 66o in colour, 1936, pp.78-8o and plates 9, for the other parts of this Ms., in 55 folios, with forged inscriptions and seals from another Mr. of Akbar’s reign, and a different margin.

Asadullin and Westwood (1936) seem to think the Chausar Chaubal part rather than this, for its obvious re-use, as the calligraphy and illumination is typically Mughal 1630s.

77 ‘Rahmas’ of Mir ‘Ali Shah Nava’s colour plate xxxi
Five manuscript poems, written in imitation of, and on the same themes as, the ‘Rahmas’ of Nizami, but in Chaghatay or eastern Turkish, by the greatest poet in the language, Nava’s (1440-1501). He was a friend of courtiers of Shahanshah Huseyn Bayazeh, the ruler of Herat (1468-1506) and patron of the greatest Persian painters, Bhulad.

The text of this Ms. was written in the author’s lifetime by one of the court calligraphers in Herat, the great calligrapher Sultan ‘Ali of Meshrab, and furnished with superb illuminations in the Herat style. It subsequently found its way to Bokhara, doubtless via the Urakask of Herat in 1506, and it would appear that miniatures were added to it there, the spaces having been left blank originally. One of the miniatures has an inscription with a date 947/1539.

It is difficult to judge what the subject or compositions of these Bokhara paintings may have been; there are only six, all towards the beginning of the pages of the first poem. All, however, have been over-painted in the Mughal style and it is an inscription in the hand of Jahangir dated 1616.8o, stating that the Ms., ‘one of my most treasured books’ entered the royal library in the first year of the reign when ‘Ahmad had ascended to the throne by her accession. The names of the artists are recorded—Nimbar and Munebar; f.26A—Nimbar; 112A—Dihajar; f.26B—Gowroodan; f.31A—Mohan; f.36—Gowroodan. Only the first of these is an original Mughal painting, a magnificent version after a European painting of the Last Judgment, Christ in Majesty above and the Restoration of the Dead below. Needless to say it has nothing to do with the text. The other miniatures show mostly repainting of faces and landscape in the Mughal manner; Jahangir presumably considered the Bokhara paintings did not match up to the Herat illumination and calligraphy, and had them improved accordingly.

Royal Library, Windsor Castle, Ms. A.8, ff.39o 39B 45C, paper dark-biscuit in tone, gold bordered; 35 lines of Nasta’liq in four columns in panel 23 x 5.5 cm with margins ruled in colours and gold; ff.182-3, superb Herat terrain; six miniatures, about the same size as text panels; f.184A, Bokhara seal dated 1474/1567 and seals of Shah Jahun (1629/1627) and Andranik; inscriptions of Jahangir (1614/1615) and Shah Jahan (1629/1627); covers of brown leather with stamped metallic borders and in maroon.

Bibliography: Robinson 1931, No.85, 1976, p.6o.

78 ‘Marwana’ of Jahangir
An album of paintings and calligraphic specimen, mounted in specially painted chalis’ui boards (boards) and assembled by the Emperor Jahangir (1605-27).

Two large collections of Jahangir album pages still survive: the earliest, the Ms. Nava’s, in the Gulistan Library, Tehran, contains works dated 1606 to 1609, the second, this album, contains works dated from 1606 to 1618, while a number of separate pages are reproductions from various copies and the remarkable borders for which the albums are famous. The Gulistan album is a much larger collection than the Berlin album, but both exhibit the same type of work: Persian paintings, including ones attributed to Bhiru, earlier Mughal paintings, including ones attributed to Ahmad and Ahmad and of the Humayun period, contemporary portraits of courtiers and royal personages, a few Doumani paintings and European print engravings with Mughal versions and copies of them. The calligraphic specimens are dominated by the work of Mir ‘Ali (see No.55) with some pages by the even more famous Sultan ‘Ali of Meshrab (d.1528).

Originally the albums were put together with painting facing painting and calligraphy facing calligraphy, and the borders painted accordingly, more subtle and more refined with no formal arrangements round the paintings, but exuberant and with fully coloured figures round the calligraphy. So many pages have disappeared from the Berlin album that little of the careful construction remains.

Jahangir started to collect paintings into albums when still a prince. He states in his Memoirs how the Persian painter Aqil Rizvi had worked for him since coming to India (some time before 1584) and his earliest identifiable work is in his Gulistan album, although his earliest dated pages are the border paintings of 1599, which speak of Salins as Shah Jahan’s title he took to himself in that year in rebellion against his father. His common border paintings with the miniatures of the manuscripts of the 1590s (Nos.64-79) these are painted usually in heavier tones of colour only for the faces and highlights. By contrast Daulat’s border paintings in the same album, some of which dated 1609, are in full colour, but there is no necessary chronological progression in this difference, more an artist’s taste.

None of the Berlin album border paintings which are here is executed in full colour.

Bhimad is the only other artist whose work is signed in the Gulistan Album. In the Berlin album, border paintings are signed by Bhirad, and Gowroodan, while several of the portraits are either signed by, or attributed to, (in the hand of Jahangir), Ab’ul Husain, Buiram and Manrand. Bhirad is first known from his border paintings on folios 174o and 164o of the 1592 Baharistan done for the Emperor Jahangir (1605-27), while Gowroodan and the other two are mentioned in the later penetrating portrait studies by Daulat on the margins of page 44 of the Gulistan album.

The subject of these border paintings was anything that took the artist’s fancy. Portraits however must have been executed on royal orders; this was a tradition that appealed to artists working on the Shah Jahan albums, where full colour portraits in the borders often surround the central motif. Painting other figures and sources of inspiration were animals and hunting scenes, probably worked up from sketches but with no concern in their immediacy and liveliness; European subjects, taken from the Flemish and German prints which so appealed to Jahangir; studies of usually unnamed deities and holy men, courtiers and ladies; workers, including valuable studies of potters, potters’ bookbinders and scribes and artists at work, all taken from the life in the imperial studies (fol.184 of the Berlin Album) and copies of features of earlier paintings. One of the front pages of the portraits is Daulat’s copy of a portrait of the great poet Astray by Bhirad, on page 140 of the Gulistan album, while two pages are copies of the Berlin album shows Jahanur painting in a tree-plate with a young prince, presumably Jahangir presenting a book; this is probably after the full painting by ‘Abd al-Samad mounted in the Gulistan Album of Akbar presenting a painting to Humayun in a similar plate.

Stammhütte: Hessische Landesbibliothek, Kulturwerte, Orientabteilung, Berlin, Libr. pict. A.117.

Binder: 45 x 32 cm; maroon, creamy paper, sometimes tinted buff or pink, with decorations in gold and colours; central panels of calligraphy or paintings of various sizes.


79 ‘Bistien’
The flower-garden of Sha’i (see No.42) written in 655/1257, at the same time as the Gulistan. This Ms. of the Bistien is likewise a companion to the Gulistan (No.86), both of them being prepared in Agra for Shah Jahan in 1629-30, and copied by the same calligrapher, Hakim Rukan ad-Din Mas’udi, called Hakim Rukan. This person was a native of Kshaid who was a poet at the court of Shah ‘Abbasi, came to India in the time of Akbar and became one of the favourite poets at the court of Shah Jahan. He returned to his native country where he died at the advanced age of 152 lunar years either in 1673/1674 or 1675/1676. No other product of his penmanship seems to be known. Both manuscripts are in the same format, on a large scale, with very large calligraphy and small paintings in a horizontal format across the page, and wide borders, covered with gold designs in the case of the Bistien. This somewhat odd relationship between painting and text has an obvious predecessor in the Gulistan produced for Jahangir about 1605-10, of which only the small horizontal portraits survive.

Jahangir had no desire to produce the beautifully illustrated manuscripts at typical of his father’s reign, and instead experimented with various formats to express his individual compositional-compilation of marwana, the addition of paintings to earlier manuscripts, and, in the instance of the Gulistan, the return to an earlier format of composition, the horizontal strip, almost universal in 15th-century Iranian manuscripts and very common still in the 17th. With the disappearance of this text of his Gulistan, it is not possible to say how it worked in that instance, but in Sha’i Jahangir’s two manuscripts the effect is none too successful, the paintings are too small for the size of the manuscript, and the richness and heaviness of the illustrations used ill becomes their status as book illustrations.

They are still, however, on the whole exquisite little paintings, none of them unfortunately ascribed, but in the case of the Sha’i are five by some of the best artists of the period. Pinder-Wilson has distinguished four hands in their production.


Provenance: obtained by Sir John Malcolm in Kirmanshah in 1819-20, acquired from his son in 1865.
The Rose-garden of Su'di (see No. 55).

The Gulistan accompanying No.79, is dated Jumada I, 1328 (Dec. 1628-Jan. 1629) at Agra. Both Ms. are written in the same very large hand, with wide margins. The *Gulistan* is arranged in twelve parts, and has been re-arranged with wide borders of almost white paper, sprinkled with gold. There are nine miniatures in all, across the centres of the text panels, some of them being in a somewhat larger format than the Gulistan miniatures, almost square. The effect is possible even more unhappier than with the smaller miniatures. Imperial Mughal painting at this time was mostly involved with portraits, darbar scenes, and other paintings indicative of the power and glory of the Mughal imperial, or with natural-history paintings. The attempt to reduce the formal, static qualities of this picture into a true format of manuscript illustration was singularly unsuccessful, the grandeur of the former being replaced by an unnatural stiffness.

Shah Jahan himself must have felt that Mughal painting was now entirely uninteresting. His own interest is shown in his marriage to the emperor's daughter, who married the emperor's heir to the throne, and who was married to the emperor's son, the emperor's grandson, the emperor's great-grandson, and so on. The result was that the emperor's son, the emperor's grandson, the emperor's great-grandson, and so on.

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paintings present a coldly formal appearance, in the technique of which perfection is at its most brilliant, without any of the warmth or spontaneity which bespoke Jahanī paintings. These pages in the Padhākhānāmā along with some of the pages in the Shah Jahan albums are technically the most brilliant of all Mughal paintings, building directly on the advancements in technique made possible by Jahanī. No longer is there the slightest clash between the disparate European and Indian elements which are to create such unintended tension to a European viewer, while some of the artists were among the best that Europe could offer. This is a landscape technique of the greatest richness, as in the battle for Hooghly (f.117a) or Payjā’s battle-scene or the unattributed hunting-scene (f.165a). An artist such as ‘Abd al-Jalil and Dōsh of Khān (f.15b) is the master of a technique of composition that has almost the feel of the European Baroque. Gray has claimed that the Ms. was subject to two ‘improvements’ after 1575, once in the period after the death of Aungaburg (1579) and again during its residence in Lucknow. Only in the full achievements of Shah Jahan’s artists was the procedure fully realized, so that there was understandable confusion in the earlier literature about this period. There was no further progress after the death of Aungaburg, but even though still brilliant in its draughtsmanship and painterly techniques (see No. 106), it lacked the imagination to produce anything of the scale and power of these Padhākhānāmā pages. The Ms. itself was taken to Lucknow some time before 1576, as a result of this that date belonging to Aṣaf Jha the Vazir of Oudh are found throughout the manuscript, and Gray’s charge that paintings were added there is indeed a much more serious one. There is a variation in the quality of the work, particularly between certain facing pages, that suggests that some paintings have been removed and copies substituted, a well-known practice at the end of the 18th century. However, it has recently been claimed that all the paintings are in fact original, and the full publication of the Ms. with supporting evidence for this opinion is currently underway. Royal Literary, Windsor Castle. ff.210v, 45v-24v; paper; original text panels, with 23 lines of Nastaliq, 14 x 18 cm; with margins ruled in gold and colours; all remounted in 18th- century frames with gold inlaid designs; opening shams of superb illuminative quality (f.1); two pages of illuminations around portraits of Timūr and of Shah Jahan in old age (f.18b, 20); 44 paintings, with attributions to ten named artists, being Bichitr, Bichitr, Payjā, Mursī, Rūm Dīn, Nola (Bolā?), ‘Abd, Līlchand, Miḥ Dān, and Dābul, the paintings slightly less high than the text panels (with a few exceptions) and somewhat wider; splendid covers gilded with floral borders and central medallion, with double-row of gold on green with similar pattern, doublets from Lucknow; the Ms. is still kep in the large silk wrapping cloth from the Lucknow library.


1Elster and Dowson, vol. VI, p.111b.
2Gray 1963, p.11.
3Beach 1978, p.38.
4Dossing 1971, p.149.
5Dossing 1971, col. plate 22.
6Dossing 1971, p.149.
7Gray, 1963, fig. 96.

8) ‘Masnawī’ of Zafar Khan

Veres by Zafar Khan, son of Khvāja ‘Abd al-Haṣan, one of the chief nobles of the reign of Shah Jahan, copied by the author in Lahore in 1673-75. Zafar Khan was at various times Governor of Kabul, Kashmīr and Sind, and was besides noted as a patron of letters, poets and artists. The most important poet patronized by Zafar Khan was Rūm Dīn of Tāhrīr, the inventor of the ‘modern’ style in Persian poetry, who visited him in Kabul, on his way to the court of Shah Jahan, and again in Kashmīr when he was made Governor of Sind. Zafar Khan remained Governor of Kashmīr until 1659, and then again from 1661 until shortly before his death in 1665, when he was appointed to the Governorship of Sind. At the beginning of Aungaburg’s reign in 1627 he was pensioned off and appeared to retire to Lahore where he died either in 1633 or 1634, according to different falsafā references in their sources.

This autography copy of the Masnawī is finely illuminated only in part, and was not necessarily finished. It has six double-page miniatures (of which one pair has been wrongly bound into one leaf), without any text on all at onms, as well as marginal illuminations which peter out half way through the volume. The miniatures show scenes from the life of Zafar Khan, in three of which he is represented in darbar with Shah Jahan, in the opening one he is represented on a terrace with river and city and plain beyond. The other five double-page paintings are all set in Kashmīr, and the presence of Shah Jahan in two of them demands the occasion mentioned in the Māqālī al-Umrām wān when Shah Jahan visited Zafar Khan in Kashmīr and inspected the gardens he had laid out in Zafarabad. This event took place in 1645. In the painting of Shah Jahan is shown with Dābul Shikoh, and Zafar Khan and his brother, and other nobles, once on a platform near a waterfall in a beautifully laid out Mughal garden (f.186, 187), and once beside a large pool with arcing around it (f.258, 260). The former garden might be that of Zafar Khan, but it seems more like the Nishat Bagh. The latter appears to be the Vermā garden, an octagonal pool surrounded by an arcade, a garden much loved by Jahangīr.

The other paintings show Zafar Khan in martial mood, reviewing troops (f.118, 123), and in more relaxed mood with the followers of the author (f.122, 123), and the author (f.121, 122). All of these are very fine, and the poet is shown in the act of writing his poems in a dignified posture, with the likeness of the poet painted on the reverse. Such scenes appear to be following on f.118, 120, showing Zafar Khan and his brother in the company of poets and scholars in a highly decorated pavilion in Kashmīr (through the open doorway can be seen a pyramidal-roofed Kashmīr building with the hills beyond). In the foreground sits an artist sketching a portrait, while among the other poets is one engaged in writing on a piece of gold-embroidered paper, a sure sign of an attempt at fine calligraphy, while many hold open books in their hands.

There seems little doubt that all of these paintings were painted in the late 1640s to commemorate Zafar Khan’s tour of duty in Kashmīr, and were subsequently added to the Masnawī, with which they have little connection, on its completion in 1663. All of them are on a much thinner paper than the following copy of the text, which is the better one.

The paintings are all by the one hand, a brilliant portraitist, whose studies of the Saru Khan’s gatherings are remarkable, especially in their range of vivid expression. Milo Beach has attributed them to Bidhānī, and in his letter to Jahanī it is said that he was engaged in the work in 1660. We follow Beach in this attribution, as the inconsistencies in the presentation of the Masnawī’s miniature, particularly his

generalized facial types for women and attendants with their characteristic outline, and the sharpness of the observation of the portraits, recalls Bidhānī’s work. By the late 18th century he would have been in his 70s, the apparent age of the painter depicted on f.158. It is now generally accepted that depictions of painters in the grand Jahangīrī and Shah Jahanī paintings are in fact self-portraits of the artists, so that we may take Zafar Khan to be a self-portrait of Bidhānī in old age.

Royal Asiatic Society, London, Ms. Persian 310. ff.122v-141m: thin paper; 15 lines of Nastaliq in two columns on gold-spinkled paper in panels ruled in gold; 15 x 27 cm: margins decorated with stencilled gold flowers and plants up to f.140 with outlines drawn in to follow 95, and the last 27 folios without any marginal decoration; lastly on f.148b and 318, with exquisitely minute flowers; margins on f.146, 304 and 318, 324, 328 in gold with fully painted flowers; headings in gold in throughout in panels, on white clouds against blue etc. up to f.394; triangular illuminated panels (f.121b, 123b, 243b, 252b, 278b) five double-page and two separate miniatures, the latter originally meant to be facing one another, but were separated (f.225 and 278) when first being painted in presumably in 1664–5; both have text panels on the other side which are in their rightful places according to the catchwords; all the paintings are larger than the text panels, the largest being age (f.349) and 46b (one half of the composition); reddish-brown oriental covers rebound in European-style.

CHAPTER IV
Delhi and the Provinces, 1600–1850

So far we have traced the development of the Mughal style at the imperial centres—Agra, Fathpur Sikri, Lahore, Agra and Delhi. But even though the imperial style was a refined court product, it was nourished in its early days by streams of artists from the north who were not of the local stock but who had acquired the grade in the studio, and in turn it contributed to the artistic life of India outside the imperial court. For many of those who joined were found eventually to be lacking the desired qualities and had to leave, but had picked up the basic elements of the style; while changes in taste and patronage at the court itself resulted in artists being laid off. Thus it is unlikely that during the 1600s Akbar had retained the full complement of artists needed in the 1580s for the large series of historical manuscripts, while Jahangir on his accession must have drastically pruned the numbers of artists and other craftsmen in the imperial studio. Such artists had various alternatives. Some sought employment with other patrons, such as Abd ar-Rahim Khánkhanán, one of the chief officials under Akbar and Jahangir, who maintained a flourishing bibliographic tradition in his own establishment. His huge library and munificence drew scholars from other parts of the Islamic world, but being more interested in scholarship than producing illustrated manuscripts, relatively few such manuscripts have survived associated with him. One such is an illustrated Persian version of the Rámâyana produced for him between 1589 and 1598, now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, with various artists’ names inscribed, none of them known from imperial manuscripts. Some of the names however appear in other Rámâyana of the early 17th century (No.56), such as Qasim and Kamal, whose names appear in the Khánkhanán, it was his patron. Other illustrated manuscripts also are associated with him such as a Khamsa of Amir Khusraw in Berlin (some time before 1617), and a Panchang in Dublin (of about the same date). Two artists who worked on the Rámâyana, Qasim and Muhlíq, also worked on these two later manuscripts, demonstrating that Abd ar-Rahim maintained a studio of artists over a period of some 30 years. It is unclear whether his studio was taken with him on his travels, when as a senior administrator he was put in charge of Gujarat or the Deccan. It is on the whole likely that it was, as we know of manuscripts produced for other noblemen in the provinces, one of the earliest such known, being dated 1583 from Haipur (in Bihar), the patron being Akbar’s foster brother Mírzá Azíz Kóka. Another manuscript of the Amrávári Súháylí without patron’s name is dated Ahmadabad, 1600 (No.84) with paintings in the same style as the Zafarnáma of the same date (No.82); both must have been produced for a patron such as the Mughal Governor of Gujarat, who was in 1602 Mirzá Azíz Kóka. It is unlikely that Azíz Kóka would have kept a permanent studio in employment, but it is quite possible that he found in Ahmadabad in 1600 the necessary talent for the work he wanted done, as Abd ar-Rahim had been three times Governor of the province of Gujarat and did apparently maintain his studio there.

Other artists would seem to have remained in the capital and possibly even in the imperial studio, but were now responsible for lesser-quality works. Akbar ordered copies of important works to be distributed among his nobles, such as the Persian translations of Bábúr’s Memoirs and the Rázmáma. Apart from the dispersed imperial copy of the Bábúrnáma, three other versions are known from the 1590s for which an imperial provenance is likely, perhaps meant for members of the royal family, but there may have been other illustrated versions of lesser quality. Certainly an illustrated manuscript of the Rázmáma dated 1598 (No.58) is of a much less polished quality than contemporary imperial manuscripts, but it does have inscriptions attributing the paintings to artists who had worked on the grand manuscripts of the 1580s–Ibárihám Kháhár, Bánvári Khúrd, Nárayan, and others, but whose work is not found in the high-quality manuscripts of the 1590s which marked the end of the period of the mass-produced historical manuscripts.

The 1598 Rázmáma in fact is of two different worlds—it is still partly imperial, but in many of its paintings its style is the so-called Popular Mughal, that is paintings and manuscripts produced mostly in the capitals for patrons, apparently Hindus, unable to afford their own studios. These first appear from about 1600, the artists coming probably from the ranks of those who failed to make the grade in the imperial studio. Unlike Mughal painting done for noble patrons, which is still recognizable Mughal, even though in a simplified format, Popular Mughal painting has in many respects reverted to the type of compositions prevalent before the Mughal period—very simple compositions, the barest minimum of figures all in strict profile, simple pavilions by way of architecture, hardly any landscape other than stylized trees, no depth indicated by recessional techniques, no Pace panels breaking up the composition. It is in fact very similar to the emergent Rajput style which will be discussed in detail below. The lovely Manley Rágmála of c.1610 (No.90) develops out of this strand of the 1598 Rázmáma. The only name we can possibly connect to this style is that of Ustad Sáhívánah, who produced a dated document in Agra in 1610, and another in 1624 doubtless also in Agra. These, the Rágmála (No.86) and another in Berlin, a Rashapátrí manuscript in Boston, and a Rámâyana in Delhi form a small group of highly accomplished work. A problem still to be solved is that the scarcity of artists working for Jahangir is unmatched by a large amount of good work executed for other patrons.

Closely linked to the Hindu Popular Mughal work of the capital is the work done for the Rajput princes who were such powerful figures in the courts of Akbar and Jahangir. An inscription on a Rágmála from Chunar dated 1591 provides the earliest evidence that they too had studios. It states that the set was painted by three artists who had been trained in the imperial studio and that it was completed in 1599/1601 at the fort of Chunar, near Benares. There is considerable disagreement as to the authenticity of the inscription, but universal agreement that the paintings are in the Rajput style associated with the court of Bundi in south-eastern Rajasthan, whose ruler had been given Chunar as a fief by Akbar in 1576. This lovely set is archaic in its treatment of figures, in the Caurapancásthi tradition, but places them in three-dimensional architecture against a richly flowering and varied landscape. The genealogy of the Bundi style then, if the inscription is genuine, would be the work of three painters, who, presumably, were trained in a pre-Mughal style, tried their luck at the Mughal studio and either left or were rejected, and worked instead for the Rao of Bundi at his fief in Chunar. From it were
developed the other sets known from the Bundi studio in the early 17th century, produced either in Bundi or wherever the Rao was posted by the Emperors, such as a Bhāgavata Purāṇa now in the Kotah Museum of the early 17th century which is in a Popular Mughal style in terms of its treatment of landscape, people and architecture, and its high viewpoint. The treatment of architecture is three-dimensional, as it is in the 1591 Rāgamālā set. In both the upright format is used, the shape of the folio being that used in Mughal manuscripts, for the very first time in any Hindi text in the case of the Rāgamālā.

In contrast to this school of Rajput painting is that associated with Mewar in southern Rajasthan. Its ruling dynasty, the Sodas dynasty Rajputs, could trace its recorded history back to the foundation of Chitor in the 7th century, and as the head of the Suryavansya (Solar dynasty) back through the god Vishnu’s avatar Rāma to the Sun itself. Under its medieval rulers the great rock fortress of Chitor was embellished with great temples and palaces, and its empire under Rāṇa Kumbha included Malwa and Gujarāt. In the 16th century, Chitor was twice captured and sacked, the second time by Akbar in 1568. However, the Rāṇas consistently refused to acknowledge Mughal sovereignty, and towards the end of Akbar’s reign, Rāṇa Pratap Singh and his son Amar Singh, driven by Akbar both from Chitor and the new capital Udaipur established by Udai Singh after 1568, were little more than bandit chieftains in the rugged hills of Mewar. The gentle arts of the court could not have been to the forefront of their minds, yet it is out of this precariously-existing Rajput household that comes the first fully authenticated document of what is usually termed Rajput or Rajasthani painting. This is a Rāgamālā series from Chawand, the temporary capital, dated 1625 and painted by an artist named Nāsr ad-Dīn (spelled Nasrurati in Nāgori). It is a very simple painted series of paintings viewed from the traditional horizontal viewpoint, employing contrasting flat blocks of colour and two-dimensional architecture, against which are ranged human figures in stylized forms. It is obvious that this style is descended from the Cauropañcāśīka group, and particularly from the Gita-government (No.37) which employs numerous motifs common in 17th-century Mewar painting, and that it has not been touched by Akbari influence at all. The Chawand set is the natural outcome of the Mewar court’s political and cultural dissonance from the imperial capital and its stylistic innovations, representing no more than the continuing vitality of the native Hindu artistic tradition.

The normalization of Mewar’s political relations with the Mughals in 1614 under Amar Singh after the death of Akbar left open the way to cultural influences from the imperial court, especially as the heir-apparent Kāran Singh’s presence at court was required by the Emperor Jahangir. Yet Amar Singh and Kāran Singh (1620–9) were extremely selective in their cultural borrowings; Gōtka has rightly pointed out how old-fashioned in style are the palace buildings erected in this period, and they do in fact hark back to the great age of Mewar expansionism under Rāṇa Kumbha.

The reign of Jāgat Singh (1628–52) marks the culmination of this phase of Mewar art. Relations with the Mughals were peaceful, due to the friendship established between Kāran Singh and Prince Khurram, the future Shah Jahan, while the former attended at the Mughal court as heir-apparent of Mewar. When Kāran ascended the gōtka in 1620, it was to Udaipur that Khurram came when in revolt against his father. Kāran and his son must have absorbed influences at the Mughal court, but it became apparent in Udaipur in ideas rather than direct copying. The royal palace in Udaipur bears no resemblance to the Mughal palaces. In the field of painting it seems to have been Jāgat Singh who came to the throne in 1628 at the age of twenty who established a court atelier of artists, perhaps under the direction of Sāhib Din (Sahibuddin in Nāgori), for the majority of paintings of the reign are in the style of this artist (Nos.90, 92, 96). We know the name of only one other artist of this period, that of Manohar (No.91). The origins of these two artists are unknown. We may imagine that Sāhib Din was trained by Nasir ad-Dīn in Chawand and Udaipur, but Manohar’s style is different, individual and fully formed at its first appearance. Sāhib Din’s work shows considerable advancement over the course of Jāgat Singh’s reign. In his Rāgamālā of 1628 he still uses the horizontal viewpoint for preference, and breaks his pictures into two registers rather than adopt a high viewpoint. Yet in the full-size paintings in manuscripts in pothī format of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (Nos.90) and of the Rāmāyaṇa (Nos.92, 96), it is precisely this high viewpoint that he has adopted. He spaces his figures out in the foreground and middle distance, whether in landscape or architectural situations, and links them together by a broad sweep of rocks and trees or row of buildings at the back, with horizon and sky beyond. This technical innovation he can only have learnt from Mughal example. The other artists who contributed to the Rāmāyaṇa were less happy with the high horizon, being far less skilful in their compositions, and often break the scenes up into registers in the old-fashioned manner.

For the illustration of manuscripts on this large scale, Mewar artists evolved a fluent narrative technique that seems to have been experimented with in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa before the Rāmāyaṇa, particularly in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (No.38) or the dispersed Bhāgavata Purāṇa (No.36), the various events of a particular story are disposed on several registers, or contained within self-sufficient frames. This method of dividing up the painting is still seen occasionally in the Jāgat Singh Rāmāyaṇa, particularly in the work of Manohar and his followers, but more subtle means are usually used to achieve this end—the use of architecture and landscape details in particular. Sometimes, however, no attempt whatsoever is made to try to separate events, and some of Sāhib Din’s manuscripts show the same characters repeatedly, as in the various farewell scenes leading up to Rāma’s departure from Ayodhya (No.92). In this artist’s work in the Yuddhaśākhyā (No.96), the detail is such that the narrative is continuous.
in pictorial terms, and this has the effect of rendering the text superfluous. The Indian artist was as we have seen never at home in the Iranian concept of book-illustration, which depends on a balance between text and pictures, with calligraphy and illumination keeping the visual interest alive until the next painting, but equally meant for a very literate person. For Indian illustrated manuscripts, on the other hand, in a much less literate society, the ability to read the text was never very important, as more often than not it was in a dead language incomprehensible to the patron. Hence the vogue for short texts to be illustrated verse by verse, in the pre-Mughal era, and here Sāhīb Dīn is paving the way for a revision to this system but on a much greater scale (No.98).

The huge efforts made by the studio in Udaipur at the end of the reign of Jagat Singh (1628–52) seem to have temporarily exhausted it, and comparatively few paintings survive from the next fifty years. This may be because political conditions were unfavourable, as relations between the Rajput states and the Mughals deteriorated sharply under Aurangzib, and constant warfare became the norm. By the time of Amar Singh II (1696–1710), however, there was a renewed burst of activity in painting, particularly of portraits, hunting scenes, festivals, and other court occasions, in which artists experimented with a nimiqālam style, combined with heavy stippling; while under his successor, Sangrām Singh II (1710–38), a huge new programme of manuscript illuminations was undertaken, of which a few products in the early years were of good quality.

The Bālāchāī of 1712 (No.98) is illustrated with 201 paintings, of full size, and has 213 folios. This is in contrast to the 70–79 ratio of the Jagat Singh book, for the same text, in 1649 (No.91). To spin the text out over such a large body of paintings, the number of lines per folio has been drastically reduced. These illustrated manuscripts are now in fact picture books with explanatory text, reasserting the conception of Indian book-illustration first seen in the 13th century. Many huge sets of this sort still survive in the Udaipur Palace Museum: the Bhagavatīgī with a separate picture for each of its 750 verses, a Mahābhārata with over 4,000 paintings, and so on. The next step was a further reduction in importance of the text—a summary of the relevant verses from the Rāmāyaṇa or Bhāgavata, more often in Hindi than in Sanskrit; or a selection of verses rather than the whole text. This type of book illustration was especially popular in the Rajput courts of the Panjab Hills over the next century, mostly, ironically, in the ‘Guler’ and ‘Kangra’ styles of Pahari painting, which of all Rajput styles owed the most to Mughal influence, yet which have triumphantly reasserted the traditional Indian view of book-illustration over the Iranian conception exemplified most forcibly in their early works by the Mughals themselves.

We have dealt with Mewar manuscripts at some length because of the abundance of the available material and the fact that much of it is still in manuscript form. It was the fate of many other schools of Rajput painting for the great works to be broken up, so that many institutions throughout the world have various pages of this or that manuscript. Even pages, Rajput court and many of the minor pīkhānī or fiefdoms had its own studio, whose main function was the production of portraits of the rulers, and was employed on illustrating smaller works such as the Rāgāmālā, Rasākhāprijā and so on. Few had the resources to attempt anything on a larger scale. It is not part of our purpose here to examine all these different schools, as they all adopt a broadly similar approach to manuscript illustration. Stylistically they develop at different rates, and have high points at different times depending almost entirely on the patronage of the ruler. Those styles based largely on pre-Mughal or Popular Mughal styles, such as Mewar and Bundi, have their most important periods of manuscript production in the 17th century. Others such as Bikaner or Kishangarh scarcely seem established until late in the 17th century or the 18th century, as they depended largely on the employment of artists leaving Delhi during the reign of Aurangzib or during the Afghan invasions. The vicissitudes which befell Delhi from 1739 caused successive waves of artists to leave for safer havens—the development of Rajput painting in the Panjab Hills in the 18th century is a progression away from a fierce, fiery-coloured Rajput style towards greater and greater Mughalization of palette and composition. Few of the Rajput studios of the plains bothered to produce illustrated manuscripts during the 18th century, concentrating instead on larger and sumptuous scenes of royal life, of festivals, processions and above all hunting. The influence of the sumptuous landscape tradition of the Mughals in the second half of the 17th century is here most apparent.

The format of Rajput manuscripts differs according to the text and the purpose. The format of the earliest, the Chawand Rāgāmālā of 1605 is almost square, an indication perhaps of its descent from the Rāgāmālā in the Čauropantācārika group, which has two square paintings on each side of a folio. Other smaller sets of the early 17th century of texts such as Rasākhāprijā, Rāgāmālās and the Nañabhadra are in the upright format seen also in Popular Mughal work (No.89), which is used throughout the 17th century (No.100). From the very earliest of them, the text of the verse is inscribed in black Nañgari across the top of the painting against a ground, usually yellow, a development that occurs simultaneously in Popular Mughal manuscripts and in the Deccan with its Rāgāmālā sets. The prototype of this sort of manuscript is of course the Čauropantācārika group, conceived initially as sets of paintings illustrating a comparatively small number of verses. However, in Mewar and Malwa the landscape pāṭha format was retained for all the works on a grand scale, the Rāmāyaṇa, Bhāgavata Purāṇa (unlike the Bundi manuscript) and so on, with the texts written on the reverse of the paintings, and of course in the usual way on the unillustrated pages. This is true also of later illustrated manuscripts from Mewar in the 18th century which exist in great numbers, although many also have the text in panels above the painting, and in the large-scale works undertaken at the other Rajput courts, especially in the Panjab Hills. Among the latter, the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and Rāmāyaṇa were especially popular, although often the text used was a much shorter Hindi version or sometimes one at all. These manuscripts are the final embodiment of the Indian conception of book-illustration.

Other formats were also used from at least the mid-17th century in Rajasthani and elsewhere in northern India. Bound in a single section, they were first in landscape format (No.99) and then in vertical format (No.101). Illustrations could fill the entire page of the former, but in the latter there was a curious reversion to the small horizontal miniature across the page, as in the Guļiśṭṭān and Būṭān of Shāh Jāhān (Nos.79, 80), going back ultimately to 14th-century Iranian paintings.
Whereas it was only in royal studios that the larger-scale illustrated pahith manuscripts were produced, smaller and less ambitious manuscripts such as the single-section type or smaller-scale loose-leaf pahith were produced for lesser nobles, chiefs and merchants throughout Rajasthan and Gujarat, some following the Popular Mughal tradition, others in frozen versions of earlier Jain styles. These provincial styles of course are not those of the Rajput courts, which were the creations of individual artists of genius and patrons of aesthetic sensitivity. In these bourgeois productions, the style is a generalized Rajput one which follows the basic formulae of the more traditional court styles as to figural and landscape types, and invariably adopts the horizontal viewpoint.

Comparatively few illustrated manuscripts were produced for Muslim patrons in the north Indian provinces in the 17th century. Here the trend must have been the same as elsewhere, towards the production of isolated pictures. A Rānīpīṭhāvī from Gorkhpur dated 1677/1666 (No.104), which is in a Popular Mughal style, seems to be the earliest such example. The area along the Ganges between Jaunpur and Bengal produced illuminated manuscripts in the pre-Mughal period which have survived in small numbers, but which indicate that it supported flourishing schools of painters. While the Mughal court in the late 16th and 17th centuries was fostering a hot-house, eclectic style, in the provinces artists must have just gone on painting as they had always done, adopting new perspectives and techniques as they filtered through from the metropolitan centres. The 1666 Rānīpīṭhāvī was produced for a local patron in a style which indicates that Rajput painting is a result of patronage rather than location, like the Chunar Rāgāmālī itself.

In the north-west of the subcontinent from Kashmir down to Sind, there is considerable evidence for various provincial schools descended ultimately from Sultanate styles of the 15th century with various overlays of Mughal or Safavid styles. Such a one surfaces in Multan in 1686, in a Khātānrūnā (No.102) in which may be seen high circular horizons, plain gold grounds and 15th-century rock formations. Another finds expression in a slightly later Shāhīnāmā (No.125) produced at Rauri in 1311/1799, one of the stages on the road to Kashmir via Sukhot. A princess of Rauri was the wife of Aurangzeb and mother of Mūzāma Shāh, the future Emperor Bahādur Shāh (1707–12), and artists may have gone there from Delhi after 1686, when Aurangzeb left for the Deccan never to return. However, the style is not Mughal, but a fully developed local style, apparently an amalgam of Popular Mughal painting of the 17th century with a vigorous local style descended from a style of Sultanate painting of which we have as yet no knowledge. The manuscript is, however, a harbinger of the developed Khāsmī style of the late 18th century in its glittery appearance with gold and silver used in abundance, extremely fine polished paper, highly burnished pigments and general stylistic appearance, with composition in layers, hilly horizons, 'Deccani' colour combinations, and so on. A solitary manuscript from Thatta dated 1775 is the only evidence of a flourishing provincial idiom in Sind.

The only major centre for Persian manuscript production in the 17th century apart from Delhi was the Deccan, which during the course of the 17th century was attacked several times by the Mughals trying to incorporate the three independent Sultanates into their empire.

Ahmednagar fell in 1660, but continued resisting; Bijapur and Golconda survived as independent states until 1688 and 1687. Comparatively few first-rank illustrated manuscripts have survived from the Deccani kingdoms from this period. One of the more intriguing, although probably not of royal provenance, is the album of Rāgāmālī and other paintings presented by Archibishop Laud to the Bodleian Library in 1639. The provenance of the Rāgāmālī set has long been a subject of controversy, but there seems little doubt now that it is of Deccani origin. However, it is significantly different from paintings of the court Deccani style, both in its directness of line and simplicity, and in the costumes, which are linked to the group of late 16th-century Deccani Rāgāmālī paintings, associated apparently more with a Hindu than a Muslim tradition, in which the inscribed verses are in both Nāgarī and Nāstāliq. The paintings of the Land Rāgāmālī then seem to be the product of a 'Popular Deccani' school. Just as patrons other than the Mughal Emperor and his immediate entourage were patronizing Mughal painters by the late 16th century, the same must have been happening in the cities of the Deccan also. The Rāgāmālī is Hindu in feel, not Muslim, being related in structure and composition to 16th-century sets such as the Caravagcanāsā manuscript in which one or two people are disposed in front of a simple pavilion-like structure set off to one side. They may be dated to the period 1660–20.

The vigorous local styles of the early 17th-century Deccan kingdoms were quickly overtaken by an ever-more intense Mughal style, so that by the time of their final fall the whole produced there was really in a provincial Mughal idiom. However, the incessant wars provided ample opportunity for the intermingling of styles. The Mughal headquarters, Aurangabad, seems to have been a clearing post for the despatch of Deccani manuscripts and paintings, and, probably, artists to Rajasthan where their influence is felt in courts as far apart as Mewar (Nos.94–5) and Bikaner. At the time of the final collapse of Golconda in 1687, it was already producing work apparently for European consumption, for it was a great trading post for jewels and fabrics for export to Europe. Albums of the emperors and sultans of India were the favourite theme, typically the Mughal emperors from Bābur to Aurangiz, followed by the Adil Shāhī and Qutb Shāhī rulers. The earliest of these albums are of small folios with the portrait in a painted oval frame, in imitation of the European miniatures which were popular in India in the 17th century. Slightly later in a more Mughal style were produced many similar albums, doubtless for the same market, with paintings in the usual vertical format.

In the arts of illumination of manuscripts they followed their own path, early abandoning such Iranian influences as appear in the medical encyclopedia of 1572 (No.51). As with Mughal illumination, the patterns diverge from standard Iranian ones and the colours follow an even more sumptuous and original path. In the Qudādā (No.101) by the famous Dakhni poet Nusrāt dedicated to 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh of Golconda (1626–72), every page is decorated with marginal designs in sumptuous gold and colours, alternating floral patterns with arabesque and geometric designs. Whereas Mughal marginal designs of the same date are never allowed to overwhelm the central panel of text, here impressing by the delicacy of their execution, in this Deccani manuscript the richness and sumptuousness of the illumination and the boldness of drawing of the flowers has quite the opposite effect.
The lure of the capital as the one centre of artistic life in India gradually disappeared during the 18th century, as the number of artists employed in the imperial studios grew fewer and fewer. Shah Jahan's successors did not have the resources to dispense with the services of some of Jahangir's greatest artists—Manohar seems to have taken service with Prince Dari Shikoh, and Bishndas with Zafar Khan (No.83). Imperial patronage of painting was even less apparent under Aurangzeb, who had the Muslim fanaticism of a dictator as well as of an artist, and although some state portraits and fine scenes survive from his reign, from which it must be supposed that he did have the services of artists when required, there are no illustrated manuscripts which can be associated with him. Aurangzeb delighted in writing the Koran, and a considerable number are supposed to be in his hand.

These paintings which can be confidently attributed to imperial patronage in the latter half of the 17th century exhibit no stylistic advance on the paintings of Padshahnamah (No.82). The problems of landscape and perspective had finally been solved in this manuscript, and the solutions found are applied to great effect in some of the set pieces of hunting scenes of the Aurangzeb period. Otherwise an ever increasing rigidity is apparent.

The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 and the ensuing civil war marked the end of the internal stability of the Mughal empire. The reign of the weak Muhammad Shah (1719-48) witnessed the collapse of central authority, the carving out of almost independent kingdoms by great nobles in the provinces, the sack of Delhi in 1739 by the Afghans under Nadir Shah, and the rise of the Marathas as the most powerful force in India. In these conditions it would be idle to expect great art, but enough artists seemed to remain in imperial employ to be able to produce some very fine paintings and manuscripts, as in the Khan mahal Ithibad Shah (1735-67), in which the formal and static art of the late 17th century is matched by an increasingly cold palette making much use of white, grey and green. European influence is also discernible in the work of some artists.

The collapse of central Mughal authority enabled powerful noblemen to establish independent states in the Deccan, Bengal and Oudh, paying nominal allegiance to Delhi. The flourishing and brilliant court of the Nawabs of Oudh at Faizabad and Lucknow in the reigns of Shujah-ad-Daulah (1754-75) and Asaf ad-Daulah (1775-97) attracted litterateurs and artists escaping the wreck of Delhi, twice more sacked by the Afghans, and the maraudings of the Marathas and other bands of raiders who terrorized northern India in the later 18th century. In Oudh the Mughal style became even more sumptuous, with hotter colours, reds and oranges and purples and with a vast amount of gold set against cold whites and grays, giving an exotic effect of great splendour. The stock subjects are still the same as under Muhammad Shah, although in Oudh, as in the other great provincial courts, Raga mahal sets were perhaps the most favoured theme of all. Skies now tend to be full of multicoloured clouds, echoing the vivid hues of the garments worn by the nobles and ladies against cold architectural backdrops, with solemn and formal rows of flowers and sometimes of sombre trees. Faces are heavily modelled, with shadows and white lines. The variety of the Mughal style which was practised in Hyderabad under the Nizams descended from Asaf Jah owes something to earlier Deccani work, especially colour combinations, but is otherwise in a style similar to that practised in Lucknow. Archaisitc work also abounds in the 18th century, as in a Dijis Sawai Madhuk in the British Library (Or.86), which appears to be a copy of a manuscript originally written in the reign of Abdallah Qutb Shah (1625-72), while a Khursahnamah in the India Office Library exemplifies the same trend. There also creeps into Hyderabad work of the later 18th century a considerable southern Hindu element; for example, Krishna is represented in a Rajahpraya set with a tall south Indian crown. A variety of the Hyderabad style flourished in the Carnatic later in the 18th century. The capital of the Mughal province of Bengal was shifted in 1704 from Dacca to Mahsudabad, a city on the banks of the Bhugirarti, by the Governor Murshid Quli Khan, who renamed it Murshidabad after himself. His successors from 'Alivardi Khan (1740-36) ruled as independent nawabs like their counterparts in Oudh and the Deccan, 'Alivardi Khan maintained a studio at his capital for at least the last few years of his reign, and several boldly brilliant studies date from this period. Under Suraj ad-Daulah (1756-7), a pleasure-loving prince whose brief reign was cut short by Clive, and his successors to 1763, there was a brief flowering of another provincial Mughal style, again like that of Oudh and Hyderabad, based on the formal language of the Muhammad Shah period, but which in Murshidabad seems to have been influenced somewhat more heavily by European drawing and thus able to show some stylistic advance. Some of the paintings in the Dastir-i Himmat (No.113) could not have been created without European influence. This manuscript and another, equally beautiful, in the Victoria Memorial Hall in Calcutta, a Naif Manman, demonstrate that in Murshidabad the royal studio did not just reproduce the stock subjects of the period but was concerned to illustrate manuscripts also, first-class exemplars, of which are lacking from Lucknow (No.82), however, the role of Murshidabad as a great centre for the export trade had been lost to the British in Calcutta, to whom also was passing political power. Artistic patronage likewise became more diffused through other sections of Murshidabad society, and even more downriver to the great salt port of Houghly, some of whose works, especially Sir Elia's, under the British, the Chief Justice of Bengal from 1774-83, were great patrons on Indian painting, and it is probably to him that we owe the set of Murshidabad paintings in a manuscript of the Raznamah (No.111).

In the twilight of the Mughal Empire when the Emperor was successively the puppet of the Afghans, the Rohillas, the Marathas and the British, and the glories of Shah Jahan had long departed, the imperial studio in Delhi seems to have been particularly keen to produce illustrated manuscripts of his reign in sumptuous format, doubtless for presentation. Such manuscripts of one or other of the histories of Shah Jahan are to be found in considerable numbers. It was also at this time that such albums and manuscripts of the earlier periods as remained in the imperial library were 'refurbished'. Some paintings from manuscripts were remounted in album pages with sumptuous border decorations, others from manuscripts and albums were removed and excellent copies inserted in their place. In some manuscripts such as the Bakhshahamah (No.62), the removal of the painting was cleverly disguised by the rearrangement of the text and the addition of new marginal decoration, while another copy of the same text (No.168) had new paintings inserted. This kind of work was also being done in Lucknow,