

CATALOGUE
OF THE
INDIAN COLLECTIONS
IN THE
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON
PART VI
MUGHAL PAINTING

BY
ARANDA K. COOMARASWAMY,

167

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PART VI
MUGHAL PAINTING

BY
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IN THE MUSEUM

1981

BHARATIYA PUBLISHING HOUSE
DELHI INDIA VARANASI

BHARATIYA PUBLISHING HOUSE

'MOHAN BHAWAN', First Floor

42-43 U.B. Jawaharnagar.

Delhi-110007

**H.O. : B 9/45 Pilakhana, Sonarpur,
Varanasi (U. P.)**

**Printed at : GOYAL OFFSET PRINTERS
308/6-E, Shahzadd Bagh, Daya Basti, Delhi-110035**

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PART VI
MUGHAL PAINTINGS

INTRODUCTION

MUGHAL painting — the older designation “Indo-Persian” still survives in sale catalogues — is the painting practised and developed at the Mughal courts under Akbar and his successors and covers a period from the middle of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century; with nineteenth century and modern survivals in the ivory miniatures of Delhi which are collected by every tourist but are of no importance in the history of the art. The paintings are of two kinds; the first, in which the Persian factor is strongest, consisting of illustrations in manuscripts, the second consisting typically of portraits mounted as album (*muraqqa'*) pages, usually in combination with specimens of calligraphy, and decorated borders. Both applications are unlike those of typically Hindu painting, where manuscript illustration is of a quite different character and in any case very unusual, and other paintings, even when consecutive and of album size, are not bound together, but merely kept in order and tied up in cloth. There are also Mughal wall paintings, but these are rare and usually badly preserved. The true character of the style is apparent chiefly in the portraiture and in the representation of historical events, typically darbār scenes: when the inferior works and copies have been eliminated (which is very necessary), what remains provides a very complete iconography of nearly all the figures prominent in the history of Northern India during more than a century and a half.¹ Further, a considerable number of Mughal paintings, both in manuscripts and on separate leaves, are signed; and, in addition to this, a number are mentioned by name elsewhere, particularly in the *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, where particular paintings are referred to, some of which are still in existence.

There is no real evidence of a school of Muḥammadan painting in India before the time of Akbar. The few literary references only show that certain Muḥammadan rulers, particularly 'Alāu'd-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh in the fourteenth century, employed indigenous painters, as they did architects:

¹ *I. e.*, for the latter part of the sixteenth century onwards. Abū'l-Faḥl says that “His Majesty (Akbar) himself sat for his likeness and also ordered to have the likenesses taken of all the grandees of the realm. An immense album was thus formed.” Cf. Goetz, *Indische historische Porträte*.

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Fīrūz Shāh held it "right among monarchs to have painted chambers to gratify their eyes in retirement" but "prohibited the painting of portraits, as contrary to the Law, and directed that garden scenes should be painted instead."¹

The early Mughal school is represented by some paintings dating from the third quarter of the sixteenth century. Amongst these, some of the most notable are a 'portrait' of Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh (1351-1388) and his secretary Khwājā Hasan, in the British Museum (Ms. Or. 1372, Martin, *Miniature painting* . . . , pl. 176); Sultān Muḥammad ben Tughlaq (1325-1351) entertained by dancers, in the Calcutta Art Gallery (Havell, *Indian sculpture and painting*, pl. LIV); portrait of Amīr Shaikh Hasan Noyan, Wālī of Baghdad, in the Rāmpūr State Library (Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, pl. IX) and the replica in the British Museum (Ms. Add. 18801), reproduced by Martin, *loc. cit.*, pl. 177. Cf. also our No. LII (M. F. A. 14.647).

More important was the great series of paintings made to illustrate the *Ḥamza Nāma*, represented by two examples in the Collections, and many others in America, additional to those reproduced by Glück.² This was the real beginning of a distinctively Mughal school; and this beginning is connected with Akbar and with his father Humāyūn. The latter when in exile at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp (in 1544) had become acquainted with two Persian artists, Mīr Sayyid 'Alī and Khwājā 'Abdu's-Samad. In 1550 Humāyūn was able to establish himself in Kābul and summoned these two artists from Tabrīz and engaged the former to produce a large illustrated copy of the *Ḥamza Nāma* to contain in all 2400 pictures. These were painted on cotton, and of large size (52 × 68 cm.). The work was continued for Akbar, other painters collaborating. According to the *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*:

"Akbar was very fond of the story of Amīr Ḥamza which contained 360 tales. So much so that in the female apartments he used to recite them like a story-teller. He had the wonderful incidents of that story illustrated from beginning to end of the book and set up in twelve volumes.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhi*, in Elliott, III, 363. (Curiously reminiscent of *Cullavagga*, VI, 3, 2, where the Buddhist brethren are forbidden to have their monasteries decorated with pictures containing human figures, but are allowed to have representations of wreaths and creepers.

² *Die Indische Miniaturen des Hamzae Romane*, Vienna, 1925. See also Rieu, II, 760-762.

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“Each volume contained one hundred folios, and each folio was a cubit (*zirā*) long. Each folio contained two pictures and at the front of each picture there was a description delightfully written by Khwājā ‘Aṭā Ullah Munshī of Qazwīn. Fifty painters of Biḥzād-like pencil were engaged, at first under the superintendence of the Nādiru’l-mulk Humāyūnshāhī Sayyid ‘Alī Judāī of Tabrīz, and afterwards under the superintendence of Khwājā ‘Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad of Shīrāz. No one has seen another such gem nor was there anything equal to it in the establishment of any king. At present the book is in the Imperial Library.”

Amongst the fifty collaborators here referred to were probably Indian and other Persian artists. The work has a markedly but not purely Persian character: the costume, architecture and treatment of foliage are all to a certain extent, and to that extent quite definitely, Indian. European influences, too, are recognizable. All these elements may be associated on one and the same page: this represents the Mughal style in the making. As remarked by Glück (*loc. cit.*, p. 125): “The fact that all these elements are recognizable in one and the same picture, in an association not quite unified, shows that our pictures belong to an initial stage of true Mughal art, in which the Persian factor which came in with Humāyūn still predominates, but in which the native Indian factor later brought in by Akbar is already apparent; and where an independent court life has become vigorous enough to borrow and incorporate foreign formulae of even more distant origin, without being subservient to them.”

Once firmly established on the throne, that is to say, after 1570, Akbar was able to devote more time and energy to cultural pursuits. More than one passage in the *Ā’in-i-Akbarī* refers to his patronage and appreciation of painting. “From his earliest youth, His Majesty has shown a great predilection for this art, and gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as a means both of study and amusement.” His own recorded words have been often quoted: “There are many that hate painting; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God, for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after another, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the Giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge.” The author, Abū’l-Fazl further

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remarks, "Bigoted followers of the letter of the law are hostile to the art of painting: but their eyes now see the truth." It may be observed here that the Muḥammadan objection to the representation of living beings in art is not based upon a Qu'rānic injunction, but on a later "tradition" (*ḥadīth*):¹ and that while this "tradition" is regarded as binding by the strict Sunnis (and this explains Aurangzīb's aversion to the arts), it is generally ignored by the Shiites, who predominated in Persia, and of whom Akbar may be said to have represented the most latitudinarian type.

Abū'l-Faḥl further devotes a whole chapter to the work of the painters employed by Akbar. More than a hundred in number, they were accommodated in a special building in the new capital at Faḥpur Sīkrī during the period of occupation (1570-1585). All the work done was inspected by the Emperor weekly, and according to his view of its merits, rewards were given or salaries increased. The master painters in charge were the two Persian artists Mīr Sayyid 'Alī and Khwājā 'Abdu'ṣ-Ṣamad, already referred to. It was here, no doubt, that all the later pages of the great *Hamza Nāmā* volume were completed. Not only these, but other paintings (e. g., No. IV, below) very definitely illustrate an Indian architecture of the Faḥpur Sīkrī type, and costumes and manners such as were current at the Mughal court in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Amongst other court painters named there were many Hindus: perhaps three-quarters of the known names of Mughal painters represent Hindus. This fact, like all others connected with the arts as practised at the Mughal courts, reflects the personal influence and policy of the Emperor: not without reason Abū'l-Faḥl says, with regard to Faḥpur Sīkrī, that "His Majesty dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garments of stone and clay." We have, apart from their works, two lists of Akbar's painters, one in the *Waḳīāt-i-Bāburī*, mentioning nineteen Hindu and three Muḥammadan painters, the other in the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, mentioning thirteen Hindus and four Muḥammadans. While all these Hindu painters acquired and practised the characteristically Mughal style developed at Faḥpur Sīkrī, they necessarily carried over into Mughal art many stylistic features which are

¹ See Karabaček, *Angebliche Bilderverbot des Islam*, Kunst und Gewerbe, X, Nürnberg, 1876; H. Lammens, *L'attitude de l'Islam primitif en face des arts figurés*, Journal asiatique, XI, vi, 1915; Arnold, *Painting in Islam*; and other works on the subject cited by Cresswell, *Provisional bibliography* . . . , p. 1.

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recognizably Indian. The Indian character of Mughal painting is further emphasized by the fact that the costumes and environment represented become increasingly Indian, again as a result of Akbar's policy of favoring Rājput courtiers, and his marriage with Rājput princesses (of whom one became the mother of Jahāngīr). A remark of 'Abū'l-Faḏl shows that not only were indigenous artists thus employed, but that their work was even more highly appreciated than that of Persian artists — "their pictures surpass our conception of things; few indeed in the whole world are found equal to them." It is not quite clear whether this refers to indigenous Indian painting (Rājput, etc.) as it existed apart from the Mughal school,¹ or, as is more likely, to the work of the Hindu painters at the Mughal court. In any case, as observed by Glück (*Haemzae Romane*, p. 116), the passage must be regarded as referring to the "freie lebendigkeit" (actuality, vitality) with which the landscape elements are treated, for this feature, which in Indian painting contrasts so markedly with the decorative formality of Persian painting, must have been quite noticeable to anyone accustomed to Persian book illustrations of the period.² It must not be forgotten that Persian art at this time was already in a late and almost decadent stage, exquisite indeed, but hardly significant (as it had been two centuries earlier), while Indian painting, as we know from contemporary Rājput works, at this time exhibited much of the vigor and naïveté characteristic of primitives.

But while these Indian elements are clearly recognizable, and their presence in Mughal art is easily explained, Mughal painting remains an entirely distinct creation, and cannot be described as dependent on contemporary Indian painting. This is apparent both in technique, style, and characteristic themes. Indian painting had been largely an art of wall painting, where large brushes were used to cover large areas with color. Although extremely delicate miniatures on paper existed already as illus-

¹ The mention of pictures amongst the loot taken at Chaurāgarh by Āṣaf Khān in 1564 (*Akbar Nāma*, trans. H. Beveridge, II, p. 332) illustrates one way in which the Mughals came into possession of Rājput paintings.

² Abū'l-Faḏl's further observation "even inanimate objects look as though they had life" is curiously suggestive of a passage of the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* (III, ch. 43), "he possesses the true knowledge of painting, who represents the dead devoid of the spirit of life (*cetanā*), and the sleeping possessed of it."

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trations to Gujarātī manuscripts dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the earliest Rājput miniatures are likewise painted on paper, Akbar found it necessary to make special provision for the manufacture of fine paper and pigments, and Abū'l-Fazl remarks that the mixture of colors was especially improved.

We find actually in Mughal paintings a greater variety of colors, and more delicate shades of color than can be seen in Rājput works. The technique of the portrait style, too, is developed, as a result of the primary interest felt in individual character, and in actual appearances, in a direction which brings it nearer to European art of the Renaissance period than any other works made in India at any time. The drawing is here based immediately on observation, and an effect of visual reality is given by means of shading. The outline closely follows the observed forms, and is never either diagrammatic, as in early Rājput, or flowing, as in later Rājput works. Portraits of individual animals observed with the same minute interest are equally characteristic; and the details of architecture, costume, and embroidery are rendered with the same careful accuracy. The Mughal style is so definite, that even when it is used in the illustration of purely Hindu works such as the *Rasikapriyā* (see Nos. X-XXXVIII), it cannot be confused with Rājput: it is only in the eighteenth century in the Central Provinces and Oudh that there develops a mixed style, the examples of which cannot be easily classified as Mughal or Rājput.

Much of the earlier Mughal painting is an art of book illustration closely related to that of Persia: amongst the most important works of this kind are a *Waqiāt-i-Bāburī* (British Museum Ms. Or. 3714), containing the signatures of twenty-two artists, and a *Fables of Bidpai* (*Kalila va Dimnah*, British Museum Ms. 18579) written for Jahāngīr in 1610 and containing the signatures of Āqā Rizā, his son Abu'l-Ḥasan, Bishndās, and others almost equally well known. But not only were Persian manuscripts thus prepared and illustrated for inclusion in Akbar's magnificent library: Akbar also had made and illustrated Persian versions of such Hindu classics as the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, and *Yogavāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa*. The illustrations to these works, of the kind represented by No. XXXIX in the present catalogue, are in a purely Mughal, or, as it may fairly be called at this time, Indo-Persian manner. The case of the *Rasikapriyā* written in Nāgarī char-

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acters but illustrated in a Mughal style (though adhering to strictly Hindu subject-matter) is unique.

But the themes of classical Persian literature had begun to lose their interest. As Prince Dāniyāl is reported to have said,¹ "The love story of Farhād and Shīrīn has grown old: if we read at all, let it be what we have ourselves seen and heard." This interest in the contemporary world is characteristic of Mughal culture. It is well exemplified, for example, in Jahāngīr's *Memoirs*: and it fully accounts for the themes of Mughal painting as a developed style, where we meet almost exclusively with subjects of historical or curious interest, portraits, darbār scenes, and pictures of rare or beautiful animals.

Undoubtedly, Mughal painting reaches its finest development in the reign of Jahāngīr (1606–1628). Already as a prince this Emperor had had his own painters, and these, together with many of those who had worked for Akbar, remained in his service. Many individual painters and paintings are mentioned in the *Memoirs* and a number of these are represented in the Collection (Nos. LXXV, LXXXIV). Here, too, the royal patron lays claim to connoisseurship as follows, "My liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eye and eyebrows." Elsewhere (*ibid.*, translation, II, 161), Jahāngīr refers to a picture gallery in a garden "adorned with pictures by master hands. In the most honoured positions were the likenesses of Humāyūn and of my father opposite to my own, and that of my brother Shāh 'Abbās. After them were the likenesses of Mirzā Kamrān, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Shāh Murād, and Sulṭān Dāniyāl. On the second storey (row?) were the likenesses of the amīrs and special servants. On walls of the outer hall the stages of the road to Kashmīr were recorded in the order in which I had come to them." This was in A.D. 1620.

¹ *Sūz-u-Gudāz* of Nau'ī (British Ms. Or. 2839) translation by Coomaraswamy and Dawud, London, 1912.

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Jahāngīr regarded as his best artists (1) Abu'l-Ḥasan, who was the son of Āqā Rizā (see No. XL), and received the title of Nādiru'z-zamān, "Wonder of the Age," (2) Ustād Maṣṣūr, who received the title of Nādiru'l-'Aṣr, and in the art of drawing was "unique in his generation," and (3) Bishndās, "who was unequalled in his age for taking likenesses." All of these are represented in the Museum collections. One of the finest pictures in the Collections is the Darbār of Jahāngīr (No. LXXIV), containing many identified portraits; the signature, unfortunately, is confined to the words 'Amal-i-kamtīrīn *Khānāzādān*, "Work of the humble houseborn." This title of "houseborn" was conferred on certain persons born and brought up in the royal service, and amongst others on Abū'l-Ḥasan, who may have been one of those who collaborated in painting the darbār scene in question.

It would appear that Jahāngīr, by his patronage of Āqā Rizā and others, really encouraged in his youth a more definitely Persian phase of Mughal art than that represented by Akbar's own artists. The most important examples of this earlier Persian phase of the Jahāngīr school is the British Museum Ms. Add. 18579, a lavishly illustrated *Kalīla va Dimnah*, completed in 1610;¹ and from this volume, it would appear that the work of these more or less Persian artists was not completely absorbed and assimilated to the Mughal style before that date.

Some reference must be made to the European influence apparent in Mughal painting. Not only is this influence apparent from time to time in actual paintings of the time of Akbar and Jahāngīr, especially in the landscape backgrounds, but we find also copies and adaptations of European paintings and engravings in fair number (see No. LXXXIII). Some European influences had already affected Persian painting to a small degree, but there can be no doubt that the European elements in Mughal art are to be traced directly to the influence of pictures and engravings brought by the Jesuits, and by other travellers such as Sir Thomas Roe, and presented by them to Akbar and Jahāngīr. The subject has been treated somewhat fully by Kühnel and Goetz, *Indische Buchmalerei*, pp. 36 f. and 53 f., also by Percy Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, pp. 164 f., etc. Akbar is known to have obtained a number of European objects (cf. No. LXXXII)

¹ See my *Notes on Mughal painting*, *Artibus Asiae*, 1927, pp. 202-212.

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from Goa in 1578, including amongst other things an organ. Later he received a Jesuit mission at Fathpur Sikrī, and received a picture of the Madonna, which he hung in a place of honor: a representation of the Virgin will be observed in a place of honor in the Darbār of Jahāngīr (No. LXXIV).¹ In 1580 he received a copy of Plantyn's Royal Polyglot Bible, in which there are many engravings by Flemish artists of the school of Quentin Matsys (1466–1531). An album of copies of European pictures, made by Keśava Dās was completed in 1588. Jahāngīr displayed an even greater interest in European paintings, and obtained numerous examples, both religious and secular, from the Jesuits, from Sir Thomas Roe (the English Ambassador) and from the Portuguese traders. Many of the European pictures were copied in miniature size. The nimbus, by which, in the greater part of Mughal art, royal persons are distinguished does not appear in the earlier examples; and, though in Hindu and Buddhist art the nimbus had been in use much earlier, in Mughal painting, it is probably of European and Christian origin. In the reign of Shāh Jahān, we hear less of European originals, but it is clear that the new Emperor continued to be interested in Western works; European influence begins to be evident not merely in the copying of examples, but in the increased use of shadow, and of linear perspective. When, after the reign of Aurangzīb, Indian painting again flourished at the Mughal courts, these influences have been more completely absorbed, and appear both in the mixed Mughal and Rājput style of Delhi and Oudh, and more rarely and sporadically, in the Rājput painting of the hills. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, contact with European influences became more intimate, European painters came to India, and Indian painting tended more and more to become a merely "stagnant reflection" of that of the West, a tendency emphasized in the nineteenth century by the establishment of European "schools of art."

Mughal painting under Shāh Jahān is already over-ripe: the attenuation of the style is especially apparent in the well-known album of Dārā Shikoh (India Office, London) completed in 1641–1642.

Under Aurangzīb, painting, together with the other arts, must have fallen into disrepute. As remarked above, and as observed by Bernier, the

¹ Cf. the Bodleian Darbār of Shāh Jahān (Ourseley Add. 173), reproduced in Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, Pl. XXIV.

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(Mughal) arts flourished only under royal patronage: and while under Akbar and Jahāngīr a magnificent result was achieved, it needed but a few years of Aurangzīb's puritanical and destructive energy (his hatred of music is well known) to complete a decline of which the seeds had already been sown.¹ Already under Shāh Jahān, court patronage had not sufficed to give adequate support to all the painters, whose numbers had greatly increased under Jahāngīr, and so there developed a class of bazaar painters, only intermittently employed by the grandees. Although some pictures of officials of Aurangzīb's time exist, a few paintings dealing with his campaigns in the Dekhan, and a rather larger number of late portraits representing him as a very old man, it cannot be supposed that Aurangzīb himself supported or encouraged any painters, and the greater part of the work done in his reign must have been commissioned by others, officials or common people. We know of one family of painters, ancestors of Mola Rām,² who fled with their patron Suleimān Shikoh to the Garhwāl hills and there ultimately acquired a purely local technique, more Rājput than Mughal. Many must have migrated to other courts, for example, to Haidarābād, where a local Dakhanī school flourished for some time, and perhaps also to Rājputāna and the Pañjāb.

On the other hand, in the early part of the eighteenth century, we meet with a surprising revival of Mughal painting, both in quality and quantity;³ this is especially well represented in the Collections (see Nos. CL, etc.). Aurangzīb's sons and immediate successors inherited none of his austerity, and were only too much addicted to luxury. But this love of luxury included an appreciation of the arts. Even of Nādir Shāh, who sacked Delhi in 1739, there exist numerous portraits which are not without merit. The Collections include a spirited equestrian portrait of Allahvardī Khān, who ruled Bengal in practical independence. It would appear, too, from several fine portraits of Muḥammad Shāh that accomplished painters had been summoned from Rājputāna to work in Delhi: the Collections include one magnificent example in pure and brilliant color, which is not included in the present Catalogue on account of its essentially Rājput character, and

¹ Cf. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogol empire*, pp. 255, 256.

² See Mukandi Lal, *Some notes on Mola Rām*, Rūpam, No. 8, 1921, and A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Rājput painting*, p. 23, n. 2.

³ Cf. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, p. 131.

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some others (Nos. CXIV) in which the Rājput elements are less conspicuous. A very mixed character is in fact apparent, both as regards the style and the subject-matter, of late Mughal painting, and there exist many examples which cannot be easily classified. This mixed style persists during the latter part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century in works produced at Lucknow and Patna, those from the latter place being well represented in the Collections by a number of pleasing floral designs. Occasional portraits of Europeans are met with. The Mughal style properly so-called survived during the nineteenth century in the well-known ivory miniatures of Delhi, all of which may be described as painstaking but lifeless imitations of older portrait miniatures and architectural scenes; the technique is essentially European, and practically all of these miniatures must have been produced, as is the case at the present day, for European buyers. Nothing of importance is later than Muḥammad Shāh (died 1748), and hardly anything of supreme excellence later than about 1640.

Reference has been made to the Dakhanī school, which is represented in the Collections by very interesting examples (see Nos. LXXVII-LXXIX). The influence of Mughal court art extended even farther southward to Mysore and Tañjore, where painters from the north settled in the eighteenth century. The Mysore school flourished most in the first half of the nineteenth century, under Rāja Kṛṣṇarāja Wodeyar, who died in 1868. There is a definite tradition of northern origin in the case of the Tañjore artists (see Nos. CCCIV, CCCV), who entered the service of Rāja Sarabhojī towards the close of the eighteenth century, and some of their descendants are still at work. In all probability, other Mughal painters found their way to the Mārāṭhā court at Pūna in the West, where it is known that Rājput painters also worked.

THE MUGHAL EMPERORS OF INDIA

Bābur, 1526-1530.

Sons: Humāyūn, Kāmraṅ, Hindāl, Askarī.

Humāyūn, 1530-1539 and 1555-1556.

Sons: Akbar, born 1542.

Muḥammad Ḥakīm, born 1544.

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Sher Shāh, 1542–1545.

Son: Jalāl Khān, afterwards Islām (“Salīm”) Shāh.

Islām Shāh, 1553–1554.

Muḥammad Shāh ‘Ādil 1554.

Akbar, 1556–1605.

Married a daughter of Bihār Mall of Amber, who was called Maryam-zamāni, and bore Jahāngīr; and others.

Sons: Salīm, afterwards Jahāngīr, born 1569.

Murād, born 1570, died *ca.* 1600.

Dāniyāl, born 1572, died *ca.* 1604.

Agra Fort (Akbarābād) begun 1565.

Occupation of Fathpur Sīkrī, 1570–1585.

Nūru’-d-dīn Jahāngīr, 1605–1628.

Married: Nūrmaḥall, later called Nūrjahān (originally the wife of Sher Afghān); and others.

Sons: (1) Khusrū, born 1587 or 1589, died or murdered 1622. His son Bulāqī, or Dawār Baksh, temporarily on the throne in 1628, escaped to Persia.

(2) Parvīz, murdered 1627.

(3) Khurram, born 1592, received the title of Shāh Jahān in 1617. In rebellion, 1622–1625.

(4) Shahryār, murdered 1627.

Shāh Jahān, 1628–1658 (died 1666).

Married: Arjumand Bānu Begam, also called Nawāb Aliyā Begam; and Mumtāz Maḥall, died 1631, buried in the Tāj Maḥall.

Sons: (1) Dārā Shikoh, born 1615, killed 1659. His son Suleimān Shikoh, died in Garhwāl in 1662; another son, Sipihr Shikoh, married a daughter of Aurangzīb.

(2) Shujā’, born 1616, driven into exile (and killed?) 1660. ‘Ālamgīr, born 1618, afterwards Aurangzīb. Viceroy of the Dekhan 1636–1644.

(3) Murād Baksh, born *ca.* 1624, executed 1658. His son Izid Baksh married a daughter of Aurangzīb.

Daughter: Jahānāra.

Delhi Fort (Shāhjahanābād), begun 1638, occupied 1648.

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Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr, 1658–1707.

Sons: (1) Muḥammad Sultān, executed, 1676.

(2) Muazzam (Shāh 'Ālam), afterwards Bahādur Shāh.

(3) A'zim, killed in battle, 1707.

(4) Kāmbaksh, died of wounds, 1709.

(5) Akbar, died in exile, 1704.

Daughter: Zebu'n-nisā.

Bahādur Shāh I, Shāh 'Ālam I, 1707–1712.

Sons: (1) Jahāndar Shāh.

(2) A'zimu'sh-Shān. His son Farrukhsiyār.

Jahāndar Shāh, Mu'izzu'd-dīn, 1712.

Farrukhsiyār, 1713–1719.

Rafiu'd-Daula, 1719.

Muḥammad Shāh, 1719–1748.

Son: Aḥmad Shāh.

Aḥmad Shāh, 1748–1754.

'Ālamgīr II, 1754–1759.

Shāh 'Ālam II, 1759–1806.

Akbar II, 1806–1837.

Bahādur Shāh II, 1837–1857.

QUTB SHAHĪ DYNASTY OF THE DEKHAN

Sultān Qulī, Quṭb Mulk Quṭb Shāh I, 1518–1543.

Jamshīd Qulī, Quṭb Shāh II, 1543–1550.

Subhan Qulī, Quṭb Shāh III, 1550.

Ībrāhīm Qulī, Quṭb Shāh IV, 1550–1580.

Muḥammad Qulī, Quṭb Shāh, 1580–1612.

Muḥammad Qulī, Quṭb Shāh VI, 1612–1626.

'Abdullah Qulī, Quṭb Shāh VII, 1626–1672.

Abu'l Ḥasan Tānā Shāh, Quṭb Shāh VIII, 1672–1699.

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LIST OF PAINTINGS

SCHOOL OF AKBAR
(1556-1605)

I

24.129. Painting in tempera on cotton cloth: a leaf of the *Qiṣṣah-i-Amīr Ḥamza* or *Ḥamza Nāma*. Obverse (page number 56), landscape, sea and land, a city in the background, with a shepherd driving sheep outside the walls: in the foreground, a fisherman discovers a child, floating on a raft, brought in by the waves. Below the picture is the caption *Yāftan Iskandar . . .* (the remainder illegible), "the finding of Alexander"). Reverse, page number 57, with Persian text.

About A.D. 1565.

Dimensions, .520 × .685 m. Hcrace G. Tucker Memorial Fund.

See Introduction, pp. 4, 5, 7 and also the next item.

The text gives the conversation of Zoroaster with some legendary kings (Zumurrud *Shāh*, *Yāqūt Shāh*) and some magicians. Zoroaster sends the latter to search for Iskandar (Alexander the Great): Alexander, when found, exhorts the magicians to embrace Islam (!).

Thus the legend is referred to a time previous to the conquest of Persia by Alexander, i.e. to the Achaemenid period. Belonging to this time is the story of *Darāb*, the child of *Humai* by her father *Bahman*: the child was placed in a box, and thrown into a river. Found by a washerman, he grew up and was subsequently recognized by *Humai* as king. While the picture by itself would naturally be regarded as an illustration of the story of *Darāb*, as related in the *Shāh Nāma*, it must be supposed, in view of the caption below it, and the contents of the text, that a similar story had come to be connected with the childhood of Alexander. The treatment of the flock of broad-tailed sheep recalls that of the painting by *Mīr Sayyid 'Alī* (in the British Museum *Khamsa* of *Nizāmi*, published by *Binyon, L.*, *The poems of Nizami*, London, 1928, Pl. XII). An attribution to *Mīr Sayyid 'Alī* is the more plausible inasmuch as the present leaf (numbered pp. 56, 57), belongs to the earlier part of the *Ḥamza Nāma*, executed probably at the time when *Mīr Sayyid 'Alī* was alone in charge of the collaborating artists, as stated in the *Ma'āthiru'l Umarā* (translation, *H. Beveridge*, p. 454).

PLATE I.

II

06.129. Painting in tempera on cotton cloth: another leaf of the *Qiṣṣah-i-Amīr Ḥamza*, or *Ḥamza Nāma*. Obverse, a street scene in *Iṣfahān* with a shop and passers by, and a man falling from a ladder. The faces have been erased and clumsily restored. Persian text at the back.

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About A.D. 1565.

Dimensions, .53 × .695 m. Ross Collection.

See Introduction, pp. 4, 5, 7, and also the previous item.

The text, which elucidates the subject matter of the picture, relates the adventures of a certain *Khwājah* 'Umar. He came to *Iṣfahān* and entered the large garden or park of *Kulbād* 'Irāqī. Here there were streets with restaurants, cafés, and gambling houses. In one of the latter he met *Kulbād*, the owner, and played with him: the game resulted in a quarrel and a fight.

PLATE II.

III

14.657. Birth of a prince: zenana scene, with red sandstone architecture like that of *Fathpur Sikrī*. The mother reclining in a pavilion, a nurse seated holding the baby, five female musicians outside, one with a drum and others singing. Astrologers in the foreground casting the horoscope.

It will be noticed that several ladies and attendants are still wearing the tall *Chagatāi* headdress of the *Humāyūn* period, so suggestive of the Burgundian 'hennin.' The musicians and some of the ladies are in *Hindū* (*Rājput*) costume. One face on the right with light eyes seems to be European (perhaps a doctor). In front of him are two other men, one evidently a prince, all the rest of those within the enclosure are women. Of the astrologers, one with a scroll bearing *Nāgarī* characters (?*Sanenasa-vimala*) is a Brahman, another with a book in Persian script is a *Musalman*.

About 1580 A.D.

Dimensions, .17 × .243 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 113.

PLATES III, IV.

IV

17.3112. Birth of a prince: zenana scene, with red sandstone architecture like that of *Fathpur Sikrī*.

About 1580 A.D.

Dimensions, .164 × .264 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. Published, *P. I. A.*, Pl. LXXXIII.

The mother is reclining in a pavilion, shaded by awnings, and surrounded by friends and attendants: a nurse with the child, perhaps *Jahāngīr*, on her lap, is seated immediately in front of the mother's bed. On a verandah to the left are seated four court ladies, three of them wearing the tall *Chagatāi* headdress of the *Humāyūn* and early *Akbar* fashion. In the court are numerous attendants, several of them in *Hindū* (*Rājput*) costume, hurrying to and fro with jars of water, trays of food, etc.; amongst these, on the left, is a dancer, in the *Chagatāi* costume. Outside the enclosure, the door of which is kept by a male porter and a female portress is a group of seated Brahmans and *Musal-*

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māns casting the horoscope, and servants are passing along the covered passage extending from the doorway across the picture to the right, this lower composition forming a sort of pendant to the main scene. The painting is executed with superb delicacy of craftsmanship; the pure gaiety and variety of the color are but imperfectly rendered in the color reproduction (frontispiece); the perfection of the drawing can be well seen in the enlarged detail of Plate V.

FRONTISPIECE and PLATES IV, V.

V

14.680. Portion of a colored painting on canvas, representing a flowering tree. Mughal, late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Dimensions, .108 × .239 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 115.

VI

15.41. Portrait of Akbar, nimbate, standing, with a falcon on the gloved right hand. Either an early work of moderate quality, or a good later copy. The goffered material of the yellow *jāma'* is indicated by incised lines. The *kamarband* is short, the trousers striped, the slippers heelless. Green background.

Perhaps about A.D. 1600.

Dimensions, .072 × .124 m. (without later mount). Ross Collection.

At the back, seven lines of Nasta'liq calligraphy, cut out and remounted. Also the name *Shāh Akbar*.

PLATE LXVI.

VII

14.669. Portrait of a courtier, standing with sword and shield.

Beginning of the seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .1 × .186 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 117.

The courtier wears the type of *jāma'* with skirt double-pointed at each side, characteristic for the latter part of Akbar's reign and a little afterwards. The shading across the shoulders (not merely at the armpits) is unusual. Somewhat damaged and restored.

PLATE LII.

VIII

14.648. Page of a *Shāh Nāma*, full page illustration representing Bahrām Gūr (or possibly Isfandiyār) slaying two lions. Throne and many attendants, in landscape, a large banyan tree in the centre.

Indian, Mughal, very early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .167 × .317 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 114.

Although this can hardly be anything but an illustration from a *Shāh Nāma*, it should be noted that the erased Persian text in the lower panel is in prose. The throne is of

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interest, both for the peacock that decorates the back, and on account of the thin extended legs of a type that is found more usually at a later period. The characteristic distant landscape is of the type that shows definite traces of European influence.

Published, Coomaraswamy, *P. I. A.*, Pl. LXXXII.

PLATE VII.

IX

17.74. The wounded cat. A young man having shot a cat with bow and arrow, the cat is running home, to a cottage where an old woman is winding yarn. At the back, a flowering plant, a white chrysanthemum. Very early seventeenth, possibly late sixteenth century.

Dimensions, .052 × .097 m. (without later mount). Harriet O. Cruft Fund.

Above is written *Shabih-i Shāhzāda Dāniyāl*. "Picture of Prince Dāniyāl" (son of Akbar, died in 1604). If, as is very likely, the inscription though later than the picture, can be relied upon, this would suggest a dating before 1604, as in any case it may be assumed that an actual occurrence is represented.

Also written at the back is a *rubāi* of four lines in good Nasta'liq,

Anām ki khākrā ba nazar kīmā kunand

Āyā buwad ki gūsha-i chashmī gā(h) kunand

Dardim niḥuṭta bihtar ṭabībān-i bid'ī

Bāshad ki āz ḥandh ān ghaibim dawā kunand

"The mortals who make alchemy (mix) earth (dust) with the glance (of the eye of beloved),

Where they make place (put) the corner of (her, his) eye?

My secret pain new better physicians

Needs, who will remove (remedy) this my mystery from (my) fire."

PLATE XXXI.

EARLY ILLUSTRATIONS OF HINDU SUBJECTS

THE *Rasikapriyā* OF KEŚAVA DĀS

THE Museum possesses three complete leaves of a manuscript of the *Rasikapriyā* of Keśava Dās (Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection), with illustrations on both sides, and eighteen detached illustrations by the same hand from the same manuscript (Ross Collection) and eight more purchased from the Marianne Brimmer Fund. Two complete leaves are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. There is one detached illustration in the British Museum, and seven more are in my possession. This

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makes a total of forty-four known illustrations and must include the majority of those originally in existence. It is most unfortunate that it is no longer possible, except in a few instances, to correlate the detached illustrations with the text.

The dates of Keśava Dās are not exactly known. This author was a Sanādhya Brahman of Orchā, Bundelkhaṇḍ. His home was originally at Tehri, but he settled at Orchā under the patronage of Rāja Madhukar Shāh, whose son and successor, Indrajīt Shāh, assigned him a grant of twenty-one villages. His first work was issued in A.D. 1543, the *Rasikapriyā* in A.D. 1591, and a third work, the *Kavipriyā*, in A.D. 1601, nor was this the last of his writings. We may take it therefore that he was born about 1520, that the period of his activity more than covered the reign of Akbar, and that he died an old man.

The *Rasikapriyā*, like most of Keśava Dās' works, is a treatise on rhetoric and literary analysis.¹ It is by far the most authoritative of the many Hindī works on this subject (which is also dealt with at length in the Sanskrit literature on which the Hindī works are founded), and texts from it are frequently found on Pahārī paintings illustrating the various classes of Nāyakās (heroines).² The work itself is long and detailed, and classifies heroes and heroines according to their circumstances, character, age, etc.; it also subdivides very minutely the different emotions and illustrates their expression. The work itself is, of course, in verse, and by no means easy reading; but Keśava Dās is a true poet, and many of his descriptions are lyrical gems.

Texts describing the eight Nāyakās, translated from the *Rasikapriyā* are given in "The Journal of Indian Art," Vol. XVI, pp. 99 seq. For other references to Keśava Dās, see G. A. Grierson, *Vernacular literature of Hindustan*, 1889, pp. 58, 59, and J. F. Blumhardt, *Catalogue of Hindī, Panjābī and Hindustani manuscripts in the British Museum*, 1899, pp. 26, 27. Some further notes on Indian Rhetoric will be found in the *Catalogue of the Indian collections, Part V, Rājput paintings*, and in the references there cited. Our text which is literally quoted below, exhibits slight variations from that of the printed edition.

¹ The best edition is that edited by Khemrāj Śrī Krishṇadās, Bombay, 1900.

² See *Catalogue of the Indian collections, Part V, Rājput painting*, Nos. CCC ff.

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In works of this kind, devoted primarily to the analysis of emotional situations, the dramatis personae are three in number: the Nāyaka, or hero (here always represented by Kṛṣṇa), the Nāyakā, or heroine (here always represented by Rādhā), and the Sakhī or Dūtikā, the confidante or messenger and go-between. The latter not only bears messages between the lovers, and discusses the situation with them, but also speaks for the heroine in many places, reminding us of the method of Dante (*Vita Nuova*) — “and so write these things that they shall seem rather to be spoken by a third person, and not directly by him to her, which is scarce fitting.”

So far as I know the *Rasikapriyā* from which our leaves are derived affords a unique example of a purely Hindu work, written in Hindī in Nāgarī characters, and lavishly illustrated by a Mughal artist. And Hindī manuscripts with illustrations of any kind are very rare. This was perhaps a special copy prepared for Indrajīt Shāh, Keśava Dās' patron; or for Rāja Birbal, on the occasion of the author's mission to the Mughal court on behalf of his patron.

The miniatures are in Mughal style of the earliest seventeenth century (school of Akbar), with architecture of the Faḥpur Sīkri type. The trees are of types well known in Mughal paintings, and the soft colouring, treatment of drapery (exhibiting distant European influence) as well as the general tendency to indicate modelling show the same character. That Kṛṣṇa is of brown rather than blue complexion is accordant with Mughal realism. The shading of the armpits which appears in many Rājput and Mughal paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth century will be observed. The *matière*, however, and the manners, are purely Hindu; and though the manuscript is not of the ancient Indian format, but more like a European or Persian book, the illustrations are placed on the page in the Indian, not in Persian fashion.

The present series is of value and interest also in connection with the history of costume,¹ the more so as all the illustrations are evidently by one hand and of the same date. Kṛṣṇa (the Nāyaka) wears either (1) a purely Hindu costume consisting of a *dhotī* and *dupaṭṭa* without *jāma*' (Nos. XXXV, etc.); or (2) the Indian Mughal *jāma*', fastening on the left,

¹ See the account of costume in *Cat. Indian collections, Part V, Rājput paintings.*

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and with either the pointed or the plain skirt. This *jāma'* is worn over a *dhotī* or trousers, and with the usual long decorated *kamarband*, and a *dupaṭṭa* (Nos. XXXVIII, etc.). On his head he wears either a jewelled *mukuṭa* with points, or a *morā mukuṭa*, or a *pagrī*; his feet are always bare.

Other males wear usually the *jāma'* with plain skirt, trousers, *patka* (*kamarband*), *pagrī*, and heeled slippers.

The costumes of Rādhā (the Nāyakā) and of the Dūtīkā are constant, consisting of a skirt, *colī*, and *sārī*, as in contemporary Rājput paintings and in early Mughal works. The armbands are provided with large black pompons. The arm-pit shadow is indicated only in the case of the male figures.

Exceptional costumes are found in leaf 32, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: on one side, illustrating *Priyalalitām*, where Kṛṣṇa wears a peacock skirt over trousers, with *kamarband*, girdle of bells, *dupaṭṭa*, and *morā mukuṭa*, and is dancing in the rain (C., R. P., Pl. xviii_a), and on the other side, illustrating *Priyalālā*, where he wears a very short, double-flounced skirt over trousers, but otherwise as above. Similar to the last is one found in our No. XXI (M. F. A. 15.61c) where a woman kneeling before Kṛṣṇa wears the same skirt and trousers, with a transparent *colī*, *dupaṭṭa*, and peaked cap: this is presumably a dancing costume.

X

17.3108. *Rasikapriyā*, a complete leaf of the manuscript, with text and illustrations on both sides. This is folio 17 according to the original numbering.

Dimensions of the whole leaf, .142 × .228 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Obverse, text corresponding to v. 54 on p. 40 of the printed text: the Dūtīkā describes to Kṛṣṇa the case of the *Vicitra-vibhramā-prauḍhā* or "Romantic (lit. variegated) flurried mature heroine":

"She should be called a romantic flurried mature heroine whose messenger, having seen her radiant beauty, brings about a meeting with her beloved."

This is the subject of the illustration, where the Nāyaka (Kṛṣṇa), kneeling on the bed in a chamber, is giving earnest attention to the words of the Dūtīkā who kneels before him.

The second paragraph on the same page, not illustrated, describes the *Ākramita nāikā*, the "Mature heroine who is beginning to yield," but this subject is not illustrated.

Reverse, the first paragraph describes the *Labdhāpati prouḍhā*, "The mature heroine whose lord is unfaithful," but this subject is not illustrated. The second paragraph

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entitled *Dhīrā-bheda*, "Analysis of the self-controlled heroine," describes the "Self-controlled mature heroine." She is one who "while showing respect, is not respectful, and apparently well-behaved, conceals her real feelings." This is illustrated in the picture, where the Nāyaka (Kṛṣṇa) is seated, and the Nāyakā (Rādhā) kneels before him, fanning him. The third paragraph, not illustrated, describes the *Sādara dhīrā* or "Attentive self-controlled heroine." "Seeing Keśava (Kṛṣṇa; the poet thus introducing his own name) coming, she runs forward and gives him a seat, she herself washes his feet, and sets before him a dish of the best fresh betel leaves, and preparing the chew, puts it before him, and takes a fan in her hand."

PLATE VIII.

XI

17.3109. *Rasikapriyā*, another complete leaf of the manuscript, with text and illustrations on both sides. This is folio 71 of the original manuscript.

Dimensions, .14 × .22 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published (the reverse side), *P. I. A.*, Pl. LXXXV.

Obverse, text corresponding to v. 18, p. 168 of the printed text, beginning *Rādhikā kari urāhanau*, "The reproving of Rādhā": the printed text has *Prīyā sō urāhano*, "The reproving of the Beloved." This subject is illustrated in the picture. Rādhā is seated on a throne, the Sakhī or Dūtikā kneeling before her, remonstrating with her for her pride. The Sakhī says to her, "By Keśava Dās! are your beauty and family honor then so high and so strangely peculiar to you, that your heart is so perverse? You do not consider anyone your equal, but embarking on the flying mansion (*vimāna*) of your pride, you range the sky from East to West! You strut about too proudly, your veil (*añcala*) is puffed up; you should renounce such airs and graces and let your heart be simple. Fawn-eyed lady, send but a little word of gladness to Hari, who has laid his heart like a diamond in your hands."

Below is the section entitled *Kṛṣṇa sō urāhano*, "The reproving of Kṛṣṇa" (*Kṛṣṇa ko urāhani* in the printed text), not illustrated.

The last two and a half lines, rubricated, from the colophon of the chapter (though this is not the end of a chapter in the printed text): it reads *Iti Śrīman mahārāja kumāra Indrajit viracita Rasikapriyā rasa amaramam varṇana nāma pañcadaśa prabhāva*, "So runs the fifteenth section entitled 'Description of deathless delight,' of the variegated *Rasikapriyā* of His Highness King Indrajit." However, the name of this section in the printed text is *Sakhijana-karma varṇana*, "Description of the doings of the Sakhīs."

The reverse begins with the description of *Duḥsandhāna rasa*, "The flavor of what is hard to reconcile," and corresponds to verse 8 on page 188 of the printed text. "When one consents and the other refuses, Keśava declares that is 'The flavor of what is hard to reconcile,' exhibited clearly and fully." The next verse gives an example, in the form of a dialogue between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

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- He.* "Pray give me some curd."
She. "What, on credit?"
He. "No, as a gift."
She. "How long is it, pray, since you *bought* yourself something to eat?"
He. "If you go away without giving, what was the use of your coming today?"
She. "I am going back home."
He. "If you do, you will make me your enemy; what is the good?"
She. "If I make you my enemy, still I shall do very well."
He. "If you make me your enemy, how will your milk be sold — alas! —?"
She. "If I cannot sell it, I'll throw it away."

PLATE IX.

XII

17.3110. *Rasikapriyā*, another complete leaf of the manuscript, with text and illustrations on both sides. This is folio 70 of the original manuscript.

Dimensions of the whole page, .145 × .224 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Obverse, text corresponding to vv. 6–9, pp. 180–181 of the printed text, on the "Characteristics of the laugh." The text is headed *Rādhikā kau māmdahāsu*, "Rādhā's smile." This subject is illustrated in the picture, and the description is as follows:

(The Sakhī speaks)

"Who can tell how, when she gave him fresh betel to eat, her fingers first touched her own fresh mouth?

Did you mark in what fashion she drew Lāla's glance?

And spoke with a smile of enchantment? I heard and I understood that her words were soaked in love,

And I know that her darling's heart's desires were all fulfilled."

The remainder of the text describes "Kṛṣṇa's smile," "The low laugh," and "Rādhā's low laugh."

The reverse begins with the description of *Kṛṣṇa kau kalahāsa*, "Kṛṣṇa's low laugh." This is illustrated in the picture. The Sakhī, concealed by the trees, has been a secret witness of the meeting, and afterwards says to Rādhā:

"Hari was talking to you a long time, my dear, about something or other, with words that were soaked with love,

He put his scarf about your neck, and then — O Keśava! — he made for you a heart-enthraling garland:

And what amazed me most, how he cried "Aha!" and took you so many times in his arms,

How he laid his hand on your head, and how he knotted together your veil and his scarf." ¹

¹ Cf. *Catalogue of the Indian collections, Part V, Rājput paintings*, No. CCCXV.

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The following verses, not illustrated, describe "Rādhā's loud laugh," and "Kṛṣṇa's loud laugh."

PLATE X.

XIII

15.60A. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration, one of the few of which the subject can be positively identified. Illustrating some aspect of the *Svādhinapatikā nāyakā*, the heroine whose lord is at her command. This is leaf 37 of the original manuscript.

Dimensions, .138 × .126 m. Ross Collection.

The Nāyakā (Rādhā) is seated, Kṛṣṇa kneeling, staining the nails of her feet with henna, a humble service, showing how much he is her servant. The confidante looks on in astonishment, finger to mouth. Under the *Aṣṭanāyakā varṇana*, p. 89 of the printed text we have:

"Keśava says that she is *Svādhinapatikā* ('who rules her lord') by whose virtues her lord is fast bound, and ever remains at her side: he relates her happy love." (4)

(The Sakhī speaks aside):

"On Keśava, the soul of Braja, more dear to his father than life itself,
For whom gods and men, and even Kumārī would offer themselves in sacrifice,
beioved of Lakṣmī and Sūrya-deva
On that very Hari, thou herdsman's daughter, imposing deep love, thou gettest
thy feet to be washed,
I pass it off with a smile, but if another beheld such a thing, then scandal would
follow!"

(The Sakhī addressing the heroine):

"He maketh himself at home on the hem of thy bodice, and dwells like an image,
reflected in thee as if in a mirror,
All men consider the lord of a wife to be her very God,
O Keśava Rāi, but in thee we have found a Goddess-wife!
Just as the Ganges followed the car of Bhagīratha, so my Gopāla follows close
the chariot of thy desire.
Hearken, my queen, is there any point whatever in which he does not obey, for
whom thy speech is just a text of scripture?"

PLATE XI.

XIV

15.60B. *Rasikapriyā*, detached illustration: toilet (*alamkāraṇa*) of the Nāyaka.

Dimensions, .132 × .115 m. Ross Collection.

Kṛṣṇa is tying his turban, while Rādhā holds the mirror, and the Sakhī the coiled end of the turban. A fragment of text (*kasahā* or *kesahan*) survives in the upper left hand corner.

PLATE XI.

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XV

15.60c. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. The Nāyaka (Rādhā) and Sakhī conversing, Kṛṣṇa arriving.

Dimensions, .133 × .127 m. Ross Collection.

Here Kṛṣṇa wears the muslin *jāma'* with six-pointed skirt over a *dhotī*.

PLATE XII.

XVI

15.60d. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. Nāyakā and Sakhī in conversation, while it is raining hard outside.

Dimensions, .130 × .128 m. Ross Collection

No doubt one of Rādhā's 'complaints.' Cf. Vidyāpati,

“Impenetrable clouds are thundering incessantly,

And all the world is full of rain:

Kānta is a stone, and Love is cruel,

A rain of arrows pierces me.”

PLATE XII.

XVII

15.60e. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. Above, the Nāyaka and Nāyakā lying on a bed; girls conversing in another room; below, a party of dancers and musicians.

Dimensions, .131 × .127 m. Ross Collection.

This seems to illustrate *Utsava ko milana*, “Meeting on the occasion of a festivity.” *Rasikapriyā* text, p. 65.

Here the Nāyaka has chosen the occasion of an entertainment, because the attention of the household will then be diverted, and he has instructed the Sakhī as follows, “When the Heroine has gone to sleep, then show me the bed, and by this device my desire will be accomplished.” The entertainment is described as *gāvati bajāvati nacata nānā-rūpa kari*, “singing, playing on instruments, and dancing in many styles.”

PLATE XIII.

XVIII

15.60f. *Rasikapriyā*, detached illustration. Rādhā serving Kṛṣṇa with betel (*pān-supāri*): he is seated, she kneels on the bed.

Dimensions, .132 × .119 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE XIII.

XIX

15.61a. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. Almost identical with the last.

Dimensions, .136 × .118 m. Ross Collection.

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15.61B. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā seated on a bed: he seeks to embrace her, but she draws her veil (*añcala*, end of the *sārī*) across her face and turns away, behaving as a *navala bālā*.

Dimensions, .128 × .117 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE XIV.

XXI

15.61C. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. Kṛṣṇa seated on a throne, conversing with a kneeling woman, who is peculiarly dressed in trousers, short flounced skirt, *paṭkā*, *colī*, *dupaṭṭa* and oval cap.

Dimensions, .132 × .111 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE XIV.

XXII

15.61D. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. Kṛṣṇa reclining in a room, Rādhā in animated conversation with her Sakhī, outside. Apparently a quarrel has taken place.

Dimensions, .135 × .111 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE XV.

XXIII

15.61E. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. Rādhā is seated on a throne engaged in conversation with her Sakhī. Like Nos. XXIV, XXVI, XXVII (**15.61F**, **15.62B**, and **15.62C**).

Dimensions, .132 × .117 m. Ross Collection.

XXIV

15.61F. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. Similar to the last.

Dimensions, .134 × .117 m. Ross Collection.

XXV

15.62A. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. Kṛṣṇa seated on a throne, the messenger addressing him.

Dimensions, .130 × .117 m. Ross Collection.

XXVI

15.62B. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. Similar to No. XXIII (**15.61E**).

Dimensions, .129 × .118 m. Ross Collection.

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XXVII

15.62c. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. Similar to No. XXIII (15.61E).
Dimensions, .128 × .113 m. Ross Collection.

XXVIII

15.62d. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā seated on a bed, he holding her wrist and speaking.

Dimensions, .132 × .118 m. Ross Collection.

XXIX

15.62e. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. On the left an empty room containing a bed. Outside, Kṛṣṇa taking the dust of Rādhā's feet, she with finger to mouth in wonder.

Dimensions, .131 × .113 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE XV.

XXX

15.62f. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. Kṛṣṇa kneeling at Rādhā's feet, the Sakhī standing, finger to mouth, in wonder.

Dimensions, .136 × .115 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE XVI.

XXXI

21.1321. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. The Nāyakā (Rādhā) seated in a chamber, the Dūtikā standing, persuading her to rise. The Nāyaka (Kṛṣṇa) seated without, waiting.

Dimensions, .132 × .106 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE XVI.

XXXII

21.1322. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. Nāyakā seated reading, in a chamber; the Dūtikā (Sakhī) standing attentively before her. The letter has been addressed by the lover to the Sakhī, with the intention that the latter should show it to the beloved.

Dimensions, .13 × .105 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Written on the scroll in Nāgarī characters:

Dohā: Bichūrī milā naha bahutū sukhu je pritama vihi(na) bhāi

Prema palāṭe e sakhī bichūre mite kāi

“ For one cut off from union, who is deprived of his darling, there is no good comfort:

In return for love, O Sakhī, is separation merited? ”

I have not been able to find these lines in the *Rasikapriyā*.

PLATE XVII.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

XXXIII

21.1323. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. The Nāyaka (Kṛṣṇa) seated in a chamber, in conversation with the Dūtikā, who kneels before him.

Dimensions, .132 × .106 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE XVII.

XXXIV

21.1324. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. The Nāyaka (Kṛṣṇa) seated in a chamber in conversation with the Dūtikā, who kneels before him.

Dimensions, .132 × .107 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE XVIII.

XXXV

21.1325. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. The Nāyakā (Rādhā) and Dūtikā kneeling playing *caupai* in a chamber; the Nāyaka (Kṛṣṇa) arriving, in the courtyard on the right. Rādhā turns to meet his eyes.

Dimensions, .131 × .107 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE XVIII.

XXXVI

21.1326. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. The Nāyaka (Kṛṣṇa) seated in a chamber, the Dūtikā kneeling before him, speaking: probably delivering a message from the Nāyakā (Rādhā).

Dimensions, .133 × .978 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

XXXVII

21.1327. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. In a chamber with a bed, the Nāyaka (Kṛṣṇa) kneeling addressing and cajoling the Nāyakā (Rādhā), also kneeling, and putting her finger to her mouth (a gesture of surprise or embarrassment).

Dimensions, .133 × .111 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE XIX.

XXXVIII

21.1328. *Rasikapriyā*, a detached illustration. Nāyaka (Kṛṣṇa), Nāyakā (Rādhā), and Dūtikā in a chamber; the first seated cross-legged, the second kneeling, the third standing, finger to mouth in surprise.

Dimensions, .132 × .081 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE XIX.

MAHĀBHĀRATĀ

XXXIX

17.75. Scene from the *Mahābhārata*; apparently Kṛṣṇa, mediating between the Kauravas and the five Pāṇḍavas. In landscape, with a temple in a grove on a hill be-

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yond. Of the Pāṇḍavas, Yudhisthira is speaking, Arjuna with the bow is next to him, Bhīma with a characteristic angry gesture stands in the foreground, with Nakula and Sahadeva behind him.

About A.D. 1600.

Dimensions: .161 × .272 m. Harriet O. Cruft Fund.

PLATE XX.

SCHOOL OF JAHĀNGĪR

[BEFORE ACCESSION, AND DURING REIGN, 1606-1628]

XL

14.609. *Muraqqa'* leaf. Portrait of a prince, possibly Jahāngīr, seated under a willow-tree. By Āghā Rizā.

Probably between 1590 and 1600 A.D.

Dimensions: .078 × .144 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 110.

The signature reads: *Raqm Āghā Rizā Murīd bakhhlās*, "The work of Āghā Rizā, surnamed Murīd;" and the designation in gold letters, *Sultān Salīm*. The work is called Persian by Marteau and Vever (Pl. 128) and Martin (figs. 29, 30) and dated about 1560, with reference to the vague figure of an Āqā Rizā who is said to have worked for Shāh Ṭahmāsp and to have died in Bukhāra in A.D. 1573-4. Here, however, it is assigned to the Āqā Rizā who was one of Jahāngīr's court painters: in Jahāngīr's own words "Āqā Rizā-i of Herat (Merv in other MSS), at the time when I was a prince, joined my service" (*Memoirs*, Rogers and Beveridge, II, p. 20). As this Āqā Rizā's son Abu'l-Ḥasan, Nādiru'z-Zamān, was already a renowned painter in A.D. 1618, Āqā Rizā himself was probably middle-aged at that time, and a young man when the present picture was painted. That the present work is actually from the hand of Jahāngīr's artist can hardly be doubted when a comparison is made with the authentic signatures appearing on five miniatures in British Museum MS. Or. Add. 18579 (*Kalīla va Dimnah*).¹ These read as follows:

f. 21 '*Amal-i-Āqā Muḥammad Rizā, Murīd-i-Pādshāh, Hijra 1012*, with the names *Salīm* and *Nānhā* on other parts of the picture; f. 21a '*Amal-i-Āqā Muḥammad Rizā Murīd*'; f. 40b '*Āqā Rizā*'; f. 54b '*Amal-i-Muḥammad Rizā bakhhlās Murīd, Hijra 1011*,² and over the city gate *Abu an-Naṣr Sultān Salīm (?) Shāh*; f. 331b, '*Āqā Rizā* (in this picture there is a man playing panpipes, as in No. XLI of the present catalogue attributed

¹ See Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 755: Wilkinson, *The lights of Canopus*, 1929, has reproduced all of the thirty-six miniatures in color. Sir Thomas Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Ch. X, ignores Jahāngīr's Āqā Rizā completely. The Āqā Rizā of Iskandar Munshi, cited *ib.* p. 143, as a contemporary of Sādiq, may or may not be the same as 'Alī Rizā 'Abbāsi: neither can be identified with Jahāngīr's Āqā Rizā, Murīd.

² In *Artibus Asiae*, 1927, P III, p. 204, where the problem is discussed, I have misread the date, which is not very clearly written, as 1001.

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to the same artist). In view of these facts I am of opinion that the present picture is the work of Jahāngīr's Āqā Rizā, and that it was painted in India soon after the artist's acceptance of Jahāngīr's patronage, certainly before A.D. 1606, and perhaps between 1590 and 1600; an almost purely Persian technique is only what might have been expected from the artist so soon after his arrival. It would appear that our Āqā Rizā had another son, Muḥammad Saḫī 'Abbāsī, who worked at the court of Shāh Saḫī (A.D. 1629-41). This son may have been born before the father left Persia; he speaks of his father as Āqā Rizā, and as Rizā Muḫavvir (Schulz, p. 195, Sarre und Mittwoch, *Zeichnungen von Rizā 'Abbāsī*, p. 13). Our Āqā Rizā may well be the same as the Muḥammad Rizā of Meshhed (pupil of Mīr Sayyid Aḫmad Meshhedī) of whom it is known from Persian sources that he went to India and died there (Karabaček, p. 19, quoting Habīb, and Schulz, p. 190). Thus in my view Āghā Rizā Murīd = Āqā Rizā = Muḥammad Rizā of Meshhed = Rizā Muḫavvir = Āqā Rizāī of Herat or Merv = Āqā Muḥammad Rizā Murīd¹ of the British Museum manuscript. Dr. Ernst Kühnel is also of opinion, as expressed to me in conversation, that Āqā Rizā is the name of a single artist who worked first in Persia, afterwards in India.

Published: Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures persanes*, Pl. 128 (dated ca. 1560); Martin, *Miniature painting* . . . fig. 29 (identified as Sulṭān Salīm). See also Nos. XLI-XLVIII.

PLATE XXI.

XLI

14.610. *Muraqqa'* leaf. A man playing panpipes. Border of arabesque, with deer and decorative cartouches. Verso, an 'unwān and six lines of Persian Nasta'liq text, border of phoenixes (*simurgh*) and cartouches with deer. Probably the work of Āqā Rizā (see No. XL, M. F. A. 14.609).

Late sixteenth century.

Dimensions (picture): .075 × .135 m.; (mount) .193 × .292 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 111.

The work shows some reminiscence of the style of Mirek and Ustād Muḥammad.

Verso, title page with, 'unwān of the *Būstān* of Sa'dī, beginning,

Ba nām-i-khudāvand-i-jān āfarīn

"Glory to the name of the God of the soul!"

within a coloured border with flying *Simurghs*.

Published: Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures persanes*, Pl. 128, ascribed to Āqā Rizā (?), ca. 1560; Martin, *Miniature painting* . . . fig. 30 (ascribed to Āqā Rizā: but see No. XL).

Cf. Nos. XL, XLII—XLVIII.

PLATE XXI.

¹ Murīd is an honorific, unusual in India, but not uncommon in Turkeṣtān. Two later Indian calligraphers had the title of Āqā.

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XLII

15.24. *Muraqqa'* leaf. Recto, miniature representing a youth offering a cup of wine to a girl. Both are dressed in the height of fashion. The youth wears a green cloak over a red *jāma'*, the ends of which are tucked up into the waist showing a grey skirt beneath; the girl a cloak of cloth of gold over a closely fitting garment buttoning down the front.

Attributed to Āqā Rizā (see No. XL).

End of the sixteenth century.

Dimensions of the actual picture, .102 × .113 m. Ross Collection.

The attribution and other following instances are based on comparison with items XL and XLI; the facial type and more especially the rendering of the hands, and the special character of the costume. The *jāma'* or *takaucčiyah* is especially significant of Indian origin: it is of the type reaching to the ankles, which appears very commonly in the *Ḥamza Nāma* pictures (e.g. Glück, Pls. 1, on the right, and 21, on the right). The tucking of the ends into the waistband is also characteristic. The turbans and slippers are likewise more Indian than Persian. The design of the *kimkhwāb* of which the *jāma'* in item XLV is made is identical with that of Glück, Pl. 22. In item XLIII, the composition, representing a young man seated on the bough of a tree recalls that of item XL, assigned on other grounds to Āqā Rizā. Cf. also Martin, *Miniature painting*, Pls. 106, 110, centre, both ascribed to Āqā Rizā, "after Sulṭān Muḥammad."

The present item, together with Nos. XLIII–XLVIII forms part of a *muraqqa'* of fourteen leaves (M. F. A. 15.24–32 and 120–124) averaging .215 × .328 m. in size. This album was evidently prepared in India, probably for Jahāngīr, late in the sixteenth century, at any rate some years before his accession. The fourteen leaves include the first and last, with medallions externally and calligraphy within: two leaves with calligraphy on both sides, and ten with pictures on one side (recto with one exception), calligraphy on the other: the borders, gold arabesque or vegetation with animals on a buff or blue ground, are probably Indian in Persian style. The calligraphy, by Persian writers, and two of the pictures are reserved for the *Catalogue of Persian and Arabic painting and calligraphy*: the remaining eight pictures are here tentatively catalogued as Mughal.

PLATE XXII.

XLIII

15.26. A young man seated on the bough of a tree. Outline, with little color. Attributed to Āqā Rizā (cf. No. XL).

Dimensions of the actual picture, .095 × .14 m. Ross Collection.

XLIV

15.27. An elegant youth, dressed in a white *jāma'*, holding a flask and a cup of wine: *mīhrāb* above. Attributed to Āqā Rizā.

Dimensions of the actual picture, .072 × .14 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE XXII.

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XLV

15.28. Youth with a bow and arrow: wearing a blue *jāma'*, the skirt ends of which are tucked into the waist, showing a cloth of gold skirt below. Attributed to Āqā Rizā.

Dimensions of the actual picture, .088 × .153 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE XXIII.

XLVI

15.29. Youth in a blue gown, seated, offering wine to a girl seated on his lap. Perhaps by Āqā Rizā, after a Persian original.

Dimensions of actual picture, .083 × .162 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE XXIV.

XLVII

15.31. Youth on horseback, the horse drinking. Outline with little colour. Probably by Āqā Rizā after a Persian original.

Dimensions of actual picture, .107 × .123 m. Ross Collection.

XLVIII

15.32. A man on horseback, resembling Akbar; attended by a bearer, with arms wrapped in a blue cloth. The faces retouched. Possibly by Āqā Rizā. The poor quality of the work may be the result of an attempt at actual portraiture, which does not seem to have been Āqā Rizā's *forte*.

End of the sixteenth century.

Dimensions of the actual picture, .122 × .178 m. Ross Collection.

XLIX

14.612. Page with a horse, outline drawing in delicate colour. The body of the horse composed entirely of other living creatures — a Peri, men, women, and animals of all kinds. Early seventeenth century. In a very Persian manner.

Dimensions, .197 × .048 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 73.

A mode of puzzle or trick design probably of great antiquity, but at this time more characteristic of Indian (Mughal and Hindu) painting than of Persian. Cf. Hendley, *Indian animals, true and false*, J. I. A., vol. 16.

PLATE XLIX.

L

12.58. A delicate brush drawing, in imitation of a Persian original, representing Nushirwān and Busurgmihr passing a ruined mosque and hearing the conversation of two birds.

Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .097 × .150 m. (without later decorated mount). Ross Collection.

Cf. M. F. A. 14.594 and 14.606 (Persian) and Binyon, L., *Poems of Nizami*, Pl. III.

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LI

12.59. A delicate brush drawing, representing Majnūn in the desert, surrounded by wild animals, his friends. In imitation of a Persian original, suggesting the style of Ustād Muḥammadi.

Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .133 × .176 m. (excluding later decorated mount). Ross Collection.

LII

14.647. A prince on horseback, and a falconer, standing, with a dog in the foreground. Mughal, with a markedly Persian inheritance.

Sixteenth century.

Dimensions, .158 × .172 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 112.

Published, Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische miniaturmalerei*, Pl. 135 (calls it school of Biḥzād, Indo-Persian?).

This is evidently an original sketch for the painting in the British Museum MS. Add. 18,801, reproduced by Martin, *Miniature painting* . . . Pl. 177, and called "by an artist of the school of Sulṭān Muḥammad, about 1540"). Another finished version of the same picture, in the Rāmpūr State Library, is published by Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, Pl. IX, and called a portrait of Amir Shaikh Hasan Noyan, *wālī* of Baghdad, and dated about A.D. 1575. Brown, *ibid.*, p. 56, says: "The man on horseback, a Turkoman in face and dress, is the Amir Shaikh Hasan Noyan, a *wālī* (official) of Baghdad, and the picture is sufficiently Persian in appearance to suggest that it might have been painted under the supervision of Sultan Muhammad himself in his studio at Tabriz. But a closer study shows that there is something in this work which is not Safavid; in some way it is reminiscent of the Rājput style, vaguely suggestive of an Indian environment. It is impossible not to admire the feeling of breadth in the landscape portion of this early example of painting under the Mughals although the picture as a whole is very much more Persian than Indian." Another painting in the same style, will be found, *ibid.*, Pl. XIII. I have no doubt that all these are of Indian origin and date from the latter part of the sixteenth century.

PLATE XXX.

LIII

14.656. A young man seated reading; large loose Bukhāra turban, and scarf of Indian type. Probably painted in India but with strong Persian character.

Beginning of seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .098 × .148 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 118.

PLATE XXIV.

LIV

06.135. A man seated, washing clothes in a basin. Cf. M. F. A. 14.620.

First half of the seventeenth century.

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Dimensions, .07 × .061. Ross Collection.

PLATE XXVI.

LV

07.290. Hunting scene: outline with some colour.

Inscribed on the later mount *Farrukh Sūr*. Reverse with four lines of calligraphy in very large Nasta'liq character.

Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .098 × .167 m. (without border and later mount). Gift of Edward W. Forbes.

LVI

14.663. A poet seated in a garden with books, *qalamdān*, flask: flowers and flowering trees.

First quarter of the seventeenth century.

Dimensions (picture), .103 × .122 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 119.

The mount, cut down, bears a signature or attribution '*Amal-i-Muḥammad 'Alī*, which cannot be relied upon. At the back, calligraphy signed *Al faqīrī'l-mudhahibb 'Imād Ḥusainī ghajarulla*. Mīr 'Imād Ḥusainī worked under Shāh 'Abbas and died A.D. 1615: he was one of the most celebrated calligraphers of the Ṣafavī period.¹ The work is one of quite exceptional perfection and delicacy. Published, Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures persanes*, Pl. XIX, in colour: and Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Pl. 138 (calls it Transoxiana, early sixteenth century) (somewhat enlarged).

PLATE XXV.

LVII

14.661. Portrait of a Portuguese gentleman; and Persian poem in Nasta'liq character.

Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .079 × .098 m. Goloubew Collection.

On the left and below the miniature four mystical quatrains beginning:

Ānkas ki ba-dast jām dārad

Sultānī jam mudām dārad

Ābī ki khizr hayāt āz mi yāft

Dar maikada jū ki jām dārad

"He who has in his hand a cup

Has eternal power over Jāmshid:

The water, from which Khizr found life,

Seek it in the tavern, where the cup is."

PLATE XXVI.

¹ Fuller details regarding 'Imād Ḥusainī (or al-Ḥasanī) will be found in Zafar Ḥasan, *Examples of calligraphy*, p. 9. Zafar Ḥasan states that specimens of 'Imād's writing were much sought for in India.

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LVIII

18.200. Superb portrait of a seated Mughal officer, perhaps of Persian blood, in brush outline and gold: within decorated borders containing animal and floral motifs in gold on buff and grey grounds.

Reverse, calligraphy within a double floral border.

Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, (portrait), .51 × .105 m., (whole page) .219 × .328 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Text:

*Pāim za sar tā baqadam dard shuda
Va za şabr va şhakīb va 'āfiyat fard shuda
Bā ātash-i-'ishq āncunān khū karda
K'az har ci na 'ir-i-ū'st dil sard shuda*

“ We are from head to foot (immersed) in passion,
And far from toleration, patience, and health:
And we are so inured to this fire of love;
That at her every tumult our heart grows cold.”

PLATE XXVI.

LIX

21.1674. Portrait of Mir Khusrau: very stout but handsome, reclining.

Early seventeenth century. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Dimensions without borders: .182 by .211 m.

The whole is carried out in white and gold, except for the light tones of the flesh, the pale blue sky, and the pale light red of the pattern of the carpet, of which the ground colour is identical with that of the flesh. The original mounting is preserved, with pale buff borders decorated with gold flowers. On the reverse side is a piece of elegant calligraphy. The identification of the subject of the picture provided by this piece of calligraphy may probably be relied upon. The text reads as follows:

Mīr Khusrau in taswīr ast.

Min maqālat al kābir, dost mukhlās ān ast, ki dar masāhabat malālat numāyad wa dar mufaraqat farāmoshgār na bāshad, wa dar miḥnat wa raḥat mutaghair na shāvad.

Katabahu Muḥammad Laṭīf, ghafara

“ This is the picture of Mir Khusrau. According to the words of the great, the sincere friend is one in whom weariness is not found, who is not forgetful in absence, and who remains unchanged in good and evil fortune. Written by Muḥammad Laṭīf (God) forgive (his faults).”

At the same time an old cover leaf bears the statement in Nāgarī characters, in a seventeenth century hand, *Taswīr Mīr Khusrau kī*, “ The picture of Mir Khusrau.”

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The personage represented resembles very closely the left hand figure of the portrait group belonging to Mr. J. C. French, I. C. S., reproduced by Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, Pl. LIX, b.

Mir Khusrau was a son of Jahāngir, born 1587 and was murdered or 'died of colic' in 1622 at the age of thirty-seven. As remarked by Vincent Smith, Mir Khusrau is one of the most interesting and pathetic figures in Indian history. He rebelled in the year of Jahāngir's accession, 1606, was captured, imprisoned, and according to some accounts, partially blinded; he spent the rest of his life in captivity, though not otherwise harshly treated, with his one wife to whom he was devoted. Sir Thos. Roe's chaplain, who saw him in 1606 says that "he was a gentleman of very lovely presence and fine carriage" and "exceedingly beloved of the common people." I have not found any reference to his embonpoint, which is conspicuous in Mr. French's picture and is still more marked in the Boston example, which may represent him at an age of about thirty.

Published (head only) *P. I. A.*, Pl. LXXXVIII; in full, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Notes on Indian paintings*, *Artibus Asiae*, 1927, Fig. 1.

PLATE XXVII.

LX

14.666. Portrait of a courtier, probably Rāja Mān Singh, leaning on a thin banded staff.

Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .075 × .2 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 120.

The suggested identification is based on the resemblance to the portrait of British Museum MS. Add. 18801, where, however the Rāja is somewhat stouter and older. It is also well-known that Rāja Mān Singh used to lean on an enamelled staff which was "fifty-two inches in length and composed of thirty-three cylinders of gold arranged on a central core of strong copper," and is still preserved at Jaipur (Hendley, T. H., *Jeyapore enamels*, 1886, p. 5). The British Museum portrait above referred to is published, Coomaraswamy, *Mughal portraiture*, *Orientalische Archiv*, Vol. III, fig. 12.

Rāja Mān Singh the nephew and adopted son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās of Amber, a Kacchwāha Rājput, was a trusted friend and general and governor of Akbar's. He is said to have ruled the eastern provinces with great prudence and justice; but Jahāngir, in his Memoirs, calls him "one of the hypocrites and old wolves of this State." He died in A.D. 1614.

Published, Coomaraswamy, *P. I. A.*, Pl. xc.

PLATE XXVIII.

LXI

14.670. Rāja Sangrām of Gorakhpur (Kharakpūr), a Hindū prince, dressed in trousers, *jāma*, *kamarband* and *pagrī*, and armed with a *katāra* worn in the belt. The mounting is of later date, but the two lines of Persian text appear to be contemporary. They read

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*Ṣūrat-i-Rāja Sangrām būd,
Dar shabāhat basī tamām būd*

“ This was (is) the portrait of Rāja Sangrām, and its resemblance is (was) quite perfect.”

Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .056 × .096 m. exclusive of mount. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 116.

Two Pahārī Rājas named Sangrām ruled in the seventeenth century. One, Rāja Sangrām Pāl of Basohli, succeeded to the throne in 1635 at the age of seven and died in or about 1673. At the age of twelve, i.e. in 1641, he was summoned to the Mughal court at Delhi, and remained there for a year; he was treated with much kindness, and was famous for his good looks.¹ But there are two serious, and indeed fatal objections to this identification: in the first place the painting, from the evidence of style and costume, is clearly a work of Jahāngīr's reign or slightly earlier, and in the second place it represents not a boy of twelve or thirteen years, but a young man over twenty years of age.

Another Pahārī Rāja, Sangrām Dev of Jammū ruled in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, though the exact dates are uncertain; he may have died about 1625.² This Sangrām is referred to in the *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* as in rebellion and as defeating Rāja Mān, ca. 1616–17, but as suppressing a revolt in Kaṣṭwār, on behalf of Jahāngīr, in 1820.³ In that year he was rewarded with a *mansab* of 1500 personal and 1000 horse, and in 1621 he received a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant. The picture, if representing this Sangrām, could have been painted at this time, in Kāngrā, by some Mughal painter in Jahāngīr's train.

No portrait of either of the Rājas Sangrām above referred to is known; but there was still another Rāja Sangrām, a zamīndār of Kharakpūr or Gorakhpur in Bihār, whose portrait appears in a picture representing Jahāngīr receiving Quṭbu'd-Dīn Koka at Lahore in 1605, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (No. III, 1921 I. M.).⁴ Here not only is the costume identical in all essentials with that represented in our portrait, but the physical resemblance, especially in the shape of the nose and chin, and also in the pose, is very striking; it is hardly possible to doubt that the same personage is represented. The only difficulty lies in the fact that he appears to be at least ten years older in the London portrait, and as this must have been painted in 1605 (the Rāja dying later in the same year) it would seem to put back to about 1595 the date of our example; which, from its style, one would have preferred to date not earlier than the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign. Here, perhaps, the word *būd* 'was' may be significant; this may have been

¹ Hutchinson and Vogel, *History of Basohli State*, Journ. Panjab. Hist. Soc., IV, 2, 1916.

² Hutchinson and Vogel, *History of Jammu State*, loc. cit., VIII, 2, 1921, p. 122.

³ *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīri* trans. Rogers and Beveridge, vol. I, p. 361 and vol. II, pp. 5, 88, 138, 154, 171, 175, 193.

⁴ Clarke, S. C., *Indian drawings . . . Wantage Bequest*, London, 1922, Pl. 7. For the spelling of the name Kharakpūr or Gorakhpur see Rogers and Beveridge, loc. cit., p. 175, footnote.

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a posthumous portrait, painted, perhaps by Manohar, soon after the zamindār's death, and represent him, possibly on the basis of some sketch or portrait no longer extant, as somewhat younger than he actually was at the time of his death. In any case the identity with Rāja Sangrām of Gorakhpūr can hardly be doubted.

Published, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Notes on Indian paintings*, Artibus Asiae, 1927, No. 1.

PLATE XXIX.

LXII

14.658. Portrait of a courtier or nobleman with a falcon: two lines of Nast'aliq calligraphy above and below the picture, the first ode from Ḥāfīz, under the letter *yā*, in which he derides himself for being faint-hearted.

School of Jahāngīr, ca. 1610.

Dimensions, .063 × .115 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 121.

Text:

Cūgān-i-kām dar kaf va gūyī na-mizanī

"The club of desire in the hand, and you do not strike the ball!"

Bāzī cunīn ba dast va shukārī na-mikunī

"Such a falcon in the hand, and you do not hunt!"

Possibly a satirical comment on the character of the person represented. The simile in the first line is drawn from polo. The first line of the ode reads "You never pass by the street of your love," the *gūyī* (ball) in the quoted lines being a play on the word *gūyī* (street) in the first line of the poem.

PLATE XXIX.

LXIII

17.3102. Portrait of Naubāt Khān, with a *vinā*. In color.

Early seventeenth century, perhaps about 1607.

Dimensions, .098 × .163 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Superscribed in Persian characters *Naubāt Khān Kalāwant*. *Kalāwant* designates a musician. Naubāt Khān was a title conferred by Jahāngīr on 'Alī Khān Kaṛorī, who was one of his court musicians. He refers to him as "one of my father's old servants," and as *dārogha* of the *Naqārakhāna* (drum-house); and with the title was given the rank of 500 personal and 200 horse (see Rogers and Beveridge, *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, Vol. I, p. 111).

Published, Fox-Strangways, A. H., *Music of Hindustan*.

PLATE XXVIII.

LXIV

15.57. Hindu prince and nude sādhu, both seated, the former with folded hands in respectful attention, the latter speaking, with a rosary in the right hand and a yogi's 'crutch' under the arm. Behind the sādhu, a disciple, standing, with a peacock fly-whisk. The drawing is a little coarse, but efficient. The prince has mutton-chop whiskers,

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bāla earrings, white *jāma'*, and long decorated *kamarband*, on the whole, therefore, dressed according to the Jahāngīr mode.

Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .148 × .186 m. (without later mount). Ross Collection.

PLATE XXXI.

LXV

15.100. Portrait (bust) of a young man: drawing with some color.

Inscription above, *Mitra Sen*.

Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .048 × .051 m. Ross Collection.

LXVI

15.108. A man drinking, with three attendants, all seated, probably a detail from a hunting scene. Sketch or copy, brush drawing in light brown.

Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .109 × .144 m. Ross Collection.

LXVII

14.664. A maulvī seated on rush matting, at rest. A book and chin-rest lying beside him. Inscribed *Maulvī Rūmī*.

Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .10 × .14 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 125.

Apparently a portrait from life: thus it cannot represent Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī, the Persian poet, and is probably some maulvī living in the time of Jahāngīr or Akbar.

Published: Martin, *Miniature painting* . . ., pp. 81, 84 and fig. 40; Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures persanes*, Pl. 172; also in *Les Arts*, Jan. 1914, p. 14.

PLATE LXX.

LXVIII

14.676. Painting representing two seated maulvīs, with writing materials lying on the ground. Their names are neatly inscribed on the mount as *Maulavī Jāmī* and *Maulavī 'Abdul'-Ghafūr Lārī*, respectively the famous Persian poet Maulānā 'Abdu'r-Raḥman Jāmī (A.D. 1414-1492) and his disciple and commentator 'Abdu'l-Ghafūr of Lār. The mounting is of later date than the picture, but the names may well have been copied from the original mount. In any case, however, the portrayals can make no pretention to be authentic likenesses of the long dead maulvīs. The handling is rather suggestive of Bishndās. Below the painting, on the same mount, is a *qita'* surrounded by a border containing eight other verses divided by floral illuminations.

School of Jahāngīr, ca. 1618.

Dimensions (painting); .047 × .048 m.; (calligraphy), .14 × .24 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 126.

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Text, the large writing, consists of the *al Fātiḥat* or opening Sura of the Qur'ān; it is signed and dated as follows:

Katabuhu'l-faḡīru'l-mudhnib 'Abdu'r-Rashīd ghufira lahu, 1031, i.e.

“Wrote it the humble sinner 'Abdu'r-Rashīd in the year A.D. 1622.”

The marginal text, of which the first half line is likewise in Arabic, the remainder in Persian, reads as follows:

Bismi'llahi'r-Rahmani'r-Rahīm

hast kilīd dar ganj-i-ḥakīm

Fātiḥat fikrat va khatm sukhan

nām-i-khudāist, bar-ū khatam kun.

Pish-i-wujūd hama āyandagān

pish-i-baqāi hama bāyandagān.

Qāfila sālār-i-jahān-i-qadam

mursalāh-i-paivand gulū-i-qalam.

“In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful!

(This Fātiḥat is) the key to the sage's treasure.

Expansion of thought, and seal of word:

it is the Name of God, with Him finish (your speech).

Before the being of all living creatures,

before the life of the whole living world,

Before the Leader of the Caravan of the World (Muḥammad)

(it was) the pen of the chief of pens.”

In the lower right hand corner, owner's seal, Bahādur Azamu'd Daulah, 1186 (A.D. 1771).

'Abdu'r-Rashīd Dailmī was a noted calligrapher, and author of a valuable Persian Dictionary, entitled *Muntakhabhu'l-Lughāt*, which he dedicated to Shāh Jahān. He was a sister's son and pupil of Mīr 'Imād, after whose murder he migrated to India in the reign of Shāh Jahān and was taken into royal favour on account of his skill in penmanship. He became the teacher of Dārā Shikoh, and of Zaibu'n-Nisā, daughter of Aurangzīb. He died A.H. 1081 = A.D. 1670-71.¹ For another example see No. CXXIII.

Published (painting only) Martin, *Miniature painting . . .*, Pl. 201. Coomaraswamy, *Portfolio of Indian art*, Pl. LXXXVIII, D.

PLATES XXVI, LIV.

LXIX

17.2697. Portrait of a maulvī, seated, holding a rosary: a brush drawing of extraordinary delicacy.

Early seventeenth century. Molā Rām Series.

¹ Zafar Hasan, *Specimens of calligraphy*, p. 11; *Tadhkira-i-Khushnavisan*, pp. 95-98.

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Dimensions, .068 × .108 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Indian drawings*, II, Pl. xx, 3.

PLATE LXIX.

LXX

14.679. The death of 'Ināyat Khān, a drawing representing a man in the last stages of emaciation, supported by pillows.

A.D. 1618.

Dimensions, .133 × .095 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 124.

This drawing exactly corresponds to the finished painting evidently by the same artist, found in Bodleian MS. Ouseley Add. 171. The Bodleian picture is signed, but the signature is defaced and illegible, which is the more to be regretted inasmuch as this is one of the supreme achievements of Mughal painting.

The subject has been identified by S. C. Clarke (*Indian drawings*, 1922, p. 2), almost certainly correctly. 'Ināyat Khān Bakhshi of Aḥadis on the 28th Shawwal of the 13th regnal year (= Oct. 8, A.D. 1618) is described as follows in Jahāngir's *Memoirs* (Rogers and Beveridge, II, p. 44):

“On this day news came of the death of 'Ināyat K. He was one of my intimate attendants. As he was addicted to opium and when he had the chance, to drinking as well, by degrees he became maddened with wine. As he was weakly built, he took more than he could digest, and was attacked by the disease of diarrhoea, and in this weak state he two or three times fainted. By my order Ḥakīm Ruknā applied remedies, but whatever methods were resorted to gave no profit. At the same time a strange hunger came over him, and although the doctor exerted himself in order that he should not eat more than once in twenty-four hours, he could not restrain himself. He also would throw himself like a madman on water and fire until he fell into a bad state of body. At last he became dropsical, and exceedingly low and weak. Some days before this he had petitioned that he might go to Agra. I ordered him to come into my presence and obtain leave. They put him into a palanquin and brought him. He appeared so low and weak that I was astonished.

‘He was skin drawn over bones.’

Or rather his bones, too, had dissolved. Though painters have striven much in drawing an emaciated face, yet I have never seen anything like this, nor even approaching to it. Good God, can a son of man come to such a shape and fashion? . . . As it was a very extraordinary case I directed painters to take his portrait. . . . Next day he travelled the road of non-existence.”

Published: Martin, *Miniature painting*, . . . Pl. 200; Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures persanes*, Pl. 173; Coomaraswamy, *P. I. A.*, Pl. XCII.

PLATE XXXII.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

LXXI

14.45. Portrait apparently of Jahāngīr, but with a larger nose than usual. Head and shoulders to right, full color, and gold.

Early seventeenth century, ca. 1610–1620.

Dimensions. .041 × .047 m. (including narrow original border but not later mount).
Special Fund for the Purchase of Indian Art.

LXXII

17.3105. Portrait of Jahāngīr, nimbate; head and shoulders in profile, wearing a green turban and red *jama'* and holding a black plume in the left hand. Full color and gold. An admirable example of the small portrait of which several replicas exist.

Early seventeenth century, perhaps about A.D. 1615.

Dimensions, .040 × .037 m. (actual painting only). Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Mughal portraiture*, Orientalische Archiv, Vol. 3, fig. 8; and *P. I. A.*, Pl. LXXXVIII.

At the back of the small plain mount, which may be contemporary, is the inscription in Persian characters: *Shābih-i-haṣrat . . . Nūru'd-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Pādshāh.*

PLATE XXX.

LXXIII

17.2696. The reception by Jahāngīr of Prince *Khurram* on his return from the Dekkhan; a brush drawing. Jahāngīr is seated in the balcony (*jharokhā*) of a Hall of Private Audience, embracing Prince *Khurram*: behind the prince is a servant holding his sword. In the middle space are sixteen courtiers and a *caurī*-bearer; one of the former stands on a *caukī* immediately below the Presence, with folded hands. In front of the railing are other servants, an elephant, and a horse.

Perhaps by Manohar Singh. A.D. 1617.

Dimensions, .180 × .255 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection (Molā Rām series).

Two similar drawings are known (1) India Office, Johnson Album No. 4, published, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Indian drawings*, I, Pl. II, and Brown, P., *Indian painting under the Mughals*, Pl. LVIII, in both cases wrongly dated; further discussion and correct dating (A.D. 1622) in *Artibus Asiae*, 1927, p. 292 (2) one in my possession, briefly discussed in *Artibus Asiae*, *loc. cit.*, The Johnson Album drawing is inscribed as the work of Manohar Singh and as representing the farewell of Jahāngīr to *Shāh Jahān*, in the *Diwān-i-Khāṣṣ* at Akbarābād, on the occasion of *Shāh Jahān's* departure for Balkh (A.D. 1622). *Shāh Jahān* never again appeared at Court. In both pictures, as in all portraits of later date, *Shāh Jahān* is represented as bearded. Our picture in which the son so closely resembles the father and is, like him, without a beard, may be compared with the representation of father and son seated side by side in a picture representing the Feast of Victory given to

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Prince Khurram by Nūr Jahān on the 16th of October in the year 1617, a week after the reception and investiture referred to below as represented in our picture. The Feast of Victory is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and is reproduced in Clarke, S. C., *Indian drawings . . . Wantage Bequest*, 1922, Pl. 5: where the *Memoirs* are incorrectly cited as saying " afterwards Shāh Jahān "; the prince had already possessed this title for a week.

Our picture evidently represents the reception of Prince Khurram on the 11th Shawwāl, A. H. 1026, *i.e.* Oct. 9th, 1617¹ in the fort of Mandu concerning which event Jahāngīr writes " after he had performed the dues of salutation and kissing the ground, I called him up into the *gharokhā*, and with exceeding kindness and uncontrolled delight rose from my place and held him in the embrace of affection " (Rogers and Beveridge, *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, Vol. I, p. 394). The elephant in the foreground may be the elephant Sarnāk sent as an offering by 'Ādil Khān of Bijāpur. The following courtiers are stated to have been present: Khān Jahān, 'Abdullah Khān, Mahābat Khān, Rāja Bhao Singh, and others, besides the Vakils of 'Ādil Khān. At the conclusion of the ceremonies Jahāngīr conferred the title of Shāh Jahān on Prince Khurram.

PLATE XXXIII.

LXXIV

14.654. Darbār of Jahāngīr in the Diwān-i-Khās at Agra. The picture includes sixty-seven figures, all portraits, and many inscribed with their names; a horse and state elephant in the foreground, left. Signature *Amal-i-kamtirīn khānazādān*, " Work of the humble house-born (artists)," but the names of the painters are lacking.

The probable date is about 1620. Reasons for this dating include the following: Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān) is represented without a beard (in India Office Johnson Album 4, No. 2, on the occasion of his departure for Balkh, ca. 1622, he is already bearded); Sultān Shujā', who was born in 1616, is represented as a child of four or five years; Mahābat Khān was a rebel in 1626, Zafar Khān died in 1622, and Khwāja Khān died in 1620. We cannot, however, in every case rely on all the portraits being those of contemporary personages, though this was evidently the case with most of them.

It may be remarked that the designation Khānazād " born of the house " was a kind of title, and as such was conferred amongst others upon the painter Abu'l-Ḥasan, the son of Āqā Rizā; this Abu'l-Ḥasan may have been one of the artists who collaborated here. Another probable collaborator is Manohar (Singh), author of the Johnson Album drawing above referred to (reproduced in my *Indian drawings*, I, Pl. II, and Percy Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, Pl. LVIII; another, Govardhan (cf. Percy Brown, *ibid.*, frontispiece).

Dimensions, .195 × .345 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 122.

¹ Vincent Smith, *Oxford history of India*, p. 384, says 1616. Rogers and Beveridge have October 12, 1617. The date as given above is reckoned according to Mahlung's *Vergleichungs-Tabellen*.

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Persons represented, numbered according to the key-plate in Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures persanes*:¹

1. Jahāngīr (uninscribed): Generally recognized by previous authors, but mistaken by Schulz and by myself for Akbar. The portraits of Jahāngīr with which comparison may be made are too numerous and too well-known to need citation.
2. Picture of the Virgin Mary (uninscribed). Jahāngīr took a great interest in European paintings, which he obtained from the Jesuits. It is known that he kept a picture of Jesus on the right side of the *jhārokhā* from which he gave audience in Agra, and a picture of the Virgin on the left, where it is seen in the present painting. That the former is not shown in our picture is perhaps to be accounted for by the position of the figure of 'Itibār Khān, whose head comes in front of the place which it would occupy.²
4. Prince Khurram, Shāh Jahān (uninscribed), b. 1592. The Prince closely resembled his father: the two are represented side by side in the picture of Nūr Jahān entertaining Jahāngīr and Prince Khurram, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. 115-1921 I. M., published by S. C. Clarke, *Indian drawings, Wantage Bequest*, Pl. 5. The Prince was in rebellion 1622-25, and succeeded his father in 1628. The picture in Johnson Album, India office album 4, No. 2. (Coomaraswamy, *Indian drawings*, I, Pl. II, and Percy Brown, *Indian paintings under the Mughals*, Pl. LVIII) is probably the earliest (ca. 1622) in which he appears with a beard: in the reigning portraits he is always represented with a beard.
3. Inscribed, *Sultān Shujā'*. Prince Shujā', b. 1616, was the second son of Prince Khurram, Shāh Jahān.
5. Inscribed, *Khawās Khān*. Not Khawāṣ Khān, a *jaḡīrdār* in the *sarkar* of Kunauj, d. 1616 (Jahāngīr, *Memoirs*, I, p. 328), but Daulat Khān Mayī, who as a young man was a favourite of Jahāngīr, and who received the title of Khawāṣ Khān and died soon after 1649 (Jahāngīr, *Memoirs*, I, p. 217, and *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, p. 467).
7. Inscribed, apparently *Mirzā Khān*.
8. Sultān Bulāqī (son of Prince Khusrāu and grandson of Jahāngīr).
9. Inscribed, *'Itibār Khān*. An old man. Jahāngīr (*Memoirs*, II, p. 231) speaks of him in 1622 as an old servant, and as very weak and old. He received the Governorship of Agra fort.

¹ The numbers quoted include only those which can positively be identified, or of which the names are legible: many of the names are more or less defaced and now illegible.

² Cf. Percy Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, pp. 176, 177 and Pl. XXIV, similar pictures, similarly placed, in a Darbār of Shāh Jahān.

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14. Uninscribed: perhaps the Khān Khānān ('Abdu'r-Rahīm), who was seventy years of age in 1622, when he joined Shāh Jahān in rebellion. Cf. portrait in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, published by Kühnel and Goetz, *Indische Buchmalerei*, Pl. 36.
15. Inscribed, *Mahabāt Khān*. Jahāngīr's General, frequently mentioned in the *Memoirs*: he incurred the hostility of Nūr Jahān and became a rebel in 1626. The portrait agrees well with one in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, published by Kühnel and Goetz, *loc. cit.*, P. C. 35.
20. Inscribed, *Mirzā Ja'far*.
59. Khawāja Abu'l-Ḥasan, i.e. Khawāja Abu'l-Ḥasan Turbati, entitled Ruknu's-Sultānat: he came from Turbat in Khorāsān and took service in the Dekhan under Akbar's third son Dāniyāl.¹ At the court of Jahāngīr he rose to a high position and was made *bakhshi-kul* (paymaster general): he is frequently mentioned in the *Memoirs*. He died in 1632. The portrait agrees well with that represented in the Darbār of Shāh Jahān (British Museum, MS. Add. 18801) reproduced Binyon, *Court painters*, Pl. xx, No. 7.

Published: Sarre and Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken der muhammedanischer Kunst in München* (1912), Pl. 38; Martin, *Miniature painting and painters of Persia, India, and Turkey* (1912), Pl. 216; Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures persanes* (1913), Pl. 234 (with key plate, largely incorrect); Schultz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei* (1914), Pl. 193, and vol. 1, p. 32, footnote (described as Akbar). 'Les Arts,' Jan. 1914, p. 15 (calls it Akbar). 'Zeit. für bildende Kunst,' V, 19, pp. 9-17 (1908) Pl. 165 (colored plate). Glück and Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, p. 518.

PLATE XXXIV.

LXXV

14.665. Khān 'Ālam, ambassador of Jahāngīr, with Shāh 'Abbās I, and courtiers, in landscape. Border with three huntsmen, two cooks roasting *kabābs*, and a flight of ducks.

Signed Bishndās about A.D. 1618-19.

Dimensions, .252 × .370 m. Goloubew Collection. Ars Asiatica XIII, No. 123.

Khān 'Ālam is accompanied by an Indian servant, Shāh 'Abbās by a page. The names of the three Persian courtiers as far as decipherable are: 'Isa Khān Qūrcī Bāshī, Sārū Khw, . . . and Iṣfandiyār Beg. Gangoly, *loc. cit. infra*, has read the second from another version of the picture as Shārīm Kāshī. The names of Khān 'Ālam and Shāh 'Abbās are written beneath their portraits. Other versions of the same subject include a finished picture in which there are a number of attendants above the principal figures: I believe this is in the Bodleian Library, but have no annotation on my photograph. There is a reversed signed sketch of this version in the Tagore Collection, Calcutta, published by

¹ See *Ma'athiru'l Umarā*, trans. H. Beveridge, *Bibl. Ind.*, pp. 128-130.

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Gangoly, *loc. cit. infra*. An independent version of the same subject was made by Rizā 'Abbāsī (Martin, *Miniature painting*, . . . Pl. 160) and this has been copied by Mu 'in Muṣawwir (Blochet, *Enluminures*, . . . Pl. cvii, b, c) and by Kheirat Khān (Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Pl. 119, and Gangoly, *loc. cit.*).¹ Khān 'Ālam was originally Mirzā Barkhūrdār, son of 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, and received the former title in A.D. 1609 (Jahāngīr, *Memoirs*, I, p. 154).² He was Jahāngīr's ambassador to Shāh 'Abbās. Jahāngīr records that in the eighth year of his own reign, i.e. A.D. 1613, "Khān 'Ālam, whom I had sent for from the Deccan in order to despatch him to Irāq in company with the ambassador of the ruler of Irān, came and waited on me." A few days later "Yādgār 'Alī, ambassador of the ruler of Irān, and Khān 'Ālam, who had been nominated to accompany him from this side, received their leave to go" (Jahāngīr, *Memoirs*, I, p. 248). Khān 'Ālam was treated by Shāh 'Abbās like a brother (*Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, trans., p. 389); he returned from Persia in December 1619 (Jahāngīr, *Memoirs*, II, p. 115) with the new Persian ambassador Zambil Beg. Jahāngīr loaded Khān 'Ālam with favors: "he always gave him the title of Khān 'Ālam, and never had him out of his presence."

Amongst the gifts sent by Shāh 'Abbās to Jahāngīr was an important picture by Khalīl Mirzā Shāhrukhī. Of more particular interest for us is Jahāngīr's reference to the painter Bishndās:

"At the time when I sent Khān 'Ālam to Persia," he says, "I had sent with him a painter of the name of Bishndās,³ who was unequalled in his age for taking likenesses, to take the portraits of the Shāh and the chief men of his State, and bring them. He had drawn the likenesses of most of them, and especially had taken that of my brother the Shāh exceedingly well, so that when I showed it to any of his servants, they said it was exceedingly well drawn" (*Memoirs*, II, p. 117). The reference is most likely to the picture now in question, which is in any case the best of the extant versions.

In the picture it will be noticed that Khān 'Ālam's servant is carrying a small *huqqa*. Jahāngīr records (*Memoirs*, I, p. 370) that both he and Shāh 'Abbās had endeavoured to put down tobacco-smoking on account of the "mischief arising from it." Khān 'Ālam, however, was "without control in continual smoking of tobacco." At the instance of Yādgār 'Alī the ambassador, Shāh 'Abbās gave permission for Khān 'Ālam to smoke, in the following couplet:

"The friend's envoy wishes to exhibit tobacco:

With fidelity's lamp I light up the tobacco market."

Khān 'Ālam returned thanks as follows:

"I, poor wretch, was miserable at the tobacco notice;

By the just Shāh's favour the tobacco market became brisk."

¹ A much later painting is erroneously described as illustrating the same subject, in Sotheby's Sale catalogue of the Sir Hercules Read Collection, Nov. 21, 1928, Item 98 and accompanying plate.

² For further particulars regarding Khān 'Ālam, see the *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, trans. H. Beveridge, Calcutta 1911-, p. 389.

³ I.e., Viṣṇu Dās, evidently one of the many Hindus who worked as Mughal court painters.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

Published: Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Pl. 179; Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, No. 93, 1918; Gangoly, O. C., *An historical miniature of the Jahāngīr school*, Rūpam, 4, 1920; Coomaraswamy, A. K., *P. I. A.*, Pl. LXXXVII, and LXXXVIII, E (a detail from the fine border, representing the attendant servants). For other works by Bishndās see Mehta, N. C., *Studies in Indian painting*, and Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Notes on Indian painting*, *Artibus Asiae*, 1927, Pt. IV.

PLATE XXXV.

LXXXVI

13.1402. A pleasure party. A prince, nimbate, and young woman, seated on a terrace, overlooking a lake and distant landscape. Four female attendants, one playing a *sitar*.

The style and costumes suggest a date about 1620–1630.

Dimensions: .143 × .239 m. (without later borders). Additional to this a strip .005 wide on the left has been restored. Special Fund for the Purchase of Indian Art.

All the ladies wear trousers, with front panel or lappet of gold brocade, and *colī*; over these the transparent long skirted muslin gown, with low cut berthe, and one fastening just above the waist, also a *dupaṭṭa*. The prince's turban has the long backward extending plume so often affected by Jahāngīr: his costume seems to be informal, consisting not of a *jāma'*, but of a long transparent muslin tunic, over what may be a *dhotī*. The picture is an attractive one, though sentimental rather than lyrical in feeling. The black striped cushions lend distinction to a composition otherwise somewhat elaborate.

PLATE XXXVI.

LXXXVII

26.8. Portrait of Malik 'Ambar. A stout black man standing with a very long sword, dressed in a thin long *jāma'* and a *dupaṭṭa*, with a writing case attached to his belt. Fine draughtsmanship. The contemporary inscriptions on the picture are much worn, but *Shābih-i- . . . va zinda . . . 'a . . . can be made out: possibly "Picture of the (pious) and great (Malik) 'A(mbar)."*

Probably about A.D. 1620.

Dimensions, .081 × .115 m. (without borders). Arthur Mason Knapp Fund.

Our portrait sufficiently resembles the much later example of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, No. 1 C 24349, f. 31 A. Malik 'Ambar, an Abyssinian, was the Peshwa (minister) of the rulers of the Sultanate of Aḥmadnagar in the Dekhan. Akbar for a time held parts of Aḥmadnagar, but Malik 'Ambar, who was an extremely able leader, recovered the greater part of the kingdom. Malik 'Ambar died in 1620 and was succeeded in office by his son Faṭh Khān (see No. LXXXVIII). For further details, see Beveridge, H., *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, p. 156.

Published, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Notes on Indian painting*, *Artibus Asiae*, 1927, Fig. 5.

PLATE XXXVII.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

LXXVIII

13.3103. Portrait of a stout black man standing with a very long sword. There is a strong family likeness and a resemblance in style and detail to the portrait of Malik 'Ambar, No. LXXVII. The present portrait is designated, but only on the modern mount, as Malik 'Ambar, despite the strong family likeness it represents a taller and younger man. It may well be identified as a representation of Malik 'Ambar's son and successor in office, Faṭh Khān, who in 1630 traitorously killed the Nizām Shāhī of Aḥmadnagar (see No. LXXIX) and entered into relations with Shāh Jahān.

About A.D. 1620-30.

Dimensions, .235 × .363 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Mughal portraiture*, Orientalische Archiv, Vol. III, fig. 11; *P. I. A.*, Pl. LXXXIX, in color, as a portrait of Malik 'Ambar.

PLATE XXXVIII.

LXXIX

13.1397. Portrait of a young man standing, with a very long sword. Color and gold. Twice scrawled on the background in a perhaps contemporary hand is the name Nizām Shāh. This might be the Nizām Shāhī of Aḥmadnagar who was killed in 1630 or more likely the boy Nizām Shāhī set up as Sultān of Aḥmadnagar by Shāhji in 1635. The long sword and long white *jāma*, as well as the style of the drawing resemble those of the portraits of Malik 'Ambar and his son (?), Nos. LXXVII, LXXVIII; the drawing itself cannot be later than about 1640.

First half of the seventeenth century, perhaps about 1635.

Dimensions, .092 × .17 m. Special Fund for the Purchase of Indian Art.

PLATE XXXVII.

LXXX

14.653. Portrait of a mullah, standing, praying.

Uncertain date.

Dimensions, .032 × .088 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 127.

An extremely delicate work, but a little strange in respect of the very soft tonality and modelling. I am of opinion that this is a skilful modern production.

Published: Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Pl. 189 (called eighteenth century).

PLATE LXIII.

LXXXI

14.689. A mother and child in landscape: copy of a European painting suggesting the Virgin and infant Jesus. Signed *Raqamahu Mirzā Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī*. Modern mounting with Persian text inset in border.

Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions (picture), .112 × .158 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 129.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

Persian verses round the picture, referring perhaps to the child, beginning:

Cū būd ān tiḡl dar gār-i-jahān khām
Jahān bar pakhtā gārī yāft ārām

“For as much as this child was inexperienced in the affairs of the world,
 The world remained at rest from affairs of difficulty,”

And concluding:

Dū māhī dād ābash šurat-i-khwāb
Cīrāgh-i-kaiqubādī shams-i-dīn tāb

“His lovely face is equal to a pair of moons,
 The candle of Kaiqubād, and the sun-lightening religion

Hanūz ān mihr būd āndar tabāshīr
Ka shīrash va girift īn dāya-i-pīr

“From this time on the sun is at daybreak,
 For his light has covered this old nurse-earth.”

PLATE XXXIX.

LXXXII

14.688. An unhappy lady, seated on a throne, with a book before her, an attendant behind her. A copy of, or greatly influenced by a European original. Mounted as a *muraqqa'* page with a very fine forest and animal border, in gold.

Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions (picture), .124 × .202 m., mount, .415 × .258 m. Goloubew Collection. Ars Asiatica XIII, No. 130.

Persian text above and below the picture:

Nigār-i-butkada-i-cīn ba sharḡ-i-qissa-i-gham
Kitāb dar nazar va dast bar cunīn dārad

“The beautiful one of the idol temple of China has in her hand and before her eyes
 the book of explanation of the story of calamity.”

Za hai barī rakh-i-mauzūn qadī tāmām qarīb
Ka ṭurra-i-siyahash dil-i-nazīz (narīz?) cīn dārad

“Alas! she is so full of grief that her heart-pleasant (?) black locks are dishevelled (?)”

Thus from the standpoint of Indian rhetoric, the lady may be described as a *virahinī*.

PLATE XXXIX.

LXXXIII

14.687. Monochrome drawing, the Nativity. The theme and composition are evidently based on some European engraving or painting, probably Italian.

First quarter of the seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .14 × .185 m. Goloubew Collection. Ars Asiatica XIII, No. 131.

For Mughal versions of European engravings cf. Kühnel and Goetz, *Indische Buchmalerei*, pp. 36 ff.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

At the back, Persian calligraphy, a *wathli*, signed *Katabahu al-'abd al . . . 1095* (the last numeral doubtful).

The date is equivalent to A.D. 1683.

PLATE XL.

LXXXIV

14.683. Monochrome drawing of a falcon on its perch. At the back is small oval painting representing a smiling girl, within a wide floral border. Signature or attribution Manşūr.

By Ustād Manşūr, about 1619.

Dimensions, .148 × .225 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 132.

Ustād Manşūr and Abu'l Ḥasan were more highly regarded by Jahāngīr than any other of his artists. He writes as follows of Manşūr:

“Ustād Manşūr has become such a master in painting that he has the title of Nādiru'l 'Aşr, and in the art of drawing is unique in this generation. In the time of my father's reign and my own these two have had no third.”

(Rogers and Beveridge, *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, II, p. 18, thirteenth year of the reign, A.D. 1618.)

Jahāngīr took an especial interest in rare or beautiful animals and frequently ordered his painters, who always accompanied him on his journeys and campaigns, to depict them. The present picture may be the very one referred to by Jahāngīr (Rogers and Beveridge, *ibid.*, p. 107, in the following year, A.D. 1619), as follows:

“What can I write of the beauty and colour of this falcon? There were many beautiful black markings on each wing, and back, and sides. As it was something out of the common, I ordered Ustād Manşūr, who has the title of Nādiru'l 'Aşr (Wonder of the Age) to paint and preserve its likeness.”

PLATE XLI.

LXXXV

14.659. A zebra: black and white drawing, the halter coloured red. Very possibly by Ustād Manşūr.

Dimensions, .112 × .098 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 133.

First quarter of the seventeenth century.

Published, Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures persanes*, Pl. 177.

PLATE XLII.

LXXXVI

17.3104. A ram, a fragment preserving only the head and forepart of the body. Probably by Manşūr, about A.D. 1615.

Dimensions, .102 × .133 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *P. I. A.*, Pl. xciv.

PLATE XLII.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

LXXXVII

19.129. Two ducks, full color.

Probably by Maṣūṛ, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .177 × .131 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE XLIII.

LXXXVIII

17.2654. Elephant, a finely shaded drawing with some delicate color.

Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .305 × .24 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection (Molā Rām series).

Published, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Indian drawings*, II.

PLATE XLIII.

LXXXIX

14.662. Small birds chivying an owl, which holds one of them in its beak. Black and white with gold clouds in the background. Signed Manohar, with a barely legible date 1024 A. H. = A.D. 1615.

Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .12 × .109 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 135.

Manohar, a court painter in the time of Akbar and Jahāngīr, is known to have painted birds. He is represented in Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 3714, in the Victoria and Albert Museum *Akbarnāma*, in the Bankipore *Timurnāma*, in the India Office Johnson Albums, [= Percy Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, Pl. LVIII; and Coomaraswamy, *Indian drawings*, I, Pl. II] and in the Rāmpur State Library [Brown, *loc. cit.*, Pl. xxxi].

The subject of the picture may be connected with the story of the war between the owls and the crows, related in the *Anwār-i-Suhailī*.

Published, Martin, *Miniature painting* . . . , Pl. 164, called Minūchihr. The 'ch' I take to be a part of the background, not script.

No painter of the name of Minūchihr seems to be known apart from the present signature as read by Martin.

PLATE LX.

XC

14.652. White parrot.

Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .084 × .142 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 136.

The painting is so much rubbed that it is difficult to estimate its quality and date.

XCI

14.547. Black and white brush drawing of a cock with lifted claw mounted in arabesque border as a *muraqqa'* page, but the mounting is apparently modern, at any rate considerably later than the drawing, which is badly torn.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

Probably Mughal, seventeenth century.

Dimensions (drawing), .166 × .24 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 137.

It has been stated that this drawing came from the same album as M. F. A. 14.542 (*Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 68); and a source in Herāt or Samarqand and date in the fifteenth century. But this dating is almost impossible.

PLATE LIII.

XCII

14.678. Cassowary, black and white brush drawing.

Mughal, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .096 × .178 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 138.

Signature in large letters, *Mir Khor Naqqāsh*.

Mir *Khor* may be a name or the official title "Equerry" or "Master of the horse."

PLATE LIII.

XCIII

14.629. Four horses: a trick drawing, with the parts of the bodies so arranged that the fore and hind quarters serve equally for two positions.

Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .135 × .100 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 89.

PLATE LX.

XCIV

14.681. A peacock's feather.

Probably seventeenth century. Mughal or Rājput.

Dimensions, .122 × .175 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 139.

It is difficult to assign a date and school to this delicate drawing. In the M. F. A. *Catalogue of Rājput paintings* it is called Rājput, Rājasthānī, mainly on the ground that the painting of a peacock's feather in a realistic manner seems to have been a traditional *tour de force* of Indian painters, see the story of Naggai, where a rāja breaks his finger nails in attempting to pick up a peacock feather painted on the floor, in Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭrī*.

Published, Coomaraswamy, in *Rūpam*, 4, 1920, with citation of the story of Naggai, from the English version of Meyer, *Hindu tales*, p. 174 (= Jacobi, H., *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭrī*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 49). These stories are taken from Devendra's Commentaries to the *Uttarajhayana (Uttarādhyayana) Sūtra*, of about the eleventh century (Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, II, p. 320).

XCV

17.3033. Hunting elephants, brush drawing, probably a copy, partly colored. The original at least early seventeenth century, possibly also the copy.

Dimensions, .163 × .152 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published, *Indian drawings*, II, Pl. xxiii (called eighteenth century).

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

SCHOOL OF SHĀH JAHĀN (1628-1657)

XCVI

21.1676. Portrait of Shāh Jahān, in balcony. Full color and gold.

Ca. A.D. 1630-40.

Dimensions, .037 × .042 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Fly leaf attached with inscription in Persian characters, Shāh Jahān; in Nāgarī characters, Pāshāh Sāh Jhān (but the *ś* is more like *sy*).

Published, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *P. I. A.*, Pl. LXXXVIII.

PLATE XXX.

XCVII

15.69. Shāh Jahān, equestrian portrait with a hawk, attendant with a gun, another with a bow, followed by a hunting dog. About 1630-40.

Dimensions, .145 × .222 m. Ross Collection.

Inscribed Shāh Jahān Pādshāh.

PLATE LI.

XCVIII

17.3099. Darbar of Shāh Jahān, who is seated to left in a *jharokhā*, addressing two princes, doubtless sons. *Caurī* and standard bearers and courtiers below: in the foreground, outside the railing on the left, a group of five Europeans (Portuguese). Brush drawing, over pricked outlines. For the composition cf. No. LXXIV.

Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .21 × .275 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection. (Molā Rām series.)

XCIX

15.104. Portrait of Shāh Jahān; tracing on snake skin.

Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .051 × .058 m. (oval). Ross Collection.

C

14.677. Portrait of Timūr, perhaps by Hāshim; Mughal version after some earlier work.

Mid-seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .096 × .155 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 140.

Cf. Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures persanes*, Pl. CLVIII (dated 1646). The later seal reads " 'Abdullāh abu Ṭālib 1154 " (= A.D. 1741).

PLATE XXX.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

CI

13.1400. Portrait of a Mughal prince, standing, nimbate, *sarpeñc* and gold plate in hand: skirt below knees, *qabā* with furred collar. Inscribed as *Kāmṛān Khān*, presumably with reference to the brother of Humāyūn, but resembles *Shāh Jahān* and cannot be earlier than 1630. Full color and gold.

About A.D. 1640.

Dimensions, .077 × 153 m. (without later mount). Special Fund for the Purchase of Indian Art.

PLATE LII.

CII

15.99. Two men in outline, and details of ornament. Tracing on snake skin. Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .18 × .145 m. Ross Collection.

A pencil note identifies the main figure as *Mīrzā Kamrān* (brother of Humāyūn), but both are servitors. This tracing, and those represented by Nos. CIII, CIV (M. F. A. **15.102, 105**) and some others in the possession of Dr. Coomaraswamy and elsewhere are taken from the large Timuria dynastic painting on cotton in the British Museum (Binyon, L., *Painting in the Far East*, ed. 2, p. 102 and Pl. xxii, and in Burlington Magazine, Aug. 1919 and Jan. 1929). The present tracing includes one figure appearing in the detail reproduced by Binyon, *loc. cit.*

CIII

15.102. Akbar, seated with a book: brush outline, tracing on skin.

Mid-seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .11 × .14 m. Ross Collection.

Identical with one of the figures reproduced in *Indian drawings*, II, Pl. xxv. From the same series of tracings, with M. F. A. **15.102, 105**: all from the large Timuria group in the British Museum.

CIV

15.105. Portraits of *Mīrzā Bāysanqar* and *Mīrzā Shāhrukh*: tracings on snake skin with indications of color.

Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .125 × .185 m. Ross Collection.

See No. CII (M. F. A. **15.99**).

CV

14.051. Seated prince (the traditional likeness of *Bābur Shāh*), on an octagonal throne, with umbrella, on a terrace; landscape background, four angels in the clouds pouring golden streams from inverted vessels.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .108 × .198 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 143.

PLATE LII.

CVI

14.671. Portrait of a courtier, with a book: with blue margins, decoration in gold. Back with Persian text, with buff margins similarly decorated.

Mughal, mid-seventeenth century.

Dimensions (whole leaf), .244 × .298 m.; (miniature), .95 × .151 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 144.

Above and below the miniature, in Nast'aliq script on gold ground:

Rasīdan-i-nāya-i-kasrī ba-shāh Bahrām

Dar du'ā-ī pādshāh va khatm-i-kitāb

“The royal, magnificent, arrival before Shāh Bahrām:

for the prayer of the sovereign and the end of the book.”

Thus the picture perhaps represents an author about to present his book to Shāh Bahrām; but it is not clear what Shāh this can have meant.

The text at the back has neither beginning nor end: at the top mention is made of the relation of servant to master, etc. The leaf may have formed part of a regular manuscript, rather than of a *muraqqa'*.

PLATE XLIV.

CVII

14.655. Portrait of 'Alī Qulī Beg, standing, sword at side in long-skirted *jāma'*. Monochrome, with green turban, and touches of gold.

Middle of seventeenth century. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 145.

Dimensions: .112 × .193 m.

Inscription:

Shabih-i-'Alī Qulī Beg

basar-i-Yalangtūsh

Evidently Allah Qulī Khān Uzbek, son of Yālāng Tūsh: he came to Kābul in 1641 and entered Shāh Jahān's service in the following year, and was made Governor of Bihār ten years later (*Ma'āthiru'l Umarā*, trans. Beveridge, pp. 208-210). Not 'Alī Qulī Khān (Khān Zamān) Uzbek an officer of Akbar, who rebelled in 1565.

PLATE XLV.

CVIII

14.46. Portrait of an official, stated to be 'Darab.' School of Shāh Jahān.

Mid-seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .108 × .16 m. Special Fund for Purchase of Indian Art.

PLATE XLV.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

CIX

14.860. Portrait of Suleimān Shikoh, from an album. Reverse with calligraphy signed by Mahab. Contemporary arabesque mount.

Middle of the seventeenth century, before 1657.

Dimensions, mount, .233 × .339 m.; picture, .104 × .82 m. Special Fund for the Purchase of Indian Art.

Contemporary inscription in Persian characters on the picture, *Shabih-i-shāhzāda Suleimān Shikoh* "Likeness of Prince Suleimān Shikoh." At the back in Nāgarī characters: *Šabīs alemā(n) šiko sāhijāda kī betā Dārā Šiko kā*, "Liker ess of Prince Suleimān Shikoh son of Dārā Shikoh." The likeness resembles that of known portraits of Dārā Shikoh.

Suleimān Shikoh, grandson of Shāh Jahān, and son of Dārā Shikoh was murdered in 1662 at the age of thirty.

PLATE XLVI.

CX

15.87. Portrait of a man standing, nimbate, to left, wearing a red *jāma' kaṭāra* in belt, sword in left hand, flower in right.

Inscribed at the back as *Shabih-i-Dārā Shikoh*, "Picture of Dārā Shikoh," but not quite the usual likeness. A sheet of somewhat later writing attached at the back.

Seventeenth century, perhaps about 1650.

Dimensions, .111 × .20 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE LII.

CXI

15.88. Portrait of a gosāin, seated telling beads, his hand in a *go-mukha* glove.

Mid-seventeenth century. Ross Collection.

Dimensions, .115 × .16 m.

CXII

14.578. Falconer on horseback, faint outline drawing or tracing. Probably Mughal, seventeenth century, but difficult to place.

Dimensions, .126 × .202 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 141.

Published, Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Pl. 134, called Bihzād school, 16th century.

CXIII

14.645. Prince on horseback shooting a boar, in landscape: in a partially Persian manner.

Mid-seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .17 × .222 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 142.

PLATE LVII.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

CXIV

14.859. Dancing scene, a young prince, perhaps one of the sons of *Shāh Jahān*, entertained by a dancer and chorus. Night scene on a marble terrace overlooking a garden of trees, containing a domed pavilion. Full color and gold. Later mount.

Mid-seventeenth century.

Dimensions, actual picture, .185 × .235 m. Special Fund for the Purchase of Indian Art.

This item was included in the *Catalogue of Rājput paintings* (Indian Collections, Pt. V, item, CCCLII) and called *Rājasthānī*, eighteenth century, but further consideration leads to its inclusion as above.

CXV

13.1401. A princess with two female attendants, seated in a chair on a terrace, with water and lotuses in the foreground. A strong Rājput element is recognizable in the facial types, composition and feeling. Full color and gold.

Seventeenth century, about 1650.

Dimensions, .146 × .226 m. (actual picture surface); .235 × .328 m. (including original mount). Special Fund for the Purchase of Indian Art.

At the back nine lines of *Nast'aliq* calligraphy, within decorated borders, with the signature:

Bi raqmu'l 'abd Muḥammad Ḥusain al-Ḥasani ghufira zunubuhu, 1061.

"The work of the slave Muḥammad Ḥusain al-Ḥasani, A.D. 1650-51."

The costume, carefully and exquisitely delineated, consists of trousers (*shālwār*) gold brocade panel, transparent *colī*, transparent muslin gown¹ with low berthe fastening just below the breasts, and transparent muslin *dupatta*, heelless slippers, and jewellery, typical of the *Mughal* fashion in the middle of the seventeenth century.

PLATE XLVII.

CXVI

15.70. Prince on horseback, receiving water from women at a well. Full color, but much worn. Later mounting. Third quarter of the seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .119 × .186 m. Ross Collection.

Pictures of this type are said to illustrate a story of *Mohna Rānī* and *Chel Batāo*.

PLATE LI.

CXVII

22.685. A prince, perhaps a son of *Shāh Jahān*, seated on a terrace, giving audience: attendant with a peacock flywhisk. Refined and sensitive, in full color and gold, but somewhat rubbed. Leaf from a *muraqqa'*.

Second quarter of the seventeenth century.

¹ The "earlier *janguṭī*" of this Catalogue Pt. V, p. 35. I do not know the correct designation.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

Dimensions, .208 × .284 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Apparently the same personage is represented, seated receiving instruction from a *maulvī*, on f. 355 recto of MS. Persan 98 in the Bibliothèque Nationale: the manuscript is dated in India A.D. 1617, but the pictures are later insertions (Blochet, E., *Les enluminures*, . . . p. 157 and P. cxvi, c).

Published, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *P. I. A.*, Pl. xci.

A single line of Nast'aliq calligraphy at the back reading:

Aḥmad Assad 'Alī Ma'sud li al-Sultānī, 929 sana (A.D. 1522-23)

must antedate the picture by over a hundred years.

PLATE XLVIII.

CXVIII

07.693. Hermitage scene, with a straw hut and two trees on the right. On the left, a very thin man beating a very fat man, who has fallen down. On the right, a man (? the *faqīr* of the hermitage), in a red cap, seated before cooking utensils, gazing at the scene on the left in astonishment.

Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .175 × .12 m. (without mount). Ross Collection.

PLATE XLIX.

CXIX

17.1352. Grey horse running, led by a *sāis*. Remounted on a sixteenth-century Persian manuscript border, gold on red, forest scenes with wild animals.

Second quarter of the seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .166 × .101 m. (actual picture). Ross Collection.

PLATE L.

CXX

15.16. Leaf from a *Shāh Nāma*, text in four lines on both sides, unfinished miniature of a battle scene recto, apparently a conflict between Rustam and Afrasiyāb. The chapter heading reads, *Zafar yāstān-i-Irānī-yān va kurnkhātan-i-Afrāsiyāb*, "Victory of the Persians and wounding of Afrāsiyāb."

Seventeenth century.

Dimensions of miniature, .175 × .122 m. Ross Collection.

Possibly Persian but more likely written in India.

CXXI

15.119. First leaf of an album, somewhat wormeaten. Recto, medallion with Persian inscription, concluding:

"This volume (*muraqqa'*) was made with the writings (*bi-khattūl-i-*) of famous masters (*ustādān-i-mashūr*) and pictures by painters of pictures (*tasvīr-i-maṣūrān shabīh*) and finished in *Shawwal* 1039 (= May 1630) for the library (*kitāb-khāna*) of Sāyyid al-Ashraf . . . ash-Sharif. . . .

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

Seals (1) twice, 'Abd al-Karīm-i-Shāh Jahān, 1056 (A.D. 1645-7).

(2) twice, Ja'far Khān Bābā.

(3) Qā . . . Khān Pādshāh 'Ālamgīr.

The first is presumably that of Sayyid al-Āshrāf as a courtier of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, the last, of some officer of Aurangzīb's staff.

Verso, the *Fātiḥat* (first chapter of the Qur'ān) signed

al-'abd Shāh Maḥmūd *ghufira zunubuhu*

"The lowly Shāh Maḥmūd, pardoned be his sins!"

This cannot be the famous Persian calligrapher Shāh Maḥmūd of Nishāpūr.

Border of trees and birds on salmon ground.

Dimensions, .144 × .263 m. Ross Collection.

CXXII

15.21. A leaf from an album (*muraqqa'*), same as No. CXXI, (M. F. A. 15.119). Recto, Persian quatrain, with border of trees and birds in gold on a grey ground. Verso, Sulṭān Othmān on horseback and a beggar standing before him.

Persian text above the picture:

Shabih-i-Sulṭān Othmān ki dar sane 1028 sultanat yāft

"Picture of Sulṭān Othmān who possessed the rule in 1028 (= A.D. 1619)."

This is Othmān II of Turkey, r. 1027-1031 A.H.

The picture is probably an Indian copy of a Turkish original; the style (outline with a little color) is rather dry. There is the usual border on salmon ground.

Dimensions, .152 × .264 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE XXIII.

CXXIII

17.3107. A petition (addressed to Shāh Jahān) by 'Abdu'r-Rashīd al-Dailmī, written on brown paper sprinkled with gold; modern mounting on card.

About A.D. 1630-1640.

Dimensions of actual letter, .1 × .193 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

'Abdu'r-Rashīd Dailmī, better known as Āqā, was a sister's son and pupil of Mir 'Imād al-Ḥasani of Qazwīn, the most celebrated Persian calligraphist of the Ṣafavi period. Some years after his master's death in 1615 he came to Agra, and was much favored by Shāh Jahān, becoming the teacher of Dārā Shikoh, and later, it is said, of Zebu'n-Nisā, the daughter of Aurangzīb. He died in A.D. 1670-71 and was buried at Agra. For another example of this calligrapher see No. LXVIII.

See Zafar Ḥasan, *Specimens*, . . . nos. 39; and Haq, *Specimens*, . . . p. 48.

CXXIV

26.9. Calligraphy: Persian quatrain.

Signed by Muḥammad Murād (well known calligrapher of the time of Shāh Jahān). Brown ground, with gold decoration; borders. From an album.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

About 1640.

Dimensions, .223 × .324 m.; writing, .108 × .236 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Text:

Hwa-l-'azīz, "He (God) is the Mighty!"

Ai khān-i-zafar qarīn khūrshīd-i-āiyīn

Vai ṣāhib-i-shamshīr va vaqār-u-makīn

Nā-zanda ba-tu khulq cu cāyām ba'īd

Za panda ba-tu mulk cu khātim bakīn.

Katabahu Muḥammad Murād

"O Khān, possessor of triumph, like to the Sun!

O the owner of the sword and possessor of majesty!

(Not in many) long days has there been such a fine spirit as yours,

And your counsels are like the seal of the kingdom."

"Wrote it Muḥammad Murād."

At the back, illegible seal and *Muḥammad Ja'far mālik ast*

"The owner is Muḥammad Ja'far"

PLATE LV.

CXXV

17.3202. A specimen of Persian calligraphy, consisting of two verses in black on illuminated ground, signed in lower angle

Katabuhu al-mudhnīb al-haqīr 'Abdullāh misqīn-qalam g ufra lahu.

"Wrote it the sinner the humble 'Abdullāh, the poor-pen, pardons to him."

Double arabesque border.

Probably Mughal, first half of the seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .228 × .370 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LIV.

CXXVI

19.789. A specimen of Persian Nast'aliq calligraphy, in white on blue cotton ground with gold arabesques.

Probably Mughal, first half of the seventeenth century.

Dimensions (including narrow borders), .15 × .207 m. Ross Collection.

CXXVII

24.131. A flowering plant: white flowers and green leaves on buff paper.

Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .106 × .164 m. (without mount). Seth Augustus Fowle Fund.

PLATE LVI.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

SCHOOL OF AURANGZĪB (1658-1706)

CXXVIII

07.291. Equestrian portrait of a Mughal nobleman, attendant on foot with a peacock fly-whisk. In landscape: full color and gold.

Late seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .211 × .277 m. Gift of Edward W. Forbes.

PLATE LI.

CXXIX

14.674. Monochrome drawing, portrait of a courtier, standing, armed.

Second half of the seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .044 × .138 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 146.

PLATE XXXI.

CXXX

14.675. Monochrome drawing, portrait of a courtier, standing, armed.

Second half of the seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .05 × .138 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 147.

PLATE XXXI.

CXXXI

14.668. Portrait of a courtier, standing, wearing a long-skirted *jāma*. Sword at side, flower in right hand.

Third quarter of seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .047 × .155 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 148.

PLATE LVIII.

CXXXII

14.643. Equestrian portrait of a prince, probably Shāh 'Abbās II, on a hawking expedition; the prince in seventeenth-century Persian costume of the type worn by Shāh 'Abbās I, but his attendants on foot wear a semi-European military ('redcoat') costume. A small part of a third attendant carrying a dead deer visible on the right.

Late Mughal, late seventeenth or eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .195 × .260 m. (cut down). Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 149.

The personage represented may be Shāh 'Abbās I; cf. Schulz, W., *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, 1914, Pl. 179, on the left, an eighteenth-century copy of the Khān 'Ālam embassy composition. The military costume of the attendants is related to that of European 'redcoats' and suggests a date rather before or near the middle of the eighteenth century.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

Reproduced, Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures persanes*, Pl. cxxxv; called period of Shāh 'Abbās II, Persian, seventeenth century. It may be remarked that the drawing of the horse is quite un-Persian. Our picture is perhaps a modified copy of a seventeenth-century original.

PLATE LIX.

CXXXIII

15.43. Equestrian portrait of a youth. The horse piebald, and prancing.

Beginning of eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .135 × .225 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE LVII.

CXXXIV

14.672. Equestrian portrait of a youth armed with spear, sword and *kaṭāra*: in landscape.

Date, seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .14 × .207 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 150.

PLATE LVII.

CXXXV

14.685. Śiva *pūjā*: Hindu princess with an attendant worshipping a *liṅgam*, at night, in a lonely place.

Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .122 × .185 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, 151.

One of the Hindu themes used by Mughal painters as picturesque motifs; cf. Coomaraswamy, *Selected examples of Indian art*, Pl. I and many other examples of the Śiva *pūjā* motif. In many cases (Rājput, Rājasthāni and Jammū) Bhairavī Rāgiṇī is represented as a princess worshipping the *liṅgam* in this manner.

PLATE LXI.

CXXXVI

14.548. Red parroquet on the branch of a tree.

Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .125 × .175 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 134.

PLATE LIII.

CXXXVII

14.682. Kingfisher, seated on the trunk of a flowering tree.

Seventeenth or eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .123 × .186 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 152.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

CXXXVIII

17.3098. A group of sādhus, mostly long-haired and nude, seated before a long thatched shed. Brush drawing in black and brown.

Late seventeenth century?

Dimensions, .229 × .128 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Not unlike, but somewhat inferior to a well-known drawing by Hūnhār in the Rothenstein Collection (Binyon and Arnold, *Court painters of the Grand Moguls*, Pl. xxviii).

One figure has been redrawn and cut out, and attached to cover over and replace the original.

At the back is written in English in an early Victorian hand, "a very old scene of a hut in Rikhi Kesha near Hardawar," very likely a correct description.

PLATE LX.

LATE MUGHAL

[FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY]

CXXXIX

15.86. Portrait of Bahādur Shāh, eldest son of Aurangzīb, and Emperor from A.D. 1707–1712. The picture is of exceptional quality at this period. The Emperor is not nimbate; he wears a gold *dupatta* and short furred coat over a muslin *jāma'* and trousers.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .143 × .225 m. Ross Collection.

At the back in Persian script, *Shābih-i-Bahādur Shāh*. A further inscription on a piece of paper attached begins *Muḥammad Mu'azzam Shāh 'Ālam ibn 'Ālamgīr Abu an-Naṣīr Quṭbu'd-Dīn*.

PLATE LVIII.

CXL

15.63. Darbār of Mu'izzu'd-Dīn, Jahāndar Shāh. Signed Mīr Kālan. In light colors and gold.

Probably A.D. 1712. Inscriptions mostly later.

Dimensions, .218 × .338 m. (without modern mount). Ross Collection.

The name of the Emperor, Muḥammad Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Jahāndar is written in gold letters above his head. Jahāndar Shāh came to the throne in A.D. 1712, and was defeated and killed by Farrukhsiyār eleven months later. Jahāndar Shāh was given to debauchery, and was a great patron of musicians and painters (*ustād-i-naqqāshi*). Amongst the courtiers whose names are inscribed beside their portraits are (Miyān) Kokaltāsh Khān, 'Abdullah Ghafār Khān, Zu'l Fiqār Khān, Ra'azzam Khān, Jāmi Khān. For details re-

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

garding the Emperor, and some of these officers, see Elliott, *History of India*, Vol. VII, pp. 392, 432 f., 557 f. The uppermost line of writing is dated 1221 (A.D. 1806-7).

PLATE LXII.

CXLI

15.66. Portrait of a Mughal emperor, probably as stated at back, Sulṭān Mu'izzu'd-Dīn (Jahāndār Shāh), who reigned for eleven months in 1712.

Color and gold, much worn.

Early eighteenth century, probably 1712.

Dimensions, .096 × .155 m. (without later mount). Ross Collection.

The likeness corresponds to that of No. CXLII (M. F. A. 17.3100).

CXLII

17.3100. Portrait of Sulṭān Mu'izzu'd-Dīn (Jahāndār Shāh) who reigned for eleven months in 1712. Probably a good likeness.

Early eighteenth century, probably 1712.

Dimensions, .1 × .137 m. (without later mount). Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Cf. Nos. CXL, CXLI, CXLIII (M. F. A. 15.63, 15.66 and 07.289).

PLATE LXVI.

CXLIII

07.289. Hawking and hunting party, prince and princess on horseback in landscape, with female attendants. Full color and gold.

Inscribed in contemporary and repeated in later hand, *Jahāndār Shāh* and *Bahrūr Bānu*.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .16 × .262 m. (actual picture). Gift of Edward W. Forbes.

The lady and the female attendants wear the *jaṅgulī* (fastening at neck and waist), rarely seen except in Pahārī Rājput works, and turbans.

If this really represents Jahāndār Shāh (Mu'izzu'd-Dīn) it must date before the accession as he is here beardless; cf. Nos. CXL, CXLII.

CXLIV

14.686. Equestrian portrait of Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1719-1748), Mughal Emperor of Delhi, in a garden. A coloured drawing of unusual size.

Late Mughal, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .865 × .53 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 153.

The courtier with a letter in his hand, facing Muḥammad Shāh is perhaps Burhānu'l-Mulk, the other perhaps, Gamou'd-Dīn Khān; cf. Nos. CXLVI, CXLVII, CL.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

The Mughals from first to last were fond of gardens, see Villiers-Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Mughals*.

For the likeness, cf. my *Indian drawings*, II, Pl. LXVI. Cf. M. F. A. 26.283.

PLATE LXIII.

CXLV

15.79. Balcony portrait of a Mughal prince, perhaps Muhammad Shāh (r. A.D. 1719–1748) before accession. Full color and gold.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .095 × .151 m. (without later mount). Ross Collection.

PLATE LXX.

CXLVI

19.65. Brush drawing on skin, probably a tracing, representing Muhammad Shāh (r. A.D. 1719–1748) with four courtiers. Some touches of color.

Second quarter of eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .22 × .193 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

The drawing has been mounted in reverse, right to left. Names inscribed are as follows: Muhammad Shāh Bādshāh Ghāznī; Nawāb Sa'adat Khān, Burhānu-l-mulk; Hāfiz Khidmatgār Khān; Nawāb Raushanu-d; Daulah Bahādur; Nawāb Hāfiz u'd-Dīn, Khān Bahādur. Cf. Nos. CXLIV, CXLV, CXLIX, CL.

Published, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Indian drawings*, II.

PLATE LXIII.

CXLVII

15.93. Drawing, partly colored, of three Mughal officers of Muhammad Shāh's court. First half of eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .089 × .144 m. Ross Collection.

Names inscribed in Persian and Nāgarī characters: Khān Daurān Khān (see also No. CXLVIII); Qamru'd-Dīn Khān (see also No. CL); Muzaffar Khan.

PLATE LXIII.

CXLVIII

19.130. Portrait of Khān Daurān Khān: a very delicate drawing, heightened with touches of gold and color. Considerably worn. Probably by the same hand as No. CL.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .143 × .268 m. Ross Collection.

Khān Daurān Khān was a high official under Muhammad Shāh, see No. CXLVII (M. F. A. 15.93).

CXLIX

14.861. Portrait of Nawāb Sa'adat Khān Burhānu'l Mulk of Oudh (1724–1739).

Second quarter of eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .148 × .284 m. (actual picture). Special Fund for the Purchase of Indian Art.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

Evidently Sa'adat Khān, progenitor of the kings of Oudh, who became ruler of that province in 1724 and governed in practical independence, though actually a mansabdār of Muḥammad Shāh. He was captured by Nādir Shāh in 1739 and took poison. Cf. *Indian drawings*, II, Pl. xxvi.

The name is inscribed on the later mount, but the likeness corresponds well with the portrait in a group with Muḥammad Shāh, No. CXLVI (M. F. A. 19.65).

PLATE LVIII.

CL

19.131. Portrait of Nawāb Qamru'd-Dīn Khān 'Itimadu'd-Daulah Vaziru'l-Mamālik Bahādur (died 1748): seated in a chair, with sword and plume. A very delicate drawing, heightened with touches of color and gold. Considerably worn. Probably by the same hand as No. CXLVIII. Second quarter of the eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .159 × .259 m. Ross Collection.

The name, as above, is inscribed at the back. See also No. CXLVII (M. F. A. 15.93).

Cf. similar portrait in the Lahore Museum, reproduced *Delhi Museum, Loan Exhibition, 1911*, Pl. xxviii.

CLII

14.673. Equestrian portrait of Nawāb Shujā'u'l-Mulk Ḥusāmu'd-Daulah Muḥammad 'Alī Virdī Khān Bahābat Jang. Unfinished, the gold ground perhaps an addition. The horse grey, partly painted red (a Rājput custom); the *sāis* in white. A fine example of late Mughal work.

Late Mughal, second quarter of eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .203 × .26 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 134.

Contemporary inscription with the full name as above in rectangle on the picture at the top.

Ḥusāmu'd-Daulah Mahābat Jang, often known as "Aliwardī" or "Allahwardī" Khān, was "a brave, able, and unscrupulous officer"; originally Vazīr of Shujā'u'd-Dīn, he usurped the governorship of the eastern provinces and ruled independently at Murshidābād as Nawāb of Bengāl, Bihār, and Orissā for 1740 to 1756, when he died at the age of 80.¹

The picture was formerly in the Bing Collection.

Published by Migeon, G., *Exposition des arts musulmans*, Paris, 1903, where although identified as "Nawab Chodja el Molk," it is assigned to the fifteenth century.

For other portraits of 'Alī-Virdī-Khān, see Goetz, H. in *Asia Major*, 2, 1925, p. 235; and British Museum MS. Add. 18, 801, f. 9, also No. CLII.

PLATE LXVII.

¹ Elliott, H., *History of India*, Vol. VIII; Smith, *Oxford history of India*.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

CLII

15.89. Portraits of Nawāb Allahvardī Khān seated, nimbate, with Faqīr al-Miyīd 'Alī Shāh, in landscape. The Faqīr, who is seated on a tiger skin, is addressing the Nawāb. Black outline and brown wash drawing, the names subscribed in brown.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .14 × .18 m. (without later mount). Ross Collection.

For Allahvardī Khān, see No. CLI.

CLIII

17.3101. Portrait of a Mughal emperor, seated, on a terrace. Full color, no gold.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .092 × .148 m. (without contemporary mount). Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed *Bābur Shāh*: no value can be attached to this identification.

PLATE LXVI.

CLIV

15.44. Large scale portrait of a youth, smoking.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .181 × .278 m. Ross Collection.

For large scale portraits in a similar style, but representing women and assigned to the seventeenth century, see Rūpam, No. 18, p. 94 f.

PLATE LXV.

CLV

14.646. Nādir Shāh at the sack of Delhi, equestrian portrait.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .156 × .218 m. Goloubew Collection. *Ars Asiatica* XIII, No. 155.

Published, Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Pl. 181.

PLATE LI.

CLVI

15.101. Portrait of Nādir Shāh, seated, in a furred coat, with the usual turban. Outline, partly colored.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .105 × .155 m. Ross Collection.

CLVII

15.39. Equestrian portrait: later mount.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .227 × .316 m. (actual picture). Ross Collection.

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CLVIII

15.48. Portrait of a man with a hawk. Reverse with a text from the Qur'ān. Contemporary decorated borders.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .103 × .196 m. (actual picture). Ross Collection.

A note at the back in English identifies as Nawāb Amānat Khān, general under Aurangzīb, but carries no authority.

PLATE LVIII.

CLIX

15.64. Portrait of an officer. Black drawing with touches of color and gold, on brown paper, partly restored.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .114 × .18 m. (without later mount). Ross Collection.

CLX

15.75. Portrait of Aurangzīb, seated, on a gold throne with green cushions. A late version.

Eighteenth century, perhaps about 1750.

Dimensions, .117 × .156 m. Ross Collection.

CLXI

15.77. Two men seated smoking on a terrace, with an extensive landscape beyond. The men are wearing long-skirted *capkans* and seem to be Hindus. Full color, no gold.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .14 × .205 m. (excluding modern mount). Ross Collection.

CLXII

15.81. Equestrian portrait of a Mughal prince or nobleman. Full color and gold, but imperfect.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .197 × .269 m. (actual picture). Ross Collection.

Although a name is clearly written on the horse's flank, I can make nothing of it.

PLATE LVII.

CLXIII

15.83. Portrait, probably intended for Akbar. Full color, no gold.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .105 × .164 m. (without later mount). Ross Collection.

PLATE LXVI.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

CLXIV

- 15.95.** Portrait of a man, seated. Brush outline, partly colored, over sketch.
Early eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .082 × .113 m. Ross Collection.

CLXV

- 15.97.** Portrait of a Mughal officer. Outline with touches of color.
Early eighteenth century.
Dimensions, 068 × .136 m. Ross Collection.
PLATE LXX.

CLXVI

- 15.98.** Portrait inscribed in Nāgarī characters as that of *Ajamśāh Sājada* ('Azam Shāh Shāhzāda). Tracing on snake skin.
Early eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .073 × .19 m. Ross Collection.
This is presumably the 'Azam Shāh who reigned for a short period in 1707.

CLXVII

- 15.110.** Man seated with a hawk: brush drawing with slight color and gold.
Early eighteenth century?
Dimensions, .047 × .083 m. Ross Collection.

CLXVIII

- 15.112.** Equestrian portrait of a youth: color and gold, the horse's tail and lower parts painted red in Rājput style.
Eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .091 × .136 m. (excluding later mount). Ross Collection.

CLXIX

- 17.2903.** Two men seated; black outline, probably 'pencil.'
Early eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .110 × .110. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
PLATE LXIX.

CLXX

- 17.2813.** Fragment, drawing, a man on horseback, blowing a trumpet.
Early eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .04 × .128 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
PLATE XXXII.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

CLXXI

17.3194. Mughal emperor on horseback, hunting deer. Outline drawing, much ant-eaten. Might be called Rājput.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions: .32 × .243 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The Nāgarī inscription reads:

Śrī Guri teg Bahādur-ji Maha. . . .

CLXXII

14.660. Lady with a *vīṇā* and two deer: a Mughal version of *Toḍī Rāgīnī*.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .085 × .143 m. Goloubew Collection.

Signed *Raḡama-i-'Alī Rizā-i-'Abbāsī*—an impossible attribution. Mounted with calligraphy in the border.

PLATE LXI.

CLXXIII

06.2405. A party of travellers, perhaps a wedding procession (bride in *palkī*, bearers with goods, etc.) traversing a hilly landscape. A large banyan tree in the centre. Color chiefly green, pink and purple.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .268 × .167 m. (without mount). Ross Collection.

PLATE LXXI.

CLXXIV

07.287. *Murraqqa'* page, with floral borders on both sides. Obverse, an elephant fight, in landscape, with a prince and troops looking on. Persian text round margin. In Nāgarī characters on border, *Akbar*; above a prince, nimbate, on horseback, bearing some resemblance to Akbar. Large seal on the border. Reverse, six lines of calligraphy on blue ground reserved on gold and two narrow columns of writing in a smaller hand.

Eighteenth century: the border and probably the calligraphy early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .265 × .388 m. Gift of Edward W. Forbes.

The large seal is the Imperial Seal Mark (an impression from a steel die), which was probably the work of Jahāngīr's engraver Maulāna 'Alī Aḡmad of Delhi (d. 1609), who is described by Abu'l-Fazl as "surpassing the ancient engravers." It is a nine-circle medallion bearing in the centre the name of Jahāngīr, and in the eight surrounds those of Timūr Beg, Mirānshāh, Sulṭān Muḡammad, Abu Saīd, 'Omar Shaikh, Bābur, Humāyūn, Akbar, and Jahāngīr. This seal appears also on the floral borders (similar to ours) on eighteen of the early seventeenth-century paintings belonging to the Wantage Bequest in the Victoria and Albert Museum (see Clarke, S. C., *Indian drawings . . . Wantage*

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

Bequest, 1922, p. 4). The borders and calligraphy at the back must be of early seventeenth-century date: but from the costume and style of drawing it is impossible to assign the same date to the picture itself, and though it fits the mount well enough both it and the calligraphy seem to have been attached at a later date.

Reverse, calligraphy in blue reserves on gold ground:

Hazār dushmanam ar mīkunand qaṣd-i-halāk

Garam tu dostī az dushmanān na dāram bāk

Marā umīd vaṣāl-i-tu zinda mī-dārad

Va gar na ṣadr hamār hijratast bīm halāk

Agar noz ham zanī bi ki ghair laum ham

Va gar tu zahr dihī bi ki dīgrī tarāk

“Though my thousand enemies strive to bring me to ruin

If Thou art my friend, I have no fear of the foe:

The hope of Thy meeting keeps me alive,

And did not a return ever (follow) separation, there would be fear of ruin,” etc.

Smaller diagonal writing in the borders.

PLATE LXXI.

CLXXV

07.288. Elephant and rider: drawing with slight color. Superscribed on later mount *Bawangaz* (name of the elephant?): four lines of calligraphy.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .087 × .12 m. (actual picture).

Gift of Edward W. Forbes.

CLXXVI

07.884. A prince and princess (Bāz Bahādūr and Rūpmatī?) on horseback, the former shooting at running deer, the latter noosing one in her bow; two attendants on foot. Landscape.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .208 × .116 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE LXXII.

Pictures of this celebrated pair, whose story is preserved in many ballads still current, seem to have become very popular towards the early eighteenth century, perhaps as a result of Jahāndār Shāh's devotion to love and music.¹ Bāz Bahādūr and his Hindu wife or mistress Rūpmatī were famous lovers — as remarked by Cunningham: “For seven years this loving pair continued in the enjoyment of uninterrupted happiness. The day was devoted to hawking and the night to music.” Rūpmatī was herself a famous poetess

¹ Cunningham, A., *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. III, pp. 289-292; Crump, L. M., *The lady of the lotus; Rūpmatī, queen of Māndu*; Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Selected examples of Indian art*, pl. V.

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— amongst the verses popularly ascribed to her is the striking couplet, " Beloved, had I known that love brings pain, I would have proclaimed with beat of drum that none should love." In 1560 Akbar sent a force under Adam Khān to occupy Mālwa; Bāz Bahādur was forced to fly, and Adam Khān, entering Sārangpur in 1562 found Rūpmatī dying from a wound inflicted by her own hand, or according to another version of the story, by poison. After nine years in exile, Bāz Bahādur took service under Akbar in 1571.

CLXXVII

15.40. Hunting scene, prince and lady, perhaps Bāz Bahādur and Rūpmatī, on horseback, in landscape.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .237 × .188 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE LXXII.

CLXXVIII

20.1617. Bāz Bahādur and Rūpmatī hunting deer. Arabesque mount.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .206 × .166 m. (actual picture). Ross Collection.

CLXXIX

07.886. A prince on horseback shooting at running deer.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .24 × .18 m. Ross Collection.

CLXXX

15.65. Unfinished painting. Above, a walled town with women on their way to fetch water from a well or ghāt, middle distance, two riders on horseback, one with *mora mukuṭa* and drawn sword, approaching two men standing, in the foreground a dead or dying elephant. This apparently illustrates the slaying of the elephant Kubaliyā and Kṛṣṇa's approach, accompanied by Baladeva, to the city of Mathurā, where he overthrows Kaiṁsa.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .141 × .2 m. (without modern mount). Ross Collection.

CLXXXI

21.1650. A letter without address or signature, written on a sheet of elegantly decorated paper; the greater part of the page is ornamented with yellow flowers, the writing being continued all over this border. The letter is written to a Mahārāja by his brother and refers to a four days' battle, and the pursuit of the enemy to a distance of eighty miles from Aḥmadābād and six days' journey from Burhanpur, and so towards the Dek-

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

khan, the victors returning to Aḥmadābād. These data are insufficient for identification. The letter has been folded in the usual manner.

Early eighteenth century?

Dimensions, .098 × .182 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LV.

CLXXXII

17.3106. Seven ivory playing cards (?), figure subjects in niches.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions of each, .035 × .049 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

LATE MUGHAL

(SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY)

CLXXXIII

13.1403. Portrait of a youth seated in landscape, by a river, with buildings in the distance. Color and gold, green predominating.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .115 × .157 m. (without later mount). Special Fund for the Purchase of Indian Art.

CLXXXIV

83.409. Miniature on ivory, a Mughal princess.

Nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .08 × .048 m. Gift of Caroline A. Brewer.

CLXXXV

83.410. Miniature on ivory, a Mughal emperor.

Nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .06 × .048 m. Gift of Caroline A. Brewer.

CLXXXVI

07.286. Śimurgh or Garuḍa or 'phoenix' carrying off a man. Three men below in landscape, one shooting at the phoenix. Full color and gold.

Late eighteenth, or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .111 × .144 m. (actual picture). Gift of Edward W. Forbes.

For the śimurgh see No. CCXCVII (M. F. A. 25.51).

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

CLXXXVII

07.883. Portrait of a man, probably an Afghan prince, seated on a terrace, with one attendant. Full color and gold.

Late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .11 × .148 m. (actual picture). Ross Collection.

CLXXXVIII

13.1398. Darwesh, nimbate, on a terrace, reading; Nast'aliq writing on the pages of the open book. Full color and gold, lurid sky. Inferior calligraphy at the back.

Eighteenth century, ca. 1755-56.

Dimensions, .146 × .255 m. Special Fund for the Purchase of Indian Art.

Signature on upper right hand side.

Rāqama 'Albad, sana 1169 (= A.D. 1755-56).

CLXXXIX

14.667. Equestrian portrait of the titular Mughal emperor Shāh 'Ālam; according to the superscription in Persian characters, *Al Sulṭānu'l 'Ādil 'Alī-Guhar*.

Late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .173 × .23 m. Goloubew Collection.

'Alī Guhar was a title of Shāh 'Ālam II, before he came to the throne. Shāh 'Ālam II (1759-1806), Nawāb or Sūbadār of Bengal and titular Mughal emperor, was deposed by Clive after the battle of Buxar in 1764: he received at that time Allahābād and Korā and an annuity of twenty-six lakhs. He later allied himself with the Marāṭhās and was partially blinded at the sack of Delhi in 1788. A work of unusual quality for so late a date.

PLATE LXVIII.

CXC

15.85. Portrait of Shāh 'Ālam ('Alī Guhar).

Late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .095 × .131 m. (oval, excluding border). Ross Collection.

PLATE LXX.

CXCI

15.106. Portrait of the emperor Shāh 'Ālam ('Alī Guhar). Tracing on thin paper.
Cf. Nos. CLXXXIX, CXC.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .1 × .123 m. Ross Collection.

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CXCII

14.684. A foundered horse, wash drawing by Muḥammad Bāqir: European influence is evident in the technique.

Late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .149 × .100 m. Goloubew Collection.

The signature is apparently, *Raqam kamtirīn Muḥammad Bāqir*, but the first two words are not clear.

See also No. CLXXXI.

CXCIII

19.781. Calligraphy, four lines of Persian Nast'aliq, a quotation from Ḥāfiẓ; in cartouches on speckled pink ground. By Bāqir.

A.D. 1769-70. Probably written in India.

Dimensions, .105 × .202 m. Ross Collection.

Text and signature:

Hū al-'azīz

Mardī 's kunanda dar cīz purs,

Ay birādar, karam 's Khwāja Qambar purs

Gar tishna-i-faiz-i-haqq-i-basadqī ḥāfiẓ,

Pur chashma-i-ān z', sāqī-i-Gauthar purs

" He is Almighty "

" In the case of common things ask a working man,

O brother, regarding honor, enquire of Master Qambar: ¹

(But) if you have in sooth thirst for the plenitude of truth, O Ḥāfiẓ

Seek at the full well-spring thereof, from the sāqī of Gauthar "

Al 'abd Bāqir b. Muḥibb 'Alī Bahrainī, fī sana-i-Hijrī 1183

" The slave Bāqir, son of Muḥibb 'Alī Bahrainī, in the year of the Hijra 1183
(= A.D. 1769-70)."

Two Indian calligraphers named Muḥammad Bāqir are known: one worked at the court of Aurangzib, the other (who used the honorific style *Zarrīn qalam*) at the Lucknow court (Zafar Ḥasan, *Specimens*. . . pp. 13, 15). Our writer is probably the latter; see also No. CXCII, a drawing by Muḥammad Bāqir, also probably the latter.

CXCIV

15.91. Portrait of Khān 'Ālam Shāh, seated. Outline.

Late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .155 × .15 m. Ross Collection.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

CXCV

15.33. Man with a lance, on horseback. Outline drawing.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .157 × .230 m. Ross Collection.

Inscription above: *Shabih-i-Shāh 'Abbās*. . . .

CXCVI

15.34. Page of a *Shāh Nāma*, miniature, a battle scene, and text, mounted on card.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions of miniature, .152 × .13 m. (page, 215 × .235). Ross Collection.

CXCVII

15.42. Male dancer, nude except for drawers, standing on a crescent with irregular outlines.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .11 × .16 m. (actual picture). Ross Collection.

CXCVIII

15.49. Vaiṣṇava sādhu, seated, rosary in hand. Subscribed in Persian characters, illegible.

Nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .095 × 131 m. Ross Collection.

CXCIX

15.58. Equestrian portrait, inscribed as Muḥammad Sa'īd *Khan* Ṣāhib: probably some local chieftain in Rajputāna or the Dekhan. The prince has two followers, one carrying the state umbrella. The attendants wear the *capkan*, and all look like Rājputs.

About A.D. 1800.

Dimensions, .307 × .245 m. Ross Collection.

CC

15.68. Portrait ostensibly of a Mughal Emperor, standing, nimbate. Color and gold. Superscribed *Shabih-i-Sher Shāh*.

Late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .1 × .154 m. Ross Collection.

CCI

15.77. Two men seated smoking on a terrace, with an extensive landscape beyond. The men are wearing long-skirted *capkans* and seem to be Hindus. Full color, no gold.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .14 × 205 m. (excluding modern mount). Ross Collection.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

CCII

- 15.76.** Portrait of a Mughal officer, standing on a terrace.
Late eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .106 × .175 m. (actual picture). Ross Collection.

CCIII

- 15.71.** Portrait of an emperor, resembling Bābur Shāh, seated on a spindle-legged throne. Much rubbed.
Late eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .121 × .17 m. Ross Collection.

CCIV

- 15.72.** Portrait of an emperor, with faint resemblance to Humāyūn, seated on a spindle-legged throne.
Late eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .121 × .154 m. Ross Collection.

CCV

- 15.80.** Personage seated on a terrace, smoking, with one attendant, and addressing an officer, his falconer, who stands before him. Full color and gold.
Late eighteenth, or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .17 × .159 m. (actual picture). Ross Collection.

CCVI

- 15.94.** Portrait of Nādir Shāh, seated, with drawn sword. Brush outline with touches of color.
Late eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .096 × .114 m. Ross Collection.

CCVII

- 15.96.** Portrait inscribed as that of Maulvī Asharazān Atāyaq. A man seated, nim-bate, in pointed cap and *qabā'*, reading from a book. Tracing on snake skin.
Eighteenth century
Dimensions, .078 × .132 m. Ross Collection.

CCVIII

- 15.103.** Man seated, holding a stick in his left hand. Brush drawing with slight color.
Late eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .08 × .1 m. Ross Collection.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

CCIX

17.3193. Hunting scene, sketch of a man on horseback, shooting deer. Copy.
Late eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .182 × .120 m. CCIX-CCXVII. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCX

17.2808. Portrait sketch of a maulvi or scribe.
Late eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .170 × .213 m. CCIX-CCXVII. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXI

17.2810. Interior, heroine, duenna and two attendants. Sketch.
Late eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .280 × .210 m. CCIX-CCXVII. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXII

17.2809. Drawing, street in front of a garden; and passers by.
Late eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .112 × .297 m. CCIX-CCXVII. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXIII

17.2817. Sketch (tracing), two dancers and chorus.
Early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .143 × .147. CCIX-CCXVII. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXIV

17.2819. Sketch, a man seated, etc. Reverse, female, nude.
Late eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .164 × .177 m. CCIX-CCXVII. Ross-Coomaraswamy.

CCXV

17.2815. Drawing, much eaten by ants. Siege of a fort, probably in the Dekhan: cavalry, camels and cannon.
Late seventeenth century.
Dimensions, .195 × .282 m. CCIX-CCXVII. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Cf. Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, Pl. xxx.

CCXVI

17.3195. A water festival: nine pleasure boats on the water, a city, perhaps Lucknow, beyond.
Early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .25 × .14 m. CCIX-CCXVII. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

CCXVII

17.3198. Sketch, girl beating a cat which has run off with a pet parrot.

Late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .243 × .192 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXVIII

15.111. Man on an elephant spearing a tiger. Color and gold.

Eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .155 × .106 m. (without mount). Ross Collection.

CCXIX

20.1619. Portrait of a man seated on a terrace: later inscription below, *Mīr Mīran*,
Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .105 × .160 m. Ross Collection.

CCXX

20.1620. Portrait of a man seated on a terrace. Color and gold.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .12 × .175 m. Ross Collection.

PATNA

The following items are all either certainly or probably from Patna and, though often embodying Rājput features, are best classified as late Mughal. All date from the eighteenth or early nineteenth century. All those in the Museum belong to the Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection; a majority of these were originally in the A. N. Tagore Collection (which still includes many more of the same kind). A few from the same series have been included in the Catalogue, Part V, *Rājput Paintings*.

CCXXI

17.2811. Sketches, male and female heads, etc. (Hindus).

Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.

Dimensions, .265 × .172 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXXII

17.2814. Drawing, two heads of women.

Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.

Dimensions, .10 × .07 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

CCXXIII

17.2816. Sketch, copy of earlier work, pricked as a stencil: dancer and chorus.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .126 × .165 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXXIV

17.2821. Kabir, weaving. Copy.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .177 × .235 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Cf. *Artibus Asiae*, 1927, pp. 135, 136.

CCXXV

17.2825. Himalayan partridges; also a man riding on a bull, within a circle. Tracing on skin.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .17 × .21 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXXVI

17.2827. Two men running with a buffalo: outline drawing.
Patna, early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .196 × .136 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXXVII

17.2828. Sheet of sketches, including a man and two cheetahs.
Patna? ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .177 × .137 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXXVIII

17.2829. Drawing of a saddled bull, partly colored.
Patna, early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .063 × .063 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXXIX

17.2830. Drawing of a cock and chickens, partly colored.
Patna, early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .063 × .063 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXXX

17.2831. Brown bird, colored drawing.
Patna? Nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .135 × .083 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

CCXXXI

- 17.2832.** Brown bird, colored drawing.
Patna? Nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .110 × .096 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXXXII

- 17.2833.** Brown bird, colored drawing.
Patna? Nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .159 × .091 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXXXIII

- 17.2834.** Design for a painted book cover: hawk and flowering spray.
Patna? Eighteenth century.
Dimensions .168 × .248 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
PLATE LIII.

CCXXXIV

- 17.2835.** Parrot eating fruits from a branch.
Patna? Eighteenth century.
Dimensions .14 × .23 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXXXV

FLOWERS AND FLORAL DESIGNS.

- 17.2836.** Purple iris.
Patna? Eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .155 × .206 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXXXVI

- 17.2837.** Lily.
Patna, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .115 × .206 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXXXVII

- 17.2838.** Iris.
Patna? Eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .11 × .17 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXXXVIII

- 17.2839.** Flowering spray.
Patna, early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .092 × .175 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

CCXXXIX

17.2840. Spray.

Patna? Eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .062 × .103 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXL

17.2841. Iris.

Patna? Eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .055 × .083 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXLI

17.2842. Iris.

Patna? Eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .076 × .120 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXLII

17.2843a, b. Two flowering plants.

Patna? Nineteenth century.

Dimensions each, .072 × .108 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXLIII

17.2844. Two flowering plants.

Patna? Eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .133 × .105 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXLIV

17.2845. Three poppies.

Patna? Nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .051 × .065 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXLV

17.2846. Tree.

Patna? Nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .072 × .088 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXLVI

17.2847. Floral design.

Patna? Nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .148 × .142 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

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CCXLVII

- 17.2848.** Two flowering plants, pricked for use as stencil.
Patna? Eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .049 × .090, and .056 × .063 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXLVIII

- 17.2849.** Flowering plant.
Patna, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .083 × .120 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXLIX

- 17.2850.** Two flowering sprays.
Patna? Nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .195 × .193 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCL

- 17.2851.** Three flowering sprays.
Patna? Nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .15 × .10 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLI

- 17.2852.** Flower.
Patna? Eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .094 × .158 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLII

- 17.2853.** Flowering plant (double wild tulip?).
Patna? Eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .108 × .171 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLIII

- 17.2854.** Floral design, probably for a painted or lacquered book cover.
Patna? Eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .172 × .084 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLIV

- 17.2855.** Sheet of twenty-seven floral motifs for use in semé designs.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .124 × .175 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

CCLV

17.2857. Floral border.
Patna? Eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .162 × .027 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLVI

17.2858. Three floral motifs in border.
Patna? Eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .061 × .135 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLVII

17.2859. Flowering spray.
Patna? Nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .038 × .079 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLVIII

17.2860. Two flowering plants.
Patna? Nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .068 × .133 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLIX

17.2861. Blank page for a MS, with semé floral margins.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .15 × .237 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLX

17.2862. Part of a MS margin, with semé floral motifs.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .064 × .104 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXI

17.2863. Sheet of four designs, three of semé floral motifs, one of a trellis enclosing flowers.

Patna? Eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .079 × .157 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
PLATE LXXIV.

CCLXII

17.2864. Four floral sprays.
Patna? Eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .178 × .075 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

CCLXIII

17.2865. Two designs of semé floral motifs.
Patna? Eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .070 × .054m., and .068 × .063 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXIV

17.2866. Sheet of thirteen floral motifs for semé designs.
Patna? Nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .137 × .073 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXV

17.2867. Sheet of twenty-eight decorative motifs, mostly floral.
Patna? Nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .19 × .23 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXVI

17.2868. Floral design.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800
Dimensions, .091 × .190 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXVII

17.2869. Floral design.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .095 × .135 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXVIII

17.2870. Design of acanthus type: inscribed *tot kī pāta*.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .257 × .197 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXIX

17.2871. Feather design in gold on black; and a border.
Patna? Eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .178 × .075 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXX

17.2872. Two sheets of designs for borders.
Patna? Eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .094 × .078, and .074 × .063 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
PLATE LXXIV.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

CCLXXI

17.2873. Sheet of border designs.
Patna, eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .067 × .152 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXXII

17.2874. Foliar border design.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .09 × .205 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXXIII

17.2875. Sheet of floral border designs.
Patna? Eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .092 × .115 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXXIV

17.2877. Sheet of semé and border designs.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .09 × .202 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXXV

17.2878. Sheet of seventeen floral motifs in ovals.
Patna, eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .220 × .205 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXXVI

17.2879. Sheet of floral motifs in trellis.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .221 × .178 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXXVII

17.2880. Sheet of floral motifs.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .175 × .198 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXXVIII

17.2881. Sheet of floral motifs.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .185 × .205 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

CCLXXIX

17.2882. Sheet of semé floral motifs on colored grounds.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .25 × .109 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXXX

17.2883. Sheet of rococo semé floral motifs.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .143 × .181 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXXXI

17.2884. Floral motifs in medallions.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .142 × .135 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXXXII

17.2885. Border.
Patna, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .023 × .128 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXXXIII

17.2886. Floral border.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .210 × .179 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXXXIV

17.2887. Sheet of six floral motifs for semé designs, reverse with three more.
Patna, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .090 × .096 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXXXV

17.2888. Sheet with two arabesque designs.
Patna? Nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .040 × .083 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXXXVI

17.2890. Floral motifs (iris) semé, and borders.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .128 × .120 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS

CCLXXXVII

- 17.2892.** Six floral motifs in medallions, in two parts.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions each, .21 × .07 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXXXVIII

- 17.2893.** Border design of spatulate elements with floral motifs.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .184 × .074m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXXXIX

- 17.2891.** Floral motifs, semé.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, 162 × .105m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXC

- 17.2894.** Design for jade dagger handle.
Patna, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .094 × .153 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXCI

- 17.2895.** Design for an inlaid or engraved metal sword handle.
Patna, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .094 × .198 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXCII

- 17.2896.** Design for an inlaid or engraved metal sword handle.
Patna, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .096 × .159 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXCIII

- 17.2897.** Design for an inlaid or engraved metal sword handle, and one for a dagger (*kaṭāra*).
Patna, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .128 × .255 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXCIV

- 17.2898.** Two designs for gilt enameled *huqqa* bowls.
Patna, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .173 × .155 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
- PLATE LXXIV.

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CCXCV

17.2899. Ten designs for silver *sūrm-dān* (antimony holders).
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .291 × .198 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXCVI

17.2900. Copy of an eighteenth century design for a lacquered box.
Patna, ca. A.D. 1800.
Dimensions, .291 × .198 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

SĪMURGH

CCXCVII

25.51. A *sīmurgh* or "roc" (Indian *garuḍa*, Chinese *fēng*, "phoenix") flying with an elephant-lion in its beak: smaller elephants are entangled in its tail feathers. The elephant-lion (*gaja-simha*) has the head of an elephant and the body of a lion, and carries smaller elephants in its paws, trunk, and by its long tail.

Patna (?) Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .123 × .134 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

A composition of great interest. Practically identical representations are found (1) on the Mughal hunting carpet, 93.14801 in the Museum Collections, here illustrated on Plate LXII¹ (2) in the British Museum Mughal album, MS. Add. 18803, f. 15, (3) on a Jaina cosmological diagram.²

Before discussing the forms represented here it will be desirable to summarise their history.

Garuḍa: a mythical bird, a kind of eagle or "roc," generally identified with the Ṛg Vedic Garutmat, the sun-bird³ and Suparṇa, the 'Fair-winged' (eagle). Suparṇa,⁴ in Ṛg Veda IV, 26, 27, steals the Soma from Indra's heaven and brings it to mortals on earth; elsewhere in the Ṛg Veda the eagle is Viṣṇu and brings the Soma to Indra when he needs it most. The later versions of the legend (*Suparṇādhyaya*, and *Mahābhārata*, I, 1069 ff.) combine the rape of the Soma with the story of Kadrū and Vinatā (mother of *Garuḍas*); *Garuḍa* becomes the vehicle of Viṣṇu, and in Indian mythology generally

¹ Also published in color by Sarre; F. and Trenkwal, H., *Old oriental carpets*, Vol. II, Vienna, 1929, Pl. 59, with a note on the motif.

² Kirfel, W., *Die Cosmographie der Inder*, tafel 5, lower right-hand corner.

³ The peacock is also the sun-bird, and as such "the connecting link between the sun-bird, reflected in Garutmat-Garuda, and the epic roc that devours (Nāgas and other) snakes" (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 21). Cf. Johansson, *Solfågeln i Indien*, pp. 73 ff.

⁴ See Charpentier, J., *Die Suparṇasage*, Uppsala, 1922 (Bibliography, *ib.*, pp. 7-12); also Johansson, C. F., *Solfågeln i Indien*, Upsala, 1910.

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is mainly known in this capacity. In the mediaeval iconography, as the vehicle of Viṣṇu he is represented either entirely as a bird, or as bird-like but with a human face.¹ But Garuḍa in these connections does not at present concern us: we have to do rather with a class than an individual.

Garuḍa is represented in the Epics² and in the Jātakas as a rending, tearing, snake-devouring creature, and as a class in the plural as a bird of battle or bird of prey, able to carry elephants as big as mountains (it may be noted that the Garuḍa is the traditional enemy of Nāgas, a word that means both snake and elephant though I do not think that the elephant-carrying exploits of garuḍas can be explained by this *double-entendre*). In numerous representations of early Kuṣāna date from Mathurā, we find a long-tailed, parrot-beaked creature, carrying snakes in its beak (see Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, No. 150, p. 51);³ this type is but little removed from our Mughal and Persian *Sīmurgh* types on the one hand, and from the Chinese phoenix (*fēng*) on the other.⁴ In Oṛissā and at Amarāvati, *garuḍa* types in rows are exceedingly common as brackets supporting mouldings or string courses, and in Cambodian art this motif is far more extensively and conspicuously developed (Prāḥ Khān, Añkor Thom terrace, etc.).

The *garuḍa* as a gigantic bird of prey has undoubted equivalents in Hittite and Sumerian art; and must also be correlated with an eagle type met with on Indus valley seals (A. S. I., A. R., 1924-25, Pl. xxviii, No. 12).

The Persian *sīmurgh*⁵ is well known. In the early texts, it is connected with the tree of healing powers (cf. the connection of the Indian *garuḍa* with *soma*, the water of life). In the Epic there are two *sīmurghs*, (1) the guardian genius of Zāl and Rustam, and (2) the monstrous bird killed by Isfandiyār. The latter is an evil creature which lives on a mountain and can carry and can lift in its claws crocodiles, panthers, and even elephants,

¹ Earliest representations, Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, Pl. XII as a standard; and the *garuḍadhva* at Besnagar attested by Heliodora's Vaiṣṇava inscription, second century B.C. Examples unconnected with Viṣṇu on Kuṣāna Buddhist pediments from Mathurā M. F. A. Bulletin, No. 150. Doubtless a Vaiṣṇava symbol on the silver coins of Kumāragupta (B. M. Cat., p. 89): so also the *garuḍadhva* on numerous Gupta coins. As Viṣṇu's vehicle in the *Gajendra-mokṣa* panel of the Gupta temple at Deogarh, and at Belūr. Isolated, human-bodied, at Bādāmi cave IV (Mem. A. S. I., XXV, Pl. XV), late sixth century. For some later examples, see A. S. I., A. R., 1924-25, Pl. xxxviii; *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N. F. 3, 1926, Pl. 2; Mysore Arch. Dep., Ann. Rep. 1923, Pl. XI; A. S. I., A. R., 1925-26, Pl. LX, b, c. The type is too common to need further citation but I take this opportunity to point out that the "Deogunguru" in a temple on Rāmgarh Hill (N. E. of Bilāspur), miscalled by Beglar (Cunningham, A. S. Reports, XIII, p. 35) an image of Śiva, is a typical Garuḍa, as the characteristic pose and the wings clearly demonstrate. Cf. Maitra, A. K., *Garuda the carrier of Vishnu*, in Rūpan, No. 1, 1920.

² Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, pp. 20-23.

³ Other examples, Smith, *Jain stupa of Mathurā*, Pls. xxv, 1, and xxxix, 2.

⁴ The Chinese phoenix is undoubtedly an analogue of the Indian Garuḍa, and both have solar significance. In China there is also found a two-headed form corresponding to the Indian Gaṇḍa-bheruḍa: this *fēng-huang* is a combination of the male and female (*yang* and *yin*) phoenix, and represents an equilibrium of two phases of the sun (Hentze, C., *Chinese tomb figures*, p. 26 and Pl. 2, b).

⁵ For a full account, see the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, s.v.

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like the 'roc' of the *Arabian Nights*. We have seen that a similar distinction obtains in India, where the Garuḍa, sun bird and vehicle of Viṣṇu, is an honored being, while other *garuḍas* (and *bheraṇḍas*) are birds of prey. The Persian *sīmurgh* appears in art from the thirteenth century onwards, quite frequently with an appearance related to that of the Kuṣāna types and our drawing.

Gaṇḍa-bheruṇḍa (-*bheraṇḍa*, *bhuruṇḍa*, etc.¹): for these birds of prey in the *Mahā-bhārata*, see Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, p. 20. In mediaeval Indian art, the *gaṇḍa-bheruṇḍa* is always represented as a two-headed bird of prey, generally *en face*, often carrying its victims in claws and beak: it is regarded as a kind of *garuḍa*. The type is a familiar one in Hittite art² and in the heraldry of mediaeval and modern Europe. In India a two-headed bird is seen for the first time perched on a *torana* of the Jaina stupa base at Sirkap, of Scytho-Parthian date; and one of similar type on a pillar of sixth or seventh century date at Bodhgayā; both of these are more like *hamsas* than *garuḍas*.³ The typical form is characteristic of mediaeval art in the Dekhan,⁴ Southern India,⁵ and Ceylon.⁶

The winged elephant lion: the notion of flying elephants is an old one, and an example may be seen on a medallion of a railing pillar from Bodhgayā, now in the Victoria and

¹ Non-Aryan words, see Woolner, A. C., *Prakritic and non-Aryan strata*, Sir Ashutosh Memorial Volume, p. 66.

² Apparently much earlier also at Lagash, but its recognition here depends only on one restored seal (see Ward, *Seal cylinders of Western Asia*, p. 160).

³ For a late form of this type see my *Arts and crafts of India and Ceylon*, p. 142.

⁴ Pillar (called *gaṇḍa-bheruṇḍa* in the inscription), now known as *garuḍa-kambha*, erected by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya in A.D. 1047 (*Ep. Carnatica*, XI, pp. 109, 193, and Acharya, *Dictionary*, p. 674): a double-headed, human-bodied eagle. Relief (double-headed bird holding in its beaks a *śarabha*, this in succession a lion, the latter an elephant, the latter with its trunk a snake, which in turn is swallowing an antelope) in the Sūrya shrine opposite the Būkeśvara temple (A.D. 1173) at Koramaṅgala (Mysore A. S. Rep. 1919-20, p. 5 and Pl. III); and a similar relief in the Keśava temple at Belūr (A.D. 1268, see Narasimachar, *Keśava temple at Belūr*, Mysore Archaeological Series, II, p. 8.) With the "chain of death" in the Koramaṅgala and Belūr reliefs, cf. Charpentier, *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra*, p. 367. The 'chain of death' motif seems to bear some relation to the story told in *Māhā-bhārata*, I, ch. XXIX, where Garuḍa devours an elephant and tortoise who are mutually at war, though this subject is later interpreted in a *bhākta* sense (as the Gajendramokṣa legend, see *Catalogue*, Pt. V, pp. 131, 132), and occurs side by side with the 'chain of death' at Koramaṅgala, as well as earlier at Deogarh and later in Rājput painting. Coins of Acyuta Rāya of Vijayanagar, Smith, *Cat. coins Indian Museum, Calcutta*, pp. 322-324, a double-headed bird carrying four elephants in its claws and beaks (example in M. F. A., no. 28. 318). Reliefs at Srīśailam, Karnūl District (Vijayanagar period), (a) double-headed and human-bodied, holding snakes in the beaks and lions in the hands, (b) double-headed, with human torso, twenty-two arms, and fantastic, four-legged body (A. S. I., Southern Circle, Ann. Rep. 1917-18). Delhi gate of Berar Fort, A. S. I., A. R., 1922-23, p. 57. See also Sastri, H. K., *South Indian images*, p. 268 (a two-headed *sarja anna padṣi*, carrying four elephants): Dupont, M., *Kunstgewerbe des Hindu*, Pls. VI, XLVIII.

⁵ Especially common as a jewelled pendant.

⁶ My *Mediaeval Sinhalese art*, fig. 18 (= Bell, *Kegalla report*, 2d plate facing p. 126) and Pls. XXIII, 6, and XLVIII, 6. Johnston, Sir A., *Account of a flag . . .*, J. R. A. S., Vol. 3, London, 1832. Perera, E. W., *Sinhalese banners and standards*, figs. 47, 91. Ghose, A., *Some old Indian ivories*, Rūpam, No. 32, 1928, Pl. III, 11. There is a story in the *Pañcatantra* about a bird with two heads.

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Albert Museum.¹ On the other hand, the flying elephant and flying horse of the *Mahāsudassana Suttanta* are merely rhetorical phrases suggesting speed. Sky-faring elephants are referred to in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, chs. XXXVI and CXVIII;² one of these is attacked by a *garuḍa*. The Sinhalese variant, *et-kanda-lihiniya*, "elephant-eating bird"³ should be a *garuḍa*, but has an elephant's trunk. Elephant lions (*gaja-simha*), *per se*, are common objects of Indian mythology,⁴ e.g., as the *Yālis* of later Dravidian pillar brackets.

From the foregoing, it will appear that both the single-headed *garuḍa* and the two-headed (*gaṇḍa-*) *bheraṇḍa*, regarded as gigantic birds of prey, are of considerable antiquity in Indian and Persian mythology and are probably the analogues and descendants of still earlier Mesopotamian types. In mediaeval Indian art, the *garuḍa* came to be regarded primarily as the vehicle of Viṣṇu; other *garuḍas*, and *bheraṇḍas* as birds of prey. Our Mughal, Persian, and some corresponding Indian representations are all of a long-tailed, single-headed bird closely related to the Kuṣāna types. The actual form as it appears in Mughal art perhaps combines both Persian and Indian material: it is at once a *garuḍa* and a *simurgh*.

CCXCVIII

17.2826. Phoenix.

Patna, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .132 × .110 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

See No. CCXCVII.

CCXCIX

25.533. Phoenix (*simurgh*), in a rather Persian or Chinese manner.

Patna, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .137 × .196 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

See No. CCXCVII.

ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS

CCC

17.2824. Architectural drawing.

Patna, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .208 × .281 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

¹ Codrington, K. de B., *Ancient India*, Pl. xiv. But not, as stated, from Mathurā, see J. R. A. S. 1927, p. 847.

² Tawney's translation, I, 328, and II, 540.

³ *Mediaeval Sinhalese art*, fig. 16.

⁴ E.g., *HIIA.*, fig. 388, *gajasimha* holding an antelope in its trunk.

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CCCI

17.3197. Architectural drawing, façade of a palace and fort: outline on European paper.

Patna, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .435 × .218 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCII

17.3196. Architectural drawing, façade of a palace and fort: outline on European paper.

Patna, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .371 × .142 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DAKHANĪ SCHOOL

CCCIII

15.74. Portrait of a bay stallion, with its owner, sais, and other attendants. Floral background. The very long crested plumes worn in the turbans are remarkable and unusual.

Dakhanī (Bijāpur or Hyderābād), late seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .245 × .21 m. Ross Collection.

For the Dakhanī Mughal school see Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Relation of Moghul and Rajput painting*, Rūpam, 31, 1927; *Notes on Indian painting*, *Artibus Asiae*, 2, 1927, pp. 9–11, figs. 4, 5; Gangoly, O. C., *Portrait of a court lady from Hyderabad*, Rūpam, 4, 1920; Mehta, N. C., *Studies in Indian painting*, Pl. 47; Binyon, L., *Relation between Rajput and Moghul painting, a new document*, Rūpam, 29, 1927.

TANJORE SCHOOL

CCCIV

21.1293. Portrait, probably of Amarsīngh Rāja's son. European paper. See No. CCCV.)

Early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .081 × .063 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LXIX.

CCCV

21.1294. Portrait, probably that of Amarsīngh Rāja (Amarasimma), who was deposed by the British Government in A.D. 1798, on the ground of illegal succession. European paper. See also No. CCCIV.

End of the eighteenth century.

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Dimensions, .09 × .098 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

The identification of CCCIV, CCCV are made on the basis of an opinion expressed by Rao Saheb T. Sambamurthi Row, Honorary Secretary of the Tanjore Maharajah Serfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library, Tanjore.

PLATE LXIX.

GARHWĀL

The following items, Nos. CCCVI, CCCXVII were originally obtained from Balak Rām Sāh of Garhwāl, a descendant of Mola Rām, whose ancestors, being in the service of Suleimān Shikoh, fled with him to the hills (see Introduction, p. 12), are of various dates and authorship. Other items from the same source, but more definitely Rājput in character, are included in the Catalogue, Pt. IV.

CCCVI

17.2655. Elephant fight.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .205 × .185 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCVII

17.2656. Elephant.

Early eighteenth century

Dimensions, .065 × .070 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCVIII

17.2657. Long-horned bull.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .113 × .085 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCIX

17.2666. The Sikh Guru Nānak Shāh. Hermitage scene: hut, tree, and nine men, one smoking.

Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .166 × .210 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

A few words scrawled in Nāgarī characters, reading *Jogī Nātha Guru*, and *Nānak Sāhi Sī(n)gh*.

CCCX

17.2677. Part of a palace with two maids (fragment). Probably copy of eighteenth century. Mughal.

Eighteenth century?

Dimensions, .125 × .180 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

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CCCXI

17.2668. Portrait of a man standing, superscribed in Persian and Nāgarī characters as *Nāha Cand Miān*. Head finely finished, remainder as sketch.

Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .074 × .147 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCXII

17.2669. Portrait of a man seated, reading from a book: writing materials at his side. Superscribed in Persian and Nāgarī characters *Hemanidhī pāthe*; and *Garhke* in Nāgarī only.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .069 × .115 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

In Nāgarī: *Hemanidhī pāde*; in Persian: *Hemanidhī pāthe* (more correct).

The note 'Garhke' or similar form occurs on many other examples from the same source, and perhaps indicates Garhwāl.

CCCXIII

17.2670. Portrait of a man seated, the head finely finished, remainder a rough sketch, superscribed as *Baduru Bhaṇḍārī*, also in another hand, *Garh kī*.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .086 × .155 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCXIV

17.2671. Portrait of a man seated.

Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .044 × .084 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCXV

17.2675. Portrait of a man seated, superscribed *Rājukī 1766 kā Phāguṇa*, i. e., A.D. 1709, in the month Phālguṇa.

Dimensions, .064 × .117 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The *Samvat* date 1766 = A.D. 1709. We may take this as indication of date for several other drawings from the same source.

CCCXVI

17.2678. A mother and nurses, one holding the child, another washing his feet, a third combing her own hair. Partly coloured green and gold.

Seventeenth century.

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Dimensions, .095 × .158 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Inscribed *Rānī Begam*, 'Queen Lady.'

CCCXVII

17.2679. Woman with a book. Probably a copy.
Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .103 × .129 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

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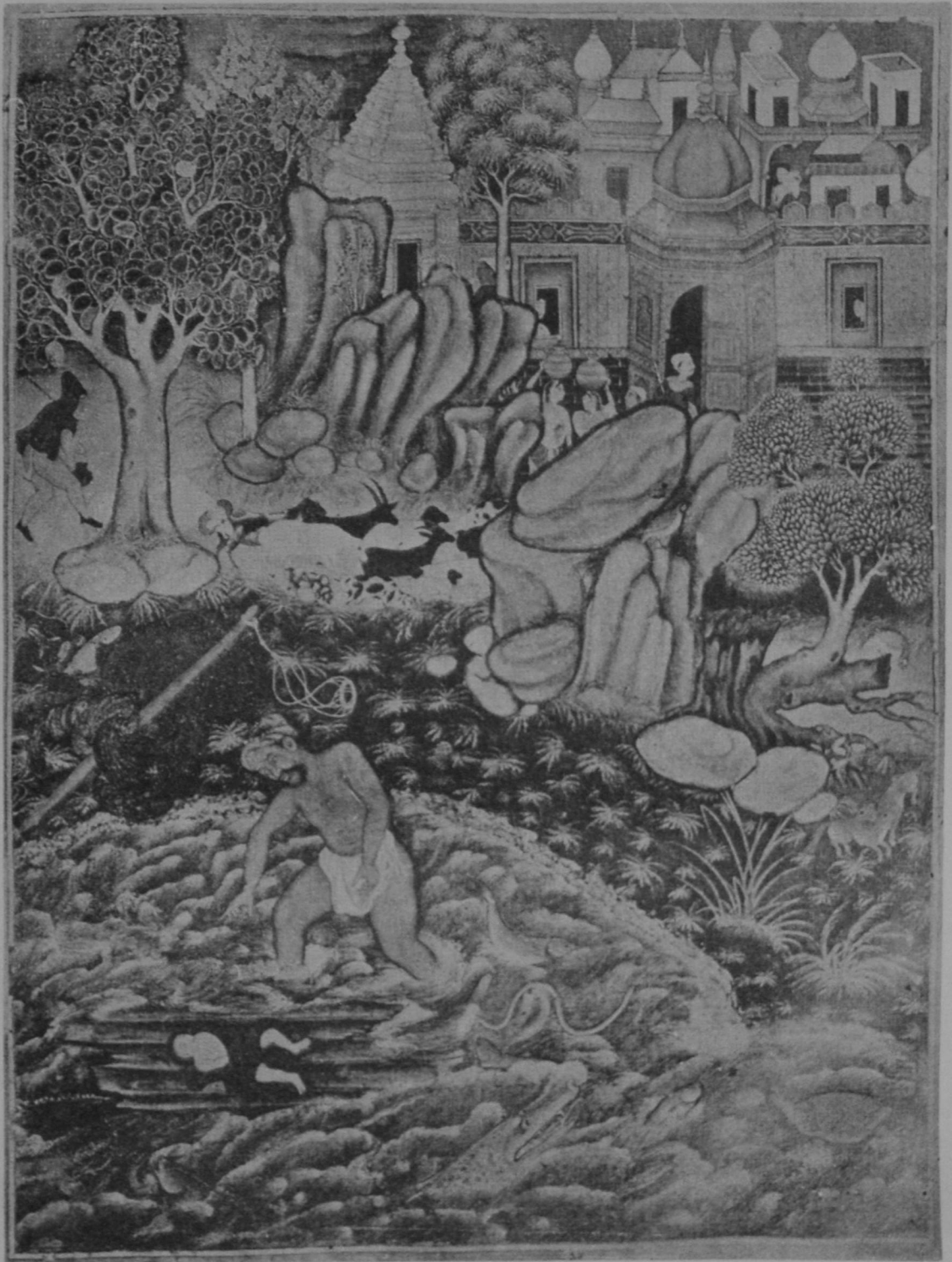
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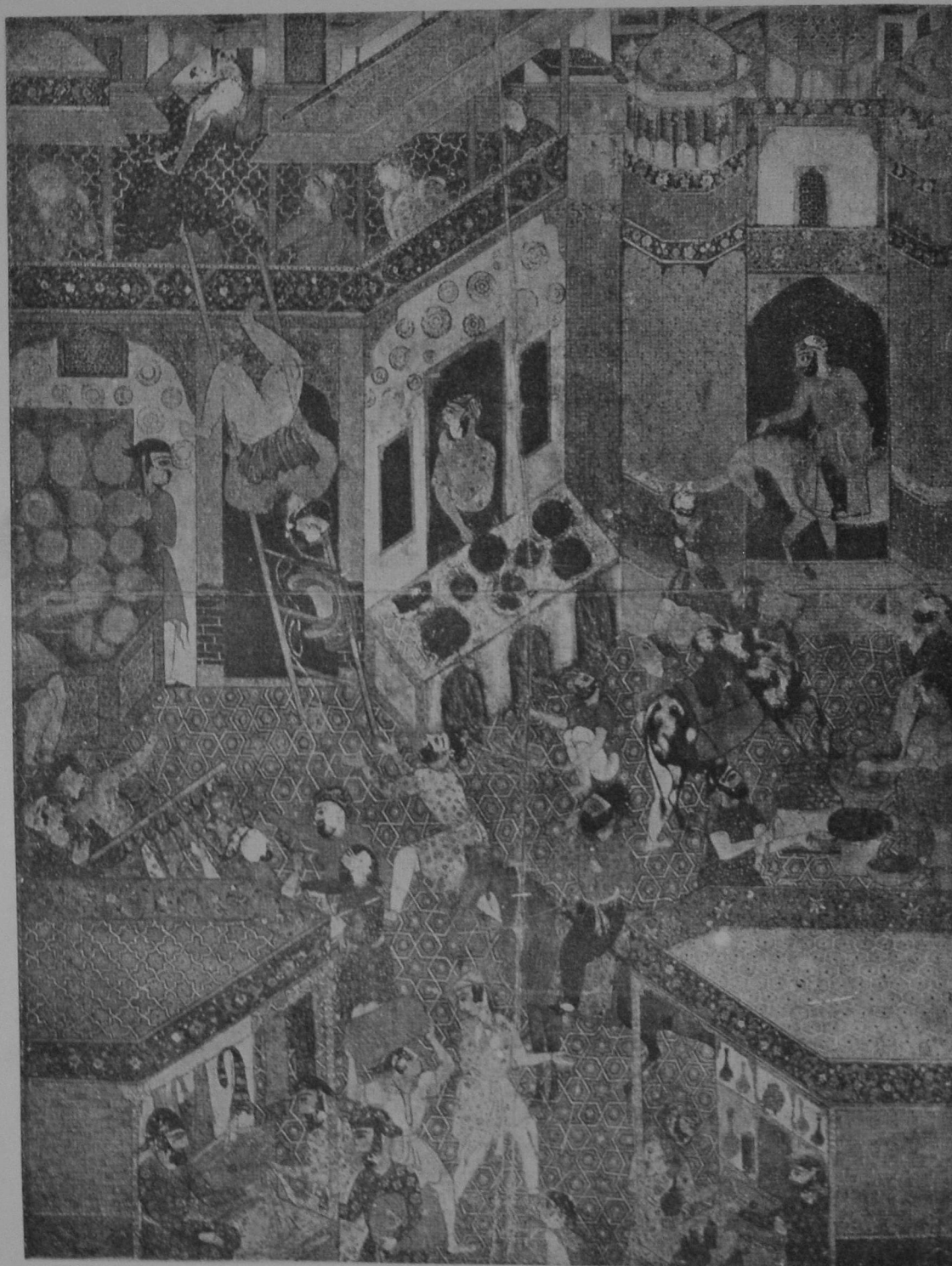
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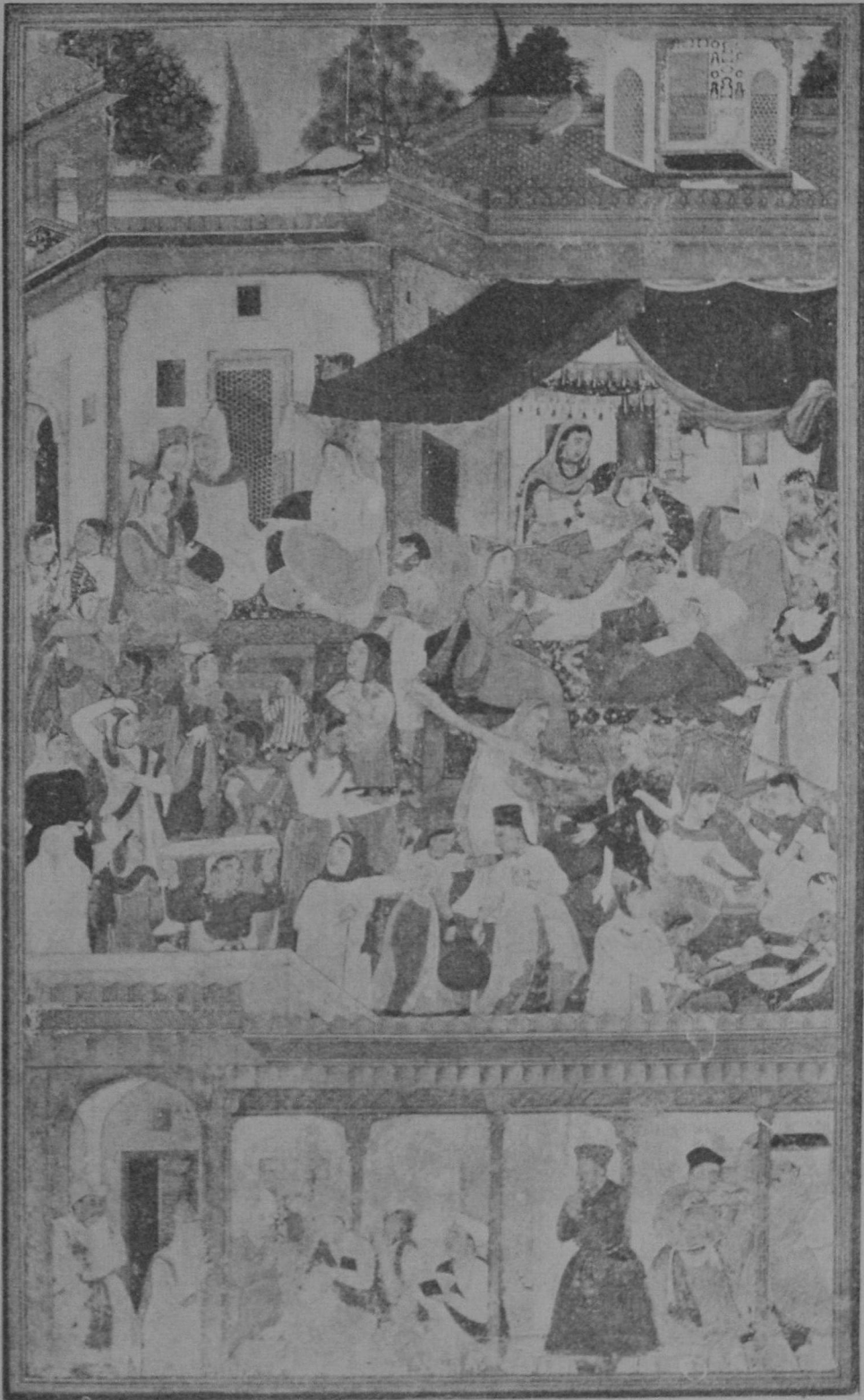




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BIRTH OF A PRINCE. DETAIL

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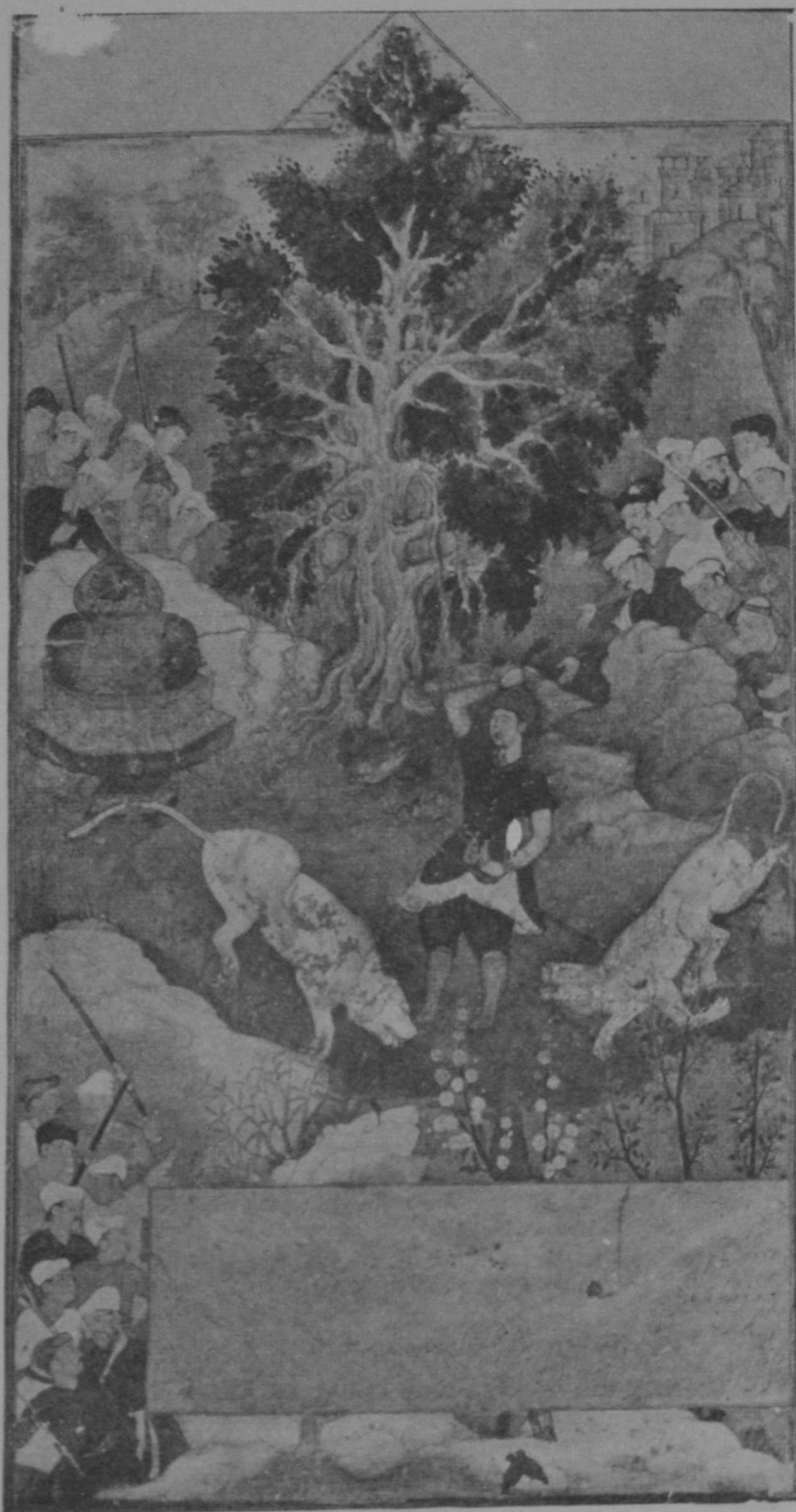




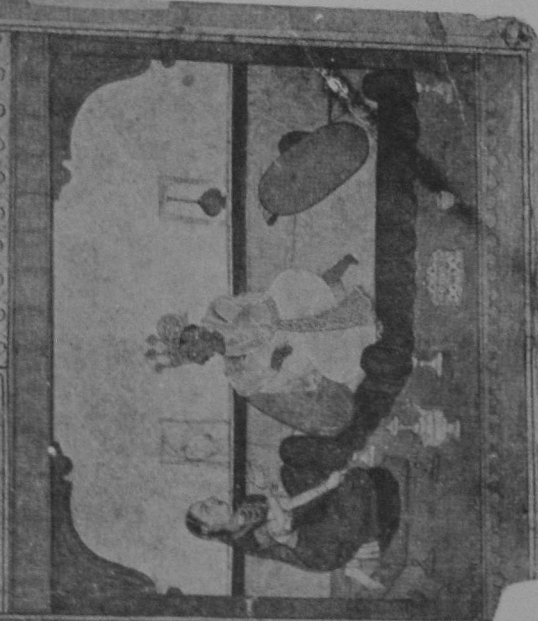
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BIRTH OF A PRINCE. DETAIL

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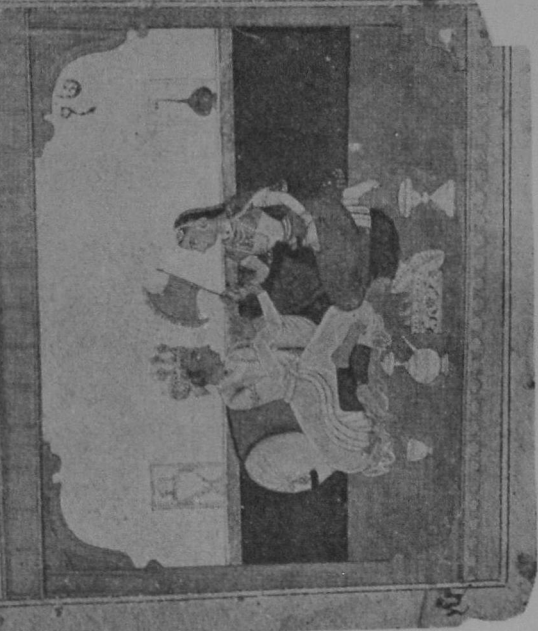
विचित्रविचित्रसोदाधद॥ अतिविचित्रविचित्रसवोद्य
 धगद्वयानि॥ लोकात्पतिइतिका॥ पियद्विमिलाव्या
 निदिगतिमेदमोत्तरकेसव्यातदकददियेउलखि॥
 नोहधिलामतिकामलदासतिअगसुवासवगाढगदहे॥
 वं कविलाकतिकोअवलोकिसुमारुहेतेहसुभासरे
 थोणइतोकामकेवानकसुवतस्तलनिकेविधिस्तलक
 दहे॥ अत्रामितनाइकाथोड॥ सोअत्रामितनाइका
 धाढाकदित्वित्तुमनेसावाचकारमना॥ इतिदसकी
 नोमित्तु॥ यातोहितगाइवजाचेतताचतवारअनेकमि
 गाकुवनाये॥ जीइमेअनिवोखेयोरीतेयेतकतनयो
 मननाया॥ चवसुतकरीवोकरिनासितिलमविडेवस
 तकरिण्याकाहेत्यासधेसुचाहतिनावासुचाहति
 दअवपाइलगाया॥



X. 17.3108

LEAF OF THE RASIKAPRIYA

॥ लक्ष्मण्यतिषोढा॥ मोलध्यायतिजातियोकेसचजगद
 ॥ १७ ॥ अमातीकानिकेयेतिकुलेमेवेप्रसुनाथलदिसमा
 ना॥ अत्रात्रुविराजतेकेदिकेसदअस्यलोनेकुमारोक्त
 द्याशा॥ वानिविदिविद्विहसमकारविभुयविभुवधनिवना
 ॥ अत्रागविलोकिविलोकमन्त्रेसीकोनारिनिहारिनुरनव
 ॥ अत्रतिवेतसिगारसमियसिगरुक्रियेजडुदरताइ॥
 अथषोढा॥ धारानदा॥ आरमाफअनादरहिषगटकरेदि
 तहाडाअकृतिअत्रुडरावशोषाडाधीरादेश॥ सादरभी
 रा॥ अततरेषीलियेउठिअगेदिकेसदअश्रीअसउदा
 ना॥ अत्रुहाणाइपषारीजसोजकुयानेकोनाडुलाइम
 वीनो॥ धारोवनाइकेअंगधरेजवदेदरिकेकरनीजना
 लीनो॥ वासगदिदरिअसोकद्वोहसिमेनोइतोअपराधुत
 कीनो॥



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॥ राधिको को उगादो के सोवा से को तव डर पकुल का तिये अ
 तो धार क तर दी खन सुत्र को लिये ॥ अणने समान को रूपान से
 न माने तु उमान के विमान वटी काम व्या म डालिया ॥ अड मी अ
 इ मति ॥ अच तव हा इ ये मी अ ॥ इ अ डे इ वि त व ति नि समालिया ॥
 दी नाम तु अ थ ति दि हा रा सो स्वर धि के सो हरि को हरि ने ने नि हर रूप
 तो वी लिये ॥ रूप स सो रा सं नो ॥ भाट का सो सु म का तु का इ दी व की
 क ॥ पा चो प्यो र पी क पा व लो व न क्ति लो र को ॥ प्रा पन को सो री क्वि इ
 थार ॥ धार मा रूप सु धि जा न ति व हे कि सो री जो री हे सु वी र को मि री
 म क्ति म ति सार क द क्ति का के सो दा स लो ग ति हे लो ल लो न ड री पा व
 म र क ॥ अ ति हे कु का ड य द अ व ति रु या ड क्ति छार उ तो छ र यो नो री
 पा इ ति के यो री ॥ अ धि सो री था इ हे दो इ ट वी री मा हा मि नि क ड य द
 र से हे ॥ ता प के त ल त मो रि नि मा ल नी ना इ ति ना ड के त ल न र हे
 व की नो री ता म री सा पी सु नि त र क्ति के वी को थ्या म र दि ल्यो का हे मी लो
 इ कि मा हि न पा इ हे ॥ अ प ने जो चो म तो सो क दि हे ॥ अ ति धा म को हा
 राज कु मार था ड ड जि न वि रे वि तो या र मिक षि था या र म अ म र
 मो व न न न म प्र प ड व र वा च ला वा ॥ २५ ॥



॥ अ थ उ म्मी धो न ल र ग ॥ २ ॥ कु हो ॥ अ न क लु जी य न इ इ जो अ
 नि अ र्थ के म व ड म्मी धो न र म्मु सो मी त त धा स थ लु ॥ २ ॥ अ थि दो उ
 उ धा र दो के म व द अ के क ड अ र्थ नो ले ल धि हे ॥ २ ॥ ॥ अ री वी नी तो य ड र ग
 इ ना इ त ध र सि फि र जि हे ॥ गो कि लु व रु कि यो व रु ल न क के न रु की
 ग र खु व वे ड र गी अ हा न व्य न वे यो ता वारि न र हे ॥ प व ड ड ल ड र
 र ॥ ॥ जो ग न हा न च फि टा क र ये त म उ ट ॥ ति नि वि वा र जो व र नि ये
 सो र म प जी ड स क य ट छे र पा नो मे म र म ल प या नी ड नो नि के गो ग ज के
 पा न स म प नि ये ॥ म्पा र थो वि धा नी धा नी ॥ पर मार थो की रं ज भा नि का
 म की क दानो के ना दाम ज ग जा नी य ॥ सु व र न ध र जो नी सु धो मो सु धा
 र अ मी स क ल म यान मा नी गानी सु व दो नि ये गो गो जो ग राल जा नी मि
 र सु ति सु ल ग्पा नी अ मी नो नी म री नी नि व सु के व धा नि यो ॥ कि स व क
 दु ना रा मु क ड अ रु वी न सो मि ग ॥ ३ ॥ ॥ व र न त वी र न यान क दि मा त
 त व रु ति जो मु ॥ न य उ प जो वान म ते अ रु मि गार र दा सु क म व अ ड
 उ वी र त क रु ग का क प थ का मु ॥ इ सि ति धि के म ल टा म र म य न र थ क
 हे वि वा शो व र न त सु ल प रि ज स्या क वि कु ले ले ख सु धा ॥ ३ ॥ ॥ र सि
 क थि यो ति ना दे थि यो ॥ ३ ॥ ॥ ति ने दिन री ना ॥ त्या र ल पा क वि स वे र सिक थि
 या क र डि ना ॥ ३ ॥ ति वा ड र ति म ति य ति प हे जो ने म व र म धा नि म्पार
 थ प मार थ ल हे ॥ र सि क थि यो की इ ति ॥



LEAF OF THE RASIKAPRIYA.

॥ गभिका को अटदा सु ॥ नीने को पान पवावते को इगइल
 गिअथी को अवावी ते ॥ ते छितयात वही तिदि नादि बुला ल के
 लो वमव धि के पो मे ॥ वात कवी हरेय स धिक सुन मे सु ऊवम
 दीर को नीने सो मे ति दो पिय क जिय कि अलि जाए सव परि उ कवने
 मे ॥ कस को सी हस सु ॥ दसन वस तम हि दे से न डुति वर स कल
 मर कर ति अवे न दे ॥ सा इ फल कति लो लो चन क पा ल नि मी म
 ल ले म मे म व चन स म ति दो ॥ नो हे के हे दे ती ना य क वे म र
 ना वती के नो वरे छवी ले लो मो न को न हे ते दे ॥ कि सव प्र काम
 ह सु द धि के ले के गे अवे मि दा द स ति तो दिये दे ले त दे ॥ अ
 धा कल हा सो ॥ दो हा ज वा सु न ये क ल र सु ति क वे को म ल वि
 म ल वि ला सु के स व त न म न मो दिये व र न छ क ति क ल सु
 भ रा धि का को क ल हा सु ॥ क छे भि त सि त का छे सि के म व पा ल र
 ज रा ड न र नि धि वारी ॥ को र्द क वा छि ने च ग ति अ ड न वा व सु ना ड
 के ने द नि नारी ॥ वा म ते वे सु द स म्प द ग सु दि य तु दि प ति को व
 ति यारी ॥ व स ते ह रि दे धि तु च्च व द को तु नु अ धि ति मा ह अ य
 गी ॥



XII. 17.3110

॥ क प्र को कल हा सु ॥ आ सु स श्री द रि त सि को छु व डी वा ले च
 न क वि र म सि नी ॥ मि लि ग र पु दु का उ ति क स म हा रि हि य म्भ उ
 दा रि मि की नी ॥ मा हि अ चं तो म हा सु ह स क हि वा ह क दो र ड व र ले
 य को त सि र सा सु री यो व न के उ न गा वि म्भ द मि अ च ल दी नी ॥ हा
 हा ॥ अ हा द स हि नि र म्भ के प्र ग ट हि सु प सु व वा स ॥ अ धि म्भ
 वा न प द उ प लि य र त्त्र ति हा सो ॥ रा धि का को क ल हा सो ॥ ति
 शि ये ज ग ति ज ति सा स सी च फ ल नि की फ ल क तु तिल कु र
 छु नि ते रे ना ल के ॥ ते सि धा द स न छ ति श म क ति के सो म प्र क ते सो
 इ ल स तु ला लु क उ के व म ल के ॥ ते सि ये स म क वा सु वी सु
 क क पो ल ति की फ ल क तु ते सो न के मा ती च ल चाल के प दे रे ह
 र ख म्भ ति क व ल र च प ल ने नि चि व के वो धो मे र म द ल उ य ल
 को ॥ ह ध्र को अ ति हा सु ॥ गि रि गि रि उ ति उ वि र कि री कि लो
 ग के व वी च वी च न्या र द्यो त छे वि न्या ग रा गी यो ॥ आ उ स म अ य के
 लो प्र म्भ धि अ य प्र रि अ छे आ छी व ति के दे आ छी वं कु मा
 रा मो मु न त सु लो ह म व म सु कि न परे अ व के मा ग श की सा ड
 रि धे दे म द म्भारी सो ॥ तर ति त ट जा नी र व र त र उ डि वारी हे दे
 ली न हु व र का छ य वारी सो ॥



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LEAF OF THE RASIKAPRIYĀ



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XIV. 15.60 B

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XV. 15.60 c

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XVI. 15.60 d

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XVII. 15.60 E

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XVIII. 15.60 F

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XX. 15.61 B

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XXI. 15.61 C

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XXII. 15.61 D

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XXIX. 15.62 E

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XXX. 15.62 F

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XXXI. 21.1321

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XXXII. 21.1322

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XXXIII. 21.1323

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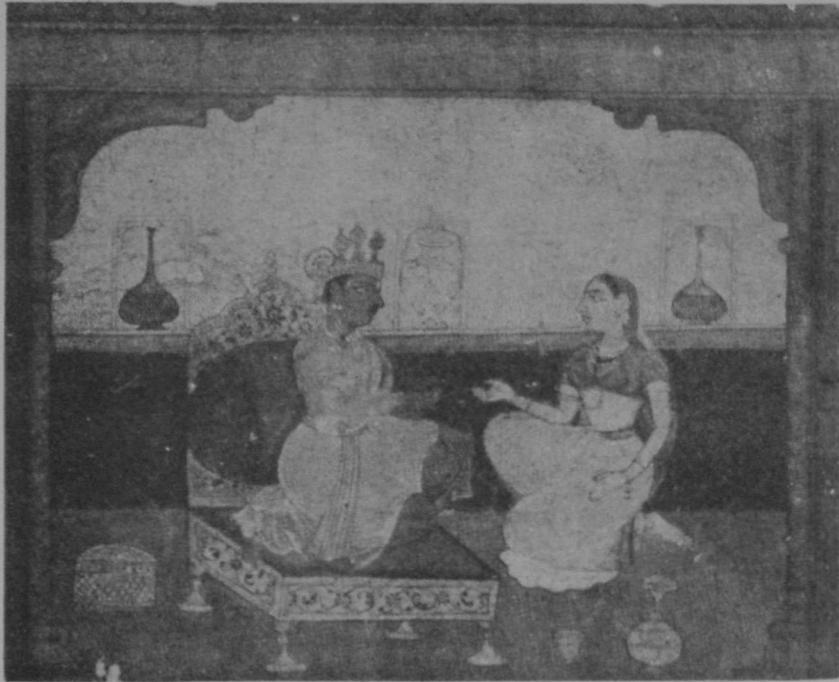
XXXIV. 21.1324

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XXXV. 21.1325

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XXXVII. 21.1327

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XXXVIII. 21.1328

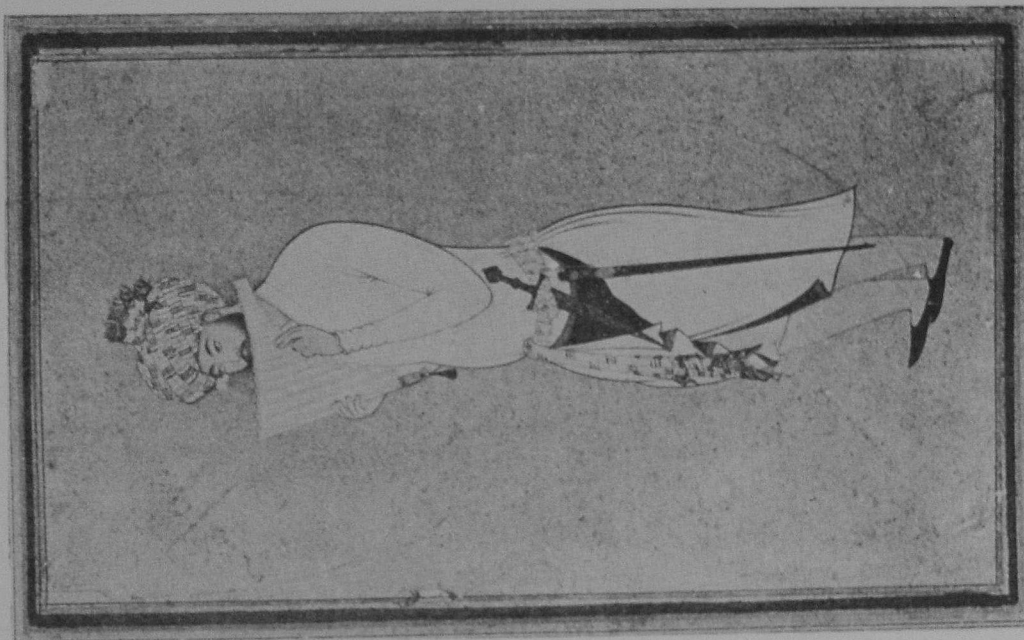
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XXXIX. 17.75

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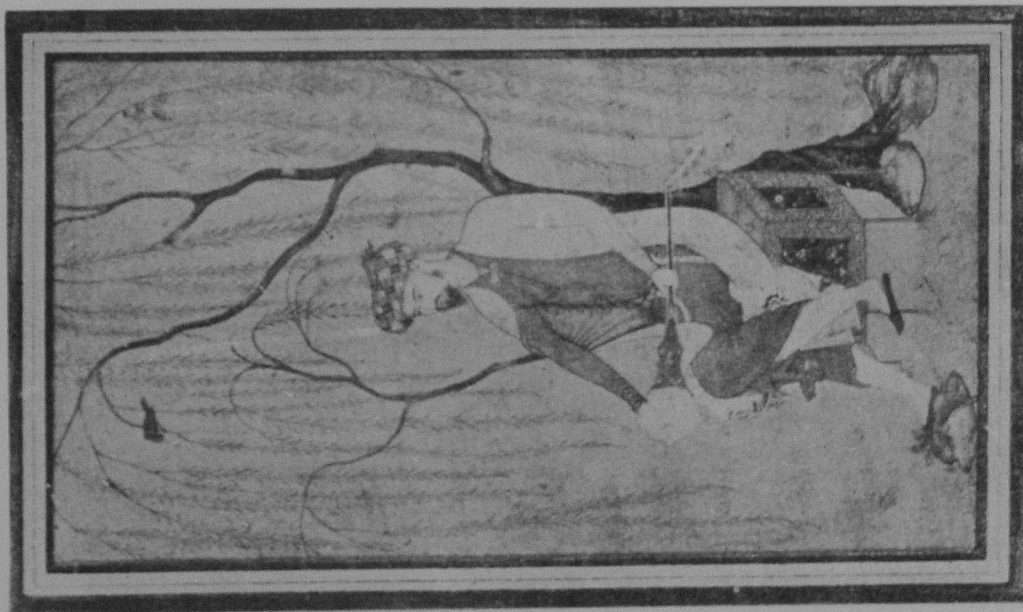
SCENE FROM THE MAHĀBHĀRATA



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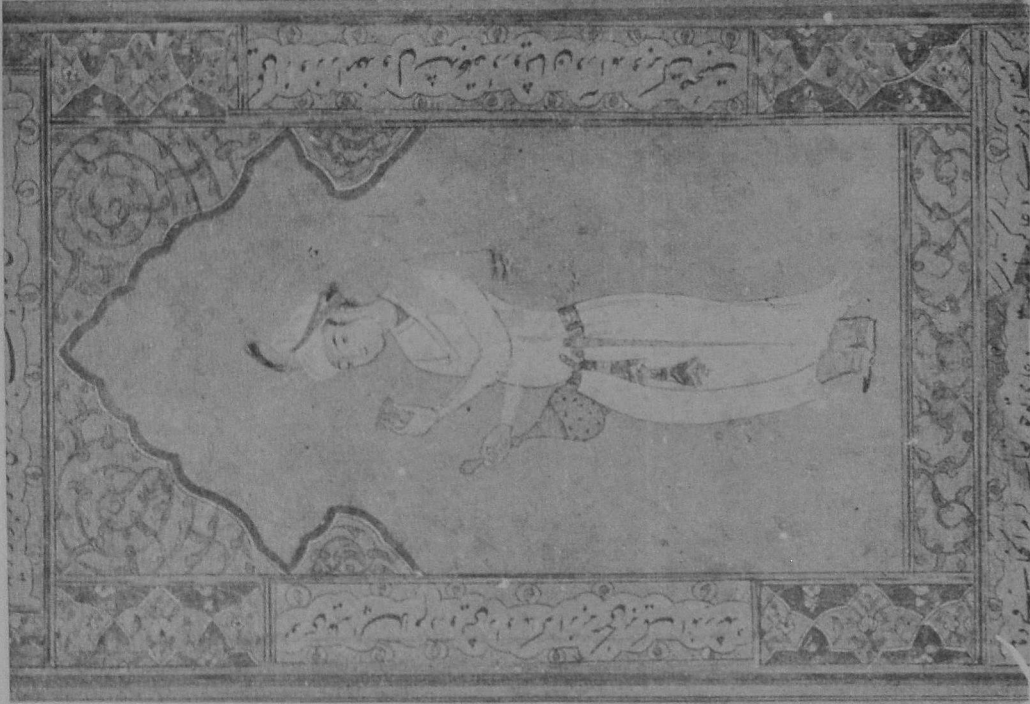
XLI. 14.610

PORTRAITS BY ĀGHA (ĀQĀ) RIZĀ



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XI. 14.609



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WINE-BEARER, BY ĀQĀ RIZĀ (?)

XLIV. 15.27



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YOUTH AND GIRL, BY ĀQĀ RIZĀ (?)

XLIII. 15.24

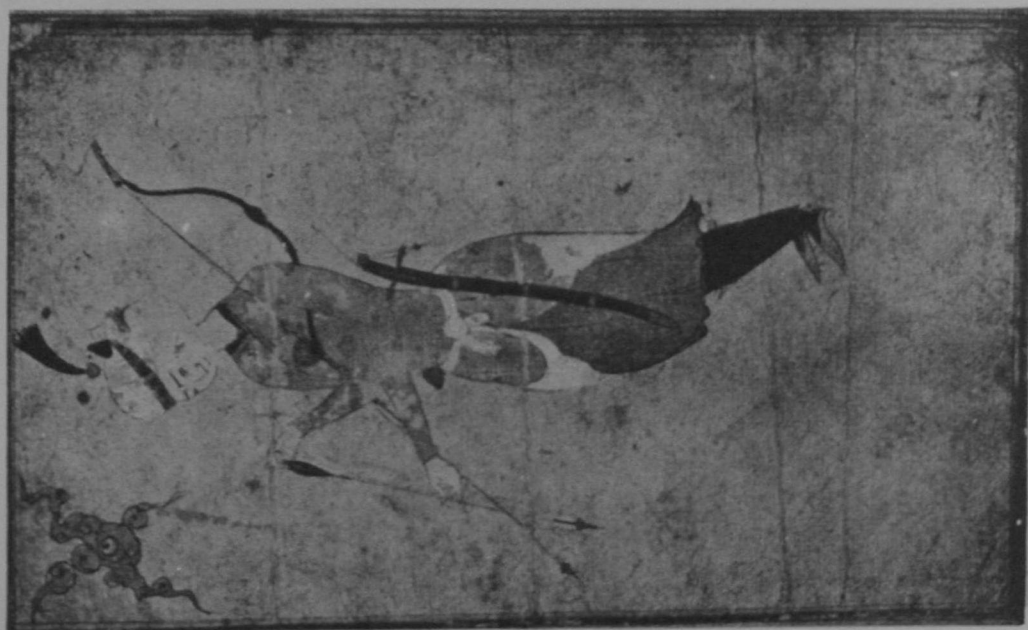
PLATE XXIII



CXXXII. 15.21

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SULTĀN OTHMĀN, COPY OF TURKISH ORIGINAL



XLV. 15.28

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ARCHER, (?) BY ĀQĀ RIZĀ



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LIII. 14.656



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XLVI. 15.29

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LXVIII. 18.200 PAGE 36



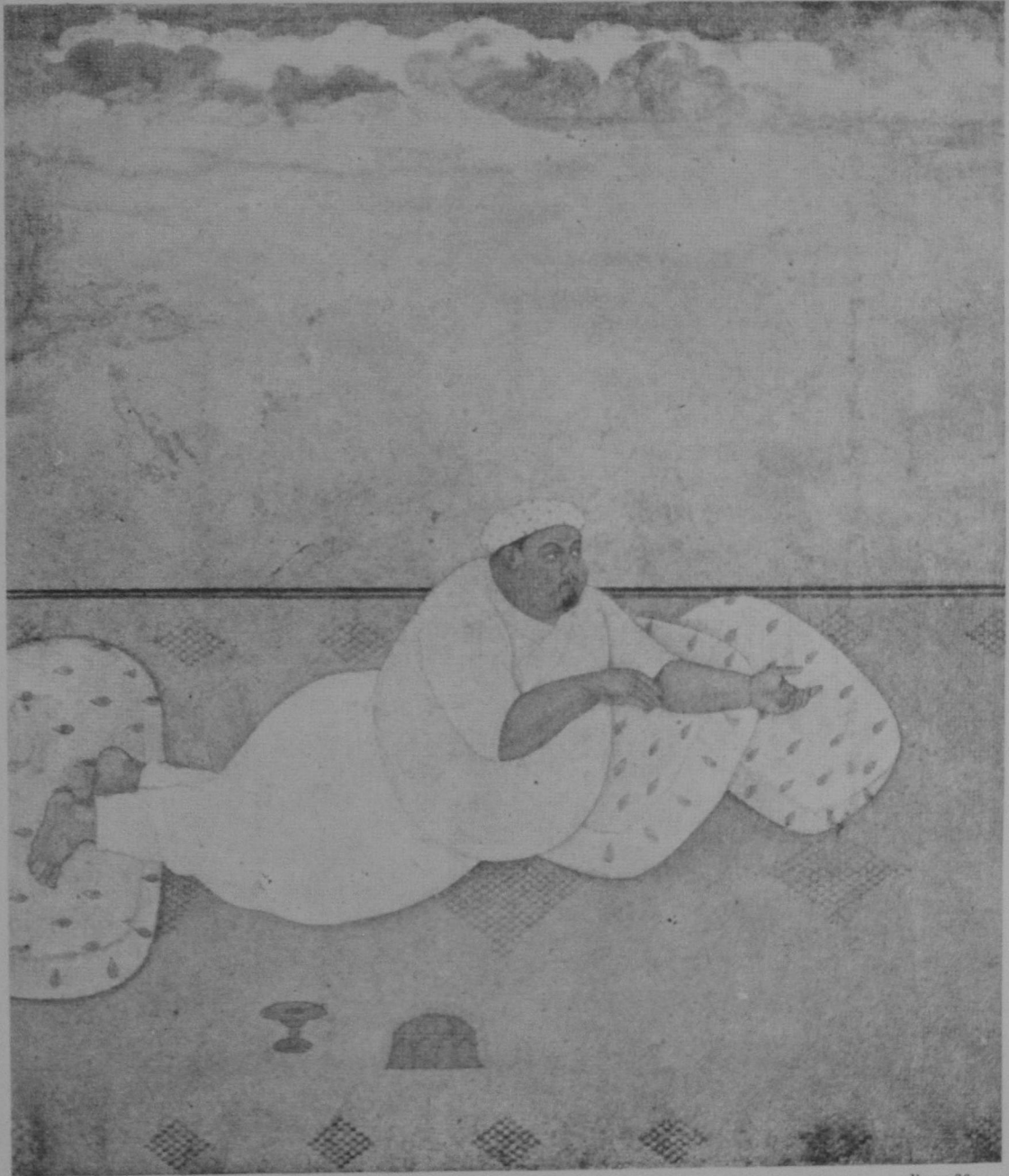
LIV. 06.135 PAGE 34

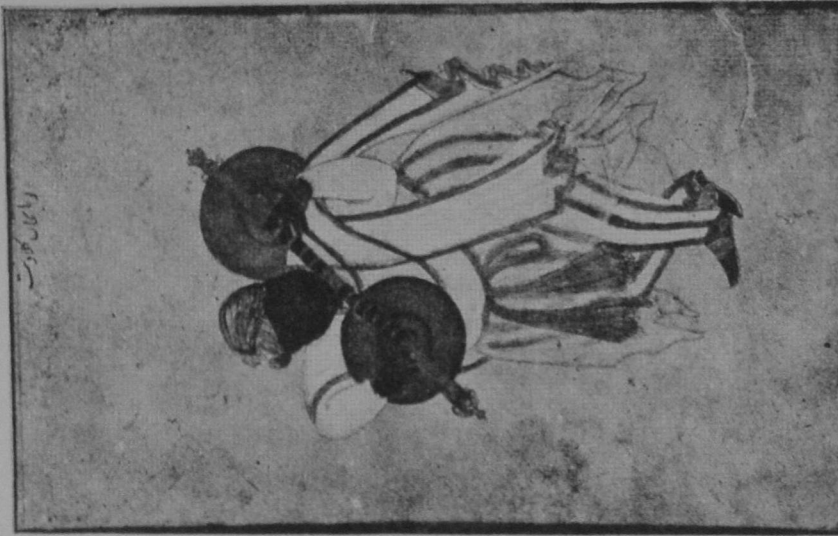


LXVIII. 14.676 (detail) PAGE 40



LVII. 14.661 PAGE 35





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LXIII. 17.3102
NAUBĀT KHĀN



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LX. 14.666
RĀJA MĀN SINGH



چوگان کام در کف و کوی نرسینه

باز می بیند پست و شکاری نیکنی

LXII. 14.658

FALCONER

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صورت راجه پنکرام بود

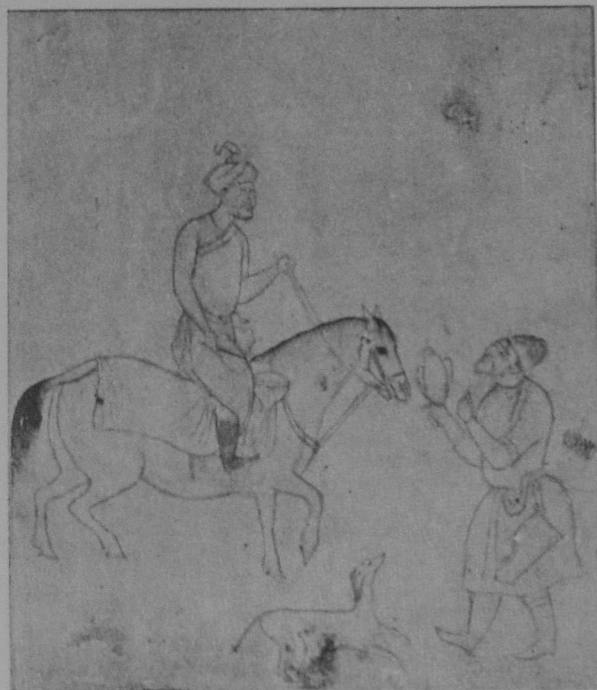
در شب است بسی تمام بود

LXI. 14.670

RĀJA SANGRĀM

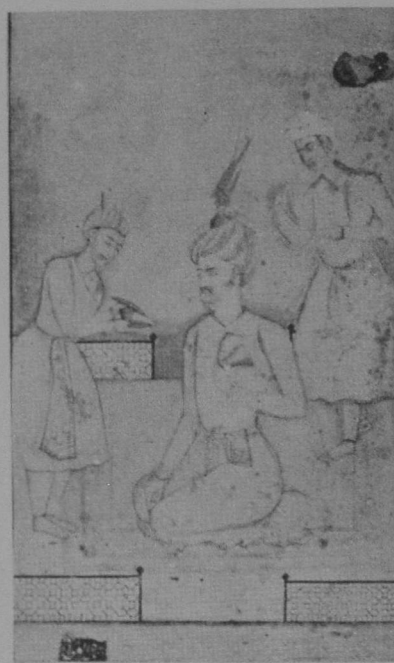
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PLATE XXX



LII. 14.647

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C. 14.677

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LXXII. 17.3105

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JAHĀNGIR



XCVI. 21.1676

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SHĀH JAHĀN



LXIV. 15.57

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IX. 17.74

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CXXIX. 14.674

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CXXX. 14.675

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LXX. 14.679

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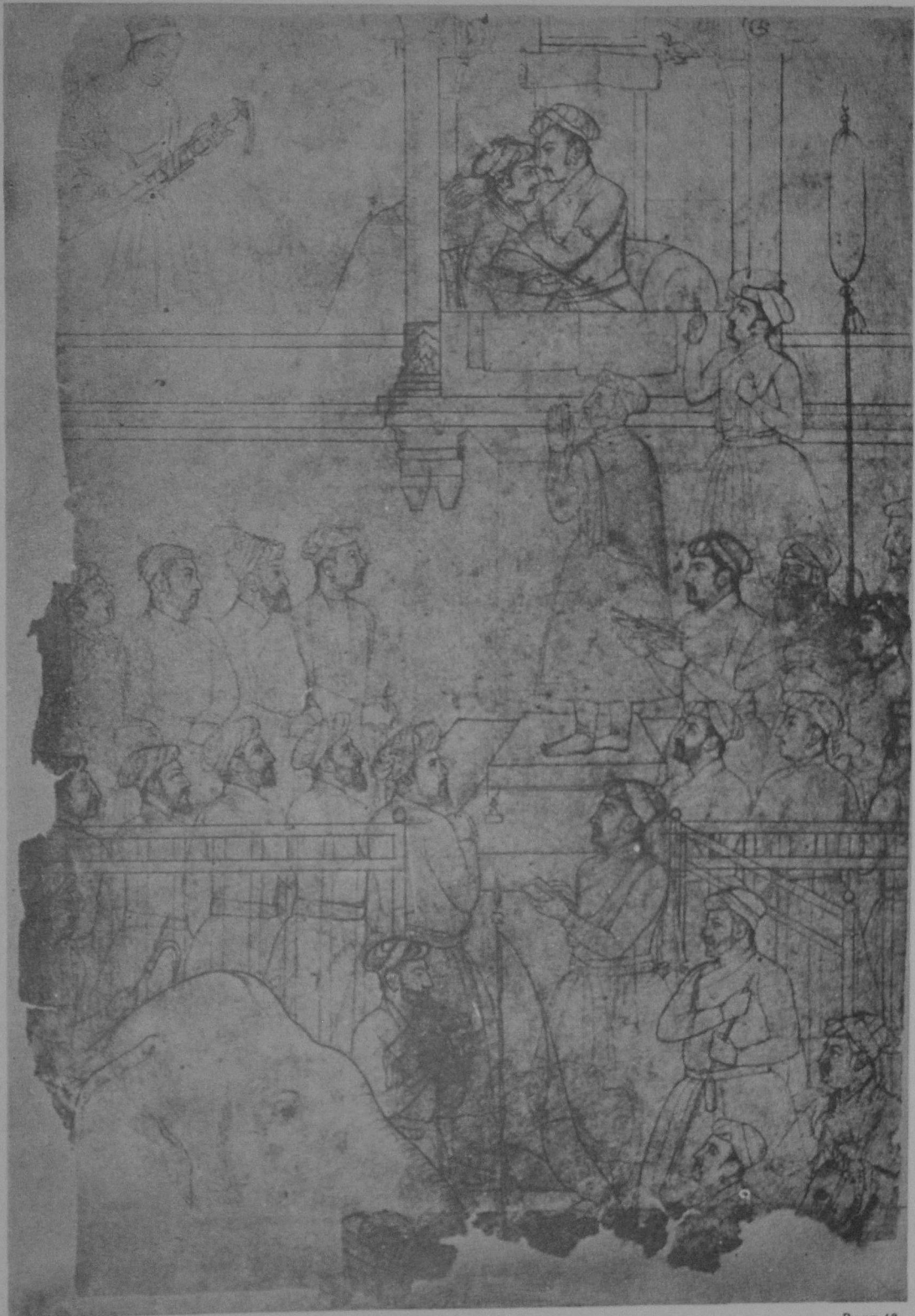
DEATH OF 'INĀYAT KHĀN



CLXX. 17.2813

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TRUMPETER





LXXIV. 14.654

DARBĀR OF JOHĀNGĪR

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LXXV. 14.065

SHĀH 'ABBAS I AND KHĀN 'ĀLAM: BY BISHINDĀS

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LXXVI. 18.1402

A PLEASURE PARTY

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PLATE XXXVII



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LXXVII. 26.8

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MALIK 'AMBAR



LXXVIII. 13.3103



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LXXXII. 14,088

UNHAPPY LADY



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LXXXI. 14,689

MOTHER AND CHILD

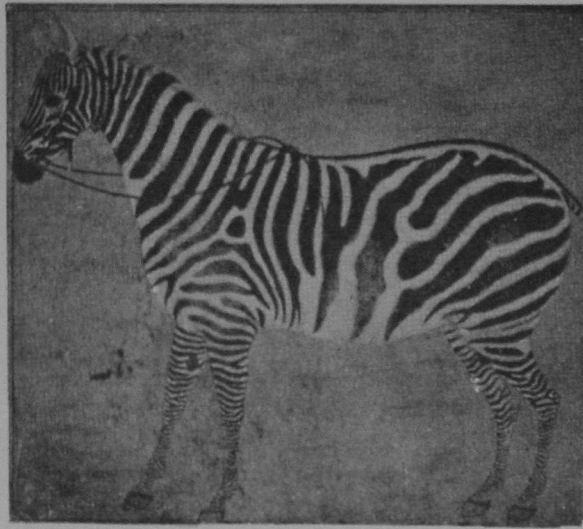


LXXXIII. 14.687

BIRTH OF A CHILD

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LXXXV. 14.659

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ZEBRA



LXXXVI. 17.3104

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RAM

Both perhaps by Manşür



LXXXVII. 19.129

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TWO DUCKS. BY MANŞÜR (?)



LXXXVIII. 17.2634

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ELEPHANT





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'ALĪ QULĪ BEG

CVII. 14.655



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DARAB

CVIII. 14.46



CIX. 14.860

SULEIMĀN SHIKOH

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CXVII. 22.685

PORTRAIT OF A PRINCE

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XLIX. 14.612

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PAGE WITH A HORSE



CXVIII. 07.693

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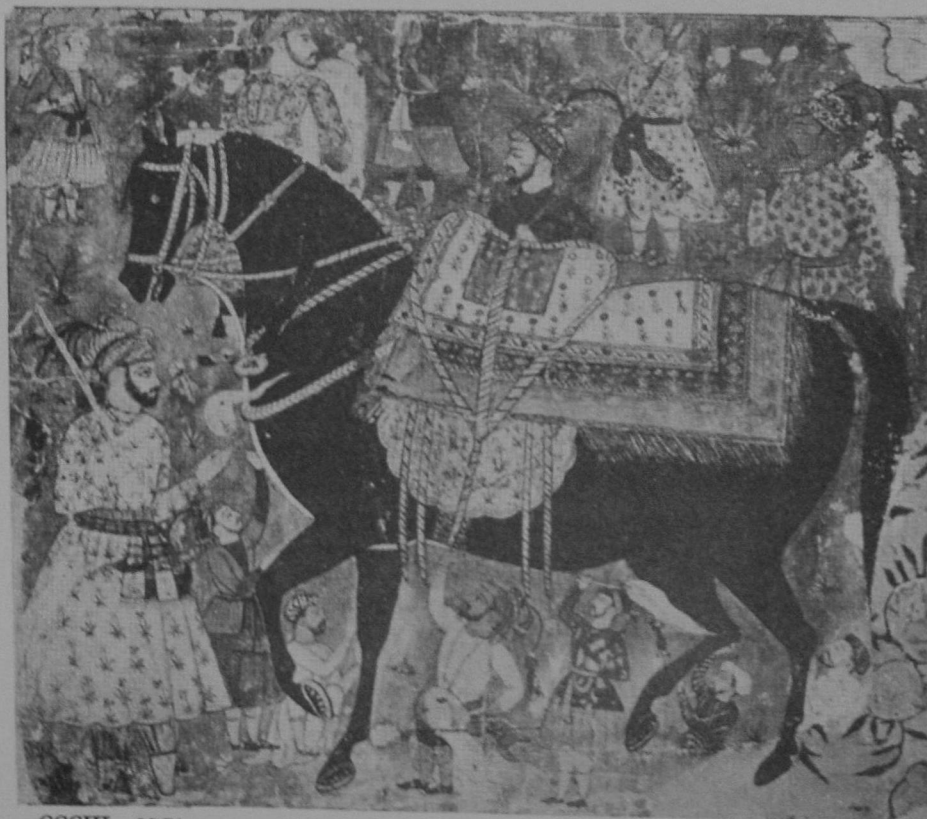
HERMITAGE SCENE



CXIX. 17.1352

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GREY HORSE AND SAIS



CCCI. 15.74

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XCVII. 15.69

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SHĀH JAHĀN



CLV. 14.646

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NĀDIR SHĀH



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PRINCE AT A WELL



CXXVIII. 07.291

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EQUESTRIAN PORTRAIT



CIV. 14.651 PAGE 55

BĀBUR SHĀH



VII. 14.669 PAGE 18

PORTRAIT



CI. 15.1400 PAGE 55

KAMRĀN KHĀN (?)



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DĀRA SHIKOH (?)



XCI. 14.547

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COCK



XCII. 14.678

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CASSOWARY



CCXXIII. 17.2834

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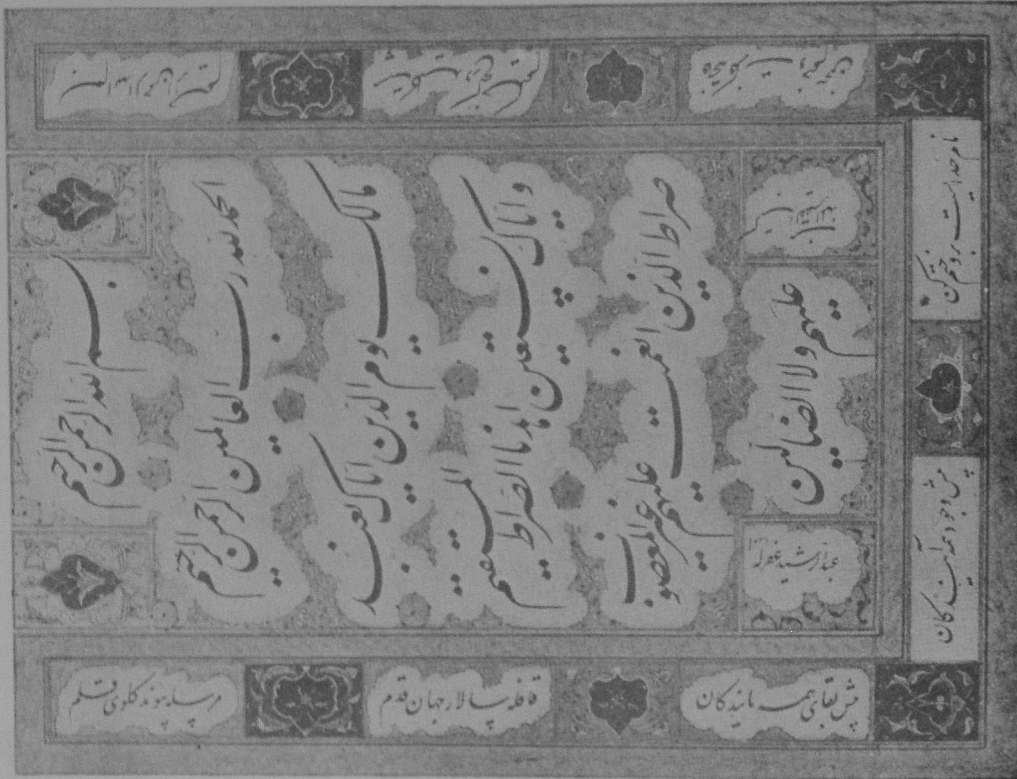
DESIGN FOR BOOK COVER



CXXXVI. 14.548

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PARRAKEET



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CALLIGRAPHY BY 'ABDU'R-RASHID

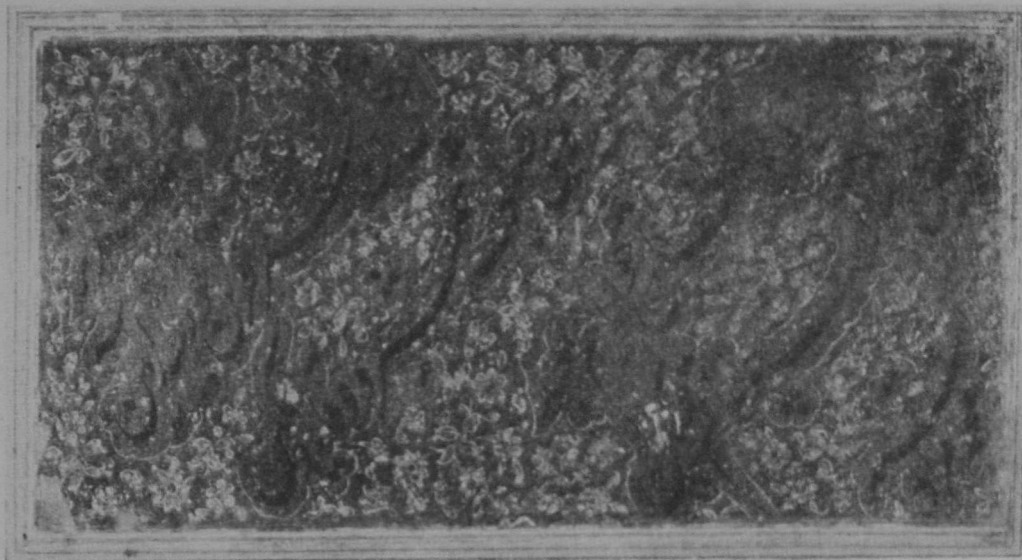
LXVIII. 14.676



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CALLIGRAPHY BY 'ABDULLAH MISQIN QALIM

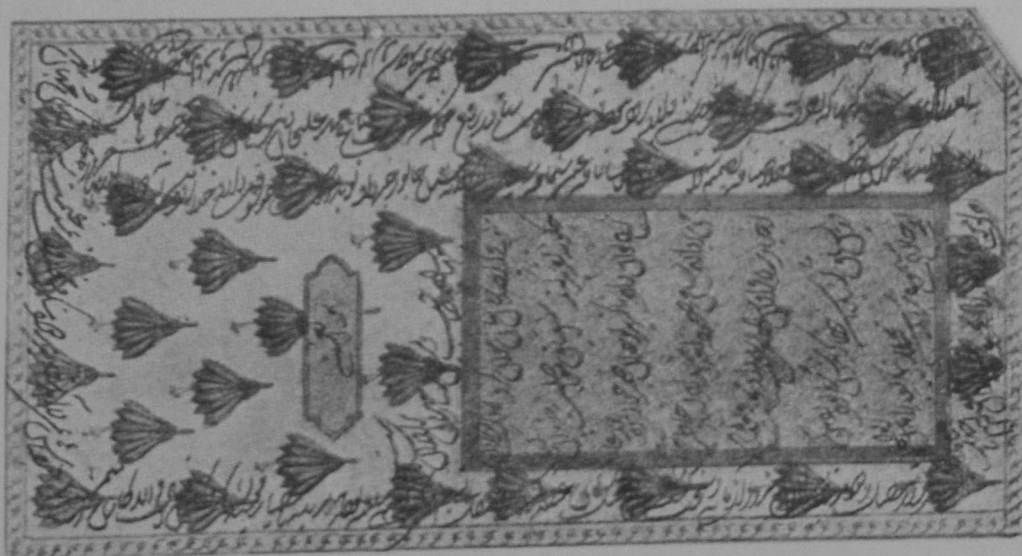
CXXV. 17.3202



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CXXIV. 20.9

CALLIGRAPHY BY MUHAMMAD MURĀD



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LETTER





CLXII. 15.81

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PORTRAIT



CXXXIII. 15.43

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PORTRAIT



CXIII. 14.645

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BOAR HUNT



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PORTRAIT



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PORTRAIT



CXXXI. 14.668

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PORTRAIT



CXXXIX. 15.86

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BAHĀDUR SHĀH



CXLIX. 14.861

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NAWĀB SA'ĀDAT KHĀN



CXXXII. 14.643

SHĀH 'ABBĀS II

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CXXXVIII. 17.3098

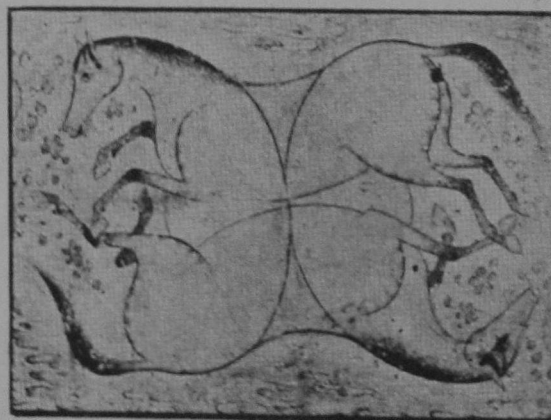
GROUP OF SĀDHUS

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LXXXIX. 14.662

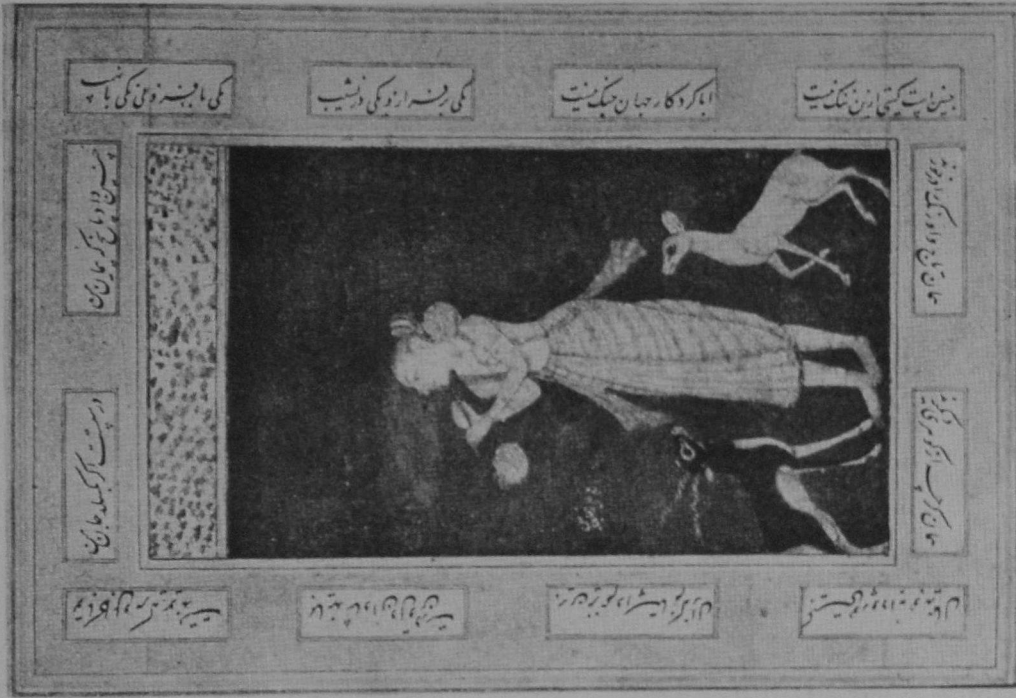
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XCII. 14.629

FOUR HORSES

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CXLVI. 19.65

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MUHAMMAD SHĀH AND MINISTERS



LXXX. 14.653

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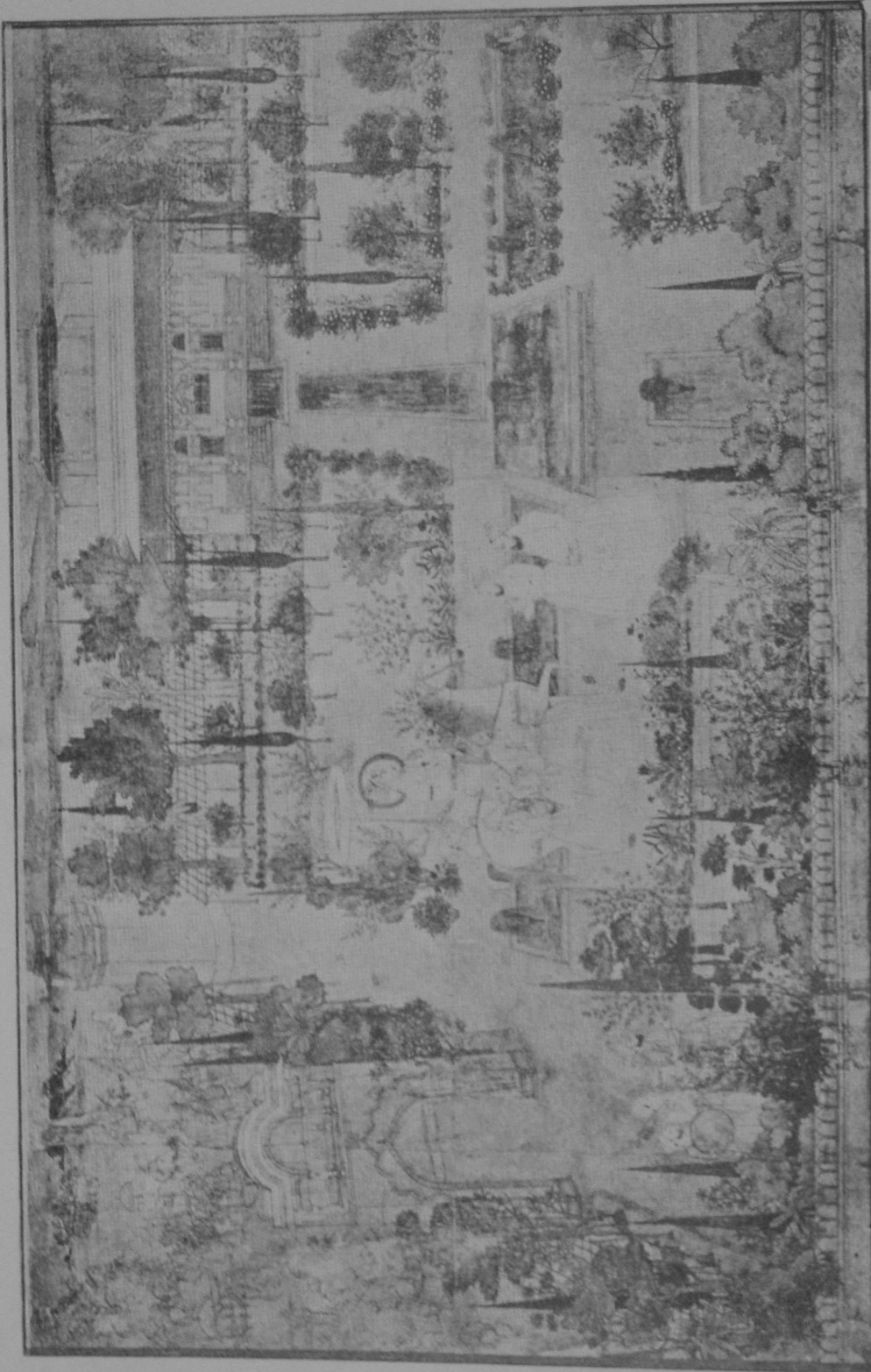
MULLAH



CXLVII. 15.93

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MINISTERS OF MUHAMMAD SHĀH



MUHAMMAD SHĀH





CXLII. 17.3100

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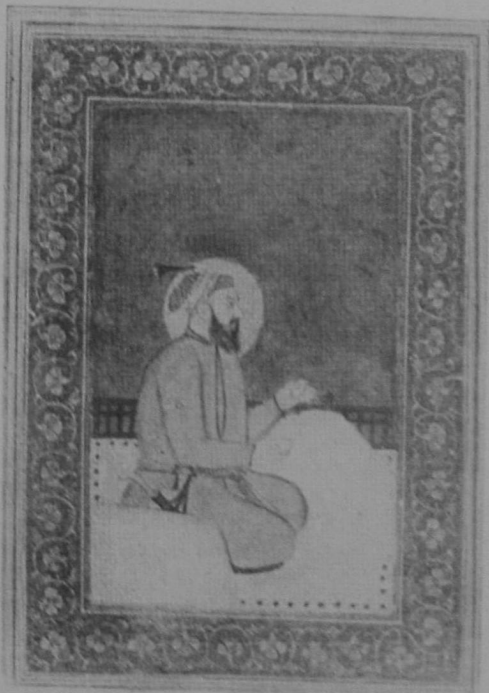
JAHĀNDAR SHĀH



VI. 15.41

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AKBAR



CLIII. 17.8101

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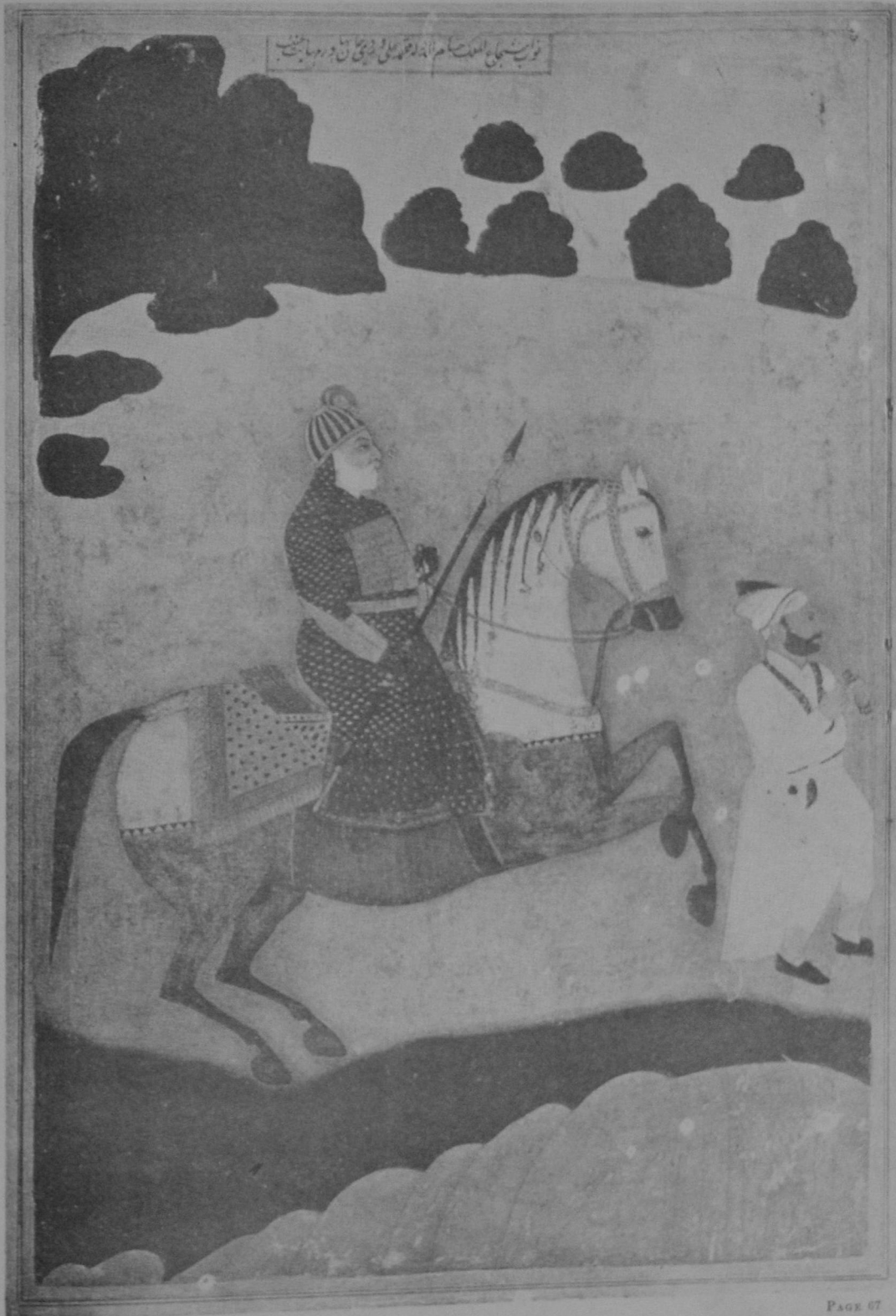
PORTRAIT



CLXIII. 15.83

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AKBAR

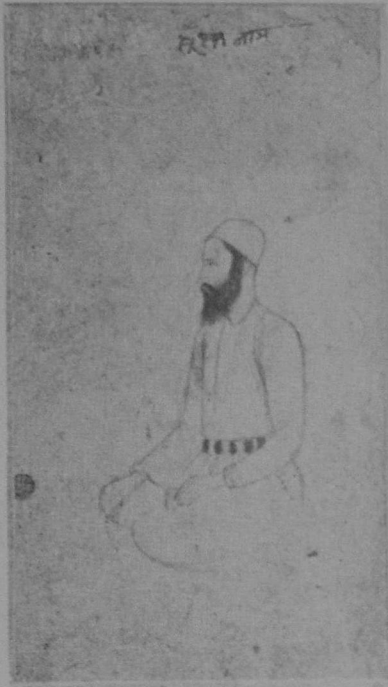




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'ALĪ GUHAR (SHĀH 'ĀLAM II)

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PORTRAIT



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PORTRAIT



CCCIV. 21.1293 PAGE 94

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CXLV. 15.79

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MUHAMMAD SHĀH (?)



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PORTRAIT



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SHĀH 'ĀLAM



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ELEPHANT FIGHT



CLXXIII. 06.2405

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PROCESSION



CLXXVI. 07.884

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BĀZ BAHĀDUR AND RŪPMATĪ



CLXXVII. 15.40

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BĀZ BAHĀDUR AND RŪPMATĪ



M.F.A. 93.1480

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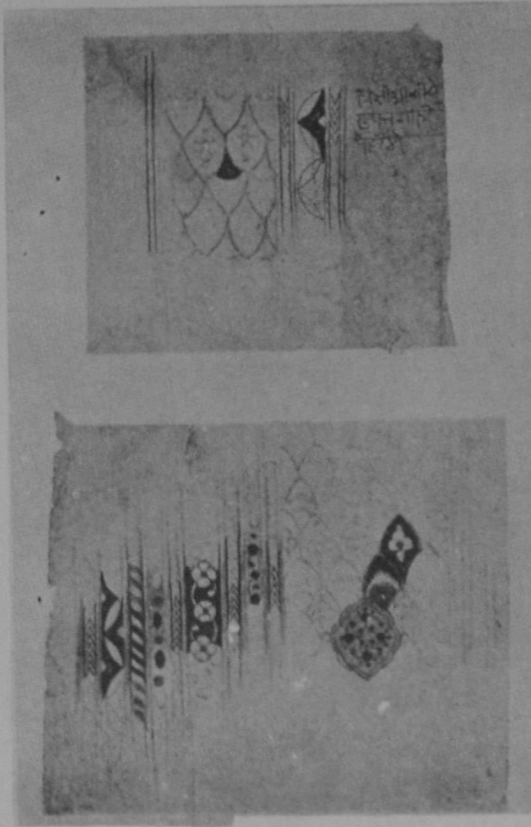
DETAIL FROM A MUGHAL CARPET



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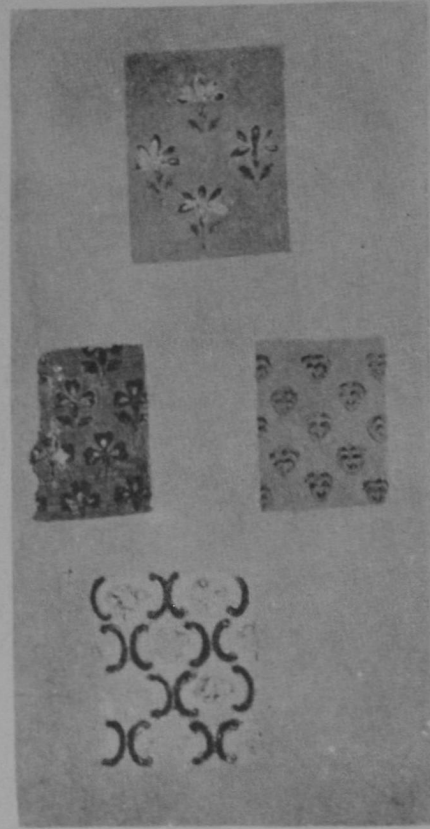
CCXCVII. 26.51

SIMURGH AND GAJA-SIMHA



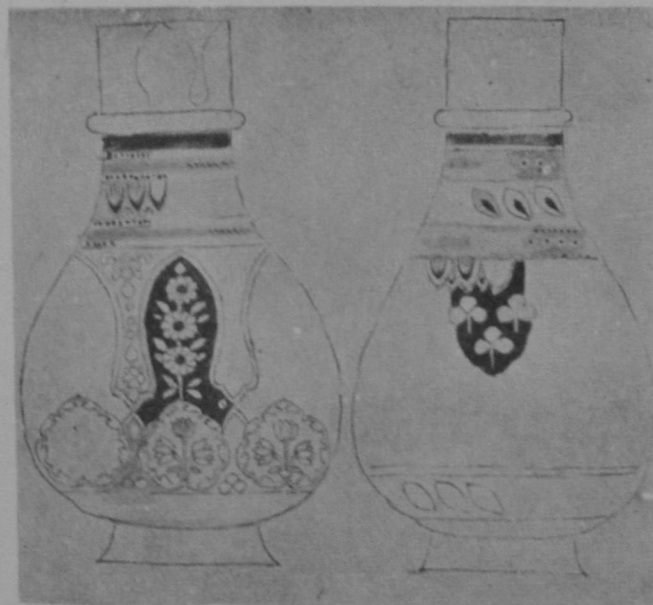
CCLXX. 17.2872

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CCLXI. 17.2863

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CCXCIV. 17.2898

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DESIGNS

