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Life at the Mughal Court
as Revealed in Contemporary Paintings

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I owe my sincere thanks to Dr. S.A.A. Rizvi to whom I am deeply indebted and who provided me with the opportunity to take up this subject - the Mughal courts' life as reflected in contemporary paintings. These miniatures, from the richness and variety and from not a little of what might be termed "romantic elements" - surely should be studied with enthusiasm by every student of the history of the fine arts. Dr. S.A.A. Rizvi sympathetically supervised my efforts and was always ready to offer his generous advice so that I might see points in the right perspective. Professor A.L. Basham - a world authority in his field of scholarship - never failed to provide me with the necessary orientation and encouragement.

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I also thank the Staff of the Australian National University's Menzies and Chifley Libraries, who always provided me without failure or delay with the required study material or advice. Thanks are also due to the services of the National Library.

Last but not least I should express my gratitude to Mrs. Leonie Hoorweg for her competent and careful typing of the final thesis.

A. Schonbaum.
ILLUSTRATIONS


4. The arrest of Shāh Abū'1-Ma'ālī by Tuluq Khan Qochi; drawn by 'Abd-us-Samād; 1556 AD; Bodleian Library, Oxford. MS. Ouseley Add. 172, fol. 4; size 6½" x 4½".

5. On Akbar's orders a powerful rival, his foster brother Adham Khān, was thrown to his death from a parapet. From an Akbar Nāma; painted by Miskīnā and Sankar. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. 16th-17th century Mughal art.

6. Military camp. Sheet from the same album as No.21. 420 x 265 mm. Reverse: Mir Ali's calligraphy, and illuminated margins. Teheran Imperial Library. c.1600. This work closely resembles Basawan's illustrations to the Akbar-Nāma.


11. A portrait of Akbar. Unsigned. c.1750 AD. Again a competently copied portrait from a contemporary original. It presents the old emperor as a person very religiously inclined; he holds a rosary in his right hand; he has a double halo in the background. IM/Indian Museum, Calcutta/No. R.289/S.98.

12. Miniature of 'Ali Mardan Khān. An outstanding governor of Kashmir, he built a number of fine sarais [rest houses] along the Pir Panjal route from India to Kashmir. One of his many projects was building canals to bring water, as to the Red Fort at Delhi and the Shalimar Bagh [Lahore]. British Museum, London.
13. Portrait of Jahangir [the World Seizer], painted by Abū'l Hassan. The emperor is standing on a globe [of European type], fixed in a stand. Beneath the globe is an ox and beneath the ox a large fish [it was a popular Islamic notion that the earth was supported by a great fish]. The chain suspended from the javelin probably represented the chain of justice which Jahangir had hung from the battlements of Agra fort, so that the oppressed might attract his attention. Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin.


15. Shāh Jahān at his accession. (by courtesy of Anthony Napier Sturt, Esq., Painswick, Glos.)


17. Dārā Shikoh, Shāh Jahān's eldest son, with his armies. Loose sheet. 305 x 222mm. Fort Museum, Red Fort, Delhi. Dārā Shikoh, although an erudite scholar, writer and translator, was apparently less effective as Commander-in-Chief of the armies than his younger brother, Aurangzeb. In the struggle for the succession which broke out between the four brothers while Shāh Jahān was still alive, Dārā Shikoh was unable to make good his legitimate claim to the throne, and he was defeated and executed in 1659. Original painting from which this copy was made, was painted c.1655.


22. Akbar at his court. Folio from Nizami's Khamsa; ill. Ms. Size 16 x 11 cm. Teheran Archaeological Museum. c. 1595. This is probably an authentic portrait of Emperor Akbar, for a similar likeness appears in the Akbar-nāma in scenes after 1570.

23. Darbar of Akbar, Delhi, at the beginning of the 17th century (from the collection in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay).
24. **Fathpur Sikri.** Miniature of the birth of Prince Murād at Fathpur Sikri. In a room on the right, astrologers are seen casting the child's horoscope. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.


26. Illustration from the Akbarnāma; painted by Farrukh Beg the Kalmuck; end of 16th century; subject - an interview between Mu'izz ul'Mulk and Bahādur Khān in 1567; fol. 96; Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, Indian Section.


28. Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān with I'timād-ud-Daulah and Asaf Khān, from the A. Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin.

29. Portion of a painting on cotton cloth of the "Princes of the House of Timur"; painted by 'Abd-us-Samād; c.1570; British Museum, London.

30. Portraits of four Mughal courtiers in the garden. Sheet from Jahangīr's [Golshan's] Album with Sultan Ali Mashhadi's calligraphy on the reverse. Illuminated margins. 420 x 265 mm. Teheran Imperial Library. C.1600-1605. None of the courtiers here is identifiable with any of the known officials of Jahāngīr who appear in paintings of darbar scenes between the years 1615 and 1625. Unusual setting of the group portrait for this period. Persian perspective of the background [the gardens] suggests one of the Persian painters employed by Salīm. Figures work of a Hindu painter.


33. Processional scene at the court of Jahangir; painted by Manohar, c.AD 1605. Rampur State Library. Size 8 3/4" x 13".

34. The Emperor Jahangir celebrating the festival of Abpashi [sprinkling of Rose-water]; Jahangir's Memoirs, Vol. i, p.265 - painted by Govardhan, July 1614 - Rampur State Library - Size 12 3/4" x 9".

35. The emperor Jahangir holding his court in a garden; painted c.1610 AD. Rampur State Library.

36. Prince Sultan Parviz with his friends; painted by Govardhan. Carpets have been spread in front of a fountain, in a formal Mughal garden. The discussion is obviously literary. Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin.


38. The spectacle of trained elephants with trunks combatively intertwined was a high point of this royal pastime. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.


41. Mughal ostentation reached its apogee with Shâh Jahân. To commemorate his own coronation, the fifth Mughal emperor commissioned the gem-studded Peacock Throne, which survives only in written descriptions and royal portraits [as this miniature]. Miniature of Shâh Jahân on the Peacock Throne, by Nadir al-Zamân. 17th century. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.


43. Amid a flash of fireworks and astride a dappled mare, Shâh Jahân rides to the lavish wedding celebration of his favorite son, Dârâ Shikoh. To his left is the veiled bridegroom [detail of the miniature]. Painted 1620-30. National Museum, Delhi.

45. Shāh Jahān and three of his sons prepare to observe an elephant fight from their high position in a palace gallery. Red Fort Museum, Delhi.

46. Shāh Jahān conversing with Khān-i-Khānnān. Painted by 'Alam; c.1630. Shāh Jahān stands on a raised platform provided with wooden railing and holds a conversation with his Commander-in-Chief Khān-i-Khānnān standing in front outside the railing with folded hands. Victoria Memorial, Calcutta. No. 688.

47. A young prince possibly Shāh Jahān in his youth, or Shāh Shuja] drinking in a garden attended by a number of learned men, one of whom is playing the vina. In the background, on a white marble platform under a canopy is spread the prince's couch. By Bichitr, from a royal album, once in the possession of the Emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan; painted mainly in the first half of the 17th century. Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin.

48. Akbar (from Johnson's Album No.57). India Office Library.


53. Jahāngīr Padshah means: "The king who seizes the world". This portrait appropriately shows the Emperor hefting a small but highly symbolic globe. Painted by Bichitr. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

55. Prince Salīm [the later Emperor Jahāngīr] with a cup of wine and a hound. Folio from Jahāngīr's album. Size 420 x 265 mm, incl. golden flower-tendril margin. Naprstek Museum, Prague. Here Salīm is portrayed with the symbols of his two passions - wine and hunting.

56. Jahāngīr and his hard-won bride, the beauteous Nūr Jahān. Painted c.1615. Los Angeles County Museum of Art.


59. The Emperor Shāh Jahān on Horseback. Loose sheet. 245 x 145 mm. Fort Museum, Red Fort, Delhi. 17th century after a portrait from c.1627. The original portrait of Shāh Jahān was painted by Govardhan, with a different landscape background and different figures, but with the small angels. Judging by the Hindu aristocrat saluting the emperor, this version could not have been painted before the mid-17th century. Shāh Jahān in this youthful likeness with a beard appears in miniatures from the year 1622, the year of his revolt against his father, Jahāngīr, and then not again until he ascended the throne in 1627.

60. Shāh Jahān using a matchlock. A casual glimpse of the Great Mughal who was typically portrayed in very formal panoply. His interest in firearms is well-documented. Mid-17th century. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms.III (b) IV.

61. Shāh Jahān "in my fortieth year". Among the flowers, saffron, iris, tulip and daffodil are clearly seen. Other more hazardous identifications are hollyhock, campanula, lychnis, cranesbill and poppy. Victoria & Albert Museum.

62. Deposed in 1658 by his ruthless and ambitious son Aurangzeb, the aged Shāh Jahān lingered for eight years as a prisoner in the Red Fort, Agra. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.


64. Portrait of Prince Dārā Shikoh, eldest son of Shāh Jahān. Painted by Ḥunhar, c.1650. [collection? No data published].


67. Prince Shuja, the Emperor Shāh Jahān's second son. Indian Museum, Calcutta, No. 14061. Size 6" x 4".

68. Mounted on a white steed, Aurangzeb demonstrates his bravery by fighting with an elephant. Red Fort Museum, Delhi.

69. The Emperor Bābur dictating his Memoirs to a scribe; painted c.1600. Rampur State Library.

70. Abu'l-Fazl, author of one Akbar-Nāma, ceremoniously offers Akbar the manuscript of his book. c.1605; from an Akbar-Nāma by Nar Singh. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms.3, fol. 176v.

71. Akbar receives two black-robed Jesuits in his 'Ibādat-Khāna, a house of worship that was especially reserved for just such wide-ranging religious debates. The two Jesuits are Acquaviva and Henriquez. c. 1605. From an Akbar-Nāma by Nar Singh. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms.3, fol. 263v.

72. Illustrations from the Akbar-Nāma; painted by Basāwan and Chatar; end of 16th century. Subject: Akbar in an elephant fight on a boat bridge across the Jhelum; fol. 22 - Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, Indian Section (see B and W, No.12).

73. A king examines a cast-metal human figure. Signed: "Painted by Sheikh Daulat Kalān". c.1650. The king presumably is Akbar - also a minute superscription near the halo round the head of the king notes the name: Akbar. Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, No.678.

74. Painters flourished during the reign of Akbar, who established vast ateliers at Fathpur Sīkri. A patron of all arts, the emperor visits two musicians in a wood. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

75. Portrait of the emperor Akbar; painted under the direction of Muḥammad Faqirullāh Khān, head artist at the court of Shāh Jahān, c.1650; Collection of M. Cartier, Paris.

76. Shaikh Salīm Chishti, who correctly prophesied that Akbar would finally father a son - thus prompting the delighted emperor to move his court from Agra to a new capital that he built at Salīm Chishti's village. Red Fort Museum, Delhi.

77. Supposed portrait of Faizī, Akbar's poet-laureate; painted c.1600. Indian Museum, Calcutta, No.520. Size 7" x 3 3/4".

78. Birbal (from Johnson's Album No.57). India Office Library.
79. Portraits of Daulat the painter, and Abd ur-Rahim the writer; painted c.1605. Mr. Dyson Perrins' copy of the Khamsah.


83. Jahānghīr was an ardent naturalist who commissioned dozens of detailed views of Indian fauna and flora. This sylvan scene records a family of squirrels at the tree top. Jahānghīr's affection for his four-footed subjects purportedly led him to erect a hunting lodge in memory of a favourite deer. Painted by Ābu 'l Hassan c. 1615. India Office Library, London.


91. Portrait of Muhammad Faqīrullāh Khān, Head Artist at the court of Shāh Jahān; painted c.1650. Collection of Baron Maurice Rotschild, Paris.

92. A crown imperial from Dārā Shikoh's Album. India Office Library; 17th century.
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<td>Tiger hunts were a special passion of the Mughals, for whom personal bravery was a point of honour. Detail from a miniature; armed horsemen encircle the tiger while Akbar and Jahangīr, on a caparisoned elephant, prepare for the kill. Red Fort Museum, Delhi. 17th century painting.</td>
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108. A royal progress on Lake Wular, Kashmir. The inscription above the emperor's head reads "Akbar", but the features are those of Jahangir. When Akbar visited Kashmir, Abu'l Fazl wrote: "As in this country there were more than 30,000 boats but none fit for the world's lord, able artificers soon prepared river palaces, and made flower gardens on the surface of the water." British Museum, London.


110. A progress of Shâh Jahân in 1632. [sketch by Peter Mundy]. Shâh Jahan mounted and with an umbrella over his head, is in the middle background, in the left foreground is a palanquin suspended from a thick bamboo which had been artificially made to grow crooked.

111. The emperor Aurangzeb at the siege of Bijâpûr; AD.1686. Rampur State Library.

112. Aurangzeb is borne on a palanquin into the heat of battle at fortified Golconda. Painted 1685. Red Fort Museum, Delhi.
Mughal history is a branch of Indian history which compels the full attention. In consequence of the Mughals' achievements, political, military, and artistic, their fabulous fame and wealth, 'Mughal' is not a mere name, but has grown into a concept, often and gladly quoted. Their history is never dull - from whatever angle it is examined - and not just the military part of it - the empire-founding, the battles, the expansion and consolidation - but also its peacetime activities draw our full interest - its economic development - how it was built into a solid, mighty structure and especially its achievements in the field of fine arts and literature - reaching dizzying heights, from architecture and painting through to jewellery. But also of interest are the very personal activities of some of its rulers like Jahāṅgīr, the accounts of whose hunting parties vie with the best written adventure stories ever written. The accounts of Mughal court life with its magnificence, the dazzling colourfulness of its darbārs, its receptions of famous visitors, and foreign ambassadors - even when it is most routine - are never boring; but there is the feeling that one has witnessed an unforgettable spectacular event.

How may we bring this important period, not only of India's but also of the world's history to life? Here art, especially in the form of painting, comes to our help 'to see the past'. The colours of painting brings back life, activity, movement. Mughal painting registered almost every important event especially during its top-period of about 1560 to 1660. There is a mass of portraits of the Mughals, from Bābur down to
Bahādur Shāh (the last king of Delhi who died in exile in 1862) are fully represented, and all were drawn from life. Added are pictorial records of many warriors and scholars who brought lustre to the Mughal rule. Abu'l Fazl, Akbar's Boswell, Faizī (his brother) the poet, Tānsen the singer, Todar Mal, chief among ministers and also a general, Rāja Bīrbal, Rāja Mān Singh of Amber, the brave fighter on Akbar's side, and also Europeans such as Father Corsi. The list is unending - princes and priests, courtiers and grooms, musicians and dancing girls, soldiers and mendicants, all sorts and conditions of men and women jostle in this remarkable portrait gallery. Even the portraits of favourite elephants and horses and pet birds were frequently painted.

Thus, fortunately for posterity, the rich creative output of Mughal art, particularly painting, abundantly covered the historic events of the period - especially at its zenith - 1560 to 1660, but in retrospective painting the surrounding 50 years are also covered - the period from Bābur to Akbar is fairly well and acceptably covered as historic veracity is concerned. Even Aurangzeb's time is satisfactorily covered, despite his renown as an enemy of arts - apparently he did not mind - especially around the later part of his life - the depiction of events around him; for instance, events like the siege of Bījāpur or that of Golconda.

So I may reasonably claim that texts I read or quoted are all acceptably backed by relevant pictorial material. The totality of the illustrative material I have obtained for this thesis - limited as it is numerically - covers almost every subject we care to peruse. The great historic events, the
emperors and their personalities, the type of their court and court life, various activities within it - artistic, philosophic, religious [religious discussions with Catholic Padres (see Ill. No.71)], music, dancing, entertainments, darbārs; the expression of a love of nature, especially by Jahāṅgīr, who ordered almost every form of plant, animal, tree, bird and flower to be painted as soon as it was encountered or seen (See Ill. No.83 - the chenar tree), beautiful scenery [Kashmīr]; palaces and gardens, representing their concept and outlook on paintings, the military and its activities; the human personalities - the court dresses, fashions, ornaments and jewels; typical court customs such as the yearly weighing of the ruler or prince - the reception of visitors and foreign ambassadors - are also there in the various miniatures. The miniature that shows Shāh Jahān on his far-famed Peacock Throne, could be fitted not only into one, but into many of the chapters herein presented. The "Siege of Bījāpūr in 1686" shows with the semblance of truth this important great Mughal military activity - and one of the last of them.

I have had to face the problem of the availability of the relevant pictorial material in sufficiency. But as I divided the topic into main chapters, chapters that would cover the careers of all the great Mughal emperors, sooner or later I found myself getting a fair picture of these two centuries of Mughal rule in India.

In its contemporary condition the total output of Mughal miniature painting must have been fabulous. However, unfortunate events, especially after the Mughal decline, caused a huge loss of these - irresponsibility and carelessness
or total lack of appreciation of their value - have done their deleterious lot in this regard. However, sometimes, paintings which could have been lost to posterity had they remained the property of their unappreciative owners, were sold for cheap prices to European art connoisseurs, expert and competent to save them.

In the circumstances I could obtain only a certain number of paintings in reproduction. Disadvantages and problems arise when the reproduction is in black and white, thus depriving us the vital element given by the colours to a painting. Still, a good painting can help us a lot in evaluating its subject - in case of a portrait of an emperor or great personality, much of his character is betrayed by a faithful work.

We recognize how far painting alone can go to interpret a certain part of history. Here are secondary sources stepping in to use as important complementary factors - one of the most vital is the written material and especially books [and letters]. They, if they are really good, historically faithful - help us a great deal to interpret that historic period. Again, luckily the Mughal period produced a rich literature, in whatever form of it is required. Some of the very emperors themselves were excellent writers, starting with Bābur. Outstanding in this respect was Jahāngīr. Their literary output is superb historic source-material, a marvellous complement to paintings for our interpretation and studies, because even the most excellent and "full" painting lacks elements that are necessary to understand the complete history behind it. How would we know who are the famous
personalities present at Jahāngīr's darbār, unless literary sources come to our rescue and explain the event to us. So these are the gaps that had to be filled with literary sources. Thus, then I automatically tended to separate the problem into two parts. As much as I can get from the pictures - the movement of the court, the life (i.e. the colours), the factors that can only be really appreciated by the coloured pictures - the pictures are after all the best providers of life and movement in all their colourfulness and beauty.

I have distributed the reproductions into chapters according to what seemed the most appropriate feature of each miniature. Many of the paintings could be fitted easily into more than one chapter - for instance "Shāh Jahn sitting on the Peacock Throne" (Ill. No.41). This is relevant not only to Chapter 1, but also to Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. The painting "Jahāngīr shooting a lion" is helpful to interpret not only Chapter 5 [the emperor hunting], but also it throws on his personality [personal bravery] an excellent light [Chapter 3]. Therefore, first building up the totality of chapters, I then saw what and which pictorial material was needed or could be fitted into which. Finally, I have allotted the following number of paintings to the chapters, as follows:

Chapter 1 - 18 Illustrations (1-18)
Chapter 2 - 29 Illustrations (19-47)
Chapter 3 - 21 Illustrations (48-68)
Chapter 4 - 32 Illustrations (69-100)
Chapter 5 - 12 Illustrations (101-112)

To introduce Mughal miniature painting twelve typical pictures have been chosen for their representative subjects -
these present us a diverse spectrum of the life of the Mughal court in all its colourfulness, pomp, riches, and might. These miniatures also testify to the court's most important routine or ceremonial functions, such as darbārs, processions, wedding ceremonies, reception of foreign ambassadors, the "weighing ceremony", literary and other cultural pursuits, religious debates. They dazzle us with richness [Shāh Jahān's Peacock Throne], excite us with the hunting parties, show us the Mughals at war [Aurangzeb at the siege of Bījāpūr]. Some introductory notes on the individual pictures might help us to understand them better. Thus -

Ill. No. 33 - Processional scene at the court of Jahāngīr.

This miniature, evidently one of many painted to immortalize the celebrations that took place at the coronation of Jahāngīr, is of considerable historical importance. Apart from showing us the richness and colourfulness of such royal processions we see the major role elephants played on such festive occasions. Musicians' groups are seen everywhere, but this painting's main attraction is the treatment of the human groups. Some likenesses are chefs d'oeuvre of portraiture, especially the portrait of the famous musician and singer, Tānsen.

Ill. No. 34 - The Emperor Jahāngīr celebrates the festival of Ab-pashi.

As Jahāngīr was faithful to observe traditional and charming ceremonies and festivals, he can also be seen at this ceremonial, called Gulab-pashi. We see the usual court attendants doing their duty, the court musicians are there and first and foremost the highest court officials paying their respects to the emperor. Paintings such as this interest
us greatly not only per se but because they have a tremendous historical value, offering a truthful representation of that period of time. The costumes and the mise-en-scène are reflections of a brilliant court.

Ill. No. 42 - Celebrations at the marriage of Prince Khurram, AD.1610.

Here is another court ceremony on a different occasion - the wedding ceremony of a prince - this time, of Prince Khurram, the future emperor Shāh Jahān. We love these miniatures because they take us back to times which were immensely picturesque. There is a sense of vitality and movement in the atmosphere, especially produced by the musicians and singers, the sound of music and singing throbbing everywhere. Again, colour - as in many other Mughal pictures - is the most outstanding feature here.

(Note - Percy Brown identified this picture as Prince Khurram's marriage, though there are dissenting opinions).

Ill. No. 32 - Jahāngīr weighs Prince Khurram.

This miniature represents another Mughal institution stopped by Aurangzeb's austerity measures - the annual practice, against a colourful background, of Jahāngīr distributing the equivalent of his own weight in gold and silver to the people. This miniature represents a similar ceremony, and shows Jahāngīr weighing Prince Khurram, with a lavish display of gift trays spread out on the carpet below. The occasion this time was the prince's birthday.

Ill. No. 70 - Abu'l Fazl presenting his books to Akbar [Akbar Nāma collection]

This miniature and the next present Akbar's court and two important activities - both show Akbar's scholarly pursuits. Here Abu'l Fazl ceremoniously offers the emperor
the manuscript of his famed book, Akbar Nāma amid the usual court ceremonials.

Ill. No. 71 - Miniature of the Jesuits Acquaviva and Henriquez debating in the Ibadat Khāna [from the Akbar Nāma].

Here we witness a historic event in the life of the Mughal empire and of Europe. Akbar receives the two black-robed Jesuits, Acquaviva and Henriquez, in his Ibadat Khāna, a house of worship that was specially reserved for debates for every religious point of view. Upon contacting Europeans in Sūrat, Akbar wanted to know more about them and this led to the invitation of Europeans - at first religious persons - to Akbar's court. The contacts later widened to diplomatic envoys, trade representatives, artists, and military personnel.

Ill. No. 43 - Wedding of Shāh Jahān's son, Dārā Shikoh.

The wheel of time has turned, and now we see Shāh Jahān as father riding to the lavish wedding ceremony of his favourite and eldest son, Dārā Shikoh. Dārā Shikoh also rides a horse, a dappled mare, and is veiled. The essential basic elements of representative Mughal miniatures are there - colour - movement - good representation of the individuals down to the last attendant in this painting, which depicts an event taking place at night time.

Ill. No. 44 - The emperor Shāh Jahān receiving a Persian Embassy in the Diwān-i-'Ām

This darbār held on the occasion of the reception of an embassy from Persia probably took place not long after the emperor's accession to the throne in 1628. The miniature shows all the pomp and gilt pretentiousness that became typical around the second quarter of the 17th century. Everything is luxurious, as befits a very rich oriental court. Again a
good historic representation, to give us an insight into how diplomatic contacts were made during the Mughals, what were foreign ambassadors' retinues, and how these 17th century diplomats were received. Facing Shāh Jahān we see his two elder sons, Dārā Shīkoh and Shuja respectfully waiting on him.

**Ill. No. 104** - The emperor Jahāngīr shoots a large lion.

Hunting wild beasts was one of the most outstanding pursuits of such Mughal rulers as Akbar or Jahāngīr. Personal bravery was a point of honour to the Mughal emperors. They faced danger when lesser subjects sought refuge in quick retreat (see Ill. No.52). The details of Jahāngīr's Memoirs show that hunting became a personal passion of his. This miniature excellently proves the hunting skill of the emperor - a lion of extraordinary size, and presumably a very dangerous one, has been shot in the head by Jahāngīr. This picture's atmosphere is different from the previous ones - it well reflects the excitement, the elation of those present at the hunt.

**Ill. No. 111** - The Emperor Aurangzeb at the siege of Bījāpūr.

This miniature is selected mainly for its historic importance. It depicts the famous and important siege of Bījāpūr in 1686 and Aurangzeb is shown in it. Not only does this recall the last "Great Mughal" emperor's senseless warring for rootless expansion, but it shows also, after all, his personal vanity. Despite all his antagonism to painting and arts - obviously he let himself [or perhaps even commissioned] be portrayed in the very centre of the picture, a crusader-like superhuman figure.
Ill. No. 83.- "Picture of a plane tree"

This is one of the most delightful and enchanting nature and animal miniatures painted at Jahāngīr's commission and reflecting his deep love of nature and nature's phenomena. Trees are not seen often in a painting by themselves, but this chenar-tree is an interesting exception. It is possibly the most charming example of nature-painting, with its furry denizens, the sleek squirrels, playing around the red-tipped leaves in a generally golden background.

Ill. No. 41 - Shāh Jahān on the Peacock Throne.

Mughal ostentation reached its apogee when Shāh Jahān acceded to the throne. To commemorate his own coronation he commissioned the fabulous rich Peacock Throne studded with the costliest and most expensive gems now only existing in descriptions and paintings such as this. This throne, on which the emperor sat in state amid the splendour of his court, was simply commensurate with the richness, majesty, power and pride of the Mughals, its creation being the peak on the achievements of a dynasty which gradually, step by step, developed from a struggling force fighting for its existence and finally reaching the status of a great and mighty power.

Main Collection Drawn Upon.

The most important primary sources, the miniature paintings, are spread around the world. Catalogues, publications with reproduced paintings of collections help us mainly in our research study, whatever shortcomings that means we try to do the best job of it. It has been found that gathering material from the four or five greatest collections
of the world, also using unpublished material, assists us considerably in our quest for knowledge. Thus the British Museum has an important collection of Mughal material, such as the Memoirs of Bābur (Or. 3714, with 68 Ill. miniatures), an Akbar Nāma copy though from the early 19th century; they possess at the Department of Oriental Antiquities a number of loose though important miniatures such as Jahāngīr weighing Prince Khurram, or the Princes of the House of Tīmūr. The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin has numerous loose but important pictures, such as an Akbar Nāma with such important pictures as 'Abu'l Fazl presenting his books to Akbar', and "The Jesuits Acquaviva and Henriquez debating in the 'Ibādat Khāna"; further there is the Jahāngīr Album with separate leaves. The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, with the Akbar Nāma and Bābur Nāma both from the 16th century, and loose paintings considerably adds to our knowledge.

The India Office Library, London, owns the Dārā Shikoh album and the "Squirrels on the chenar tree". The Musée Guimet in Paris is possessing Mughal painting material though in a limited number from Jahāngīr's time [separate leaves from Jahāngīr Albums]. The Berlin National Library also has a Jahāngīr Album, early 17th century. The Windsor Castle Royal Collection has a Shāh Jahān-Nāma originating from 1657. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is in possession of a Mughal school group portrait. The Oxford Bodleian Library also has Mughal paintings, from the 16th and 17th centuries. The Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, has such paintings as Jahāngīr's allegorical miniature.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, has the "Three generations of Mughal emperors" and the famous painting "Shāh Jahān on the Peacock Throne". Collections in India possess good Mughal miniature material such as the Indian Museum, Calcutta, among others the "Celebration of marriage of Prince Khurram", "Jahāngīr shooting a large lion", Manṣūr's well-known "A turkey cock". Red Fort Museum, Delhi, has in its collection paintings like "Dārā Shikoh with his armies" and various portraits of Aurangzeb.

The Rampur State Library has "Sher Afghan, first husband of Nūr Jahān", a telling portrait of the tragic hero in the Nūr Jahān saga, the "Incident on a journey from Kabul" with Jahāngīr, "The Emperor Bābur dictating his Memoirs". The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, has a portrait of the aged Shāh Jahān as prisoner - just to refer to some of the greatest collections' most significant miniatures - among a number of other collections.

After the Bibliography Section there is a more detailed list of collections.
CHAPTER ONE

Historic background - Development of Mughal Court - Mughal Court reaching its zenith - Comparison with Versailles.
During the long course of its history no period has been more momentous to India than the dawn of the 16th century. THE EMPIRE OF THE MUGHALS - founded by Bābur in the early years of the 16th century, it remained the dominant power in India until the beginning of the 18th century, when after the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb, it began to decline. The pictures painted by the Mughal school of artists illustrate the history of this period of almost two hundred years, when the Mughal dynasty ruled over one of the mightiest empires in the East. The designation "Mughal" is the usual one employed by European writers when referring to this dynasty and the empire it ruled. It is another form of "Mongol", a name which, in the thirteenth century, had made itself known, as well as feared, from China to the Adriatic. This designation for the empire in India is, however, not literally correct, as the original ancestors of the Mughal emperors were more Turks than Mongols. They were directly descended from Tīmūr, who was a Central Asian Turk, and were only remotely connected, through a female, with Chingiz Khan, the Mongol "scourge of Asia". The Mughal dynasty in India was therefore Tīmūrid in origin and the heritage that Bābur brought with him to the land of his conquest was that which, under Tīmūr and his descendants, attained such lustre on the banks of the Oxus. But while Bābur was little more than a youth, the house of Tīmūr had already begun to decline and the end of the 15th century saw the transfer of royal power from Transoxiana to the cities of Persia proper where the Safavid kings, with their capital at Tabriz, held their court amidst much splendour and artistic riches. While it was the blood and traditions of the Tīmūrids that the Mughals brought over to India, it was the contemporary civilization of Persia from which they were to draw much of their
Bābur was born and bred in the hard and unkind school of adversity. He was never cowed down by miseries that fate showered on him from time to time. On the contrary, they strengthened his determination and his will to fight against all odds. His persevering mind coupled with all the other qualities enabled him to carve an empire for the Mughals in India.

The hard battles of his early life fought in Ferghana and Samarqand, his adversity in exile and during flight, the conquest of Kābul, Herat and Qandahār, gave him enough experience in siege warfare, employment of cavalry, assault and reduction of fortresses, and the use of artillery. They enabled him to achieve a swift and resounding success against all the enemies with whom he fought for the mastery over India. The use and development of artillery, called 'faringiha' by the Mughals, was the most notable feature during his time.

Ibārīm Lōdī met Bābur on the plain of Panipat [April 21, 1526] with an immense host of some 100,000 men. However, the untried youth was no match to the born General and war-veteran Bābur, who had at his command a large park of artillery and a swift cavalry force which, at the decisive moment, wheeled round the flank of the enemy and delivered an attack at his rear—executing their characteristic national manoeuvre, the tulghama, exactly the same tactic as that of Alexander against Porus at Jhelam. The battle which began before ten in the morning lasted till sunset, when Ibārīm lay dead on the field with 15,000 of his followers. "By the grace and mercy of Almighty God", records Bābur with satisfaction, "this difficult affair was made easy to me, and that mighty army, in the space of half a day, was laid in the dust". Delhi and Agra were occupied at once and an immense
booty generously distributed to the victorious army. The Khūṭba was recited in Bābur's name at Delhi on Friday, April 27, 1526. But after his conquest of Hindustan in two decisive battles, Bābur did not live long. He died in 1530.

**HUMĀYŪN** - After his premature death, the Mughal dynasty in India degenerated. The wealth and wine of the country had made them slack, slovenly and pleasure-loving. They were no longer those gallant conquerors, of whom a small number had, under Bābur, brought into subjection a great kingdom, and put to flight the largest armies. They were men already enervated by their residence in India, prone through the heat of the climate to indulgence, and to neglect of discipline. No wonder Humāyūn also fell into line with the prevailing condition of his compatriots in the country. As a result, he lost the decisive battle in his struggle with Sher Shāh Sūr and lost his empire and the throne of Delhi.

After years of exile at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia and with his active assistance, Humāyūn slowly and using advantageously the political conditions, managed to reconquer first Kābul, then India. However, his reconquest of India was unconsolidated, brief and insecure, as shortly after he died as a consequence of an accident.

**AKBAR** - Only Ashoka, who had ruled eighteen centuries before, vies with Akbar for the title of the greatest of Indian kings, and if weight is given to initial difficulties encountered and overcome, the claim must surely go to Akbar. Akbar built up a brilliantly successful structure of government, as a result of which the Crown came to rule solidly over its vassals of growing number. Rāja Todor Mall, an economist of genius, introduced a reform of the tax system
which strengthened not only the Imperial Treasury but also the economic condition of the whole Empire. Akbar built up an immense power on land, but he was defenceless at sea; he failed to grasp the increasing importance of naval power in deciding the fate of the world. He recruited and organised a splendid army, the core of which was the cavalry, yet he neglected artillery, which was left to Turkish instructors and cannons.

BAIRAM KHAN - Akbar possessed a great asset in the regent, Bairam Khan, who had been Humayun's faithful friend in his days of adversity. One of the ablest soldiers of the time, he was the real ruler of the re-established Mughal empire for the first four years of Akbar's reign. His first great triumph came at Panipat on November 5, 1556, when he defeated the Suri armies under the command of their Hindu general, Himu. He led a vigorous pursuit of the enemy and recaptured Delhi and Agra, the key fortresses of the north; then he moved on to extend control over the rest of Hindustan. Having conquered the great fortress of Gwalior and annexed the rich province of Jaunpur, he was planning the conquest of Malwa when he suddenly fell from power.

Akbar's tutelage and his steps to free himself to govern -

Akbar was for years under the tutelage and influence of his chief nurse, Maham Anaga and other persons of little scruple in the palace; but they overreached themselves and Akbar freed himself from their degrading tutelage in May, 1562. The conquest of Malwa [1561] was entrusted to Adham Khan, the son of Maham Anaga, and to Pir Muhammad, who defeated the easy-going Baz Bahadur easily, but marred their success by their savage cruelties. In November, 1561, Akbar summoned Shams-ud-din Khan from Kabul and appointed him minister of the empire. Maham Anaga disliked the
appointment. At the same time, Adham Khān was recalled from the government of Malwa. He had not been long in Agra, when on a day in May, 1562, he attacked the new prime minister in the palace and murdered him when he was engaged in public activity. The noise woke up Akbar who was sleeping in an adjoining room. Already Adham Khān appeared at Akbar's door, apparently intent on a greater murder, but the door was bolted. Akbar heard what had occurred, came out into the hall by another way and knocked Adham Khān unconscious with a blow of his fist. Then he ordered his men to bind the senseless delinquent and throw him down from the terrace twice. Akbar reported his punishment to Maham Anaga who was ill in bed; she only said: "Your Majesty has done well" and died forty days after the event. At last Akbar was free to govern in reality.

Akbar returned to Agra in 1601 (May), his career of conquest over. His last years were troubled by unhappy relations with his son, Prince Salīm, who had the royal favourite, Abu'1 Fazl, assassinated by the robber chief, Bir Singh Bundhela, in 1602. Akbar fell ill in August, 1605, and the physicians could not diagnose the disease properly. There was a strong suspicion that his illness was caused by a secret irritant poison, possibly diamond dust. He died in 1605.

Akbar was the real builder of the Mughal empire, and he laid down the principles and policies which, but for occasional modifications and some minor adjustments, remained the basis of the Mughal administrative system. While Akbar's own great abilities go far in explaining his success as a ruler, he was fortunate in the very high quality of the men who surrounded him. Among these were such outstanding administrators as Amir Fathullah Shirazi, Man Singh, Todar Mal, Khwaja Mansūr, and scholars like
the historian Bada'ūnī. The persons who most vividly represent the caliber of his officials however, were Abū’l-Fazl [1551-1602] and his elder brother, Faizī [1545-1595]. They were members of a distinguished family of outstanding scholars, and were held in high esteem by Akbar because of their intellectual gifts, their loyalty to him, and their common religious views. Abū’l Fazl was the court chronicler, the drafter of the emperor's correspondence, and his personal confidant.

The earlier Mughal emperors - Hūmāyūn and Akbar - started a fairly wide movement, which by its nature, may be termed"Persianization" of Northern India. In the train of these emperors was a considerable medley of Asiatic tribes - Persians, Mongols, Üzbegs, Turks, Kalmacks, and Afghans, who came under the generic name of Mughals. Selections from these composed the Mughal court, and they also figured prominently among the officials of the administration. When the Mughals first arrived in Hindustan, they found the country in a state of anarchy, out of which they proceeded to bring some sort of order and, subsequently, to reorganize many of its native institutions. To assist them in their work of reconstruction they instinctively turned to Persia for guidance, a neighbouring empire which, under the effective rule of the Safavids, was commencing to proclaim itself a great power. Although not actually of that land themselves, the traditions of the Mughal dynasty, through its Tīmūrid ancestry, were linked with those of Persia. Further, throughout much of their history, Persia and India were geographically much closer than they are today, as their boundaries ran together, where is now the barrier of Afghanistan. While it cannot be said that Akbar borrowed as his model the rule of the Safavids, he was too original and
independent for that - that he relied heavily on it for some of his projects is clear. In this he was naturally aided by the many Persian officers in his service, the number of whom, instead of diminishing as the dynasty progressed, tended to grow under his successors. Even as late as the last half of the 17th century they continued to find employment all over India, for a writer of Aurangzeb's time claims "that in the Empire of the Great Mogul, as well as in the kingdoms of Golconda and Bijāpūr, the Persians are in possession of the highest posts."

So it came about that Northern India was ruled by a government which adopted Persian as its court language, and conducted all state correspondence through the same foreign medium. In the official records and in the whole of the departmental routine, Persian was the language regularly employed. In a variety of the forms of human activity that ensued, a combination of Persian and Indian elements is present; in literature, art, architecture, industries, in the planning of their gardens, even down to fruit cultivation, the best that the two countries could invite was utilised. Perhaps the effect on the language of the people that this policy created will most readily illustrate what was taking place. When the Mughals began their rule the indigenous vernacular of Hindustan, particularly in the country around Delhi, was Hindi. But with the establishment of Akbar's government, Persian was accepted as the official and literary language in court circles and among the bureaucracy generally. Gradually the educated Indians adopted this foreign tongue, regarding it as a sign of elegance and fashion, just as French was accepted by all those who aspired to any consideration in England after the Norman conquest.
Persian words and phrases quickly found their way into the speech of the common people, being used as a handy medium of communication between the extensive entourage of the Mughals and the original inhabitants of the country. Before long there developed that *lingua franca* of Northern India, known as *Urdu*, a "highly Persianized form of Hindi which nevertheless continued to retain* the grammatical structure of an Indian tongue. And, as with the language, so with considerable other forms of expression, artistic and literary, identically the same process was taking place. Undoubtedly dynastic stability contributed to the rich and varied cultural life of the Sultanate and Mughal periods. The basic reason for the different tone of the two periods is, however, the success of Akbar, the third of the Mughal rulers, in building up an enduring system of administration. Whatever estimation may be put on the role of individuals as creative forces in history, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that to quite an extraordinary degree Akbar was responsible for many of the features that characterize the Mughal period.

Thus the Mughal conquerors who had swept into North India only a century earlier, by the time of Shāh Jahān, had established an absolute monarchy that is justly compared to that of his contemporary Louis XIV, the Sun King - half the globe away in France. The Mughal court - located at Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Fatehpūr-Sīkrī, or in the tented encampments used during the dynasty's frequent military campaigns - was incredibly rich, a fact plentifully attested to by numerous miniatures produced during their empire.

AURANGZEB - Shāh Jahān was deposed by his third son, Aurangzeb
in the year 1658. From now begins the period of decay. To Aurangzeb's unsympathetic policy the decline of the Mughal empire has been ascribed. His mistaken ideals and want of statesmanlike insight brought the empire to its ruin, which, in its fall, dragged with it all the organizations, social, intellectual, and political, and the artistic creativity as well, built up with so much care and knowledge by his predecessors. Unlike his father and grandfather whose mothers were Rājputs, Aurangzeb was the son of a Muḥammadan queen, Arjuman Begum, the lady of the Tāj. Probably on this account he maintained with unswerving stiffness the tenets of his faith, and also showed less tolerance towards the belief of others. Tavernier, who knew him personally, remarks that he "especially shows great zeal for the Sunni sect, of which he is such a faithful follower that he surpasses all his predecessors in external observation of the law. 8

While Aurangzeb's motives may have been the very high ones above quoted, the methods by which he attained his end were sinister in the extreme. To what extent this monarch, by deposing his father and eliminating his three brothers, changed the course of Indian history, will never be known. But in causing the death of the rightful heir, Dārā Shīkoh, Aurangzeb removed from the scene a prospective ruler, whose nobility, so different from his own scheming character, might possibly have preserved the empire from the landslide which already menaced it. 9

With the death of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707 a whole chapter of Indian history has been closed. This ruler devoted his great energies and the best of his life to extending the empire of Mughals so as to comprise the whole of the sub-
continent. But in so doing he lost sight of the fact that
his want of toleration caused at the same time the serious
undermining of its foundations. By his strength of character
and personal authority only, he kept the empire alive and, when
these supports disappeared, the collapse came with dramatic
suddenness. Several puppet kings followed him, one after
another, at short intervals, but no stable governments could
exist again.

Age of Splendour - JAHÂNGÎR

Akbar's only surviving son, Prince Salîm, succeeded to
the throne on November 3, 1605, under the title of Jahângîr.
To prove his desire to end the hatred that had divided the
court when he had made an unsuccessful attempt to usurp power
during the last years of his father's reign, he granted a
general amnesty to all his former opponents. Abdur Rahman, the
son of Abu'l Fazl, [Akbar's friend who had been murdered at
Jahângîr's instigation] was promoted to higher rank. The nobles
who had endeavoured to have Jahângîr's son, Khusrau, made
Akbar's successor were permitted to retain their rank and jâgîrs.

Owing to his likable personality, the brilliance of his
court, and his friendliness toward foreigners, Jahângîr has been
favourably treated, especially by English writers. There are,
however, certain aspects of his administration which cast a
shadow on his regime and darken the course of the later Mughal
history. The extension of the Mughal dominion came practically
to a halt in his reign, and the empire suffered a serious blow
in the loss of Qandahar. In spite of vast imperial resources,
no serious attempt was made to bring the great unconquered
areas of the Deccan under the empire. A contemporary Dutch
23.

writer commenting on this said: "The probable explanation is to be found in the sloth, cowardice, and weakness of the last emperor, Šalīm, and in the domestic discords of his family." An event of Jahāngīr's private life that was to have great importance for him was his marriage to Nūr Jahan in 1611. She was the widow of a Persian nobleman, Sher Afghān, a rebellious official of Burdwan, who met his death while resisting arrest at the hands of Kutb-ud-din Khān Koka, the viceroy of Bengal.

Nūr Jahan was taken to the court, and three years later, at the age of forty, she became the royal consort. A capable woman, she acquired such an ascendancy over her husband that she became in effect the joint ruler of the kingdom. Coins were struck in her name, and Jahāngīr used to say that he had handed her the country in return for a cup of wine and a few morsels of food. Nūr Jahan's relatives soon occupied the chief posts of the realm. Her brother, Āsaf Khān, became the prime minister and his daughter, Mumtaz Mahal, married Prince Khurram, who succeeded his father as Shâh Jahān. The influence of the gifted but forceful queen and her relatives was not entirely beneficial, but they were all capable people and until toward the end of the later part of Jahāngīr's reign, they administered the empire efficiently. Their influence attracted a large number of brilliant soldiers, scholars, poets, and civil servants from Iran who played an important role in the administration and the cultural life of Mughal India.

The lavish style of living introduced at the royal court was initiated by the nobility, and an era of extravagance, with its concomitants of corruption and demoralization among
officers of the state, was inaugurated. This corroded the structure of the Mughal government. To Nūr Jāhān herself belongs the doubtful honour of introducing the system of nazars\(^{11}\) - corruption at the royal level. Āsaf Khān emerges in the pages of Sir Thomas Roe's account of his negotiations at the Mughal court as exceedingly greedy for such gifts.

In Jahāngīr's time the gracious living became the *summum bonum*, the goal of human existence. In Akbar's days in particular, with emphasis on the spiritual side of things, it is easy to trace a certain idealism, an other-worldliness, and the ability to rise above purely materialistic values, in spite of the elaborate grandeur of a great empire.

The other factor responsible for increased extravagance was the vast opportunity for spending provided by the new commercial contacts with Europe. By now the fame of the Mughal empire had reached distant lands, and in Jahāngīr's days embassies came to his court from European countries. England sent Captain Hawkins in 1608, and Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of James I, came to conclude a commercial treaty in 1615. By 12 September, 1618, he was able to obtain a *fārmān* signed by Prince Khurram as viceroy of Gujarāt which gave facilities for trade, but owing to the prince's opposition, did not allow a building to be built as a residence. The new trade brought out some deplorable propensities in the Mughal nobility. Costly toys were devised to please the taste of the court. In this Jahāngīr led the way. He was described as "an amateur of all varieties and antiquities, and displayed an almost childish love of toys". One traveller tells how he presented the
emperor with "a small whistle of gold, weighing almost an ounce, set with sparks of rubies, which he took and whistled therewith almost an hour".  

Reign of Shâh Jahân. The charge made against Jahângîr — that he had been too sluggish to extend the empire — could not be made against his son, Prince Khurram, who ascended the throne as Shâh Jahân on February 6, 1628. Although under him the splendour and luxury of the court reached its zenith, he revised the expansionist policy of Akbar and widened the frontiers of the empire to include territories that had been so far beyond Mughal domination.

Shâh Jahân's reign represents the golden age of the Mughal empire, but the artistic productions of the period give an impression of over-ripeness and a certain loss of vigour. Mughal civilization had reached its climax and was moving toward its declining phase. But the resolute vigour of Aurangzeb, a man of iron will, held the structure together for another half century and gave it new lease, but the end came quickly once Aurangzeb died.

The wealth stored in the strong-rooms of the Imperial Treasury at Agra was enormous, and has been estimated as then worth three hundred and forty million pounds sterling. Buildings of almost incredible splendour sprang up at Agra, Delhi, Lahore and other places. At Shâh Jahân's new capital at Delhi, the plain red sandstone of Akbar's time was replaced by marble, inlaid with precious stones; ceilings were of solid gold and silver, and the Peacock Throne was created.

The Peacock Throne and the glitter of jewels dazzled the foreign travellers. The Tâj Maḥal, the Pearl Mosque, the Ali Masjîd of Shâhjahânabad and the Fort of Shâhjahânabad stand
to this day to testify to the greatness of the Mughal Empire and the glory of his reign. The gardens at Delhi, Lahore and Kashmir prove his love for plants and flowers and springs. It was in his reign that Ali Mardan Khan cut the Ravi Canal of ninety-eight miles and brought it to Lahore.

Shāh Jahān was a lover of grandeur, pomp and show and was jealous to protect and enhance the dignity of the Indian Empire in the eyes of the world. The gorgeous and monster tent dalbadal required several thousand men and several elephants to erect it in over two months. Above all was the Peacock Throne which stood unrivalled as a piece of art and craft and magnificence.

When the empire enjoyed unbroken peace, Shāh Jahān employed that interval in extending to the Deccan the revenue system shaped out by Todar Mal. The people on the whole, were prosperous and contented. The rebuilding and adorning in form of creating the noblest streets in Delhi, the fortified palace with its marble halls and wide courts, and the Jama Masjid\textsuperscript{14} of that city attest the splendour of his taste in building; while the exquisite Tāj Mahal at Agra, with its taper minarets, soft-swelling marble dome, delicate trellis-work, and flowing mosaics, has few if any rivals in the world for stately grace and symmetry of form, chaste brilliance of general effect, and finished beauty of rich decoration. Reared in memory of his empress, Mumtāz Mahal, it has since served to delight a long succession of strangers from the West. Seen by moonlight, filling up one end of the cypress avenue leading from the outer gate to the marble terrace whereon it stands, the
Tāj gleams like a vision of fairyland.

**THE MUGHAL COURT AND VERSAILLES.** The Mughal Court at the height of its glory resembled in many respects that of Versailles. In both cases a fabulously wealthy and extravagant nobility were living a life of the utmost luxury, at the expense of an overtaxed and poverty-stricken peasantry. In both cases, the arts of the period were fostered by the Court, the art of the jeweller and miniature painter.

**AT THE GREAT MUGHAL'S AND LOUIS XIV'S COURT.** In the year 1631, twenty thousand labourers at Agra, began quarrying and carving marble for the Tāj Mahal. Thirty years later, in another hemisphere, another prodigious labour force commenced work on a similar grandiose project, the Palace of Versailles. Its builder was Louis XIV, who had been crowned King of France in 1643, the midpoint of Shāh Jahān's thirty-year reign. Like Shāh Jahān, Louis XIV was a connoisseur of architecture on the grandest of scales. Like Shāh Jahān, he ruled for many years over a civilization that had reached the apogee of its magnificence, and like his Indian counterpart, Louis XIV was the last great monarch in his line. There are, in fact, so many parallels between these two resplendent sovereigns - a world apart, although near contemporaries - that a comparison is quite revealing. Both Shāh Jahān and Louis XIV had an almost organic need for excessive extravagance. Their clothing, their weapons, their baths, their beds, almost everything had to be leafed with gold, inlaid with onyx, fashioned by the finest artisans. Factories were built exclusively for the production of toys for a king's titillation. Louis XIV had his ruby perfume applicators, his three silver wig blocks; Shāh Jahān possessed seven jewelled
thrones, any one of which would have pleased the most ostentatious of monarchs elsewhere. The Mughal emperor once appeared in a coat so heavily studded with gems that two servants were required to keep him from collapsing; Louis XIV, as if not to be outdone, once received the Siamese Ambassador in the Hall of Mirrors stumbling beneath the weight of his own glamorous garment, a fur robe encrusted with diamonds.

Both courts revelled in protocol, which has rarely been carried to such extremes. The length of a sleeve, the height of a stool, an invitation to dinner, permission to wear gold brocade - such details determined the fortunes of French and Mughal subjects alike. In Agra, one never knocked at the chambers of a superior; one fell to the knees and tapped three times with the back of the hand. Similarly, to knock at a door at Versailles was gauche; instead, one scratched with the little finger of the left hand, and for this purpose courtiers allowed that particular nail to grow long. Prestige in Louis XIV's domain was measured by the height of the chair one was allowed to possess and only the king and queen could sit in chairs with arms. At the Mughal court, chairs were also a symbol of prestige, so much so that to occupy one in the presence of the emperor was among the highest of royal rewards. Both kings placed themselves on display. For a member of the French bourgeoisie it was considered as a great day's outing to ride from Paris to Versailles and watch the king eat in public as it was for a citizen of Agra to walk each dawn to the courtyard of the Red Fort, where Shāh Jahān sat for an hour exhibited on the public balcony.
Shāh Jahān and Louis XIV were both handsome men, famous for the frequency of their romantic dalliances. In the more permissive world of the harem, Shāh Jahān's concubines [claimed to be five thousand of them] were legend. But if Louis XIV was confined by Christian propriety to take his mistresses one at a time, he chose them, to say the least, in close sequence. Nevertheless, in spite of their numberless indiscretions, Louis XIV and Shāh Jahān were each basically dominated by one female figure. For Shāh Jahān, Mumtaz Maḥal; for Louis XIV it was his second wife, Madame de Maintenon. Both of these prepossessing women were also motivating forces behind religious persecutions. These two seventeenth century kings, both lovers of the hunt and of the arts, and, above all, maecenas of the elaborate monuments that they built—essentially to themselves—were the last chapters in the book of omnipotent monarchy, a chronicle that began in the West with the Roman emperors, in the East with the Chinese scholar-kings. Yet magnificent as the French court was, with its baroque castles and month-long festivals at which ten thousand courtiers attended open-air plays written for the occasion by Molière and Racine, it was easily eclipsed by the court of the Great Mughal, as Shāh Jahān was called in the West.
CHAPTER TWO

Description of the Mughal Court - Daily Activities of the Emperor - Court Organization and Functions; Its Palaces and Gardens - Court Etiquettes, Protocols, Customs, Dressing, Fashions - Reception of Foreign Ambassadors and Distinguished Visitors.
Daily Activities of the Emperor.

(i) Akbar.

A vivid picture of Akbar's daily life when in residence at the Court has been preserved for us. Aroused at dawn by the sound of musical instruments, he devoted the earliest hours of the day to religious meditation. He then showed himself to the assembled people at the audience-window while the multitude came and prostrated themselves; the women brought their sick infants for the royal blessing and offered presents on their recovery. Next he went to the Hall of Public Audience. Here was held a levée, which was attended by members of the Royal Family and great Officers of the State, and petitioners with complaints had ready access to the Royal Person. The Emperor impressed everyone by his accessibility and his kindly and affable manner. Affairs of State occupied most of the morning and then Akbar retired to his apartments for the heat of the day. Here he partook of the single meal which was all that he ate; his food was of the simplest, for the Emperor was frugal to the point of asceticism in his private life, and in his later years he was nearly a vegetarian. It was not right, he said, to make one's stomach the grave of animals. The afternoon was spent in inspecting the household troops and the stables; immense numbers of horses and elephants were kept, and if any of the animals were in unsatisfactory condition, their grooms were punished. Akbar would then superintend any building operations which were in progress, or would visit the Imperial Arms Factory, in which he took a special interest. The Emperor had invented several ingenious devices and had made a series of improvements in casting gun barrels, which greatly increased their range and accuracy.
After the business of the day was finished, there were recreations, such as polo, fights between animals in the open space outside the walls, and games of pachīsī played with living pieces in the presence of the Court; the ladies at the harem watched from behind their marble lattices. After dark, the Emperor relaxed by listening to musicians, readers or story-tellers, or initiated religious or philosophical discussions which lasted far into the night. One of Akbar's characteristics was his power to dispense with sleep. (ii) Jahāngīr.

Early in 1609, there arrived in Agra an English Captain of the name of William Hawkins, who had been sent by the newly formed East India Company in order to obtain permission to set up a trading factory at the port of Surat. Hawkins had learnt to speak Turkish while in the Levant; the mother-tongue of the Emperor was Turki, and for this reason they were able to converse without an interpreter. Hawkins became the Emperor's boon companion, and was admitted to his drinking bouts, which often lasted till far into the night. Hawkins gives a vivid picture of Jahāngīr's private life:

"First in the morning about the break of day he is at his beads with his face turned to the westward. After he has done his prayer, he shows himself to the people, receiving their salaams and to him multitudes resort every morning for this purpose. This done, he sleeps two hours more, and then dines, and passes his time with his women, and at noon he shows himself to the people again, sitting till three o'clock, viewing his pastimes and sports made by men and fighting of many sorts of beasts, every day sundry kinds of pastimes. Then at three o'clock all the nobles in general
those who are in Agra and are fit, resort to the Court, the King coming forth in open audience, sitting in his royal throne, and every man standing in this degree before him, his chief nobles standing within the red rail, and the rest without. They are all placed by his lieutenant-general. This red rail is three steps higher than the place where the rest stand; and within this red rail I was placed, claims Hawkins, amongst the chiefest of them all. The rest are placed by officers, and they likewise be within another very spacious place railed; and without that rail stand all sorts of horsemen and soldiers that belong unto his captains and all other comers. At these rails there are many doors kept by many porters, who have white rods to keep the order. In the midst of the place, right before the King, stands one of his sheriffs. The King hears all causes in this place and stays some two hours every day. Then he departs to his private place of prayer; his prayer being completed, four or five types of very well dressed and roasted meats are brought him. Then he comes forth into a private room, where none can come but such as himself nominates "for two years I was one of his attendants there". In this place he drinks other three cupfuls, which is the portion that the physicians allow him. This done, he eats opium, and then he arises, and being in the height of his drink, he lays down to sleep, every man departing to his own home. And after he had slept two hours they awake him and bring his supper to him; at which time he is not able to feed himself; but it is forced into his mouth by others; this is about one o'clock; then he sleeps the rest of the night."19
Hawkins rose into high favour, and was made a "commander of 400". After two and a half years at Court, Hawkins fell into disfavour; Jahāngīr grew tired of him and he took ship for England in 1612, but died within sight of home.

In 1611, Jahāngīr married a lady of the name of Mihr-un-Nisa, on whom he bestowed the title of Nūr Jahān. The episode resembles that of David and Bathsheba. Nūr Jahān was originally the wife of a Persian nobleman named Ali Kuli Beg, who had been given an estate in Bengal by Akbar. Apparently Akbar made this arrangement to keep her away from the Court, as his son was already in love with her. In 1607 Jahāngīr sent a force to arrest Ali Kuli Beg, who was killed in the scuffle which ensued. His widow was brought to Agra, but was not united to her royal lover until four years later. Though she was long past her prime, she was a person of singular beauty and intelligence. With her she brought her father, who received the title of Itimād-ud-Daulah, her brother Āsāf Khān, and a host of relatives, whom she installed in high offices. She married her daughter to Prince Shahriyār. She was a fearless horsewoman and an excellent shot, and on one occasion, as Jahāngīr notes in his Memoirs, she killed four tigers in quick succession. She sat in the Hall of Audience and received petitions; coins were issued in her name and she put her signature beside her husband's on the royal firmāns. Jahāngīr, now sodden with drink and opium, was completely under her influence. He candidly admits that "Nūr Jahān was wise enough to conduct the business of state, while he only wanted a bottle of wine and a piece of meat to make merry."
In 1615, an ambassador from James I of England arrived at Agra, in the person of Sir Thomas Roe. Roe was a man of great dignity, and very different from the low-born and uproarious Hawkins. His diary of his Embassy is a most valuable document. Roe's account of his reception gives an interesting description of the daily routine of the Court: "Jan. 10.

I went to Court at four in the evening to the Durbar, which is the place where the Mughal sits out daily to entertain strangers, to receive petitions, to give commands, to see and to be seen. The King has no man but eunuchs that comes within the lodgings or retiring rooms of his house. His women watch within and guard him with manly weapons. They do justice one upon another for offences. He comes every morning to a window called the Jharokha looking into a plain before his gate, and shows himself to the common people. At noon he returns thither and sits some hours to see the fight of elephants and wild beasts; under him within a rail attend the men of rank; when he has his fill with these spectacles he retires to sleep among his women. At afternoon he returns to the Durbar before mentioned. At eight after supper he comes down to the Ghuzlikhana, a fair court where in the midst is a throne erected of freestone, wherein he sits, but sometimes below in a chair; to which are none admitted but men of great quality, and few of those without leave; where he discourses of all matters with great affability. There is no business done with him concerning the state, government, disposition of war or peace, but at one of these two last places, where it is publicly propounded and resolved and so registered, which if it were worth the curiosity might be seen for two shillings, but the
common base people know as much as the council, and the news every day is the King's new resolutions tossed and censured by every rascal. This course is unchangeable, except sickness or drink prevent it; which must be known, for as all his subjects are slaves, so is he in a kind of reciprocal bondage, for he is tied to observe these hours and customs so precisely that if he were unseen one day, and no sufficient reason rendered, the people would mutiny; two days no reason can excuse, but that he must consent to open his doors and be seen by some to satisfy others. On Tuesday at the Jharokhā he sits in judgment, never refusing even the poorest man's complaint, where he hears with patience both sides of contenders". (Roe, Embassy, pp.106-8)

At the Durbar Sir T. Roe was led right before him at the entrance of an outer rail, and two principal noble slaves conducted him nearer. When he entered within the first rail he made an obeisance; entering in the inward rail another; and when he came under the King a third. The place is a great court, whither resorts all sorts of people. The King sits in a little gallery overhead; ambassadors, the great men, and strangers of quality within the inmost rail under him, raised from the ground, covered with canopies of velvet and silk, under foot laid with good carpets; men of lesser position representing gentry within the first rail, the people without in a base court, but so that all may see the King.

The letters of Sir Thomas Roe afford an excellent insight into the life at the Mughal capital during the years 1615 to 1618, and some of these letters contain noteworthy accounts of his discussions with Jahāṅgīr on fine arts. The ambassador's
mission was an important one, relating to a commercial treaty between England and India, and it shows how prominently art figured in affairs of state when it finds a place in several business communications to his superiors in London. Roe's position at the court was a difficult one, and he certainly did not see the "Great Mogul" to advantage. Surrounding the throne was a screen of scheming officials, some of them unaware of the real objects of the embassy, others, for their own ends, antagonistic, and all supremely ignorant of the character of the country it represented. In these circumstances it is easy to see why Roe's impressions of Jahāngīr, and the methods of his ministers, were described with a certain amount of bitterness, as his outlook was clouded with much difficulty and disappointment. In his fondness for art Jahāngīr seems to have occupied rather an isolated position among his own people. While he could talk with his court painters, few of his nobles or officials appear to have been sufficiently advanced in their appreciation of the art to afford him much pleasure in conversing with them on his favourite theme. In Roe he met for the first time a refined and well educated Englishman, a man of good education and one who could express an intelligent opinion on any matter. Jahāngīr took to Roe at once, possibly on this account. On his part, Roe himself was for the first time in the presence of a cultured oriental potentate, and, on the whole, the liking was reciprocated. Jahāngīr's gracious manner and uniform courtesy towards him created a very favourable impression. This favourable atmosphere having been created, it was not long before Roe was brought into communication with the
emperor on the subject of painting. The latter was elated to find that Roe possessed a number of miniatures, by English and French artists, which he had brought with him on his voyage. Discussions on the merits of these and the skill of his own painters took place on many occasions, all of which have been most faithfully recorded by the ambassador. The emperor was always more than usually light-hearted whenever this topic was being discussed. It was customary for these audiences to take place in the late evening. There is a very interesting description by Roe of Jahāṅgīr at his ease. "When I came in I found him sitting crosselegged on a little throne, all cladd in diamondes, Pearles, and rubyes; before him a table of gould, on yt about 50 Peeces of gould plate, sett all with stones, some very great and extreamly rich, some of lesse valew, but all of them almost covered with small stones; his Nobilitye about him in their best equipage, whom he Commanded to drinck froliquely, severall wynes standing by in great flagons." (Roe, Embassy, pp.253-4.)

Under these somewhat peculiar conditions the emperor and the ambassador exchanged opinions about art in general. Jahāṅgīr was much impressed with the European "painting in little" produced by Roe, this being the first time that he had seen work of this kind. Nevertheless, he was so sure of the skill of his own artists, that he was convinced they could produce equally good work. The result was that the ambassador was persuaded to lend some of these portraits to the emperor so that his artists might reproduce them in a similar manner. On seeing their work Roe was much struck with the excellence of the Indian painters.
The Court of the great Mughal was placed in three locations; Delhi, Lahore and Agra. Of his three principal residences, the Red Fort in Agra was the most impressive. Started by Akbar and completed by Šāh Jahān, this walled complex of mosques, harems, gardens, and palaces was the pride of the Mughals. The royal apartments were ornamented with ruby-encrusted arabesques and crowned with ceilings of solid gold. Musicians were kept performing continuously, even in empty rooms, on the chance that the emperor might pause for a moment's entertainment. In the imperial kitchens, fifteen complete meals were always ready to be served at a moment's notice by a unit of richly dressed kitchen slaves. Embroidered tapestries and excellent Persian paintings, enamel lamps that burned scented oil, gold decanters filled with lemonade, a box of pearls, trays of guavas or mangoes, or grapes from Kashmīr, pillows, carpets, mirrors, melons, silver goblets filled with wine or lilacs, seven slender pillars wrapped in satin drapery - all were there, the trimmings of an Arabian night's reverie. Meanwhile the emperor, the creator of and prima persona in this garden of earthly delights, bathed in his pool where countless gems encrusted on the walls reflected. Each day of the week Šāh Jahān ruled from a different throne. The greatest of these was the Takht-i-Taus, was built in 1628 to commemorate his coronation. The Takht-i-Taus was perhaps the most lavish throne ever made in India. It took seven years to complete at immense cost. The throne itself consisted of an elevated rectangular platform on which twelve emerald-studded pillars were placed, the capitals of each composed of two jewelled
peacocks standing on either end of a diamond-leafed tree. These pillars supported a canopy, six feet by four feet which was covered with configurations of pearls, emeralds, sapphires, and gold. In order to mount the throne one climbed a staircase of solid silver. The raw materials for the construction of such glamorous follies were supplied by the seemingly bottomless Mughal coffers.

As Emperor Shāh Jahān had neither the energy of Bābur nor the genius of Akbar but he was nevertheless an extremely capable administrator, careful and thorough in everything he attempted; he never left today's business for tomorrow and no business before him suffered delay. A description of a single day of Shāh Jahān's life bears out the above observation.

At four o'clock Shāh Jahān rose, turned west toward Mecca, and recited morning prayers. He then dressed with the aid of innumerable slaves, each appointed to deliver a particular article of clothing in the way Louis XIV had courtiers at his bedside appointed to pursue similar tasks. After his jewels arrived from their nightly keep in the harem, he proceeded to the mosque, where for two hours he would kneel in prayer. Then he returned to the palace and, as the sun rose, stepped out onto a marble balcony. Throngs of people would jockey and push for a glimpse of the royal countenance. There would be heated shouts of "Padshah Salamat". If he were in a happy mood, he would hear petitions from peasants, complaints from landlords, appeals for clemency from criminals. After an hour of this, it was time to move on, perhaps to the Jasmine Pavilion where he would be able to enjoy his favorite spectacle, an elephant fight. Only a king could order an elephant fight. It was a
time honoured royal prerogative. Elephants were brought from Sumatra and Siam, where they were chosen for their fierceness in the way bulls are picked for the ring in Spain in our time. The men who rode these fighting pachyderms were highly trained for the purpose. But unlike the elephants, who ordinarily survived to fight another day, their riders considered themselves fortunate if they escaped with only the loss of a limb, and before each fight they took leave of their families as if under penalty of death. The combat would be considered finished when one elephant dominated another and brought it to the ground. Then they were separated by a charkhi. 24

When the elephant fights were finished, the emperor walked in procession to the Dīwān-i-'Am 25 , where he sat at the Holy Window and conducted the morning's business. Behind him were servants swatting flies with yak-tail whisks and guards with banners displaying the Mughal insignia, a lion couchant in front of a rising sun. On either side were members of the royal family. Below them stood ʿAsaf Khān, prime minister and the father of Mumtaz Maḥal, and one step down, separated from royalty by balustrades, were multitudes of courtiers, sultans, governors, men of state, each carefully positioned in order of rank and each standing with his head bowed before the Great Mughal.

The business of the day at last began. The emperor dispatched orders to the provinces, made suggestions for pensions and promotions, appropriated funds, perused requests for charity, dictated letters, and signed them with his palm prints, and heard the appeals of trembling supplicants, some of whom might be kept standing for hours until Shāh Jahan looked up and asked after their demands. While these proceedings took
place, musicians played - music so soft and sweet that it
reportedly never distracted one's mind off the business of the
day. Executive affairs concluded, Shāh Jahān rested. Rare
gifts sent by friendly neighbours or taken from vanquished
enemies might be inspected. Exotic animals, among them
rhinoceros and anteaters, were paraded along the riverbank.
An exhibit of elephants would be presented, and as each animal
passed the emperor, it was prompted to fall on its knees and
trumpet a salute. The elephants' feed - meal, wheat and sugar-
cane - was always placed on display. At eleven-thirty the
emperor moved to a private tower, the Shāh Burj, where in the
company of his sons and trusted viceroy's he reviewed confidential
matters. In these private rooms stood Āsaf Khān gazing with
shrewd eyes at the pious and strangely aloof prince Aurangzeb.
Here was the frivolous prince Murād, a gullible brute, ready
to tip a cup or go to war at the slightest vocation. Here was
the emperor himself, engaged in hushed conversation with his
best friend, Afzal Khān, while nearby the engineer Ali Mardan
Khān, and the royal physician, Wazir Khān, spoke of the campaigns
in Assam. Here agreements were made and agreements broken with
rapidity, as the most powerful men in India came face-to-face
each morning to execute manipulation politics. Behind these
doors the history of the empire was in fact made. After the
private conference, more prayers were recited, followed by more
business, this time in the Hall of Public Audience. Then it
was time to eat. A team of Tatars tasted each of Shāh Jahān's
dishes to be sure they had not been poisoned, and the meal was
served. The emperor ate lightly and upon finishing went to
the harem. To comprehend the mentality of the Mughals, it is
advisable to examine that complex institution, the harem. Western daydreams aside, the appeasement of the royal sexual appetite was but an infinitesimal part of the harem's function. In a general sense, the harem was simply the place where women lived; it was the women's quarters. Babies were born there and children grew up there. Within it were markets, bazaars, laundries, kitchens, storage bins, playgrounds, schools, baths, all the facilities necessary to maintain a large household. The treasury was also kept there, as were secret documents and state seals. It served as a quiet spot where the emperor could work on business matters undisturbed, and it was the place where he sometimes slept at night. The harem was a typical domestic organization, a private household on a grand scale, existing not only to house the imperial ladies but to protect them from the gaze and molestations of an outside world, a society where all unaccompanied and unveiled women were, ipso facto, prostitutes.

Like any large organization, the harem had a hierarchy. Its chief authorities were the wives and relatives of the emperor. Below them were thousands of lesser ladies, ranging from concubines to scullery slaves, and so large were the premises of this city of women that the lowest of these slaves might never lay eyes on the emperor himself. The harem was guarded by three lines of defense. The first were Tatar women, Üzbegs, with whom in comparison the Amazons were soft and timorous. They were of gargantuan proportions, stronger than most men, and deadly with spear and bow. Next came the eunuchs whose job it was to maintain discipline within the harem. The eunuchs were an exotic lot, a mixture of Asian and African types, some recruited as children from local districts, some
received as gifts from Turkish and North African kings. Besides being skilled at controlling the wards of the harem, an accomplished eunuch could be invaluable to his master. He had to be expert at gathering news of the courts and slow to repeat it to anyone but his master; he had to be loyal in the face of all change; and especially, he had to be keen with his political advice. If he were all these things, he might then gain great power within the household and even in the government, where he could sometimes rise to a position of high departmental authority.

The third and last line of harem defenders was stationed outside the walls. These were rugged male foot soldiers, equipped with rifles and ordered to open fire on any suspicious intruder. There are many stories of these brutal custodians tossing men off high walls, and it is certain that with these and other lines of protection the sanctity of the harem was seldom violated. Inside the harem life was absurdly luxurious. Every morning new fabrics arrived for the royal ladies. Women amused themselves with an assortment of entertainments or lay quietly in open-air pavilions watching carp with gold rings in their noses swim in marble fountains. Fireworks, gazelle fights, pigeon flying, wrestling matches, acrobats, card games, musicians, archery, dancing bears, story-telling: all were part of the day's diversions. Yet, the psychology of the harem woman, confined to her gilded prison, was often perverse. Jealousies, squabblings and petty hatreds abounded.

On a typical day, Shāh Jahān would have left the harem at three o'clock, done his afternoon prayers, and seated himself in the Hall of Private Audience, where final statements would
be delivered and letters dictated to scribes. At six o'clock another round of business took place, now in a more informal atmosphere, with candlelight and whirling dancers. Again prayers were said, a review of the day's transactions was held, a light supper was served, and the emperor retired for the night. By ten o'clock he was usually in bed, listening to histories and romances - his favourites were the stories of Tīmūr and Bābur - and by ten-thirty he was asleep.

(iv) Aurangzeb

Aurangzeb Gives Audience in his Court;

Bernier's Vivid Description of the Scene in 1659:

"At the foot of the throne were assembled all the Omrahs in splendid apparel, upon a platform surrounded by a silver railing and covered by a spacious canopy of brocades with deep fringes of gold. The pillars of the hall were hung with brocades of a gold ground, and flowered silken canopies were raised over the whole expanse of the extensive apartment, fastened with red silken cords from which were suspended large tassles of silk and gold. The floor was covered entirely with carpets of the richest silk, of immense length and breadth. A tent was pitched outside, larger than the hall, to which it was joined by the top. It spread over half the court, and was completely enclosed by a great balustrade covered with plates of silver. Its supporters were pillars overlaid with silver, three of which were as thick and as high as the mast of a barque, the other smaller. The outside of this magnificent tent was red, and the inside lined with elegant Masulipatam chintzes, figured expressly for that very purpose with flowers so natural and colors so vivid that the tent seemed to be encompassed with real parterres.26
Another description of Aurangzeb:

"The king appeared seated on his throne at the end of the great hall in the most magnificent attire. His vest was of white and delicately flowered satin, with a silk and gold embroidery of the finest texture. The turban of gold cloth had an aigrette whose base was compounded of diamonds of an extraordinary size and value, besides an oriental topaz which may be said unparalleled, exhibiting a lustre like the sun. The throne was supported by six massive feet, said to be of pure gold, sprinkled over with rubies, emeralds and diamonds. At the foot of the throne were assembled the omrahs in splendid apparel, upon a platform surrounded by a silver railing and covered by a spacious canopy of brocade with deep fringes of gold. The pillars of the hall were hung with brocades of a gold ground, and flowered satin canopies were raised over the whole expanse of the extensive apartment, fastened with red silken cords from which suspended large tassels of silk and gold."
arms factory. But it is a proof of the fastidious taste of the aristocracy in general and the emperor in particular that everything consumed by the Court was specially produced by its various offices. These offices constituted the mainspring of life at court - like all mainsprings invisible to outside observers, but vitally necessary. To realize the significance of court life and ceremonial, one should understand the inner working of the machinery that was behind it. This machinery was to the Imperial Court what anatomy is to the art of animal sculpture - foundation of its being.

DARBARS. In all monarchies exist, besides the efficient parts, the dignified parts, to impress the imagination of the people and excite and preserve the reverence of the population. Grand Darbārs and Courts, rich and ceremonious state functions, gorgeous paraphernalia of royalty, all intended to serve no other purpose but to enhance the dignity of the ruler and the state. The early Turkish rulers of India felt such a need and had elaborately organized their court and ceremonials. The court of Balban was so gorgeous that men would travel over two or three hundred miles to have a sight of it and it was talked about even outside India. It was left to the Mughals to revive the old glory of the Delhi monarchy and to raise the dignity of the emperor and the empire in the eyes of the people and the nations of Asia. The Mughals who believed in the divine right of kings were more conscious of their importance than the early Turks.

THE COURT OF AKBAR was organized on a scale commensurate with the dignity of the Mughal empire. Splendid palaces and buildings were constructed, hunting expeditions on a gigantic
scale were conducted, a huge paraphernalia of royalty was evolved, and elaborate darbār ceremonials were laid down to promote the dignity of the imperial throne. All the wealth of the empire, jewels and pearls and gold and curios were displayed in the grand darbārs held twice during the season and presided over by the emperor in person. In these festivals stood the nobles in their best costumes to listen to the announcements of reform and honours, mellifluous music of the best singers of age, and the odes and verses of the greatest poets of India and Persia. Here the king bestowed jagīrs and promotions and rewarded the poets and artists. The nobles, of course, held their own assemblies on a scale equal to their position, some of which were graced by the presence of the emperor. On such occasions the spirit of rivalry swayed the nobility and each tried to excel his equal in grandeur and show.

On the third day of the feast, a fancy bazaar was held after the Central Asian model, in which the ladies of the imperial harem and the women of all other men were also invited to make purchases from the stalls put up by the fair sex. Only married ladies were permitted and no male member, except probably the emperor, was allowed to go there. The fancy bazaar being over, bazaars were held for the courtiers. As the purchasers in these bazaars were largely moneyed men, and the aristocracy, merchants from distant parts of the empire and even other countries flocked there with their rarities and best stuff in the hope of finding enlightened patronage. The emperor himself went round from stall to stall. Although the grandest, Nauroz was not the only feast. Next in show and
importance to Naurūz were the celebrations held on the lunar and solar days of the birth of the emperor. On those days too, grand feasts were given, honours bestowed, royal mercy announced, and donations made to men of all ranks. Not only at these festive occasions did the emperor appear before the people, but it was his habit, which he probably inherited from his father, to show himself every morning from the palace window or when in camp from the window of a double-storied tent.

Music, both as an art and as a profession, was in high esteem, and an establishment consisting of musicians and singers (both male and female) and of dancing girls of many nationalities, was maintained at considerable expense. Where art excelled knowledge did not lag behind. It is one of the paradoxes of history that one of the finest manuscript libraries in the world was built up, in great part, during the reign of an illiterate monarch.

A large number of animals was kept and fed in the fort-palace. Some, like elephants, horses, camels, mules and cattle, were for use and were lodged in stables. Others, such as leopards, deer, dogs, hawks and falcons, were for hunting. Others again, were for amusement, almost all Mughal emperors being amateur naturalists. All sorts of animals and birds that influence and patronage could bring found their way into the royal menagerie.

Akbar was very fond of elephants. They were used both for transports and war purposes. If handled carefully they could decide the fate of battles; sometimes, however, when scared
away they proved a source of danger. Thousands of elephants were trained for war. The emperor's own stud counted about a thousand elephants of superior class. Great care was taken in training and feeding them.

The office of Naubat-khana tuned up at stated times and during the imperial audiences; and informed the capital and the camp of the time of day and night, and of the functions at the Court.

Department in charge of the insignia of royalty: Rigid rules were observed regarding the use of these; for symbolism played a great part in Mughal administration and etiquette.

**Jahāṅgīr's court functions:** The emperor Jahāṅgīr celebrating the festival of Ab-pāshī, painted by Govardhan, July 1614. Rampur State Library. Jahāṅgīr, ever punctilious in observing the ancient ceremonies and festivals of his house, records in his memoirs that on a date about the middle of July 1614 "The assembly of Gulāb-pāshī took place"; previously called ab-pāshī, an established custom of the days of old.

The inscription on the picture, is substantially identical with that written in the memoirs, and the date on the lower part denotes that it was the fifth day of Amurdād, corresponding to the middle of July. It is a representation of an ordinary court ceremony, but at the same time it offered an excellent opportunity to immortalize everyone present, from the highest official in the centre to the insignificant chorus girl in the corner. The names of some of the principal people in the picture are minutely written near them, and, facing the emperor, inscribed in this manner will be seen three prominent noblemen, who took a large share in the government of the country during Jahāṅgīr's reign. At the top
of the group in front of the throne, light of complexion, and wearing an orange-coloured turban, is I'timād-ud-Daulah whose name is now associated with one of the most charming examples of jewelled architecture ever devised by the master-builders of the Mughals. This is his tomb at Agra, a white marble pavilion profusely inlaid with precious stones. His chief claim to fame, however, is that he was the father of Jahāngīr's queen, Nūr-Jahān, who herself was one of the most attractive and at the same time remarkable women of her time. I'timād-ud-Daulah had a most distinguished career, and retained all his life the friendship of his royal son-in-law, so much so that on his death, the emperor wrote, "he was a wise and perfect Vizier, and a learned and affectionate companion". Immediately below him is his son Āsaf Khān, who was one of the pillars of state during Jahāngīr's reign. Behind Āsaf Khān, and leaning on a staff, is the portly figure of the Khwāja Abu'l Hasan, who mostly served in the Deccan, of which part of the Mughal empire he had an intimate knowledge; Jahāngīr made great use of the Khwāja's shrewd advice in the administration of this distant and difficult portion of his dominions.

In different parts of the picture attendants are seen scattering rose-water (gul-āb) from small bottles over the assembly, while at the back of the emperor are a number of minor officials, such as the fly-whisk holder, the gun-carrier, the court-musician, and the sword-bearer. In front, paying their respects to his majesty, are the highest officials of the crown, one of whom is offering a mā'ul-lahm, while behind him is a servant with a tray containing a further supply of comestibles. Below is a small band of musicians, some playing instruments, others singing and beating time by clapping their
hands. At the bottom (of the picture) is the bhisti, with his water-skin on his back, and testing the temperature of its contents by sprinkling a little on his finger. Immediately at his rear is a person dressed in white, intent of making notes of the proceedings in a book. This is a clerk, or court reporter, of whom Terry, Roe's chaplain, writes, "when the King sits and speaks to any of his people publickly, there is not a word falls from him that is not written by some scriveners, or scribes, that stand around him". 36

This painting has much interest to us, as it is a truthful representation of the time, which was an intensely picturesque one. The costumes and the mise-en-scene are expressive of a brilliant court, for the insistent musical accompaniment which was always present must have added a suggestion of wildness to the whole. But the most prominent note on this painting is its sense of vitality; it conveys at once a feeling of life and movement, and throbs with energy and emotion. The essential spirit of the subjects is caught, the root of inspiring colour combined with much sensuousness, the hot oppressive atmosphere heavily laden with scent, the sound of the cymbals and the drums, the singing and clapping of hands. Colour is the outstanding feature of this as well as many other Mughal pictures.

"Processional scene at the court of Jahangîr" painted by Manohar c. 1605/Rampur State Library. This picture, evidently one of a series representing the celebrations that took place at the coronation of the last-named emperor, portrays a procession in which the state elephants bearing the royal standard play the
main role. Roe, who saw many such pageants, describes these particular animals as "being Lord Elephants, (who) had their chaynes, belles, and furniture of Gould and Siluer, attended with many gilt banners and flagges ... the first having all the plates on his head and breast sett with rubyes and Emeraldes, beeing a beast of a woonderfull stature and beauty. They all bowed downe befor the king, making reverence very handsomely."\(^{37}\) The two elephants here depicted marching in the place of honour in the procession are the nishān kā hathī\(^ {38}\), one carrying Jahāngīr's personal ensign of the lion and the sun, derived from a Persian source, the other an imperial banner emblazoned with a phoenix and a dragon of Far Eastern design. The latter was obviously obtained from China, as it contains the Ssu ling\(^ {39}\) on the reverse of it would be the other two creatures of the series, the tiger and the unicorn. On the backs of the elephants are two richly diapered coverings which may also have been produced by Chinese looms - the Mughals had no little admiration for the arts of the Far East and used examples of them in their regalia. Flanking the elephants are two groups of mounted musicians energetically blowing on their turhi and nafiri\(^ {40}\) or beating the naqara\(^ {41}\).

In front of these is a line of jhandi-bardars bearing gaily coloured shān-o-shaukat\(^ {42}\) and with them are several bandūkchīs carrying guns wrapped in brocaded coverings. Behind the elephants are more musicians, one group of men, the other of women, all playing instruments or vigorously singing and beating time. In the upper group, called kalāvat or gavayā\(^ {43}\), two men will be observed with stringed instruments called sarūd\(^ {44}\).
The elder of these two performers has been identified as Tansen, the most prominent musician at the Mughal court, and one whose fame as a singer lives to our time. The younger performer below is Shauqi, who afterwards took the place of Tansen, and of whom Jahangir writes that he is "the wonder of the age" and sings "in a manner that clears the rust from all hearts". Some of the other members are playing on a kamānchā, while the remainder are keeping time by means of the tālī. In front of the younger sarūd-player is a man with folded arms and a paper in his hand. He is the court poet, probably Manohar Sekhawat Kachhwaha, a Hindu who had studied Persian and wrote verses in this language. During a halt in the proceedings he will recite a poem in praise of the emperor, that he has composed for the occasion. The bāndī are also proclaiming the magnificence of the monarch in song accompanied with the dolak, and duff. With them will be noticed two male drummers (who are their ustāds or instructors). The direction in which the procession is moving is at first sight not clear, as some portions of it are facing one way and others another. It is, however, progressing across the picture from right to left, but the musicians are walking slowly backwards, so that the monarch, before whom they are passing, may get the full benefit of their performance. Its order and pace are regulated by the chhari-bardār who can be seen at the top of the picture carrying out his duty in an active manner. At his side is a small but very interesting group of buffoons, who supply the comic element in the proceedings, performing extravagant dances and ridiculing everybody from the highest officials downwards. Right at the back of these is the usual crowd of menial servants,
cautiously approaching to view the Tamāsha, at first from a reasonable distance, but in their eagerness they will soon invade the processional route, to be driven back by the stick of the chharī-bardār.

The attraction of this picture is not in the general effect, which is somewhat confusing, but in the treatment of some of the groups, and particularly in the portraits of one or two of the individuals. It is the spirit of vitality which is its main charm, and not a little of this is brought about by the natural and spontaneous action of the human types. What could be more expressive of energy than the mounted trumpeter with the red turban at the top of the picture, putting his whole soul into his performance, as if he felt that the eyes of the emperor were specially directed on him. Compare his vigorous pose with the stately step of the sword and banner bearers, or the scarcely suppressed excitement among the musicians in their effort to keep time among themselves and with the rest of the procession.

"Celebration at the marriage of Prince Khurram," 1610 AD.

This picture shows the celebrations held at the Mughal court on the occasion of the marriage of Prince Khurram, who was ultimately to succeed Jahāngīr as the Emperor Shāh Jahān. These splendid ceremonies are immortalized by a rich colour scheme. It depicts the usual elephant procession, with more musical accompaniment than anywhere else before. In the upper part of the picture are five amirs, richly dressed and standing respectfully with their maces or staffs of office on their shoulders. Below is a group of five male singers beating time with their hands, and behind them a chorus of women vocalists. At the bottom on the right are several
instrumentalists, preceded by a boy in white, beating time. Attendents bearing banners and the state elephants just arriving in the picture, complete this part of the scene, but right at the top is an animated motif, the imperial band performing, described by Bernier the following way:

"Over the grand gate, situated in the middle of one side of this court, is a capacious divan, quite open on the side of the court, called the Nagar-Kanay. In this place, which thence derives its name, are kept the trumpets, or rather the hautboys and symbals, which play in concert at certain hours of the day and night. To the ears of a European recently arrived, this music sounds very strangely, for there are ten or twelve hautboys, and as many symbals, which play together. One of the hautboys, called karna, is a fathom and a half in length, and its lower aperture cannot be less than a foot. The symbals of brass or iron are some of them at least a fathom in diameter. You may judge, therefore, of the roaring sound which issues from the Nagar-Kanay. On my first arrival it stunned me so as to be insupportable; but such is the power of habit that this same noise is now heard by me with pleasure; in the night, particularly, when in bed and afar, on my terrace this music sounds in my ears as solemn, grand, and melodious. This is not altogether to be wondered at, since it is played by persons instructed from infancy in the rules of melody, and possessing the skill of modulating and turning the harsh sounds of the hautboy and symbol so as to produce a symphony far from disagreeable when heard at a
certain distance. The Nagar-Kanay is placed in an elevated situation, and remote from the royal apartments, that the king may not be annoyed by the proximity of this music."\textsuperscript{53}

Aided by the French physician's contemporary account, and with this picture before us, it is not difficult to travel back over the three centuries which separate us from the Mughal period and feel ourselves present at one of these ceremonies with its strident musical accompaniment.

\textit{Court proceedings by Jahāṅgīr' - Miniature - "The Emperor Jahāṅgīr holding his court in a garden"}

This painting depicts an incident, recorded in Jahāṅgīr's Memoirs, which took place in the Mandakar garden near Agra in the year 1609. Towards the bottom left corner of the picture a young man is standing with hands crossed and showing every sign of being overcome with shame. He is Kaukab, the son of Qamar Khan,\textsuperscript{54} and has been discovered consorting with very undesirable people - in the actual words of the emperor "blasphemous and impious" companions. As the culprit's father, and his grandfather Mir Abdul Latif, were Saifi Sayyids, and respected officials at the Mughal court, Kaukab's fall from grace was all the more reprehensible. Near him will be noticed two strange figures wearing caps surmounted with horns and long ears who are described as "Abdul Latif, son of Naqib Khan and Sharif, his cousins, partners in that error". Into the whole affair Jahāṅgīr, who is shown listening attentively with a very shocked countenance, makes careful inquiries and finally passes judgement. It is clear from their expressions that all those present are much impressed by the proceedings, while one man immediately at the back of the emperor, with a
look of tragedy on his face, is turning right away from the scene, as if the sight of it disgusted him. This is the father of Kaukab, who, realizing his son is disgraced, turns his back on him and throws up his hands with a gesture of despair. The punishment for all three delinquents was imprisonment and a hundred lashes in the emperor's presence, but even this did not act as a permanent deterrent to the chief offender Kaukab. For eight years afterwards he fell again into the same trouble, so that he is evidently an incorrigible young man. However, on the second occasion Jahangir was more lenient and after a strict cross-examination he forgave him and allowed him to go his own way.  

Preparedness of the Royal Household and its Main Expense.

Bernier had no access to the official records, and has no definite estimates to offer. Still, from a man of his judgement and balance, even general statements are worth quoting.

The Great Mughal [i.e. Aurangzeb] keeps in Delhi and Agra from two- to three-thousand fine horses, always at hand in case of emergency; eight- or nine-hundred elephants, and a large number of baggage horses, mules and porters, intended to carry the numerous and capacious tents, with their fittings, his wives and women, furniture, kitchen apparatus, Ganges' water, and all the other articles necessary for the camp, which the Mughal has always about him, as in his capital.

The allowance of no prince exceeds the rank of fifty bazari (fifty thousand), that ordinarily granted to the eldest son. At the present time this is Shāh 'Alam, who has an income
of twenty million of rupees.\textsuperscript{56} This prince has in his palace
two thousand women and maintains a court as superb as that of
the king, his father. When these princes once leave the
paternal house, they work and scheme to make themselves friends.
They write secretly to the Hindu princes and the Mahometan
generals, promising them that when they become king they will
raise their allowances. The others close with the bargain, and
if any of these princes mounts the throne, he fancies that
they have been faithful to him.\textsuperscript{57}

Add to this the enormous expenses of the Seraglio, where
the consumption of fine cloths of gold, brocades, silk,
embroideries, pearls, musk, amber and sweet essences is
greater than can be conceived.

Thus, although the Great Mughal be in receipt of an
immense revenue, his expenditure being much in the same
proportion, and if we were to call him a wealthy monarch, it
would be in the sense that a treasurer is to be considered
wealthy who pays with one hand the large sums which he received
with the other.

The Omrahs in the provinces, in the armies and at court,
are very numerous. Bernier claims to have never seen less than
twenty-five to thirty at court,\textsuperscript{58} all of whom were in the receipt
of large incomes, dependent for the amount upon their number
of horses, from one to twelve thousand. It is these Omrahs
who attain to the highest honours and situations of the state at
court, in the provinces, in the armies and who are, as they call
themselves, the Pillars of the Empire.\textsuperscript{59} They maintain the
splendour of the court, and are never seen outdoors but in the
most superb apparel; mounted sometimes on an elephant, sometimes
on horseback, and not infrequently in a paleky attended by many of their cavalry, and by a large body of servants on foot, who take their station in front, and at either side, of their lord, not only to clear the way, but to flap the flies and brush off the dust with tails of peacocks; to carry water to allay the Omrah's thirst, and sometimes account-books and other papers. Every Omrah at court is obliged, under a certain penalty, to repair twice a day to the assembly, for the purpose of paying his respects to the king, at ten or eleven o'clock in the morning, when he is there seated to dispense justice, and at six in the evening. An Omrah must also, in rotation, keep guard in the fortress once every week, during twenty-four hours. He sends thither his bed, carpet, and other furniture; the king supplying him with nothing but his meals. These are received with peculiar ceremony. Thrice the Omrah performs the taslim, the face turned toward the royal apartment; first dropping the hand down to the ground and then lifting it up to the head.

King's Excursions. Whenever the king takes an excursion in his paleky, on an elephant, or in a Taktravan, carried upon the shoulders of eight men relieved from time to time by eight others, all the Omrahs who are not prevented by illness, disabled by age, or exempted by a peculiar office, are bound to accompany him on horseback, exposed to the inclemency of the weather and to suffocating clouds of dust. On every occasion the king is fully sheltered, whether taking the diversion of hunting, marching at the head of his troops, or making his progresses from one city to another. When, however, he confines his hunting to the neighbourhood of the city, visits his country house or repairs to the mosque, he sometimes
dispenses with so large a retinue, and prefers being attended by such Omrahns only as are that day on guard. 64

"Ordinarily there are within the palace two thousand women of different races. Each has her office of special duties, either in attendance on the king, his wives, his daughters, or his concubines. To maintain order among this last class, each one is assigned her own set of rooms, and matrons are placed over them. Each has usually attached to her ten or twelve women servants, who are selected from the above-named women. In addition to these matrons, there are the female superintendents of music and their women players. Among them are some who teach reading and writing to the princesses, and usually what they dictate to them are amorous verses. 65

The way in which the kings are waited on by these women in their palace deserves mention. For, just as the king has officers outside, he has the same among the fair sex within the palace. Among these ladies are some who occupy the same offices that are held by grandees outside; and it is by the mouth of these illustrious persons, when the king does not come forth, that the officials outside receive the orders sent from within. All the persons employed in these offices are carefully selected; they have much wit and judgment, and know all that is passing in the empire. For the officials outside are required to send written reports into the palace of all that the king ought to know. To these reports the women officials reply as directed by that prince. And to carry this out there are eunuchs who take out and bring back the sealed letters written from one side to the other on these matters. 66
The king sits up till midnight, and is continuously occupied with business. He sleeps for three hours only, and on awakening offers up his usual prayers, which occupy an hour and a half. Every year he goes into penitential retirement for forty days, during which he sleeps on the ground, he fasts, he gives alms, the whole to secure from God continuance of victory and the accomplishment of his designs. But, nowadays, being old and his enemies hindering him from undertaking anything, he must perforce remain at rest."

(i.e. Aurangzeb).

However, he never fails every morning to consider and give orders as to what should be done. Thus in the 24 hours his rule is to eat once and sleep three hours. During sleep he is guarded by women slaves, very brave, and highly skilled in the management of bow and other arms. Every day one thousand rupees are disbursed for the expenses of the king's kitchen, and the officials are required to provide therefrom all that is necessary. They have to lay before the prince a fixed number of ragouts and different dishes in vessels of China porcelain placed on gold stands. As a great favour the king sends of these, or of what is left over, to the queens and princesses and the captains of the guard. This honour is always dearly paid for, since the eunuchs who convey the food never fail to get themselves well rewarded. When the king is in an enemy's country, where provisions are dear, the total expense is disregarded. There must always be produced a certain fixed number of ragouts; so much is this the case that on the march there is no control over the expenditure. But in the palace the queens, the princesses, and all the other women have their separate allowances.
In spite of Aurangzeb's having forbidden all music, he nevertheless continues always to entertain in his palaces, for the diversion of the queens and his daughters, several dancing and singing women; and has even conferred special names on their mistresses or superintendents. The expenses of the palace are extraordinary, for they never amount to less than ten millions of rupees. But out of this, the king draws the money required for the sarapans (robes) which he presents to generals and officers.

The Mughal period was a great building era. Only the stronger edifices have survived and are a wonder at this distance of time. But during the period when buildings sprang up all round, new and beautiful, they must have presented a grand and inspiring sight. Of these, the highlights were, of course, the Mughals' palaces and their tombs. The dwelling of a king, rāja or prince was the chief attraction in a capital or a city in which such royal residences were situated. Fortified by a wall and moat, these fortress-palaces were usually situated on the bank of a river. Some of them were situated on rocky eminences "just turning into or overhanging lakes or artificial pieces of water" and thus created a most picturesque combination. These palaces consisted of two parts - inner and outer. The inner part contained the quarters of the queens and the princesses, the private council hall, the retiring rooms, etc., while the outer part comprised the Dīwān-i-ʿAm, the Dīwān-i-Khās, the arsenal, the store-house, etc. The palaces also contained pleasure-gardens, flower gardens, groves, tanks, etc. in their proper places.
The palaces also contained pavilions for witnessing animal fights and for musical entertainments. Stables for horses, elephants, cows, etc. were also provided. Akbar's palaces at Agra, Allahabad, and Lahore may serve as good examples of the Mughal conception of royal palaces. All these palaces had gardens with running water which flowed in channels into reservoirs of stone, jasper and marble. In all the rooms and halls there were fountains and reservoirs of proportionate size.

Conception of the Lahore Fort: This rectangular-shaped palace-fortress was separated longitudinally into two approximately equal spaces, the southward being reserved for the official and service buildings while in the space at the rear were grouped the royal palaces. In between these two parts was a line of buildings acting as a screen. The main features of the buildings at Fathpur-Sikri - the planning, the wide-projecting stones and their supporting brackets for shade and protection from rain, the double roofs domed or vaulted for coldness - are all dictated by considerations of comfort and convenience. The palace enclosure in the Fort of Delhi is symmetrical in its arrangements. It has four parts - a large central quadrangle containing the Ḍīwān-i-'Am, on each side of which are ornamental gardens; and there is a range of marble palaces on one side facing the gardens, the other side commanding an open view over the river. On the outer side the pavilions were closed except for screened windows and other similar openings. Included in this range of buildings were a Hall of Private Audience and a luxurious hammam and between each structure there were wide courts and terraces. The spacious gardens were often elaborate and comprehensive
compositions and were a special feature of the Mughal architectural projects.

AKBAR. The most characteristic product of Akbar's genius is the city of Fathpur Sīkrī, happily preserved almost intact. The central feature is the great mosque built round the tomb of Salīm Chishti. The tomb, which stands in the midst of the courtyard, is of marble inlaid with mother of pearl. The windows contain marble tracery of superb workmanship. The cornice is supported by brackets of elaborate and almost fantastic character, purely Hindu in style, and the glittering white building, seen in the bright light of an Indian winter morning, contrasts vividly with the red sandstone of the mosque itself. On the south side is the gigantic gateway, the Buland Darwāza, erected to commemorate the conquest of Khāndesh in 1601. The whole edifice has an almost indescribable dignity and impressiveness and the sandstone has weathered to a beautiful rose colour. There are numerous other public and private buildings in Fathpur Sīkrī, all of which present features of great interest, but special mention should be made of the Dīwān-i-Khās. A single carved column of red sandstone, surmounted by a gigantic capital, stands in the midst of the chamber. From the capital radiate four railed balconies. Akbar, "like a god in the cup of a lotus flower", seated himself in the middle, with his ministers at the four corners, while the nobles and others admitted to the audience stood below. This singular erection is a striking illustration of the originality of the Emperor's genius; indeed, as Fergusson justly states, the whole city is a romance in stone, such as very few are to be found anywhere; it is a reflex of the mind
of the great man who built it, more distinct than can be obtained from any other source." In the empty palaces, the glorious mosque, the pure white tomb, the baths, the lake, at every turn we realise some memory of the greatest of Indian Emperors. We may even enter his bedroom, the Khwābghān and see the very screens of beautiful stone tracery, the same Persian couplets, the identic ornament in gold and ultramarine on which Akbar feasted his eyes in the long sultry afternoons. Another characteristic work is Agra Fort, a vast structure of red sandstone, with walls seventy feet high and lofty gateways. Jahāngīr's reign was not remarkable for any public buildings on a large scale. The chief architectural remains of his period are Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra, and the tomb of I'timād-ud-Daulah, the father of the Empress Nur Jahan. Akbar's tomb, with its four diminishing storeys or terraces, is a most interesting structure, and was no doubt planned by the great Emperor himself. The design might be seen as a reminiscence, elaborated by Hindu craftsmen, of the ancient Buddhist vihāra. At the summit is the "false tomb", which consists of a block of solid marble carved with flowers and bearing the formulae of the Divine Faith, and Jalli Jalālun. The Emperor's body reposed below, in a high vaulted chamber dimly lighted from above, beneath a white marble sarcophagus. The elegant tomb of I'timād-ud-Daulah is wholly of white marble, elaborately carved, and is decorated with the dainty pietra dura work which is such a feature of the succeeding reign. Shāh Jahān. Under Shāh Jahān Mughal architecture reached its climax. Nothing can be more striking than the contrast between the manly robustness of Akbar's sandstone buildings and the
lavishly ornamented and elaborately inlaid marble work of his grandson. The most famous of all Shāh Jahān's works is the incomparable Tāj Mahāl. The Emperor's dream of a replica on the opposite side of the Jumna, linked by a flying bridge, was never realised. Shāh Jahān built in Agra Fort the most attractive little Moti Masjid, built of delicately veined marble, and entirely unornamented.

In 1638, Shāh Jahān commenced to build for himself a new capital at Delhi, which he named Shāhjāhānābād. The palace is surrounded by a wall of red sandstone. On entering, the visitor finds himself in a vaulted hall like the nave of a gigantic Gothic cathedral. Passing through the Naubat Khānā, where the drums announced the approach of the Imperial Cortege, he arrives at the Dīwān-i-'Am. Beyond this lies the Dīwān-i-Khās. This is a marble pavilion, the fretted pillars richly inlaid with pietra dura work. The ceiling was of crimson, overlaid with gold and silver foliage, and here the Great Mughal, on his Peacock Throne, gave audience in private to princes of the blood, nobles and foreign ambassadors. On the cornices at either end of this superb chamber is the couplet:

Agar fardaus bar ruyi zamin ast,
Hamin ast wa hamin ast wa hamin ast! 

Behind is a maze of buildings which comprise the private apartments of the Emperor and his seraglio. These rooms included the Rang Mahāl, the House of Dreams, and others. An outstanding feature of these rooms is the pierced marble screens between them. One doorway, which bears above it the Scales of Justice inlaid in gold, is especially famous. It
is somewhat of a relief after the dazzling and voluptuous splendours of the palace to turn to Shāh Jahān's two other great buildings, the Jāmi' Masjid86 and Jahāngīr's tomb at Shahdara. The Jāmi' Masjid, intended as a centre of public worship for the populace of the capital, is a dignified and nobly-proportioned structure, admirably suited for its purpose. The Mughal love of nature is already well discussed. Bābur and his descendants revelled in trees and flowers and landscape-gardening as a favourite diversion. A Muhammadan nobleman was wont to plan for himself a Bārādār87 where he could take his ease after the heat of the day. It usually stood in the midst of a formal garden, laid out in geometrical patterns. In a hot, dry country such as India, water was essential and the garden was well supplied with fountains, artificial cascades, and marble channels, and basins, and planted with shade and fruit trees. Jahāngīr and his consort, the Empress Nur Jāhān, laid out gardens wherever they stayed. Jahāngīr, in his Memoirs constantly reverts to the subject and records the intense pleasure which he derived from them. The Shālimār, Nishāt, and other gardens in Kashmir are perhaps the best examples of the Mughal gardener's art.88

Palace Furnishings

Royal Thrones: Thrones have always served as the usual seat for the Indian kings. Besides the imperial thrones in the Darbār, it was customary to have one provided in every room at the palace. A nicely designed golden foot-stool was invariably placed beneath the throne.89 Mughal emperors spent large sums of money on design and construction of their golden thrones, which were used like chairs. Whenever the king visited any of
his subjects some smaller throne usually moved ahead of him. Marble platforms were usually constructed in the courtyards and in the lawns of the royal palaces for seating purposes.

**Jahāṅgīr's Throne.** Early in 1617 a consignment of miscellaneous articles for presentation to the emperor arrived and the cases were opened at a darbār held for this occasion. A few of these pictures travelled about with the emperor, being always given a prominent place in his council chamber, and two of them may be identified occupying panels on the wall behind Jahāṅgīr's throne in "The Emperor Jahāṅgīr celebrating Ab-Fāshi". Apart from the two English portraits shown in the background, the throne on which the emperor is seated was largely the handiwork of a European. It was a present from I'timād-ud-Daulah, the father of Jahāṅgīr's famous consort Nūr-Jahān, and he is shown in a prominent place in the picture. The throne was described by the emperor himself in 1619 as "of gold and silver, much ornamented and decorated, the supports of which were in the form of tigers. It had been completed with great assiduity in the space of three years, and was made at the cost of R.450,000. This throne had been made by a skilful European of the name of Hunarmand, who had no rival in the arts of a goldsmith and a jeweller, and in all sorts of skill. "He had made it very well, and I gave him this name." As a reward he was presented with 3,000 darb, a horse and an elephant. A glance at the picture will show that the throne is of unusual construction, and one of its principal accessories, the overhead canopy decorated with gold embroidery on velvet, is by its design presumably of Italian manufacture.
Shāh Jahān - Magnificent though the Mughal palace was when this emperor was in his prime, as paintings of the time definitely prove, the building itself served merely as the casket for a most precious jewel which was contained therein. The casket still remains, but the jewel, represented by one of the most valuable works of art ever constructed, namely, the famous Peacock Throne, has disappeared. This throne on which the emperor sat in state in his palace of splendour, was emblematic of his majesty and pride.

Peacock Throne - Careful descriptions of this throne, by experts who saw it, have been preserved, while, what is even more important, accurate copies of it appear in numerous miniature paintings of the period. A picture depicting this ornate article of state shows Shāh Jahān occupying it as a comparatively young man, probably not long after 1628. Tavernier, the well-known French jeweller inspected it in 1655 and minutely recorded what he saw. The canopy was supported by twelve golden pillars encrusted with precious stones. The canopy itself was covered with diamonds and pearls, with a fringe of pearls all around. On the quadrangular-shaped dome a peacock is to be seen with elevated tail made of blue sapphires and other coloured stones, the body being of gold inlaid with precious stones, containing a large ruby in front of the breast, from whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of fifty carats or thereabouts, and of a somewhat yellow water. It must be realized that the painting shows two peacocks. The peacocks stand with spreading tails, are painted a deep blue, with a pearl hanging from the breast of each; Tavernier valued the whole at six million pounds sterling.
Remarkable in its design, and extraordinarily rich in its construction, the throne of the "Great Moguls" was, especially when seen in situ, with the gorgeously ornamented pillared hall at its background.

**Chairs.** The two Indian modes of sitting (cross-legged or knees bent inwards - the latter posture was usually adopted by Muhammadans in the Mughal darbār) did not necessitate chairs which were justifiably regarded in Mughal days as superfluous and uncomfortable. Leaving aside even that, there was no place for them in the royal darbār at all, including the highest dignitaries of the state, ambassadors from foreign lands and even princes of the blood royal except the privileged few, had to keep standing. Several contemporary paintings depict Mughal kings and even their nobles sitting on chairs having arms and high backs. The seats, sometimes cushioned, were always wider than those of today. The legs of the chairs were sometimes carved out and the feet were connected by wooden planks. Some of them had their chairs covered with ivory. Couches usually made of precious wood or even metals were well cushioned with costly carpets and rugs. Monserrate writes "Akbar generally sits with cross-legs upon a couch covered with scarlet rugs." Sometimes made of wood, they had diamond-set handles with garlands of flowers on them. **Bedsteads.** The aristocracy were very particular about their bedsteads which were lavishly ornamented with gold, silver, or even with jewels and diamonds. Gilt beds have also been mentioned by Bernier, and a bedstead of ivory inlaid with gold.
Carpets, Rugs and Spreads. Akbar caused great improvements to be made in the carpet-weaving industry as a result of which wonderful varieties and charming textures were produced. Terry considered Indian carpets to be as good as those made in Turkey or Persia. Lahore and Kashmir carpets were particularly famous.

The carpets are preserved in the Asar Maḥal, an old palace in Bijapur. Gilims and takya namdas were in great demand among the nobles who had them imported from Kabul and Persia. Srinagar and Masulipatam were particularly renowned for their fabrics, fine closely woven and beautifully designed rugs. The "Indian Hunting Rug" of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts is one of the best carpets now extant in the world. It was manufactured in 1640 AD. Big, cylindrical cushions were a part of the furniture and no drawing room could be considered as complete without them.

Whether on the throne, in the chair, or even on the carpeted floor, cushions were there to support one's back and even sides if necessary. Mughal nobles have been depicted propped up by large cushions in innumerable contemporary paintings. The king and nobles used to import costly tapestry hangings from abroad.

Drawing Room of a Noble. Bernier's description of the dīwān khanah of a noble is quite informative. The gilt ceiling of the drawing room as well as the walls were exquisitely painted. The floor, covered with a carpet some four inches in thickness, had spread over it a white cloth in summer and a silk carpet in winter. Rugs, too, were used to enhance
its beauty. One or two mattresses with fine coverings quilted to look like flowers and ornamented with delicate silk embroidery interspersed with gold and silver were also laid at some conspicuous corner where distinguished visitors were accommodated. There was a big pillow of brocade at each of these mattresses while many more of velvet or flowered satin were placed round the room. Beautiful porcelain vases and flower pots decorated the several well-cut and well-proportioned niches at the sides of the room. Chinaware was also used for decorative purposes in Mughal interiors. 107

Jahāngīr also refers to the use of Chinese porcelain in the Tūzuk. Sir Thomas Roe, who was conscious of its growing popularity, 108 relates how a Dutch ambassador brought a nice present of Chinaware"s Sanders, parrots and cloves for the emperor." 109

Fans. Fans have been in use in India from time immemorial. Its objects are "to relieve the effects of heat, sweating, thirst, fainting and excess of fatigue, besides fanning the fire - sacred fire."110 During its long history the fan has been made of palm-leaf, ivory, silver filigree, as well as of vellum, silk, tulle, lace, kid, chicken skin, paper and of a score of other materials. The emperors and the nobles must have used diamond-studded fans fitted with golden handles. Swinging Fans. There is also a reference to the use of swinging fans in the houses of the nobles. Usually made of linen, they could be pulled by way of a string from the outside.
**Mughal Gardens.** From very early times flowers and plants have been admired and cultivated in India. It was from the North, from Central Asia and Persia, that the splendid garden traditions were introduced into India, taking root there under the various Mohammedan conquerors and developing into a native style which culminated in the beautiful Kashmir gardens built by the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr and his Persian wife, the empress Nūr Jahan.

The soul of an Eastern garden is centred in the running water which alone makes the other beauties possible. Thus the need of irrigation dictated the whole plan and arrangement of these Eastern enclosures; and herein they differ from the great European garden with which, at first sight, they seem to have so much in common, as in a hilly situation such as in the Nishat Bagh, which rises in grand imposing terraces from the shores of the Dal Lake in Kashmir. While in the villa garden of Italy the beautiful fountains and waterfalls are only one of the principal adornments, in these Eastern baghs the water is the very life and soul, the *raison d'être*, of the garden itself.

The Persians, whenever possible, built their gardens on a gentle slope, and the garden was so constructed that two streams of crystal-like water met in the front of the building and formed an immense lake, on the surface of which numerous aquatic birds such as swans and geese disported themselves. Below this lake there were seven waterfalls, just as there are seven planets; and below these again there was a second lake of a smaller size and a superb gateway decorated with blue tiles. Between the waterfalls jets of water spouted up into
the air so high that the falling spray resembled masses of diamonds. And often, when one reclined in the beautiful tiled room, the splash of the jets of water and the murmur of the stream hurrying down the terraced garden between rose bushes, backed by weeping willows, planes, acacias, cypresses, and every other description of tree, one is moved strangely and is induced to weep from pure joy, and then having been lulled to sleep by the overpowering sense of beauty and the murmur of the running water. Two other traits peculiar to these old Persian gardens may be mentioned; the one of so constructing the canals and tanks as to keep the water brimming to the level of the paths of either hand; the other, a charming custom of paving the shallow water courses with brilliant blue tiles, the clear rivulets running in and out between the gloom of the old cypress avenues reflecting even a deeper blue than the cloudless sky above them.

The Mughal gardens, copied from the earlier gardens of Turkestan and Persia, are invariably square or rectangular in shape, their area being divided into a series of smaller square parterres. A high wall, adorned with serrated battlements and pierced by a lofty entrance gateway, encircles the garden. These impressing entrances are a great feature of the Mughal style, and in the larger gardens there are always four main gateways, one in the centre of each wall, while the angles of the outer walls are marked by small octagonal buildings.

The water runs in a trim stone- or brick-edged canal down the whole length of the enclosure, falling from level to level in smooth cascades, or rushing in a tumult of white foam over carved chaddars. Below many of these waterfalls the
canal flows into a hauz usually studded with numerous small fountains. The principal pavilion was often placed in the centre of the largest of these sheets of water, forming a cool, airy retreat from the rays of the midday sun, where the inmates of the garden might be lulled to sleep by the roar of the cascades, while the misty spray of the fountains, drifting in through the arches of the building, tempered the heat of a burning noontide: water pavilion, such as the exquisite black marble bāradārī in the harem garden of the Kashmir Shalimar.

In nearly all the larger gardens side-canals were added, leading out from the principal tanks and terminating in architectural features such as bāradārīs built into the wall, raised platforms, or gateways.

The trees were planted to carry out and emphasize the general lines of the garden very much where the planes and cypress trees formed the background to the rose bushes and flowers bordering the stream. Round the outer walls avenues of trees were also planted, while the square plots intersected by the watercourses were filled with fruit trees and elaborate parterres of flowers. There were shady walks, pergolas of vines and flowers; here and there were open squares of turf shaded by large trees planted at the corners, or having one central chenar or mango tree surrounded by a raised platform of masonry or grass, which formed an open space for feasts and gatherings such as the Mughals loved. Here they could recline at ease on the soft turf, or, seated on brilliantly coloured carpets, enjoy the charm of conversation and the hookah, and indulge in musical parties, or while away the cool evenings with recitations from the favourite Persian and Turki poets.
All the finest Mughal gardens or their ruins are found in beautiful situations centring round a hillside spring, like the gardens of Achibal, Vernag, Wāh and Pinjor; or else built across a narrow ravine or valley through which a constant stream of water flows, such as the Kashmirī Shalimar Bagh.

Ram Bagh: on the left bank of Jumna. It was a royal garden in the time of Jahāngīr; one of the numerous palaces of the empress Nūr Jāhān. It is astonishing to find how many of the famous Mughal gardens throughout Northern India and Kashmir owe their inception to, or were directly inspired by, the taste and love of natural scenery and flowers of this royal lady. In these terrace pleasure-grounds the main pavilion, the climax of the garden, is in nearly every case placed either on the topmost terrace, from which wide views are visible, or else on the lowest embankment to enjoy the long vista up the line of dancing, sparkling waterfalls and fountains.

The Sikandra garden may be taken as a type of the Mughal gardens of the plains. Sikandra is laid out on this plan of the cosmic cross, in a huge square enclosure with high battlemented walls. In the midst, raised on a wide platform, stands the mausoleum, on each side of which are tanks with central fountains supplying the water for the narrow canals which runs down the centre of the raised stone pathways.

Across the Jumna river, and on the same side as the Ram Bagh, is the tomb of I’timād-ud-Daulah,114 one of the most beautiful of all the Mughal garden-tombs. This exquisite
mausoleum, the first example of inlaid marble work in a style directly developed from the Persian tile-mosaics, was raised by the empress Nūr Jahān to the memory of her father, Mirza Chiyas Beg. Her remarkable Persian - or Turki, according to another account - family, had such an influence on Mughal art during its most brilliant period, that their relationships are worth remembering. Chiyas Beg, who became Lord High Treasurer of Jahāngīr, and afterwards Wazīr, had left his home to seek his fortune at the court of Akbar, where there were already relatives of his; and with him came his wife, his son, and an infant daughter born on the journey to Lahore. A brilliant man and genial scholar, he quickly advanced to power and his little daughter, who inherited much of his ability, as well as his love for art, later became the famous empress Nūr Jahān. She and her brother, Āsaf Khān, who, in his turn, became Wazīr, completely ruled the empire in the closing days of Jahāngīr; while Āsaf Khān's daughter was the Mumtāz Maḥal, the Crown of the Palace, whose love inspired the building of the Tāj Maḥal. This tomb of the founder of the family shows plainly their influence on the art of their day; the inlaid work with its design of vases, fruits, drinking cups and cypress trees repeating in marble all the familiar motives of Persian tile-mosaic.

But still a Ruby kindles in the Vine,
And many a Garden by the Water blows.  
OMAR KHAYYĀM

ANGURI BAGH This garden lies in front of the Khās Maḥal and is enclosed on three sides by arcades. It was the principal square of the zenana apartments and is a typical specimen of the old Mughal garden, laid out in geometrical stone-edged parterres, with four terraced walks radiating from a central
chabutra, with a raised fountain tank. A stone trellis enclosed the flower-beds, but the name of Anguri Bagh derived from the vine pattern decoration in precious stones which Shāh Jahān constructed at enormous cost in the corner near the Jasmine Tower.

From Mughal miniature paintings which abundantly represented both plants and gardens some idea can be gathered of the planting of these paradise gardens, whose beauty formed the chief symbolic and artistic inspiration of Mughal decorative art.

This idea of Paradise underlay the whole artistic world of Mughal craftsmen, builder and artist. It included the angels and houris, the gentle beasts, the bright birds, and glittering fishes whose home it was and who all lived together in perfect harmony; as well as the more familiar forms of trees and fruits and flowers and running waters. Whatever building or smaller work of art we turn to, the same garden motives come back, as in the beautiful inlaid flower-bed dados of the Private Hall of Audience beyond the Anguri Bagh. The miniature portraits of Emperors and their nobles often show a garden background, and in nearly every case the figure holds in one hand a sweet-scented garden flower, [Aurangzeb too] some rose or narcissus painted with precise, delicious skill.

If there is a Paradise on Earth, it is Here, it is Here. 

SADI

Not only the Nightingale in the Rose-bushes sings his hymn of praise, But every Thorn is itself a voice of adoration to the Deity. 

SADI
All good garden designers, whether English, Italian, Indian, or Japanese, have recognised one simple truth - to enjoy a garden one must walk. A garden is for leisurely delights, delicate scents, delightful harmonies of colour, open spaces for games, and maybe clear reservoirs to swim in; but in India, where the chosen and recurrent theme of every art is the beauty of contemplation, the garden should indeed above all be a place of cool restfulness for tired eyes and minds. The beautiful canals, the cosmic cross, the long lines of the great water-ways and paths, hedged in by trees, create a wonderful sense of stately dignity and peace, while the tranquil breadth of water repeats the flowers, trees and buildings with a double magic charm, till the whole garden seems full of that mysterious beauty, that comes of the sense of calm continuance. That one day should be like another, one life the echo of another life.

Within the precincts of the palace in the Delhi Fortress there are, apart from others, two larger gardens, called, respectively, the Life-Giving Garden, and the Mahtab Bagh. One must have passed a long hot summer in the Indian plains to realise the full delight of this wellnamed garden - the joy of the life-giving dewy mornings, of the vivid transparency of the fresh opening flowers, and of the swim in the fountain-sprinkled pool; or the vast relief of the one cool hour before the daylight dies, when the grey haze steals over the fields below the river terrace, where the fountain play and the creamy marble glows suffused with magic life. This was the Daylight Garden; while beyond, seen through its central gateway, lay the Moonlight Court - dark trees and a white night garden full of perfumes.
Kashmir, the state which outweighed the whole Indian Empire in the estimation of the Emperor Jahāṅgīr, must have been particularly dear to the Mughals reminding them as it did of their cool northern home-country. Kashmir, however, is not very large, consisting of one main valley ninety miles long by twenty-five miles broad, completely encircled by high mountains, and when the Mughal Emperors visited it, the hardships of transport and of securing provisions, as well as the actual perils of the road over the mountain passes, made it necessary to restrict the number of the Court as far as possible. Only nobles of the first rank were permitted to accompany the Emperor and Empress. What intrigues and heart-burnings there must have been over the question of privilege, since courtiers not in favour were ordered to stop short at the foot of the great mountains in the suffocating heat of the Bember ravine.

Towards Kashmir's Gardens: Great is one's delight, to forget the fatigue of a long trip up to the Jhelum ravine, as we discover one by one the spring flowers of the Tāj Mahal's decoration. First came tulips, high up on the slopes of the Murree Hills, growing in little patches where the sun could reach them through the fir trees, dainty little cream-coloured flowers, with pointed petals streaked on the outer sides with carmine. Lower, the hillsides were empty as yet, but down in the ravine by the river the lilies were coming out, pink in colour, with long reed-like leaves, growing in tufts in crevices of the limestone cliffs, tantalisingly out of reach. Then, as the rocks receded and the valley grew more wooded, splendid crown-imperials shot up through the mossy carpet strewn with the brown of last year's leaves, magnificent great
red bells, which glowed between the bare mauve twigs and russet buds of the undergrowth. One thought each flower passed was the loveliest of all, but the craftsman who crowned the crescent of the Tāj Maḥal with the iris knew best, for the memory of other lilies fades before the blue Kashmir iris; when the valley opened out, blue lakes and pools or iris, between a golden land of mustard field and reefs of bright green grass, stretching away into the gloomy deep-blue distance of the lower mountain chains, above which towered the cloud-wreathed summits of the snowy Pir Panjal. Many of these blossoms reappear inlaid on the actual tombs of Mumtaz Maḥal and Shāh Jahān and they decorate the famous screen which surrounds the graves.

The Mughals, with their love of scenery and genius for garden-building, rarely chose a better site than the shores of this loveliest and loneliest of all the Kashmir lakes, the Manasbal Lake.

Akbar was the first emperor to enter Kashmir. He built the fort at Srinagar called Hari Parbat and planned a large garden not far away on the shores of the Dal, that beautiful lake which lies between the city and the mountain amphitheatre to the North of Srinagar. The Nisim Bagh, Akbar's garden, stands in a fine open position well raised above the lake; and takes its name from the cool breezes that blow all day long under its trees. The avenues of magnificent chenars with which it is closely planted must have been added long after the garden was laid out, if 'Ali Mardan Kān was the first to introduce these trees into the country. Fully grown they resemble heavy-foliaged sycamore with serrated leaves and
smooth, silvery branches. They were, and are, greatly prized for their size and beauty, and more especially for their dense shade. They are usually planted at the four points of a square so as to shade a plot of ground all day long, and thus formed a series of halting-places between one camp and the next. Now green turf covers the ruined masonry terraces of the Nisim Bagh, which rise grandly from the water but the trees rise in their prime and the view from under their boughs across the blue expanse of the lake, crowned by the snow-streaked Mahadev, remains as enchanting as when Akbar chose this site for the first Mughal garden in Kashmir.

The famed Shalimar Bagh lies at the far end of the Dal Lake. The emperor Jahāngīr laid out a garden on an old garden site in the year 1619. A canal about a mile in length and twelve yards broad, runs through the marshy swamps, the willow groves, and the rice-fields that fringe the lower end of the lake, connecting the garden with the deep open water. On each side there are broad green paths overshadowed by large chenars; the garden was divided, as usual in royal pleasure-grounds, into three separate parts - the outer garden, the central or emperor's garden, and last and most beautiful of the three, the garden for the special use of the Empress and her ladies.

The outer, or public, garden, starting with the grand canal leading from the lake, terminates at the first large pavilion, the Dīwān-i-'Am. The small black marble throne still stands over the waterfall in the centre of the canal which flows through the building into the tank below. From time to time this garden was thrown open to the people so that they might see the emperor enthroned in his Hall of
Public Audience. The second garden is somewhat larger, consisting of two shallow terraces with the Diwān-i-Khās in the centre. On the north-west boundary of this enclosure are the royal bathrooms.

At the next wall, the little guard-rooms that flank the entrance to the ladies' garden, the whole effect culminates with the beautiful black marble pavilion built by Shāh Jahān, which stands in the midst of its fountain spray; the green glitter of the water shining in the smooth, polished marble, the deep, rich tone of which is repeated in the old cypress trees. Round this bārādārī the whole colour and perfume of the garden is concentrated, with the shows of Mahadev for a background. How well the Mughals understood the principle that the garden, like every work of art, should have a climax. This unique pavilion is surrounded on every side by a series of cascades, and at night when the lamps are lighted in the little arched recesses behind the shining waterfalls, it is even more fairy-like than by day.

When Bernier visited Kashmir the gardens were laid out in regular trellised walks and generally surrounded by the large-leafed aspen, planted at intervals of two feet. Possibly pergolas were one of the oldest forms of garden decoration.

The Nishat Bagh: The equally beautiful garden on the Dal Lake built by Āsaf Khān, Nūr Jahān's brother; the Nishat Bagh, true to its name, is the gayest of all Mughal gardens. Its twelve terraces, one for each sign of the zodiac, rise dramatically higher and higher up the mountainside from the eastern shore of the lake.
The stream tears foaming down the carved cascades, fountains play in every tank and watercourse, filling the garden with their joyous life and movement. The flower-beds on these sunny terraces blaze with colour — roses, lilies, geraniums, asters, gorgeous tall-growing zinnias, and feathery cosmos, pink and white. Beautiful at all times, when autumn lights up the poplars in clear gold and the big chenars burn red against the dark blue rocky background, there are few more brilliant, more breathlessly entrancing sights than this view of Āsaf Khān's Garden of Gladness.

When Shāh Jahān was in Kashmīr in 1633, he visited this garden. Its high terraces, and wonderful views of lake and mountains, so delighted him that he at once decided that Nishat Bagh was altogether too splendid a garden for a subject, even though that subject was his own prime-minister.

The Nishat Bagh, like other gardens of its size, was planted with avenues of cypress and fruit trees. On two of the terraces green depressions mark the sites of former parterres. With these details the garden will be even more lovely; when roses are trained down the sides of the walls, and soften the edges of the steps by the water, repeating the motive of the cascades they enclose. Taking a hint from early Mughal miniatures, where the garden is "flower-scattered" like some picture by Sandro Botticelli, white iris still light up distant corners of the garden with their frail beauty. Purple and mauve iris mass near the lilac bushes; narcissus and daffodils planted under apple and quince trees; and the soft turf under the snowy pear and plum trees blaze with crown-imperials and the scarlet Kashmīr tulips. The
Mughal flowers were spring flowers; but roses, carnations, jasmine, hollyhocks, delphiniums, peonies, and pinks bloomed in summer.

The bārādari on the third terrace of the Nishat Bagh is a two-storied Kashmir structure standing on the stone foundations of an earlier building. The lower floor is enclosed on two sides by wooden-latticed windows. In the middle there is a reservoir with five fountains, the one on the centre being the only old stone fountain left in the garden. On a summer day there are few more attractive rooms than the fountain hall of this Kashmir garden house. The gay colours of the carved woodwork shine through the spray in delightful contrast to the dull green running water. Through a latticed arch a glimpse is caught of the brilliant garden terraces and their waterfalls flashing white against the mountain side. Looking out over the lake which shimmers below in the sunshine, the views of the valley are bounded by faint snow-capped peaks, the far country of the Pir Panjal.

Lotus time comes in July, when the great flowers and leaves grow on their slender stalks three or four feet from the surface of the lake, and all the world goes out to gaze on the bright pink lotus blooms. To see these flowers in perfection one must start at dawn, before the sun has climbed the mountain crags, and row out towards the Nishat Bagh, where the lakeside gardens are lost in dim blue shadows and the surface of the water is pearly grey and mauve. Then forcing the light shikara through the sweeping freshness of the large leaves until the boat is almost lost among them, wait till the sun wakes the lotus buds and the rose-dyed petal
tips disclose the golden heart.

High up in a hollow of the mountains which overlook the lotus fields of the Dal Lake is the Chashma Shahi Bagh. The Chashma Shahi Bagh shows that a Mughal garden need not necessarily be large to prove attractive. The copious spring round which it is built bubbles up in a large stone vase in the hall of the upper pavilion. A stone Chabutra with a shallow carved fountain basin, such as those at Hazrat Bal, is the feature of the upper terrace. A tiny carved water-chute brings the narrow canal rippling down three feet to the second terrace, in the centre of which is a tank with a single fountain jet; the water running on through another pavilion at the end of the garden. Walking through the hall to the arched openings overlooking the Dal, where wall is bounded by a black marble rail, the lower garden comes as a complete surprise. The narrow water-chute slopes sharply down eighteen or more feet to a second enclosure, about half the size of the upper garden. In the centre is a reservoir with five fountain jets.

Alas that Spring should vanish with the Rose!
That Youth's sweet-scented Manuscript should close!
The Nightingale that in the bushes sang,
Ah, whence, and whither flown again, who knows!

Omar Khayyām

Morning in the Shadow of the Nishat Bagh, Evening in the Breezes of the Nisim. Shalimar and its Tulip Fields, these are the Places of Pleasure in Kashmir and none else.

Here were the roses and pearl-flowered jasmine, with zinnias and marigolds, scattered among them, leaning over the water's edge to kiss their own reflections.

Sois content des fleurs, des fruits, même des feuilles,
Si dans ton jardin à toi tu les cueilles.

Edmond Rostand.
Though colour counts for much in an Indian garden, perfume counts for more. To inhale a scented leaf on waking in the morning is to restore freshness and health - surely a pleasanter prescription would be hard to find. Water, trees, fruit, and perfumed flowers - this is the order of a Mughal garden; then come the birds. No conception of a Hindu or Muslem Paradise is possible without their bright daintiness and sweet little songs. The birds, too, for all their gaiety, are wise - shall we not rather say are gay because they are wise?

The history of the Mughal garden is the history of other Mughal arts.

The courtly manners and the elaborate etiquette of the Muslim upper classes had a great effect on foreign visitors. In social gatherings they spoke in a very low voice with much order, moderation, gravity, and sweetness. Betel and betelnut were presented to the visitors, and they were escorted with much civility at the time of departure. Rigid forms were observed at meals.

Court Etiquette. Elaborate rules had been laid down regarding appearance, salutation and conduct in the darbar. Every noble at the court was obliged to attend the darbar twice daily. As a general rule, barring a few specially privileged notables or princes of the royal blood, none could dare to sit in the court. The highest state dignitaries, ambassadors from foreign lands and even dethroned princes seeking military or financial aid, were no exception to it. When the ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, demanded a chair, he was told that "none has ever sat in this place".

The princes stood within a few yards of the royal
throne. Next came the most favoured grades who stood within an enclosure of silver railings. The red-painted wooden railing enclosure was meant for the lesser mansabdars. No one was permitted to leave the darbār, till the king had retired. The king was addressed as Hazrat Salamat, Qiblah-Din-wa-Dunia, Qiblah-i-Din-i-Jahān, Alam Panah, etc. Aurangzeb was called Pir-i-Dastgir. The king would reply in a dignified and majestic tone.

Kurnish and Taslim. Kurnish and Taslim have been mentioned by Abul Fazl as the recognized modes of salutation to the king. Kurnish consisted in placing the palm of the right hand on the forehead and bending down the head. While offering taslim, the person placed the back of his right hand on the ground, raised it slowly till he stood erect when he put the palm of his hand on the top of his head. After raising the hand from the ground it was usual to place it on the breast before taking it to the forehead. It was the accepted custom, as Bābur relates, to kneel thrice before the king upon taking leave, or upon presentation, or upon receiving a mansab, a jāgīr, or a dress of honour, or an elephant or a horse but only once on all other occasions. These modes of salutations were strictly reserved for the king during Akbar's reign. Taslim, however, became a common mode of greeting among nobles during the succeeding reigns but Aurangzeb forbade it in April 1670 and substituted instead "Salam-alekum".

Sijdah. As a religious observation the prostration is on seven members; on the forehead, the two hands, the two knees and the toes of both feet. Akbar, the founder of
Dīn-i-Ilāhī, introduced another salutation called Sijdah, perhaps at the insistence of his friends, admirers and disciples.\(^\text{139}\) As it consisted in bowing down the forehead to the earth, it was looked upon as man-worship by the orthodox.\(^\text{140}\) 'Azīz Koka hated this custom and was reluctant to attend the court. Akbar thought it wise to forbid this practice in Darbār-i-Am, but allowed it in private assemblies. This custom appears to have been continued during the reign of Jahāngīr when the subjects prostrated themselves before the king in grateful return for any royal favours conferred on them and also on receipt of royal mandates.\(^\text{Zamīnbas}\)\(^\text{141}\) Shāh Jahān introduced the practice of Zamīnbas which was also abandoned after some time and the usual mode of salutation by bowing and touching the head was restored with the addition that it was to be observed not less than four times. Bernier describes how this custom was observed by all the ambassadors when attending the Mughal\(^\text{142}\) court, but the Persian ambassador would not do so in spite of all the machinations of Shāh Jahān. Aurangzeb completely did away with these customs and ordered that the usual mode of salutation, "as-Salam-alekum" be observed. Defection, if any, was immediately detected and the offenders were suitably castigated. Aurangzeb was highly displeased when Zulfiqar Khān's knees touched the royal throne while he was bowing to kiss the emperor's toe. The Khān was ordered to attend the court for three days with spectacles on as "he had forgotten the court etiquette due to long absence."
Charity of Mughal Kings. Mughal kings were very particular in giving away a large sum of money in charity. Akbar had fixed daily, monthly and yearly, allowances for the deserving.\textsuperscript{143} Abu'l-Fazl writes that a crore of dams was kept ready in the audience hall for distribution among the poor and needy.\textsuperscript{144} Money and bread were freely distributed to the poor on the fulfilment of a desire such as the birth of a son.\textsuperscript{145} Festivals like Nauroz, Salgirah, Ids, Shab-i-Barat, etc. were the special occasions for a king to show his generosity, and Mughal emperors were never found lacking.

Respect shown to elders. The Mughals greeted their elders with the utmost respect. Akbar had just gone to bed when his aunt Nigar Khanum arrived. Half asleep he at once got up and saluted her.\textsuperscript{146} Careri relates how sixty-five years old Shāh 'Alam alighted from his horse at the sight of his father Aurangzeb and paid his respects. On receiving a letter from Jahāngīr, Khurram, even when in rebellion, kissed and lifted it to his eyes and head, while reading he bowed down at every word. At an interview the prince, according to etiquette, would walk round the emperor twice and present nazar and nisar to him. How a Mughal king bade good-bye to his son going out on an expedition or welcomed him on his victorious return are very well illustrated in various paintings of the period.\textsuperscript{147}

While the king embraces his son out of paternal affection, the latter bows his head with all respect.

The craving for a male offspring was quite intense in a Muhammadan\textsuperscript{148} who often employed various devices to achieve that end. Emperor Akbar did not hesitate to take a vow of undertaking an arduous journey to Ajmer, the shrine
of Khwāja Muḥnūʿ-d-dīn Chishtī, if he was blessed with a son. Only the ladies of the seraglio would celebrate the birth of a princess while the whole court and even the Empire took part in the jubilations if a prince was born. There were festivities for seven days on the birth of Jahāngīr.

Superstitions attending a child's birth in Mughal days.

On pregnancy, it was thought to be a good augury to change the residence; Salīm's mother was sent from Agra to Shaikh's house at Fathpur Sīkri. Manucci relates the peculiar custom of cord-cutting followed in the royal family. The cord was cut by means of a thread and put in a small bag which was kept under the child's pillow with certain cabalistic writings on the bag for forty days.

Birthday Anniversaries  Birthday anniversaries were celebrated by the rich with great rejoicings. It was the usual custom to add a knot each year to a yellow silken or cotton string given to the child on his birth. The birthday of the ruling monarch was celebrated throughout the Empire with great pomp and show. From the time of Humāyūn onwards on this occasion, the Emperor was weighed against certain precious metals and articles which were given away in charity. Aurangzeb stopped this practice in the fifty-first year of his reign. The princes were also weighed on the solar anniversaries of their birth.

Fashion.  Fashion, in appearance as well as in dress, is very noticeable in Mughal portraits. The courtiers, as at all times and in all countries, followed the lead of the head of the state, and many followed the emperor even to the minutest detail. Such fashions, it may be observed, were not always
voluntary, as Akbar issued certain orders on the subject which, at any rate for a time, were sedulously followed. Thus the connoisseur is better able to decide as to which historic period does the picture belong. In head-dress, the facial hair, the shape of the tunic, and in footwear, the majority of the princes and nobles copied the king; and as each sovereign had his own ideas on the subject of personal appearance, these were changed in each reign. It is interesting to note how Jahāngīr's vanity led him always to wear pearls in his ears, and how the custom was ingenuously imitated by many of his officials, and by all those who wished to be considered in the height of fashion and how in the succeeding reign the shaven chin became unfashionable, as Shāh Jahān preferred a well-trimmed beard.

The outstanding feature of these portrait pictures is the colour, provided by the richness of the costume and the head-dress. The garments of the upper classes were fashioned out of the kinkhābe for which the Indian weaver was famous. These had schemes of mauve and apple-green, rose and orange, which a free use of gold blended into a luxurious harmony. Sumounting the head was the plumed and jewelled turban with pearls and jewelled ornaments around the neck.

Court Customs. Jahāngīr was as fond of portraiture as his father, and he was certainly the most frequently painted member of the dynasty. There are innumerable likenesses of him from babyhood until he became a flabby and rather dissipated elderly man. One reason why so many pictures of Jahāngīr exist is because he instituted the custom of presentation portraits, which he gave to all those whom he wished to honour. The English ambassador Roe was the recipient of one
of these pictorial favours, which were given out to all high officials who came to the court. Jahāngīr was also the inventor of the "portrait jewel," and used to make his courtiers wear miniatures of himself, mounted as a brooch and attached to the front of their turbans. Shāh Jahān copied his father in both these fashions. On the painting "The Emperor Shāh Jahān Receiving a Persian Embassy" a magnifying glass reveals several of those present at the darbār wearing pendants and brooches containing minute portraits of the emperor.

There is extreme fondness of scents and flowers - they disburse a great deal for essences of many kinds - for rosewater and for scented oils distilled from different flowers. Besides all that expense, there is the betel, which is always in their mouths. It must also be noted that these are the daily expenses, to which must be added the continual purchases made of precious stones. From this cause the goldsmiths are almost continually busy with the making of ornaments. The best and the most costly of their productions are for the king's person, the queens, and the princesses.¹⁵⁷

The latter make it one of their diversions to examine and show to others their jewellry. The things are brought on great trays of gold. These ladies keep their rubies in form of strings pierced and together just like pearls and in order not to diminish their size and weight, for they know quite well that no-one but themselves would be able to wear them and, on the other hand, they have no need to sell them. Thus, they do not mind their being pierced. They wear these necklaces of jewels like scarves, on both shoulders, added to three strings of pearls on each side. Usually they have also three to five
rows of pearls hanging from their neck, coming down as far as the lower part of the stomach. Upon the middle of the head is a bunch of pearls which hangs down as far as the centre of the forehead, with a valuable ornament of costly stones formed into the shape of the sun, or moon, or some star, or at times imitating different flowers. This suits them exceedingly well. On the right side they have a little round ornament, in which is a small ruby inserted between two pearls. In their ears are valuable stones, round the neck large pearls or strings of precious stones, and over these a valuable ornament having in its centre a big diamond, or ruby, or emerald, or sapphire, and round it huge pearls.158

They wear on their arms, above the elbow, costly armlets two inches wide, enriched on the surface with stones, and having small bunches of pearls depending from them. At their wrists are very rich bracelets, or bands of pearls, which usually go round nine or twelve times. On their fingers are valuable rings, and on the right thumb there is always a ring, where, in place of a stone, there is mounted a little round mirror, having pearls around it. They use it to look at themselves, an act of which they are very fond, at any and every moment. In addition, they are girded with a sort of waistbelt of gold, two fingers wide, covered all over with great stones; at the end of the strings which tie up their drawers there are bunches of pearls made up of fifteen strings five fingers in length. Round the bottom of their legs are valuable metal rings or strings of costly pearls.159

All these princesses own six to eight sets of jewels, in addition to some other sets worn according to their own fancy. Their dresses are superb and costly, perfumed with
essence of roses. Every day they change their clothes several times; this is due to the vicissitudes in the weather, which occur continually in India.\(^{160}\)

Their hair is always very well dressed, plaited and perfumed with scented oil. They cover their heads with a sheet of cloth of gold, and these are of different makes and colours. During the cold weather - the less hot season, the winter - they wear the same clothes, covering themselves on the top of the other things, however, with a woollen \(\text{cabaye}\)^\(^{161}\) of fine Kashmir make. Above their other clothes they put on fine shawls, so thin that they can be passed through a small finger-ring.\(^{162}\)

Their amusement at night is generally to have large torches lighted, on which they will spend more than 150,000 rupees. The torches are made of wax or oil. Some of these princesses wear turbans with the king's permission. On the turban is a valuable aigrette, surrounded by pearls and precious stones. This is extremely pretty and makes them look very graceful. During entertainments, such as balls and such-like, there are dancing-women who have the same privilege. These queens and princesses have pay or pensions according to their birth or rank they hold. In addition, they often receive from the king special presents in cash, under the pretext that is is to buy betel, or perfumes, or shoes. They live in this way, with no cares or anxieties, occupying themselves with nothing beyond displaying great show and magnificence, an imposing and majestuous bearing, or making themselves attractive, getting talked about in the world, and
pleasing the king. For, in spite of there being among them many jealousies, they conceal this as a matter of policy.

When a princess is born in the palace, the women rejoice, and go to great expense as a mark of their joy. If a prince is born, then all the court takes part in the rejoicing, which lasts several days, as the king may ordain. Instruments are played and music resounds; the nobles appear, to offer their congratulations to the king, bringing presents, either in jewels, money, elephants or horses. The same day he imposes on the infant a name and fixes his allowance, which is always more than that given to the highest general in the army. He furthermore nominates officials to look after the lands which have been assigned to the child. At the year's end any surplus left from the income of any such prince is kept apart in the treasury. When he is married and has a palace of his own this money is made over to him.

A Mughal custom to receive and to favour those who were persecuted by the Persian king - whether justly or unjustly:

This custom was introduced by Akbar, and kept by his successors. Those who took to flight and appealed to the Mughal rulers for protection, have received pay which suited to their station, keeping as soldiers and officers those who were professional soldiers; the physicians were recognised as physicians and those who were learned in the Faith were granted the position as doctors of the Law. As the Mughals could not use these men, since they follow a different sect, and do not follow Ali as the Persians do, they were sent to Kashmir, where their allowance could assure them a comfortable
and carefree life, claims Manucci. Like everybody else they came to the end of their life; however, what happened was that others appropriated the deceased man's allowances.

Aurangzeb was anxious to remedy this sort of abuse, and for this end he ordered all the mansabdars of Kashmir to attend his court, and a great number of them attended it. Manucci states that among them he had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of Muhammad Zamān, a man of great intelligence, whom Shāh Abbās, the king of Persia sent to Rome as a student early in his reign. In the course of his sojourn in Italy Muhammad Zamān renounced his faith and turned Christian, and taking the name of Paul, came to call himself Paulo Zamān. He then returned to Persia. There the learned men of Persia became aware by their conversations with him that he was more favourable to the Christians than to Mahometans (although he concealed his being a Christian). They began to speak against him, and fearing for his life, he fled from Persia and claimed protection from Shāh Jahān. He was given the pay of a mansabdar, and sent to Kashmir to join the other Persians. On the occasion when they were sent for by Aurangzeb, he came to Delhi and made friends with the Christians. They discussed theological questions, he having several Latin books; yet, although he was, and declared himself to be, a Christian, his way of life differed in no respect from that followed by Mahometans.

Having verified the mansabdars, Aurangzeb sent them back to Kashmir. After that he issued orders, that no one could own a house or a garden without a royal farman.
Visits to King difficult and expensive. A visit to the king was both difficult and expensive. High and influential nobles had to be approached and even bribed before the royal permission could be had. Sir William Norris, who came to India as the British King's Ambassador, rightly formed the opinion that many generous and great men besides the Mughal would have to be gratified and as the presents sent from London were much too few, so he asked his men to purchase presents locally. The ceremonies to be observed at the court too, required a good deal of training. Sir Thomas Roe, Bernier, and Manucci have referred to the formalities an ambassador had to observe while paying a visit to the Indian sovereign.

Reception of a foreign ambassador. A noble was especially despatched to receive the ambassador at an earlier stage of his journey and present him with khilat on behalf of the king. The ambassador was expected to present his credentials to the king clad in his robe of honour. Persian ambassadors were shown special courtesy while others were allotted an inconspicuous place in the darbār. Roe was refused a chair in the court on the plea that no man ever sat in that place, but he was allowed as a privilege to recline against a pillar. A foreign ruler was received always with due ceremonies. Khusrau Sultan, ruler of Balkh and Badakshan, was received by 'Ali Mardhan Khan at the edge of his carpet. Jani Beg, the ruler of Sind, was received by Abu'l Fazl at the gate.

When paying a visit to a great man - the king, a prince, a governor, or even a noble - it was the usual custom to offer him some presents. It was considered markedly
discourteous for an inferior dignitary to call upon a superior
dignitary empty-handed. The presents meant for the nobles
were of not much value, but those offered to the king included
rare things and cost heavily. Tavernier's presents to
Aurangzeb, for instance, included a "battle-mace of rock
crystal, all the sides of which were covered with rubies
and emeralds inlaid in gold in the crystal". These
presents were looked upon as nazrana; and the king would usually
select some articles and return the rest. It was considered
unmannerly to refuse a present without some specific reason.
Kings' visits. Mughal kings rarely paid visits to their
nobles. Even these few visits were usually confined to those
families which were in matrimonial alliance with the royal
house. Shāh Jahān honoured Afzal Khān with a visit. It was
the highest honour which a noble could ever dream of. Huge
presents had to be offered to the king as nazrana. Sometimes,
however, the king would call on an ailing umra of a very high
rank to inquire about his health. Akbar visited Abu'l Fath,
the Sadr, during the latter's illness. Aurangzeb called on
Jaffar Khān to enquire about his health. Hawkins describes
in detail the ceremonies to be observed by a nobleman while
paying his respects to the emperor after two or three years
continuous absence from the capital.
An English Visitor and an English Ambassador
The English Presence in India

Captain Hawkins, in company with Keeling, after many
adventures and much resistance from the Portuguese and their
friends at Sūrat, met with a gracious welcome at Agra in 1609
from Jahāngīr himself. For a time all went hopefully with
the English visitor. He was promised a handsome salary while
he stayed at Court; his pleadings on behalf of the new company were heard with seeming approval, and leave was granted him under the Emperor's seal to establish a factory at Surat. In the long run, however, his prospects began to change for the worse. The intrigues of his enemies at Surat and of Portuguese agents at Agra prevailed against him; his salary was left unpaid; his interviews with the Emperor became less frequent, and at length, in November 1611, Hawkins set out on his homeward journey with the main object of his mission unfulfilled.

A few months afterwards, however, Captain Best recovered the ground which Hawkins had won and lost. With his four ships he inflicted a signal defeat on a Portuguese squadron, which sought to keep English traders out of Surat. His victory taught the imperial officers to respect those whom they had hitherto despised. Jahāṅgīr confirmed by formal treaty the privileges first bestowed on Hawkins; and from that time Surat became the chief seat of English trade in Western India. The footing thus gained by the East India Company was quickly followed up by the despatch of another embassy to the Mughal Court.

In the last days of 1615 Sir Thomas Roe presented his letters from King James I to Jahāṅgīr, who received him with marked distinction at Ajmer, and treated him for two years as an honoured and even familiar guest. With very few exceptions the great men and courtiers followed the Emperor's example.
The royal palace where the reception of ambassadors occurred.

The palace-fort of Delhi, built by Shāh Jahān not long after he had ascended the throne, is a monument to his imperial magnificence. When this array of palaces was occupied by its founder, and in the height of its splendour, it was a suitable setting to the dazzling pageants which took place within its walls. A miniature painted c. 1628 depicts a darbār being held in the Diwan-i-'Am on the occasion of the reception by Shāh Jahān of an embassy from Persia, which event probably took place soon after his accession in 1628. The Emperor was then thirty-six years old, which is about the age at which the artist has portrayed him and is typical of the pomp, even pretentiousness, of the Mughals during the first half of the 17th century. Heavily carpeted pavements, painted sandstone pillars, gilt marble walls, embroidered velvet ceiling cloths and pearl-fringed canopies, were some of the extravagancies introduced by this luxurious potentate as a proper setting for his court. Among the group of the officials on the left of the picture, some of the members of the Persian mission may be observed, being distinguished by their costume which is different from that of the Mughals. Saluting the king by putting his right hand up to his forehead, is the Persian Ambassador, while beside him is a Mughal official reading from a small tablet the personnel of the mission, which is being introduced by name and rank. With him are several Mughal councillors, but farther back are some Persians bearing golden trays containing jewel cups and precious ornaments, a present from their imperial master, Shāh Sūfī, who had just succeeded his more famous father Shāh 'Abbās. Below will be seen the remaining and more substantial portion of the Safavid
ruler's princely offering, consisting of five richly caparisoned Arab horses, each in charge of a Persian groom. On the right of the picture are some of the lesser court officials, while standing on the low platform in the middle are two handsome youths waving yak-tail chauris, the symbol of royalty; another attendant engaged in a similar duty being in the Emperor's rear. On the same level as Shāh Jahān and facing him, with folded hands and respectful mien, are his two elder sons, Dārā Shikoh, and Shuja, accompanied by their tutor. In the centre, emphasized by a radiant nimbus, is the refined face of the Emperor, to whose aesthetic mind not a little of the artistic and architectural wealth of India is due.

Procession of an Ambassador. An accredited ambassador's processions to the court of the Great Mughal to present his credentials and have an audience with the king was equally picturesque. William Norris' procession included state horses, richly caparisoned, trumpeters, state palanquins, peons, lancers, players on hautboys, kettledrums and bagpipes, musketeers and archers in due order. These were followed by a person of rank carrying a drawn sword and liveried servants on horseback. The sword of state was carried before the palanquin carrying the distinguished ambassador. As many as thirty peons followed, bearing silver lance and swords with scarlet scabbards. Close to this palanquin, on the left-hand side, was carried a shield emblazoned with the king's arms. There were in attendance two chief peons carrying silver-gilt fanning feathers. Behind them were members of the embassy seated in coaches. Some distinguished persons were on horseback.
Aurangzeb's reception of the Persian Ambassadors.

In the second year of Aurangzeb's reign the ambassador of Shāh 'Abbās, King of Persia, arrived. Learning that he was about to reach the boundary of the Hindustan kingdom, Aurangzeb sent to meet him an officer called Abdullah Beg, a man of good judgment. His orders were to receive the ambassador at the frontier and to discover his intentions, not sparing expense. He must also succeed in particularly impressing on him the ceremonial of the Indian court, the obligatory obeisances, and how it was an ancient practice from Akbar's days up to the time that Mughalkings accord seats to no-one, and do not take a letter direct from the hand of any man. Letters are delivered to the Wazir, and he reads them to the king. After he had given him this information, he was to find out if the ambassador was minded to make the accustomed obeisances and to put the letter into the hands of the Wazir. On all these points he was to report to court minutely. On the ambassador's arrival within one day of Delhi, Aurangzeb sent Muḥammad Amin Khān at the head of one thousand selected horsemen to meet him and escort him to the city. He was to discover the object of this embassy and why he had come. Gifts and presents were not to be stinted, whether to the ambassador or to the five hundred Persian cavaliers who accompanied him.

The ambassador halted in his progress near the royal garden called Shalimar, distant three leagues from the city, and an official was sent from the court to Muḥammad Amin Khān, instructing him to tell the ambassador that although ambassadors' letters were received only by the Wazir, still, as he was the ambassador of the King of Persia, to him would be conceded the favour that one of the princes, Aurangzeb's sons, should
receive it. Meanwhile, Aurangzeb gave orders for soldiers to be posted on both sides of the street, a league in length, through which the ambassador would pass. The principal streets were decorated with rich stuffs, both in the shops and at the windows, and the ambassador was brought through them, escorted by a number of officers, with music, drums, pipes, and trumpets. On his entering the fort, or royal palace, he was saluted by all the artillery.

Aurangzeb was seated on the throne in a shape like a peacock - a marvellous piece of work made by Shāh Jahān. The whole court was adorned with one thousand marvellous things. The ambassador appeared within the sight of the king, accompanied by all the nobles, and having arrived at the place where he had to make the salaam, the nobles intimated that he had to fulfil his duty, and he has done it, but only by allowing himself to effortlessly obey four strong men instructed and posted by Aurangzeb, to manoeuvre him. At this moment Aurangzeb turned his face a little, as if speaking to his son, who, rising, came to the ambassador. The latter, without any token of grievance, with a smiling countenance, drew forth the letter, and having raised it to his head, made it over to the prince. The prince presented it to the king, who made a sign for its delivery to the eunuch Danesh, the head of the king's household. After the ambassador had put on a rich set of robes, the master of the ceremonies informed him that now was the time to produce the presents he had brought from Persia.
This present consisted of twenty-seven handsome, large and powerful horses, each horse having two men to lead it by reins. Nine of these horses were decked out with precious stones, and saddles decorated with pearls. The others had housings of costly brocade reaching to their feet. There were eighteen large shaggy camels, taller than any in India or Balkh, clothed in lovely coverings; sixty cases of perfect rose-water, and twenty cases of another water, distilled from a flower which is only found in Persia, called bed-i-mushk; twelve carpets, fifteen cubits in length and five in breadth, very handsome and finely worked; four cases filled with brocade lengths, very rich, figured with pleasing flowers, and very costly; four damascened short-swords, four poignards covered with precious stones; also a sealed box of gold, full of manna from the mountains of Shiraz. Aurangzeb, with a lively expression on his face, spied out with curiosity all these presents of Shāh 'Abbās, and meanwhile, directed Muhammad Amin Khān, to put some friendly questions to the ambassador; then, rising, he sent word to him that he might retire, and if he came to court again he would be most welcome. The ambassador came out in the company of several nobles, who conveyed him to a palace which had been prepared beforehand and spread with carpets for the purpose. Aurangzeb also directed the nobles to invite and entertain the ambassador with pomp throughout his stay in the city of Delhi at the cost of the royal treasury, taking each one day, as most convenient to themselves. The wretched Abdullah Beg was expelled from court in disgrace, because the Persian ambassador had not made at once the required obeisance. After eight days the ambassador was invited by the Wazir Jafar Khān.
and there a splendid banquet was given after the manner of India. In the four months and longer that he stayed at Delhi, the ambassador would not accept any other noble's invitation, except that of Muhammad Amin Khān. This was eight days before his leave-taking, when Muhammad Amin Khān entertained him most magnificently. At the end of four months and a half the ambassador was sent away honourably, and Aurangzeb made him a gift of two horses with trappings, of a poignard mounted with precious stones, a lovely emerald to wear in his turban, and a valuable set of robes. Last of all, a letter for Shāh 'Abbās was made over to him, and a small escritoire of gold covered with precious stones. This was closed and sealed up and was to be made over to his king; no-one knew what was in it.

Reception of a European (Dutch) Ambassador.

"About the time when Aurangzeb recovered his health there arrived at Delhi an ambassador from the Dutch called Adrian [van Adrichem] to offer congratulations on the king's accession. This man was of sound judgment and thoroughly acquainted with the Mogul ways, having been for a long time at the head of the Dutch factory at Sūrat. Since he knew that those who bring the largest present and the heaviest purse are the most acceptable, the best received, and the quickest attended to, he brought a present for the king. It consisted in a large quantity of very fine scarlet broadcloth, much fine green cloth, some large mirrors, many earthenware dishes, bric-a-brac from China and Japan, and a small throne in appearance like a litter, a piece of Japanese work with many pleasing paintings. For the ministers there was a large sum in gold and silver, with different kinds of cloth and other
bric-a-brac. As soon as he arrived he began to set forth to the ministers what he desired. Thus, in a few days, leave was granted to him to be presented to the king, on condition of making obeisance first in the European and then in the Indian manner.

"Thus, on entering the court, and reaching the royal presence he did as he had promised. Aurangzeb was interested at seeing the European fashion in dress and their way of bowing. Coming to meet them, Murtaza Khan took the letter from the hands of the ambassador and presented it to the Wazir. The master of the ceremonies, with his gold cane in his hand, took the ambassador's hand and placed him in a fairly honourable place along with the five persons who accompanied him. This was a favour accorded to them, for it is not usual for more than one man to enter with an ambassador into the royal presence. Then they were invested with sarapas of brocade."

Next, Aurangzeb ordered the present to be brought and above everything else he prized the throne and, as it was ornamented, he had it covered with glass to preserve the pictures from the great dust and until this day he makes use of it. Then he sent to say to the ambassador that he might withdraw and he would soon receive his leave to depart. But the ambassador knew the vaingloriousness of the Moguls, who hold it a point of honour to keep ambassadors dancing attendance upon them. They like to have a foreign ambassador always attending at the court audiences. For this reason he sent more gifts to the ministers and succeeded in obtaining leave to go after four months.

The ambassador, on his taking leave, received a second
sarpa}, and in addition he was entrusted with a rich *sarpa* for the delivery to the Governor of Batavia, a poignard covered with precious stones, and a letter in most friendly terms. 189
CHAPTER THREE

Court Jewels - The Emperors' Personalities
The ruler's resources in war and peace depend on wealth. Consequently the treasury which contains that wealth is a measure of his power. No wonder that the Treasury occupied the first place in the Imperial Household.

In history and tradition the Greater Mughals have been famous for their wealth. The fame of "the wealth of Ormus and of Ind" had reached Milton as early as in the middle of the 17th century. Bābur is certainly the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, but then Akbar is equally the founder of the Mughal empire in India; for the effects of Bābur's victories had worn off during the unsuccessful reign of Humāyūn, and Akbar had to start from the beginning. Akbar inherited practically nothing and during a persevering and successful reign of half a century he built up a body of resource which would do credit to any monarch.

Akbar's legacy ought to have been Jahāngīr's opportunity, but it does not seem to have been utilized as such. Else the enormous resources inherited by the latter, if properly husbanded and developed in a fairly peaceful reign of a quarter century, would have placed the key to unimaginable power and possibilities in the hands of the Mughal emperor, already the richest monarch in the world. But all the signs point to a gradual dissipation of Akbar's hard-earned wealth.

Shāh Jahān was, according to Bernier. "a great economist, but the expenditure had increased considerably in his reign and he had always been lavish with his gifts. Further, that emperor has left more abiding monuments of architecture than any other king in ancient or modern times, in or outside India."
Father Monserrate informs us that the king extracts enormous sums in tribute from the provinces of his empire, which is wonderfully rich and fertile both for cultivation and pasture, and has a great trade both for exports and imports. He also derives much revenue from the hoarded fortunes of the great nobles which by law and custom all come to the King on their owners’ death. In addition, there are the spoils of conquered kings and chieftains, whose treasure is seized, and the great levies exacted, and gifts received, from the inhabitants of newly-subdued districts in every part of his dominions. He also engages in trading on his own account, and thus increases his wealth to no small degree; for he eagerly exploits every possible source of profit. The presents received as a matter of custom from nobles and officers came to a considerable sum in the course of the year.

**PRECIOUS STONES IN GENERAL**

A pearl of precious stone is essentially interesting, even inspiring. Just as a beautiful manuscript is art wedded to knowledge, so a jewel is art wedded to wealth. We feel no respect for a man who loves gold or silver, except when it is used as a means to a moral or artistic end; we have nothing but admiration for a man who loves gems and jewels for their own sake; for love of beauty is itself beautiful. The Jewel Treasury of the Mughals represents a very special institution which reflects their temperament and their tastes, their wealth and their power - the spirit of the age, in fact, as interpreted by them.
Weight for weight, precious stones have always been among the most valuable things of the world. Their use is mainly ornamental or artistic. The love of precious stones is deeply implanted in the human heart and the cause of this must be sought not only on their colouring and brilliancy, but also in their durability. All the fair colours of flowers and foliage, and even the blue of the sky, and the glory of the sunset clouds, only last for a short time and are subject to continual change, but the shining and colouration of precious stones are the same today as they were thousands of years ago and will be for thousands of years to come. In a world of change this permanence has a charm of its own that was early appreciated. The fact is that from the earliest times the precious stones have filled the human observer with wonder, and sent his fancy travelling through a strange system of affinities and symbolism.

Sir Thomas Roe, who is an unsympathetic witness, bears unwilling [and therefore valuable] testimony to the great demand of jewels of quality and size at the Mughal Court.

METHOD OF WEARING THE JEWELS.

Some information is available regarding the way in which the emperors wore their jewels. Considering the abundant store and great variety of gems and ornaments in the imperial wardrobe, they were used in rotation and were called up at regular intervals.

"He [the Emperor] is exceedingly rich in diamants" - reports Hawkins - "and all other precious stones, and usually wears every day a fair diamond of great price, and that which he wears this day, till its time be coming to wear it again, he wears not the same: that is today, all his fair jewels
are divided into a certain quantity or proportion to wear every day. He also wears a chain of pearl, very fair and great, and an other chain of emeralds, and rubies. He has another jewel, that comes round about his turban, full of fair diamonds and rubies." 193

DIAMONDS take their estimate from their magnitude, splendour, figure and water.

THE KOH-I-NÛR SAGA

Bâbûr's diamond, "Mir Jumla's stone" and the Koh-i-Nûr. The Koh-i-Nûr dispute ranges over the whole period from Bâbûr to Aurangzeb, on to Nadîr Shâh and Queen Victoria. As quoting Bâbûr from Bâburnâma: At the time of Sultan Ibrâhîm's defeat Gwalior's Râja Bikramajit died and his family and children were in Agra. Humâyûn kept them prisoners and they offered him a mass of jewels amongst which was the famous diamond of Alâ'ud-dîn of enormous value. Humâyûn offered it to Bâbûr, but he did not accept it. Legends had gathered around it with authentic history in the dawn of the 14th century. It was in 1300 in the hands of the Rajahs of Malwa, until the generals of Alâ'ud-dîn Muhammad Shâh [later Delhi emperor] overran its rich territory and carried away the accumulated treasure of Ujjain in the first decade of the 14th century. The date of 1304 is that [given by Firishta] for this conquest and from this time takes the great diamond its place in history. But history does not record as how the diamond passed from the hands of Alâ'ud-dîn Khalji to the Rajahs of Gwalior. 194

We see that this stone was in the Imperial Treasury in 1530 and remained there. When Humâyûn as a refugee king reached Persia, and needy of help, he offered the diamond, along with two hundred and fifty rubies of Badakhshan to Shâh Tahmâsp
as a return for the magnificent reception he received from the Shah. Abu'l-Fazl claims that the value of these presents repaid the expenditure of reception and hospitality of the Shāh four times over. Apparently though Shāh Ṭahmāsp was not keen to keep the diamond and afterwards he sent it to India as a present to Burhan Nizam Shāh, the ruler of the Deccani kingdom, Ahmadnagar. Historic sources contain some slip of names, but it is fairly established that the big diamond returned to India in 1547.

It is possible that when Akbar conquered and annexed Ahmadnagar in 1600 this stone passed with other valuables into the Imperial Treasury. Yet it is strange that contemporary historians never recorded it throughout the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān among the elaborate notices of gemstones which abound in the Tūzuk.

Later on this diamond is better called as "Mir Jumla's stone" as Bernier says that Mir Jumla presented Shāh Jahān with that celebrated diamond which has been generally deemed unparalleled in size and beauty. According to Tavernier, this diamond was excavated from the mine of Koliūr on the Kistna river.

Now we come to the stone now called Koh-i-Nūr. Discussing the question of the identity of Babur's Diamond or of 'Mir Jumla's Stone' with Koh-i-Nūr. wisely we should confine the latter designation to this diamond from the 18th century onward.

As the Koh-i-Nūr makes its visible entry into the world of gems in 1739. Nadir Shāh took away this diamond from the Indian Treasury in the sack of Delhi in that year. The moment
he saw the stone he was so struck by its brilliance that he acclaimed it Koh-i-Nūr and the name has clung to it since. Tracing the further history of the famous stone as follows:

On the murder of Nadir Shāh in 1747, the diamond passed with the throne to his nephew, 'Ali Kuli Khān, alias 'Ali Shāh, who, eager to possess the treasure of his uncle and panting for the delights of the throne, had caused his assassination. 'Ali Shāh having been blinded and deposed, the diamond came into possession of his successor, Shāh Rukh Mirza, grandson of Nadir Shāh, who retired to his castle at Meshed. There he was made prisoner by Agha Muhammad, who in vain tortured him to induce him to surrender the invaluable diamond. Shāh Rukh, in 1751, bestowed on Ahmad Shāh Durrani, as a reward for his services. After a chequered history of the stone, Elphinstone, who saw Shāh Shuja [king of Kābul] at Peshawar in 1809, saw it in a bracelet worn by him. After a troublous history the diamond found itself in the possession of Ranjīt Singh.

After his acquiring [by fair or foul means, as historians argue the case] of the Koh-i-Nūr, Ranjīt Singh often wore the diamond on his person. In July, 1838, the Mahārāja showed the diamond to W.G. Osborne, who says "it certainly is a most magnificent diamond, about an inch and a half in length, and upwards of an inch in width; it is in the shape of an egg, and is set in a bracelet between two very handsome diamonds of about half its size. It is valued at three millions sterling, is very brilliant, and without a flaw of any kind." Ranjīt Sing died in 1839 and the diamond remained in the treasury. On the conquest of the Punjab by the British, and with the abdication of Mahārāja Dalip Singh in 1849, the diamond was formally made over to the Board of
Administration for the affairs of the Punjab, and by it committed to the personal care of Sir [afterwards Lord] John Lawrence. Then after passing through several vicissitudes on 3rd July, 1850, it was formally presented to her Majesty the Queen [Victoria] by the Deputy Chairman of the East India Company. The gem was exhibited at the first Great Exhibition in London in 1851. In 1852 it was re-cut in London, at a cost of eight thousand pounds sterling by Messrs. Garrad [Garrards], who employed Voorsanger, a diamond-cutter in Amsterdam. The Koh-i-Nûr is now among the crown jewels of England.

The standard of all stones, specially of diamonds, seems to have been so high in Mughal India, that there was no room for inferior specimens. Hawkins relates how difficult it was on one occasion, for the government lapidary to find a foul diamond wherewith to make powder for cutting and polishing other diamonds.

**RUBIES.**

There are four sorts of Oriental rubies; that which is the hardest, the best, and fairest colour, if it be very fair and "diamond-cut", is no less esteemed than a diamond for the weight, but it is rare to see such a one. The second sort of ruby is white, oriental, and hard, which is also of good esteem, if cut the "diamond cut". The third sort of ruby is called a spinell, which is softer than the former, and is nothing of like esteem, because not so hard, nor of such perfect colour. The last sort is called a Ballace ruby which is not so much esteemed as the spinell, because it is not so well coloured; this stone will scarcely take a polish. In
India ruby occurs but rarely in good quality. A ruby in perfection is a stone superior to a diamond. Pegu is a wealthy country because from it come many precious stones such as rubies, topazes, sapphires, amethysts, etc., which the inhabitants comprehend under one common name of rubies, and distinguish them only by their colour, calling the sapphire the blue, the amethyst the violet, the topaz the yellow ruby, and so on.

**Sapphires.**

There are three sorts: one perfect blue and very hard, which if cut a diamond-cut and without calcedone, is of a very good esteem. The second is a perfect white and very hard, which if without blemish, diamond-cut, is also of high esteem. The third, called water-sapphires, are of small esteem, being not so hard as the others and commonly of a faint waterish colour.

Bernier saw the king seated upon his throne, at the end of a great hall, in the most magnificent attire. His vest was of white and delicately flowered satin, with a silk and gold embroidery of the finest texture. The turban, of gold cloth, had an aigrette whose base was composed of diamonds of an extraordinary size and value, besides an oriental topaz, exhibiting a lustre like the sun. 203

Tavernier saw in Aurangzeb's Treasury an oriental amethyst, i.e. a purple sapphire, strung in the middle of a chain of pearls and emeralds.

**Emeralds.**

According to Linschoten, emeralds are not found in India and therefore they are highly esteemed there. Ibrāhīm Adil Khān offered to Jahāngīr an emerald. "Although it is
from a new mine", says Jahângîr, "it is of such beautiful colour and delicacy as I have never seen".\textsuperscript{204}

In India the emerald has always occupied a very high place among precious stones, even higher than the diamond, and connoisseurs have always been willing to pay a very high price for emeralds of the best quality. It is the colour that decides the quality of the emerald. Stones of the velvety green colour are rare.

**TOPAZ.**

The topaz is a very hard stone, as hard as the sapphire. Some are naturally white fetching a good price if perfect and cut of the diamond-cut. There is another type, soft and of low esteem.

**PEARLS.**

We learn from Manucci that Arabian and Persian vessels brought to India seed-pearls and pearls.\textsuperscript{205} Manucci thus describes the seed-pearl fisheries of Tuticorin and the way they were worked. "The inhabitants know the time of the year for removing the pearls. It is in the months of March and April. The Dutch, as lords of the sea-shores on the coast of Tuticorin, and of the coast of Manâr in the island of Ceylon, give licenses to fish for twenty-one different days." A simple string of pearls frequently passed as a present in this reign [Jahângîr's]. A rosary of valuable pearls was conferred on Khurram.

Tavernier has a long note on pearls he found in Aurangzeb's jewel treasure: When inspecting it he saw two grand pear-shaped pearls, one weighing about 70 ratis, a little flattened on both sides, and of beautiful water and good form. Also a pearl button, which might weigh from fifty-five to sixty...
ratis, of good form and good water. Also a round pearl of
great perfection, a little flat on one side, which weighs fifty-
six ratis. I ascertained that Shāh Abbās II, King of Persia,
sent it as a present to the Great Mughal. Also a perfectly
round pearl of thirty-six and a half ratis, of a lively white,
and perfect in every respect. It is the only jewel which
Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, has himself purchased on
account of its beauty, for the rest wither came to him from
Dārā Shīkhāh, his eldest brother, or they were presents made
to him after he ascended the throne. The largest pearl at the
Mughal court is suspended from the neck of a peacock made of
precious stones, and rests on the breast, and this peacock
surmounts the throne. 206 In the following passage Tavernier
speaks of a grand bouquet of nine large pear-shaped pearls,
which he presented to Aurangzeb.

**ROCK CRYSTAL.**

Is always crystalline and often crystallized. The
crystals are usually elongated, and of sizes varying from a
small pin to several feet in length. Articles made of rock
crystal, both for use and decoration, were in great favour at
the Mughal court.

Tavernier once presented to Aurangzeb a battle mace 207
of rock-crystal, all sides of which were covered with rubies
and emeralds inlaid in gold in the crystal. This piece
cost 3,110 livres [Two hundred and thirty-three pounds,
eighteen shillings, and sixpence] 208

Vessels made of rock-crystal were much esteemed by
the emperors.
Semi-Precious Stones and Other Substances.

So far we have dealt with precious stones. Probably semi-precious stones went to make up a much larger quantity in the treasury. Possibly exceptionally good and large specimens were assiduously collected and jealously guarded. Doubtlessly the treasury contained specimens remarkable for beauty and colour, purity and size, of amethysts, garnets, chrysolites, turquoise, agates, moss-agates, jaspers, sphenes, opals, cornelians, onyxes, sardonyxes, cat's eyes, corals, chalcedony, lapis lazuli, and vermilion. These names are not a random list. They have been collected from Fryer's list of "Precious Stones of the East" and Linschoten's accounts of stones found in various parts of India, supplemented by data of Persian, English historians and that of European travellers.

AMETHYST.

It is a species of quartz and has beautiful violet, purple, or blue shades. The word is derived from the Greek and means non-intoxicant. On exposure to heat amethyst generally turns yellow.

AGATE.

In India, agate is abundantly found in the Deccan rocks in the Kathiawar Peninsula to the West of the Gulf of Cambay. Also in Rajpipla, and in the Rajmahal Hills. There are many purposes besides those of ornament to which agate is put. But by far the greatest part produced is wrought into vases, bowls, paper-knives, trays, signet rings, seals, brooches, beads. Many very beautiful works of art have been produced in agate.
TURQUOISE

Turquoise occurs in various shades of green and blue, sometimes rather grey or white. The most valued colours among westerners are the rich sky blue, but among many Eastern people the more abundant green shades are preferred. Turquoise occurs only in Persia, and it is obtained in two mines, around Nishāpur.

CORAL.

Although coral does not rank among precious stones in Europe, remarks Tavernier, it is nevertheless held in high esteem in the other quarters of the globe, and it is one of the most beautiful of nature's productions, so that there are some nations who prefer it to precious stones. 209

LAPIS LAZULI.

Lapis Lazuli has been known from very remote times, being much used by the Egyptians, and to a lesser extent by the Assyrians. The ancient Romans used it to some extent as a material for engraving on.

It is cut as a flat plaque or en cabochon, more often it is worked in vases and other small ornamental objects. It is largely used too, for mosaics and in the ornamentation of luxurious buildings such as the palaces of the Russian czars. Formerly it was the sole source of the beautiful pigment ultramarine which was greatly esteemed on account of the purity of its colour and permanence. Soon after Aurangzeb had brought the war of succession to a successful issue, the ambassadors of the Khāns of Balkh and Samarqand waited on the emperor, ostensibly to offer congratulations, really to conciliate his good will. Among the presents they brought were some boxes of lapis lazuli. 210
MOTHER OF PEARL.

This is the substance which lines the interior of many species of molluscs, and is similar in nature to the pearl.

It is used generally as ornamental inlay. Its beautiful iridescence and lustre are due to that well-known optical phenomenon, the interference of light.

CHINESE PORCELAIN

Porcelain is an important subject. Not only is it interesting in itself, but we know that the Imperial Treasury contained some twenty-five lakhs' worth of most elegant vessels of every kind in porcelain and coloured glass.

The chinaware in favour in the better Mughal days was chiefly that of the Ming period [1368-1644], though there may also have been pieces of the time of the Sung dynasty [960-1279]. The famous chinaware of the Ming period was manufactured in the imperial factory at Ching-Te Chen, rendered famous throughout the world by the fine white porcelain made there. As this ware lent itself peculiarly well to painted decoration, the vogue for painted porcelain rapidly replaced the old Sung taste for monochromes. With the discovery and the extended use of the materials of true porcelain, kao-lin and pe-tun-tse, the possibility must soon have presented itself to the delighted potter of preparing an absolutely white translucent porcelain, and when once this possibility had been realised there can be no doubt that everything else would give way before it. We read at an early period of pure white porcelain made of the utmost thinness and delicacy, so that its translucence might be most apparent, and decorated only with delicate patterns.
Chinaware in Mughal India.

The Imperial Treasury had huge stores of Chinese porcelain of the most valuable kind and in contemporary paintings we see chinaware of the Ming period reposing in niches in Mughal interiors. Thus chinaware was used not only on the table but also for purely decorative purposes. There must have been among the rest, a considerable amount of the willow-green porcelain known as celadon, which has been so popular among Muslim countries throughout the ages.

IVORY.

A term properly confined to the material which forms the tusk of the elephant, and, for commercial purposes, almost entirely to that of the male elephant.

Elephant Ivory.

These tusks are occasionally of tremendous size, a single specimen occasionally weighing two hundred pounds. The ivory from the African elephants is the most esteemed on account of its superior density and whiteness, but a certain amount is also obtained mostly from India, Ceylon, Burma and the Eastern Archipelago. The quality of ivory varies according to the place whence it is obtained, the soft variety of Eastern Africa being the most esteemed. Special qualities of ivory, which have been recognized from the earliest times, are its beautiful texture, and tints, its perfect elasticity and adaptability to the carver's tools. Ivory carving is an extremely interesting art. Since the earliest times ivory has been used either alone or in conjunction with silver and bronze as a decorative material, and it has been both carved and engraved. Ivory has always been used considerably for the decoration of palaces. The king of Ethiopia, Bernier informs
us, sent some presents to Aurangzeb at his accession, in
token of his goodwill. These included a couple of elephant's
teeth, of a size so prodigious that it required the utmost
exertion of a strong man to lift either of them from the
ground.211

The walrus ivory are the two long canine teeth or
tusks in the upper jaw of the walrus, also called sea-horse
or morse. The ivory obtained from walrus-tooth is white like
elephant ivory, though somewhat more yellowish; but there
seems to have been extant some veined or spotted specimens
of it, which, when produced before Jahāṅgīr, drew his
enthusiastic admiration.212

TORTOISE-SHELL. It consists of the horny plates of tortoise,213
the smallest of the sea turtles. These plates are harder,
more brittle, and less fibrous than ordinary horn. Their value
depends on the rich mottled colours they display - a warm
translucent yellow, dashed and spotted with rich brown tints -
and on the high polish they take and retain. The finest
tortoise-shell is obtained from the Eastern Archipelago -
especially from the East coast of Celebes to New Guinea.
Tortoise-shell has been a prized ornamental material from
very early times. It was eagerly sought by the wealthy Romans
as a veneer for their rich furniture.

The Indian Mughals had a great reputation for wealth,
which, as far as the Jewel Treasury is concerned, was well
deserved. While the contents of the cash Treasury waxed and
waned with the exigencies of the Mughal empire and with the
habits and temperaments of the emperor, the Jewel Treasury
grew without abatement; at least from the accession of Akbar
down to Nadir Shāh's invasion in 1739.
BABUR'S TREASURE.

The swinging victory of Panipat placed at Babur's disposal the cumulated treasures of five kings. Huge quantities of jewels fell into Babur's hands at Delhi and Agra, but we know also that Babur showered money and jewels recklessly on his followers - princes, nobles, soldiers and the rest, hoarded for generations by a line of thrifty kings before him.

HUMAYUN'S TREASURE.

Humayun apparently carried about with him in his wanderings as many of the jewels as could remove from the Jewel Treasury - and this included the famed Koh-i-Nur.

AKBAR'S TREASURE.

We are emerging into daylight as we approach the reign of Akbar. Thanks to Abu'l Fazl's encyclopedic mind and method, we have more definite information about the contents of the Mughal treasury, their arrangement and valuation. Akbar's great minister thus outlines the establishment of the Jewel Treasury and the method of classification and storing followed: A treasurer, a bitikchi, a dārogha, and a few experienced jewelers constituted the staff of the Treasury. The jewels were classified according to value in an elaborate system. Rubies were put in twelve classes, diamonds, emeralds, and red and blue yāqūts also in twelve classes, and pearls in sixteen.

JAHANGIR'S TREASURE.

The inventory of Jahangir's treasure comprises, besides precious stones and gems, ornaments, furniture, gold and silver plate and utensils, statues, porcelain, books,
cloths and woollens, tents and curtains, arms and accoutrements, harness and housings.

_**SHĀH JAHĀN’S TREASURE.**_

Shāh Jahān's reign represents the heyday of material splendour and prosperity, and with his accession the art of collection, valuing and classifying jewels entered on a new career. The leading spirit of the age, the emperor himself, was a great connoisseur of pearls and stones. Vicissitudes had come to an end with Humāyūn, and the sledgehammer strokes of Akbar's victories gave a rough outline to an empire, which fifty years of wise and tolerant government was gradually to make shipshape and tolerably homogeneous. The opportunities offered by the settled government and peace left behind by Akbar were not, however, used to the best advantage by his son. With all the advantages of a strong and healthy constitution, high education and a mind delicately responsive to the appeal of natural phenomena, he had a fine temperament, a healthy curiosity, highly developed tastes and an extensive range of interests. With all this to his credit, his intemperate habits, specially in the latter half of his reign, reduced him to the condition of a roi fainéant to all intents and purposes leaving the administration of the huge empire to Nūr Jahān.

Against this background Shāh Jahān's accession stands out in conspicuous relief. The increasing resources of a peacefully progressing empire were at once placed at the disposal of a man who understood the true meaning and value of wealth - who did not spend a pice where no return was expected, and who did not scruple to spend millions where to his mind a real need was being satisfied.
Shāh Jahān had a great passion for art and a particularly well-balanced aesthetic judgment. We must not forget that both as prince and even after his deposition Shāh Jahān was considered a great connoisseur of pearls and precious stones. The Prince from a boy had an eagle's eye for jewels and did not forget one when he had once seen it. On one occasion Aurangzeb and his court jewellers were puzzled by a ruby, and the question of its genuineness or otherwise was referred to Shāh Jahān in prison, as the greatest living authority on the subject, his verdict being accepted as final by all parties.

Jewel Treasury.

Although most of the gems have come down from Akbar's time, additions continued to be made during the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, so that in this reign a wealth of gems and jewels has accumulated, to which the treasury of no other monarch in the world can present a parallel. Gems and jewelled articles to the value of two crores of rupees are worn on the emperor's person, and are kept in charge of trustworthy servants in the mahal. The third decade of Shāh Jahān's rule was perhaps the most prosperous in Mughal India's history - a larger value of gems and jewels changed hands at the court of Delhi during the years 1648-58 than at any period of Indian history before or since. There was throughout his reign a stream of costly presents constantly flowing from the emperor to the princes and nobles, and back again to the emperor.
The Emperors' Personalities.

Bābur was the first Mughal conqueror and ruler of India but to establish his supremacy there he had to fight two great battles - the first was the famous battle at Pānīpat in 1526; his second battle was to destroy the menace of Rājput's, an enemy that was not one to be trifled with. The battle was joined at Khānua, a village about four miles west of Sīkri on March 16, 1527, and Bābur won a victory by adopting the same tactics as at Pānīpat. At his death, Bābur had been king for thirty-six years crowded with hardship, disorder and exertion of strenuous energy. He had a wonderful strength; he could carry a man under each arm and run with them round the battlements of a fortress, leaping the embrasures. He never was able to observe the feast of Ramadan for two years in the same place.

From his throne at Agra, he looked back with nostalgia to his own country of melons and cool waters, and to the joyous days he had spent beside the Kābul river. His permanent place in history is based upon his Indian conquests, which opened the way for an imperial line; but his place in biography and in literature is determined rather by his daring adventures and persevering efforts in his earlier days, and by the delightful memoirs in which he related them. Soldier of fortune as he was, Bābur was not the less a man of fine literary taste and meticulous critical perception. In Persian, the language of culture, the Latin of Central Asia, as it is of India, he was an accomplished poet, and in his native Turki he was master of a pure and unaffected style alike in prose and verse. His battles as well as his indulgences were humanized by a touch
of poetry. His Memoirs contain the personal impressions and acute reflections of a cultivated man of the world, such as the following extract —

October 14th, 1519: "Next day I went to the Garden of Fulfilment. It was the season of its beauty. Its lawns were a sheet of trefoil; its pomegranate trees were yellowed to autumn splendour, it was their season, and the fruit hung red on the trees. The orange trees were green and bright with countless oranges, but the best were not ripe. I was never so delighted as now with the Garden of Fulfilment."

Again and again he dwells with enthusiasm upon the mountain scenery, the flowers and fruits and buildings of his native land, while in a few deft touches he pictures for us the characters of the various members of his family.

He rendered the most dangerous enterprises easy by his undaunted courage and perseverance, which rose above all difficulties and made him much more the object of admiration in his adversity than in the height of his prosperity. Nor did he forget himself in the latter, but always behaved with that moderation and equanimity which characterises a great soul. He so often pardoned ingratitude and treason that he seemed to make a principle of rendering good for evil.

The following episode sharply reflects Bābur who did not care for wealth, but was happy to have fame and glory - the glory of victories.

Humayun presented to his father a diamond of enormous value, identified by some with the famous Koh-i-Nūr, which he had got from the family of the late Vikramajit, Rāja of Gwalior,
who died on the battlefield of Panīpat, but Bābur returned it to his son as a gift.

Bābur had little time to enjoy the fruits of his conquests. Worn out by a life of almost ceaseless toil and adventure, he passed away in 1530, in his favourite garden at Agra, at the early age of 47. He was laid to rest in the distant city of Kābul, amid the mountains and meadows which he loved so well. Bābur's love of beauty was as developed as his sense of humour. It is these qualities which make his Memoirs a never-failing source of pleasure to the reader.

The best picture of the great Mughal is that which he himself has drawn for us in his highly instructive Memoirs, replete with every charm of a frank, genial, yet manly nature, and a well-stored, inquiring mind. At once a poet, scholar and musician, he had all the qualities which those words imply, mixed up with the tougher tissues that go to the making of the adventurous soldier and the hard-headed statesman. In a straightforward, lively, picturesque style, perfectly natural, yet never coarse nor inflated, he tells or suggests to us everything he did, saw, or suffered; how he wept for his boyish playfellow; how fond an interest he took up in his near kindred; how keen were his sympathies alike with the pleasures and the misfortunes of his friends; how lightly he bore his own reverses, riding a race with the only two friends who followed him, a houseless, half-starved wanderer, on his dreary journey from Samarqand. With equal ease and lightness of touch, he describes the hardships he underwent, the bursts of revelry in which he and his companions not seldom indulged; the scenery, the climate, the people and
products of the countries he passed through; the sayings and doings of his friends; his own successes, failures and weakness; the sense of loneliness that came over him as they brought him a musk-melon transported from Kabul—he felt a deep homesickness and could not help weeping. Violent sometimes and cruel when the fit was on him, he endeared himself to his friends and faithful ones by many kindly actions and treated his enemies on the whole with wonderful forbearance. His high courage never failed him and his buoyant spirit nothing seemed to pull down. Fond of wine, and given to hard drinking, he eschewed both in his later years. No small part of his leisure hours was bestowed on public business, and his active habits were equally conspicuous in the camp, the council-room, and the hunting-field. In his last journey of one hundred and sixty miles from Kalpi to Agra, in spite of failing health, he rode the distance in two days and swam across the Ganges. Not content with the regular business of the state, his mind was always full of schemes for the public welfare, from the building of reservoirs and aqueducts to the introduction of new trade-products from abroad.

Thus we find Bābur well-read in Eastern literature, a close and curious observer, quick in perception, a discerning judge of persons and a devoted lover of nature; one, moreover, who was well able to express his thoughts and observations in clear and vigorous language. The utter frankness and self-revelation, the unconscious portraiture of all his virtues and follies, his obvious truthfulness and fine sense of honour give the Memoirs of this prince of auto-biographers an authority which is equal to their attractiveness—Bābur
excelled in music and other arts as well. "Ferocious Tīmūrīd" though he was, Bābur is certainly one of the most human and interesting characters in history.

Humāyūn. Bābur's early death left the Mughal empire in a precarious condition. Humāyūn was twenty-three years of age at his accession and had assisted his father materially in his wars. He had three younger brothers - Kamran, Hindal and Askari - whom Bābur had entrusted to Humāyūn saying: "Do naught against your brothers, even though they may deserve it". Humāyūn was gallant, lovable, accomplished, personally brave, and capable of great energy on occasions; but he lacked resolution and character. He was addicted to opium, and wasted his time in critical junctures in the harem or in lotus-eating. He forgave often where he should have punished. A gentleman in every way, he was a failure as king. In the light of his misfortunes, his name, meaning "fortunate", sounds truly ironical. Humāyūn has been appropriately described as having stumbled through life and ended it by tumbling down the steps of his palace.

Akbar - His physical qualities.

Of this great and wise monarch much is to be told. His tall but well-knit frame, mighty chest, and long sinewy arms, seem to hint something of that great bodily strength which delighted in walks of forty miles and rides sometimes of a hundred miles a day.

He was tireless, and utterly fearless. He could stun a man with his fist, and kill a tiger with a blow of his sword; he revelled in the joy of battle, and would mount horses that no one else dared to ride. He would tame elephants that had run wild and killed their keepers.
Dressed in golden armour and mounted on an elephant or charger, Akbar habitually stationed himself in the center of the most ferocious fighting. His generalship was unorthodox and brilliant: he was a master of the surprise attack, the forced march, the hit-and-run. When not in the field, he kept fresh blood on his soldier's swords by taking them on long jungle hunts. Akbar's numerous inventions include three varieties of the matchlock rifle, a portable war tent with two bedrooms, a primitive machine-gun that fired fourteen rifles simultaneously, a system of water transportation in which elephants and large weapons were floated on pontoons to their destination. So mighty was this third Mughal emperor, so seemingly invulnerable was he, when men saw no paradox in the concept of the warrior-saint, that soldiers on both sides began to think him invincible.

Akbar was a man of violent passions, and he had the craving for strong drink and opium, which was a family failing; but he subdued his body by an iron self-discipline, amounting almost to asceticism. He was a fond parent and a great lover of little children. "Children are the young saplings in the garden of life - to love them is to turn our minds to the Bountiful Creator," is one of his most beautiful sayings. In his manner he was every inch a king, "great with the great, and lowly with the lowly." Specially characteristic of the man were his flashing eyes, "vibrant like the sea in sunshine." It is difficult to write without hyperbole of this great and very human monarch, one of the noblest, surely, in all history.
One portrait of Akbar is from the pen of his old friend, Father Monserrate: "One could easily recognise even at a first glance that he is a King. He has broad shoulders, somewhat bony legs well-suited for horsemanship, and a light brown complexion. He carries his head bent towards the right shoulder. His forehead is broad and open. His eyelashes are very long. His eyebrows are not strongly marked. His nose is straight and small though not insignificant. His nostrils are widely open as though in derision. He shaves his beard but wears a moustache. He limps in his left leg though he has never received an injury there. He is neither thin nor too stout. He is sturdy, hearty and robust. When he laughs his face becomes almost distorted. His expression is tranquil, serene and open, full also of dignity, and when he is angry there is awful majesty." 216

Salīm, afterwards the Emperor Jahāngīr, writes: "My father always associated with the learned of every creed and religion: especially the Pundits and the learned of India, and, although he was illiterate, so much became clear to him through constant intercourse with the learned and the wise, in his conversations with them, that no one knew him to be illiterate, and he was so well acquainted with the niceties of verse and prose compositions that his deficiency was not thought of. He was of middle height but inclined to be tall; he was of the hue of wheat; his eyes and eyebrows were black, and his complexion rather dark tan fair; he was lion-bodied with a broad chest, and his hands and arms long. His voice was very loud, and in speaking and explaining had a peculiar richness. In his actions and movements he was not like the
people of the world, and the Glory of God manifested itself in him. Notwithstanding his Kingship, his treasures past computation, his fighting elephants and Arab horses, he never by a hair's breadth placed his foot beyond the base of humility before the Throne of God, and never for one moment forgot Him. He associated with the good of every race and creed and persuasion, and was gracious to all in accordance with their condition and understanding. He passed his nights in wakefulness, and slept little in the day. ... His courage and boldness were such that he could mount raging, rutting elephants, and subdue to obedience murderous elephants which would not allow their own females near them. ... During three months of the year Akbar ate meat, and for the remaining nine contented himself with Šūfī food and was in no way pleased with the slaughter of animals."

Akbar lived in an age of great monarchs. His contemporaries were Elizabeth of England, Henry IV of France and Shāh 'Abbās of Persia, but he towers head and shoulders above them all. His ambition was to create a mighty empire, and he carried out his purpose ruthlessly. The justification of imperialism is that it offered benefit by exchange, and Akbar at once set himself to establish throughout his kingdom the rule of justice and law, to ascertain that the peasant was fairly taxed, and that all men should receive a fair hearing and a fair trial. The greatness of his work is shown by the fact that his administrative system is the basis of that which is in vogue in India today. His sayings, preserved by Abu'l Fazl, testify to his earnest desire to do that was right, and his recognition of the enormous
Jahāngīr's character, as we find out by Terry, was composed of extremes; for sometimes he was barbarously cruel, and at other times he seemed to be exceedingly fair and gentle. He was a very accomplished man. His Memoirs are written in elegant Persian. He inherited his father's admiration of music, poetry and the fine arts. He was a connoisseur of painting. He erected a number of sumptuous buildings, and he had a genuine love of nature. Jahāngīr had a fondness for beautiful views, about which he often discoursed in poetical language. He went into raptures over the scenery of Kashmir, and writes with real feeling of the birds and flowers he observed there. "..Its pleasant meads and enchanting cascades are beyond all description. There are running streams and fountains beyond count. Wherever the eye reaches, there are verdure and running water. The red rose, the violet and the narcissus grow of themselves; in the fields there are all kinds of flowers and all sorts of sweet-scented herbs more than can be calculated. In the soul-enchanting spring the hills and plains are filled with blossoms; the gates, the walls, the courts, the roofs, are lighted up by the torches of the banquet-adorning tulips. What shall we say of these things or the wide meadows and the fragrant trefoil?"218

He shared Akbar's views about the sanctity of animal life, but he was weak, indolent, capricious, and easily led. Jahāngīr's religious views are not easily defined. This is confirmed by studying the designs on his coinage, which not only exhibit portraits of himself - but in the act of drinking wine, a flagrant breach of the law of Islam. On
the whole his religion partook more of the nature of a philosophical fatalism, while freedom of thought and toleration were also included in his creed.

Jahāṅgīr married in 1611 Nūr Jahān, the Persian lady who was destined to play a great part in the history of her times. Nūr Jahān had an unusually strong personality, thus obtaining considerable freedom of movement, including appearing in public. The "Light of the World" was no delicate hot-house plant, but very much a woman of the world, taking her full share of the joys and sorrows of her husband's public life, as the records of the time bear testimony. The seclusion of the zenana may have been the custom, but the frequent occasions on which the spirited lady threw off her veil in order to experience the delights of the chase are recorded with obvious pride by Jahāṅgīr in his Memoirs.

"On the 7th, as the huntsmen had marked down four tigers, I went out to hunt them with my ladies. When the tigers came in sight Nūr Jahān Begum submitted that if I would order her she herself would kill the tigers with her gun. I said, "Let it be so". She shot two tigers with one shot each and knocked over the two others with four shots. In the twinkling of an eye she deprived of life the bodies of these four tigers. Until now such shooting was never seen, that from the top of an elephant and inside of an 'amārī, six shots should be made and not one miss, so that the four beasts found no opportunity to spring or move. As a reward for this good shooting I gave her a pair of pahunch of diamonds worth 100,000 rupees and scattered 1,000 ashrafis (over her)."
138.

Even on such an adventure the queen sat in a covered howdah, thus screened from the public eye as much as the unusual circumstances would permit, and no doubt all members of the male sex, except those necessary for her safety, were withdrawn from the vicinity. Moreover, Jahāṅgīr, who would never have allowed such an event to pass without a pictorial record being made, refrained from doing so on this occasion, due no doubt to the presence of the ladies.

Jahāṅgīr was endowed with fine literary and artistic tastes. His appreciation of nature, flora and fauna, and of the beautiful was equal to his power of description. His Memoirs possess individuality and bear the stamp of his scientific inquisitiveness, love of nature and general ability. They are recognized as one of the best of their kind and take their place by the side of those of Bābur. They do not possess that naivety, insight, originality and masterly grasp and expression which are found in the memoirs of Bābur; however, the memoirs show Jahāṅgīr's virtues and vices fairly clearly. They give a vivid picture of some of the political developments and personalities, life and affairs of his day. They form the most important, if not the only, source of our information about his reign.

Shāh Jahān's character. On whatever he has left us we see an indelible impress of unapproachable ideals and an unerring eye for effect. Designs and proportion of his buildings and gardens, quality and symmetry of their patterns and decorations, even furnishings of his halls and chambers, and dispositions and arrangements in his darbārs, and finally the miracles of the jewellers' art - in all these we find a
master-mind trying to realize its dreams of beauty and perfection in terms of brick or stone here, of line and colour there, of gold and jewels and precious stuffs, using the costliest material with nonchalant ease and seemingly reckless extravagance. The noble band of designing architects, painters, and jewellers realized his ideas and plans in a way that does credit to all concerned.

Before beginning to analyse Aurangzeb, the last great Mughal's character, we propose to discuss the other unfortunate sons of Shāh Jahān - brothers of Aurangzeb. The most outstanding of them was -

Dārā Shikoh. He was Shāh Jahān's eldest son. A keen student of philosophy, mysticism, and comparative religion, Dārā had a broader outlook, which was essential to the government of a vast country like India, with its multifarious faiths and social groups. His irreproachable character, liberality, kind heart, compassion, sympathy, generosity and his devotion to his father, made him as much the favourite of the people as that of the sovereign. True it is that the fondness of his father had never given him an opportunity of coming into closer touch with the actual and everyday working of local administration, but his experience of the main problems of government and difficulties of administration must have been considerable. His presence at the Court in the very thick of actual business must have familiarized him with the different branches of authority.

His philosophical studies and exercise of enormous political power might have generated in him a sense of superior
consciousness and a contempt for the ordinary and the petty and made him impatient of aristocratic arrogance. These qualities might have verged on vanity, but there is no proof of his being incorrigibly irascible and bad-tempered. Though generally polite, dignified and sympathetic, he sometimes got temporarily irritated and in his frankness made cracks or ironical remarks about persons. But the best qualification he possessed was that he was the darling of the people.

Manucci, the Italian traveller, who had been in his service, describes him as a person of dignified manners, a comely countenance, joyous and polite in conversation, ready and gracious of speech, of most extraordinary liberality, kindly and compassionate, but over-confident in his opinion of himself.

The second son of Shāh Jahān was Prince Shuja. He was a man of refined tastes and easy-going habits. Although he possessed great intelligence and courage and was gifted with common sense, he was pleasure-and wine-loving, negligent and partly indolent. The soft atmosphere of Bengal, the land of peace, plenty and prosperity, slowly undermined his physical powers. But he was a lovable person and good soldier.

We see his features on a very simple specimen of outline drawing in the siyāhī kalam. He has not inaptly been designated Prince "Valiant". Here he is shown as a mere youth of about sixteen years of age, but he lived until over forty, when, hunted from cover to cover like a wounded animal by his more successful rival to the Mughal throne, he disappeared forever into the jungles of Arakan.
Aurangzeb's younger brother, Murad, viceroy of Gujarat, was impulsive and reckless. Like a medieval knight, he could throw himself into pleasures with as much impetuosity and zest as in the very thick of fight. He was brave, courageous, generous, but at the same time pleasure-loving, indiscriminate and indifferent. With all that, he was foolish and shortsighted and possessed an impetuous and capricious temperament. He knew little of the political world, nor did he care to know it. Self-complacent, self-centred, quarrelsome and obstinate, he was least fitted to undertake the task of government. He had none of that culture and large-mindedness of Dārā or Shuja, or the sobriety and cool, calculating qualities of Aurangzeb. He could place confidence in or quarrel with anybody like a child. He never worried himself to learn either the art of government or of military leadership.

Aurangzeb. The third son of Shāh Jahān, was born on October 24, 1618, at Dohad, on the frontier of Gujarāt and Rajputana. Industrious and thorough, he had distinguished himself as an able administrator during the years that he spent in the Deccan and other provinces of the empire. He was also a fearless soldier and a skillful general, and he learned all the tactics of diplomacy. As emperor, he ruled more of India than any previous monarch, but in a court that had become a byword for luxury, he lived a life of austere piety. Yet of all India's rulers, few pursued policies that have excited more controversy among successive generations. In large measure, this is the result of his religious policies, for it was these that have coloured men's evaluation of his reign. Even as a young man, Aurangzeb was known for his
devotion to the Muslim religion and observance of Islamic injunctions. After his second [and formal] coronation on June 5, 1659, he issued orders which were calculated to satisfy orthodoxy. He appointed censors of public morals in all important cities to enforce Islamic law and he tried to put down such practices as drinking, gambling, and prostitution. Although there were some such popular measures as showing a determined opposition to all illegal exactions and to all taxes which were not authorized by Islamic law, and the abolishing of the inland transport duty, but gradually the emperor's puritanism began to manifest itself and steps were taken which were not generally approved. In 1668 he forbade music at his court and, with the exception of the royal band, he pensioned off the large number of state musicians and singers. The festivities held on the emperor's birthday, including the custom of weighing him against gold and silver, were discontinued, and the mansabdars were forbidden to offer him the usual presents. The ceremony of darshan was abandoned in 1679.

During the long struggle for the throne the central authority had tended to lose administrative control over the distant parts of the empire, and after he had defeated his rivals, Aurangzeb started to reorganize the civil government. He had used the need of revitalizing the instruments of imperial power as a justification for his seizure of the throne, and his intention of making good his promise was soon felt throughout the empire. The provincial governors began to extend the borders of the empire, and local authorities, who had grown accustomed to ignoring orders from Agra, the imperial
capital, discovered that the new regime could act swiftly against them.

So far as Aurangzeb's personal qualities are concerned, there is much approval. Undaunted bravery, grim tenacity of purpose, and ceaseless activity were some of his prominent qualities. His military campaigns gave sufficient proof of his unusual courage, and the manner in which he baffled the intrigues of his enemies shows him to have been a past master of diplomacy and state-craft. His memory was exceptional and his activities indefatigable. He never forgot a face he had once seen or a word that he had once heard. His life was remarkable for its simplicity. His dress, food, and recreations were all extremely simple. He died at the age of ninety, but all his faculties [except his hearing] remained unimpaired.

A well-read man, he kept up his love of books till the end. He wrote beautiful Persian prose. A selection of his letters has long been a standard model of simple but elegant prose.

It is his general attitude to culture that explains why the Mughal court, which under Shāh Jahān had been the great center of patronage for the arts, ceased to be so in Aurangzeb's reign. He abolished the office of the poet-laureate, discontinued the work of the court-chronicler, and offered little encouragement to painters.

Orthodox and puritanical in his outlook, and this constituted both the strength and weakness of his character. It gave definiteness to his ideas and plans, produced energy and strength born of strong faith and austere character, created enthusiasm and sustained it, and generated a will to stick to and carry through his object. On the other hand, it
also produced a one-track mind, a narrow Weltanschauung, constricted vision, and wrong perspective. Such an outlook in a ruler was calculated to foment fanaticism and bigotry, and create a gulf between the various communities of the state.

A fine writer and an able military leader, Aurangzeb could use both his pen and sword with equal success. His strong determination, will, and perseverance were equalled by his insight into human weakness and political craft. His bravery and courage were tempered with caution and self-control. His power of endurance and coolness in moments of trial were as great assets to him as his capacity for hard work in dealing with details. His grave demeanour, natural reserve and sobriety, inspired awe; while his rigorous policy and deep-laid diplomacy excited fear. He could command respect and awe, but fear could not inspire love for he was as cold as steel. In diplomacy and the handling of soldiers he clearly outmatched all his rivals. Whatever might be said of him, he could never be charged of weakness-physical, intellectual or emotional. He was, however, touchy, broody, rancorous and ruthless. He did not easily repose trust in men nor inspire it in others; and yet he knew how to take service from them.
CHAPTER FOUR

The Emperors as Patrons of Arts - Painters and Other Artists - Musicians and Singers - Literature, Philosophy, Religion.
THE MUGHAL EMPERORS AS PATRONS OF ARTS.

The greatness of the Mughal achievement in the political unification of India was matched by the splendour and beauty of the work of architects, poets, historians, painters and musicians who flourished in the period. The similarities of the Mughal empire to the Bourbon monarchy in France during the same period have often been noted, and in India as in France a literate and refined court gave a particular style and manner to a wide variety of arts.

In the cities of the Oxus - Bukhara and Samarqand - amid the chaos caused by the disintegration of the Mongol empire in the latter half of the 14th century, a new power arose, which was to have a marked effect on the political situation of Persia and of Asia generally.

The central figure of this movement was the Amir Timūr - Tamerlane - one of the most ruthless despots Asia has ever produced. But although an iconoclast, Timūr was, in his capital at Samarqand, a great patron of learning and the arts. This appreciation of the intellectual talents of others, which compensates not a little for the immense destruction he brought about in other countries, especially in India, was the family heritage of the Timūrids. And this tradition was carried by a scion of his house, the chivalrous
Bābur, to India, to create two centuries later the art of the Mughals. The dynasty as a whole was so keenly interested in the arts that each emperor, as he came into power, put something of himself into the arts of his reign.

When the Mughal empire achieved the reputation of being one of the mightiest in the East, the arts too started to flourish under them.

It was customary in mediaeval times for poets and painters, writers and musicians, to be attached to courts, thus forming part of the brilliant assembly of talent which usually surrounded the throne of an Eastern potentate.

Painting was the first art that enjoyed full development under the Mughals. It was inspired by the founders of the dynasty, reflected in its subject-matter and in its intention the mind of the ruling power. The Mughal school confined itself to portraying the life of the court, with its state functions, processions, hunting expeditions and all the picturesque pageantry of an affluent oriental dynasty. As patrons of painting the Mughals gave the world a legacy of enduring beauty. To Humāyūn must go credit for the founding of the Mughal school of painting.
During his wanderings in Persia and what is now Afghanistan he came across painters who studied under Bihzād, and persuaded Khwāja 'Abd-ūs-Ṣamād and Mīr Sayyid 'Alī (the pupil of Bihzād) to join his court at Kābul in 1550. They accompanied him to Delhi, forming the nucleus of the Mughal school. This school was properly developed under Akbar in the course of his long reign, who organized it with his usual zeal. It was under his direct supervision and the more prominent of the one hundred or so painters were granted ranks in the governmental structure as mansabdars or ahadis.

The painters worked in a large building at Fathpūr Sīkrī and, according to Abu'l Fazl, the works of all painters were weekly laid before Akbar by the daroghas and the clerks; he then conferred rewards according to the excellence of workmanship or increased the monthly salaries. Khwāja 'Abd-ūs-Ṣamād was the head of the establishment and was known by the title of shirīm qalam, referring to his skill in calligraphy. Later he became master of the mint and subsequently was appointed dīwān at Multān.

As the art of the miniature painter, in its Mughal aspect, was dependent entirely on the ruling power for its support, the history of the school follows the same course as that of the Mughal dynasty, flourishing when it flourished
and declining when it declined. Under the aesthetic Jahângîr, with his intelligent patronage, it reached its meridian, which was maintained in a somewhat less degree during the magnificent reign of Shâh Jahân, the builder of the Tâj Maḥal. The decline of the art began with Aurangzeb, who occupied the throne from 1658 to 1707, and from whose puritanical zeal the painters received little encouragement. Its death-knell was rung by the feeble emperors who followed; immersed in domestic strife and political dissension, they didn’t attempt to stem the tide of its decay.

**Nature and Jahângîr.**

Animals and birds figure prominently in the painting of the Mughals, especially during the reign of Jahângîr, as this emperor was personally interested in their appearance and habits. His Memoirs contain constant references to his study of any unusual species, and in rare birds he took a keen delight. Of these he frequently ordered his artists to make paintings, and of some we have descriptions and pictures combined. There is the now well-known one of the turkey-cock, an account of which occupies two pages of the Memoirs, including the circumstances by which the emperor became possessed of this bird, hitherto unknown in India.

**Bâbur as Patron of Arts**

Bâbur’s versatility of genius stands out in high relief as one of the most remarkable men Asia has ever produced. Because of historic circumstances, Bâbur became more an active artist himself, than a patron of arts. In fact, he was an outstanding and first-class artist on the field of artistic creativity in which he managed to be productive. Thus, in the composition of Turki poetry, he was second only to Amir 'Ali
Shāh. He has written a **divān** in the purest and most lucid Turki. He invented a style of verse called **mubayyan**, and was the author of a most useful treatise on jurisprudence which has been generally adopted. He also wrote an essay on Turki prosody, more elegant than any other. Then there is his **Waqā’i’**, or **Turki Memoirs**, written in a simple, unaffected, yet very pure style. He excelled in music and other arts. Added to this he was a learned philosopher, a mighty hunter, an enthusiastic traveller, an insatiable sightseer, an eager student of the habits and appearance of animals and birds, and especially devoted to flowers, gardens and the beauties of nature. Above all he was a born artist - as shown on almost every page of his own memoirs. At all times and seasons his love of scenery, flowers and natural effects impels him to describe these with a sympathy and intimacy which is a sure sign of the aesthetic mind. He had the artist's eye which enabled him to write so feelingly of the beauty of the camp-fires twinkling below him, like stars reflected in a murky sea. Even when in the direst need, he could always find solace in the exquisite growth of some flower, or fruit, or tree, as on a perilous occasion when his life was in immediate danger he lingered in an orchard to write "one apple-tree had been in excellent bearing. On some branches five or six scattered leaves still remained, and exhibited a beauty which the painter, with all his skill, might attempt in vain, to portray." Here undoubtedly was the aesthetic spirit, which, given opportunity, might have achieved great things. But Bābur lived before his time. His life was destined to be spent mainly in the tented field.
HUMAYÚN AS PATRON OF ARTS.

Babur's successor, Humayun, while a man with intellectual leanings and talent to follow various artistic pursuits, had even a more chequered career than Babur. During his mid-reign he was chased out of India into exile - spent in Persia. To a man of studious disposition, as Humayun undoubtedly was, these years of exile were far from wasted, much of his time being spent in travel, and in a variety of intellectual pursuits. For one whole year he was entertained at the court of Shâh Tahmâsp of Persia, and his experiences there were destined, at a later date, to have an important effect on the arts of Hindustan. Humayun found Persia, under the early rule of Safavids, an attractive study. Infected by the aesthetic zeal of his royal host, Humayun spent some time in travelling about the country, visiting its historic cities, conversing with its scholars, listening to its musicians and poets and making himself known in the studios of its most noted artists. Humayun never lost his hope of one day recovering his lost empire, and see himself surrounded by savants and artists attracted to his court by the generosity of his patronage. That this was no idle dream, but a very practical belief, is clear from his actions. At Tabriz he made the acquaintance of a young painter of the name of Mîr Sayyid 'Alî, whose work even then was causing sensation. He had been associated with some of the leading artists of the country, and his work was judged equal to theirs. In 1550 the two artists Mîr Sayyid 'Alî and Khwâjah 'Abd-us-Samâd, left their native country to join Humayun at Kâbul. Here, on the confines of his empire, Humayun re-established some semblance of authority. Although engaged in the preparations for the important event
to regain his lost kingdom, Humayun found leisure for many peaceful occupations, in which he utilized the services of his artists, including the preparation and illustration of the famous Persian classic, Dastan-i-Amir Hamzah, portions of which have survived. They accompanied Humayun to Agra and were retained later by Akbar as his court painters. By training local talent and attracting other artists from abroad, a school of painting was established which was to be one of the glories of the Mughal empire. Thus, while Humayun's career as an Indian ruler was brief and insecure, his contribution to the cultural synthesis of the Mughal period was of very considerable importance, for from his reign dates the growing Persian influence on Islamic civilization in India.

AKBAR AS PATRON OF ARTS.

Akbar was a judicious patron of arts and literature. Although he did not learn the art of writing and did not like reading even if he could, he was learned and acute enough to understand fine points of poetry, ethics, religion and philosophy. Endowed with an amazingly powerful and tenacious memory, he had acquired a fund of knowledge that commanded the admiration even of his critics. He was an active patron of high class and genuine poetry, but he did not like shallow effusions and vulgarity of expression. The art of painting and architecture owes a good deal to his initiative, direct interest and judicious encouragement. He was fond of classical music, both vocal and instrumental, and extended his patronage to worthy musicians and artists.

The belief that art is a valuable means to ennoble and to elevate was beautifully uttered by Akbar, whose words are quoted by his minister and chronicler, Abu’l Fazl:
"One day at a private party of friends, His Majesty (the Emperor Akbar), who had conferred on several the pleasure of drawing near him, remarked; "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 the other, must come to feel, that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life and will thus increase in knowledge." 229

This view of art, analogous in its splendid humility to the deep sincerity of the primitive Italian painters, might well be remembered once again, in golden letters, today.

With Akbar began the fusion of the Hindu and Persian styles from which Mughal art was evolved. Akbar used to pay regular visits to the studios and reward the artists according to their proficiency. The studios, with their staff of painters, calligraphists, grinders of colours and gilders, were busy hives of industry. Among the tasks undertaken in the royal Ateliers, were an album containing portraits of him and the great nobles of the Court, as Akbar was an enthusiastic admirer of portraiture; and when he grew to man's age his ideas on the subject became very practical, as the following extract from the A'in plainly testifies. "His Majesty 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; those that have passed away have received a new life, and those who are still alive have immortality promised them."
Only judicious encouragement and intelligent patronage were necessary to stimulate the artists into action. And the Mughal emperor supplied these requisites in a most liberal manner. Akbar was only a boy when he was placed on the insecure throne of his father and confronted with the stupendous task of restoring order on a territory that had long been subjected to foreign invasion, internal strife, and civil wars. Fifteen years later the boy has become a man and the country, so loosely held by Babur and Humayun, has, by his genius and indefatigable effort, been made into a most powerful and stable empire. Akbar could now find leisure to devote his abilities to the encouragement of learning. While Babur and Humayun's real interests were not centred on India, but in their own native land beyond the Oxus, towards the blue domes and glittering minars of Bukhara and Samarqand, with all the refinements that these symbolized, Akbar made, with architecture and art, the barrenness of the Agra district into something approaching the magnificence of their Timurid home. For Akbar's instinct told him that Farghana and all that it meant to him, was forever lost and that any hope of occupying the throne of the Timurids was but an empty dream.

Akbar knew that the architectural magnificence of Bukhara and Samarqand was only an outward sign of the wonders that lay within; that they contained libraries and colleges, mosques and council-halls, with meeting places and workshops for the accommodation of all the scholars and skilled craftsmen who were attracted by the patronage extended to them by their imperial founders. Akbar realized that if he desired to encourage literature and the arts, he too must plan an imperial capital with all the requisite conveniences.
the architectural and engineering talent in his rapidly expanding territories, a plan was outlined; and in 1569 orders were issued for its materialization. So came into being the city of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, which to this day, although empty and deserted, stands forth as a memorial to the enterprise and artistic genius of its founder. And even before this great work was finished, when its palaces and mosques, library and mint, baths and schools, aqueducts and causeways, were still under construction, Akbar began his work of reviving all forms of learning under the shadow of this triumph of his master-builders' skill. Here, he gradually drew together a concourse of talent—writers, poets, historians, and philosophers, who debated and lectured, studied and wrote, very often under their imperial patron's own personal supervision. Here took place those religious discussions ultimately to give birth to that climax of unorthodoxy, the Divine Faith. Here also came the first Christian mission to the court of the "Great Mughal"—Father Acquaviva and his fellow priests, tired and travel-stained with their long journey from Goa, but buoyed up with a fervent hope, bringing with them books and pictures of the West. To this Mecca of learning flocked accomplished men from all parts of the Orient—Eastern literature enjoyed a brief though brilliant "Indian summer" within the marble pavilions of Akbar's sumptuous capital. With this revival of learning under the rising power of the Mughal rule in Hindustan came also a revival of the fine arts. Already much had been done to stimulate all forms of craftsmanship by the building of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī on a magnificent scale. Architects and builders, carvers and decorators, had been brought together from every
part of the empire to contribute their skill to the great undertaking.

Akbar - says Father Monserrate - is so devoted to building that he sometimes quarries stone himself, along with the other workmen. Nor does he shrink from watching and even himself practising, for the sake of amusement, the craft of an ordinary artisan. For this purpose he has built a workshop near the palace, where also are studios and work-rooms for the finer and more reputable arts, such as painting, goldsmith work, tapestry-making, carpet and curtain-making, and the manufacture of arts. Hither he very frequently comes and relaxes his mind with watching at their work those who practise these arts.

From his young days Akbar had shown a decided liking for the pictorial art and gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as a means, both of study and amusement. Portraiture enjoyed a tremendous upsurge under Akbar. Abu'l-Fazl, his brother Faizî, the "prince of poets", and Tânsen, the famous musician, as prominent masters of their respective arts, are frequently depicted. Chief among the Mughal ministers stands Todar Mal, who combined the duties of a general in the field with those of revenue minister, two very different offices, but both of which he filled with equal success. Other famous Hindus who gave Akbar of their best: here is Rāja Bīrbal, now known mainly on account of his princely palace, one of the most attractive buildings at Fathpūr Sīkrī; likewise Rāja Man Singh of Amber, who fought so bravely side by side with his emperor at the battle of Sarnal, and showed his Rājput chivalry in many other fierce encounters. These and many others,
named and unnamed, crowd the imperial collection's folios. In one picture may be seen a dark robed figure, with light complexion, identified as Father Francisco Corsi.\textsuperscript{232} Some of the copies from miniatures of the West, which gave Jahāṅgīr such delight, have been preserved, including one of Lady Roe.\textsuperscript{233}

Among the lesser characters, whose reputations have lived longer than their masters', may be noted the famous buffoon, Mullā-dū-piyāza, whose mirth-provoking witticisms still move to laughter. But the list is unending - princes, priests, courtiers and grooms, musicians and dancing-girls, soldiers and mendicants, all sorts and conditions of men and women, jostle one another in this remarkable portrait gallery. And the Mughals did not confine themselves solely to the human element, for there are many pictures of animals, portraits of favourite elephants and horses painted with no little feeling. Of favourite hawks there are many pictures, while cranes, peacocks, fighting quails, and other animals and birds are frequently depicted, because they gave in life all the sport and pleasure within their power to their delighted owners.

Portraiture is shown not only in the numerous individual likenesses of the Mughal emperors, but in those frequent representations of court scenes and ceremonies, in which they are the central figures, elevated above all others. But less important people were also eager for some form of immortality, historical or pictorial. At this age, portraiture seemed to be one of the means of satisfying an obvious craving for immortality, for there is nothing illusory in a likeness - it is a definite and concrete fact of the person's existence.
The Mughals' Contact with European Art and Crafts.

The first Indian potentate to display an interest in the handiwork of the European craftsman was the Mughal emperor Akbar. Comparatively early in his reign, in 1572, he had spent a year in the conquest of Gujarāt, in close proximity to some of the Western seaports, where he made the acquaintance of the Portuguese merchants and learned something about them and their affairs. The Mughal ruler appears to have been impressed by their knowledge, for in 1577 he is reported to have retained a Portuguese officer in his service.

Towards the end of the 16th century pictures of religious subjects from Europe were not infrequent at Akbar's court, and these were soon followed by paintings of a secular order. There is little doubt that by this time European pictures were the fashion at the Mughal court, being displayed in many of the halls and pavilions of Akbar's capital. And it was not long before these European works of art were followed by European artists. As the scope of Goa mission expanded and the work of decoration of new churches increased, so more artists were sent over there from Europe. In 1595 one of these, a Portuguese, accompanied the third Jesuit mission to Lahore, and was the first European painter to arrive at the Mughal court. It was not long before he was summoned by Akbar and directed to copy in his presence a picture of the Virgin Mary, brought by the priests, which the emperor had much admired. Such an episode in itself affords an instructing picture. We can see the Mughal sovereign seated in state and accompanied by his sons, their gaily coloured attire contrasting with the sombre garments of the small group.
of Jesuits standing near, while in the background is gathered a brilliant and expectant staff. Signs are not lacking that Western art never lost its attraction to this picture-loving monarch. In his eagerness for pictures of all kinds, Akbar encouraged the introduction of European art into his dominions and that he also extended his patronage to its painters.

JAHĀNGĪR, THE AESTHETE, AS PATRON OF ARTS.

At this time the arts were at such a stage of development that they could only thrive on the personal enthusiasm of the ruler - without his support it would of necessity languish. Fortunately, in Akbar's son, Jahāngīr, the Indian artists and especially the painters found a friend whose interest in their work was so ardent as to be almost unprecedented in the history of art patronage. Two factors aided not a little in the perfection of the arts under Jahāngīr's tuition. The principal one was this monarch's own artistic personality. The other was the settled state of the country during his rule. When he took up the reins of government, the emperor found himself able to contemplate, with a serenity which suited his ease-loving nature, a great empire in the building up of which all the hard work had been done for him by his predecessors. During the whole of his reign, therefore, he walked in the ways of pleasantness. In his life he was to reap where others had sown. And Jahāngīr's disposition was admirably constituted to revel in all the good things which his forbears, by sword and by sweat of brow, had provided for him. But of the two factors referred to, the personal element was the one which had the greater influence on the progress of arts during his time. There are two authorities on Jahāngīr, his life and his times, from which it
is possible to gain a clear idea of his character and its manifestations. Both have special merit because they are contemporary records. One of these is Jahāngīr's own Memoirs, which is a full account of his doings during the most eventful years of his life. In this entertaining diary of imperial events we see the king as he would like to be seen, carrying out as faithfully as his volatile nature would permit, his obligations towards his subjects, taking his proper share in the duties of his high office, but at the same time enjoying his life to the fullest. As a whole, it is a plain story, without any very serious omissions or exaggerations, but full of incidents, interviews and episodes, which throw considerable light on his personality and surroundings. The other authority is an Englishman, Sir Thomas Roe, who, as ambassador from the court of James I, spent four years at the court of the "Great Mughal". His impressions are conveyed in his 'Letters', which have been preserved and are invaluable because of the effective picture they present to us, particularly frank in its treatment, of Jahāngīr and his mode of life.

Jahāngīr ascended the throne of the Mughals at the age of thirty-seven years, when his mind was fully formed and his ideas ripened by much experience. By this time he had shown himself to be a true descendant of the Timūrīds in many of his characteristics and in these he bore a remarkable resemblance to his ancestor, Bābur. In none of the long line of distinguished descendants were Bābur's sentiments so accurately reproduced as in the person of his great-grandson Jahāngīr. It is in the similarity of their tastes that this is most noticeable. Both loved flowers, gardens, scenery, travelling,
sight-seeing, sport. Both suffered from the vice of self-indulgence, especially with regard to wine, but this failing was redeemed to some extent by their sense of good-fellowship - they drank, but like gentlemen. Both were fond of poetry, music and arts, both read and wrote much - both producing voluminous memoirs - and both were enthusiastic nature-lovers and eager observers of animal life.

His love of nature has been cited as Jahāngīr's most pleasing characteristic, but it did not stop with his descriptions in poetry and poetic prose; he loved the graphic delineation also, he found endless joy in all the exquisite wonders that the world held for him. For in Jahāngīr was the artistic temperament, that aesthetic intuition which enabled him to see and admire all things in their most perfect state of beauty. He knew well that to obtain the full measure of life it was necessary to use this gift freely, and accordingly his whole nature throbs with ecstasy as he revels in his gardens among flowers or under fruitful trees listening to the music of the birds. All these he loved, as becomes an artist and a poet, and yearned to reproduce them in colour or song.

"What shall I write of? And how many shall I describe" he cries, as he tries in vain to number the flowers of Kashmīr. And then out of the very joy of his heart, and unable to contain his gladness, he bursts into song:

The garden-nymphs were brilliant,  
Their cheeks shone like lamps;  
There were fragrant buds on their stems,  
Like dark amulets on the arms of the beloved.  
The wakeful, ode-rehearsing nightingale  
Whetted the desires of wine-drinkers;
At each fountain the duck dipped his beak
Like golden scissors cutting silk;
There were flower-carpets and fresh rosebuds,
The wind fanned the lamps of the roses;
The violet braided her locks;
The buds tied a knot in the heart.

(Jahāṅgīr's Memoirs II, p. 144)

Such was the nature of the monarch who, at this all-important stage, had the moulding of arts in his hands. And such was his poetical temperament that he remarked of a perfume that "it restores hearts that have gone and brings back withered souls".

The emperor spent much of his leisure in travelling about his domains, revelling in the gardens he had built, visiting various historical localities in the plains, and enjoying the glorious scenery of the mountains. To many of these places he went again and again, often erecting sumptuous summer houses. In these retreats that pleased him most, he loved to linger many days on end. Where the hand of nature failed, he supplied the deficiency by the hand of his trained artists, painting the walls of these dwellings with scenes and designs of the most gratifying description such as at Ajmīr's Chashma-i-Nūr.234 It was, however, in the beautiful valley of Kashmir that Jahāṅgīr's aesthetic soul found its greatest delight, and here he spent many of his happiest days - it is recorded that he travelled the long and difficult road there more than a dozen different occasions. It is hardly to be wondered at, that at the end of his journey, he liked to find his rest in a garden house, situated in the most beautiful surroundings and lavishly decorated with the art in which he
had taken a lifelong pleasure. In the flowers of the valley Jahāngīr showed the utmost joy and in his descriptions of these, which frequently occur in his Memoirs, his artistic spirit is clearly revealed. With the wonderful variety of the flowers Jahāngīr had been entranced, and eventually he commissioned his leading artist, Ustad Mansūr, to paint as many as he could find. Later he states that the number that had been already copied exceeded a hundred. Wherever Jahāngīr went a small staff of court painters accompanied him, ready at all times to put on record any event that pleased their sovereign's fancy. As Jahāngīr was a passionate lover of painting, the finest flowering of the Mogul school of painting was during his brilliant patronage. He organized a staff of excellent painters, supervised their work, and took the best of their miniatures, as well as a variety of other pictures and calligraphies, bound in magnificently adorned albums.

Jahāngīr devotes long passages in his memoirs to the description of Indian plants and animals. In his diary he records, over a period of a month or more, an almost scientific description of two hawks from the moment of copulation to the time of the feeding of the fledglings. About a falcon, given to him as a present, he writes, in 1619: "What am I to write about the beauty and the colours of this bird! It has many beautiful black spots on the wings, the back and the sides. It was so unusual that I ordered Ustad Mansūr to make a painting of it."
This aesthetic-cum-ornithological interest of the Emperor may be seen in Mansūr's surviving pictures of falcons. It was only natural that the emperor's interest should be aroused by unusual things and people - by the obese musician, the emaciated ascetic. But even in the representation of everyday life, the emphasis of the painting was on objectivity, on the need for veracity and for minute and careful study of detail.

The portraits became the most celebrated painting genres. The Mughal portrait achieved a world-wide fame in the 17th century. The paintings of darbār scenes, celebrating a successful hunting expedition or some similar event, are really mass portraits.

Jahāngīr regarded the artistic gift more precious than anything else. This Weltanschauung remind us of the gesture of the Emperor Charles when he stooped to pick up Titian's brush. For the genuine patron, however eminent, is scarcely better understood by the world at large than the artist; and because he feels this, he is willing to make common bonds with the latter. Such great patrons as Jahāngīr - for by virtue of the aspects of his character which have here been glanced at, Jahāngīr was a great patron - are vicarious progenitors of genius. It was scarcely less enviable to have been in loco parentis to such as Abū'1-Hassan, and Mansūr, than it was to have executed their paintings under a vivifying influence. No system has yet been devised by men to replace the celestial system of the patron and the artists! With Jahāngīr's advent the Hour and the Man had come once more for Indian painting; and at his passing, there passed with
him one of the brightest phases of Mughal Art. Jahângîr's mania for collecting included all kinds of European curiosities—watches, jewels, but especially pictures. He had a picture gallery of his own and enriched it with the works of many European artists, which the Portuguese and the English Ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, brought to him as presents. Sir Thomas Roe's experience of the Grand Mughal's wonderful interest in art (so inimitably described in the Ambassador's own account) is sufficiently summarized by Elphinstone's brief but significant statement: "Sir Thomas also gave a picture to the Mogul and was soon after presented with several copies among which he had great difficulty in distinguishing the original." (Elphinstone, History of India, p. 560).

Jahângîr's interest in European painting is thus explained by another author "As a youth he saw the religious pictures which the first Jesuit Mission brought to the court of the Great Mughal for he accompanied the Emperor to their Chapel, and heard the discussions which took place concerning these examples of Western painting. This gave him an interest in European art which lasted all his life". The truth is that Jahângîr inherited from his father a noble breadth of vision in art if not in statesmanship, and consequently was devoid of petty fear of eclectic influence, rather believing in the influx of Western ideas, which of course need not imply Western ideals. The ruler had also imbibed from his father—if indeed the belief was not inherent in his aesthetic tendencies—a high opinion of the importance and dignity of the artist's calling.
Shāh Jahān. His reign also was one of remarkable artistic activity. The young emperor-elect was obviously as greedy as Jahāngīr to possess examples of European painters' art. Although Shāh Jahān took no little pleasure in the productions of his court painters, he had not that passion for pictures which was such a notable characteristic of his predecessors. While he maintained on his staff a limited and select body of highly trained artists, in numbers these were nothing to be compared with the great concourse of painters who for over a generation had been dependent on the patronage of the Mughal rulers. The groups of painters who had flocked around Akbar's and Jahāngīr's courts, finding their services no longer required under Shāh Jahān, after a time began to look around for other means of support.

Shāh Jahān's artistic patronage diffused itself over the whole field of the fine and applied arts. This monarch's name is, however, chiefly associated with architecture, because it is by the many noble buildings erected in his reign that he is most widely known. The palace-fort at Delhi, which he caused to be built not long after his ascending to the throne, is a testimony to his magnificence.

Under Shāh Jahān another art form reached its zenith - it was Jewellery, and the monument of this decorative but very costly art was his Peacock Throne at Delhi, with a mass of diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and other valuable gems - dealt with in detail in other parts of this thesis.

Shāh Jahān's eldest son, Dārā Shikoh, also took a keen interest in pictures. This gifted prince was a renowned collector of these works of art. Apart from its artistic
value, his book has no little historical interest, as it is a record of a very pathetic incident in what was destined to be a most unfortunate career ending in a miserable death.

Aurangzeb. A scholar and poet, he banished poets from his court, abolished the office of royal historiographer, issued edicts against music and dancing, and turned every singer and musician out of the palace precincts. If his private morals were in keeping with the austere bent of his religious habits, he succeeded in uprooting the last traces of that wise and generous policy on which Akbar had sought to lay steadfast the foundations of the Mughal rule.

Many records favour the supposition that Aurangzeb offered very little encouragement in the sphere of art, but whether he persisted throughout the whole of his reign in prohibiting any form of expression of which he did not personally approve, is far from proved. On the contrary, much material conclusively demonstrates that the arts generally flourished very much as they did under his less bigoted predecessors. Painting is a case in point. The number of pictures, although undoubtedly inferior in quality, is as great, if not greater, than in the previous period. Moreover, that many of these paintings were executed with the emperor's concurrence, if not at his express wish, is shown by the fact that they often include a portrait of Aurangzeb himself. We see him hunting, travelling, reading, governing, and commanding his army, just as Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān were depicted in their time. But one fact may be noticed - in almost all these pictures he is shown as an old man, rarely seen in his young age. But Aurangzeb was a man of moods and did, in some of his
more puritanical moments, lay the heavy hand of imperial restraint on the artistic aspirations of his subjects. Where, however, the skill of the artist served a useful purpose, Aurangzeb was ready to turn it to advantage, as one case at least plainly shows. His eldest son, Muhammad Sultan, after giving the emperor much anxiety, finally revolted against him, only to surrender a few months afterwards. Aurangzeb, who, like the Bourbons, never forgot and never forgave, in spite of his fondness for the erring prince, had him confined in the state prison at Gwalior. Continuing to retain some of his fatherly affection, he arranged for portraits of the prisoner to be painted from time to time, and these were submitted to the emperor so that he should be kept regularly informed as to the state of his health.

Presumably Aurangzeb must have been the patron of those numerous pictures showing sieges and other military campaigns, especially in the Deccan. Incidentally, on these paintings Aurangzeb himself is occupying the central position.

Musicians and Singers.

The Mughals patronized music lavishly, and in this Akbar led the way. Abu'l Fazl gives the names of nearly forty prominent musicians and instrumentalists who flourished at Akbar's court. The most famous musician of the period was Miyan Tansen. According to some Muslim chroniclers, he was brought up in the hospice of Sheikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior, but Hindu tradition describes him as a disciple of Swami Haridas. It is not certain whether he formally adopted Islam, but his son, Bilas Khan, was certainly a Muslim. "A singer like him", wrote Abu'l Fazl, "has not been in India for the last two thousand years". Although Tansen made some changes,
the variety of music most extensively cultivated at Akbar's court was the ancient dhrupad. The same tradition was continued by Bilas Khān, the inventor of bilas todi. Music received great encouragement under Shāh Jahān. He had thirty prominent musicians and instrumentalists at his court who were generously rewarded for good performances. The stately dhrupad continued its sway, though there was a marked tendency towards beautification and ornamentation. The Khiyal school or music was beginning to assert itself.

Aurangzeb had himself studied music, but his deepening puritanism led him to abandon it on religious grounds. In 1668, he disbanded the large band of musicians attached to the royal court.

Literature, Philosophy, Religion at the Mughal Court.

Literature flourished under the patronage of the Mughal emperors, two of whom, Bābur and Jahāngīr, composed their own memoirs. At Akbar's court congregated a galaxy of poets, musicians and men of letters. Of the historians of the age incomparably the greatest is Abu'l Fazl [1551-1602]. His vast Akbar Nāma, of which the A'īn-i-Akbarī is a part, is the most important historical work which India has produced. The first part contains a history of the House of Tīmūr down to the forty-sixth year of the emperor; the remainder is a gazetteer. It deals with the Imperial Household and Court, the military and civil services, the judicial and executive departments, including finance and revenue, land revenue, the social, religious and literary characteristics of the Hindu population; and lastly, the sayings and observations of Akbar himself. Written in a spirit of frank hero-worship, it has earned for its author the title of the Mughal Boswell. No details,
from the revenues of a province to the price of a pineapple, are beyond his microscopic and patient investigation, but his annals have none of the pregnant meaning and point that in a few master-strokes exalt or brand a name to all time, and flash the actors of a drama across the living pages in scenes that dwell for ever in the memory. Some of the most important undertakings of the men of letters of the Mughal Court were the translation into Persian of standard Sanskrit works. A deep interest was taken in Hindu philosophy, and Faizī, the Poet Laureate, rendered the Bhagavad Gītā into Persian verse. Dārā Shikoh was a student of the Vedānta and the Upanishads.

No Muslim noble would be considered cultured unless he possessed a good library. The royal palaces contained immense libraries. According to Father Manrique, the library of Agra in 1641 contained 24,000 volumes, valued at six and a half million rupees. Persian was the language of Mughal intellectual life. Since the Ghaznavid occupation of Lahore in the beginning of the 11th century, Persian had been the official language of the Muslim government and the literary language of the higher classes, but with the advent of the Mughals it entered a new era. Hitherto Persian had reached India mainly from Afghanistan, Turkistan, and Khorasan, and had many common features with Tajik. With the establishment of closer relations between India and Iran after Humāyūn's visit to that country, and the arrival of a large number of distinguished Iranis in the reign of Jahāṅgīr and later Mughal rulers, the linguistic and literary currents began to flow from Iran itself. Shiraz and Isfahan now replaced Ghazni and Bukhara in literary inspiration with considerable
refinement of the language as a result.

The poet who outshone all others in this distinguished group was Faizī [1547-1595], whose genius matured before the large-scale immigration of poets from Iran and the introduction of the new school of poetry. He was the brother of Abu'l Fazl. As Akbar's poet-laureate, his poetry is a mirror of a triumphant age.

Bada'ūnī [1540-1615], who wrote with bias and even venom, yet who was a consummate artist, a master of the telling phrase, and capable of evoking a living picture with a few deft strokes. It is characteristic of Mughals that next to Persian, the language which received the greatest patronage at court was Hindi. The practice started in Akbar's reign of having a Hindu kavi rai along with the Persian malik-ul-shuara. Already Muslim poets such as Jaisi and Kabir had enriched the Hindi language. Among Hindus the greatest Hindi poet of Akbar's days was the famous Tulsidas, whose career was spent far from the worldly courts. There were, however, well-known Hindi poets amongst Akbar's courtiers. Rāja Bīrbal [1528-1583] was the kavi rai, but the works of Akbar's general, Abdul Rahim have been better preserved.

Until the decline of the empire Urdu literature received scarcely any encouragement at the Mughal courts, but it was systematically nourished in the south by the Sūfī saints and the Deccani kings.

Religion at Akbar's Court.

Of all the aspects of Akbar's life and reign, few have excited more interest than his attitude toward religion. There is every indication that he began his rule as a devout,
orthodox Muslim. He said all the five prayers in the congregation, often recited the call for prayers, and occasionally swept out the palace mosque himself.

Further indication of Akbar's orthodoxy and of his religious zeal was shown in his devotion to Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-din, the great Chishtī saint whose tomb at Ajmēr was an object of veneration. He made his first pilgrimage to the tomb in 1565, and thereafter he went almost every year. He always entered Ajmēr on foot, and in 1568 and 1570, in fulfilment of vows, walked the entire way from Agra to Ajmēr. It was probably devotion to Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-din that was responsible for Akbar's interest in Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, a contemporary saint who lived at the site of what was to become Akbar's capital at Fathpūr Sīkri. It was there that he built the 'Ibadat Khāna, which he set apart for religious discussions. Every Friday after the congregational prayers, learned men from many countries, dervishes, theologians, and courtiers interested in religious affairs, would assemble in the 'Ibadat Khāna and discuss religious subjects in the royal presence.
CHAPTER FIVE

The Mughal Court in Movement -
Pleasure Trips, esp. to Kashmir -
Hunting - War Time.
THE ROYAL COURT IN MOVEMENT

The King goes to Kashmîr

One of the best examples to illustrate the royal court's travels - and the most typical one - is the emperor's journey to Kashmîr. Since Akbar conquered this land all Mughal emperors did the trip, some of them, like Jahângîr, most assiduously, despite all the difficulties, even dangers, involved in such a trip at the 16th and 17th centuries.

We can take Manucci's fully described report of Aurangzeb's journey to Kashmîr in 1662 (December 6 as starting day), which was to last about a year, if going, staying and coming counted. The first night was rested in Shalimar, about three leagues from the royal palace in Delhi, also to give time for preparations.

The king and nobles travel with two sets of tents; thus, while one set is in use, the other set is sent ahead for the next day. Some two hundred camels and fifty elephants were there to carry the royal tents. In the morning the heavy artillery starts the march and it is drawn up like an avenue. They are in charge to carry a beautiful boat to ferry the emperor across any river. After follows the baggage, then the cavalry and finally the
infantry. As the royal camp is a city complete with every possible need of a city's population, when on move it is endless. With other transport, there were two hundred camels, loaded with silver (rupees), one hundred camels carrying gold, one hundred and fifty camels laden with nets used in hunting tigers. The royal office of record was also there, for they always accompany the court, and to carry this, eighty camels were required, besides thirty elephants, and twenty carts loaded with the registers and papers of account of the empire. Some fifty camels carried water, for the royalty's use. A number of mules carry small tents, clothes, even essence of various odoriferous flowers.

When the emperor decides to march the next day, the royal kitchen start at ten o'clock of the night. The carrying of its supplies required fifty camels. Further there are fifty camels carrying one hundred cases packed with robes of honour, thirty elephants loaded with special and very valuable arms and jewels meant to be distributed to various generals,
captains, etc., presents to give to ladies. Again there marched close to the baggage one thousand labourers, with axes, mattocks, spades and pick-axes to clear any difficult passage. Their commanders rode on horseback carrying in their hands their badges of office. On arriving at the place appointed for the royal halt, they put up the tents and place in position the heavy artillery. Then the light artillery placed around the royal tents Aurangzeb started the day at six o'clock, seated on the throne presented to him by the Dutch Ambassador.

Twelve men were needed to carry the throne. He also had three palanquins at his disposal, and five elephants with different litters. The king marches the following way: at the time when he mounted the throne and issued from his tents all musical instruments were sounded. At the head came eight thousand cavaliers. On both wings, the right and left wings, each had eight thousand horsemen. In the rear of these two wings were mounted huntsmen, each with his bird of prey [hawk] on his wrist. Immediately in front of the king went nine elephants with dazzling flags; behind went four more, bearing green standards with a sun depicted on them. Behind these elephants were nine horses of state, all adorned and ready saddled; after these horses came two horsemen, one carrying a standard with Arabic letters on it, the other with a kettle-drum, which he struck lightly from time to time as a warning that the king was approaching. There were many men on foot; these were serving various purposes, some to chase away people coming too near, others to water the road, some having perfumes. One official was provided with a description of the provinces, lands and villages through which the king will pass. Other men
on foot march with a rope in their hands, measuring the route and the distance the royal party had marched. Another man on foot has charge of the hourglass and measures the time. Behind all these the king moves on his way quietly and very slowly. 248

So great is the Mughal king's dignity and delicacy with which he is treated, that ahead of the column goes a camel carrying some white cloth, which is used to cover over any dead animal or human being found on the road. They place heaps of stones on the corners so that the cloth may not be blown away by the wind. 249

The Mughals are extremely careful in preparing all the details for their royal ladies' march, overlooking no detail that could add to their glory. Usually they travel on a very large elephant in a litter called pitambar, very highly adorned and rich. Behind each royal lady follow about one hundred and fifty women servants, riding handsome horses and covered from head to foot with their mantles of various colours, each with a cane in her hand. 250 Aggressive men on foot and eunuchs on horseback drive away everybody, whether noble or pauper, with blows from sticks. At least one day ahead of this innumerable throng there always moved the Grand Master of the Royal Household, with other engineers, to choose an appropriate site - always a pleasant spot - where the royal tents should be unloaded. The camp is divided in such a way that there would be no confusion when the army arrives. First they fix the site of the royal enclosure. Behind the royal quarters is another gateway, where the women live, a place much respected. Special ornamented masts are raised with gilt knobs upon them. Only persons of royal blood may use
them. On the top of a very high mast was a lighted lantern to serve as a guide to those who arrived late. The tents of the nobles, although high, must not be so high as those of the emperors, otherwise they run the risk of having their tents knocked down. When the king goes to hunt he leaves the army behind and is followed by only men on foot and the soldiers of his guard. Everybody else continues the march extremely slowly. When the king arrives the queens and the ladies offer to the king congratulations saying "Manzil Mubarak." Although the princesses and ladies start the last, they always arrive the first, having taken a shorter route.

The royal camp, because of its beauty, order and the number of people who collect on such occasions, makes it look like a big city travelling from place to place. For there are wanting neither bazaars, nor shops, nor markets, nor sports, nor gold, nor silver; and indescribable magnificence is displayed.

Hunting.
Jahāṅgīr on lion hunt.

Lions are almost extinct in India, except for a few maneless specimens preserved in Kathiawar, but in the 16th and early 17th centuries they were so numerous as to be a source of great danger to all those travelling in Hindustan. Jahāṅgīr and his courtiers used to ride these beasts down and kill them with their bows and carbines and launces. In all the shikār scenes of the Mughals the lion is represented as the animal of their choice, pictures of tigers are extremely rare. Jahāṅgīr writes of a lion hunt; shown on one miniature:

"... on the 10th of the month of Dai, in the
neighbourhood of the pargana of Rahimabad (in the Bari Doab) the huntsmen brought the news of a lion. I ordered Iradat Khan and Firdai Khan to take with them some of the guards and surround the wood, and mounting an elephant I followed them and went towards the hunt. From the number of trees and thickness of the jungle it could not well be seen. Driving the elephant forward, the lion's flank came into view and with one wound from my gun he fell and gave up his life. Of all the lions I have shot from the time I was a prince until now I never saw a lion like this for size and majesty and the symmetry of its limbs. I ordered the artists to take its portrait according to its real form and body."

The painting captures the critical moment when the lion rolled over with the emperor's bullet in its brain. It is an exceedingly graphic production. In the distance is the rocky background overgrown with the close shrub which concealed the lion until it came out to its death. Standing near and evincing every sign of excitement and gratification at the result of the shot are the shikārīs, Iradat and Firdai, engaged in explaining to their royal master how and where the fatal shot took effect. All the persons in this picture are clearly portraits, even to the beaters with their staves and sticks in the foreground, while the elephants are undoubtedly the actual animals from the royal stables who took part in the event. Jahāngīr, whose elation at his own skill is apparent, is seen turning towards his suite, who have followed him on horseback and are voicing their congratulations with no little liveliness. At his side, on an elephant, that is being goaded reluctantly
to face the dying animal, is the head shikārī, who is complimenting his master in the usual fashion by means of an emphatic salaam. But one of the best drawn features in the picture is the lion, the death throes as the beast rolls over being very realistically rendered - the bullet has struck the animal in the head, as one of the shikāris on foot excitedly explains, and in its agony it claws the wound before it expires. The principle actors of the picture, the emperor and the lion, incline towards the centre.

Another hunting scene, but of a much more thrilling nature is an adventure which happened to him when he was a prince, and it left a vivid impression in his mind. Several pictures have survived, but this one is the most realistic. The expression on the face of the mahout as he crouches on the neck of the elephant to escape the lion's claws, and the incontinent manner in which the gun-bearer is leaving the howdah at the back, are cleverly portrayed.

War-time.

When the emperor was not in residence at the palace or in the field visiting outlying provinces, he was occupied with war. There, as in Agra and Delhi, he located himself at the center of all action. Military campaigns sometimes lasted many years, and the Mughals went to all possible lengths to make their military headquarters a portable model of the permanent court. Thus, most of these encampments were magnificent sights, carefully planned metropolises with two-storey towers, multitudes of tents and shelters, bazaars, libraries, ateliers, farms, hunting grounds, and as always, thousands of people. Such encampments swarmed with camels
and elephants hauling loads of ammunition, piles of hemp and hay, and plunder. Servants scurried in all directions, transporting art objects to the emperor's quarters for inspection or carrying messages and gossip from tent to tent. On the outskirts of the camp, herds of sheep and fields of corn and rice were kept by a veritable army of farmers, and around lower-caste soldiers camped in cow-dung huts. Closer to the center of this martial city, bazaars criss-crossed and intertwined in imitation of the typical Indian marketplace. Glass-cutters, tentmakers, goldsmiths, holy men - anyone who might be seen at the capital itself was seen here as well.

At the center of the cantonment, protected by walls and mounted guards, were the quarters of the emperor. Around his compound were tents: tents for salted fish, and dried fruit, tents for saltpeter, tents for the emperor's betel and hashish, and a portable tent to which the monarch, obliged by Muslim law to pray five times a day regardless of external condition, could withdraw in the midst of battle. Around this felt network were stationed the nobles with their wives and children as well as the officials of the court, the commanders and their officers - each living in a mobile house of a sumptuousness commensurate with his rank.

In the second period of Aurangzeb's reign, from 1682 to 1707, the emperor moved his court to the Deccan. His ostensible aim was - whatever that would cost - to eliminate the two considerable independent Muslim powers there - Bījāpūr and Golconda. He achieved that aim by the conquest of Bījāpūr in 1686 [there is a renowned painting of its siege
in that year] and that of Golconda in 1687. However, he still did not finish the complete consolidation of the Deccan and the warlike state went on with Aurangzeb with his court on the move till his death in 1707, never again returning to the north. While in the Deccan he had some European visitors, like Gemelli Careri and Manucci. They later described their impression of him.

Gemelli Careri, an Italian traveller, after he visited the Emperor in 1695, gave a vivid account of the huge moving city of the Imperial Court in wartime; thirty miles in circumference, with its two hundred and fifty bazaars, five hundred thousand camp followers, merchants and artificers, fifty thousand camels and thirty thousand baggage elephants. The royal tents alone, including the accommodation for the harem, covered three square miles of ground, and were defended by palisades and ditches, with guns mounted at regular intervals. Such an unwieldy host was entirely at the mercy of the nimble Marāthās, who were experts at guerilla warfare.

Gemelli Careri's account of his interview with Aurangzeb in 1695 is full of interest. He found him encamped on the banks of the Kistna river. The old man entered slowly, leaning on a staff; he was in white muslin, with a single enormous emerald in his turban. He received his visitor courteously, and enquired about the reasons which brought him to India. Careri says that he was of low stature, with a large nose, slender and stooping with age.
In 1704 another European traveller, Niccolao Manucci, visited the royal camp; he gives a pathetic description of the aged Emperor. "Most of the time he sits doubled up, his head drooping. When his officers submit a petition, or make report to him of any occurrence, he raises his head and straightens his back. He gives them such an answer as leaves no opening for reply, and still looks after his army in the minutest particulars."

Thus finishes the Mughal Court's history in the mirror of contemporary painting which followed almost from its beginning most, if not all, the ups and downs of its stormy events symbolically ending the siege and storm of Bījāpūr and Golconda just about twenty years before the death of its last ruler and final collapse. The historic events that pictures witnessed in the past and are still witnessing.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


2. Brown, Percy, *op.cit.*, p.32

3. Khutba is a sermon delivered in the mosque on Fridays. Mentioning it of a ruler's name was a declaration of a claim for sovereignty.


5. *ibid.*


8. Tavernier, *op.cit.*, II, p.177


11. Gifts to the Court.

12. Farmān (or firman) - an order issued by a ruler.


15. Backgammon.


17. "Good-morrows"

18. Rawlinson, *op.cit.*, p.322


20. "Light of the World"

21. "Window of Audience"

22. "Peacock Throne"

23. "Long live the King"

24. A hollow bamboo cross with gunpowder in each end that whirled like a pinwheel when ignited and frightened the animals from their deadly embrace.
25. "Hall of Public Audience"


27. Bernier, op.cit., p.268

28. Bernier, op.cit., p.269

29. Music Gallery


31. ibid.

32. ibid.

33. Preparation of almonds

34. Water-carrier

35. Munshi


38. Standard bearers

39. "Four Divine Animals"

40. Trumpets.

41. Drums

42. Pennons.

43. A mixed assembly of Hindus and Muhammadans.

44. Large mandolin-like instrument.

45. A stringed instrument with a small bow.

46. Clapping of hands.

47. Women musicians.

48. Drum

49. Tambourine.

50. Master of the Ceremonies.
They are known as bandahs, and are generally Muhammadans, while their mimicry is called swang.

Nobles

Bernier, *op.cit.*, p.260

Brown, Percy, *op.cit.*, p.137

*ibid.*


Manucci, *op.cit.*, p.38

Bernier, *op.cit.*, p.213

*ibid.*

Palanquin

Reverence

Bernier, *op.cit.* p.214

Travelling throne

Bernier, *op.cit.*, p.215

Manucci, *op.cit.*, p.33

Manucci, *op.cit.*, pp.33-34

*ibid.* p.34

Fathpur Sîkrî had a large lake, artificially created to its North-West, to mitigate the stifling heat and dust of the Indian summer.

"Hall of Public Audience"

Bathing establishment.

"Lofty Portal"

Rawlinson, *op.cit.*, p.359

"Hall of Private Audience"

"House of Dreams"

Completed in 1612 AD.

Erected in 1628 AD.

Rawlinson, *op.cit.*, p.360
78. Allah-u-Akbar, "God is Great"
79. "Magnificent in his glory"
80. Begun in 1632 and completed in 1647
81. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p.361
82. "Pearl Mosque"
83. "Music chamber"
84. "If on Earth be an Eden of bliss; It is this, it is this, it is this"
85. "Painted Chamber"
86. Cathedral Mosque at Delhi
87. Summerhouse
88. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p.363
89. For ex., refer to Plate No.31, Chester Beatty, *op. cit.*, vol.II, fol.201
90. "Skilful"
91. "Hunarmandī"
94. In Stchoukine, *La peinture indienne*, Plate XXXI, we see Jahangir sitting on a jewelled chair. Aurangzeb is depicted sitting on a chair in *Storia do Mogor*, II, frontispiece.
95. Several contemporary paintings depict these couches; see for ex., Plate 58, Vol.III, Chester Beatty.
96. Monserrate, *Commentary*, p.199
97. Monserrate, *ibid.*
98. Bernier, *op. cit.*, p.359
99. Foster, *op. cit.*, p.308
100. Plate No.57 of "Indian art at Delhi" (1903), shows two magnificent carpets presumably made in Kashmir about the beginning of the 17th century.
101. "rugs"
102. Woollen coverlets
103. Bernier, *op. cit.*, p.248
104. *ibid.*

105. Refer to Chester Beatty's Vol.I-III; Percy Brown's Plates XV, XXVII of the "Catalogue of Indian Collections", Part VI "Mughal paintings".


110. Susruta Samhita, IV, xx, iv, 82

111. Water-chutes

112. Large stone built tank

113. The Oriental Plane-tree, *Platanus orientalis*, the fame of which has filled the whole history of Asia from the Punjab to Asia Minor from the beginning of human history.

114. The "Lord High Treasurer"

115. "Prime Minister"

116. "Bagh" is an enclosed garden, a country-house

117. A four-cornered bank, a raised place or platform for sitting on.

118. See Annex of Illustrations, Nos. 92, 93, 61

119. Lit. "Moon Garden"

120. "Green Hill"

121. Lit. "12 doors", a pavilion, a large summerhouse.

122. A Mughal painting showing lotus and the *shikara*; see Annex of Illustrations, No.109.

123. A small boat used in Kashmir on the rivers and lakes.

124. "The little garden of the Royal Spring"

125. Å'In-i-Akbarî, I, (1939) pp.168-9


127. Roe, *op.cit.*, p.71

128. Roe, *op.cit.*, p.93

129. Manucci, *op.cit.*, II, p.346
130. Manucci, ibid.
131. Manucci, op.cit., II, p.401
132. Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, I, p.167
133. ibid., p.166
134. Lit., "Act of giving the prayer of place"
135. Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, I, p.167 (1939). It meant that the person was ready to give himself as an offering.
137. Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, I, (1939), p.167
138. Lit, "prostration"
139. Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, I (1939), p.167
140. Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, ibid
141. "Kissing the ground"
142. Bernier, op.cit., pp.117,204
143. Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, I (1939), p.276
144. Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, I, p.14
145. See Plate 21, Library of "A. Chester Beatty",Vol.II
146. Akbar-Nāma, I, p.90; Badā'ūnī, op.cit., II, p.64
147. As Plate II, "Indian drawings", "Shāh Jahān leaving for an expedition to Balkh in 1647 AD" and "Jahangir receiving Prince Khurram on his return from Deccan", Plate XXIII, "Catalogue of Indian Collections", Part VI, Mughal paintings.
148. Manucci, op.cit., III, p.150 (Irvine tr.IV; 1907-8)
150. Manucci, op.cit., II, p.343
151. ibid. p.346
152. ibid.
153. ibid.
154. ibid. p.348; Bernier, op.cit., p.272
156. Clothes of gold.
158. *ibid.* p.35
159. *ibid.* p.36
160. *ibid.*
161. Or gaba, a long, open gown
162. Manucci, *op. cit.*, p.37
163. *ibid.*, p.23
164. *ibid.*, p.24
165. *ibid.*
166. *ibid.*
167. Order issued by a ruler.
168. Tavernier, I, pp.114-5, 106 (ed. 1925)
169. Roe, *op.cit.*, pp.92-3
171. Manucci, *op.cit.*, I, pp.87-9
172. Bernier, *op.cit.*, pp.119-20
173. Roe, *op.cit.*, pp.92-3
174. Manucci, *op.cit.*, II, p.52
175. Tavernier, *op.cit.*, I, p.114
176. *ibid.*
177. "An homage to the Lord"
178. Captain Hawkins had been sent out by the East India Company in 1607 to gain a foothold for English trade in Indian ports.
180. Manucci, *op.cit.*, p.44
181. *ibid.*, p.45
182. *ibid.*, p.46
183. The obeisance in the Mughal land.

184. Bernier claims it is a very comforting water against all fevers caused by heat. Manucci, *op.cit.*, p.147.

185. Manucci, *op.cit.*, p.47

186. In August, 1661.

187. In 1662.

188. Manucci, *op.cit.*, p.52

189. *ibid.*, p.53


191. Witness the heavy *mansabdâri* list besides other evidences

192. Monserrate, *op.cit.*, p.207


195. *ibid.* p.186

196. *ibid.* p.187


198. Tavernier, *op.cit.*, II, p.58

199. Lit. "Mountain of Light"


201. *ibid.* p.204

202. *ibid.* p.214

203. Bernier, *op.cit.*, I, p.268

204. Tûzuk, I, p.400

205. Manucci, *op.cit.*, I, p.59

206. Tavernier, *op.cit.*, II, p.103

207. Gurz or shash-par

208. Tavernier, *op.cit.*, I, p.114
209. Tavernier, *op. cit.*, II, p.104
211. *ibid*, p.135
212. Tūzuk, II, p.94
213. Bill turtle; *Chelonia imbricata*
214. A clerk.
215. Chief magistrate.
216. Monserrate, *op. cit.*, pp.196-7 (tr J.S. Hoyland, 1922)
217. Tūzuk, I, pp.33-4 (tr.Rogers-Beveridge; Munshiram)
218. *ibid.*, II, pp.143-4
220. Bracelets
221. Tūzuk, I, p.375
222. Mansab and mansabdar
223. The public appearance of the emperor to the people
224. Ruq'at-i-'Ālamgīrī
225. Supervisors
226. Lit. "sweet pen"
227. In 1577
228. Tūzuk, I, pp.215-6
229. Ā'Īn-i-Akbarī, I, p.108 (tr. Blochmann)
230. Who was at the Mughal court in 1580-82
231. Monserrate, *op. cit.*, p.201
232. A Jesuit priest from Florence, who lived and worked for several years at the court of the Mughals, and also acted as interpreter for Sir Thomas Roe.
233. The wife of the Ambassador, from the original by the English artist Oliver, the full story of which is told in Roe's *Embassy*.
234. "Fountain of Light"
235. Tūzuk II, 107-8
236. In the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; also in the British Museum.

237. Roe, op.cit., I, pp.159,240


239. "Ornate"

240. "Life of Akbar"

241. House of Worship


243. Manucci, op.cit., p.55

244. ibid, p.56

245. ibid, pp.56-7

246. ibid, p.57

247. ibid.

248. ibid, p.58

249. ibid.

250. ibid.

251. ibid, p.59

252. ibid.

253. "Happy be the journey"

254. Manucci, op.cit, p.60

255. Tūzuk, II, p.284

256. ibid, p.270
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Gods, Thrones and Peacocks  
(Asia House Gallery, New York, 1965)

Welch, Stuart C.  
Early Mughal Miniature Paintings from Two Private Collections shown at the Fogg Art Museum  
Wellesz, E. Akbar's religious thought reflected in Mogul Painting (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1952)

APPENDIX A

Some of the more important Mughal School Collections

**BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON:**

| Add 27,247 | Akbar-Nama - fol.461 (1670 AD) |
| Add 24,416 | Tawzik Babari (Wakiat-a-Babari) - fol.358 - close 16.cent. - no ill., but: |
|            | same: Add 26,200 - fol.380 - 4 ill.min. (fol. 26,27,30,24) |
|            | " Add 26,201 - fol.169 - 1 min. (fol.3a) |
| Add 26,203 | Fol.676 - Akbar Nama - 1817 AD - 1 & 2 Vol - 76 ill.min. (late Indian style: size ½ page each) - Abu’l Fazl. |
| Add 26,215 | Jahangir-Nama - fol.316 - Appr. 17 cent - no ill. |
| Or 170     | Fol.103 - Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri - 19.cent - 1 min. |
| Add 20,734 | Fol. 445 - Padishah Nama - 18.cent - 9 min. |
| Add 20,735 | same as above (Add 20,734) - 16 ill. 3 drawings |
| Or. 3714   | 75 - Fol. 528 - Memoirs of Babur - Close 16. cent. - 68 ill.min. (full page) and 48 colour drawings. |

| Stowe Or 16 | Fol.60 - Album of min. ill. (Stamp of Aurangzeb - 1079 AH - Miniatures are portraits of Timurids: Emperors and their Amirs; of hunting scenes and other subjects of Indian life and fiction - Portraits : mostly without names, but of those of Aurangzeb, Shah Jahan, Jahangir and Akbar are easily recognized) |
| Add.5641-5642 | Mahabharata (Persian version of; preface by Abu’l Fazl) - 1599 AD (2 Vol.) - fol.390 and 481 - 97 min. (of copy of Add.5638-5640) |
| Or 1362     | Sufis and Valis (lived from the 2. to the 8. cent. AH) - fol.401, Agra, 1603 AD - 17 min. (Indian style; whole page) *HIGHEST DEGREE OF FINISH* |

**Dept. of Oriental Antiquities:**

| 1913-2.8.1 | Princes of the House of Timur (by Mír Sayyid ‘Alí; c.1555) |
| 1920-9.17.02 | Imperial Group (by Manohar, Mughal S., early 17.cent.) |
| 1921-10.11.03 | Portrait of Babur; Mughal S., early 17.cent. |
| 1939-5.13.013 | The Elephant being fed by his keeper - Mughal S., c.1620 |
1941-7.12.05 Group of Ascetics - by Inayat, Mughal S., d. 1631.
1949-2.12.05 A Maulvi Meditating - Mughal S., c.1630
Add. 18,579 Anwar i-Subayli (fable book) - Mughal S., (1605-10)
Add. 27,262 Bustan of Sa'di, Mughal S., Agra (d.1629)
Or 1362 Nafahat al-Uns of Jami (for Akbar) - Mughal S., Agra (d.1603)
Or 4615 Darab-nāma, Mughal S., (late 16th cent.)
Or 5302 Gulistan of Sa'di Bukhara (1567), Mughal S., (1605-10)
Or 7573 Diwān of Hafiz, Mughal S., (c.1610)
Or 12,208 Nizami for Jahāngīr, Mughal S. (d.1596)
( Dyson Perrins Collection)
14,456 f.16 Bābur Nāma (in English) Transl. A. S. Beveridge
2 Vol. 1922, 8°

CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY, DUBLIN

Life at the Mughal Courts of Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb:
Indian Ms. No.3 contains 61 miniatures
Royal Album No. 7 contains 38 miniatures

.Akbar-nāma, Mughal S., c.1605 (Ind. Cat. No.3)
.Diwān of Hafiz, Mughal S., c.1610 (Ind. Cat. No.15)
.Diwān of Hafiz, Mughal S., prob. 1582 (Pers. Ms.150)
.Iyar i-Danish, fable book, Mughal S., c.1605 (Ind. Cat.No.4)
.Jahangir Album (separate leaves), Mughal S., early 17.cent.
.Jog Vashisht, Mughal S., d.1602 (Ind. Cat. No.5)
.Raj Kanvar, romance, Mughal S., Allahabad, 1604 (37)
.Tuti-nāma (Romance of a Parrot), Mughal S. (1580-5)

BERLIN: NATIONAL LIBRARY


BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

.Group Portrait by Abu'l Hassan, Mughal School, c.1619 - (14.654)

LONDON, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

.Gulistan of Sa'di, Mughal School, Fathpur Sīkrī, 1581 (Cat. No.258)

MOSCOW, MUSEUM OF ORIENTAL CULTURES

.Bābur-Nāma, Mughal School, late 16th cent. (late Stchoukine Collection)
NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
- Khamsa of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi, Mughal School, c.1595-1600

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY
- Baharistan of Jami, Mughal School, Lahore, 1595 (Elliot 254)
- Court Picture, mid-17th Cent.

VIENNA, Volkerkundemuseum
- Ramza-nāma, 60 pages, Mughal School (1564-1579)

WASHINGTON, FREER GALLERY OF ART
- Ramayana, copied for the Khān-i-Khānān, Mughal School, 1598-99 (07.271)
- Two apotheosis scenes, Mughal School, 1620-1625 (42-15 & 16)

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON
- Akbar-nāma, Mughal School, 1570
- Bābur-nāma, Mughal School, late 16th century
- Private Audience, by Abu'l Hassan, Mughal School, c.1610 (I.M.9.1925)

MUSEE GUIMET, PARIS
- Jahāngīr Albums, separate leaves, Mughal School, early 17th century (7.155)
- Jahangir with religious teachers, Mughal School (7.171)

RICHMOND, SURREY - E. CROFT MURRAY COLLECTION
- Musician playing the Vina, painted by Mansūr, Mughal School, early 17th century.

GULISTAN LIBRARY, TEHERAN
- Portrait of Akbar and Humāyūn, by 'Abd-us-Šamād, Mughal School
- Akbar-Nāma, Mughal School, late 16th century.

WINDSOR CASTLE, Royal Collection
- Shāh Jahān-nāma, Mughal School, 1657 AD

NEW DELHI, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF INDIA
- Bābur-nāma, Mughal School (1597 AD) (formerly in Agra Coll.)

See also collections mentioned in the Introduction and Illustrations.
IV. Fig. 3. Portrait of the Emperor Batur.
Painting on cotton (tissue) entitled the "Prince of the House of Timur"; painted
2. c. 1570; British Museum.
See Pl. XX and Ix.
Fig. 1. Portion of a battle scene; painted c. 1550; India Museum, Calcutta; size: 11 3/4" x 17 1/2".
Plate 38: Emperor Jahangir with Nasir-ud-Din and Asif Khan. From the Chair Bein Collection, London.
Plate 43: Sir Thomas Vere, from a portrait by M. J. Vansittart in the National Portrait Gallery.

37.

38.

39.
Fig. 6. Prince Sikandar, Emperor Shah Jahan's son, in a photograph. Calcutta, No. 130; size 6x4 in.

66.

67.

68.
Illustration from the "Delhi Sultanate" series, featuring battles and scenes from the Mughal period. The images depict various historical events and battles, including the Siege of Chaur and Delhi, as well as a scene from the Battle of Panipat. The illustrations are from the Museum of Islamic Art, New Delhi, India.

75.


76.
Fig. 1. Two women dancing, Indian Museum, Calcutta
No. 607; size 4" diameter.
The painting on the left is a depiction of a scene from the life of the Emperor Babur, showing Babur hunting in a forest.

The painting on the right illustrates a historical event, possibly a battle or a significant moment in history, with numerous figures and structures.
The Emperor Aurangzeb at the siege of Bijapur, 1686; Konjali State Library.