

# THE ST. PETERSBURG MURAQQA'

ALBUM OF INDIAN  
AND PERSIAN MINIATURES  
FROM THE 16TH THROUGH  
THE 18TH CENTURY  
AND SPECIMENS  
OF PERSIAN CALLIGRAPHY  
BY 'IMĀD AL-ḤASANĪ

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*The authors dedicate this edition  
of the St. Petersburg Muraqqaʼ  
to the memory of the Russian Indologist  
Tatiana Grek (1920–1985),  
Keeper of the Indian Collections,  
State Hermitage Museum,  
St. Petersburg, Russia*

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## Introduction

*It is only by retracing the extraordinary journey of masterpieces such as the St. Petersburg Muraqqa' (Album) that we can truly enjoy their intrinsic value. Created from a mixed collection of miniatures selected personally by one individual, the Album was later framed and mounted by four masters of artistic excellence. To each leaf were added specimens of Persian calligraphy by the most celebrated calligrapher of that time, Mīr 'Imād al-Ḥasanī of Qāzvin, and then bound together in a lacquer binding. It was kept like a precious jewel in a private library, and finally reached Russia when purchased by Tsar Nicholas II, and today is the property of the Library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, where it is celebrated and studied and is the pride and joy of their extensive collection.*

*The Oriental Institute is housed in a magnificent palace not far from the Hermitage Museum, and just across the Neva river from the foundations of St. Petersburg, the Peter and Paul Fortress. It is a magnificent historical building, but is sadly in a state of disrepair. The Institute's collection is quite unique in the world, and is rich with vast cultural diversity. It is the vision of a group of impressive scholars with whom I have had the privilege to share, in a modest way, the intensity of their quite private world of research and scholarship.*

*In 1993 the ARCH Foundation was approached by Professor Yuri A. Petrosyan, the Director of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences. Recognising, understanding and appreciating the aims and vision of the ARCH Foundation, and wanting to become a part of it, Professor Petrosyan asked that the Foundation organise an exhibition using one hundred of the most precious books of our choice currently housed in his most noble Institution. After having discussed the urgent conservation needs of many of the important works in the St. Petersburg collection, we selected the manuscripts for conservation and exhibition, and thus entered into what has now become a compelling and worthwhile project of the ARCH Foundation.*

*The successful conservation of a series of the chosen precious Islamic manuscripts has been overseen by experts from the British Museum in London, as well as Professor Petrosyan who has supported and participated in this project with a resourceful and collaborative spirit. The conservation work has become the focus of the ARCH Foundation exhibition Pages of Perfection; it was most recently exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and is directly linked to this publication. While a number of the manuscripts are presently undergoing a lengthy and precise conservation treatment worthy of the finest manuscripts*

*in the world, the St. Petersburg Muraqqa' – the subject of this publication – was the first manuscript to be completely restored and is the pride of our efforts. To share the unforgettable beauty of the Muraqqa' with a wider and interested public forms an integral part of the ARCH Foundation's commitment to introduce the artistic heritage of foreign cultures to European and American audiences. It also plays an important role in the promotion and preservation of the cultural heritage of the Islamic world. This project has been an important step in the history of the ARCH Foundation, and I hope that it may inspire other people to participate in the efforts of the ARCH Foundation for the benefit of the manuscripts belonging to the Institute. I founded the ARCH Foundation (Art Restoration for Cultural Heritage) in 1991, to reflect my dedication to the much needed conservation, preservation and promotion of vulnerable moveable works of art within Greater Europe. I became increasingly concerned and decided that I must take some form of action after having read recent reports stating that over 50 percent of the world's cultural heritage has been lost or destroyed during this last century. This represents a tragic loss of the highest achievements of mankind, and one that is entirely irreplaceable. What made me decide to bring aid to St. Petersburg is knowing the city's illustrious significance in the world of art: its collections are so vast that total inventories are still impossible to complete, and pursuing scholarly studies of one subject or another is a real adventure! Although much of St. Petersburg has become a theme park for cultural tourism, a place where people can visually see a past full of extravagance, elegant folly and a legacy of money well spent. Unfortunately, due to the recent changes in Russian State funding policies, numerous cultural and academic institutions in St. Petersburg have suffered extreme consequences: Institutions such as the Oriental Institute, now receive a trickle of the government funds they enjoyed in the past. My commitment is to help prevent this destruction from further acceleration, and to eventually reverse this situation. My self appointed task is to discover the secret of how to kiss this frozen palace of glorious traditions and bring the history it contains back to life, and at the same time bring about a renaissance of energetic and dedicated research as opposed to the daily struggle for survival which is the present plight of the scholars working in the Institute. To bring these two aims together would be to inspire a living, thriving Institution which would reflect the nobility of both its structure and its contents. We must give encouragement to those who have dedicated their lives to the Institute, to see it through what they hope is only a difficult transitory phase. It must be made clear to them that this sacrifice was not done in vain, but for culture, for the arts, for the limitless greatness of St. Petersburg, and for friendship.*

Francesca von Habsburg  
Chairman and Founder of the Arch Foundation

*Visitors to St. Petersburg generally flock to the Winter Palace, the former residence of the Russian Tsars, which now houses the world-famous Hermitage Museum. But neither the visitors nor indeed the residents of the city suspect that within a few hundred yards of the Museum, in a mansion which used to belong to a member of the Romanov family, there are other treasures which can compete with the Hermitage collections in their historical and cultural importance. It is this palace, designed by the great architect Andrey Stackenschneider in the mid 19th century, which is a repository for the Oriental Manuscript Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Science's Institute of Oriental Studies, safely contained in magnificent armoires placed under sparkling chandeliers and framed by marble colonnades. With over eighty thousand items of cultural and historical importance and with over sixty languages represented, these documents are a monument to the outstanding contribution of the peoples of the East to the treasure house of world civilisation. Unique in many ways, this collection was built up over almost two centuries, from the foundation of the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences (1818) which became the Academy's Institute of Oriental Studies in 1930. Amongst the great, often heroic, people who contributed to it were Russian scientists and explorers, diplomats and wealthy patrons. Russian Orientalists were indeed fortunate to have the opportunity to study these priceless objects, and they have passed on the flame of their learning to their successors, the Orientalists and scholars of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Science's Institute of Oriental Studies. The collection of which the Institute is custodian is rivalled only by the Oriental collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the British Library in London. The detailed and meticulous research of the St. Petersburg Orientalists has been published in several score volumes of catalogues and numerous publications. The present publication is a result of this continuing fruitful tradition. It is the product of collaboration with ARCH, the foundation set up by the fascinating and gifted Francesca von Habsburg, Archduchess of Austria who, with her deep cultural understanding, appreciated the value and significance of our collection and brought our manuscripts to life in an ongoing series of conservation workshops and exhibitions held in many cities around the world, organised by the ARCH Foundation and our Institute. Our many years of work have culminated in this edition of the Muraqqa', a magnificent album of 16th through 18th century Persian and Indian miniatures from our collection, published by Mondadori, a renowned publishing house, under the guiding hand of Leonardo Mondadori, a true connoisseur of artistic beauty.*



*Within these covers readers will find detailed and scholarly analyses of the Muraqqa', the finest manuscript in the collection. The contributors to this publication are leading scholars and experts who have devoted their whole lives to the study of the literature of the peoples of the Orient, their life and culture, and their relations with other cultures around the world. The names of the Russian Persian scholars Professor Oleg Akimushkin and Professor Anatoly Ivanov, and their American colleague Cary Welch, Indian scholar, are well known in Orientalist circles. The publication they have produced will surely be enjoyed by all those who appreciate the Arts, and Persian miniatures in particular. On a broader plane, this publication represents an important event in the history of Oriental studies, and is a major contribution to the study of the culture of mankind, facilitating better understanding between the peoples of the East and the West, so important in these times.*

*Finally, I would like to express my own and my colleagues' deep gratitude to Francesca von Habsburg for her splendid initiative and the immense help she has offered to the preparation of this publication. I would also add our appreciative thanks to Mrs. Elisabeth Storm Nagy, Director of Exhibitions and Chief Curator, ARCH, for getting this complex project off the ground. It is also my pleasant duty to mention the major organisational contribution of Maria Yakimov, former Project Co-ordinator, and of Judith Clark, of the ARCH Foundation. Finally, our sincere thanks go to the staff at Mondadori in Milan whose knowledge and expertise have made this publication possible. We thank them for what is, I believe, a gift of happiness and beauty to many people.*

Yury A. Petrosyan  
Director  
The St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute  
of Oriental Studies  
Russian Academy of Sciences

## Indian Paintings in the St. Petersburg *Muraqqa'*

Stuart Cary Welch

Turn these sparkling Folios and discover history as well as art. For the many superb pictures and calligraphies, lavishly bound and set into artfully enriched borders, bring to mind events both happy and sad, sometimes comical, or cruel. Although nothing seen here was created before the 16th century A.D., the roots are ancient. They were nourished, sunlit, fertilised and watered not only by Indian traditions but by those of the lands now known as the Middle East, Central Asia, China and Europe, dominated and inspired by Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity and Judaism, but above all by Islam.

Much of what we see was gathered by and for Iranians, who were drawn to India not only by its legendary gold and jewels but for its technology and wisdom. Culturally, one can speak of the broad areas represented here as the Indo-Turko-Iranian world. Each part is linked to the others forming a huge family tree with multiple branches. From this tree comes the St. Petersburg *Muraqqa'*, assembled in Iran from works of art looted by Nādir Shāh, a Turkman soldier of fortune, during his invasion of India in 1739. Although relations between this Turkman soldier and the Mughal Emperor, Muḥammad Shāh (reigned 1719-1748) began gently and almost amicably, this soon deteriorated. Before long, oceans of Indian blood spilled in Shāh Jahānābād (Delhi), and vast numbers of imperial treasures were looted. Along with caravan loads of paintings, manuscripts, and objects, the famed Peacock Throne of Shāh Jahān was hauled to Iran, where it was de-jewelled, and its gold melted. To the Emperor, known as *Rangila* ("Pleasure-lover"), a cultivated patron of art, poetry, gardens, and music, with a profound appreciation of his dynasty's artistic traditions, this was a nightmare from which he never fully recovered. If anything good came of it – other than this Album – it was that the jolt encouraged him to devote his remaining years to more spiritual matters.

A small portion of the loot can be seen here, as chosen and arranged in a decorative setting by peaceful, art-loving Iranians, who would have shuddered had they witnessed the events that led to them possessing the wondrous album. To guide viewers through the complexities of Indian history under the Mughals we shall note several of the *Muraqqa'*'s outstanding pictures, period by period. Our discussion ends with background material to the Deccani paintings, which are few, but outstanding. Additional information is provided in individual catalogue entries, which until recently were arranged according to their Folio numbers in categories: royal portraits and historical subjects; religious scenes, holy men, and holy women, spiced with a few less holy people; natural history subjects; and the splendid series of Iranian royal portraits discussed by our Russian colleagues, Professor Anatoly Ivanov and Professor Oleg Akimushkin,

who also explain the magnificent calligraphies by *Mīr ‘Imād*, the great Safavid master of *nasta‘liq* script.

The *Muraqqa‘*, the creation of which was also a work of art, provides a visually stunning, intellectually informative gateway to important schools of Indian art – Mughal and Deccani painting from the 16th century through the mid 18th century. Its many new masterpieces sweep us exhilaratingly from circa 1565 through the 1750s.

Before moving to the pictures, a few words on technique are needed. All of the paintings here were painted in opaque watercolour on paper, the excellence of which is evident from its survival. Although the artists did not ordinarily make their own paper, they understood it as connoisseurs, and were well able to judge and handle it. From sheets of paper, they made *waslī‘*s, fine cardboard supports for paintings, glued one on top of the other. To master these apparently simple but in fact extremely difficult tasks, artists were trained as young – often *very* young – apprentices. This took place in family ateliers – for painting tended to be an inherited craft – they were schooled to grind pigments, and to make their own brushes from delicate hairs plucked from the chests of squirrels or kittens and tied into quills. They learned which minerals, insect and animal particles, chemical mixtures, soot, or metals were suitable as pigments, and how to make them. Gold or silver was hammered leaf-thin between sheets of vellum, then ground with salt in a mortar. The salt was then washed out, and the fine grains reserved for use. Like other pigments, these were mixed in clam shells with water and gum from trees, mysterious glue-like binding media that have defied recent scientific attempts at chemical analysis.

The apprentices were trained to work seated on the floor, one knee raised to support a drawing board, and shown how to prepare paper for drawing or painting. It was lightly coated with white pigment, allowed to dry, then overturned onto a very smooth, flat burnishing stone, and rubbed with a smaller burnisher, usually made from agate or crystal. Now, the drawing could begin, at first in finely brushed pale outlines of black or red. Errors were covered over with white pigment, a process followed by another burnishing. Gradually, layers of colour were applied, with frequent burnishing to maintain a harmoniously mat texture. Study of the paintings in this *Muraqqa‘* underscores the demanding, time-consuming nature of the work. A single picture might have taken months or even years to complete.

The more inventive artists often drew “on location” from life, then in the studio they refined the sketches for use in a painting. Occasionally, they worked directly onto the paper of the commissioned work. Less inspired painters depended upon tracings from their or their workshop’s accumulated sketches, using *charbāh*. These were made from transparent gazelle skin, which was placed over the motif to be copied, and drawn upon. Once the outlining had been indicated, the *charbāh* was pricked along the lines. It was then placed onto the paper or *waslī* for the new picture, and through the holes powdered charcoal was rubbed, making a blurred outline to be used as a guide. Once these lines had been refined in darker tones of black or brown, slowly, colour by colour, area by area, the picture emerged. Late in the process, gold and silver details were brushed on, to be burnished with a small, pointed stone into brightness, a seemingly magical process. If sharper highlights in the gold were desired, they were made with a fine needle, slightly rounded at the end to avoid cutting or snagging the paper. After a final, unifying burnishing, small globs of gummy white pigment were brushed on, to represent pearls or to adorn textiles.

The *Muraqqa‘*’s earliest Mughal picture, *Mughals Visit an Encampment of “Sadhus”* (Plate 211/ Folio 47 *recto*, detail *a*), albeit considerably reworked, sweeps us into India

through the eyes of a very great Iranian artist *Mīr Sayyid-‘Alī* whose influence on Indian painting would be hard to exaggerate. Like many foreigners, he saw India and Indians through freshly inquisitive eyes. But before turning to his astonishing painting, we must explain that he had gone to India on the invitation of Humāyūn, the second Mughal Emperor (reigned 1530-40; 1555-56) to help establish and direct the Mughal ateliers. His encounter with Humāyūn was serendipitous; for Humāyūn, son of Bābur (reigned 1526-30) the empire’s founder, was exiled from India in the early 1540s, a dark moment that suddenly brightened when Shāh Ṭahmāsp Safavī (reigned 1524-76) offered sanctuary and help. Although Shāh Ṭahmāsp had been one of the world’s major patrons of painting, he had turned away from the art just before Humāyūn’s arrival. Without offending his host, Humāyūn, therefore, could invite several Safavid master artists, including *Mīr Sayyid-‘Alī*, to join his developing Mughal workshops. In 1549, *Mīr Sayyid-‘Alī* joined the Emperor at Kabul; and from there, in 1554, he accompanied Humayun on the triumphant return to India.

Mughal art at this time scarcely existed. Bābur Humāyūn’s conqueror father, born in Central Asia at Ferghana, was descended both from Chingīz Khān and Tīmūr, to whose successes he aspired from childhood. Like Tīmūr, he had his eye on India, which after a series of false starts he entered in 1526. Once through the forbidding mountain passes of the northwest, his small army faced another challenge, the armies of the Sultan of Delhi and his formidable war elephants. Bābur’s cannon so alarmed the tank-like animals that they bolted. Bābur had won a crucial battle; but not the major one. Unprecedentedly, the Muslim Sultan of Delhi allied against Bābur with the Hindu Rana of Mewar, seniormost Rajput ruler, who was joined by his Rajput cohorts. Thus, Bābur was confronted by a massive army. Again, he won. Oddly, after his efforts and triumph, India failed to please Bābur. He longed for Kabul, where the people were more civilised, in *his* – not foreign – ways. Like an overly sensitive transplanted flower, the charismatic young leader sickened and died, still unadjusted to lands destined to become the Mughal empire. Already, however, he had put his stamp upon Mughal culture through his memoirs, the *Waqiat i Baburi*, perhaps the liveliest, most candidly informative, and amusing of royal autobiographies. Its fascinating anecdotes and observations describe the looks, sounds, feelings, even smells of people, places, and activities. Talented as was the author, some of the credit should be assigned to Bābur’s Timurid background; he had been born in 1483 and was raised at a time when appreciation of individuals was on the rise, as can be observed in the great artist Bihzād’s portrayals of Sultan Husayn Bāykarā of Herat and his court. Often, Bābur’s trenchant words have been likened to those of another master of succinctness, John Aubrey, whose sparkling *Brief Lives* belongs on everyone’s bedside table, along with Bābur’s. Through witty, sometimes biting trivia, Bābur brought family, friends, rivals, and enemies to life. He, an aristocratic, ambitious, pragmatic visionary established not only the Mughal state but fixed the pattern of its art, if not exactly one *of* the people, assuredly one *about* people. Although no paintings commissioned for him are known – and they might never have existed – his fresh, pragmatic, spontaneous, humanistic view of the world set the pattern of Mughal culture from his day onwards. It survived until the last Mughal Emperor, Bahādur Shāh II (reigned 1837-1858), another man of letters, was exiled to Rangoon following the so-called India Mutiny of 1857.

We turn to paintings in the *Muraqqa’*, specifically to the brilliant but problematic one begun but left unfinished by *Mīr Sayyid-‘Alī*, one of the artists met by Humāyūn in Iran. He was a complex, uneasy man, who usually fared better with animals than with people. His work would have appealed to Bābur, whose penchant for truthful observa-

tion and precision the artist shared. As an apprentice in Shāh Ṭahmāsp's workshops, *Mīr Sayyīd-ʿAlī*'s astounding talent and industriousness were noted. His mentor, the artist-courtier Āqā-Mīrak, earned his resentment by compelling him to painstakingly complete paintings for which the youth received little credit. Nevertheless, the *Mīr*'s reputation rose; and for the Shāh's great *Khamṣa* of Nīzāmī, dated between 1539 and 1543, now in the British Library, he painted inventively idiosyncratic illustrations. When called upon to portray a nomadic encampment, instead of showing simple rustics, stark tents, and camels in a desert, he transformed figures, animals, and setting into a world to the taste of Marie Antoinette.

In India, he did this once again in the *Muraqqaʿ*'s brilliant *Mughals Visit an Encampment of "Sadhus"* (Plate 211/ Folio 47 *recto*), mostly painted for Emperor Akbar (reigned 1556-1605) in about 1565. In it, he ennobled not Iranian nomads but Indian ascetics, providing them with all the trappings of Mughal *grandeur*. The senior *sadhu* holds imperial court under a richly arabesqued awning, seated on a splendid carpet while his guest, a noble Mughal – one of the reworked passages – occupies an even finer one. Both are attended by elegant ash-clad pages with hair long as snakes. All about are royal appurtenances: stately, plump elephants; camels; flunkies milking goats; cooks making bread and preparing meals; and musicians trumpeting fanfares to the family of Mughal visitors, whose turbans – very different from the headgear of Humāyūn's court – help establish the picture's date. Several of the figures stepped out of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's *Mughals Visit an Encampment of "Sadhus"* or from other earlier paintings by the *Mīr*, now Indianized and stripped of their courtly Safavid raiment. Because this extraordinary artist's work is so rare and so beautiful; and because so few examples are known, not only from the artist's Mughal phase, but from the crucial corpus of early Akbar period painting, we were thrilled to identify this picture. Before painting it, *Mīr Sayyīd-ʿAlī* must have spent many hours making sketches from life of elephants (his are by far the most accurate and lively by any Iranian painter) and *yogis*. The expressions and poses of holy men and ascetics suggest not only that they were happy to pose for him, but that they liked him. To someone who had previously shown few signs of any rapport with people, it must have been strengthening to meet these liberated beings and find them sympathetically welcoming. Regrettably, *Mīr Sayyīd-ʿAlī* and Akbar, who was usually genial and appreciative, were not on happy terms. The Emperor responded badly to Iranian graces; and he would not have been pleased to see Indian holy men transmuted into foppish courtiers, not even when they were Mughal ones. A few years after this picture was painted, *Mīr Sayyīd-ʿAlī*, who had petitioned the Emperor for greater recognition, disappeared. Dare one guess that this brilliant but maladjusted man renounced the mundane life, replaced his court costume with a Sanyasi's ashes, and wandered away with his new friends.

St. Petersburg is greatly fortunate in possessing this *Mughals Visit an Encampment of "Sadhus"*, one of the greatest of all depictions of ascetics in Indian art. Its importance is underscored by the lack in this *Muraqqaʿ* of characteristically Akbari paintings. Although unique, this miniature provides an insight into Mughal art's early formative years, vividly showing how one of Humāyūn's and Akbar's most extraordinary artists brought Iranian mastery of line, intricacy of composition, richness of ornament, and fineness of finish to a quintessentially Indian subject. Its existence sheds light upon related drawings and paintings by indigenous artists recruited by Akbar and taught by *Mīr Sayyīd-ʿAlī* and his Iranian colleagues. These indicate not only the effectiveness and quality of their instruction, but reveal that quintessentially Hindu subjects already interested their dynamic patron. By the later 1570s, however, Akbar had rid his artists

of what he considered to be preciously foreign Iranian ways, which did not conform to his energetically ambitious imperial schemes. Aggressive territorial expansion brought Indians of all kinds into his Empire; and it soon became evident that to strengthen Mughal India, Akbar's disparate population – separated linguistically, religiously, geographically, socially, and economically – somehow must be unified. Attempting to achieve this impossible goal, Akbar married Hindu women, and gave employment in his armies and administration to members of every religious community, of every caste and sub-caste. To further mutual understanding, he gathered spokesmen from every religion, Christians and Buddhists included, at all night discussions. With amazing speed, his patronage of the arts contributed to the same goal. A new synthesis emerged, in which indigenous styles – Hindu as well as Muslim – blended with the remnants of Humāyūn's imported Safavid mode. Although the present *Muraqqa'* contains several Christian subjects from the later Akbar period, there are no purely Mughal Indian ones documenting the completion of this vigorous synthesis.

By the end of the 16th century, Akbar's vigour, which earlier had inspired artists had eased and calmed. By 1595, his artists painted unmistakably Mughal pictures as refined as Shāh Tahmāsp's masterpieces (one wonders how Akbar would have reacted in 1595 to the *Mīr's Mughals Visit an Encampment of "Sadhus"*). This stage of the constantly-evolving imperial style Mughal painting can be seen in two pictures in the *Muraqqa'* commissioned by his son Jahāngīr (reigned 1605-1627) before his father's death in 1605. The first shows Jahāngīr, still known as Prince Salīm, slaying a lioness (Plate 83/ Folio 9 *recto*). It contains a superbly luminous landscape that could have been taken from one of Akbar's splendid manuscripts. Almost *chinois* in its mountain-scape, it also contains distant towns borrowed from European engravings, painted in *sfumato* aerial perspective to suggest distance. Akbar urged his artists to work with ever increasing naturalism. And inasmuch as mankind was a major concern, he directed them to study and depict people as profoundly as possible, inside and out. Although *Mīr Sayyīd-ʿAlī* spurred on by imperial demands, tried hard in his *Mughals Visit an Encampment of "Sadhus"* to show people in psychological depth, one of its many innovations, it was not until later in the century that Akbar's desire for exacting portrayals of people was satisfied. In order that those "who have passed away (should) receive new life, and those who are still alive have immortality promised them" (Blochmann 1927, vol. 1, p. 115). Akbar commissioned a portrait album. It contained characterisations so penetrating that by studying them one could analyse patterns of behaviour and predict future deeds. Manohar, who painted Salīm (Jahāngīr) skewering a lion with an arrow (Plate 83/ Folio 9 *recto*), shows his patron with this degree of all-telling detail.

Even before Akbar's death, Prince Salīm (later Jahāngīr, reigned 1605-1627) whose relations with his father were strained, established his own court at Allāhabad. There, he commissioned an almost impertinently royal portrait, now in the *Muraqqa'* (Plate 154/ Folio 3 *recto*). It was painted by two artists who were trained in Akbar's studios but whose careers are linked with Jahāngīr. Manohar, *the* specialist in portraits of Jahāngīr, rendered the still youthful aspiring Emperor, while Ustad [Master] Maṣṣūr, renowned for flora and fauna, enriched the throne with glorious studies of birds and animals. This picture is one of the key Mughal paintings; and so are two somewhat later illustrations to the *Jahāngīrnāma*, the official history of the reign. The first of these, the left half of a double page composition, focuses upon curious activities beyond the imperial gaze during Jahāngīr's celebration of his enthronement (see Plate 176/ Folio 21 *recto*). It is one of the foremost pictures by ʿAbū'l Ḥasan, whose Persian



father had become an admired but lesser Mughal painter. When a mere child, Ābū'l Ḥasan's talent was recognised by Jahāngīr, who refers to him as "house born" in his *Tuzūk* (memoirs as enlightening and enjoyable as Bābur's). If ever an artist's hand was guided by the mind and eyes of his patron, it was Ābū'l Ḥasan's. He often accompanied Jahāngīr, who urged him to record anything and everything that caught the imperial fancy. People, places, events, birds, beasts – all were sketched by Ābū'l Ḥasan who had been devotedly educated by the insatiably curious, connoisseurly Emperor.

If the first of the two cited pictures reveals the beguiling cosmopolitan madness of Mughal India, the second, Manohar's *darbār* (see Plate 177/ Folio 22 *recto*), initiates us into the imperial court's formal grandeur. Arranged before us is a crowd of eminent Mughals in a splendid outdoor setting. Like some other Mughal paintings, it provides a dazzling, accurate, infinitely detailed record of long-dead people, of their costumes, jewels, weapons, and architecture, in this case impermanent buildings created from wood, textiles, and pictures. Although Manohar lacked Ābū'l Ḥasan's sense of fun – a characteristic that must have endeared him to Jahāngīr, – he was appreciated for painting what he saw with mirror-like accuracy, for better and for worse. Among the things he saw was the effect of time upon the imperial countenance, which Jahangir seems to have encouraged him to examine in cruel detail. Through Manohar's portraits, one can trace the growth of imperial wrinkles, jowls, and pouches beneath eyes. For such honesty, we respect both artist and patron.

Jahāngīr's artists were ordered to portray many kinds of subjects. Although pure landscapes and cloudscapes are *very rare*, portraits, historical scenes, versions of other works of art (Persian and European), studies of jewels, religious topics (mostly Christian), flora and fauna, and genre scenes were all within the repertoire. Among the *Muraqqa'*'s varied paintings, look at another of Manohar's early portraits of Jahāngīr (Plate 103/ Folio 8 *recto*), in which he is protected from flies by his son Prince Khurrām, who eventually ruled as Shāh Jahān (reigned 1627-1658). Carefully examine, too, the small pictures by Ābū'l Ḥasan of an elderly man and woman, a particularly sensitive view of decrepitude (Plate 91/ Folio 19 *recto*), further proof of the Mughals' willingness to confront reality head on. That Jahāngīr enjoyed studies of animals is clear from Plate 146/ Folio 72 *recto*, a collage assembled for the *Muraqqa'* which contains lively studies of a she-cat and bitch, each suckling her young. Another memorable collage of natural history paintings includes a moving portrait of a now long extinct bird, a dodo, presumably from Jahāngīr's zoo. It was painted by Ustād Maṣṣūr (Plate 147/ Folio 80 *recto*). Ābū'l Ḥasan's glorious version of an engraving by Sadeler proves that his studies of works of art by others could transcend the originals (Plate 60/ Folio 44 *recto*).

Jahāngīr's son, Shāh Jahān (reigned 1627-1658), raised in a more sheltered ambiance than his father, was less willing to face reality and change, and less keen to enjoy life's curiosities. Like virtually all of the Mughal Emperors and members of their families, he, too, was a creative patron. Just as Jahāngīr is usually remembered as a lover of paintings, but was also a highly discerning patron of architecture and of *objets d'art*, Shāh Jahān, whose Tāj Maḥal (the tomb of his favourite wife, where his remains were also buried) loved not only architecture but also paintings and objects. Many wonderful pictures here were commissioned by him. Among the most personal are miniatures intended for family albums. From the early years of his reign comes Ābū'l Ḥasan's portrait of the Emperor standing on a platform against a panoramic back-drop containing a macabre sight, a severed human head on the end of a lance. This cheerful offering probably describes the fate of an arch enemy, rebellious Khān Jahān Lodī, who was

chased across much of India by the imperial armies before being trapped and slain (Plate 106/ Folio 32 *recto*). Entirely agreeable is the allegorical equestrian portrait of Prince Shāh Shujāʿ greeted by Khizr, a popular legendary saint (Plate 119/ Folio 30 *recto*). Known as “the Green Man”, Khizr was auspiciously associated with water and travel, which suggests that the present painting honoured the prince’s departure for Bengal, where he served as governor. Also impressive are large Folios painted for one or two historical manuscripts, the *Pādshāhnāma* (Plate 128/ Folio 13 *recto*; Plate 133/ Folio 54 *recto*, and Plate 132/ Folio 55 *recto*), most pages which are now in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, or the *ʿĀlamgīrnāma* (Folio 25 *recto*), initiated, but never completed, for Aurangzēb. Usually more formal and less personal than Jahāngīr’s historical pictures, these vividly portray the severe protocol of court as well as the savagery of battle. To us the most appealing paintings of the Shāh Jahān period are the studies of holy men, such as Govardhan’s and Payāk’s deeply felt portraits of them (Plate 75/ Folio 51 *recto*; Plate 61/ Folio 46 *recto*; and Plate 60/ Folio 44 *recto*). Although Shāh Jahān’s artists were discouraged from exploring the personalities of the imperial family and court, holy men were fair game (and at least as interesting).

Rigorous evaluation of Mughal painting indicates that it achieved few peaks after the early decades of Aurangzēb’s reign, by which time artists and patrons appear to have viewed the world less ardently and confidently, as though apprehensive about the future. Nevertheless, greatly appealing imperial painting continued, at least until Nādir Shāh stormed and looted Delhi, so weakening the imperial centre that lavish art patronage was no longer affordable. Muḥammad Shāh, and before his reign Farrukhsiyār (reigned 1713-1719), delighted in painting as well as literature, music, and the other arts. But their portraits seem to avoid the personal revelation so notable in those of Jahāngīr, for whom the exploration of human personality was a major concern. Instead of showing us exactly how these later Emperors looked and felt, talented artists were put like horses into binders. They were directed to avoid searches of the soul, and instead to document the Emperor’s’ grandeur and might with painted inventories of their patrons’ emeralds, rubies, pearls, and whiskers, attached to imperial effigies not much more expressive than mannequins. Thus restricted, eager artists concentrated upon settings, still life, and often delightful incidental figures. The best of their pictures – painted before Nādir Shāh’s savagery – were lyrical, immaculate, and almost abstract. After the Iranian invasion, Muḥammad Shāh was unable to maintain his small number of master artists, who were compelled to find patronage elsewhere, either at the opulent courts of Rajasthan, several of which had long been within the imperial cultural orbit, or at the newly independent centres established by former Mughal governors. The later history of Mughal painting, therefore, focuses not on Agra or Delhi but upon Awadh, Bengal, and Hyderabad, in the Deccan.

Although this Album contains no pictures from Hyderabad, there are several remarkable pictures from the Deccan, where rival Muslim rulers reigned. The Deccani sultanates were founded far earlier than the Mughal Empire, which under Akbar began to subject them to threats and military campaigns. Deccani sultans (the Bahmanids at Daulatabad, Gulbarga, and Bidar, the Nizamshahis of Ahmednagar, Adilshahis of Bijapur, and Qutbshahis of Golconda) were at least as enlightened and discerning patrons of art as the Mughals. Their traditions developed under different influences, which included indigenous ones from Hindu regional dynasties, such as Vijayanagar. Unlike Akbar, Deccani rulers encouraged strong cultural links with Iran, whose gifted artists, poets, philosophers, craftsmen, musicians, as well as chefs, they welcomed. Usually less military in spirit than the Mughals, the late 16th and early 17th century

sultans of Bijapur and Golconda vied for the services of peripatetic Safavid artists such as Farrukh Beg and his colleague Muḥammad ‘Alī, both of whom are splendidly represented here (see Plate 94/ Folio 1 *recto* and Plate 95/ Folio 2 *recto*). These fascinating artists, both *Sūfīs* (mystics), were as effective in *this* world as in the *other*. Without in any way lowering their spiritual standards, they migrated from Iran to Mughal India, then to Bijapur, where they lingered for several years before returning to the Mughal court. Farrukh Beg painted not only for Akbar and Jahāngīr, but for the great Bijapur patron, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm ‘Adil Shāh (reigned 1580-1626), whom he and Muḥammad-‘Alī depicted as an active young falconer in one of their finest paintings (Plate 95/ Folio 2 *recto*).

From the later period, after Emperor Aurangzēb’s annexation of Bijapur and Golconda, the *Muraqqa’* contains several delightfully decorative pictures signed by, or attributable to, Muḥammad-Rīzā of India (Plate 139/ Folio 75 *recto*, Plate 169/ Folio 78 *recto* (bottom section), and Plate 138/ Folio 79 *recto*). Vitalised by Golconda energy, the flowers and butterflies in his paintings radiate and soar, appealing as much to us as they did to the Iranians who expended so much time and thought upon this *Muraqqa’*. At least one of the Iranian specialists in the art of the book, Muḥammad Bāqir, concocted pastiche versions of Muḥammad-Rizā’s style for the Album, further evidence of his heartfelt and sustained admiration of Indian art (see Plate 143/ Folio 77 *recto*, Plate 142/ Folio 81 *recto*).

*Helping to write this book has been challenging. It was initiated by two friends, Professors Akimushkin and Ivanov, who honoured me by inviting me to join them in their exciting project. It has been carried out with thoughts of their and my late friend, Tanya Grek, and with the help of other friends. At times, the cheerful work became a party, celebrated over the telephone. For snippets of useful, inaccessible information from afar, I am grateful to Robert Skelton and Ellen Smart, who have been delightfully generous. I have tried to cite all of their contributions. If there are*

*inaccuracies, I am to blame. At Harvard, other friends, Professor Wheeler Thackston, Dr. Navina Najat Haidar, Shokoofeh H. Kafi, and Gauvin Bailey, have assisted immeasurably in ways ranging from helping to identify distinguished Mughals and rare birds, to writing the many entries bearing their initials. Gauvin's eager research identified European sources for pictures; Navina's profound knowledge of 18th century Mughal and Rajput India served the project well. I am grateful to both of them, and look forward to working with them again. – S. C. W.*

# The Compiling and Decoration of the Album

Anatoly Ivanov

This *Muraqqa'* (Album) E-14, made up of Indian and Persian miniatures dating from the 16th to the 18th century and the calligraphy of *Mīr 'Imād al-Ḥasanī*, is currently housed in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The Album came into the possession of the Institute (originally called *The Asiatic Museum*) in 1921, from the State Russian Museum where it had been kept in the Department of Ethnography: each Folio bears the Department's collection stamp. We have information from B. D. Denike that this album was originally in the collection of the Library of the Russian Museum, called the "Museum of Emperor Alexander III" prior to the October Revolution (*Denike 1921*, p. 116, note 1): the Album was sighted there in 1910 by the Russian painter V. A. Serov (*Neradovsky 1965*, p. 35).

The history of the Album up until the early 1960s is unclear. The archives of the Russian Museum have been searched, unsuccessfully, for information. The famous collector and researcher Frederick Martin claimed in a book published in 1912, that the Tsar of Russia had acquired an album of Indian and late Persian miniatures from the Shāh's library two years earlier in Tehran. The Album was kept in the Museum of Alexander III and Martin complained that photographs of the miniatures were obtained too late to be published in his book (*Martin 1912*, pp. 59, 89, 140). Martin's study is the basis of a monograph by F. A. Rosenberg (*Rosenberg 1923*).

The Album no longer has the first and last leaves where the owner's marks or stamps would have been placed; these would have enabled us to trace its history. All the Folios have been torn out from the binding and their numbering does not correspond to the original sequence (which we have tried to recreate in this publication reflected in the Plate numbers). By the time the Album reached Russia, it contained exactly 100 Folios, each measuring 33,0 x 47,5 cm.

It was quite by chance that in 1988 documents were found in the archives of the State Hermitage which shed light on how the Album came to Russia.<sup>1</sup> These archive folders contained correspondence between the Ministry of the Imperial Court, the Ministry of Finance and the management of the Imperial Hermitage, and from the letters it was possible to sketch out a history of the Album from them (*Archives V-1909; Archives V-1910*). Included in the correspondence was a letter (*Archive V-1909*, file 20) sent by the Ministry of Finance on 19 January 1909. It mentions the possibility of purchasing various valuable items from the Shāh's library in Tehran, "including 100 pictures of the Indo-Persian school". Copies of this letter were sent to the Public Library in St. Petersburg and the Academy of Arts.

Another document of great interest, a copy of a telegram from an agent of the Ministry

of Finance in Persia, Aulic Councillor Ostrogradsky, sent from Tehran on 17 January 1909, has provided us with the following information: "The sale of the Shāh's library continues gradually and for comparatively little; there are rare examples of manuscripts, pictures, miniatures of the Persian and Indo-Persian school. There is a persistent rumour that the English are offering 60-70 thousand *toman* as a total sum." "It would be desirable to interest the Hermitage and the Public Library. I have at present a collection from there of one hundred pictures of the Indo-Persian school from the end of the 16th century; on the reverse of each leaf there is magnificent Persian calligraphy, exquisitely illuminated in paint and gold, measuring 50 x 35 centimeters, all in fine condition. Bought by local Jews for four thousand *toman*, they are asking five thousand. Have gained the right of retention at this price for ten days. It would be a pity to lose them, they could go to Paris or London. Could we not arrange purchase? Ostrogradsky" (*Archive V-1909*, p. 6). In a letter dated 22 January 1909, the Director of the Imperial Hermitage, Vsevolozhsky, refused to buy the album.

The story continues in a letter from the Ministry of Finance to the Hermitage (*Archive V-1910*, file 19): "Nicholas II has acquired an album through the Imperial Archaeological Commission from Aulic Councillor Ostrogradsky with 100 pages for 15,000 roubles". The question then arises: where is the Album mentioned in the letter to be sent? The answer appears in the same folder in another letter, this time from the Director of the Hermitage, D. Tolstoy, dated 5 February 1910, and states that the album was to be given to the Museum of Alexander III, from whom approval had already been received. This is where Frederick Martin's study finds documentary support. Although the Album has no marks to associate it with the Shāh's library, the fact that the first and the last leafs are missing ties it to the description given by Ostrogradsky in his telegram, although it is strange that he made no mention of the binding. The fact is that, the period in which the purchase was made was one of revolution in Iran (1905-1911) and because of the confusion reigning in Tehran at that time, manuscripts from the Shāh's library could easily have reached the antiquarian market and been taken out of the country.

Folios 28 and 33 are missing from the 1962 edition of the Album (*Akimushkin, Grek, Gyuzelyan, Ivanov 1962*) as the Institute of Oriental Studies did not have any information about why these two Folios were missing from their collection. At one time, I did wonder whether two miniatures by Muḥammad Zamān, *Return from Egypt* and *Mary and Elizabeth*, had come from this Album as they were also in Martin's collection in 1912. According to the late Deputy Director of the State Hermitage, Professor V. F. Levison-Lessing, when Martin visited St. Petersburg in 1910, a major inventory was being compiled. Somehow these miniatures could have been incorporated into his collection. It is not clear whether the miniatures in Martin's album had ornamented margins (that is, whether they were Folios from a specific album). In the miniature *Mary and Elizabeth* there is a narrow border which has made it possible to attribute it to this Album (*Martin 1912*, p. 173). The drawing of this border is the same as on Folio 73 *verso* of the Album (*Akimushkin, Grek, Gyuzelyan, Ivanov 1962*, p. 65). But events took their own course. In the 1970s, I discovered quite by accident that these two miniatures were housed in the Museum of the History of Religion (Kazan' Cathedral) in St. Petersburg, where they had been transferred for temporary exhibition in the thirties. All 100 Folios are therefore in St. Petersburg.

Over the last three decades it has become clear that the original composition of the Album was quite different from that which reached Russia in 1910. The confusing element is that three artists, Muḥammad Ḥādī, Muḥammad Bāqir and Muḥammad

Ṣādiqall worked on the decoration and composition of the Album in the middle of the 18th century, leaving their own signatures and dates, sometimes minuscule and hardly noticeable, on the margins and borders around the miniatures and calligraphic specimens. Moreover, it is believed the Folios in the Album were originally ordered in such a way that each double page had either two miniatures (either paired miniatures with similar subject matter were selected, or identical compositions of two or more miniatures with similar subjects were created), or specimens of calligraphy. This Album contained the work of only one calligrapher, *Mīr ʿImād al-Ḥasanī al-Qazvini*, and was designed so that the reverse of each leaf had symmetrical compositions of one or more calligraphic specimens. The margins and borders around the miniatures and specimens of calligraphy were laid out symmetrically, probably with a stencil, around one, two or three borders. While these two identifying features – the signatures of the artists and the painting of the margins and borders – have enabled us to identify a further 26 Folios from publications and catalogues which, evidently, belong to this Album but were removed from it while it was still in Iran and before the 100 Folios were sold to Russia, we still cannot reconstruct the original composition of the Album with complete certainty. Six Folios came into the hands of the Freer Gallery of Art, in 1931, 1942 and 1945 ( *Beach* 1981, pp. 167-77, No. 17 a-f); a seventh is now in the private collection of F. Lugt in Paris. Originally, it was bought by J. Pozzi at an auction in 1944; in 1970 this collection was broken up and sold, and the Folio became the property of F. Lugt ( *Drouot* 1944; *Succession de M. Jean Pozzi* 1970, No. 69; *Gahlin, van Berge-Gerbaud, van Hesselt* 1974; *Gahlin, van Berge-Gerbaud* 1986, No. 29; *Beach* 1992, p. 168); an eighth is in the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA ( *Smith* 1981, fig. 1); a ninth is in the Louvre (No. 7. 171; *Stchoukine* 1929, No. 41, pl. 7; *Salle* 1939, fig. 69); a tenth is at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (No. 12.223.2; *Beach* 1985, No. 20; *Beach* 1992, p. 163); three were sold at auction; in Paris in 1944 (now in a private collection in Geneva: see *Drouot* 1944, No. 65; *David, Soustiel* 1986, No. 15; *Beach* 1992, p. 168; *Falk* 1985, No. 81197) in 1979 (also in a private collection, in Italy: see *Art d'Asie* 1979, No. 187) and in 1984 at Christie's in London: the catalogue only showed the *verso* with the specimens of calligraphy by *Mīr ʿImād* (see *Christie's* 1984, No. 162), how the *recto* was decorated remains unknown; a 14th Folio was displayed at an exhibition in Los Angeles, California, USA, in 1989 ( *Dye* 1989, p. 201, No. 212); two more were sold at auction in London in October 1991 ( *Christie's* 1991, No. 50-51); a seventeenth Folio is in the Sadruddin Aga Khan's collection ( *Welch, Welch* 1982, No. 78) The margins of this *recto* have the signature: "the lowest of the low Muḥammad-Bāqir", and the reverse has the signature "a letter of the slave-Muḥammad Ḥādī, 1172" A.H. /1758-59 A.D. , this second name not mentioned in the catalogue; an 18th Folio is in the collection of A. Soudavar ( *Soudavar* 1992, No. 131; *David, Soustiel* 1986); two Folios were acquired by the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C. , USA (No. S 1993. 42 ab; *Beach* 1995, p. 66, figs. 1-3, 21 and No. S 86421b); a twenty-first Folio was acquired a year ago by the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. , USA (No. F 1994.4; *Beach* 1995, fig. 21); a twenty-second is in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (No. 924.12.146; *Beach* 1995, fig. 22); another three Folios were at auction at Sotheby's Sale in 1995, but the miniatures had been cut out of them ( *Sotheby's* 1995, Lot 95-97); a twenty-sixth Folio was also sold at Sotheby's on 12 October 1990, No. 130. One further example, six Folios from the Album were sold at auction in Paris in 1944 ( *Drouot* 1944, No. 61-66) and of these only two are available as reproductions (see above). So far, then, twenty six Folios have turned up in the West, all of which are reproduced here. Since they could



be placed in the existing binding, there is no point in postulating the existence of a second Album (*Beach* 1995).<sup>2</sup>

Before publication in 1962, the miniatures in the Album were little known, and had only been studied in the 1920s by F. A. Rosenberg; unfortunately, his study was not completed (*Rosenberg* 1923, p. 87). Fully reproduced and published for the first time in 1962, the Album's miniatures were discussed – although somewhat poorly – in works by Soviet and Western experts, and finally became known to a wide circle of specialists (*Grekh* 1975; *Zebrowsky* 1983; *Stchoukine* 1964; *Beach* 1976-77; 1995).<sup>3</sup>

As for exhibitions and other publications, the Album was first displayed in an exhibition at the “Third Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology” in 1935 in Leningrad (*D'yakonov-Strelkov* 1936, p. 41). Several of the miniatures were mentioned in Sh. Ya. Amiranashvili's work (*Amiranashvili* 1939, p. 14; 1940, pp. 35-36). In 1955 the miniatures in the Album were shown in a temporary exhibition in the State Hermitage (*Grekh* 1956). Several miniatures from the Album were shown at the “Medieval Painting in the East” Exhibition at the Hermitage in 1967 (*Exhibition Catalogue* 1967). Two miniatures (Folio 9 *recto* and Folio 37 *recto*) were reproduced in books (*Beveridge* 1909-1914) and one (Folio 80 *recto*) was the subject of a special monograph in a journal on ornithology (*Ivanov* 1979, p. 197).

The *Muraqqa'* (Album) is bound in a magnificent binding of *papier-mâché* with painting under the lacquer (51,5 x 34,5 cm). The outsides of the covers and the doublures are artistically designed. A single pattern is used for the painted ornamentation on the covers, and was probably stencilled. There is a central field with three medallions filled with flowers and birds; it is surrounded by wide borders with two narrow frames decorated with vegetal motifs in gold. The central field itself on the outside of the covers is decorated with two tendrils with leaves and different types of flowers lead off from above and below the medallion in the middle. The sweeping curves of the tendrils cover the whole field in a symmetrical pattern. The flowers in the central field and inside the medallions on the outsides of the covers are identical on the front and back covers. The reddish flecked central field of the doublures is left without ornament, and the wide border is filled with a sinuous tendril with different flowers and birds on it. The wide border on the outsides of the covers is filled with Persian verses in cartouches which alternate with medallions containing flowers. Besides the verses, each cartouche contains the date 1147 A.H./ 1734-1735 A.D. , and the total of the numerical values of the letters of each hemistich (*miṣrā'*) is also 1147 A.H. (The measure is not sustained in this *miṣrā'*, the reading is tentative, since the total here is not 1147). The weighting of these verses is very heavy (*Khafīf*) as the author had to select words for which the total of the numerical values of the letters in each *miṣrā'* would be 1147. The verses begin in the top right cartouche on the outside of the top cover:

این نکو طلعت مرقع نام	۱۱۴۷ گه شد از جلو شهر در ایام
نیست نازش زدلیبری بیجا	۱۱۴۷ نازنینی است چون نشاط افزا
گا از حسن خط جلاد چشم	۱۱۴۷ گه بحرفی عیان مشابه چشم
گه قرین چار سطری ازهر سو	۱۱۴۷ طور او چو بتان چار ابرو
گه نماید بچشم تجربه بین	۱۱۴۷ پن هم قطعها چو خلد برین
قلم از وصف خط کند ز بنان	۱۱۴۷ صفحه را از بنفشه گلریزان
بسته از جان ودل بهر سویش	۱۱۴۷ برقی باز جلد بر رویش
برقعش نیز آنکه بگشاد	۱۱۴۷ جان بتصویر ساد ایش داد

[O] this beautiful [album], called *muraqqa'*,  
 Which gained fame in its day with its magnificence  
 It becomes the beauty to be gracious,  
 [And the album] is like a beauty, increasing joy.  
 This [it] blinds the eyes with the beauty of the writing,  
 This [it] likens the eyes [gazing] to the letter 'ain  
 (i.e. , makes them open wide in astonishment)  
 Its [its pages offer] four line stanzas with all sides in union.  
 In their appearance they are like four-visaged idols.  
 They seem to the eye of the beholder  
 Following the *qiṭ'a* one after the other to be like celestial spheres.  
 Qalam pulls the finger [of astonishment from his mouth] from praise  
 Of the pages scattered with flowers of the violet.  
 [Each] is drawn with soul and heart to every part of it,  
 And on his face is a veil, [in the form of] a binding.  
 And so soon as the veil is lifted,  
 [Each] is enslaved by its pure images (pictures).

The stanzas on the outside of the lower cover also begin in the top right cartouche (the measure is the same):

مالکش وقع دولت واقبال	۱۱۴۷	دَر شہوار عین بحر کمال
فلک عز و منزلت را بدر	۱۱۴۷	صدری اما قرون از آتش قدر
زینت افزای مجلس از . ولت	۱۱۴۷	میرزا مهدی آن ملک فطرت
آن گرامی که از کمالتش	۱۱۴۷	عالم پیر محو حالاتش
وصف کلکش چو نیست حد زبان	۱۱۴۸	کلك افسرد شد بکسر لسان
یافت اتمام چو بیمن احد	۱۱۴۷	کلك خادم بعزم سحر آمد
از پی ضبط سال واصل زمان	۱۱۴۷	دان زهر مصراع از حساب نشان
باد چون خط بماء چهر یار	۱۱۴۷	صاحبش را بکامرانی کار

Its owner is the [possessor] of knowledge, wealth and happiness,  
 Imperial pearl, source of the sea of perfection.  
 Heavenly sphere of glory and worth,  
 Though one hundred times greater is its power.  
 In its potency it increases the decoration of the collection -  
 Mīrzā Mahdī – this possessor of discernment.  
 This most precious thing, before the perfection of which  
 The old world loses its position.  
 Because it is beyond the bounds [possibilities] of the tongue  
 to heap praise on his pen,  
 The *qalam* [pen of the author] withers with the insufficiency of words.  
 It is finished [this thing] as a special triumph,  
 The servant's pen has rushed to the dawn of day.  
 To fix the year and the time,  
 Learn from the count of each *miṣrā'*.  
 Be like a birth-mark on a lover with a face like the moon  
 [This is] a thing (i. e. *muraqqa'*) to give pleasure to its owner.

Apart from these verses, the outsides of the covers bear the following inscriptions:

a) inscribed in the middle of the medallion on the upper cover:

ز بعد محمد علی اشرف است

“After Muḥammad the most noble – ‘Alī”

b) inscribed on the left vertical strip of the doublure of the same cover:

یا محمد مهدی هادی

“O Muḥammad Mahdī Ḥādī!”. This is the name of the twelfth Shi‘ite Imām.

c) inscribed in the central medallion of the lower cover is the date which should be read as 115[0] A.H./ 1737-1738 A.D. , for [1]115 A.H./ 1703-1704 A.D. can hardly be possible in this case, given the other dates in the compilation (although the 1 for the thousands is sometimes omitted).

d) in the middle of the right, vertical band on the doublure of the same cover, there is the number 1151, which must be construed as the date, 1151 A.H./ 1738-1739 A.D. It is quite likely that this was the year in which the work on the binding was completed and that it was begun in 1147 A.H./ 1734-1735 A.D. The binding therefore represents five years’ work.

Going by the dates on the covers, the binding of the Album was prepared by an unknown master between 1147-1151 A.H./ 1734-1739 A.D. Some additional explanation is required here. In recent years there has been a tendency in the literature to regard the inscription, “after Muḥammad the most noble – ‘Alī”, as some kind of coded signature of an artist called ‘Alī Ashraf. The late M. Bayanī wrote a brief biography on this master, although he did not cite references to his sources (Bayanī 1979, pp. 310-11; Tabrizi 1991, pp. 368-73)<sup>4</sup>. While recognizing the Shi‘ite (religious) content, we have to remember that we would be looking for the name of another artist. There are many factors here which cast doubt over this.

Firstly, no works have come down to us through the centuries which bear the name of, simply, ‘Alī Ashraf. On all the works which refer to this master (and this is only on lacquer pieces and not miniatures) the signatures or inscriptions are always the same: ‘after Muḥammad the most noble – ‘Alī’. Unfortunately, I was not able to check all of the sixty-four works known to me.<sup>5</sup>

There are only three cases that I know of where the signatures are different:

a) on a lacquer *qālāmdān* (pen case) dated the fourth of the month of *Rabī‘ II* 1165 A.H. (probably 17 February 1752 A.D.); the handwriting used for the inscription is rather careless and can only partly be deciphered, in the upper cartouche, “from the work of the master ‘Alī Ashraf” (Colnaghi 1976, No. 461);

b) on a lacquered case for a mirror dated circa 1166/1752-1753 and signed: “written by the lowest of the low ‘Alī Ashraf”, although the signature is not visible on the cover and is only deduced from the description (Sotheby’s 1984, No. 157). It is possible that this piece used to be in L. Diba’s collection, although the date on it is 1168 A.H./ 1753-1754 A.D.;

c) on a lacquer *qālāmdān* in a private collection in New York with the inscription: “written by the lowest of the low ‘Alī Ashraf, 1168[1753-54]”.

In the latter two cases the phrasing is quite usual for signatures appended by other artists in the 17th and 18th centuries. But it is still the case that the signatures differ in

terms of content, which is unusual, and therefore there is some doubt about their authenticity. Mention must be made here of a controversy regarding the authenticity of the 'Alī Ashraf signature, found on Folio 18 *recto* and Folio 41 *recto* of this Album: The margins are written over in the style of Muḥammad Bāqir, and bear the inscription, “*Bāqir after ‘Alī was the most noble*”.

There are two interpretations regarding the attribution of the miniature based on these facts: the fifth Shi‘ite imam, Muḥammad Bāqir, was the most noble after the imam ‘Alī (which in my opinion may well be the correct one), and the artist Muḥammad Bāqir was the most excellent after ‘Alī Ashraf (Adle 1980 p. 62; Adamova 1985). It has to be said that of all the many works by Muḥammad Bāqir in this Album and in other collections, only two have this inscription, while as regards ‘Alī Ashraf, it is the other way round: three works carry the signatures and the remainder have inscriptions with a religious content.

Secondly, sources dating from the 18th and early 19th centuries are strangely silent about this master. While these sources do not overwhelm us with information about artists in general, “Rustam al-tavārikh” does mention the names of Āqā Zamān, Āqā Bāqir, Āqā Ṣādiq, Mīrzā H‘asan and Mīrzā Muḥammad (Rustam 1969, p. 410). The first three can be identified with Muḥammad Zamān, the second with, Muḥammad Bāqir and Muḥammad Ṣādiq respectively (works by all three are known to us but it has not been possible to identify works by Mīrzā Ḥasan and Mīrzā Muḥammad). It is interesting that ‘Alī Ashraf is not included in this list although he was a very productive artist: today there are sixty-four works ascribed to him. Adle refers to a statement by d’Affilito, the Italian ambassador to Iran at the beginning of this century, who thought that the artist Ḥājji Muḥammad was the pupil of an artist by the name of ‘Alī Ashraf. It is not clear where d’Affilito got his information from (Adle 1980, p.62).

Thirdly, the sixty-four works ascribed to ‘Alī Ashraf themselves provide little insight into his life: fifty-five of them carry an exact date, from 1118 to 1239 A.H./ 1706-1824 A.D. This would mean that his artistic career stretched over 100 years: possible perhaps, bearing in mind that all three of the artists who decorated the margins of the Album, apparently, lived long lives, but highly unlikely!

Two works by an artist called Rīzā son of ‘Alī Ashraf have cropped up in recent years. One of them is a *qālāmdān* in M. A. Karimzadeh Tabrizi’s collection (Tabrizi 1984), and bears the signature:

رضاء ابن مرحوم علی اشرف ۱۲۰۲

“*Rīzā son of the late ‘Alī Ashraf 1202 A.H. [1787-1788 A.D.]*”.

The other is also a *qālāmdān*, in the British Museum collection (NG 1983.105), with the signature: ز صلب علی اشرف آمد رضاء ۱۲۱۷

“*From posterity by ‘Alī the most noble came Rīzā, 1217 A.H [1802-1803 A.D.]*”.<sup>6</sup>

Neither of these two pieces are properly discussed in the literature and it is not clear if there are any similarities of style between them in the painting. The phrasing of the inscriptions is indeed quite different. On the first *qālāmdān*, dated 1202 A.H./ 1787-1788 A.D. , ‘Alī Ashraf is referred to as “*the late*” but to my knowledge there are another four accurately dated items made after 1202 A.H. and before 1239 A.H./ 1823-1824 A.D. The attribution and authenticity of these two *qālāmdāns* is still under debate.

A more objective point of view would be the following: the inscription, “*after Muḥammad the most noble – ‘Alī*” is simply a religious formulation which does not contain the name of the artist. In addition, ‘Alī Ashraf is, at least as far as the artistic life of Iran in the 18th century is concerned, a mythical figure, and the binding of

Album E-14 was made by an unknown master. The binding, it seems, was made to the order of a Mīrzā Mahdī whose name is given in the verses in, unfortunately, a very brief form. Given the amount of time taken to complete the binding (four years) and these epithets with which the owner is showered in the verses, it is possible to say with some certainty that Mīrzā Mahdī was a very important person in Iran in the 1730s.<sup>7</sup>

It is also quite possible that this binding was designed for a different album altogether, for it was made at least ten years before the Folios were compiled: the earliest date in the margins is 1160 A.H./ 1747 A.D. It must be remembered that the majority of the miniatures in the Album are of Indian origin and reached Iran, apparently, after Nādir Khān's Indian campaign of 1738-1739 A.D. The latest date on the covers is 1151 A.H./ 1738-1739 A.D.; in other words, work on the binding was under way long before the campaign in India.

The leaves in the Album are intercalated in such a way that one side displays either two miniatures or two specimens of calligraphy. The sides of each leaf were decorated identically; the painting of the margins is the same on the right and left sides, the number of borders is the same, the ornamentation inside the respective borders on the right and left sides is also the same. By using this identical make-up for each leaf in the Album we can attempt to work out the original sequence of Folios, although it is not definitive, since we do not know which was the first or last leaf (there is no original Eastern pagination). We do not know how many Folios were originally in the album. There are now 100 plus 26 in foreign collections, and we are not certain that all the Folios have been discovered. We can, therefore, only put together several groups of sequential Folios from the original layout of the Album (Folios in collections abroad cannot be integrated into these groupings as it is usually only the *recto*, that is, the Folio with the miniature, which is reproduced).

The painting of a leaf is on the whole symmetrical, an effect achieved through the use of stencils. But even if a stencil were employed in the decoration of the borders, the work itself was creative, not a purely mechanical process, for the artists would mark out the general contours of the design and then decorate it by hand; this would of course introduce slight differences in the motifs on either side.

The artists who decorated the margins left their signatures in the borders: often they are to be found on both *recto* and *verso*, sometimes only on one. The signatures are very small, scarcely visible among the ornamentation. If an artist's signature is on only one side, I am inclined to ascribe the ornamentation on the other side to him, also. Attribution here would be quite permissible as the artists used stencils and any differences in the style of execution are difficult to spot. Certainly no difference can be seen between signed and unsigned margins with the same decorative theme; this allows us to ascribe the unsigned ones to a particular master, especially as we know their names – Muḥammad Ḥādī, Muḥammad Bāqir and Muḥammad Ṣādiq

The material in the Album does not provide any objective data for the supposition that other masters worked along side those mentioned above on the compiling of the Album. There is no mention either of whether the painting of the margins was done later than the 18th century, although the decoration of the margins and borders of several of the Folios was unfinished and there are several blank margins (this gives the impression that work was halted abruptly). Most of the work of decorating the Album was carried out by one artist, Muḥammad Ḥādī, who decorated only the margins around the calligraphic specimens. All his painting was done in gold against a deep blue ground and his work shows great variety. Muḥammad Ḥādī's signatures are to be found on eighty-two Folios. They are always accompanied by a date: from 1160 A.H./

1747 A.D. to 1172 A.H./ 1759 A.D. The phrasing of the signature is usually one or the other of the following:

رقم بنده محمد هادی

*“Written by the humblest of slaves Muḥammad Ḥādī”,*

and less frequently,

كلك هادی نموده رقم

*“Written by the pen of Ḥādī”, or*

شد رقم از هادی زرنشان

*“Written by the pen of Ḥādī zarnishān”.*

Usually the word “zarnishān” translates literally into “incrustator”, or “master of inlay work”. In inscriptions on weapons (where the art form truly is incrustation), the word has the suffix “gar-”, or, for example “zarnishangar”. In this case, Muḥammad Ḥādī was working as a “muzahhib”, a “gilder” or “ornamentalist”, rather than as a master of inlay work. The fifteen margins around the calligraphic specimens which do not have this master’s signature could also be ascribed to him. Three margins are blank. As regards the Folios in collections abroad, the phrasing of Muḥammad Ḥādī’s signatures and dates are the same as those given above.

Unfortunately, I do not have any information from Persian sources about Muḥammad Ḥādī’s life and work. Thanks to the research done by B. W. Robinson, we now know that Muḥammad Ḥādī was seen in Shiraz on 10 September 1821, by the English traveller Claudius Rich who described him as a very old man who no longer practiced his art (Robinson 1967, Cat. No. 94).

If that artist can be identified with the Muḥammad Ḥādī who worked on the decoration of the Album, he would indeed have been over ninety years old, which means that he must already have been well known in the 1740s, with the status to have been invited to take part in such a project.

Other details can be added here. A small rectangular box signed by Muḥammad Ḥādī and dated 1148 A.H./ 1735-1736 A.D. came up at auction in 1978 (Drouot 1978), and a museum in Tehran has a *qālāmdān* with the date 1148 A.H./ 1735-1736 A.D. (Diba 1989, p. 154). If these really represent early works by Muḥammad Ḥādī, he must have lived for at least a hundred years (this is, of course, quite possible). Three of his works are very precisely dated: 1) lacquer case for a mirror, 1202 A.H./ 1787 A.D. (Sotheby’s 1978, Cat. No. 160); 2) lacquer case for a mirror, 1228 A.H./ 1813 A.D. (State Museum of the Art of the Peoples of the East, Moscow, Inv. No. 258-II) and 3) lacquer binding for a manuscript of “Yūsuf and Zulaikhā’ by Jāmī”, 1230 A.H./ 1814 A.D. (Sotheby’s 1990, Cat. No. 294). Sixteen other undated pieces have been presented at various auctions and exhibitions. This artist’s creative output has yet to be studied in depth, in the bulk of his miniatures have not even been made available through reproductions. He could well have worked as a miniaturist and as a *muzahhib* (gilder), but this is not known for certain as there is some confusion regarding his personal and professional history.

A second artist, Muḥammad Bāqir, also painted margins, but he only worked on the margins surrounding miniatures, and on the narrow borders around the miniatures and calligraphic specimens. His work is characterized by the variety of motifs and subjects in the painting. His signatures are to be found in twenty-five margins, seven borders around miniatures and five borders around calligraphic specimens. The phrasing of his signature is one of the following:

کمترین محمد باقر

*“lowest of the low Muḥammad Bāqir”,*



or simply,

محمد باقر

"*Muḥammad Bāqir*".

It is certain that two margins contain work by this master even though they do not bear his signature (Folio 18 *recto* and Folio 41 *recto*) but are inscribed:

باقی از بعد علی اشرف مود

"*After 'Alī the most noble was Bāqir*".

Four margins with similar painting have the signature of Muḥammad Bāqir: these include Folio 26 *recto*, Folio 29 *recto*, Folio 90 *recto*, and Folio 91 *recto*.

There are four distinct types of painting in the decoration of the margins done by Muḥammad Bāqir:

i) A bunch of grapes motif with red clusters of grapes, green leaves and the figures of birds in the background. These motifs have several different forms of expression. Two margins (Folio 44 *recto* and Folio 46 *recto*), of the ten decorated in this way, are signed. The other ten plates are Folio 8 *recto*, Folio 13 *recto*, Folio 31 *recto*, Folio 32 *recto*, Folio 34 *recto*, Folio 35 *recto*, Folio 37 *recto*, Folio 97 *recto*, Folio 99 *recto*. Two of these Folios (Folio 97 *recto* and Folio 99 *recto*) have a gold background. None of these margins are signed by the artist, however, it is quite possible that they were also done by Muḥammad Bāqir.

ii) Flowers, deer and birds painted in gold against the plain background of the paper. There are different versions of these. The drawing is large and strong, the contours outlined in ink, the gold is of yellow and greenish hues. There are signatures on four margins (Folio 26, Folio 29, Folio 90, Folio 91) of the eleven done in this manner.

iii) Figures of animals, trees, bushes and hills done in gold on the plain background of the paper. Again, there are different versions. The drawing is finer than the work in the other two groups. The gold is also of two hues. Fifteen margins (Folio 1, Folio 2, Folio 6, Folio 23, Folio 33, Folio 48, Folio 49, Folio 57, Folio 75, Folio 77, Folio 80, Folio 81, Folio 83, Folio 93, Folio 94) of forty-one are done in this manner.

iv) The painting of this group of margins is made up of individual scenes evolving across the margins against the background of a hilly landscape (work in the fields, hunting, shepherds with their flocks, etc.). There are several variations of this. In contrast to the other three groups, these paintings are done in watercolours, and there is no gold. The signatures of the artist can be seen in four of the twenty margins painted in this manner (Folio 5, Folio 63, Folio 76, Folio 78). Muḥammad Bāqir also painted some of the narrow borders around the miniatures and calligraphic specimens. On Folio 69 *recto*, the miniature has a second border. Twenty borders in second (II) and third (III) position are filled in the same way, with the same colour range, although there are variations in the drawing. It is curious that one of these borders (Folio 58 *verso* I) is unfinished.

A fairly large number of the second (II) and third (III) narrow borders with gold vegetal decoration on a crimson ground can be ascribed to Muḥammad Bāqir; and eleven of these Folios are signed by him (Folio 1 *recto* I; Folio 2 *recto* II, Folio 2 *verso* I, Folio 4 *verso* II, Folio 41 *recto* I, Folio 41 *verso* I, Folio 43 *recto* I, Folio 58 *verso* I, Folio 69 *recto* II, Folio 80 *recto* I, Folio 84 *verso* I: the Roman numerals, I, II, III refer to the borders, starting from the centre nearest the miniature and working outwards towards the outer border).

The drawings in the ornamentation in these borders is very varied. One of them (Folio 84 *verso* I) even has a date, 1172 A.H./ 1758-59 A.D. This is the only date on Muḥammad Bāqir's work in this Album.

In addition to borders with ornamentation on a crimson ground, Muḥammad Bāqir also painted borders with vegetal ornamentation in gold against a deep blue ground. One of these (Folio 39 *recto* I) is signed by him. There is one miniature in this Album, “Birds and a Flowering Acacia” (Folio 77 *recto*) which is signed by Bāqir. The signature is barely noticeable, and reads:

محمد باقر

“The most humble Bāqir”.

We know that Muḥammad Bāqir worked as an artist, ornamentalist and miniaturist. He also created pieces in *papier-mâché* (mirror cases, *qālāmdāns*, bindings) and, most likely, created pieces decorated with enamel (Robinson 1969, pl. 122). He was master of many skills, his artistic range was multi-faceted and he was very productive. I know of over thirty signed pieces of work by him. However, he remains little studied (Adamova 1985), much of his work is not available in reproduction, and his biographical details remain unknown. The author of “*Rustam al-tavārikh*”, the history of the late Safavids, Zends and early Qajars, completed at the beginning of the 19th century, mentions Muḥammad Bāqir by the name of “Āqā Bāqir” (he does indeed use this signature) and ranks him among the best-known artists at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries (Rustam 1969, p.410). There are precisely dated works by him from the 1750s (Folio 84 *verso* in this Album where the date given is 1172 A.H./ 1758-1759 A.D.) and some from the end of the 1820s. The earliest works known to me outside this Album, are the lacquer mirror case of 1177 A.H./ 1763-1764 A.D. (Collection of the State Hermitage, Inv. No. VP-27) and the painting in the margins of the album sold in Paris in 1982 where the name is given as Muḥammad Bāqir Imāmī, and the date is 1177 A.H./ 1763-64 A.D. (Art Islamique 1982, Cat. Nos. 4, 25); the last, a watercolour, *Maiden offering Grapes to a Child*, dated 1244 A.H./ 1828-1829 A.D. (Sotheby’s 1978, Cat. No. 53). He too, seems to have had a very long life.<sup>8</sup>

In the miniature, *Lion in Chains*, his name is given as Muḥammad Bāqir Isfāhānī, though the handwriting of the signature gives rise to doubts about its authenticity (Christie’s 1976, Cat. No. 55, pl. 7). Since he drew a portrait of Karīm Khān Zend (State Museum of Art of the Georgian Republic, Tbilisi, Inv. No. 12), painted a *qalamdān* for the vizier ‘Alī Murād Khān Zend (Simsar, Zoka 1966, pp. 16-17), painted a lacquer binding for Bābā Khān (the future Fath ‘Alī Shāh), binding of “*Bustan*” by Sādī (Dorn 1852; Adamova 1985) and worked with two other famous painters at the court of Fath ‘Alī Shāh, Mīrzā Bābā (see *Rustam Kills the White Diva* [Christie’s 1971, Cat. No. 26], and lacquer *qālāmdān* [Sotheby’s 1985, Cat. No. 215]), and Sayyīd Mīrzā, we can safely assume that he worked at the Zend and Qajar courts. Muḥammad Bāqir and Sayyīd Mīrzā made the binding for the famous *Khāmsā* by Nizāmī, transcribed for Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (British Library, Or. 2265; Robinson 1964, vol. 10, No. I, p. 35). We learn from the signature on the miniature *Encounter Between a Lion and a Dragon*, that at one time he worked in Sārī, on the shores of the Caspian (Islamische Kunst 1981, No. 81). I know of twenty-five precisely dated and twenty-seven undated works by him. He must not be confused with another Muḥammad Bāqir who was active in the second half of the 19th century.<sup>9</sup> Research into the life of Muḥammad Bāqir is the work of future generations.

A third artist, Muḥammad Ṣādiq, was also involved in the decoration of the margins and borders around the miniatures, and possibly a very few of the calligraphic specimens. Two minuscule signatures by this master, محمد صادق

“Muḥammad Ṣādiq”, can be made out in the second borders of Folio 88 *recto* and Folio 91 *recto*. They are ornamented with tendrils supporting a variety of flowers

against a gold ground. The pairs for these two Folios are Folio 92 *recto* and Folio 90 *recto*. It would therefore follow that the second borders here are also by Muḥammad Ṣādiq. The border on Folio 94 *recto* II contains a signature, done - quite carelessly - in ink which is not similar to the handwriting in the other signatures written by this master: عمل محمد صادق "Work of Muḥammad Ṣādiq".

The border on Folio 93 *recto*, the pair to it, has the date in the same handwriting:

سنة ١١٦٥ "(1165 A.H./ 1751-1752 A.D.)"

In ornament, these borders are very similar to the signed work by Muḥammad Ṣādiq on Folio 88 *recto* and Folio 91 *recto*, discussed above. It is possible to attribute these works to Muḥammad Ṣādiq, although the signature and date were not inserted by him personally.

It has recently come to light that there are other similar signatures in a more careless hand with the name, "Muḥammad Ṣādiq", in the side margins of the Folios, and dates given on the matching pages or along side the signatures: these are three Folios with miniatures published by Beach (*Beach* 1995, pp. 168-70, No. 17a and 17c; p. 169, No. 17b), and Album Folio 14 *recto* and Folio 28 *recto*.

The phrasing of the signature on them is: عمل محمد صادق

"Muḥammad Ṣādiq made this".

The dates are 1160 A.H./ 1747 A.D. (Freer Gallery Inv. No. 45.9 *recto*) and 1165 A.H./ 1751-1752 A.D. (on Folio 14 *recto*). Painting various flowers and birds against a gold ground was, apparently, typical of the style of this master, and the decoration of another six margins can therefore be attributed to him (Folio 10 *recto*, Folio 30 *recto*, Folio 40 *recto*, Folio 45 *recto*, Folio 66 *recto*, Folio 86 *recto*). Two additional margins containing the same imagery, but against a plain paper background (Folio 7 *recto* and Folio 27 *recto*), are also attributed to him, but were left unfinished.

The date 1165 A.H. /1751-1752 A.D. can also be seen in the second border on Folio 9 *recto*. The painting depicting a variety of tendrils and bright flowers against a gold ground, is similar to the work done by Muḥammad Ṣādiq, described above. Very similar paintings in other borders can also be attributed to him with reasonable certainty.<sup>10</sup>

Details of Muḥammad Ṣādiq's biography are still not known. Of Eastern authors, only the creator of "*Rustam al-tavārikh*" mentions him, as Āqā Ṣādiq, an artist in the second half of the 18th century (*Rustam* 1969, p. 410). Robinson mentions him in his book on European travellers who were in Iran, though only in the middle and late 19th century, and no particular confidence can be placed in the reports (*Robinson* 1967, pp. 77-78, No. 93). Mazda wrote about a painter called Āqā Ṣādiq, the son of Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, who lived at the end of the 18th century, although it is not clear how the author knew the name of the painter's father, for no references or sources are cited (*Mazda* 1946, p. 62). Robinson suggested that Muḥammad Ṣādiq often signed his works with an exclamation: يا صادق الوعد

"O, Ṣādiq, al-va'd!",

since it contained the word, "Ṣādiq" (*Robinson* 1970, pp. 45-50). This exclamation is difficult to interpret, for dictionaries provide a number of different meanings, for example, "faithful to the word, epithet of God and honorary title of the prophet Ismail". Unfortunately, precisely dated pictures, miniatures and lacquer work with this inscription span a period from 1071 A.H./ 1660-61 A.D. to 1225 A.H./ 1808 A.D., which obviously exceeds an average lifetime. Why the painter needed to have such an encoded signature, I find quite incomprehensible.

The earliest accurately dated works by Muḥammad Ṣādiq are on a Folio from this

Album, 1160 A.H./ 1747 A.D. (Freer Gallery 45.9; *Beach* 1995, p.169, No. 17b, p. 170, No. 17c) and a miniature, "Plum Blossom", 1160 A.H./ 1747 A.D. (*Dorn* 1852; Folio 85 *recto*), and the latest date from the end of the 18th century. He must have lived a very long life given that he was an acknowledged master by the 1740s. There was another Muḥammad Ṣādiq working in the second half of the 18th century. He painted twenty-one miniatures in the album PNS 383 in the collection of the National Library in St. Petersburg.

The phrasing of the signature in these miniatures is:

محمد صادق  
 "Muḥammad Ṣādiq", or  
 رقم كمترين محمد صادق  
 "Work of the most humble Muḥammad Ṣādiq"

Several times the date is expressed as ١٢٠٠.

This is probably 1200 A.H./ 1785-86 A.D. Beside the word "Ṣādiq", near the last letter and a little above it, there is always the letter "dal", written small. Perhaps this could signify "*dovvom*" ("second"). I do not believe that these miniatures can be identified as the work of the Muḥammad Ṣādiq we are interested in here. They are not of good quality and cannot be compared with the signed work by our Muḥammad Ṣādiq. Muḥammad Ṣādiq worked as a painter, miniaturist and perfected the art of lacquer. His art has not been the subject of study, although a brief outline is given in two publications by Robinson (*Robinson* 1970; *Robinson* 1982).

Some of the margins around the miniatures in this Album contain painting which is impossible to ascribe to one or other of the artists we have discussed here. The motifs used in the painting are:

i) sweeping tendrils with green foliage, flowers and birds, all against the plain paper background (three different versions: Folio 9 *recto*, Folio 95 *recto*, Folio 11 *recto*, Folio 12 *recto*, Folio 15 *recto*, Folio 43 *recto*, Folio 36 *recto*, Folio 42 *recto*, Folio 59 *recto*, Folio 70 *recto*);

ii) bushes with various kinds of flowers, birds and insects, against a plain paper background (Folio 19 *recto*, Folio 53 *recto*, Folio 86 *recto*, Folio 89 *recto*);

iii) a complex geometric pattern which when viewed from a distance is reminiscent of a cross and stars, against a gold background; inside the shapes there are red and lilac-coloured flowers (Folio 73 *recto*, and Folio 74 *recto*).

We are now able to draw a few conclusions. At least three artists were involved in the compilation of the Album: signatures in the margins attest to this. The work proceeded slowly, possibly with an interval of seven years, judging by the dated and signed work by Muḥammad Ḥādī. Muḥammad Ḥādī worked on the Album for twelve years, with a break between 1162 A.H. and 1169 A.H. , and again between 1170 A.H. and 1172 A.H. /1756-1759 A.D. It is important to remember, however, that the compilation of the Album was never properly completed.

Whether Muḥammad Bāqir and Muḥammad Ṣādiq worked contemporaneously and from the very beginning with Muḥammad Ḥādī, is difficult to establish. Muḥammad Bāqir has provided only one date on a border done by him, 1172 A.H./ 1758-1759 A.D. (Folio 84 *verso* I) and this is the last year in which he worked on the project. Works by Muḥammad Ṣādiq provide us with four dates, one being 1160 A.H./ 1747 A.D. and the three others 1165 A.H./ 1751-1752 A.D. This last date, does not occur in the margins painted by Muḥammad Ḥādī. There is no explanation for this.

It would seem that these three masters were all well-known painters, who were invited to take part in the preparation of this major work. It is likely that they worked in a large library or atelier, but where exactly they worked, and, where the Album was compiled remains a mystery. The slow pace of the work on decorating the Album can be explained by the unstable political situation in Iran after the assassination of Nādir Shāh in 1747 A.D. During this period many towns were pillaged by bands of soldiers who had made allegiance with various claimants to the throne and normal life in these cities was, of course, impossible.

Many of the margins were painted by Muḥammad Ḥādī in 1170-1172 A.H./ 1756-1759 A.D. when Karīm Khan Zend had gained the throne and peace of some kind had been restored. For various reasons, the painting of the margins and borders was not completed in the 1750s and it is not known if attempts were made in later years to complete them. Eleven margins around the calligraphic specimens, ten of the first and second borders around miniatures, and fifty one borders around calligraphic specimens are not ornamented. It is my opinion that borders decorated with flowers, which are partly attributable to Muḥammad Ṣādiq; and an unknown artist are also unfinished; this is also the case with the margins ascribed to Muḥammad Bāqir and decorated with bunches of grapes against a plain paper background. It would seem that the background here should have been executed in gold. Since the left edge of the border on Folio 58 *verso* I is not finished, it is possible to assume that the work was suddenly suspended.

<sup>1</sup> These documents were found by Yu. A. Pyatnitsky, during his post-graduate studies; now he is a researcher at the State Hermitage's Department of Oriental Studies. I am indebted to him for having shared this information with me.

<sup>2</sup> I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my colleagues, Dr. Marilyn Jenkins, Marie-Christine David, Jean Soustiel and Dr. Milo Beach for the help they gave me in compiling this list of missing Folios from the Album.

<sup>3</sup> See also review of book by Arnold Binyon 1921 in *Rosenberg* 1925, p. 541, and review of the book by Brown 1924 in *Rosenberg* 1928, vol. II, pp. 188-89; *Rosenberg* 1931.

<sup>4</sup> For more details see *Adle* 1980, pp. 62-63; *Robinson* 1979, p. 333; *Robinson* 1982, p. 74.

<sup>5</sup> This is indeed true. *Adle* writes that in all the works of 'Alī-Ashraf known to him, the signature is the same as that shown above. See *Adle* 1980, p. 62.

<sup>6</sup> The translation of the second word is not very clear. "Posterity" has many different meanings, depending on the context of its use. The inscriptions on this piece are the subject of a dissertation by L. Diba (*Diba* 1989, pp. 149, 153-154).

<sup>7</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad Mahdī Khān Astarabadi immediately comes to mind here. Although he was the personal secretary to Nādir Shāh and a famous historian, it is still

not possible to prove any connection between him and the name which appears on the binding of this album. He was a man of influence in the 1730s and 1740s, but the first date given in the margins is 1160 A.H./ 1747 A.D., the year in which Nādir Shāh was assassinated.

The circumstances of Mīrzā Muḥammad Mahdī Khān's life in the 1750s are little known. He lived in seclusion and was still "Alive in 1173 A.H. [1759-1760 A.D.]." We do not know whether he retained enough wealth to enable him to order such a large album of miniatures.

<sup>8</sup> The Englishman Benjamin (*Robinson* 1967, No. 91), writing in the second half of the 19th century, mentions Aqa Bāqir as a famous master in Nādir Shāh's reign (1736-1747 A.D.).

<sup>9</sup> Lacquer *qālamdān* dated 1281 A.H./ 1864-1865 A.D. (*Christie's* 1993, No. 146). L. Diba states that he was the son of the artist Abu-l-Ḥasan Ghaffari Kāshāni (*Diba* 1989, p. 156).

<sup>10</sup> See Table of Concordances: Folio 1 *verso* II, Folio 5 *recto* II, Folio 19 *verso* II, Folio 43 *recto* II, Folio 48 *recto* II, Folio 49 *recto* II, Folio 50 *recto* II, Folio 51 *recto* II, Folio 53 *verso* II, Folio 54 *verso* II, Folio 59 *recto* II, Folio 63 *recto* II, Folio 68 *recto* II, Folio 70 *recto* III, Folio 70 *verso* II, Folio 72 *recto* II, Folio 80 *recto* II, Folio 83 *recto* II, Folio 84 *recto* II, Folio 90 *recto* II, Folio 91 *recto* II, Folio 92 *recto* II, Folio 95 *recto* II, Folio 100 *verso* II.

## Persian Miniatures

Anatoly Ivanov

Of the miniatures decorating the pages of the *Muraqqa'* (Album), only twenty are Persian, and of this small number, seventeen belong to the Isfahan school of the second half of the 17th century, while three of the Folios, works by Muḥammad Bāqir and Rīzā-i Hindī, date from the middle of the 18th century, and are contemporary with the creation of the Album. Because our knowledge of 17th century Persian miniature painting is relatively scant, it is extremely difficult to provide in-depth and informative accounts of these (and other) artists and the various schools of miniature painting that existed in Iran during this period. Nonetheless, this essay will provide a succinct outline of 17th and early 18th century Persian miniature painting based on already existing scholarly studies and other available documents and information.

The Isfahan school flourished in the early years of the 17th century, following the relocation of the capital of Iran from Qazvin to Isfahan in 1598. The Isfahan school grew out of the Qazvin school, which had reached its peak in the second half of the 16th century. It was the Qazvin school that had nurtured the most talented of masters, Āqā Rīzā ibn 'Alī Asgar Kāshānī, who adopted the name of Rīzā-i 'Abbāsī at the beginning of the 17th century, probably in honour of Shāh 'Abbās I (1587-1629 A.D.). It was with this name that he signed the majority of his work. Though his life and *oeuvre* have long been a subject of research, it was only in the 1960s that Āqā Rīzā b 'Alī Asgar Kāshānī and Rīzā-i 'Abbāsī were discovered to be one and the same person (*Stchoukine* 1964, pp. 85-133; *Akimushkin, Ivanov* 1968, pp. 26-28; *Soudavar* 1992, pp. 261-64). Rīzā-i 'Abbāsī's influence on all the great artists in the Court Library of Isfahan was enormous even though he was never actually given the title "master" of the school. Of the little information we have concerning this artist, we have learned that at various times during his career, he worked under the direction of Ṣādiq-beg Ashfar and 'Alī Rīzā-i (Ṣādiq-beg Ashfar was, we believe, the director of the Court Library in Qazvin while 'Alī Rīzā-i was in charge of the one in Isfahan). As for the other artists working in the Court Library of Isfahan, very little information is available, and so, providing an historical account of this school and its members is all the more difficult.<sup>1</sup>

The period in which we are more interested and which relates to a large number of miniatures found within this Album is the middle to late 17th century. The style adopted by the Isfahan school in the early 17th century was so popular that it quickly spread throughout the whole of Safavid Iran. As a result, the Shiraz school, which had enriched the 16th century with a wealth of illustrated manuscripts, lost its popularity and eventually died out. At this time, Iran had begun to establish ties with a number of important European countries. Although points of contact had existed in the past

between Iran and the West, for various political and economic reasons, relations became far more closely knit at this time. Accompanying the political and economic exchanges came religious and cultural ones. Indeed, so strong were the European influences that under Shāh ‘Abbās I it became possible to preach Christianity and European monastic orders were allowed to establish missions in Iran!

Concurrent with the establishment of the Christian missions and foreign embassies was the import of European art, primarily paintings and engravings. European artists began arriving in Iran, either for short periods of time – as tourists – or settling permanently. Although we have only a general outline of this trend, and few details about specific foreign artists who came to paint, we do know of the names of one or two of them, but nothing about their paintings. Floor’s article (*Floor 1976*), based on a study of documents in the archives of the Dutch East India Company, mentions ten artists who left Holland to live or work in Iran from the 1620s to 1662. The article tells us that the artists named by Tavernier as Angel and Lokar, working at the court of Shāh ‘Abbās II (reigned 1642-1666 A.D.) were in fact Hendrick Boudewijn van Lockhorst and Philips van Angel. Van Angel, who spent nine years in Iran, had a particularly strong influence at the Shāh’s court. There were artists from other European countries too, but we know even less about them. It is unfortunate that Floor’s research did not cover Dutch East India Company documents from the second half of the 17th century. Shāh ‘Abbās himself showed great interest in these foreign novelties. It would, however, be wrong to place much emphasis on the influence of European art in Shāh ‘Abbās’s reign. The images favoured by the Europeans were indeed copied, but the style and techniques of the Isfahan school of miniature painting were still employed. It would be during the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās II that the European techniques and styles would be most emulated by the Iranian schools.

As far as we can tell, Shāh ‘Abbās II had a keen interest in European painting, and it was during his reign that the European styles and techniques were widely employed. The first copies of European paintings began to appear in the mid-17th century, and were all executed by Iranian artists. The Oriental Department of the Hermitage has a picture by ‘Alī Qulī ibn Muḥammad (Inv. No. VP-950), done in 1059 A.H./ 1649 A.D., which is a copy of an engraving by Mark and Aegidius Sadeler after a painting by Roeland Savery (*Akimushkin, Ivanov 1968*, p. 33; *Gyuzalyan 1972*, pp. 163-69). Although this picture is not well executed (most obviously, the artist did not have a complete grasp of European techniques), it does reveal that the principle way by which Iranian artists mastered European techniques was through direct copying (for further discussion see: *Akimushkin, Ivanov 1968*, p. 33). Another means by which Iranian miniaturists were able to adapt European styles and techniques was by working under the direction of one of the European master’s living in Iran. Although we do not have any written records stating this, we should not exclude it as a possibility.

Among the most popular of the adopted European techniques during the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās II, were perspective (particularly for foreshortening) and the use of light and shade (*chiaroscuro*). A good example of this can be seen in the miniature *Shāh ‘Abbās II receives the Indian Ambassador*, in the collection of the Sadruddin Aga Khan (*Welch 1973*, No. 63). A. Welch believes this painting is the work of Muḥammad Zamān (son of Ḥājji Yūsūf Qumī), and as such, is one of the earliest paintings to use perspective and *chiaroscuro* techniques. Because I cannot detect any of Muḥammad Zamān’s stylistic traits in this work, and because the piece is not dated, I cannot accept Welch’s attribution. The fact remains that the European influence within the Isfahan school can be seen at least five years earlier, if not well before, then the dated and attributed works of

Muḥammad Zamān.

Nonetheless, Muḥammad Zamān was one of two of the best known Iranian exponents of the Europeanised style, the other being ‘Alī Qulī Beg Jabbādār. Other artists working in the same style, but whose works are less well known or not yet discovered, include Āqā Nuyān, Muḥammad Sulṭānī, Ḥājji Muḥammad and Muḥammad ‘Alī (Muḥammad Zamān’s son). Of these Muḥammad Zamān was by far the most prolific in his output: more than thirty works are undisputedly attributed to him, while very few works are known to be by the other artists. Within this Album are six miniatures either signed by or attributed to Muḥammad Zamān. Although the majority of these works have yet to be published, their authenticity has been secured by a number of scholars.

In the past, very few scholars had looked into the life and works of Muḥammad Zamān. Recently, five biographies have been written about him: *Martinovich* 1964, *Zoka* 1974, *Tabrizi* 1990, *Akimushkin, Grek, Gyuzalyan, Ivanov* 1962 and *Ivanov* 1979. Each of these authors have based their biographies on the few existing facts, such as signatures that appear on the artist’s works. Odd as it may seem, each of the five interpretations are different: Martinovich and Zoka hold to much the same ground whereas I have adopted a more critical approach. This is not the place to indulge in a lengthy discourse and critical debate about these various interpretations, particularly since they have recently become more complicated by the re-emergence of a legend about Muḥammad Zamān. It has been said that Muḥammad Zamān was sent to Rome to study painting. This rather charming story is, unfortunately, fictitious, but which, oddly enough, found its way into 20th century research and literature, first as conjecture and then as if it were established fact. I have written about this story in another of my publications (*Ivanov* 1979; the foreword to this publication will be published in English in the near future).

Let us look briefly at the life of Muḥammad Zamān. Although we do not know where and when he was born, we do know that his father was Ḥājji Yusūf Qumī, who also had another son by the name of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, also an artist, although he worked more as a calligrapher and decorator of *qalamdan* (pen cases). It is possible that there was a third son, again an artist, known as Ḥājji Muḥammad. We do not know where Muḥammad Zamān studied painting, but it was quite obviously not in Italy. He may have studied in India, as Robert Skelton has suggested, but this is not clear, either. Evidence which supports this theory is one of his miniatures found in the Davis Album, held by the Islamic Department of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York). The subject matter of this miniature is typically Indian, however, the date written on the miniature makes this supposition questionable. The Italian traveller Manucci met a Muḥammad Zamān in India around 1660; it is likely that it was not our Muḥammad Zamān, but a different one, for this was quite a common name. The earliest work known to be by our Muḥammad Zamān is a lacquer *qalamdan* held by the Iran Bastan Museum in Teheran (*Zoka* 1974, ill. 13-16). It was commissioned by the Shāh and executed in the month of *Rabi* I 1082 A.H./ July-August 1671 A.D. It seems likely to suggest that by this time Muḥammad Zamān was already associated with the Shāh’s court. Indeed, during his lifetime he worked at the Shāh’s summer palace at Ashraf in Mazandaran and in Isfahan. The only question we have is whether he was attached to the Shāh’s studio, known as the *kitabkhaneh* (library), and the answer is probably that he was. Included amongst his works are three miniatures for Shāh Tahmasp I’s copy of Nizami’s *Khamsah* and two miniatures for the *Shāh-nameh* (which is now in the Chester Beatty Library); these paintings were likely kept in the



Shāh's library. The bulk of Muḥammad Zamān's work comprises individual Folios and *qalamdani*, though he did illustrate entire manuscripts, too. His son, Muḥammad 'Alī, also became a painter and worked in a style similar to his father's. Muḥammad Zamān died somewhere around 1112 A.H. /1700-1701 A.D., if not in that year.

The other artist of the second half of the 17th century whose work is represented in the Album is 'Alī Qulī Beg Jabbādār. Of the seven miniatures in this Album, five are either signed by or attributed to him, and two are, given their style, quite clearly executed by him. Unfortunately, we know hardly anything about this artist. He was obviously a court painter, since four of his attributed miniatures in the Album are portraits of Shāh Sulaimān (reigned 1666-1694). His paintings in this Album can serve as a guide to his style against which the authenticity of other works with the name 'Alī Qulī Beg can be compared (four of them are done in the same style, but it is unclear if he is the artist).

Theories about 'Alī Qulī Beg's origins are also based on assumptions. Luft-'Alī Beg Isfahani, who compiled the anthology of poetry *Ateshkadeh* between 1174 A.H./ 1760 A.D. and 1193 A.H./ 1779 A.D., said that the painter was a Christian (he was given the sobriquet *farangi*) who had adopted Islam. Luft-'Alī Beg also mentioned that he had a son, a painter as well. It would appear, then, that 'Alī Qulī Beg Farangi lived in the second half of the 17th century-first part of the 18th century and was an artist; these facts allow us to identify 'Alī Qulī Beg Farangi with 'Alī Qulī Beg, the master we are concerned with here.

It is difficult to state with conviction that 'Alī Qulī Beg was a professional painter from Europe. The drawing style of his miniatures cannot provide us with this information. The name Jabbādār also gives wide scope for interpretation. The literal meaning of *jabbādār* is "having armour" and a *jabbākhaneh* is an "arsenal". Perhaps 'Alī Qulī was connected in some way with the Shāh's arsenal (maybe he was even the armourer?), though there is some evidence which suggests that in the middle of the 17th century some artists worked under the governor of the arsenal. 'Alī Qulī's son, Abdāl Beg, was given the name *naqqashbashi* (head of the artists) and his grandson Muḥammad 'Alī Beg was also *naqqashbāshī* during the reigns of Tahmasp II (1722-1732 A.D.) and Nādir Shāh (1736-1747 A.D.). None of the works by the son has come to light, and there are only two known miniatures by the grandson.

Thus far we have been concerned with the influence of European styles and techniques on the development of Iranian schools of miniature painting. As mentioned above, initially, the schools only copied the European techniques, executing the paintings with traditional Iranian materials and tools. Later, in the middle of the 17th century, attempts were made to use the tools a European painter would have used, that is, painting with oil on canvas. There are some examples of this in Iran, albeit few (*Sims* 1976, pp. 231-48; *Christie's* 1995, Lot 102). The wall decorations in the Chihil Sutūn Pavilion in Isfahan also bear witness to the heavily influential European style (*Grube* 1974, pp. 511-30), as do the interiors of churches located in the Armenian community of New Julfa: Armenian artists who had served European apprenticeships decorated the walls of their churches alongside European artists.

In short, a new, European-influenced style of Iranian painting developed in the 1650s and 1660s, before Shāh Sulaimān came to power in 1666. This point must be emphasised here for the impression has previously been that this new style emerged only after 1670 and was directly linked with the artistic output of Muḥammad Zamān, son of Ḥājji Yūsuf Qumī. This, as I have shown, was not the case.

It is unfortunate that we are unable to form a complete picture of the history of the

Isfahan school in the second half of the 17th century because of a lack of written information and sources. The only information we have to rely on are the signatures appended by the artists to their paintings and the details they include in the colophons of the manuscripts (and these are few). The history of the Isfahan school in the middle and second half of the 17th century remains a rich seam for researchers and art historians. It is an area which poses many problems; there is the lack of historical sources with information about the artists and much work remains to be done on the attribution of the miniatures themselves, for many miniatures have appeared at auctions described as having signatures by Muḥammad Zamān or ‘Alī Qulī Jabbādār, which, given the handwriting of the signature and the style of execution, cannot be accepted as authentic.

From the start of the 18th century, the European-influenced style of miniature painting in Iran dominated, and the traditions of the Rīzā-i ‘Abbās school completely disappeared. During the second half of the 17th century, however, when the traditions and style of the Rīzā-i ‘Abbās school flourished, there were around fifteen artists whose work was based on Rīzā-i ‘Abbās’s style. The mid-17th century was a time when manuscripts were decorated with large quantities of miniatures: two examples of this are the *Shāh-nameh* of 1058 A.H./ 1648 A.D., now in Windsor Castle, which contains 148 miniatures and the *Shāh-nameh* of 1052-61 A.H./ 1642-51 A.D. held in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg (*Dorn* 1852, p. 333) which has 192 miniatures. In the second half of the century, however, the number of miniatures was – suddenly – vastly reduced. No satisfactory explanation for this has been provided. An interesting point, though, is that not one illustrated manuscript made for Shāh Sulaimān is known to exist. The *Shāh-nameh*, now in St. Petersburg (*Dorn* 1852, p. 333), was compiled for Shāh ‘Abbās II, although not commissioned by him; the Sa’dī’s *Gulestan* was transcribed on the orders of ‘Abbās II in 1074 A.H./ 1663-64 A.D. (*Sotheby’s* 1974, Lot 444). It may be that Sulaimān did not have the same interest in painting as ‘Abbās II did; and thus, as much depends on a ruler’s taste, did not commission a manuscript of his own.

Of the artists working in Rīzā-i ‘Abbās’ style in the second half of the 17th century, the most active was Mu’īn Musavvir, a pupil of Rīzā-i ‘Abbās (*Stchoukine* 1964, pp. 62-117). With his death at the beginning of the 18th century, this style was no longer used by the Isfahan school.

There was a third distinct style in the Isfahan school which took shape in the middle of the 17th century and is represented by the *oeuvre* of, apparently, one family, Sheikh ‘Abbās and his sons ‘Alī Naqī Muḥammad Taqī and ‘Ashiqī (*Skelton* 1982, pp. 86-88; *Stchoukine* 1964 pp. 43, 82; *Zebrowsky* 1983, pp. 195-99; *Soudavar* 1992, pp. 367-68; *Robinson* 1982, p. 76, note 6).<sup>2</sup> Their style was closely connected with the art of Indian miniature painting, though they did incorporate elements of European painting – particularly the use of perspective and *chiaroscuro* – into their work. Certain other Iranian painters, like Mu’īn Muṣavvir or Bakhā al-Dīn Gilānī, were also interested in copying Indian miniatures (for examples see: *Akimushkin, Grek, Gyuzalyan, Ivanov* 1962, p. 55, note 61).

As before, nothing is known about the lives of these artists. Sheikh ‘Abbās was already an established artist by 1647 A.D., and his last known work dates from 1095 A.H./ 1683-1684 A.D. If the date on his son Ashiki’s miniature can be read as “[1]42 A.H./ 1729-1730 A.D.”, it is possible to assume that this particular style lasted until the end of the first third of the 18th century.

It is our hope that this publication will bring to light this magnificent collection of

miniatures and calligraphy, and that it will urge scholars to pursue further research on both the Album and the history of 17th century Persian miniatures and miniaturists. The research completed thus far will be of extreme significance in the future for the identification and comparison of other miniatures belonging to this period; the availability of an English text will cater to a much wider audience which the Russian edition (*Akimushkin, Grek, Gyuzalyan, Ivanov 1962*) could not do, and the excellent reproduction of the Folios makes this book of particular value. For this we are most grateful.

<sup>1</sup> The history of the Isfahan school was the subject of a very detailed monograph by Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits de Shāh ‘Abbās Ier: la fin des Safavids*. I wholeheartedly recommend this work, as it gives a very thorough history of the Isfahan school in the first third of the 17th century.

<sup>2</sup> On examining the dates on the miniatures a rather odd picture emerges. Two of them bear the date 1056 A.H./ 1646 A.D.; in other words, four years earlier than the first Sheikh ‘Abbās miniature known to us (*Sotheby’s 1975*, Lot 46; *Zebrowsky 1983*, pp. 198-99; *Alex Gallery 1993*, Lot X). In 1943, Wiet published a minia-

ture from the Cherif Sabry Pacha Collection, where the date looked like “130”. Wiet understood this to mean “1013 A.H./ 1604 A.D.”. It was only at the end of the 17th century that the distinctive European style began to emerge clearly. Perhaps the date should be read as “1113 A.H./ 1701-1702 A.D.” (*Wiet 1943*, No. 98, Plate XLVII). Dr. Oleg Akimushkin saw a miniature called *Horseman Overpowering a Lion* in a private collection in Iran. According to him, it was signed “Ashiki ibn sheikh ‘Abbāsi 1420 [or 143]”. The date may therefore be [1]142 A.H./ 1728-1730 A.D. or [1]143 A.H./ 1730-1731 A.D.

# The Calligraphy of the St. Petersburg Album

Oleg Akimushkin

In Iran, as everywhere in the Muslim East, calligraphy was considered one of the highest forms of art. Throughout the centuries its most brilliant exponents were treated with as much, if not more, honour than the masters of the brush and the word, and the manuscripts they produced or short specimens of their handwriting, *qiṭ'a*, were always in the greatest demand and were highly prized (Akimushkin 1984, pp. 45-54, 250-53; Schimmel 1984, pp. 35-76).

## *Nasta'liq*

The style of script which enjoyed particular vogue amongst the calligraphers of Persia was the *nasta'liq* which, according to a tradition generally held by the scribes, was created by *Mīr 'Alī ibn Ḥasanī*, a master from Tabriz who died in the first third of the 15th century. It was based on the two handwriting styles in use at that time, *naskh* and *ta'liq*. Arabian in origin, *naskh* is clear, clean-cut and legible, the letters mathematical in their proportions, used mainly for transcribing books. *Ta'liq* was used in Persian circles as a script for business records and official correspondence, since it was more cursive. By combining the main features of *naskh* and *ta'liq*, a new style was created in Iran and was called *nasta'liq*.

Persian manuscripts which have come down to us from the 14th century show that, in western Iran, a new style of handwriting in which the developing form of the future *nasta'liq* could be identified was gradually becoming widespread amongst professional scribes. The new style was cursive, without undue emphasis on decoration and proportion, and could be written fairly quickly. Whole generations of calligraphers laboured at perfecting it and invested it with the beauty of its proportions and its decorativeness. *Mīr 'Alī* of Tabriz was, it seems, one of the last of the great masters to bring innovation to the style. He wrote a treatise on it, and, apparently, introduced a new way of sharpening pens for this style of script. New generations began to forget the old masters who had created the script, such as Ṣāliḥ bin 'Alī al-Rāzī, and attributed it to only one master calligrapher, *Mīr 'Alī ibn Ḥasanī* of Tabriz.

Recognising the excellent qualities it possessed, Persian calligraphers and scribes quickly adopted *nasta'liq*. It could be compressed and written quickly and yet remain elegant and legible. Both impulsive and precise, it proved an excellent medium for poetry, and was remarkably good at giving visual expression to rhythm, using the outline of the lettering and its smooth proportional links to continue the flowing rhythm of the verse.

The history of Persian calligraphy records the names of many great adepts of artistic letters who expressed their skill through the art of handwriting but tradition has it that

there were only three who were colossi – Sultān ‘Alī Mashhadī (died 926 A.H./ 1520 A.D.), Mīr ‘Alī Ḥaravī (died 951 A.H./ 1543-1544 A.D.) and Mīr ‘Imād Qazvīnī (Kostigova 1957, p. 103-63; Bayani 1969, p. 241-66; Schimmel 1984, p. 284 (Index); Akimushkin 1962, pp. 76-82; Bayani 1979, pp. 493-516; Schimmel 1987, pp 32-36).

#### Mīr ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī of Qāzvīn, Royal Calligrapher

An anonymous Arabic author, writing in the Middle Ages said, “Beautiful calligraphy is a rare gift; in any generation there can only be one scribe so endowed” (Anonymous *Treatise on Calligraphy*. Berlin Library [Plate 71 Berlin/ Folio 48 recto]; Rice 1955). These words can be aptly applied to the calligrapher, Mīr ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī.<sup>1</sup> Despite his great fame, we know very few hard facts about Mīr ‘Imād’s life: the information that exists can be found only in two score historical and biographical works, or in texts specifically dedicated to calligraphers and calligraphy. The most accurate and detailed reports have come down to us from Qāzī Aḥmad and Iskandar Munshī (Aḥmad 1947, p. 170; Qumi 1973, p. 121; Iskandar Munshī 1957, vol. II, p. 895). Biographies are often touched up and reworked by later historians and hagiographers who might either simply retell an edited version or add new details to them, often a mixture of reality and confused facts (Nasrabadi 1938, p. 208; Iqbal 1945; Shafi 1934, p. 51).<sup>2</sup> This lends particular importance to those extant original letters and specimens (*qit’a*) written by Mīr ‘Imād which contain his annotations with the date and place they were executed or have some part of his full name or the name of the person who commissioned the piece. These items of autobiographical evidence are of invaluable help in reconstructing the calligrapher’s life and career, fleshing out the meagre details we have about him.

We know very little from historical sources about Mīr ‘Imād’s life and work. Even his precise full name is still a matter of conjecture since all known sources, with one exception, name him simply as Mīr ‘Imād. This single exception is *Silsilat al-Khaṭṭātīn* (“A Sequential Link of Calligraphers”), a treatise by the Turkish biographer, Mustaqīm-zāde, written in the second half of the 18th century, where the name was given as Muḥammad ibn Husain.

Given all the information in the sources, the colophons to manuscripts produced by him and the calligraphic examples written by him, we can conclude that the calligrapher’s full name was Muḥammad-‘Imād ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasanī al-Saifī al-Qazvīnī. He had the honorary title of *‘Imād al-Mulk* and his fame was achieved under the name of Mīr ‘Imād.

Mīr ‘Imād was born in 961 A.H./ 1553-1554 A.D., in Qāzvīn, capital of Safavid Iran; he was a scion of the famous and ancient Iranian family of Saīfa Ḥasanī who had influence at court and whose representatives occupied various posts in the administrative service of the first Safavids. Tradition has it that Mīr ‘Imād perished in 1024 A.H./ 1615 A.D., age sixty-three, which means he would have been born in 961 A.H./ 1553-1554 A.D. According to Sanglakh, he lived for sixty-six lunar years. If this is the case, the date of his birth would have been 958 A.H./ 1551 A.D. (Sanglakh 1878, section on “Mīr ‘Imād”). Mīr ‘Imād’s talent was evident early in his life; he began serious study of the art of the letter when still a small child. His first teacher in Qāzvīn was Malik Dailāmī (died 969 A.H./ 1561-1562 A.D.), “the chief amongst calligraphers in his time”, according to Iskandar Munshī. Mīr ‘Imād did not stay long in Qāzvīn: definitely not later than 969 A.H./ 1561-1562 A.D., the year in which Malik Dailāmī died, since Mīr ‘Imād left Qāzvīn while the master was still alive. He moved on to Tabriz where he was apprenticed to the well-known master Muḥammad-Ḥusain Tabrizī who

had nurtured a veritable pleiad of outstanding exponents of the artistic letter (*Berthels* 1933, p. 689; *Qumi* 1973, p. 119; *Aḥmad* 1947, p. 168). Muḥammad-Ḥusain was also a teacher of *Mīr* ‘Imād’s rival at the Shāh’s court, ‘Alī Rīzā-i Tabrizī, later ‘Alī Rīzā-i Abbāsī (*Qumi* 1973, p. 124-126; *Aḥmad* 1947, pp. 173-74). One of *Mīr* ‘Imād’s teachers mentioned in sources was ‘Isā-Bek who was a famous *nasta’liq* master working in Qāzvīn until the death of Ṭahmāsp I in 984 A.H./ 1576 A.D. *Mīr* ‘Imād was probably also a pupil of ‘Isā Bek, both before he went to Tabriz and after his return, since, on completing his training in Tabriz, he went back to the capital where in 981 A.H./ 1573-1574 A.D. he transcribed a poem by Asad Ṭūsī, *Garshāsp-nāmeḥ* (British Museum Or. 12985). This Folio is richly illustrated and decorated with miniatures (one of them the work of the renowned artist Muẓaffar ‘Alī) and was most likely commissioned by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrza (1540-1577 A.D.) an important *metsenat* and savant who was constantly at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I in Qāzvīn from 976 A.H./ 1568 A.D. onwards.

Mīr ‘Imad was a good pupil and was soon set to work independently. The earliest of his manuscripts known to us, *Ṣibḥat al-abrār* by Jāmī (now in India, in the Rampur Library), was transcribed in 972 A.H./ 1564-1565 A.D. when he was only eleven years old (*Bayani* 1952, p. 17; *Bayani* 1966-1967, p. 534). To possess perfect artistic handwriting and become a true master calligrapher he spent a long time practising set exercises, patiently perfecting individual letters, with their component and linking parts. He also had to copy out specimens from Sulṭān ‘Alī Mashhadī and Mīr ‘Alī Ḥaravī, repeating the same exercises over and over again, tens and hundreds of times (*Sanglakh* 1878, section on “Mīr ‘Imād”; *Qumi* 1973, p. 121; *Aḥmad* 1959, p. 167). The study of letters was traditionally divided into two distinct systems of exercises, *qalamī* and *nazarī*. *Qalamī* is based on copying samples of handwriting (often the same piece) of famous masters over and over again to inculcate strength and fidelity, patience and perseverance, attentiveness and concentration. *Nazarī* focuses on the comparison under the guidance of a tutor of specimens of scripts of various masters working in a particular style, like *naskh*, analysing and deconstructing them. This system showed the pupil how the masters used combinations of letters or their elements. The work was weary, long and hard, and only a few ever made it to become stars in the firmament of greatness. One can only marvel at the persistence and dedication which invested Mīr ‘Imād in his pursuit of perfect handwriting sculpted by a sure and faithful hand. Historians have attributed the following words to him: “In three years I shaved perhaps six times for constrained by my exercises I could not avail myself of the time to shave my head and beard” (*Sanglakh* 1878, section on “Mīr Muḥammad-Amin”; similar information in section on “Mīr ‘Imād”). We do not know when Mīr ‘Imād’s apprenticeship came to an end but we can say with certainty that it was a very lengthy one. As a result of the interminable and innumerable exercises he had done, his labours were crowned with success. Once, according to historical sources, he turned up at his tutor’s atelier with several specimens of artistic handwriting which did not bear the name of the person who had executed them. When he saw them, Muḥammad-Ḥusainī declared, “If you can write something the same, then do so; but if there is no hope within you, then abandon the *qalām*.” When he learned that it was Mīr ‘Imād who had done them he turned to him and said, “If this is really your work you are this day master calligrapher” (*Sanglakh* 1878, section on “Mīr ‘Imād”).

Having achieved recognition from his teacher and the right to call himself master calligrapher, Mīr ‘Imād continued to work for a little while in Tabriz and then returned to Qāzvīn, adopting the lifestyle of a “free artist” as was the custom in Iran among mas-

ters of the *qalam* and brush. *Mīr* ‘Imād travelled from one town to the next, accepting commissions, transcribing compositions and creating examples of the *qiṭa*, artistic letter. This type of work had its own particular demands. The specimen had to be written at one go, in a single breath, without any cleaning up or corrections.

In 989 A.H./ 1581 A.D., *Mīr* ‘Imād was in Herat. He carried out a commission here for a local savant and collector, an immaculately executed transcription of a composition by Ibn-i ‘Imād (died 1398 A.D.), *Rauzat al-muḥibbīn* (“The heavenly meadows of the beloved”). This Folio is now in London, in the India Office Library, No. 1571. Not long before the onset of hostilities in Azerbaijan caused by the incursion of Turkish troops, *Mīr* ‘Imād was again in Tabriz. Military action continued for five years, from 993 A.H./ 1585 A.D. to 998 A.H./ 1590 A.D., and peace was concluded only when Tabriz was ceded to Turkey. It is not known how these events affected his life but apparently he, like ‘Alī Rīzā, fled from Tabriz to Qāzvin, quitting a province in the grip of the flames of war. Early in 998 A.H./ late 1589 A.D., he completed his masterpiece, Sa’dī’s *Gulistān* and *Bustan* on a single sheet. When the war between Iran and the Ottoman Empire was over, he set off, according to Qāzī Aḥmad, for the Hejaz on a *hāj* to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina (Aḥmad 1947, p. 170; Huart 1908, p. 240). He spent several years away from the country of his birth, travelling from town to town, not spending much time in any of them.

In 1003 A.H./ 1594-1595 A.D., he was in Syria again, where, in Aleppo (Ḥalab), he produced fine calligraphic specimens and transcribed the great work of Abdallah Ansari, *Ilahī-nāmeḥ*, now in the Topkapı Saray in Istanbul (No. H 259).

It would seem that *Mīr* ‘Imād returned to Qāzvin in 1005 A.H./ 1596-1597 A.D.<sup>3</sup>; but again he did not stay long and we meet him soon after in Semnan working as calligrapher in the library (*kitābhāneh*) of Abū-l-Manṣūr Farhad-Khan Karamanli, who was an important government official early in Shāh ‘Abbās I’s reign, and was governor of Khorasan, Gilyan and Mazandaran from 1004 A.H./ 1595-1596 A.D., and reputed to be a great *metseṇat*. He was killed on Muharram 27, 1007 A.H./ 30 August 1598 A.D., on the Shāh’s orders. His library was also a studio where artistic manuscripts were created and a whole phalanx of outstanding masters were employed: among those working there for those two years (to 1001 A.H./ 1593 A.D.) were, notably, ‘Alī Rīzā-i Tabrizī, and another famous master, Sulṭān-Ḥusain Tunī (Aḥmad 1947, p. 174; Qumi, p. 124-126; Hubbard 1937, p. 292-296). *Mīr* ‘Imād remained in Farhad Khān’s service until early in 1007 A.H./ August 1598 A.D., when Farhād Khān was killed by the *sipahsalar*, Allāhverdi Khān. He then returned to Qāzvin where, according to Qāzī Aḥmad, he “devoted his time to the transcription of Persian books (*kitābat*) and the creation of calligraphic specimens (*qiṭānavisī*) and refrained from service and attendance on the governors” (in another version, in Gilyan, and from there to Qāzvin; Huart 1908, p. 240; Qumi 1973, p. 121; Aḥmad 1959, p. 167, No. 59223).

*Mīr* ‘Imād seems to have spent around three years in Qazvin, though from time to time he could be found in Rudbar and Mazandarān where he carried out several commissions for the local rulers (Huart 1908, p. 240). In 1006 A.H./ 1597-1598 A.D., the centre of political and cultural life under the Safavids shifted away from Qāzvin when Shāh ‘Abbās I moved the capital to Isfahan. Naturally, everyone whose life was connected with the court followed him, and some time later *Mīr* ‘Imād set up his base in Isfahan, too (in 1008 A.H./ 1600 A.D.; Huart 1908, p. 240; Bayani 1952, p. 9). Once based in Isfahan, *Mīr* ‘Imād petitioned Shāh ‘Abbās I to let him enter his service (the original petition is in the National Library in Paris; reproduced in Bayani 1952, p. 11). The Shāh’s response was to appoint him one of his personal calligraphers, undisputed

recognition of his talent and accomplishment. For the first few years *Mīr* ‘Imād worked under the personal orders and attention of the Shāh. We have *Mīr* ‘Imād’s own account of this in some of his verses (*Falsafi* 1955, vol. II, pp. 59-63). The Shāh’s favour set the tone for the court’s attitude to *Mīr* ‘Imād. Poets exalted his art and courtiers fell over themselves to acquire specimens of the artistic lettering of the Shāh’s personal calligrapher (*Munshi* 1956-1957, vol. II, p. 895). *Mīr* ‘Imād himself was well aware of the value of his talent and described his art in one of his verses:

O thou, peerless in the kingdom of letters,  
No one in the world excels you in the realm of writing,  
When the letter *dal* flows from your pen  
It is more exquisite than a tress of hair or the shape of a beauty

(*Falsafi* 1955, vol. II, p. 60, note 1; Plate 96/ Folio 2 *verso* in this Album).

The position of court calligrapher occupied by *Mīr* ‘Imād still further enhanced his fame and renown as an outstanding master of the art. He had a steady stream of pupils anxious to enroll under him. Some of them who spent a long time under his tutelage themselves became famous calligraphers.<sup>4</sup> Obviously inspired by this side of *Mīr* ‘Imād’s activities, later sources attribute to him the authorship of a popular treatise on calligraphy, *Adab al-mashq* (“Rules for training in letter writing”). This composition in prose, undisputedly influenced by similar treatises by Sulṭān ‘Alī Mashhadī and *Mīr* ‘Alī Ḥaravī, is a tutorial for initiates and dedicated to the exposition of the principles and rules of *nasta‘liq* with extremely detailed explanations of calligraphic terms.<sup>5</sup> In 1950 however, a renowned scholar from Pakistan, Muḥammad Shafi, published a monograph on the “*Adab al-mashq*” treatise, reproducing it under the author’s signature (*Shafi* 1950, pp. 52-71); the author was named as the famous Persian calligrapher Baba-Shāh Isfahanī (died 996 A.H./ 1588 A.D. in Baghdad), not *Mīr* ‘Imād. It seemed that authorship had previously been attributed to *Mīr* ‘Imād either through lack of information or because of *Mīr* ‘Imād’s immense popularity.<sup>6</sup>

It is natural that the elevated position occupied by *Mīr* ‘Imād at court could not but arouse ill-feeling and envy in other courtiers and those close to the Shāh who viewed the calligrapher as a rival. Not least among these was ‘Alī Rīzā-i ‘Abbāsī who had earlier (1005 A.H./ 1596-1597 A.D.), through a web of intrigue, succeeded in gaining the position of librarian to the Shāh (*kitābdār*), forcing Sadīq-bek Afshar (died 1018 A.H./ 1610 A.D.) out of this position. Nadīm al-Mulk wrote about ‘Alī Rīzā’s involvement in the intrigues in his *The history of Isfahan* (completed in the month of Jumada II 1345 A.H./ 7 December 1926 – 4 January 1927 A. D) and he said: “All said that so long as *Mīr* ‘Imād lived, ‘Alī Rīzā-i ‘Abbāsī would never be first [calligrapher]”. The autograph Mīrza Haidar ‘Alī Isfahan, known as Nādīm al-Mulk, *Risala-i muhtasari dar tarih-i shahr-i Isfahan* appears in Manuscript No. 11465, Folio 63, Isfahan Public Library.<sup>7</sup> Preying on the Shāh’s Shi‘ite inclinations, accusations of Sufism and Sunnism were brought against *Mīr* ‘Imād.<sup>8</sup> Pro-Turkish sentiments were also imputed to him, great play being made of his visit to the Ottoman Empire, his long sojourn there and his utterances on the ruinous Iranian-Turkish wars.

Intrigues and rumours had their effect and the Shāh’s patronage of *Mīr* ‘Imād gradually waned, degenerating into coldness and remoteness. Shāh ‘Abbās began to pay less and less attention to *Mīr* ‘Imād’s work and began to visit ‘Alī Rīzā’s atelier more often, sitting watching him at work for long periods. It was ‘Alī Rīzā who was commanded to execute the majority of the inscriptions for the Shāh’s most important buildings (*Pope* 1938-1939, pp. 1188, 1191, 1208-9).

In an attempt to win back the Shāh’s favour and ward off his *denigrators calumnies*,



*Mīr* ‘Imād dedicated verses of poetry to the Shāh, requesting him to deal justly in disentangling the contumely heaped on him by his ill-wishers. This petition did not seem to yield tangible results, for his detractors continued to blacken his name in the eyes of the Shāh. This period of disgrace in *Mīr* ‘Imād’s career is linked with a curious anecdote recounted by later authors, Aḥmad ‘Alī-Khān Ḥashīmī (early 19th century) and Nādim al-Mulk, with only minor differences between them (Aḥmad Alī Khan Hashimi, *Makhzan al-ghara’ib*, Folio 283b. Manuscript located in the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Elliot No. 395). Shāh ‘Abbās I once sent *Mīr* ‘Imād seventy *tomans* and desired the calligrapher to transcribe Firdousi’s *Shāh-nameh* for him. A year passed, and the Shāh sent a messenger for the manuscript. *Mīr* ‘Imād handed over seventy initial measures (*beit*) from the poem, saying that this corresponded to the price paid. The Shāh was not pleased and sent the work back to the calligrapher. *Mīr* ‘Imād tore the work up into seventy *beit-size* pieces and offered them to his pupils. They paid a *toman* for each fragment, or measure (a huge sum at that time), and the master handed over the amount in full to the Shāh’s messenger. The contemporary Iranian scholar Muḥammad-Ibrāhīm Bastani Parīzī established that, in 1026 A.H./ 1618 A.D., 800 *man* (2,400 kg) of wheat could be bought in Sistan for one *toman*. The value of one small measure (*beit*) of poetry was therefore equal to 2,400 kg of wheat. This is an extraordinary figure and should not be taken seriously (*Bastani-Parizi* 1969, p. 190).

It is difficult to check the veracity of this story; the salient points in it recall the well-known legend of the reward sent by Maḥmūd Gaznāvī to Firdousi for the *Shāh-nāmeḥ*. Its veracity is thrown further in doubt as *Mīr* ‘Imād worked as a court calligrapher and Shāh ‘Abbās had no need to send him money to pay for the commission. He could simply order him as one of his servants to carry out his command. As a final point, also symptomatic, this account is not found in any earlier documents. In all probability this tale was inserted into *Mīr* ‘Imād’s biography by authors who wanted to try to explain how the calligrapher fell from grace and perished.

*Mīr* ‘Imād is known to have been of an independent nature, with a sharp and biting tongue, not necessarily appreciated at any court, as one can imagine, let alone the court of an Eastern potentate. According to one typical story, *Mīr* ‘Imād once transcribed in his own hand the verses of a famous twelfth century Persian poet, Zāhir Faryabi, and sent them to Shāh ‘Abbās:

What benefits me thy bounteous hand

For thou dost not distinguish the judgment of Moses from the lowing of a calf.

(*Bastani-Parizi* 1969, p. 167).

It is difficult to decide how reliable such information is about the period directly preceding *Mīr* ‘Imād’s death. It obviously reflects the atmosphere at court at that time; one way or another the Shāh’s displeasure, fanned and cosseted by the intrigues and wiles of his enemies, sealed *Mīr* ‘Imād’s fate.

Somehow in conversation with the head of the Qāzvīn *shahsevens*, the *mednik* (misgar) Maqsūd Bek, the Shāh spoke in irritation “There is no one to be found who would kill this Sunnite dog and rid me of his presence”. Maqsūd Bek, himself from Qāzvīn, understood these words as a direct order and that same day, Rajab 30, 1024 A.H./ 25 August 1615 A.D., invited *Mīr* ‘Imād to his own home and “by reason of extreme Shi‘ite zeal or for the sake of ridding the world of Sunni tendencies – with which duty the simple people of that *vilayet* charged him – he took this sin upon himself and killed him”.<sup>9</sup> By morning the news of *Mīr* ‘Imād’s murder had spread rapidly throughout the whole city. Many came to look at the little alley where the calligrapher lay but no one dared to remove his body to his own house. It was evening before Abū

Turab Isfahani, the pupil closest to *Mīr* ‘Imād, claimed it and made the funeral arrangements.

Shāh ‘Abbās was one of the first to hear what had happened. Inwardly regretting the events that had taken place, he ordered that the murderers be sought out and punished. Since the murder was essentially inspired by him, the perpetrators were never found; the excuse was put forward that since the unhappy event took place in a dark unfrequented alley, no one had seen anything (*Munshī* 1956-1957, vol. II, p. 895).

It is difficult to know whether Shāh ‘Abbās did indeed express a desire to have the calligrapher removed or whether he uttered the fatal words in a fit of exasperation and never dreamt that they could have such a disastrous consequence for *Mīr* ‘Imād. In any event, *Mīr* ‘Imād’s funeral was held with all pomp, and among his pallbearers were relatives, pupils and admirers, and even, by order of the Shāh, many courtiers and princes. *Mīr* ‘Imād was laid to rest in the Isfahan Maqsūd Bek *mechet*, named after the court administrator who built it, near the Takchi Gate.

After the funeral many of *Mīr* ‘Imād’s relations, including his son *Mīr* Ibrāhīm and his daughter Gauharshad Khanum left Isfahan in haste, anxious to avoid pursuit by the Shāh. ‘Abd al-Rashid, his sister’s son, went to India to the court of the Great Mughals and spent his life there as a court calligrapher, first to Jahāngīr (1605-1627 A.D.), then to Shāh Jahān (1628-1658 A.D.) whose son, Dārā Shikōh, was his pupil. ‘Abd al-Rāshid died in Agra, at a very old age, in 1081 A.H./ 1670-1671 A.D.

*Mīr* ‘Imād had put in years of continuous hard work to reach the pinnacle of his art and develop his own particular style in which he managed to combine the firmness, confidence and proportion of *Mīr* ‘Alī Ḥaravī’s script (died 951 A.H./ 1544-1545 A.D.) with the beauty, fluidity and perfection of Baba-Shāh Isfahani’s exquisite style (died 996 A.H./ 1587-1588 A.D.).<sup>10</sup>

*Mīr* ‘Imād’s style was valued then as it is now by admirers and connoisseurs of calligraphy. Indeed, legend has it that the Moghul Emperor Shāh Jahān gave the position (*mansab*) of captain (*yaksadi*) “to each one who could bring him a specimen of his [*Mīr* ‘Imād’s] calligraphy” (*Ziauddin* 1936, p. 40; *Bayani* 1952, p. 12; *Bayani* 1966-1967, pp. 526-27). Even the most envious of them admitted that his handwriting was far superior to *Mīr* ‘Alī’s. By way of proof they usually pointed to the consummate style in the calligraphic specimens *Mīr* ‘Imād drew up in large lettering (*jali*); it was these that illustrated the mastery of his art and brought him fame and glory. *Mīr* ‘Alī’s art was particularly suited to the writing of compositions (*qiṭabat*) in small letters (*hafi*) and here he had no rival; calligraphic specimens were, for him, a less successful medium.

*Mīr* ‘Imād was the last great Persian calligrapher to work in *nasta‘liq*. Many excellent calligraphers worked in this style but none reached his genius. The inheritance left to us from his fifty-two years of creative life is now scattered around the world. It is virtually impossible to define exactly or even approximately how large this inheritance is. For the last three and a half centuries his masterpieces have gradually found homes throughout the Middle East and Central Asia, passing from one owner to another, and on to Europe and then America. Much would have been lost in the troubled years of the last Safavid rulers and the Afghan incursions. Around nine hundred of *Mīr* ‘Imād’s *qiṭ’a*, together with pages of exercises, have survived, we believe, to the present day; there are also thirty-eight manuscripts known to be transcribed by him.<sup>11</sup>

The *Muraqqa’* published here is one of the richest in terms of the number of examples of *Mīr* ‘Imād’s art. Mounted and glued on the reverse of 121 of the 122 pictures remaining in the Album are exercises (*mashq*), drawn up by *Mīr* ‘Imād, for practising

individual letters (depending on their position in the word) and the way they are linked. There are also calligraphic specimens of verse (the majority) and prose fragments of compositions in various formats. These compositions are either fragments from *maṣnāvi*, Sufi tracts, *qasidas* and *gazals*, or entire *rubā'i* by Abū-l-Ḥasan Kharakani (died 1034 A.H.), Sheikh Abū-l-Khair Faḏallāh (967-1049 A.H.), Abdallāh Ansārī (1005-1088 A.H.), Auḥad al-Dīn Anvarī (died circa 1188 A.H.), Ibn-i Yāmin (died 1368 A.H.), Shams al-Dīn Ḥafīzī (died 1389 A.H.), 'Abd al-Rahmān Jalī (1414-1492 A.H.), the calligrapher Mīr Alī Ḥaravī (died 1544 A.H.) or, finally, verses of the great calligrapher himself and other Persian poets. In all, the album contains thirty-three examples of exercises (*mashq*), twenty-four of them on single Folios and 195 examples of artistic letters, sixteen of which also cover a whole side each. The remainder are laid out as three or four specimens on a page. The majority of all specimens are signed. Even today, for educated Persians, Mīr 'Imād's handwriting draws the eye almost hypnotically, and the *nasta'liq* still in use in Persia is based on his style (Pope 1938-1939, p. 1739).

<sup>1</sup>The specimens on the reverse side of all the Folios in the Album (with the exception of Folio 45 *verso*), form a careful and systematic collection of artistic lettering, rough copy, samples of writing, and exercises in composing individual letters, linking them together and in writing individual words (*siyah qalamī*, *mashk*). They are all the work of the master, Mīr 'Imād al-Ḥasanī.

<sup>2</sup>This is usually found in later sources (from the end of the 18th century); for example see Aḥmad Alī Khan Hashimī, *Makhzan al-ghara'ib* in the Bodleian Library of Oxford University, Elliot No. 395, Folio 293a and following.

<sup>3</sup>The final version of the first edition of Qāzī Aḥmad's work (Manuscript IV, Russian Academy of Sciences, No. B 4722), completed no later than the beginning of 1006 A.H./ 1597 A.D., mentions the calligrapher's return to Iran.

<sup>4</sup>Abū Turab Isfahānī was Mīr 'Imād's pupil for twelve years (*Nasrabadī* 1938, pp. 208; 288). He became deputy (*khalif*) to the school's protector and after his death became its head.

The literature mentions Abū Turab Isfahani, a *shamsa*, by the name of Bini, Sayyīd 'Alī-Khān Tabrizī, 'Abd al-Rāshid Dailānī known by the name of Rashid, Muḥammad-S.ālīh, Khatunābādī, 'Abdī Bukharī and many others.

<sup>5</sup>For manuscripts of the treatise, see *Munzavī* 1971; lithographic edition: 1. *Sanglakh* 1878, II, Folios 192a-195a; *al-Ḥasanī* 1899-1900; *al-Ḥasanī* 1977, No. 177-179. Facsimile edition of manuscript transcribed in 1353 A.H./ 1974 A.D. We would note that all the items in the treatise where Mīr 'Imād is given as the author were transcribed no earlier than the end of the XVIII century.

<sup>6</sup>The published text of Baba Shāh Isfahānī's treatise

*Adab al-mashq* made use of two transcripts. *Ḥaravī* 1993, pp. LIV-LVII, 147-57.

<sup>7</sup>The author was unable to consult the published version of this composition undertaken by I. Afshar in Teheran in 1964.

<sup>8</sup>After Iskandar Munshī (*Munshī* 1956-57, vol. II, p. 895), almost all sources mention this. However, *Nasrabadī* suggests the imputation was "mendacious" (*Nasrabadī* 1938, p. 207). Mustaqīm-zāde (*Mustaqimzadeh* 1928, pp. 695-97) says that Mīr 'Imād was "a faithful member of the brotherhood of *nakshbandiyya* and conducted a correspondence with the Indian Sheikh Aḥmad Sirhindī".

<sup>9</sup>The literature gives several versions of this phrase, retaining the underlying thought. See *Nasrabadī* 1938, p. 207; Aḥmad Alī Khan Hashimī *Makhzan al-ghara'ib*. Manuscript in the Bodleian Library of Oxford University, Elliot No. 395, Fol. 283b; *Iqbal* 1945; *Shafi* 1934, vol. X, No. 4, p. 51; *Sanglakh* 1878, section on "Mīr 'Imād"; *Bayani* 1966-67, vol. II, p. 526.

<sup>10</sup>*Bayani* 1966-67, pp. 526-27, where the author refers to 'Alī-Qulī Khān Dagistānī.

<sup>11</sup>The 1962 edition of this Album contained 9 Folios with specimens of Mīr 'Imād's artistic letters: the reverse of Folios 6, 13, 24, 46, 55, 88, 91, 93, 100. Twenty three examples in all. Only one specimen was reproduced in colour (Folio 100 b): *Akimushkin*, *Grek*, *Gyuzelyan*, *Ivanov* 1962, Tables No. 6 (in colour) and pp. 104-11. The 1994 edition (*Akimushkin* 1994) contained colour prints of the reverse side of 34 Folios with specimens of Mīr 'Imād's calligraphy, in letters and exercises: Folios 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 14, 19, 21, 22, 24, 34, 36, 37, 40, 41, 46, 53, 55, 73, 74, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100. A total of seventy-six examples.

## Catalogue

## Guide to the Catalogue Entries

### Plate/ Folio

The sequence of Plate numbers has been established according to what the authors believe to have been the original sequence of the Album; the Folio numbers reflect the sequence stamped on the 100 Folios that were purchased in St. Petersburg in 1910. All Folios (with the exception of Folio 28 and Folio 33) belong to the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg, and thus, no provenance is provided for these Folios. The provenances of the Folios which were removed from the original Album, and now housed in foreign museums and private collections, are listed and include their current inventory numbers and present locations.

### •GAP

This refers to a point where the Album's original sequence has been interrupted and for which no matching border has been found. It is unknown how many Folios would have been inserted here, nor do we know the order of the different groups. The authors have grouped sequences according to subject.

### Recto (front)

This always refers to the side of a leaf decorated with a miniature.

Dimensions: when there are several sets of dimensions listed, these refer to individual fragments mounted on the Folio; these are followed by the overall dimensions of the miniature measured to the inner frame.

### Verso (back)

This always refers to the side of a leaf decorated with calligraphic specimens.

*Nasta'liq* is the calligraphic style used in this Album; small, medium and large samples of this script are included herein.

Dimensions and Fragments: when there are three or four dimensions listed, these refer to individual fragments mounted on the Folio to be read in the following order:

a	b	or	a	
d	c		c	b

followed at the end of the technical information by the overall dimensions of the miniature measured to the inner frame.

### Borders

The decorators of the borders of individual Folios are only mentioned in the technical descriptions where there is an attributive signature visible on the page. All dates which were provided by the artists are given according to the *Anno Hijrah* (A.H.) followed in brackets by the *Anno Domini* (A.D.)

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**Plate 1/ Folio 65 recto**  
**Noble Ladies on a Terrace**  
 Mughal school  
 Circa 1700  
 18 × 28,6 cm  
 Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

Glimpses of life in the Mughal *zenānā* (female apartments) are provided by paintings such as this. They reveal a world of luxury and refinement, where the entertainment of noblewomen often took place on marble terraces. There, bedecked in finery and seated on richly decorated carpets, they listened to singers and exchanged courtly gossip. In this work, a distinguished lady wears a *chaghtāi* hat as she converses with a companion before a marble pavilion. An androgynous turbaned figure smoking from a water-pipe appears to be a woman dressed in men's clothing. A similar figure is seen in Plate 20/ Folio 58 recto.

Although Mughal noble women may have been largely confined to their *zenānā* quarters, their influence was felt far beyond. Mughal history is filled with examples of powerful women. Amongst them was Nūr Jahān, whose remarkable sway over the Emperor Jahāngīr is well known. Shāh Jahān's favourite wife, Mumtāz Maḥal, was immortalised by him in her tomb, the Tāj Maḥal. Others, however, were more notorious, such as Lāl Kanwar, who would have grown up around the time of the creation of this painting. She was the concubine of the Mughal Emperor Jahāndār Shāh during whose brief reign in 1712, that lasted less than a year, she led an extravagant existence. Her debaucherous lifestyle and insatiable appetite for luxury was reflected in her huge household allowance, much of it spent recklessly on social gatherings such as this.

Literature: *Leach* 1986, No. 43; *Irvine* 1921  
 N. N. H.

**Plate 2/ Folio 65 verso**  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (large and medium size)  
 Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Late 16th century  
 Four specimens: in the borders, three separate *beits* in six cartouches; in the centre, a *rubā'i* (see Plate 77/ Folio 42 verso, c)

10 lines in all  
 17,4 × 30,5 cm (assembled out of five parts, including signature)  
 Signature: "The humble 'Imād al-Ḥasanī"  
 Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: "Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 3/ Folio 16 verso**  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (very large and medium size)  
 Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Early 17th century  
 Assembled from three separate sections: in the centre, a fragment of a *maṣnavi*; *rubā'i* (see Plate 3/ Folio 16 verso, b) and a separate *beit* in the borders (in cartouches) bordering the central section  
 10 lines in all  
 17,7 × 30,5 cm  
 Signature: "The humble, lowest of sinners, 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt"  
 Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: "Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 4/ Folio 16 recto**  
**Dārā Shikōh Receives an Offering**  
 Mughal school  
 Circa 1635-1640  
 18,3 × 31,8 cm  
 Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Imperial albums assembled for Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān, and their families varied in degrees of intimacy. Some were intended to impress the ambassadors sent by rivals, others to delight sympathetic visitors, and a few were reserved for personal delectation within the royal household. This picture, showing a scene from daily life in an inner courtyard of a palace, depicts Shāh Jahān's eldest and favourite son, Dārā Shikōh (1615-1659), attended by women, and offered a bowl of sweetmeats by a lady. Although the attendants, two of whom carry bows, arrows, and swords, while another bears a *morchal* (peacock feather whisk), are stereotypical, the lady, perhaps a wife, appears to be an ide-

alised portrait. The prince's jewel-portrait is seen below (Plate 24, Folio 63 *recto*). One of the most appealing of Mughals, Dārā was a serious student of what would now be known as "comparative religions". He interviewed theologians, yogis, *sadhūs*, and other holy men and wrote knowledgeably of his investigations. Although Shāh Jahān expected that Dārā would succeed him this would not be so. Dārā was not soldierly or tough enough to block his brother Aurangzēb's ruthless ambition. Defeated in the Wars of Succession, Dārā was captured, imprisoned, subjected to cruel indignities, and in 1659 executed as a heretic. This fine painting is certainly by one of the major court artists.

Literature: *Qanungo* 1952.

S. C. W.

**Plate 5/ Folio 71 *recto***  
**Noble Lady with Attendants Listening to a Singer**  
 Mughal school  
 Mid 17th century  
 18 × 32 cm  
 Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

A characteristically enjoyable recital in the harem or *zenānā* is brought to life in this view into a pillared hall adjoining a courtyard garden. Despite the conventional composition and standardised figures, it evokes the lives of well-born women in Aurangzēb's India. Although this is not intended to be a portrait of Zaib al-Nisā Begām, the Emperor's poetess daughter, whose pen name was *Makhfi*, we are reminded of her here. Unmarried, she lived for literature and piety until her death in 1709, when she was entombed near the Kābulī gate of Shāh Jahānābād (Delhi). Not by a great imperial master, this picture can be attributed to a modest but accomplished artist who probably moved north from the Deccan, where he would have worked, for a time, at Aurangābād during the final struggles for survival of the Deccani sultanates. His accomplished arabesques suggest that he was trained as an illuminator. Related pictures, also by erstwhile Deccani artists, were also painted in Rajasthan, especially at Bikaner.

S. C. W.

**Plate 6/ Folio 71 *verso***  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (large and medium size)  
 Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Late 16th – early 17th century  
 Three specimens: in the borders in six cartouches: *rubā'ī* and *beit*; in the centre, *rubā'ī* (see Plate 18/ Folio 57 *verso*, b)  
 10 lines in all  
 19,2 × 29,3 cm (assembled from three fragments)  
 Signature: "The humble, lowest of sinners, 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins"  
 Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: "Written by Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 7/ Folio 17 *verso***  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (very large and medium size)  
 Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 1024 A.H. / 1615 A.D.; early 17th century  
 Two specimens: in the centre, a fragment of a *maṣnavī*; in the borders (in cartouches made up of 4 parts) 3 *beits*  
 10 lines in all  
 19,1 × 29,7 cm  
 Signature: "The humble, lowest of sinners, Mīr 'Imād, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him from guilt. In the [year] 1024"  
 Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: "Written by Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 8/ Folio 17 *recto***  
**Top: Nobleman with a Young Lady**  
 Mughal school  
 Mid 17th century  
 16,5 × 8,5 cm (original size: 9,8 × 9 cm)  
 Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold on paper  
**Bottom: Courtier in Winter Dress**  
 Mughal school  
 Mid 17th century  
 16,5 × 8,5 cm (original size: 8,1 × 16,5 cm)  
 Watercolour, gouache and gold on paper

Both of these miniatures of unidentifiable personages, together with those represented in

Plate 9/ Folio 38 *recto*, are examples of mid 17th century Mughal painting on a less than imperial level. This is clearly apparent when they are compared with other pictures here commissioned from court artists by the Emperors or members of their families, such as Plate 4/ Folio 16 *recto*, above. There were many levels of Mughal art, from masterpieces of highest quality, to those of middling quality, as here, down to replicas of imperial subjects crudely mass produced in the bazaars. In addition, there were provincial pictures from workshops at remote centres, such as the imperial outposts of Burhānpur and Aurangābād, in the Deccan. Empress Maria Theresia of Austria acted wisely when, quite literally, she papered the walls of the *Millionenzimmer* at Schönbrunn with a bundle of such decorative “Deccani-Mughal” hack productions. Like this picture, their compositions lack originality, characterisations are bereft of psychological depth, and they are ill finished, drab, and painted with pigments inferior to those available to the major masters.

Literature: *Strzygowski* 1923.

S. C. W.

**Plate 9/ Folio 38 *recto***

Top: A Nobleman Reads to Khwājja Abū al-Ḥasan Turbatī, Rukn al-Sultāna  
Mughal school

Circa 1630

16,5 × 16,5 cm (original size: 12,4 × 8,4 cm)

Watercolour, ink, silver and gold on paper

Bottom: Khān Daurān

Mughal school

Mid 17th century

Flowering trees, railing, and other decorative elements added later in Iran

16,5 × 16,8 cm (original size: 8 × 15,5 cm)

Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

Khwājja Abū al-Ḥasan Turbatī (for whose identification we are grateful to Ellen Smart) was the grandfather of Muḥammad Ṭāhir, entitled ‘Ināyat Khān, who wrote a condensed version of the *Pādshāhnāma*, the official history of Shāh Jahān’s reign, originally written by Sheikh ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī and others. His career provides insight into the ways of the Mughal establishment. Although he had served Jahāngīr as Prime Minister, he support-

ed Shāh Jahān’s faction against Prince Shahriyār. For this, he was received in 1628 by Shāh Jahān and given “unstinted favours”. In 1629 he was assigned to the campaign against rebellious, clever Khān Jahān Lodī (see Plate 107/ Folio 31 *recto* and Plate 106/ Folio 32 *recto* below), a helter-skelter chase that led to Godwana, Daulatābād, and Asir. After returning to court in 1630, he was reassigned to participate in the subjugation of Nasik, Trimbak, and Sangamner. When torrential rains caused a flood that inundated and drowned many of his command, he and a few of his officers managed to escape, riding their horses bareback. By 1632, deemed “one of the oldest and truest vassals of the crown”, he was visited at home by Shāh Jahān, to whom he presented 100 pieces of brocade, velvet, and other cloth, two elephants, and 10,000 gold *mohurs*. In March 1633, he succumbed to dropsy. Khān Daurān, Bahādur Fīrūz Jang, an even more successful Mughal officer, distinguished himself in the Deccan at the siege of Daulatābād and elsewhere. He was later appointed governor of Malwa by Shāh Jahān. In 1637, he was awarded both the exalted title of *Nuṣrat Jang* by the Emperor, and was presented with a handsome robe of honour, a gold-embroidered tunic without sleeves, a jewelled dagger and sword with incised ornament, two superb steeds with gold and gilt saddles, and splendid elephants with silver housings, accompanied by a female one. Earlier in the year, this dependable officer had exacted welcome tribute from the Rājasthānī Zamīndār of Deogarh. In 1645, while deeply asleep, he was stabbed in the belly with a sharp dagger. The attacker, a young Kashmīrī Brahmin attendant whom he had converted to Islam, was immediately caught and killed. After having written, in his own handwriting, a will benefiting his sons and the state coffers, Khān Daurān “departed [slowly] to the world of eternity”. This Folio is closely related both compositionally and stylistically to Plate 8/ Folio 17 *recto*.

S. C. W.

**Plate 10/ Folio 38 *verso***

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ’a*)

*Nasta’liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran



1007 A.H./ 1598-1599 A.D.;  
late 16th century  
Four specimens: 3 separate *beits* in cartouches in the borders, and *rubāʿī* in the centre  
10 lines in all  
18,8 × 30,5 cm  
Signature: “*The slave [of Allah] the humble lowest sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins. 1007*”  
Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: “*Written by Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 11/ Folio 60 verso**  
Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)  
*Nastaʿlīq* (large and medium size)  
Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī  
Iran  
Early 17th century  
Three specimens: in the borders (six lines in cartouches) a *beit* and a *rubāʿī*; in the centre, a *qiṭʿa*.  
10 lines in all  
18,4 × 30,6 cm  
Signature: “*This was written by the slave [of Allah] the sinner, ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him and the author*”  
Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: “*Written by Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 12/ Folio 60 recto**  
**Top: Ladies Visiting a Sage**  
Artist: the landscape, added in Iran, is in the style of Muḥammad Zamān  
International style; Mughal and Isfahani  
Late 17th century  
14,1 × 14,5 cm (original size: 12,1 × 14,5 cm)  
Watercolour, gouache and gold on paper  
**Bottom: Yoginis and Ladies**  
Mughal school  
Late 17th or early 18th century  
14,1 × 13,8 cm (original size: 12 × 12,1 cm)  
Watercolour, gouache and gold on paper

Women saints were, and are admired in India. During the 17th and 18th century, many pictures depicted decorous, well-born ladies aspiring to liberation or knowledge by visiting contemplatives. Those shown in these two pictures pursue not Hatha Yoga, but some-

thing less gymnastic, perhaps yoga’s highest goal, *rāja-adhirāja-yoga* (“king of kings yoga”). Without forms or techniques, it centres upon pure contemplation of the supreme principle. Once achieved, this freed one from anger, lust, fear, greed, jealousy, and melancholy. Coming upon these pictures while leafing through albums or piles of pictures gently encouraged seriousness. These characterisations, however, while based perhaps upon known personages, are generic, and fail to plumb psychological or spiritual depths. The cheerful landscape in the upper picture was adapted by an Isfahani artist, working in the style of Muḥammad Zamān, from a Flemish print. In front of the cliffs at the left sits a stalwart, middle aged yogini who also appears in Plate 28/ Folio 23 *recto*; Plate 13/ Folio 61 *recto*, and Plate 24/ Folio 63 *recto*.

S. C. W.

**Plate 13/ Folio 61 recto**  
**Top: A Ghorakhpanthi Yogini Receives Devotees**  
Mughal school  
Early 18th century  
14 × 15,8 cm  
Watercolour, gouache and gold on paper  
**Bottom: Lady Preparing for Her Lover, who Arrives Approvingly**  
Mughal school  
Early 18th century  
14,2 × 14,1 cm  
Watercolour, gouache and gold on paper

Spiritual and worldly devotions are contrasted in this Folio. We are offered a view of an eager young lady, critically inspecting her reflection in a mirror, perhaps an allusion to *Vilaval Ragini*, one of the musical modes (Garlands of Melody), in which a heroine prepares herself for her lover by checking her hair with a mirror. During the later period of the Mughal Empire, after a long period of Muslim orthodoxy under Shāh Jahān and Aurangzēb, Hindu themes were once again accepted, as they had been under Akbar, within the cultural milieu. This coy lady is about to be startled by the arrival of her admirer. It is thought that this miniature was painted for the harem or *zenānā*, where connoisseurs of women enjoyed pictures just as much as men did in their private section of the palace.

Indeed, in Mughal India, women not only appreciated pictures, but commissioned and painted them.

Above, with a patched robe, snake-like hair, and seated on a deerskin, is a *Ghorakhpanthi* yogini, a female devotee of a very different sort from the lady above. She followed a legendary holy man (*Ghorakhpanthi*) believed to have been born from a bead of sweat on Lord Shiva's chest. His cult was notorious for its antinomian practices, ranging from coprophagy to bestiality, necrophilia, and homosexuality. The first syllable of his name, *Ghor*, means "filth", hence he is sometimes referred to as "Lord of Filth". One wonders if the older, less extreme yogini and her refined friends enjoying the spiritual and musical milieu in the shade of a sacred tamarind tree, were fully aware of these implications.

S. C. W.

❧ **Plate 14/ Folio 61 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qifā*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century (1008 A.H./ 1599-1600 A.D.)

Four specimens: a *rubā'ī*; *qifā*

(see Plate 11/ Folio 60 verso, a); two *rubā'ī*.

16 lines in all

7 × 13,2; 6,5 × 12,5; 7,2 × 13; 7,1 × 3,2 cm

Signatures: a) "This was written by the slave

[of Allah] the sinner, 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him and the author"

b) "The slave [of Allah] the sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins"

c) "The humble lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt. 1008"

Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: "Painted by Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 15/ Folio 69 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qifā*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century (the number 102 appears under *rubā'ī*, b; it may be read as any date between 1002 A.H./ 1593-1594

A.D., and 1024 A.H./ 1615 A.D.)

Four specimens: three *rubā'ī*;

(c: see Plate 196/ Folio 66 verso); *qifā*

16 lines in all

7,3 × 12,7; 7,4 × 13; 6,8 × 13,2; 6 × 12,1 cm

Signatures: a) "The humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him"

b) "The humble lowest 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins, 102"

c) "The humble lowest 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him"

Borders (bottom, left) signed by master decorator: "Painted by Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 16/ Folio 69 recto**

**Ladies Visiting a Holy Man**

In the style of *Mīr Kalān Khān*

Provincial Mughal school (Awadh)

Mid 18th century

16 × 28,9 cm

Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold on paper

Borders (bottom, centre) signed by master decorator: "Muḥammad Bāqir"

A bamboo pole surmounted by a coloured cloth banner marks the spot where a venerable white-bearded holy man is seated below a canopy. He receives a group of women who have come to pay their respects at night. Younger *fakīr* (mendicants) accompany him, one of whom plays a drum. The women hold offerings of food and the atmosphere is enriched by flower garlands, small lamps and incense.

The painting is executed in the style of *Mīr Kalān Khān* to whom earlier versions of this subject have been attributed. The rounded faces, flowing garments and rich colour contrasting with a dark background are characteristic of his style. The overall hardness of line discerned in this painting suggests however that it is the work of a follower rather than by *Mīr Kalān Khān* himself.

The subject of this painting is commonly identified as a religious festival in honour of the Muslim divine *Shāh Madār* (possibly represented by the bearded saint). *Bahā al-Dīn Shāh Madār*, a convert from Judaism, was born at Aleppo but came to India where he died at Makunpur in 1434. He was popularly

revered by the local populace who celebrated an annual festival in his honour in the belief that he protected them against many dangers. Apparently the festival originally consisted of devotees holding *chhaṛī* (a bamboo stick) in one hand, chanting '*dam-i-madar*' (by the breath of Madār) and treading over fires from which they emerged unscathed.

Such celebrations were not unique to followers of Shāh Madār, but were similar to popular customs associated with Ghāzī Miyān, another religious figure of the Awadh region. An annual fair held in honour of this celebrated hero, is still attended by both Muslims and Hindus. On this occasion Daffālī *fakīr* (who sing and dance to the accompaniment of a drum) tied coloured rags and horse-hair to the top of a long bamboo pole around which they sang and burnt incense.

Literature: for further versions of this subject see *Topsfield* 1994, No. 30. We are grateful to Andrew Topsfield for valuable comments on this picture.

N. N. H.

#### Plate 17/ Folio 57 *recto*

##### Ladies Visiting a Holy Man

Artist: In the style of Mīr Kalān Khān

Provincial Mughal school (Awadh)

Mid 18th century

16 × 28,8 cm (original size: 13,2 × 22,5 cm)

Watercolour, gouache, ink, silver and gold on paper

This later version of Plate 16/ Folio 69 *recto*, is good example of the stiffening of line and loss of detail that is often associated with copies. Such close versions of earlier pictures were usually made with the aid of a *charbāh* or pounced outline.

In this case, certain small changes were made. The dog in the foreground of Plate 16/ Folio 69 *recto* has been substituted by a dancing boy, the more conventional figure found in such compositions. A female figure wearing a head-dress is familiar to us from Plate 188/ Folio 67 *recto* and appears to have been a popular stock image.

N. N. H.

#### Plate 18/ Folio 57 *verso*

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century

Four specimens: three *qiṭ'a* and a *rubā'ī*; (see Plate 59/ Folio 44 *verso*, a and Plate 62/ Folio 46 *verso*, c)

16 lines in all

6,9 × 13,6; 7,2 × 13,6; 7,2 × 13,6; 7,4 × 13,3 cm

Signatures: a) "*This was written, as a practice exercise, by 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*"

b) "*This was written by the slave [of Allah] 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt*"

c) "*The humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*"

d) "*This was written by the slave [of Allah] 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt*"

Borders (bottom, left) signed by master decorator: "*Painted by Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*"

O. A.

#### Plate 19/ Folio 58 *verso*

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century;

1008 A.H./ 1599-1600 A.D.

Four specimens: a fragment of *ghazal* (see Plate 67/ Folio 18 *verso*, b; Plate 27/ Folio 23 *verso*, b; Plate 46/ Folio 50 *verso*, c); *qiṭ'a*; two fragments of a *maṣnavī* (d – repetition of c; see Plate 27/ Folio 23 *verso*, a; Plate 42/ Folio 52 *verso*, b and c)

16 lines in all

6,5 × 13,8; 7,4 × 14,3; 6,7 × 13,9; 6,2 × 13,9 cm

Signatures: a) "*The humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] have mercy on him*"

b) "*This was written, as a practice exercise, by 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*"

c) "*The humblest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt. 1008*"

d) "*The humble lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*"

Borders (bottom, left) signed by master decorator: "*Painted by Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 20/ Folio 58 recto**

Top right and left: **Birds**

Iran (?)

Mid 18th century

Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

Top centre: **An English Gentleman**

Mughal school, after a Jacobean

portrait-miniature

Mid 18th century

5 × 7 cm (original size: 4,9 × 6,7 cm)

Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

Overall size of top section: 16,1 × 7 cm

Bottom: **Scene in a Harem**

Mughal school

First half of the 18th century

16,3 × 20 cm

Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold  
on paper

The two birds at the top of the page (left and right), show the persistence of the faunal portrait style of the Mughal painter Maṣṣūr and his school in the 18th century, when they were most likely painted by a Persian artist involved with the production of this album. Such images, along with botanical paintings, were used in 18th-century Iran as templates for textile and lacquerwork designs.

Quickly realising the importance of the fine arts in negotiating with the connoisseurly court of Jahāngīr, the nascent East India Company sent in 1614 a gift of the finest Jacobean portrait-miniatures to Ajmer, where the Emperor was residing at the time. These included pictures of James I and his Queen, and the Princess Elizabeth. Exquisitely rendered with the subtlest use of modelling and light, and so close in scale and technique to the Mughals' own miniatures, these English portraits made a strong and lasting impression on Indian portraiture. Moving away from the strong chiaroscuro of the Counter-Reformation pictures brought by the Jesuits from 1580, Mughal portraits instead began to favour the shallow depth, brilliant light, and black background of Elizabethan portraits. More of these miniatures arrived with the embassy (1615-1619) of Sir Thomas Roe, England's first ambassador to Mughal India, and his diary records how Jahāngīr's principal painter (probably Abū'l-Ḥasan) led the royal atelier in emulating these paintings. This work (top, centre) is a mid 18th century copy of an

earlier Mughal version (circa 1614), sold at Sotheby's (1 December 1969, lot 127), and which was itself based on an English miniature. A royal figure leaning on a bolster (bottom) receives an elegantly dressed lady. The composition is based on a familiar theme: that of a prince in his harem. Yet, in this case the interpretation is obscured by the ambiguous nature of the seated figure, who may be a woman dressed in a man's turban and clothes. Examples of courtly cross-dressing are known in Mughal painting, where female entertainers were sometimes dressed as men. At Rajput courts, religious themes were enacted by dancing girls dressed as male deities.

The treatment of the receding lake in the background shows the influence of Flemish engravings in a simplified form. Such backgrounds were popularly employed in terrace settings such as this one during the early 18th century. The composition attempts to convey a sense of the pleasing atmosphere of gracious Mughal gatherings. However, depictions of aristocratic pastimes became increasingly commonplace during this period, eventually losing all elements of individuality.

Literature: *Welch* 1963, pl. 77; *Falk, Archèr* 1981, pls. 149, 152.

G. B./N. N. H.

**Plate 21/ Folio 4 recto**

Top right and left: **Birds**

Mughal school

17th century

Top centre: **Jahāngīr Holding an Aigrette  
(sarpeche) in his Right Hand**

Mughal school

Circa 1630

5,1 × 6,8 cm (original size: 4,3 × 5,8 cm)

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Bottom: **A Lady, her Maid-servants,  
and Women Musicians**

Mughal school

Late 17th or early 18th century

16 × 20 cm

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Specialists traditionally assembled albums such as this one, for which they chose the material, arranged its parts, and commissioned or made the borders. Often, as here, they plucked bits and pieces from many sources.

Top centre: presiding over this composition is Emperor Jahāngīr, who is seen offering *darshan* at the window of appearances (*jharoka*), while resting his hand holding an aigrette upon the sill. This small portrait, intended to be worn as a jewel, may have been given along with the turban ornament, to an admired courtier or guest. Such portraits were made in considerable number, and are often seen in paintings. They may have been inspired by English example, probably when on 13 July 1616, Sir Thomas Roe visited Jahāngīr's court with his wife Nūr Jahān's brother Āṣaf Khān and gave him a miniature portrait of a woman by Isaac Oliver. According to Roe's Journals, Jahāngīr "tooke extreme content", showed it to friends, and to his "cheefe Paynter [probably Abū'l Ḥasan], demanding an opinion. The foole answered that he could make as good". A wager was struck, whereby copies would be made by the imperial artists; and if Roe failed to recognise his picture among the copies, he would receive a horse. On August 6th, Roe was summoned to the audience hall, shown six pictures, five copies and the original. They were "so like that I was by candle light troubled to discern which was which... yet I showed myne owne and the differences... But for that at first sight I knew it not, he was very merry and joyful and cracked like a Northern man". The earliest Mughal jewel-portraits date from this time, and tend to be smaller in size than later examples. (See also Plate 25/ Folio 5 *recto*, below.) Although the two birds (top right and left) facing the Emperor are finely painted, they are less lively than those by Ustād Maṣṣūm or Abū'l Ḥasan. The ladies and attendants chosen as the main (bottom) image are pleasingly ornamental, but they lack the individuality and psychological depth so notable in earlier studies of life in the harem.

Literature: *Foster (ed.) 1926*, pp. 213-14, 224-225.

S. C. W.

**Plate 22/ Folio 4 *verso***  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (medium size)  
 Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 1007 A.H./ 1598-1599 A.D.;

Late 16th – early 17th century  
 Four specimens: 3 *rubā'ī* and a fragment of *maṣnavī*  
 16 lines in all  
 6,3 × 13,5; 5,3 × 13,5; 6 × 13,5; 6,1 × 14 cm  
 Signatures: a) "*The humble sinner 'Imād, may [Allah] forgive him. 1007*"  
 b) "*The humblest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*"  
 c) "*The humblest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī*"  
 d) "*The slave [of Allah] 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*"  
 Borders (bottom, left) signed by master decorator: "*Painted by Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*"  
 Frame (second from the borders) contains the signature of the master decorator (bottom right): "*Muḥammad Bāqir*"

O. A.

**Plate 23/ Folio 63 *verso***  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (medium size)  
 Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Late 16th – early 17th century  
 Four specimens: *rubā'ī*; prayer in honour of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib; 2 *rubā'ī*  
 16 lines in all  
 6,3 × 12,7; 7,2 × 12,7; 6,8 × 14,7; 7,2 × 13,5 cm  
 Signatures: a) "*The humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*"  
 b) "*The humble sinner 'Imād al [-Ḥasanī]*"  
 c) "*The slave [of Allah] the sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*"  
 d) "*This was written as a practice exercise by the humble 'Imād al-Ḥasanī*"  
 Borders (bottom, left) signed by master decorator: "*Painted by Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 24/ Folio 63 *recto***  
 Top left: Dārā Shikōh  
 Mughal school  
 Circa 1635  
 3,1 × 4,5 cm (original size: 3 × 3.6 cm)  
 Watercolour, ink and gold on paper  
 Top right: Shāh Jahān  
 Mughal school  
 Circa 1630  
 3 × 4,5 cm (original size: 3 × 4 cm)  
 Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

Bottom: **Ghorakhpanti Yogini with Devotees**  
 Mughal school  
 Mid 18th century.  
 17 × 21,5 cm (original size: 15,3 × 15 cm)  
 Watercolour, ink and gold on paper  
 Borders (top centre) signed by the master  
 decorator: “*Muḥammad Bāqir*”

A fine jewel-portrait of Dārā Shikōh (upper left), is another version of a painting found in the British Museum and published in 1912 by F. R. Martin who claimed it was a likeness of Shāh Jahān’s brother Sulṭān Parvīz (1589-1626). Inasmuch as the St. Petersburg picture sufficiently resembles other portraits of Dārā Shikōh, and because this portrait includes a halo suited to an heir apparent, we differ with Martin. For a similar likeness of this prince, see Plate 4/ Folio 16 *recto*, above. In another jewel-portrait, of less artistic merit, Shāh Jahān faces his son.

Below, is a conventional 18th-century scene showing a yogini so similar to the one in Plate 13/ Folio 61 *recto*. Both pictures must have been based upon the same original. With the central female figure once again is the older, more conventional yogini, now less alert. Throughout Indian history, *sadhus*, yogis, yoginis, and other holy people have avoided life’s mainstream. Whether migratory or settled in hermitages, these holy people have fascinated all those interested in humanity. We are reminded by this picture at the top of Plate 60/ Folio 44 *recto*, Mīr Sayyīd-‘Alī’s hauntingly comprehensive massed portrayal of holy men, which could only have been painted after he had drawn studies from life. Sometimes, as in this case, a foreigner’s fresh eye sees life in refreshing detail and depth.

S. C. W.

**Plate 25/ Folio 5 *recto***

Top left: **Portrait of Āṣaf Khān**

Artist: Abū’l Ḥasan, Nādir al-Zamān

Mughal school

Circa 1627

Attributive inscription: “*Work of the old devoted servant Nādir al-Zamān in the first year of the Emperor’s accession. Portrait of the governor of the entire universe, bearer of the umbrella and the crown [of the Emperor, Shāh Jahān] the powerful and successful Nawāb Āṣaf Khān*”

3,6 × 3,4 cm

Watercolour and gold on paper

Top right: **Portrait of Shāh Shujāʿ**

Artist: Bal Chand

Mughal school

Mid 17th century

3,6 × 3,3 cm

Attributive signature (top right): “*the work of Bal Chand*”

Watercolour and gold on paper

Bottom: **Youth Visiting a Sheikh**

Mughal school

Late 17th or early 18th century

21,5 × 17 cm (original size: 17 × 14 cm)

Watercolour and gold on paper

Borders signed (bottom left) by master

decorator: “*Muḥammad Bāqir*”

Āṣaf Khān was the brother of Nūr Jahān, favourite wife of Emperor Jahāngīr. Iranian by birth, he and his sister were effectively ambitious. Solicitous to imperial whims, they made themselves and other family members indispensable. He was appointed *wazīr* (vizier) by Jahāngīr in 1621 and died at seventy-two in 1641. His daughter, best known as Mumtāz Maḥal, was the favourite wife of Shāh Jahān, for whom he built the Tāj Maḥal. This jewel-portrait, the only one depicting someone outside of the immediate imperial family, was painted shortly after the accession of Shāh Jahān, whose cause Āṣaf Khān had supported over his sister’s opposition, on the death of Jahāngīr. One of the earliest jewel-portraits of circa 1616 (the same year of Sir Thomas Roe’s gift to Jahāngīr of Isaac Oliver’s portrait of a woman (see Plate 21/ Folio 4 *recto*, above) shows Nūr Jahān herself at the *jharoka* window. It is unusually small in size and attributable to Abū’l Ḥasan.

Shāh Shujāʿ, whose likeness was identified by Dr. Ellen Smart, was son of Shāh Jahān and grandson of Jahāngīr. Born in 1616, he is seen here in his mid twenties. He served as governor of Bengal, where he was killed in 1660 in the aftermath of his brother Aurangzēb’s triumph in the Wars of Succession. Bal Chand seems to have specialised in portraits of Shāh Shujāʿ. See also Shāh Shujāʿ’s equestrian portrait, Plate 119, Folio 30 *recto*, and a romantic portrayal of him and his wife on a terrace, ascribed by Shāh Jahān to Bal Chand. *Youth Visiting a Sheikh* is a late 17th or early 18th

century picture in the style of Govardhan, a major Mughal artist during the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shāh Jahān. He is admired for painting pensively elevating scenes, such as this, which contributed to the imperial legend of enlightened tranquillity. Although the unidentified later artist of this variation on a theme faithfully derived the attendant opening a book from known works by Govardhan, the Mughal nobleman, his friend, and the two sages appear to be stock characterisations.

Literature: For the jewel portrait of Nūr Jahān, see Welch 1963, No. 13, p. 227, pl. 8.

S. C. W.

**Plate 26/ Folio 5 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

End 16th century; 1015 A.H./ 1606-07 A.D.; early 17th century

Four specimens: a *rubā'ī*; a *qiṭ'a* (prosodic fragment, the calligrapher is the author); a *rubā'ī*; a fragment of a *maṣnavī*.

16 lines in all

6,3 × 12,5; 6,1 × 12,8; 6,8 × 12,3; 5,5 × 12,9 cm

Signatures: a) "*The humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*"

b) "*The humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt. 1015*"

c) "*The slave [of Allah] the sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] have mercy on him*"

d) "*The humble 'Imād al-Ḥasanī*"

Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: "*Painted by Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 27/ Folio 23 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th century – early 17th century

Four specimens:

Fragment of a *maṣnavī*; fragment of a *ghazal* (see Plate 67/ Folio 18 verso, b); a *rubā'ī* (see Plate 26/ Folio 5 verso, c); fragment of a *maṣnavī* (see Plate 26/ Folio 5

verso, d)

16 lines in all

6,1 × 11,6; 6,7 × 12,5; 6,6 × 12,5; 6,3 × 12,7 cm

Signatures: a) "*The humblest sinner...*"

b) "*This was written by the humblest of poor men 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*"

c) "*Written for the protection of the fraternity, the Lord Mīrzā 'Askarī, may [Allah] greet him. The humblest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] have mercy on him*"

d) "*The humble 'Imād*"

Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: "*Painted by Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 28/ Folio 23 recto**

Top left: Shāh Jahān

Mughal school

Circa 1625-30

3,5 × 5 cm (original size: 2,9 × 3,6 cm)

Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

Top right: Jahāngīr

Mughal school

Circa 1625

3,5 × 5 cm (original size: 2,9 × 3,6 cm)

Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

Bottom: A Hermitage by Moonlight

Mughal school

Early 18th century

14,1 × 15,3 cm (original size: 13,5 × 9 cm)

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Two finely finished imperial jewel-portraits were placed above a much later but neatly painted scene of Mughal nobles visiting an ascetic. A painted equivalent to later Mughal poetry, it is more than touched by sentimentality. Although reminiscent of the darkly romantic, often moonlit scenes of Govardhan, Payāk, and other major Mughal artists who worked at the courts of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, this late version lacks their stark purity. The piercingly credible characterisations known from Mughal pictorial reportage have yielded to prettified generalisations.

S. C. W.

**Plate 29/ Folio 6 recto**

Top left: Shāh Jahān

Mughal school

Circa 1640

4 × 4,9 cm  
 Watercolour and gold on paper  
 Top right: **Jahāngir**  
 Mughal school  
 Circa 1620  
 4 × 4,7 cm (original size: 3,2 × 4,7 cm)  
 Overall dimensions of upper section, with extensions: 6,6 × 14,4 cm  
 Bottom: **Ladies Visiting a Sadhu**  
 Mughal school  
 Late 17th or early 18th century  
 14,1 × 15,3 cm (original size: 13,5 × 9,5 cm)  
 Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold on paper  
 Borders signed by the master decorator:  
 “Lowest of the low Muḥammad Bāqir”

The Iranian specialist in the arts of the book who composed the Folios of this Album admired and had access to many jewel-portraits which were intended to be worn mounted as turban ornaments or as pendants [see above, Plate 21/ Folio 4 *recto*, and Plate 25/ Folio 5 *recto*].

Such pictures were given to their subjects to confirm fealty. In all likelihood, jewel-portraits were created in an assembly line: blocked in by apprentices, the pictures were completed by master artists of the imperial workshop. Many of these portraits have survived; and in the Barberini album of the Vatican library (Or. 136, p. 263) there is a rough, unfinished version of the St. Petersburg portrait of Āṣaf Khān (Plate 25/ Folio 5 *recto*) as well as five similarly incomplete jewel-portraits of Shāh Jahān.

Subjects such as *Ladies Visiting a Sadhu* were favoured ever since the founding of the Mughal dynasty in India. Although major artists such as Mīr Sayyīd ‘Alī, Basawan, Daswanth, Abūl Ḥasan, Govardhan, and Payāk were recognised as the finest portrayers of holy men and women, followers of their style and lesser known artists were also just as capable of producing fine studies of the same subject. Artists were not the only ones to be fascinated by holy men and women, Mughal rulers and princes especially favoured and studied these holy persons. Foremost among these was Dārā Shikōh (1615-1659), son of Shāh Jahān, who appears to have commissioned a number of portraits of holy persons from Govardhan and Chitarman.

Literature: for the Barberini Album see Kurz 1977, ch. XX, pl. 5; for Govardhan see Beach 1978, pp. 118-27.

S. C. W.

**Plate 30/ Folio 6 verso**  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)  
*Nastaʿlīq* (medium size)  
 Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Haleb (Syria), Iran  
 1003 A.H./ 1594-1595 A.D.;  
 early 17th century  
 Four specimens: 2 *rubāʿī* and 2 fragments of *maṣnavī*  
 16 lines in all  
 6,8 × 11,2; 6,1 × 12,6; 6,2 × 13; 5,8 × 12 cm  
 Signatures: a) “The lowest of sinners ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī”  
 b) “The lowest of sinners ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him”  
 c) “The lowest of sinners ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him”  
 d) “The lowest of sinning slaves ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī in the city of Haleb. 1003”  
 Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: “Painted by Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]”

O. A.

**Plate 31/ Folio 92 verso**  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)  
*Nastaʿlīq* (medium size and very small)  
 Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Late 16th – early 17th century  
 Four specimens:  
 fragment of a *maṣnavī*;  
*rubāʿī*; fragment of a *maṣnavī* and *beit*;  
*rubāʿī*  
 17 lines in all  
 6,7 × 13,1; 6,3 × 12,9; 6,7 × 12,8 (assembled from two specimens); 6,6 × 12,4 cm  
 Signatures: a) “Written for the safety of Majesty, worthy of the merits of Āṣaf Khwājja Nizāmī al-Mulk. The humble ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī”  
 b) “The humble ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins”  
 c) “Written as a practice exercise, by the lowest of sinners ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī”  
 d) “The humble sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him”

O. A.



**Plate 32/ Folio 92 recto**

Top left: **Portrait of a Man**

Provincial Mughal school

Mid 18th century

5 × 6,5 cm (original size: 2,8 × 3,3 cm)

Watercolour and gouache on paper

Top middle: **Saint George Killing the Dragon**

Engraving, Flemish school

Late 16th century

5,6 × 7,6 cm

Top right: **Women at Prayer**

Provincial Mughal school

Mid 18th century

92,4 × 6,5 cm (original size: 3 × 4,3 cm)

Watercolour, gouache and gold on paper

Overall dimensions of upper section:

7,7 × 15,3 cm

Bottom: **The Virgin Mary**

Lucknow (Awadh) school, variation on engraving by Sadeler "*The Holy Family with Saint Anne and Two Angels*"

Mid 18th century

15,4 × 19 cm (original size: 11,5 × 13,3 cm)

Watercolour, ink, silver and gold on paper

One of the more paltry offerings of the provincial painting schools of the late Mughal period, this portrait of an unidentified mullah (top, left) is likely the end result of a series of copies of a Jahāngīr or Shāh Jahān period painting of the sort seen elsewhere in this album.

In addition to Mughal copies or overpaintings of Western engravings, royal albums also contained the original prints in their pristine state. This image (top middle), showing Saint George and the Dragon is similar to the work of the 16th-century printer Cornelius Cort, however, we have been unable to find the exact identification.

A further variation on the Sadeler engraving *The Holy Family with Saint Anne and Two Angels*, the enlarged bust-portrait of the Virgin (bottom) actually adheres fairly closely to its model. It is probably by the same artist as Plate 56/ Folio 91 recto, and Plate 57/ Folio 90 recto since it features the same colours and demonstrates a fondness for repeating floral patterns done in gold. Not without delicacy and grace, this miniature attests to the high quality of court painting that prevailed during the cultural renaissance of the Nawābs of Awadh.

Literature: for a similar cameo portrait of the virgin, see *Loewenstein 1958*, fig. 13.

G. B.

**Plate 33/ Folio 88 recto**

Top left: **Madonna of Saint Luke**

Provincial Mughal school

First half of the 18th century

4,6 × 7,7 cm (original size: 3,8 × 6,5 cm)

Top right: **Madonna of Saint Luke**

Artist: school of Manohar

Mughal school

First half of the 17th century

5,1 × 7,7 cm (original size 4,4 × 6,3 cm)

Top middle: **Arithmetica**

Artist: attributed to Manohar Dās

Mughal school

Circa 1590-95

5,5 × 7,7 cm

Attributive inscription: "*The work of Manohar Dās*"

Bottom: **Isabel de Borbón, Queen of Spain**

Artist: Gul Muḥammad, copy of an engraving by F. Bolognus

Lucknow school

Mid 18th century

16,8 × 19,2 cm

Attributive inscription: "*The work of Gul Muḥammad*"

The second frame (from the border) is signed in the centre by the master decorator: "*Muḥammad Ṣādiq*"

The top, left image is a crude copy of one of Manohar's versions of the Madonna of Saint Luke from Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. The originals seem to have been mass-produced as individual *Andachtsbilder* (devotional pictures) for use by the Mughal royal family and imperial court, many of whom openly honoured the Virgin Mary and were fond of displaying pictures of her and of Jesus following the example of the Jesuits. By the 18th century, however, their purpose may have been purely decorative. The second version of the Madonna of Saint Luke (top, right) is much finer than the one on the left, and may even be the work of Manohar himself. It is similar to a version by that artist in the Institut Néerlandais in Paris.

An early work by Manohar (top middle), this is an exact rendering in *nīm-qalam* (grisaille) of an engraving of *Arithmetica* from *The Seven*

*Liberal Arts* by Georg Pencz (1500-1550). Before the arrival of Jerome Nadal's illustrated book *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (Antwerp, 1593) with the third Jesuit mission in 1595, Pencz was the single most influential European artist at the Mughal court. Not only were direct copies made such as this, but figures from Pencz's engravings were also painted into scenes with an entirely Mughal or Islamic theme.

Other pictures from the *The Seven Liberal Arts* series were incorporated into the margins of the royal albums of the Emperor Jahāngīr. This was probably a cartoon for a margin pattern. The revival of the *nīm-qalam* technique in the period of Akbar may have been an attempt to emulate black-and-white European prints. Typical of Manohar's early work in the European style, the artist shows an unwillingness to invent, and adheres closely to his model. The brilliant colours and crowded scenes of his later *œuvre* (a good example of which is Plate 37/ Folio 87 *recto*) have not yet crept in. A much later example of the Mughal technique of overpainting, the 18th century miniature (bottom) is applied over a late-17th century engraving by F. Bolognus of Velasquez' portrait of Isabel of Borbón (circa 1625). Signed by the otherwise unknown Gul Muḥammad, this painting from the court of the Nawābs of Awadh at Lucknow demonstrates a persistent interest in European subjects almost two centuries after Akbar. Like the two miniatures by Abū'l-Ḥasan in the same album, the picture is accomplished, but here the artist does not stray an inch from his model. A striking feature of this work is the accuracy of the colours; like Velasquez' original, the dress and background are a dour black accented with silver and pearl white, and the curtain is a robust crimson. This suggests that either the artist had an uncanny ability to choose appropriate colours or that the original was at least lightly hand-coloured in Europe. The latter was common, and several examples can be found in a late Mughal album in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

Literature: top, middle section, for similar drawings see Beach 1965, cat. nos 6, 7; Beach 1978, p. 163; top right, see Okada 1989, p. 195, fig. 57; bottom, for a copy of the origi-

nal by Velasquez see Aznar 1964, pp. 345-47, for a similar Mughal miniature see Sotheby's 1969, lot 133.

G. B.

**Plate 34/ Folio 88 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Baghdad, Iran

End 16th century – early 17th century

Four specimens: 3 fragments of a *maṣnavī*; and a *rubā'ī*

16 lines in all

6,8 × 12,5; 6,6 × 12,4; 5,7 × 12,8; 6 × 11,7 cm

Signatures: a) "*The lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him, in the town of peace, Baghdad*"

b) "*The humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*"

c) "*The humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*"

d) "*Written by the humble poor man 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*"

Borders signed (bottom right) by master

decorator: "*Completed by the slave*

*Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 35/ Folio 62 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1019 A.H./ 1610 A.D.; end 16th century; 1007

A.H./ 1598-1599 A.D.; early 17th century

Four specimens: 2 *rubā'ī* (see Plate 84/ Folio 9 verso, b); *qiṭ'a*; fragment of a *ghazal* by Jāmī (see Plate 117/ Folio 10 verso, a; Plate 116/ Folio 15 verso, a)

16 lines in all

6,3 × 13,2; 6,7 × 12; 6,7 × 12,9; 6,1 × 12,8 cm

Signatures: a) "*This was written by the slave [of Allah] the sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive his sins. 1019*"

b) "*The slave [of Allah] the sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*"

c) "*The slave [of Allah] the sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him. 1007*"

d) "*The humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*"

Borders (bottom, left) signed

by master decorator:

"Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī.  
1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 36/ Folio 62 recto**

**The Birth of Christ**

Artist: attributed to Manohar,  
after a European print

Mughal school

Early 17th century

13 × 21,3 cm

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Mughal artists often worked from European prints just as Picasso did, making fresh works of art from them. Manohar, we believe, looked imaginatively at his source, interpreting what he found on the basis of his own experience. The child Christ, for instance, resembles the infant Krishna; and the face of the old lady pouring water from a ewer to rinse the Virgin Mary's left foot resembles stock types characteristic of the Mughal tradition.

S. C. W.

**Plate 37/ Folio 87 recto**

**The Madonna of Saint Luke Surrounded  
by Angels**

Artist: school of Manohar Dās

Mughal school

Circa 1600

12,8 × 21,2 cm (original size: 11 × 15,3 cm)

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

In the later 1590s, Manohar moved away from his single-figure *nīm-qalam* (grisaille) drawings to demonstrate his skill at painting crowded, animated Christian scenes full of colour and pageantry. His expertise made him one of the leading illustrators of the grand Catholic treatises written in Persian by the Jesuits for Akbar and later Jahāngīr. Manohar's newer, more flamboyant style is represented by this magnificent miniature depicting the same Jesuit image of the Madonna that appears on Plate 90/ Folio 53 recto and Plate 33/ Folio 88 recto of this album. Part of a series done by Manohar with the assistance of the painter Nānhā which includes a *Last Judgement* in the British Museum and *The Descent from the Cross* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, this highly-

finished work is characterised by the prominent blues, yellows and oranges, and by the bulky, three-dimensional treatment of the clouds. The background has been painted later by another hand, and the faces of the principal figures may also have been touched up at a later date. Here, the miniature is inspired by an engraving of the Madonna rather than the actual oil painting: a version of the *Ave Regina Caelorum* by Jerome Wierix (1553-1619).

Literature: for a copy of the original engraving, see *Mauquoy-Hendrickx* 1982, cat. No. 1613. The background is very close but the Madonna is not exact, which suggests that Manohar used another model for the central figures, perhaps the original painting.

G. B.

**Plate 38/ Folio 87 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th century – early 17th century

The page was assembled from 5 fragments, including the calligrapher's signature: a *beit* and the signature, in the centre; a fragment from *Naṣīḥat-i wazīr*, usually attributed to 'Abdallāh Anṣārī (1005-1008 A.D.); a *rubā'i* and *beit* in 6 cartouches in the borders.

16 lines in all

16,3 × 26,2 cm

Signature: "Written by the slave [of Allah] the humble lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] have mercy on him"

Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: "Completed by the slave

Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-59 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 39/ Folio 68 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large and medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century

Four specimens: a fragment from *Naṣīḥat-i wazīr*, usually attributed to 'Abdallāh Anṣārī (1005-1008 A.D.) in the centre; a *beit* (see Plate 93/ Folio 1 verso, c; and Plate 117/ Folio 10 verso, below) top centre, 6 cartouches with a *rubā'i*

and a *beit* in the borders  
 18 lines in all  
 16,1 × 26,1 cm (four fragments mounted  
 around the margin)  
 Signatures: a) "*The slave [of Allah] 'Imād  
 al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*"  
 b) "*The humble lowest 'Imād al-Ḥasanī*"  
 Borders signed (bottom left) by master  
 decorator: "*Completed by the slave  
 Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-59 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 40/ Folio 68 recto**

**Kabīr, the Mystical Weaver, with a Disciple  
 and Young Visitors**

Mughal school  
 Late 17th or early 18th century  
 15,5 × 25,5 cm (original size: 15,5 × 23,7 cm)  
 Watercolour, gouache, ink, silver and gold  
 on paper

Kabīr, born in the late 15th century to a poor  
 Muslim family in Banaras, became a follower  
 of Ramananda, a Hindu. Always a humble  
 weaver, as seen here, he espoused pantheism.  
 Kabīr was also a hardy realist, who admon-  
 ished those of whom he disapproved regard-  
 less of their religion or station. When a  
 haughty sheikh reprimanded him for keeping  
 a pig tied near his door, he spoke firmly: "I  
 have an unclean animal at my door; you have  
 unclean friends within your heart". His  
 appeal was not limited to one religious group.  
 His wise, spiritual admonitions were for  
 everyone, whether Muslim, Hindu, or other-  
 wise.

In this later Mughal picture, he is revered by  
 two young Hindus, identifiable by the fact  
 that their *jamās* are tied on their left sides.  
 Although the picture strictly follows a tradi-  
 tional composition, the characterisations are  
 most pleasingly conceived, even moving.  
 Kabīr died in 1518, at Maghar, where it was  
 believed that those who die there go to hell.  
 His burial was long disputed between Hindus,  
 who wanted to burn his corpse, and Muslims,  
 who wished to bury him. In the end, after sus-  
 tained arguments, the sheet covering Kabīr's  
 body was lifted only to reveal a brilliant  
 mound of flowers.

S. C. W.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

**Plate 41/ Folio 52 recto**

**Right and left: Musical Soirées**

Artist: 'Alī Qulī Beg Jabbādār  
 International style in Iran; Isfahan; Mughal  
 school

Late 17th century and later  
 10,5 × 13 cm (original size: 9 × 11 cm)

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Attributive signature (top) in gold:

"*Work of 'Alī Qulī Beg Jabbādār*"

Bottom left: **Old Man with a Lion**

Artist: 'Alī Qulī Beg Jabbādār

International style; Isfahan; Mughal

Late 17th century and later

10 × 13 cm (original size: 8,5 × 14,4 cm)

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Attributive signature (bottom) in gold:

"*Work of 'Alī Qulī Beg Jabbādār*"

Bottom right: **Recital by Firelight**

Artist: 'Alī Qulī Beg Jabbādār

Mughal school, extensively reworked  
 in Isfahan

Mid 17th century

11,3 × 17 cm

Attributive signature (top left) in gold:

"*Work of 'Alī Qulī Beg Jabbādār*"

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Overall size of the two lower miniatures:

21 × 17 cm

It is difficult to distinguish between the Indian  
 and the Indianesque styles. Although it is easy  
 to cite many examples of Indian influence in  
 Iranian art and culture from as early as the 15th  
 century, Indian artistic traditions were more fre-  
 quently adapted during the later 17th century  
 (at the same time as European artistic traditions  
 began appearing in Iranian art). This Folio  
 attests to the taste for Indianized art in Post  
 Nādir Shāh Isfahan, when the style became  
 more popular as a result of Nādir Shāh's inva-  
 sion of India, during which he amassed a collec-  
 tion of Indian art to be taken back to Iran.

The Great Mughal artist Payāk's moody noc-  
 turnal scenes were well received in Isfahan.  
 The compiler of this album appears to have  
 also greatly admired Payāk's "nocturnes", as  
 well as those of other artists, for a great num-  
 ber of miniatures of that nature can be found  
 represented here. Many have been extensively  
 reworked, while others, such as Plate 45/  
 Folio 50 recto, were enriched with pastiche  
 elements from Payāk's style. Here, 'Alī Qulī

Beg Jabbādār has created his own version of a Payāk “nocturne”.

Literature: for Indian influences in Iran, see Rypka 1968, pp. 496-97.

S. C. W.

**Plate 42/ Folio 52 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)

*Nastaʿlīq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ʿImād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1014 A.H./ 1605-1606 A.D.; 1018 A.H./

1609-10 A.D.; early 17th century

Three specimens: *qiṭʿa*; *rubāʿī*; *rubāʿī*

(repetition *b*, see Plate 27/ Folio 23 verso, *a*)

12 lines in all

8,6 × 17,7; 7,3 × 16,7; 7,7 × 17,1 cm

Signatures: *a*) “*The humble lowest sinner*

ʿImād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him.

1014”

*b*) “*The humble lowest ʿImād al-Ḥasanī.*

1018”

*c*) “*Imād al-Ḥasanī*”

Borders signed (bottom left) by master

decorator: “*Completed by the slave*

*Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 43/ Folio 64 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)

*Nastaʿlīq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ʿImād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century

Three specimens: 3 *rubāʿī* (c see Plate 22/

Folio 4 verso, *a*)

12 lines in all

7,5 × 16,2; 8,1 × 15,2; 7,9 × 15,5 cm

Signatures: *a*) “*This was written by the*

*humble lowest sinner ʿImād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt*”

*b*) “*This was written by the humble lowest sinner ʿImād al-Mulk al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him in the year...*”

*c*) “*The humble ʿImād al-Ḥasanī*”

Borders signed (bottom left) by master

decorator: “*Completed by the slave*

*Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-59 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 44/ Folio 64 recto**

Sheikh Farīd Discourses

Artist: attributed to ʿAlī Qulī Jabbādār, probably with additions by Muḥammad Bāqir Isfahan school

Late 17th; mid 18th century

17,8 × 22 cm (original size: 14,5 × 19,3 cm)

Watercolour, gouache, ink, silver and gold on paper

Attributive note, in black ink: “*He! the very humble ʿAlī Qulī, destined to be the slave of Shāh ʿAbbās II*”

Seven men, a boy servant, and a plump cat are held in the spell of Sheikh Farīd, whose portrait is also seen in Plate 71/ Folio 48 recto; Plate 74/ Folio 49 recto; and Plate 75/ Folio 51 recto. His charm, it seems, spread to Isfahan, through portraits by Payāk and his circle who had in turn had been inspired by Govardhan’s work, further proof of the influence of Mughal portraiture on Isfahani artists. In this miniature, Payāk paid little heed to Govardhan’s tautly explicit lines and disciplined compositional structures. Attracted to mood, and oblivious to precision and architectonics, he worked with swift bravado. The free-form sitting place – somewhat resembling a fried egg – echoes the stormclouds in Plate 45/ Folio 50 recto, which we attribute to Muḥammad Bāqir. The use of a single lamp or candle as the light source reminds us of Caravaggio, whose innovative lighting demonstrably influenced artists far beyond Europe.

S. C. W.

**Plate 45/ Folio 50 recto**

Evening Conversation

Artist: attributed to ʿAlī Qulī

Mughal and Isfahan schools

Circa 1640, late 17th and mid 18th centuries

17,8 × 22 cm

Watercolour, gouache and gold on paper

Attributive signature: “*Work of the lowest of the low ʿAlī Qulī Arnaūt*”

Oblivious to the ominous, devouring, gathering storm clouds seven tranquil Mughal sages sit in a semi-circle discussing theological niceties. This miniature is a melange of artistic styles from various periods and places. The clouds are clearly mid 18th century Dutch-inspired, while the quaint townscape is Netherlandish copied from R. Sadeler, behind which tropical trees are blown about. The

sages are 17th century Mughal although some of the figures have been reworked by 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār. The four figures nearest the hut decorated in a European-Isfahani style, that these thoughtful fellows retain their equilibrium in the changing world can be attributed to Payāk, a Mughal master of *Sturm und Drang*, who painted the most poignant battle scenes for the *Pādshāhnāma*. Their serious interaction, reflective countenances, and engaging gestures represent Mughal portraiture at its most profound. See also Plate 60/ Folio 44 *recto* and Plate 61/ Folio 46 *recto*.

S. C. W.

**Plate 46/ Folio 50 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century

Three specimens: two *rubā'ī*; a fragment of *ghazal* (see Plate 67/ Folio 18 *verso*, b and Plate 27/ Folio 23 *verso*, b)

12 lines in all

7,2 × 15,1; 7,1 × 15,5; 7,7 × 15,6 cm

Signatures: a) "*This was written by the slave [of Allah] the humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt*"

b) "*The slave [of Allah] the humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt*"

c) "*This was written by the slave [of Allah] the humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī*"

Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: "*Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 47/ Folio 93 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
Iran, village of Ṭāḥān (Mazandaran)

1010 A.H./ 1601-1602 A.D;

early 17th century; 1020 A.H./ 1611-1612 A.D

Three specimens: a *rubā'ī*; a fragment of *maṣnavī*; a *rubā'ī*

12 lines in all

7,5 × 16,9; 7,3 × 16,3; 7,3 × 15,4 cm

Signatures: a) "*This was written by the humble lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī,*

*may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt*"

b) "*The humble lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him. In the blessed [village of] Ṭāḥān Mazandaran*"

c) "*The humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him. 1020*"

Borders signed (bottom left) by master

decorator: "*Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 48/ Folio 93 recto**

Top: Allegorical Figure

Artist: 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār

Isfahan school

Second half of the 17th century

9,3 × 6 cm

Watercolour and gold on paper

Attributive signature: "*Written by 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār*"

Bottom: Two Ladies with a Page

Artist: 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār

Isfahan school

1085 A.H. /1674 A.D.

14,9 × 21,4 cm (original size: 14,9 × 15,1 cm)

Watercolour and gold on paper

Attributive signature: (in a special cartouche under the miniature, mounted when the album was compiled): "*Executed in the prosperous and victorious month of Ṣafar in the capital city of Qāzvin. Written by the most worthless of the slaves of the court 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār. Year 1085*"

Attributive inscription in bottom left margin, in gold, by the master

decorator: "*Muḥammad Bāqir*"

Inscription inner frame, left:

"*1165 [1651-1652 A.D.]*"

This miniature is comprised of two parts, as the entry above indicates. Apparently, the miniature, in its original form, did not include the Allegorical figure, seen floating on a cloud above the three figures below. Indeed, a close examination of the work has revealed that the Allegorical figure was executed separately and pasted onto the already-painted-page when the album was designed. The two miniatures must have had some European prototype though they have not yet been identified. Traditionally believed to be a European converted to Islam, the way the villages are handled

is similar to the treatment used in the works by Muḥammad Zamān; indeed 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār was also part of the Isfahan school in the second half of the 17th century. 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār was evidently a painter at the court of Shāh Sulaimān (1666-1694) since several of the miniatures in the Album are obviously portraits of the Shāh. Of work undisputedly attributed to him only one, the miniature on this Folio, mentions the date and place where it was painted, placed in the border.

A. I.

**Plate 49/ Folio 94 recto**

**The Holy Spirit Descending upon Christ, Mary and Joseph**

Artist: Muḥammad Zamān

Isfahan school

1094 A.H./ 1682-1683 A.D.

14,5 × 21,4 cm

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Attributive signature: "*Completed by the pen of the most worthless Muḥammad Zamān in the course of 14 months. In the months of the year 1094*"

Borders signed (bottom left)

by master decorator: *Muḥammad Bāqir*

This miniature is the work of three different artists: the margins were illuminated by Muḥammad Bāqir (see his signature at the bottom left); the inner frame was drawn by Muḥammad Ṣādiq (see his inscription at the bottom right), and the painting was executed by Muḥammad Zamān, Persian master of the European style. Similar to the other Zamān's paintings discussed within this Album, the model for this miniature was most likely a Flemish engraving, though no prototype has ever been identified. The artist's declaration on how much time was devoted to the creation of this miniature alone is a very interesting detail. (In the history of Persian painting, it is extremely rare to find that a miniature could have taken so long to complete. A likely explanation is that Zamān may well have worked on other paintings at the same time, such as *Hyacinths* (Plate 165/ Folio 82 recto) which is also dated 1094 [1682-1683]. The miniature suffers from surface paint loss.

We know of four miniatures showing Christian subjects (including Plate 52/ Folio 89 recto, below), which gave rise to rather

charming legends about a trip made by Muḥammad Zamān to Rome, his adoption of Christianity there, his return to Iran and flight to India, and his eventual return to Iran. (A meticulous study of the sources regarding Zamān confirms that the stories are mere legends). It was a long time before researchers started to give due attention to the fact that three of the four paintings were done for the Shāh's treasury. It would therefore seem likely that the choice of subject matter was made by someone from the *kitābkhāneh*, if not the Shāh himself.

It seems that the signature of the artist was assembled (when the album was compiled) from fragmented pieces of his handwriting, presumably taken from other miniatures or drawings.

A. I.

**Plate 50/ Folio 94 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1023 A.H./ 1614-15 A.D.; early 17th century

Three specimens: 3 *rubā'ī*

12 lines in all

8,8 × 18,7; 8,8 × 17,9; 9 × 18,6 cm

Signatures: a) "*The humble lowest sinner*

*'Imād al-Mulk al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt. 1023*"

b) "*The humble lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive his sins*"

c) "*The humble sinning slave [of Allah] 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt*"

Borders signed (bottom left) by master

decorator: "*Completed by the slave*

*Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 51/ Folio 89 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: attributed to 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century; 1023 A.H./ 1614-1615

A.D.; 1022 A.H./ 1612-1613 A.D.

Three specimens: 3 *rubā'ī*

12 lines in all

9,3 × 20,1; 9,2 × 18,3; 9,3 × 18,2 cm

Signatures: a) "*The humble lowest sinner*

*‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt. 1010-1019”*

*b) “The humble lowest sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins. 1024”*

*c) “The humble sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him. 1022”*

Borders signed (bottom left) by master

decorator: *“Completed by the slave*

*Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]”*

O. A.

**Plate 52/ Folio 89 recto**

**The Sacrifice of Abraham**

Artist: Muḥammad Zamān

Isfahan school

1096 A.H./ 1684-1685 A.D.

17,7 × 24,9 cm

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Attributive signature: *“The painting is completed. Written by the most worthless of slaves Muḥammad-Zamān. Year 1096”*

Inscription: *“He (God)! For the most noble, most pious, most exalted Governor General and ruler whose retinue includes the heavens”*

Inscription on Abraham’s knife: *“Ibrāhīm, Friend of Allāh”*

Starting in the second half of the 17th century, a major stylistic change occurred in Persian painting. This was due to an increased interest in European painting styles and techniques. A number of Persian artists began to adapt the European techniques, and by the end of the second half of the 17th century, the European style was firmly established, and coexisted side by side with the traditional metropolitan, Isfahan style, initiated by Rīzā-i ‘Abbāsī (died 1044 A.H./ 1635 A.D.). The paintings in the European style executed by the Persian masters included new techniques, such as *chiaroscuro*, and use of perspective devices. From this time on, techniques such as these played an integral part in Persian book miniature painting, and painting in general.

The new style was most brilliantly realised in the works of the famous master of that period, Ḥājji Muḥammad Zamān ibn Ḥājji Yūsuf Qumī, who painted miniatures (no fewer than six) of biblical subjects after Flemish engravings. This miniature depicts the familiar biblical scene of the Sacrifice of Abraham. As Plate 53/ Folio 86 recto, below, by the same artist, the basis for this miniature was an engraving

by Egbert van Panderen after a painting by P. de Jode. This composition continued to thrive in Iran as a subject for painting throughout the 18th and 19th centuries; six paintings after this original are known to exist.

More than thirty miniatures are known to be the work of this painter, including three miniatures painted by him on the blank Folios of the famous *Khamseh* by Niẓāmī kept in the British Library (Or. 2265) which was made for Shāh Tahmasp I in 1539-1543 A.D. Other of his works include copies of European paintings. During the period 1675-1688 A.D., Zamān served at the court of the Safavid Shāh Sulaimān (1077-1105 A.H./ 1666-1694 A.D.). Muḥammad Zamān died in circa 1112 A.H./ 1700 A.D. His brother Muḥammad ‘Ibrāhīm, who occasionally signed his paintings Ḥājji Muḥammad (his brother’s name), and his son Muḥammad ‘Alī, were also well-known painters.

A. I.

**Plate 53/ Folio 86 recto**

**Venus and Cupid**

Artist: Muḥammad Zamān

Isfahan school

1087 A.H./ 1676-1677 A.D.

17,9 × 24,7 cm (original size: 17,9 × 18,8 cm)

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Attributive signature: *“This concludes the writing of the most worthless of slaves Muḥammad Zamān, year 1087”*

Inscription: *“He! By order of the autocratic, the noblest, the most sacred, the loftiest Governor General”*

Painted by Muḥammad Zamān, this miniature, depicting *Venus and Cupid*, was copied from the engraving by the Flemish master R. Sadeler. Muḥammad Zamān altered aspects of the original engraving for this painting; these include the background and the figure of the satyr, which he completely eliminated. Unfortunately without the satyr, the reason for Cupid’s position (with a stick raised threateningly) is lost.

A. I.

**Plate 54/ Folio 86 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ’a*)

*Nasta’liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran



1010 A.H./ 1601-1602 A.D;  
 1012 A.H./ 1603-1604 A.D; 1610s A.D  
 Three specimens: 3 *rubāʿī*, (Sheikh Abī Saʿīd ibn Abī al-Khair, 967-1049 A.D., is credited with authorship of the first)  
 12 lines in all  
 7,7 × 16,1; 8,3 × 15,1; 8,3 × 16,9 cm  
 Signatures: a) "*Written by the lowest sinner, trusting to the mercy of Allah, ʿImād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him. 1010*"  
 b) "*Written by the slave [of Allah] the lowest sinner ʿImād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him. 1012*"  
 c) "*The humble lowest sinner ʿImād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt*"  
 Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: "*Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*"  
 O. A.

**Plate 55/ Folio 91 verso**  
*Nastaʿlīq* (medium size)  
 Calligrapher: ʿImād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Early 17th century; 1009 A.H./ 1600-1601 A.D; early 17th century  
 Three specimens: a *rubāʿī* (attributed to Sheikh Abū Saʿīd); 2 *rubāʿī*  
 (b is a repetition of c)  
 12 lines in all  
 The selection of specimens and the sequence in which they are presented is the same as in Plate 54/ Folio 86 verso.  
 8,1 × 16,7; 7,5 × 16,4; 8,5 × 16,5 cm  
 Signatures: a) "*Written by the humble sinner ʿImād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*"  
 b) "*The humble sinner ʿImād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins. 1009*"  
 c) "*The humble sinner ʿImād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*"  
 Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: "*Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*"  
 O. A.

**Plate 56/ Folio 91 recto**  
**The Holy Family with Attendants**  
 Lucknow school  
 Mid 18th century  
 14 × 16,7 cm  
 Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold on paper

A more light-hearted version of Plate 57/ Folio 90 recto, this miniature departs further from Sadeler's original engraving, although it retains the figure of Saint Joseph. Probably painted by the same artist, who repeats the familiar colour scheme and facial types, the figures here are more animated and have more of a narrative impact. Although the Virgin is intended to look like a proud mother displaying her baby, it looks instead as if she is exchanging him for a platter of pomegranates being offered to her by two figures below. Here we see the same fascination with repeating floral patterns on the textiles. A very similar figure to that of the Virgin Mary reappears in a Shiva temple in Plate 188 Folio 67 recto.  
 G. B.

**Plate 57/ Folio 90 recto**  
**The Holy Family with an Attendant**  
 Lucknow school, copy of an engraving by A. Sadeler  
 Mid 18th century  
 14 × 18,8 cm (original size: 10,7 × 13,7 cm)  
 Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold on paper  
 Borders (bottom, centre) signed by master decorator: "*Muḥammad Bāqir*"

The 18th century witnessed a vigorous revival of European-style pictures with Christian subjects at the court of the Nawābs of Awadh, a powerful province which was home to the greatest painting school in Islamic India at the time. By far the single most popular European model was Aegidius Sadeler's *The Holy Family with Saint Anne and Two Angels* (1593) after a painting by Johann von Aachen, which had probably entered the Mughal collection by the end of the 16th century. Unlike Plate 33/ Folio 88 recto, this is not an overpainting but a free adaptation of the European model, in which Saint Joseph is replaced by a female attendant, and the head of another angel that was originally between the heads of Jesus and Mary has been removed. The muted blacks and greys of the background, and the position and colour of the curtain are reminiscent of Gul Muḥammad's painting in Plate 33/ Folio 88 recto, as is the artist's interest in small repeating floral patterns on the textiles. The attendant on the left is also very close to the figure to the far right in the painting of

‘Ibrāhīm Adham in Plate 90/ Folio 53 *recto*. This same composition was repeated in Lucknow and probably lesser centres into the 19th century.

Literature: for the original engraving, see Hollstein 1980, p. 79.

G. B.

Plate 58/ Folio 90 *verso*

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ’a*)

*Nasta‘līq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran, in the village of Tāḥān

1016 A.H./ 1607-1608 A.D.;

early 17th century

Three specimens: 3 *qiṭ’a* (a, see Plate 59/

Folio 44 *verso*, a; Plate 62/ Folio 46 *verso*, c;

Plate 18/ Folio 57 *verso*, c)

12 lines in all

7,6 × 15,9; 6,8 × 14,9; 7,1 × 14,7 cm

Signatures: a) “*The humble lowest sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt, in the blessed village of Tāḥān in Mazandaran. 1016*”

b) “*The slave [of Allah] the humble ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*”

c) “*Written by the humble sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt*”

Borders signed (bottom left) by master

decorator: “*Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*”

O. A.

Plate 59/ Folio 44 *verso*

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ’a*)

*Nasta‘līq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran, Isfahan

Early 17th century; 1610-1615 A.D.;

1008 A.H./ 1599-1600 A.D.

Three specimens: fragment of a *maṣnavī*; *qiṭ’a* (the calligrapher is the author);

fragment of a *maṣnavī*

12 lines in all

7,8 × 15,3; 7,3 × 14,2; 6,8 × 14,4 cm

Signatures: a) “*The slave [of Allah] ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*”

b) “*In the capital city of Isfahan. The slave [of Allah] the humble sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt*”

c) “*The humble lowest sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt. 1008*”

Borders (bottom, left) signed by master

decorator: “*Completed by the slave*

*Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*”

Plate 60/ Folio 44 *recto*

Top left: *Ascetics by a Fire*

Artist: Payāk

Mughal school

Circa 1625

16,8 × 12,4 cm

Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

Attributive signature: “*Work of Payāk*”

Top right: *Two Courtiers Visit a Hermit*

Artist: Govardhan

Mughal school

Circa 1630

7,3 cm × 4 cm

Watercolour and ink on paper

Attributive signature: “*Work of Govardhan*”

Bottom: *Timiditas*

Painter: attributed to Abū’l-Ḥasan, called Nādir al-Zamān

Mughal school

Circa 1602

16,8 × 12,4 cm

Inscribed at bottom, left: “*The work of Abū’l-Ḥasan, Nādir al-Zamān, the son of Āqā Rīzā*”

Dedication at top, centre: “*The King of Kings, Sultān Salīm Pādshāh*”

Inscription in Latin:

“*Martin de Vos, inventor*”

These superb portraits of holy men (top, right) were painted by two well known Mughal portraitists. The skeletal *sadhu* is shown talking to a pair of spiritually aspiring mortals, by the great Govardhan, who was trained in Akbar’s studios, where already he revealed his abilities as a portraitist and a penchant for a palette of subdued, “smokey” colours, off-whites, and gold. His major works, always sensitively drawn with brushwork recalling clouds or water, were painted for Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān, and probably for Prince Dārā Shikōh, who must have encouraged him to portray holy men.

The picture to which it was seamlessly joined in Iran (top left), is by Payāk, who was influenced by Govardhan, and who was also

trained in Akbar's ateliers. His major work was carried out for Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, for whom he painted extraordinary battle scenes for the *Pādshāhnāma*. Here Payāk has concentrated upon a scraggly ascetic, whose body and face bear traces of long years devoted to spiritual exercises. Gazing upon him with respectful devotion is a less ascetic bearded man. In contrast to the religiously devoted male figures are the dogs seen in the foreground: one eats hungrily from a bowl, the other sleeps peacefully.

Abū al-Ḥasan's superb painting of Sadeler's engraving (bottom) demonstrates that a great artist can transcend another work of art. He has envisioned a black and white print in full colour, so altering its details – from figures to foliage and animals – that it has become a completely different picture. Mughal artists had already begun experimenting piecemeal with European styles as early as the 1560s, when Western engravings first reached the court of the Emperor Akbar in the hands of merchants and foreign visitors. The development of advanced pictorial realism and drama in the art of the European Late Renaissance happened to coincide with a period when the Mughal imperial atelier was seeking these very qualities in their own paintings. Hoping both to secure a permanent source for European art and culture and to satisfy his curiosity about Catholicism, Akbar invited a Jesuit mission to reside at his court at Fatehpur Sikri in 1580. The fathers duly provided a panoply of Flemish, German and Italian engravings of the works of artists such as Dürer, Raphael and Michelangelo, lavishly illustrated printed books from the finest presses of Antwerp, as well as high-quality oil paintings made with express papal order in Rome and Lisbon. The Mughals were not satisfied with an education in connoisseurship, however; through regular public debates and private consultations with the Jesuits, the court acquired an understanding of European philosophy, Catholic ritual and even the latest Counter-Reformation art theory. Owing to fortunate similarities between Catholic and Mughal traditions in both art and thought, this dialogue became one of the most flourishing cultural exchanges ever to take place between East and West.

Not to be outdone by his father Akbar, Prince Salīm (later Emperor Jahāngīr) started his

own art studio at his rival court in Allāhābād between 1599 and 1604, which focused on works in the new European manner. His most talented painter was the brilliant youth Abū al-Ḥasan, later named *Nādir al-Zamān* ("Wonder of the Age"), who made several studies of Western engravings, learning his technique under the tutelage of a Portuguese painter at the Jesuit mission by painting directly over the prints. Using the outlines of the original only as a guide, Abū al-Ḥasan then superimposed a scene whose energy and brilliance are entirely his own; from the vibrant colours to the delicate modelling of the figures and meticulous observation of nature, the artist surpassed his model. The St. Petersburg Album contains two of these exercises, including this one painted over an engraving of *Timiditas* from *The Four Temperaments* by Rafael Sadeler (1560-1628) after a work by the prolific Flemish painter Martin de Vos (1532-1603). Both miniatures are part of a series done by Abū al-Ḥasan in the first years of the 17th century, one of which is dated to 1602-1603.

Although the miniature is painted over the actual print, Abū al-Ḥasan has introduced many features that are not present in the Sadeler print, demonstrating a greater skill in depicting animals and plants than his Flemish counterpart. It is not hard to understand, for example, why a keen naturalist would replace the unidentifiable small-eared rodent in the Sadeler print with this elegant, naturalistic rabbit on the lower right. Abū al-Ḥasan's ornithological enthusiasms probably also account for the replacement of a menacing eagle flying in the sky to the right with a trio of colourful songbirds. An obsession with the scientifically accurate portrayal of nature was the driving force behind the Mughal quest for pictorial realism, and is demonstrated elsewhere in this album in the work of the greatest animal painter of all, Maṣṣūr (Plate 194/ Folio 45 *recto*). The owl in the upper left – which does come from the engraving – as well as the top of the tree, were repeated by the same artist in Plate 61/ Folio 46 *recto*.

Literature: for the original engraving, see *Hollstein* 1980, p. 193; for other paintings in this series by Abū al-Ḥasan, see *Singh* 1971, pl. 35; *Pal* 1991, p. 112, cat. No. 7.

G. B.

**Plate 61/ Folio 46 recto**

Top left: **A Sanyasi**

Artist: attributed to Govardhan

Mughal school

Circa 1630

3,6 × 9,3 cm

Watercolour and gouache on paper

Attributive signature (bottom right):

*“Work of Govardhan”*

Top right: **A Sanyasi**

Artist: Payāk

Mughal school

Circa 1630

Watercolour and gouache on paper

Attributive signature (bottom right):

*“Work of Govardhan”*

Top centre: **Bayāzīd and Jalāl al-Dīn**

Artist: Nānhā

Mughal school

Circa 1620

9 × 9,7 cm

Watercolour and gouache on paper

Attributive signature (bottom, on vessel):

*“Work of Nānhā”*

Inscription (on the knee of the figure

on the right): *“Portrait of Shāh Bayāzīd”*

Inscription (on the clothing of the person

on the left): *“Portrait of Sheikh Jalāl”*

Bottom: **Dialectics**

Artist: attributed to Abū al-Ḥasan,

Nādir al-Zamān

Mughal school, after an engraving

by J. Sadeler

Circa 1615

16,3 × 14,5 cm (original size: 9,5 × 12 cm)

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Attributive note (bottom centre): *“Work*

*of Abū al-Ḥasan, called Nādir al-Zamān*

*[son] Āqā Rīzā”*

Inscriptions in Latin: (a) above the head

of the central figure: *“DIALECTICA;”*

(b) bottom left: *“Ioan Sadler sculp. et excud;”*

(c) bottom right: *“M. de Vos figura”*

Borders (bottom centre) are signed by the

master decorator: *“The lowest of the low*

*Muḥammad Bāqir”*

The portrait (top left) of a pilgrim holding a container of water is by the great Govardhan (see Plate 60/ Folio 44 recto), who has tintured this good simple man with compelling monumentality. To the right is Payāk's portrayal of a courtly old *sadhu*, resembling a

baroque saint, wrapped in shawls. Evidently Payāk greatly admired this subject and has treated it here with a great deal of sensitivity. This characteristic is also evident in his other intimate portraits of similar subjects. The pictures included in this Folio appear to have been made less for imperial albums than for the artist's satisfaction, and the persons depicted therein. Like many of Payāk's and Govardhan's Rembrandtesque portraits, the figures shown here provide the viewer with a memorable impression. Nānhā, who painted the fine study of two holy men conversing (top, centre) flourished during the reign of Akbar and was fortunate enough to have been chosen by Jahāngīr when he took power in 1605, to remain working for the imperial studio. Nānhā's style continued to develop under Jahāngīr's patronage. The present picture of the two ascetics is a fine example of Nānhā's ability to present his figures as both cerebral and self-denying, while retaining vestiges of aristocratic bearing. The figure to the far right, for example wears his shawl with great courtly elegance.

During this period, Prince Salim (later Emperor Jahāngīr), ordered his painters to perfect the naturalistic style of the European Late Renaissance, first by painting over or tracing engravings, and then by producing original works in Western style. Like his father Akbar, Jahāngīr also had a serious interest in Christianity – and Catholicism in particular – and after he was crowned Emperor he had his palaces, royal gardens and even tombs painted extensively with mural paintings depicting Jesus, Mary and other Christian saints – even ones that had no role in Islamic tradition. One of Jahāngīr's intentions in having royal buildings decorated with holy icons was to proclaim his divine right to kingship. Like Plate 60/ Folio 44 recto, this miniature (bottom) is also painted over an engraving, this time a *Dialectica* from *The Seven Liberal Arts* by the Flemish printer Jan Sadeler (1550-1600) after a design by his countryman Martin de Vos (1532-1603).

The artist has applied bright, opaque colours over the original engraving, even going so far as to retrace the Latin inscriptions in black paint. The perimeters of the print can be detected by a slight discoloration in the blue

paint of the background. Abū al-Ḥasan enlarged the picture at the top and to each side, drawing upon other Flemish prints for inspiration. The owl and upper part of the tree, for example, come from Rafael Sadeler's *Timiditas* (Plate 60/ Folio 44 *recto*). The half-timbered houses in the upper left are repeated (crudely) by a much later hand in Plate 45/ Folio 50 *recto* of this same album. Despite the mechanical nature of this method of painting, which was also used by European apprentices at that time, the artist demonstrates a great subtlety in colouring and shading, and shows the beginnings of his eventual mastery of the new style.

Literature: for the original engraving, see Hollstein 1980, p. 172

G. B.

**Plate 62/ Folio 46 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran, Qāzvin

Early 17th century;

1016 A.H./ 1607-1608 A.D.

Three specimens: *qiṭ'a*, *rubā'i* and *qiṭ'a*

(see Plate 59/ Folio 44 *verso*, a)

12 lines in all

7,5 × 14,9; 7,3 × 15,3; 6,1 × 15,2 cm

Signatures: a) "*The slave [of Allah] the sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt*"

b) "*The slave [of Allah] the humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*"

c) "*In the capital city of Qāzvin. The humble poorest of men 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins. 1016*"

Borders signed (bottom left) by master

decorator: "*Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 63/ Folio 29 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

End 16th century; 1006 A.H./

1597-98 A.D.; 1016 A.H./ 1607-11608 A.D.

Three specimens: 3 *rubā'i* (b is in a Turkish language, see Plate 153/ Folio 3 *verso*, b)

12 lines in all

7,1 × 14; 7,5 × 15; 7,1 × 15,8 cm

Signatures: a) "*The humble 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*"

b) "*The humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him. 1006*"

c) "*This was written by slave [of Allah] the humble lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] have mercy on him, in the months of 1016*"

Borders (bottom, left) signed by master

decorator: "*Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 64/ Folio 29 recto**

**Shāh Jahān**

Mughal school, enlarged in Iran

Circa 1645

12,3 × 17,2 cm (original size: 11,2 × 17,2 cm)

Watercolour, gold and ink on paper

Borders (bottom centre) signed by master decorator: "*Muḥammad Bāqir*"

This well-finished portrait depicts an ageing Shāh Jahān: his moustache is still dark, but his beard and hair are greying. Although the image of Shāh Jahān is stiff in pose, the miniature itself is of fine quality. It is possible that the figure was traced from a painting by Hāshim, a major court artist. The pigeons, seen above and below Shāh Jahān have interesting and delightful details. Originally a Mughal decorative source, pigeons were adapted by and often used in the pictures of Iranian artists.

Pigeons were commonly used in sporting games of the Mughals, who bred and kept them on rooftops or towers, and even went as far as staging raids on neighbouring flocks to enlarge their own. Ironically Bābur's father, an illustrious pigeon fancier, was killed when he fell from such a tower.

S. C. W.

**Plate 65/ Folio 26 recto**

**Mughal Nobleman Resembling**

**Shāh Jahān**

Mughal school

Mid 17th century

12,4 × 17,2 cm.

Watercolour, gold and ink on paper

In Shāh Jahān's India, his appearance was

emulated at court by a “double”, as seems to be the case with this particular portrait. Inasmuch as this portrait lacks both the halo and the ruler’s precise mien, many Mughal art scholars reject his identification as Shāh Jahān. ‘Above and below the portrait are pleasing rows of birds, probably removed from a mid 17th century imperial border.

S. C. W.

**Plate 66/ Folio 26 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)

*Nastaʿliq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th century – early 17th century;

1020 A.H./ 1611-1612 A.D.;

late 16th century – early 17th century

Three specimens: 3 *rubāʿī*; ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

is the author of a (see Plate 67/

Folio 18 verso, a); Mīr ‘Alī Haravī

is the author of c.

12 lines in all

7,4 × 16,9; 8,2 × 16,4; 9,3 × 17,9 cm

Signatures: a) “*The sinning slave ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī al-Sayfī al-Qāzvinī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*”

b) “*The humble lowest sinner, trusting in [Allah], ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him. 1020*”

c) “*The humble lowest sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt*”. ‘Above this phrase there is a note: “*Ustād Mīr ‘Alī composed this, may [Allah] have mercy on him*”.

Borders signed (bottom left) by master

decorator: “*Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 67/ Folio 18 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)

*Nastaʿliq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century;

1012 A.H./ 1603-1604 A.D.

Three specimens: 3 *rubāʿī* (the calligrapher is the author); fragment of a *ghazal*; a *rubāʿī* by Jāmī (1414-1492 A.D.)

12 lines in all

7,9 × 18; 9,3 × 17,9; 9,3 × 17,6 cm

Signatures: a) “*The humble lowest sinner*

“*Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive him*”

b) “*The humble sinner, ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*”

c) “*This was written by the humble sinner the slave [of Allah] ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, trusting in Allah, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt 1012*”

Borders signed (bottom left) by master

decorator: “*Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 68/ Folio 18 recto**

**Shāh Jahān (Khurrām) Meeting**

**with the Prophet Khizr**

Mughal school

Circa 1615-1620

16,5 × 27,6 cm

(original size: 16,4 × 20,6 cm)

The background and upper part of the picture were added in Mughal style in Iran, probably by Muḥammad Bāqir, who signed the borders Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

The borders (bottom, left) contain the inscription: “*After ‘Alī Bāqir was the most noble*”

For a Mughal, few experiences could equal envisioning Khizr, the mysterious companion of Moses. Of the Prophets [the others include Idris, Ilyas, and Jesus] he was the only one to be lifted up to heaven alive. A guide to mystics and travellers, Khizr is associated with water and with the mystical (*ṣūfī*) path. To the blessed, he can bestow not only the *khirqā*, or “rag” (the coarse woollen robe of the mystic) but immortality. In this miniature, however, he offers young, moustached but beardless Prince Khurrām (Shāh Jahān) an object, or objects, of red and off-white, perhaps rubies and pearls. Khizr is always shown wearing green. Although this painting has been enlarged and enriched, presumably by ubiquitous and prolific Muḥammad Bāqir, the figures are of excellent quality, perhaps attributable to one of the leading court artists.

S. C. W.

**Plate 69/ Folio 33 recto**

**Shāh Jahān Receives the Elixir of Life from the Prophet Khizr**

Artist: Bal Chand

1625-1630

27,5 × 17 cm (original size: 18,3 × 11,7 cm)  
 Watercolour, gouache and gold on paper  
 Attributive signature: "Painted by Bal Chand"  
 Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: "Muḥammad Bāqir"  
 Courtesy of the Museum of the History of Religion, St. Petersburg M-7992/VII *recto*

Shāh Jahān victorious and haloed is depicted standing on the back of a white stallion which has waded into the water. The Emperor faces Khizr who stands in the water dressed in his traditional green robes presents Shāh Jahān with a bowl containing the Elixir of life (see also Plate 119, Folio 30 *recto*). Beneath the Emperor and to his left we can admire a small vessel designed in the European style. The miniature was greatly extended at the time of its inclusion in this Album, with the addition, for example of the clouds and two birds, and to the left, depicting three trees in blossom.

A. I./ O. A.

Plate 70/ Folio 33 *verso*  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (large, medium and small)  
 Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Late 16th century; early 17th century;  
 1018 A.H./ 1609-1610 A.D.  
 Three specimens: exercises (*māshq*); 2 *rubā'i*  
 12 lines in all  
 10,5 × 18,8; 20,2 × 9,5; 20,2 × 9 cm  
 Signatures: a) "The humble 'Imād wrote this as a practice exercise (*mashaqahu*)"  
 b) "The humble lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may Allah forgive his sins"  
 c) "The slave [of Allah] sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may Allah forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt. In the year 1018 [1609-1610 A.D.]"

Courtesy of the Museum of the History of Religion, St. Petersburg M-7992/VII *verso*

O. A.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

Plate 71/ Folio 48 *recto*  
 Sages Converse  
 Mughal school; Isfahan  
 Circa 1635; 18th century, after a print by R. Sadeler of a work by Paul Brill

18,9 × 24,3 cm (original size: 14,5 × 22,3 cm)  
 Watercolour, gouache and silver on paper  
 Inscriptions next to corresponding figure: "Nizāmī, his holiness Mu'in al-Dīn, Shāh Sharaf, Quṭb al-Dīn, Sheikh Farīd"  
 Borders (bottom) are signed by the master decorator: "Lowest of the low Muḥammad Bāqir"

Similar to a staged picture against a painted European backdrop taken in a photographer's studio, the presentation of these Mughal sages seems to challenge both space and time. This effect has been created by the magic of two artists, one a Mughal of circa 1635, the other an 18th century Iranian inspired by a Netherlandish print. Images of sages conversing was a popular painting subject in 17th century Mughal India. It was common practice for sages to meet to exchange thoughts and ideas, and they were greatly encouraged to do so by members of the Imperial family, some of whom participated in the wisemen's discussions, as well as have them painted. The identification of the sages has been possible only through the assistance of Ellen Smart, Robert Skelton, Wheeler Thackston, and Gauvin Bailey.

Upper left: Mu'in al-Dīn Chishtī, who died in 1236 A.D.; beside him is a manuscript inscribed "Sheikh Farīd" (another book, in the central foreground, is inscribed "Mu'in al-Dīn Chishtī").

Middle left: his *khalīfa* (spiritual master), Quṭb al-Dīn, who died in 1210.

Lower left: Bābā Farīd (Sheikh Farīd Bukhārī), who was active in 1650.

Upper right: 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī, founder of the *Qādiriyya Ṣūfī* order (or, Ḥaẓrat 'Izz al-Dīn, according to W. Thackston) (the book to his left inscribed, "Shāh Sharaf").

Middle right: 'Abd 'Alī Qalandar of Panipat.

Lower right: Nizām al-Dīn.

The likeness of 'Abd 'Alī Qalandar of Panipat was copied or traced from an engraving by R. Sadeler after J. Rottenhammer. A similar bearded face, appears in Plate 41/ Folio 52 *recto*. Not surprisingly, Mughal artists selectively borrowed motifs, choosing elements according to their needs. Joseph, in Sadeler's engraving, conveniently resembles a bearded Indian ascetic. Perhaps because it has been so extensively reworked, this miniature contains areas of uneven quality.

Literature: for the head of Joseph from an R. Sadeler print, see Goetz, *Kühnel* 1926, p. 54

S. C. W.

**Plate 72/ Folio 48 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century

Three specimens: a *rubā'i* (see Plate 73/ Folio 49 verso, a); a *qiṭ'a* (the author is 'Ibn-i Yamīn, d. 1368 A.D.); a *qiṭ'a*

12 lines in all

6 × 13,4; 6,6 × 14; 7 × 15,2 cm

Signatures: a) "Written by the slave [of Allah] the sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive him"

b) "The humblest lowest sinner, 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt"

Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: "Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 73/ Folio 49 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1590s; 1005 A.H./ 1596-1597 A.D.

Three specimens: a *rubā'i* (see Plate 72/ Folio 48 verso, a); two identical fragments of a *maṣnavī*

12 lines in all

6,9 × 15; 7,1 × 14,9; 6,5 × 13,6 cm

Signatures: a) "The humble lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive his sins"

b) "The humble sinner, 'Imād al-Ḥasanī"

c) "The humble 'Imād al-Ḥasanī. 1005"

Borders (bottom left) signed by master decorator: "Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 74/ Folio 49 recto**

**Spiritual Conversation**

Mughal school,

Mid 17th century

13,2 × 24,2 cm (original size: 13,2 × 20,2 cm)

Watercolour, ink and silver on paper

The margins (bottom, centre) are signed by

the master decorator: "Lowest of the low Muḥammad Bāqir"

In Mughal India, spiritual and temporal matters often met. Sheikh Farīd, seen as a younger sage in Plate 71/ Folio 48 recto, faces Sheikh Miān Mīr of Lahore (died 1635), the spiritual guide of Mullā Shāh Badakhshānī, who was the preceptor of Prince Dārā Shikōh, seated at the lower right of the painting. In June, 1651, Shāh Jahān visited the mosque built in Kashmir in his honour, erected with funds supplied by Princess Jahānārā Begam. "On this occasion", according to the *Shāhjahānnāma*, "Mullā Shāh enjoyed the company of His Majesty's society; and the attendants of Her Royal Highness presented him with a very valuable diamond on behalf of her noble self". Well begun, but not easy to admire, this picture has suffered from extensive, well intentioned repainting in Iran.

Literature: for the account of Mullā Shāh's mosque, see Begley, *Desai* 1990, p. 458.

S. C. W.

**Plate 75/ Folio 51 recto**

**Sages Beneath a Tree**

Artist: attributed to Govardhan

Mughal school, upper part of tree and sky repainted at Isfahan

Circa 1630-1640

13 × 24,1 cm (original size: 13 × 18,5 cm)

Watercolour, gouache and silver on paper

Inscription: "Sheikh Farīd"

Govardhan, to whom we assign this miniature, often and brilliantly painted holy men. Several particularly profound studies of this genre are attributed to him or assignable to him on stylistic grounds. Some of them depict the spiritual circle in Kashmir generously maintained by the imperial family, especially by Prince Dārā Shikōh. Among them were Mullā Shāh and Miān Mīr, both of whom appear in Plate 74/ Folio 49 recto, above. Here, we recognise Sheikh Farīd of Bukhara (upper right), author of *Dhakhīra al-Qawānīn*. He sits with familiar but unidentified spiritual colleagues. Poses, deeply expressive faces, colours, delicately sensitive thin-fingered hands, tree, flowers, and still life all support the attribution of this superb, contemplative picture to Govardhan.



Literature: Welch S. C. 1985, nos. 158-160, pp. 240-45.

S. C. W.

**Plate 76/ Folio 51 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)

*Nastaʿliq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ʿImād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century

Three specimens: a *rubāʿī*; a *rubāʿī*, a *qiṭʿa*.

12 lines in all

8,6 × 17,8; 8,1 × 17,3; 7,8 × 16,8 cm

Signatures: a) “*This was written by the lowest slave of [Allah] ʿImād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive him*”

b) “*The humble lowest sinner ʿImād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him, in the capital city of ...*”

c) “*The humble lowest sinner ʿImād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*”

Borders signed (bottom left) by master

decorator: “*Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 77/ Folio 42 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)

*Nastaʿliq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ʿImād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century

Three specimens: two fragments of a *maṣnavī* and a *qiṭʿa*

12 lines in all

8,4 × 17,3; 8,9 × 18; 8,4 × 16,8 cm

Signatures: a) “*This was written as a practice exercise by the slave [of Allah] ʿImād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive him*”

b) “*The humble lowest sinner, ʿImād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*”

c) “*The humble sinner ʿImād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*”

Borders signed (bottom left) by master

decorator: “*Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 78/ Folio 42 recto**

**Horseman**

Isfahan school

Second half 17th century

19,1 × 26,4 cm (original size: 19,1 × 18 cm)

Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

In an early edition of the *St. Petersburg Muraqqaʿ*, this miniature was attributed to ʿAlī Qulī Beg Jabbādār based on the handling of the chiaroscuro in the figure of the horse, which is comparable to his use of chiaroscuro in another of his paintings. It is the treatment of the rider’s features that indicates that this picture may not, in fact, be the work of ʿAlī Qulī Beg. It may be, on the other hand, the work of an unidentified master who belonged to the Isfahan school, and who had apparently absorbed the European school of painting. Looking at the turban, we can suppose that the subject is a Central Asian Khān, for the turban has an egret plume (sign of rank) attached to it.

A. I.

**Plate 79/ Folio 36 recto**

**Shāh ʿAbbās I Ṣafavī as Falconer**

Artist: Vishnū Dās (Bishan Dās)

Mughal school

Circa 1615

19,5 × 26,2 cm (original size: 15,5 × 21,5 cm)

Watercolour, gouache and gold on paper

Attributive signature (bottom in extension):

“*Executed by Vishnū Dās*”

Explanatory note (top left in extension):

“*Portrait of Shāh ʿAbbās*”

Jahāngīr referred to Shāh ʿAbbās I (reigned 1587-1629), the powerful ruler and discerning patron of Safavid Iran as “my little brother”. Between these two powerful equals, feelings were complex and ambiguous. On the one hand, each admired what he knew of the other; on the other hand, they were bitter rivals over Qandahār, a major fort and trading centre which Jahāngīr considered to be part of the Mughal homelands. Eager to ease the tension, and if possible to gain control of the contested fort, city, and lands by diplomacy, Jahāngīr sent a vast embassy to the Safavid court, which included the artist Vishnū Dās (commonly known as Bishan Dās). It arrived in *The Year of the Horse* [1027 A.H./ 1617-1618 A.D.]. Claiming that he was busy, the Shāh kept Khān Ālam, the ambassador, and his entourage waiting. At last, however, he received them, but not in Isfahan his capital. Instead, the encounter was at Qāzvīn, on the polo field. For the grand occasion, the Mughals were formally attired: in contrast

Shāh ‘Abbās turned up directly from archery practice and polo, wearing casual athletic attire. After formally greeting the embassy he permitted Vishnū Dās to draw him from life. Two sketches have survived, one formal, the other animatedly candid, revealing not only the Shāh’s royal presence, captivating smile, and bright eyes but his cauliflower ear, beak-like nose, scraggly moustache, scrawny neck, and hollow chest. From these drawings, or ones like them, Vishnū Dās painted several portraits of the Iranian ruler. From these sketches, Abū’l Ḥasan painted for Jahāngīr the astonishing portrait of the mighty Indian Emperor befriending the feeble, almost pitiful Shāh. Together, they have mounted a globe of the world, upon which Jahāngīr’s footing is infinitely more secure. Once in the *St. Petersburg Muraqqa’*, this wish-fulfilling – and comical – allegory is now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (see Plate 204, below).

The present picture offers a convincing and appealing characterisation of the Shāh, whose ungloved hand is hennaed. It was based upon a sketch – or sketches – in which the Shāh’s ill-favoured features were suppressed. When Vishnū Dās returned to India, Jahāngīr was so pleased with his work that he presented him with an elephant.

Literature: for the Freer portrait of Jahāngīr with his “little brother”, see *Ettinghausen* 1961, pl. 12.

S. C. W.

**Plate 80/ Folio 36 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ’a*)

*Nasta’liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century;

1012 A.H./ 1603-1604 A. D.; early 17th century

Three specimens: 2 *rubā’i* and a *qiṭ’a*

12 lines in all

8,2 × 19,5; 8,2 × 17; 7,5 × 17 cm

Signatures: a) “*The humble lowest sinner, ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive his sins*”

b) “*The humble lowest sinner, ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt. 1012*”

c) “*The slave, the humble, lowest sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*”

Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: “*Completed by the pen of Ḥādī. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 81/ Folio 95 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ’a*)

*Nasta’liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century

Three specimens: two *rubā’i* and a fragment of a *mašnavī*. All the signatures are mounted under the specimens.

12 lines in all

9,1 × 19,2; 7,8 × 17,2; 7,3 × 17,3 cm

Signatures: a) “*The humble lowest sinner*

‘*Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive his sins*”

b) “*The humble lowest sinner, ‘Imād al-Mulk al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*”

c) “*The humble sinning slave [of Allah] ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*”

Borders (bottom, left) signed by master decorator: “*Completed by the slave*

*Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 82/ Folio 95 recto**

**A Hero on Horseback Fighting a Dragon**

Artist: attributed to Muḥammad Zamān

Isfahan school

Second half of the 17th century

16,5 × 23,6 cm

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Signature: “*Written by Ḥājjī Muḥammad*”

It is highly plausible that this miniature is based on the well-known subject, *Saint George Killing the Dragon* (a comparison of this miniature to various European works of art with the same iconography confirms such a statement).

Although the inscription gives and cites the name of another painter, Ḥājjī Muḥammad, brother of Muḥammad Zamān, an attribution to the former would be erroneous, especially in light of the following information (gathered during examination of the work): The cartouche containing Ḥājjī Muḥammad’s name was *superimposed* over two erased lines, the outlines of which are clearly visible around the name. In all probability, the cartouche was added when the album was assembled.

Regardless, the painting is unquestionably the work of Muḥammad Zamān. One need only to compare this miniature with Zamān's signed illustration to *The Khamsa* of Niẓāmī, *Bahrām Gūr Kills the Dragon*, preserved in the British Library (Or. 2265, Folio 203b). Similarities include compositional elements – a large tree in the foreground and a smaller broken one, nearby – types of vegetation – tree bark and leaves – and the two dragons' heads. A barely legible word at the end of the second line may represent the end of the official epithet for the Shāh, *heavens in [his] retinue* (compare the signature of Muḥammad Zamān on the miniature *Sacrifice of Abraham*, Plate 52/ Folio 89 recto). The miniature may therefore have been commissioned by the Shāh.

Literature: Pope 1938-39, Vol. 5, Pl. 925 b.

A. I.

**Plate 83/ Folio 9 recto**

**Jahāngīr Pierces a Lioness with an Arrow**

Artist: Manohar Dās

Mughal school, outer edges enlarged in Iran  
Circa 1600-1605

Signature (bottom right) in rectangular cartouche: "*The work of Manohar Dās*"

Annotation: "*Portrait of Shāh Salīm, known as Jahāngīr*"

16,2 × 23,5 cm (original size: 14 × 20,3 cm)

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Like his father, Jahāngīr vacillated on the topic of hunting. In his candidly intimate Memoirs (*Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*), his views of hunting range from boastfulness to contriteness, although he never achieved the vision of renouncement experienced by Akbar. In this portrait, painted by his official portraitist, Manohar Dās (whose name is often given merely as Manohar), Jahāngīr the embodiment of all goodness, defeats a lioness. This feline embodiment of evil is a motif of royal symbolism that can be traced back to ancient Assyrian reliefs. The setting – somewhat enhanced in the foreground by an 18th century Iranian admirer – recalls especially fine landscapes painted at Lahore during the later years of the 16th century, when the youthful crown prince visited his father's busy and crowded ateliers. Already a lover of art, he learned from and guided the artists. During these years, he met his contemporary, young

Manohar, son of Baṣwan, who could be considered the Akbar of Mughal painters. Thus began a long relationship between artist and patron.

Literature: for Jahāngīr the hunter, see *Beveridge, Rogers 1909-1914*, vol. 1, pp. 45, 83, 120-21, 125, 130, 191, 202, 204, 234, 248, 275, 342, 344, 309.

S. C. W.

**Plate 84/ Folio 9 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century

Three specimens: a fragment of a *mašnavī*, a *rubā'ī*, a *beit* and a *fard* (line); a fragment of a *ghazal*

15 lines in all

7,2 × 20; 8,3 × 18,4; 8,6 × 18,6 cm

Signatures: a) "*The humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt*"

b) "*The sinning slave, 'Imād al-Mulk al-Ḥasanī*"

Borders (bottom left) signed by master decorator: "*Completed by the pen of Ḥādī. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 85/ Folio 59 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century

Three specimens: two *rubā'ī* and a fragment of a *mašnavī*. All the signatures are mounted under the specimens.

12 lines in all

9,1 × 19,2; 7,8 × 17,2; 7,3 × 17,3 cm

Signatures: a) "*The humble lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive his sins*"

b) "*The humble lowest sinner, 'Imād al-Mulk al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*"

c) "*The humble sinning slave [of Allah] 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*"

Borders (bottom, left) signed by master decorator: "*Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 86/ Folio 59 recto**

**Top: Youth with Teachers**

Artist: Attributed to Payāk

Mughal school

Circa 1635

12,7 × 6,5 cm

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

**Bottom: A Haloed Prince Bestowing Alms**

Mughal school

Mid 17th century

12,5 × 14,5 cm

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

*Youth with Teachers* celebrates the excellence of princely Mughal education. If we interpret the scene correctly, the fortunate pupil is privileged to listen to a contretemps between two sages, while a third, right, listens with fascination. Next to the indulged youth, we suspect, sits his proud father, apparently pleased to have established such an admirable private school. Although this painting shows Mughal life, it and its companion [Plate 87/ Folio 70 recto, top] might have illustrated a manuscript such as the *Gulistān* of Sa'dī, the 13th century Shirazi poet whose moral tales are as witty as they are instructive. The fortunate young man's father's profile, as well as those of the other older men, bring to mind comparable personages painted by Payāk. See, above, Plate 60/ Folio 44 recto and Plate 45/ Folio 50 recto.

The excellent lower picture is puzzling. Well painted, probably attributable to one of Shāh Jahān's court artists, it clearly shows bags of money being presented by a prince Murād Bakhsh (1624-61) to a crowd that includes holy men, sages, a priest, fops, and a Safavid. Robert Skelton has suggested that it might depict Joseph being sold to his brothers.

S. C. W.

**Plate 87/ Folio 70 recto**

**Top: A Poetry Reading**

Artist: attributed to Payāk

Mughal school

Circa 1630

12,3 × 11,5 cm

Watercolour, ink, gold and silver on paper

**Bottom: Feast in a Garden**

Mughal school

Circa 1630

12,5 × 14,5 cm (original size: 11,5 × 15,2 cm)

Watercolour, ink, gold and silver on paper

We have already met the literary youth at a *mushā'ira* (poetry competition) in Plate 86/ Folio 59 recto, above. Both pictures were probably painted by the same artist and removed from the same manuscript. The bespectacled graybeard reading from a book appears to have moved the youth and the older listener, left, who raises his right hand appreciatively. The artist not only expressed the mood of this highly civilised gathering, but carefully noted what the guests wore, ate and drank, and where and how they sat. Wheeler Thackston has described this picture and its companion (Plate 86/ Folio 59 recto) as representing "the complete prince", so suitable and balanced are his activities. Perhaps also from the same source, but by a different artist, is the garden party, below. Different in spirit, the mild drama consists of the central princely figure whispering to a slightly older man towards whom he turns assertively. Again, food and drink are of concern. An elegant butler (*khidmatgar*) arranges food in the left foreground, while a falconer, to the right, awaits orders. Will the falcon kill one of the ducks near the pond? And what does the dour eunuch, standing nearby, right, think of these goings on? Robert Skelton has suggested that the artist was a Persian working in Kashmir, a noted centre of the arts from which disappointingly few 17th century paintings have emerged. Although the characterisations in Plate 86/ Folio 59 recto are closer to those we associate with Payāk, this might also be his work as an illustrator. His portraiture, of course, is quite different, and usually comes closer to the heart.

S. C. W.

**Plate 88/ Folio 70 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century; circa 1610 A.D.;

1009 A.H./ 1600-1601 A.D.

Three specimens: *qiṭ'a* (see Plate 89/ Folio 53 verso, a); two *beits* (see Plate 117/ Folio 10 verso, b; Plate 158/ Folio 20 verso, a; Plate 89/ Folio 53 verso, b), and a *rubā'ī* (by Jāmī, d. 1492). The composition

of the specimens in the margin is a repetition of Plate 89/ Folio 53 *verso*.

12 lines in all

8,4 × 19; 9,5 × 18,5; 8,4 × 18,4 cm

Signatures: *a*) "The humble lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive his sins"  
*c*) "This was written by the slave [of Allah] the sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him from guilt. 1009"

The outline of the stamp of the previous owner, with the date 1141 A.H. [1728-1729 A.D.], can be discerned on specimen *b*.

Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: "Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1160 [1747 A.D.]"

O. A.

#### Plate 89/ Folio 53 *verso*

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

Nasta'liq (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century

Three specimens: two *rubā'ī* and a fragment of a *maṣnavī*. All the signatures are mounted under the specimens.

12 lines in all

9,1 × 19,2; 7,8 × 17,2; 7,3 × 17,3 cm

Signatures: *a*) "The humble lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive his sins"  
*b*) "The humble lowest sinner, 'Imād al-Mulk al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him"  
*c*) "The humble sinning slave [of Allah] 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins"  
Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: "Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]"

O. A.

#### Plate 90/ Folio 53 *recto*

Top left: The Madonna Praying before the Crucifix

Artist: attributed to Manohar Dās

Mughal school

Circa 1590-1595

6 × 8 cm (original size: 6 × 7,2 cm)

Watercolour and gold on paper

Attributive signature (on the pedestal, left side): "The work of the master Manohar"

Top right: The Madonna of Saint Luke

Artist: school of Manohar Dās

Mughal school

Circa 1590-1595

3,7 × 7,3 cm (original size: 2,8 × 5,8 cm)

Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

Bottom: 'Ibrāhīm ibn Adham and Angels

Lucknow or Murshidabad

Mid 18th century

14,8 × 19,5 cm

Watercolour on paper

This painting (top left) is one of a series of Madonnas executed by the Mughal artist Manohar (flourished circa 1582-circa 1620), who along with his father Baṣwan (flourished circa 1560-circa 1600) was fascinated with the theme of women and religion. Manohar's figure is an amalgam of several important icons of the Madonna that were brought to Akbar's court by the Jesuits, both in the form of large-scale altarpieces in oils and engravings. This particular figure derives most closely from an engraving of the *Nativity* by Jerome Wierix (1573), which inspired another work of Manohar's in Berlin, and which is repeated in a painting in the Institut Néerlandais in Paris and a marginal painting in the former Gulistan Library in Tehran. The crucifix is taken from the Small Passion of Dürer. Succeeding Kesū Dās as Akbar's chief specialist in the European style after 1595, Manohar also directed the production of a lavish series of illustrations to accompany the Persian-language Christian texts written for Akbar and Jahāngīr by the Jesuit missionary Jerome Xavier (1549-1617). Although inspired by Western engravings, Manohar is much more independent of his model than the young Abū'l-Ḥasan, and appears never to have painted directly over engravings. The architectural frame and part of the background are later work.

This is an exact copy (top right) in miniature of a life-sized oil painting of the miraculous Byzantine *Virgin of Saint Luke* in the Borghese Chapel at the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. Copied more often by Mughal painters than any other image of the Virgin, this icon was also the favourite of the Jesuit missions worldwide. With the express permission of Pope Pius V, the Jesuits produced innumerable copies of this Madonna beginning in 1569 for their overseas missions, and it soon became the most widely circulated picture in the world, ending up in places as far-

flung as Paraguay, Brazil, Peru, Mexico, Persia, India, Macau, China, Japan and the Philippines by the middle of the next century. Indigenous artists from around the world copied and were inspired by this painting, especially in China and Japan. Through the catalyst of this and similar images the Jesuits made the diverse peoples of the world conscious of their essential artistic solidarity for the first time in history. Manohar was especially struck by this image and painted several other versions, including one in the Institut Néerlandais in Paris, and the Mughal atelier made a rare large statue after one of his designs in white marble in circa 1595-1600.

The subject of this miniature (bottom) is the early *Sūfī* mystic ‘Ibrāhīm ibn Adham (died 776-777), who along with his female counterpart Bībī Rabī‘a Baṣru enjoyed great popularity at the 18th-century court of the Nawābs of Awadh (Oudh), nominal vassals of the Mughal Emperor. In a striking instance of the multivocality of images, Mughal painters chose to illustrate both of these figures using Christian models. This picture is a hybridisation of two engraved illustrations by Adrien Collaert from Jerome Nadal’s magnificent life of Christ, the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (Antwerp, 1593). A Jesuit “poor-man’s bible”, with no less than 153 lavish engravings by the cream of the Antwerp printers, this work had a powerful impact on imperial Mughal painting after 1595. The figure of ‘Ibrāhīm Adham and his setting come from *The Demon Tempts Christ in the Wilderness* (pl. 12) while the angels on the ground and in the air are from *Angels Minister to Christ* (pl. 14). Like the Saint Luke’s Madonna above it, this miniature is another testament to the universality of Jesuit-sponsored art; in an astonishing coincidence, the very same two images from Nadal’s book were combined by a Chinese artist in a wood engraving published in Foochow in 1635-1637. A very similar, although reversed, version of this painting is in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (M.458 f.32). The figure of the angel to the far right is repeated in Plate 57/ Folio 90 *recto* of this album in a scene of *The Holy Family*.

#### Literature:

Top left: for the original engraving, see *Mauquoy-Hendrickx* 1982, 2184b; the Berlin

miniature by Manohar is published in *Kühnel* 1922, p. 141; the Paris version is in *Okada* 1989, p. 197, cat. 58; the Tehran version is published in *Goetz* 1957, pl. X.

Top right for similar miniatures, see *Okada* 1989, p. 195, cat. 57; and for the statue, see *Bailey* 1993, p. 133, fig. 11.

Bottom, for the original engraving, see *Mauquoy-Hendrickx* 1982, Cat. Nos. 2003 and 2005.

Main picture; for similar paintings see *Kühnel* 1922, p. 140; *Loewenstein* 1939, pp. 466-69; *Khieri* 1920, p. 28; *Ettinghausen* 1961, p. 19; *Falk, Archer* 1981, cat. 367.

For the Chinese version, see *Sullivan* 1989, fig. 31.

G. B.

#### Plate 91/ Folio 19 *recto*

Top left: **Old Woman**

Artists: signed by Abū’l Ḥasan, Nādir al-Zamān

Mughal school

Circa 1610

5,5 × 7,2 cm (original size: 2,7 × 4,2 cm)

Watercolour and gouache on paper

Top right: **Old Man**

Artists: signed by Abū’l Ḥasan, Nādir al-Zamān

Mughal school

Circa 1610

2 × 4.5 cm

Watercolour and gouache on paper

Attributive note on column: “*Work of Nādir al-Zamān*”

Bottom: **Jahāngīr and Khurrām Conversing with Sages**

Mughal school

Circa 1625

14,5 × 19,2 cm (original size: 9,5 × 12,3 cm)

Abū’l Ḥasan, who painted the stooped and bent old people here, was the artist most admired by Jahāngīr. In 1618, he wrote in his *Tuzūk* (Memoirs): “On this day Abū’l Ḥasan, the painter, who has been honoured with the title *Nādir al-Zamān* (“Wonder of the Age”), drew the picture of my accession (probably Plate 176/ Folio 21 *recto* below) as the frontispiece to the *Jahāngīrnāma* (“The story of Jahāngīr”), and brought it to me. As it was worthy of all praise, he received endless

favours. His work was perfect, and his picture was one of the chefs-d'œuvres of the age. At the present time he has no rival or equal.” Abū’l Ḥasan, who was one of the “house-born”, reared under the imperial eye, was one of the world’s great painters, capable of painting profound and accurate portraits, bird and animal studies, historical compositions, and of depicting other works of art – such as European prints – so that they gained in vitality and brilliance (see Plate 60/ Folio 44 *recto* and Plate 61/ Folio 46 *recto*). This depiction of a couple is considered one of the most sympathetic and compelling representations of old age. The Mughals encouraged their artists to portray them in the company of holy men and sages. Here, Jahāngīr and Prince Khurrām (Shāh Jahān) converse with three saints (bottom). To Jahāngīr’s right, as has been pointed out by Robert Skelton, sits Sheikh Ḥasan Chishtī. The ancient Chishtī *Ṣūfī* brotherhood was especially close to Jahāngīr, who was named after Sheikh Salīm Chishtī whose effective intervention was granted to Akbar when he longed for the birth of a son. The primary Chishtī shrine at Ajmer, to which Akbar made his pilgrimage, continues to be an active spiritual centre.

Literature: for a later, but reliable, likeness of Sheikh Ḥasan Chishtī, see Welch, Schimmel, Swietochowski, Thackston 1987, No. 91, pp. 266-67.

S. C. W.

**Plate 92/ Folio 19 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ’a*)

*Nasta’līq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1008 A.H./ 1599-1600 A.D.;

late 16th – early 17th century

Three specimens: 2 *rubā’ī* (the calligrapher himself is the author of *a*); fragment of a *ghazal* in 3 *beits*.

14 lines in all

8,1 × 17,7; 7,8 × 14,7; 7,3 × 15,5 cm

Signatures: *a*) “*The humble lowest of sinners ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt. 1008*”

*b*) “*The humble sinner, ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*”

*c*) “*This was written by the humble lowest*

*sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him*”

Borders signed (bottom left)

by master decorator: “*Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1160 [1747 A.D.]*”

O. A.

● **Plate 93/ Folio 1 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ’a*)

*Nasta’līq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century;

1007 A.H./ 1598-1599 A.D.; early 17th century

Three specimens: 3 *rubā’ī*

12 lines in all

8,1 × 17,5; 8,3 × 15,5; 8,2 × 15,5 cm

Signatures: *a*) “*The humble and lowly sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive him*”

*b*) “*The humble lowest sinner, ‘Imād al-Mulk al-Ḥasanī. 1007*”

*c*) “*The humble sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*”

Borders signed (bottom left)

by master decorator: “*Completed by the servant [of Allah] Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1160 [1747 A.D.]*”

O. A.

● **Plate 94/ Folio 1 recto**

**A Youth on Horseback**

Artist: attributable to Muḥammad ‘Alī

Deccani school, Bijapur

Early 17th century

The miniature was added to at top, bottom and sides, apparently in the course of mounting

15,5 × 27 cm

(original size: 13,5 × 20,2 cm)

Watercolour, gold and silver

on paper

Borders signed by master

decorator (below, right): “*The humble Muḥammad Bāqir*”

Signature on the first frame (from the border towards the centre): “*Muḥammad Bāqir*”

Riding elegantly into our gaze, this precious youth and his sumptuously hennaed horse appropriate to this album represents both India and Iran. The artist can be identified on grounds of style as Muḥammad ‘Alī, who was

trained as a painter and illuminator in Khurassan before moving to India to make his fortune. While wandering as a soldier-of-the-brush, Muḥammad ‘Alī encountered a kindred spirit and fellow artist, Farrukh Beg, with whom he served both at the Mughal court and in the Deccan, at Bijapur. Although consistently mystical, both adjusted their elevated Safavid modes to the tastes of successive patrons. Here, Muḥammad ‘Alī’s rich arabesques, and stunning palette of gold, orange, and light purple are in Deccani taste, probably that of Sultan ‘Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh of Bijapur (reigned 1580-1626). Admire the merging of multiple arabesques in the patterns of the prince’s costume, the saddle, and saddle blanket, an instance of virtuosistic designing. And note the Safavi mountainscape, with its hidden forms suggestive of animals, human profiles, or anything else that might enter one’s psyche. The cosmopolitan, almost jaded youth recalls Florentine equivalents, as depicted by the mannerist Agnolo Bronzino (1502-1572).

Marginal drawings in gold are of Indian mode, and can be ascribed, like many others in this album, to the mid 18th century Iranian artist, Muḥammad Bāqir, who appears to have been the leading force in the selection and enhancement of this album. His signature is found on both elements of the rectangularly ruled frame.

Literature: Zebrowsky 1983; Welch S. C. 1994, pp. 407-29.

S. C. W.

**Plate 95/ Folio 2 recto**

**Sulṭān ‘Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh of Bijapur  
Hunting with a Falcon**

Artist: attributed to Ḥusain Farrukh Beg  
Deccani school, Bijapur

Early 17th century

27,1 × 15,8 cm (original size: 24,3 × 15,8 cm)

Watercolour, gold and silver on paper

Explanatory note: “*Portrait of the greatest ruler of peoples, ‘Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh*”

Attributive note in cartouche, top right, on gold ground, minuscule handwriting (damaged when the album was assembled): “[*Hus*]ain Farrukh Beg”

Borders (below right) signed by master decorator: “*The lowliest Muḥammad Bāqir*”

Signature on the first frame (from borders towards the centre): “*Muḥammad Bāqir*”

Sulṭān ‘Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh of Bijapur (reigned 1580-1626), a lover of music, poetry, and architecture as well as of painting, was one of India’s most inventive and generous patrons.

This remarkable portrait, showing him as a flatteringly lean and fit young falconer, was painted by Farrukh Beg, probably assisted by his fellow-mystic and companion, Muḥammad ‘Alī.

Both émigré Iranians found an appreciative audience at the rival Mughal and Deccani courts. Farrukh Beg, indeed, was employed by Emperor Akbar the Great (reigned 1557-1605), by his son Jahāngīr (reigned 1605-1627), as well as by Sulṭān ‘Ibrāhīm. Connoisseurly Jahāngīr so admired Farrukh Beg that he gave him, along with Abū’l Ḥasan and Ustād Maṣṣūr the title, *Wonder of the Age*. Farrukh Beg’s paintings, of which this is one of the more mysteriously other-worldly, invite intense and sustained viewing through which they reveal their hidden beauties. We are urged to prowl the deep green mottled hillocks and scale jewel-like mountains, in search of cranes, deer, and other rewarding creatures. With his friend Muḥammad ‘Alī, this visionary artist must have enriched their patrons’ courts not only with their art but with their wit and sagacity.

Literature: Skelton 1957, pp. 393-411; Welch S. C. 1985, pp. 221-25, No. 147.

S. C. W.

**Plate 96/ Folio 2 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ’a*)

*Nasta’līq* (large and medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century

Specimen of large *Nasta’līq* (one line), and 2 fragments, with exercises,

carried out in gold by master decorator 5,5 × 21,4; 9 × 27; 11,5 × 23,6 cm

Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: “*Completed by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-59 A.D.]*”

O. A.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing



**Plate 97/ Folio 39 verso**  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (medium size)  
 Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 1021 A.H./ 1612-1613 A.D.;  
 1016 A.H./ 1607-1608 A.D.;  
 early 17th century.  
 Three specimens: 3 *rubā'ī* (c, see Plate 79/  
 Folio 36 verso, a)  
 12 lines in all  
 9,4 × 19,6; 9 × 18,8; 8 × 19,2 cm  
 Signatures: a) "*The slave [of Allah] the humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive his sins. 1021*"  
 b) "*The humble lowest sinner, 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt. 1016*"  
 c) "*Written, as a practice exercise, by the slave [of Allah] the humble 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt*"  
 Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: "*Completed by the slave [of Allah] Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]*"  
 O. A.

**Plate 98/ Folio 39 recto**  
**Farrukhsiyār on Horseback**  
 Mughal school  
 Circa 1715  
 19,1 × 27,3 cm  
 Watercolour, gold and ink on paper

The ringed halo and calm procession of Farrukhsiyār belie the impotent and troubled reign of this Mughal Emperor (1712-1719). He inherited a weakened Empire whose decline he could not reverse in his seven year rule. The contest over the leadership of the Mughal state between himself and the Sayyid brothers resulted in Farrukhsiyār's deposition, blinding and eventual execution. Although unable successfully to retain the Mughal throne for long, Farrukhsiyār, like his predecessors, was a man of extreme cultivation and refinement. He composed Persian verses, was a *ḥāfiẓ* (had memorised the Koran in its entirety) and was an active patron of painting. Portraits of him exist in a number of collections and they reveal certain distinguishing features of the prevalent style. His figure is robust and stocky, while those of his attendants some-

times display a slight elongation as in figures of the Aurangzēb period. Farrukhsiyār's fondness for textiles and fashion is reflected in his portraits. *Jāmas*, or robes, are particularly long and embellished with bold ornate motifs. His jewellery is carefully defined and is also treated in the same distinct manner. As in the equestrian portrait here, representations of the Emperor usually show him in a fairly simple setting. The elaborate compositions of the past have given way to a more austere focus on the imperial image itself.

Imperial portraits of the 18th century are typified by a bland and somewhat lifeless handling of their subjects. Despite this overall tendency, both Farrukhsiyār and Muḥammad Shāh (1719-1748) stand out as notable patrons of the period. Certain elements in painting under Farrukhsiyār were taken up and developed at regional centres in Rajasthan where levels of excellence were achieved. In this case, the treatment of the low hills and scrubby ground is also seen in painting from the Rajput kingdom of Kishangarh which enjoyed close links with Mughal court.

N. N. H.

Literature: for further portraits of Farrukhsiyār, see *Falk, Archer 1981*, nos. 155-156; *Hickmann, 1979*.

**Plate 99/ Folio 41 recto**  
**Muḥammad Shāh on Horseback**  
 Painter: attributed to Bhavānīdās  
 Mughal school, Delhi or Kishangarh  
 Circa 1725  
 19,3 × 27,5 cm  
 Watercolour, gold and silver on paper  
 Inscription on the miniature: "*Portrait of Muḥammad Shāh, ruler of Hindūstān*"  
 Inscription on the outer border:  
 "*Bāqir was the most noble after 'Alī*"

This admirable portrait of the Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh (1719-1748) is attributable to the talented artist Bhavānīdās. Many of Bhavānīdās's best works, and also this equestrian image, were created while he was in the employ of Maharaja Rāj Singh of Kishangarh (1706-1748). Muḥammad Shāh is seen riding an elegant steed, against an extensive background. Two attendants follow him on foot, one holding a whisk and the other a

palm-leaf shaped *āftābgīr* (sunscreen), one of the imperial Mughal ensigns. In the distance beyond a lake, an army is on the march. Soldiers, caparisoned elephants and flying banners weave through low-lying hills while cattle draw cartloads of supplies.

During the 18th and 19th centuries the rulers of Kishangarh maintained a *haveli* (royal house) at Delhi where they resided for extended periods while serving at the imperial Mughal court. Rāj Singh was a well-known figure at Muḥammad Shāh's *darbār*. It is known from Kishangarh records and pictures that he commissioned paintings from Bhavānīdās, including perhaps this one, at Delhi.

This bearded likeness of Muḥammad Shāh is datable to circa 1725, when there were strong links between Kishangarh and the Mughal court. This painting might have been offered as *nazar*, or a ceremonial gift, from Rāj Singh to his Emperor.

Bhavānīdās is known to have painted for Rāj Singh from 1719 onwards, and his works reveal a Mughal and Deccani training. Multifaceted in his talents, he was an especially competent portrait painter. The distinctive features of Bhavānīdās's style may be seen here, particularly in the treatment of the background. The delicately rendered details are in the Mughal taste while features such as the boats in the water, the portrayal of the distant army and the sway-backed horse in the background, became enduring characteristics of the Kishangarh style. The fine depiction of the army includes a silver-gilt *māhī-o-marātib* (fish ensign), a mark of honour awarded by the Mughals to several of their loyal Rajput supporters, including Rāj Singh of Kishangarh. The border around the painting is identified as the work of Muḥammad Bāqir who worked on many of the Folio margins in this album.

Literature: for further reading on Bhavānīdās, see Falk 1992, to whom I am grateful for first identifying this painting as Bhavānīdās's work.

N. N. H.

**Plate 100/ Folio 41 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
Iran

Early 17th century.

Specimens (assembled from 5 fragments):  
2 separate *beits* and 2 *fards* in cartouches  
in the margins, *rubā'ī* in the centre

10 lines in all

18,3 × 27,5 cm

Signature: "This was written by the slave  
[of Allah] the sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him  
of guilt"

Borders signed (bottom right) by master  
decorator: "Muḥammad Bāqir"

O. A.

**Plate 101/ Folio 37 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
Iran

Late 16th century

Specimen exercises made up of 4 fragments:  
3 separate *beits* in cartouches in the margins;  
*qiṭ'a* in the centre

10 lines in all

17,2 × 26,8 cm

Signatures: "This was written, as a practice  
exercise, by the humble 'Imād al-Ḥasanī"

Borders signed (bottom left) by master  
decorator: "Completed by the slave  
Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 102/ Folio 37 recto**

**Shāh 'Abbās I Enthroned in a Garden  
with a Falcon on his Right Arm**

Artist: Vishnū Dās

Mughal school,

probably after a Safavid miniature

Circa 1615

14,5 × 26,5 cm

(original size 11,5 × 18,3 cm)

Watercolour, gold and silver on paper

Attributive signature:

"Work of Vishnū Dās"

Vishnū Dās painted this picture for Jahāngīr before he had gone to Iran and sketched the Shāh from life. It must have been based upon a Safavid portrait, for the central part is a "translation" from a characteristic Safavid picture, presumably one presented to Jahāngīr by the Shāh. Under the circumstances, the

likeness is more than adequate; but the stiffly posed portrayal of the ruler, seated on a chair atop a Safavi-esque carpet, retains much of the idealised, almost doll-like mode of most Iranian portraiture. Like the peacock, tree, and flower garden, the secondary figures were improvised in Mughal style. Although Jahāngīr commissioned Vishnū Dās to accompany the embassy to Iran because he was such an insightful and accurate portraitist, his choice of artist might also have been inspired by this picture, in which he carried out a challenging task so well.

S. C. W.

**Plate 103/ Folio 8 recto**  
**Emperor Jahāngīr Drinking Wine**  
**Under a Canopy**

Artist: Manohar  
 Mughal school  
 Circa 1605-1606  
 14,5 × 26,5 cm (original size 14,4 × 23,2 cm)  
 Watercolour and gold on paper  
 Attributive signature: "Work of Manohar"

Manohar's many paintings of Emperor Jahāngīr are among the Emperor's finest early likenesses of himself. In composition, this one virtually follows the same artist's moving portrayal of Jahāngīr's ailing father, who was also shown in a garden, beneath a canopy, surrounded by family and close associates. Jahāngīr's son Khusrau (1587-1622) all too appropriately offers him wine, while behind him stands another son, Khurrām (later Shāh Jahān), who was born in 1592. Still a boy, he is proud to wield a fly whisk. Ellen Smart has pointed out that also standing on the throne platform, to the far left, is Jahāngīr's younger brother Parvīz (1589-1626), and that the man with crossed arms to Salīm's left is Muṣṭafā Khān Zīā al-Dīn Qāzvīnī. A variant of this painting, also by Manohar, is in the British Museum (Stowe, Or. 16).

Literature: for the British Museum version, see *Arnold, Binyon* 1921, pl. 1; for Manohar's portrait of Akbar in old age, see *Welch S. C.* 1978, No. 15.

S. C. W.

**Plate 104/ Folio 8 verso**  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)  
 Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Early 17th century;  
 1018 A.H./ 1609-10 A.D.  
 Four specimens: *Fatiha* (First *Sūra* of the *Qur'ān*), a *rubā'ī*, a *beit*, a *qiṭ'a*  
 18 lines in all  
 7,1 × 14,1; 7,1 × 16,8; 7,5 × 16,8 cm  
 Signatures: a) "The humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive him"  
 c) "The humble 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him. 1018"  
 Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: "Completed by the pen of Ḥādī. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 105/ Folio 32 verso**  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (small and medium size)  
 Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Early 17th century;  
 1017 A.H./ 1608-1609 A.D.  
 Three specimens: *Fatiha* (First *Sūra* of the *Qur'ān*), see Plate 104/ Folio 8 verso, a; *qiṭ'a* (see Plate 120/ Folio 30 verso, b); *qiṭ'a*.  
 18 lines in all  
 8,1 × 15,1; 6,4 × 15,3; 7,3 × 15,8 cm  
 Signatures: a) "This was written by the slave [of Allah] 'Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt"  
 b) "The humble sinner, 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins"  
 c) "The humble lowest 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins. 1017"  
 Borders (bottom left) signed by master decorator: "Work of the pen of Ḥādī, master decorator. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 106/ Folio 32 recto**  
**Shāh Jahān Haloed and Victorious Stands on a Platform**  
 Artists: Abū'l Ḥasan, Nādir al-Zamān  
 Mughal school  
 Circa 1631  
 17,5 × 27,8 cm (original size: 17,5 × 22,1 cm)  
 Watercolour, ink and gold on paper  
 Attributive note, in gold: "Work of Nādir al-Zamān, born at court, absolutely devoted"

Two strikingly similar paintings of Shāh Jahān silhouetted against triumphant armies are in this album. In this better one, the Emperor faces to the right and holds a spear in his right hand. It is signed by or ascribed to Abū'l Ḥasan, Nādir al-Zamān, Jahāngīr's favourite artist. If we compare the pictures detail by detail, this miniature is livelier and finer than Plate 107/ Folio 31 *recto* throughout. Shāh Jahān's face, turban, robe, and jewels are more thoughtfully and painstakingly painted; and in the backgrounds, the officer saluting and upholding a trophy head is drawn with greater conviction. Whose head was so honoured? Although such ornamental morbidities as towers of skulls and heads on pikes were not uncommon in Mughal India, he is probably the detested traitor Khān Jahān Lodī, an Afghan in background, who was believed to hold ambitions of independence. Previously close to Jahāngīr, after 1627 he espoused court factions believed to be opposed to Shāh Jahān. The plump, droopily moustached bald head exposed to the imperial gaze closely resembles him. He was hounded by Shāh Jahān's armies before being trapped, speared, cut to pieces, and decapitated on 28 January 1631. His head is known to have been brought to Agra, where it was suspended from a gateway as a dreadful warning to potential rebels. Shāh Jahān's portrayal with black beard confirms the identification of this incident. Later on during the same year, his beard suddenly turned white with the death of his favourite wife Arjumand Banū Begām, known as Mumtāz Maḥal. If we are correct in identifying the trophy head as that of Khān Jahān Lodī, who had been a friend of Emperor Jahāngīr, to whom Abū'l Ḥasan – “the house-born” – had been as close as was possible between an omnipotent ruler and a mere artist.

Whether or not we see here the head of one of Jahāngīr's admired followers, who must have been known to the artist, we can be certain that Abū'l Ḥasan's feelings towards Shāh Jahān were at best ambiguous during the years immediately following Jahāngīr's death. This is apparent from one of Abū'l Ḥasan's superbly finished portraits of his new patron, carried out shortly after Shāh Jahān's accession. The imperial countenance is distinctly haughty and sour.

Literature: for Abū'l Ḥasan's less than flattering portrait of Shāh Jahān, see Welch, Welch 1982, No. 71, pp. 215-17.

S. C. W.

**Plate 107/ Folio 31 *recto***

**Shāh Jahān Haloed and Victorious Stands on a Platform**

Artists: perhaps by Abū'l Ḥasan, Nādir al-Zamān, to whom is ascribed another version, Plate 106/ Folio 32 *recto*)

Mughal school

Circa 1631

17,4 × 27,8 cm (original size: 17,4 × 23,5 cm)

Watercolour, gold and ink on paper

In this portrait Shāh Jahān faces left, and because it would have been obtrusive, the spear has been omitted. Although both pictures are of fine quality, there are enough differences in handling to suggest that the present version is a contemporary studio replica of Folio 32 *recto*, upon which the artist lavished more attention.

Literature: for the horrific scene from the *Pādshāhnāma* showing the killing of Khān Jahān Lodī, see Welch S. C. 1963, fig. 4.

S. C. W.

**Plate 108/ Folio 31 *verso***

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century

Exercise (*māshq*)

4 lines in all

17 × 31,3 cm

Signature: “*This was written, as a practice exercise, by the slave [of Allah] 'Imād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive his sins*”

Borders signed (bottom left)

by master decorator: “*Work of the pen of Ḥādī. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 109/ Folio 40 *verso***

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran (Qāzvīn?)

1007 A.H./ 1598-1599 A.D.

One specimen: a *rubāʿī*.

4 lines in all

16,5 × 31 cm

Signature: "*The humble sinner ʿImād al-Ḥasanī may [Allah] forgive him. 1007*"

Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: "*Work of the pen of Ḥādī. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]*"

O. A.

Plate 110/ Folio 40 *recto*

**Humāyūn and Akbar, with Favoured Noblemen**

Mughal school

Mid 17th century

21,2 × 30,2 cm (original size: 17,7 × 25,9 cm)

Watercolour, ink, gold and silver on paper

Posthumously, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn, the second Emperor (reigned 1530-1540; 1555-1556) was referred to as *Jannat Āshyānī* ("Resting in the Heavenly Garden"), while ʿAbd al-Faṭḥ Jalāl al-Dīn Akbar (reigned 1556-1605) was known as *ʿArsh Āshyānī* ("Resting on the Divine Throne"). For the Mughals, titles were an evolving literary form. Shāh Jahān's range from the simplicity of "His Imperial Majesty", to the religious "the Refuge of the Caliphate", and "the Shadow of God". More complex and metaphysical is "Second Lord of the Auspicious Planetary Conjunction". Traditional likenesses of deceased Emperors expressed and nourished the imperial legend, as in this agreeable but conventional double portrait with attendants. Standard depictions of the two Emperors are flanked by important members of their courts. To Akbar's left, holding a parasol, is Rāja Mān Singh Kachwāhā. Although in 1576 Akbar was annoyed with him for failing to press on against the wounded Rana of Mewar, whose forces he had defeated, Mān Singh was forgiven. He was given his title and appointed governor of Bengal by the Emperor in 1589. Rāja Mān Singh died while serving in the Deccan in 1614. Humāyūn's attendant is less easy to identify. His Safavid baton turban and youthfulness, however, suggest that he might be Shāh Abū'l Ma'ālī, a favourite whose fanaticism, murderousness, and above all his closeness to Humāyūn, upset Akbar. In 1564, after

Shāh Abū'l Ma'ālī had killed Māh Chūchak Begum, whose daughter, a half-sister of Akbar, he had demanded in marriage, he was tried and executed by strangulation.

S. C. W.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

Plate 111/ Folio 11 *recto*

**Lioness Attacking Jahāngīr**

Mughal school

Mid 18th century

18,5 × 26 cm (original size: 18,5 × 22,7 cm)

Watercolour, gouache and gold on paper

The heroic, romantic, dazzling Mughal imperial legend continues to flourish, sustained by stirring anecdotes and by the beauty of its surviving artifacts, outstanding examples of which are in this *Muraqqaʿ*. It was initiated during the first Emperor Bābur's brief reign (1526-1530) and constantly enriched through the developing appeal of charismatic Akbar, the aestheticism of Jahāngīr, the nobility, pride, and tragedies of Shāh Jahān, and the stern orthodoxy of his son, Aurangzēb. Although it was interrupted in 1857 when seas of tears – indigenous and foreign – were released by the tragic drama of the India Mutiny, it revived when the last Emperor, poetical Bahādur Shāh II (reigned 1837-1858), was captured, tried and exiled to Burma – cause for further, mostly sympathetic, sobs. Although many imperial works of art are movingly poetic, fascinatingly repertorial, or psychologically moving, far more in fact fail to stir us in any way. This slack depiction of Jahāngīr on his elephant attacked by a lion contrasts informatively with infinitely better pictures illustrated here. The elephant moves stiffly, the Emperor's matchlock resembles an inferior fishing rod, and his gesticulating, cowardly huntsman's raised arms would better suit a dowager reacting to a mouse. The lion, hardly a threat, stretches out animatedly as a worn fur rug. We miss the involved and vital accuracy of major and earlier Mughal artists, who painted such scenes convincingly, as though from experience.

S. C. W.

Plate 112/ Folio 11 *verso*

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)  
 Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Late 16th – early 17th century  
 Three specimens: fragment of a *ghazal*;  
 a *beit* and a *rubā'ī*; a *beit* and a fragment  
 of a *mašnavī*  
 18 lines in all  
 8,8 × 19,7; 8,4 × 17; 9,3 × 16,7 cm  
 Signature: “‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah]  
 forgive him”  
 Borders signed (bottom left) by master  
 decorator: “*Work of the slave Muḥammad*  
*Hādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 113/ Folio 12 verso**  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (medium size)  
 Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 1022 A.H./ 1613-1614 A.D.; 1610's  
 Three specimens: Prayer; 5 beits;  
 a commendatory note  
 18 lines in all  
 9,5 × 19,4; 7,2 × 17,3; 9,1 × 17,3 cm  
 Signatures: a) “*Work of the lowest slaves*  
*[of Allah] 'Imād al-Ḥasanī. 1022*”  
 b) “*Written for one of the servants who is like*  
*unto an angel, light of the eyes of worthiness*  
*and the love of his fellow-men, Shāhrukh Beg,*  
*may peace be with him [Mi]r 'Imād*”  
 c) “*Exercise specimen. Work of the humblest*  
*of poor men Mīrzā 'Imād, peace be with him,*  
*may his son praise his name*”  
 Borders (bottom left) signed by master  
 decorator: “*Work of the pen of Hādī. 1170*  
*[1756-1757 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 114/ Folio 12 recto**  
**Prince Shāh Jahān Spares Anup Rāi**  
 Mughal school  
 Mid 18th century  
 18,7 × 25,8 cm (original size 18,6 × 22,8 cm)  
 Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Brave Anup Rāi (see Plate 118/ Folio 10 *recto*, below) need not fear. This lion is a weary masked comedian dressed to kill. Nor need the “lion” feel threatened. Prince Shāh Jahān's *tulwar*, wielded by an arm that could barely raise a wine cup, is sure to miss its mark, as

was noted by the huntsman, bolting to escape its uncontrolled arc. The painter – hardly an artist – selected a mishmash from the imperial legend and turned Jahāngīr's stirring account of Anup Rāi into a farce. The Iranians who selected and mounted the pictures for this Album at times either had a limited choice, or with inconceivable subtlety provided occasional Folios restful to the viewers eyes and spirits.

S. C. W.

**Plate 115/ Folio 15 recto**  
**Lioness Attacking Jahāngīr**  
 Mughal school  
 Mid 18th century  
 18,5 × 26 cm (original size: 18,1 × 23,8 cm)  
 Watercolour, gold and gouache on paper

See Plate 111/ Folio 11 *recto* and Plate 114/ Folio 12 *recto*, above, for closely related pictures. Another hunting scene, Plate 111/ Folio 11 *recto*, is not only by the same hand as this one but is based upon the same tracing (*char-bāh*) of a popular heroic subject. In the Indo-Turko-Iranian world, artists's workshops retained tracings and drawings for future use. Often, they composed new compositions by piecing together bits and pieces from these earlier inherited or cribbed works, some of which were taken from sources as far removed as ancient Greece or Ming China. Occasionally, this leads to awkwardness of scale, or to a mixture of character representations taken out of context.

A good number of the borrowings stem from Jahāngīr, who was an enthusiastic and voracious collector. The niches in his palaces contained assorted objects, from *blanc de Chine* statuettes to renaissance jewels, and his picture albums included European engravings and other exotica which were enjoyed, studied, and put to use by his artists.

S. C. W.

**Plate 116/ Folio 15 verso**  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (medium size)  
 Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Early 17th century;  
 1022 A.H./ 1613-1614 A.D.; early 17th century  
 Three specimens: a fragment of *ghazal*  
 by Jāmī (see Plate 117, Folio 10 *verso*, b);

a *rubāʿī* by Anvari (died circa 1188 A.D.);  
a *qiṭʿa*.

12 lines in all

7,3 × 15,4; 7,6 × 16,3; 7,1 × 16,3 cm

Signatures: a) "The humble sinner

'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him"

b) "The humble 'Imād al-Mulk al-Ḥasanī,  
may [Allah] forgive his sins. 1022"

c) "The lowest slave [of Allah] 'Imād  
al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins"

Borders signed (bottom left) by master  
decorator: "Work of the slave Muḥammad  
Ḥādī. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 117/ Folio 10 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)

*Nastaʿlīq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1018 A.H./ 1609-1611 A.D.;

early 17th century;

1020 A.H./ 1611-1612 A.D.

Three specimens: a fragment of *ghazal*

by 'Abd al-Raḥman Jāmī (1414-1492 A.D.),

2 *beits*, a *rubāʿī*.

12 lines in all

7,2 × 17,1; 8 × 16,3; 7,5 × 16,3 cm

Signatures: a) "The humble sinner

'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him.  
1018"

b) "The humble lowest sinner 'Imād  
al-Ḥasanī"

c) "The lowest slave [of Allah] 'Imād  
al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him. 1020"

Borders signed (bottom left) by master  
decorator: "Work of the Muḥammad Ḥādī.  
1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 118/ Folio 10 recto**

**Prince Khurrām Saves the Life of Anup Rāi**

Mughal school

First half 18th century

18,8 × 26,3 cm (original size: 18,5 × 17 cm)

Watercolour, gouache, gold and silver  
on paper

An exciting passage in Jahāngīr's memoirs  
recounts the episode shown here. During a  
hunt, a hulking lion startled the imperial party  
and felled one of the huntsmen, with whom  
the massive animal played as cats do with

mice. The Emperor himself – omitted here –  
rushed to help, matchlock in hand, while  
Prince Khurrām (later Shāh Jahān) hacked at  
the beast's back with his *tulwar*. Rudely inter-  
rupted at his human meal, the lion bolted;  
and the brave huntsman was ennobled as  
Anup Rāi. This bloodchilling episode was  
drawn by Abū'l Ḥasan, who might have wit-  
nessed it. His lively sketch inspired Bal  
Chand's illustration in the *Pādshāhnāma*,  
Shāh Jahān's official history of his reign, most  
of which is now preserved in the Windsor  
Castle Library. The present, soft, and inaccur-  
ate echo of the subject was based upon sec-  
ond or third hand tracings, probably during  
the second quarter of the 18th century.

Literature: for Jahāngīr's account of this inci-  
dent, see *Beveridge, Rogers 1909-1914*, vol.  
1, pp. 185-88, where the word *sher* (applica-  
ble to both lions and tigers) is incorrectly  
translated as 'tiger'; for Abū'l Ḥasan's draw-  
ing, see *Welch S. C. 1985*, No. 117, pp. 186-  
87; Bal Chand's painting after the drawing is  
*Folio 134a* of the Windsor *Pādshāhnāma*

S. C. W.

**Plate 119/ Folio 30 recto**

**Prince Shāh Shujā' Receives the Elixir  
of Life from Khiz̄r**

Mughal school

Circa 1635-1640

18,8 × 26,3 cm (original size: 16,2 × 24 cm)

Watercolour, gold and ink on paper

Al-Khāḍir (Khiz̄r) often encountered in imper-  
ial iconography was popularly known as "the  
Green Man", or "the servant of God". He  
was especially helpful to travellers, and in this  
allegorical vision he offers the elixir of life,  
probably water with which he was associated,  
to a prince convincingly identified by Ellen  
Smart as Shāh Shujā' (1616-1660). Inasmuch  
as Shāh Shujā' was appointed governor of  
Bengal by his father, Shāh Jahān, it is tempt-  
ing to believe that this excellent painting was  
prepared as a visual "au revoir", prior to the  
prince's departure. The small glass of elixir is  
balanced atop a globe, symbolic of paradise  
to which the prince holds the key. In the fore-  
ground, happily swimming, is a large, rotund  
fish. According to the legend, it was a salted  
one, initially forgotten by the traveller but

retrieved, and miraculously restored to life by contact with water. It serves as a guide to travellers. In the foreground, near Khizr, is half of a rock – the rest of which was trimmed from the painting – an element in the iconography of Khizr. Gauvin Bailey has pointed out that this compositional unit, depicting Shāh Jahān instead of his son, appears in Folio 204 *verso* of the Windsor Castle *Pādshāhnāma*, a somewhat awkward painting we attribute to one of Shāh Jahān's non-Indian artists, probably Muḥammad Nādir of Samarqand. Another of the *Muraqqa'*'s miniatures also depicting a prince, Khurrām with Khizr (Plate 68/ Folio 18 *recto*), suggests that this saint also was appropriate to younger people setting out on the voyage of life.

S. C. W.

**Plate 120/ Folio 30 *verso***

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran, Qāzvin

1014 A.H./ 1605-1606 A.D.;

late 16th – early 17th century

Three specimens: a *rubā'ī*; a *qiṭ'a*

and a *beit* (assembled in one margin)

16 lines in all

7,5 × 16,3; 7,3 × 18,3; 7,3 × 18,3 cm

Signatures: a) "*This was written by the slave [of Allah] the humble lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt, in the capital city of Qāzvin. 1014*"

b) "*The slave of [Allah] the humble lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt*"

c) "*The slave [of Allah] the sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*"

Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: "*Work of the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 121/ Folio 43 *verso***

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1017 A.H./ 1608-1609 A.D.; 1023 A.H./

1614-1615 A.D.; 1011 A.H./ 1602-1603 A.D.

Three specimens: a *rubā'ī*; a *rubā'ī* and a *beit*; a *rubā'ī* (authorship attributed to Sheikh Abū

al-Ḥasan Kharāqānī, d. 1034 A.D.)

14 lines in all

8,7 × 18; 8,9 × 20,5 (assembled out of two parts); 8,8 × 20 cm

Signatures: a) "*The humble lowest 'Imād al-Ḥasanī. 1017*"

b) "*This was written by the slave [of Allah] the humble sinning 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt. 1023*"

c) "*Written as a practice exercise, by the slave [of Allah] the humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt. 1011*"

Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: "*Work of the Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 122/ Folio 43 *recto***

**Falconers**

Artist: Nādir al-Zamān, Abū'l Ḥasan

Mughal school

Circa 1610

5,5 × 23,5 cm (original size: 15,5 × 23,5 cm)

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Attributive signature in gold: "*Work of Nādir al-Zamān*"

First frame (from the border) is signed by the master decorator: "*Muḥammad Bāqir*"

This puzzling picture is one of several versions, all of which in the past have been dated to the 16th century. Percy Brown identified the version in the Rampur State Library as "a portrait of Amīr Sheikh Ḥasan Noyān, *wālī* of Baghdād". Be that as it may, the noble equestrian, with a hawking drum attached to the saddle, resembles a Mongol, as does the well outfitted man with the jessed and hooded falcon. The trees and suggestive rocks abound in birds, quarry for the eager falcon, soon to be released. Characterisations of men, animals, and birds conform to the excellence expected of Abū'l Ḥasan. Gestures, facial expressions, hands, masks, paws, tails, beaks, and plumage bristle with anticipation. Moreover, the brushwork is rich, deep, and painterly. The landscape retains features of the later 16th century, when Akbar inspired his artists to imbue the idealised mountains, cliffs, and trees known from Timurid and Safavid art with Mughal observed realism. Precocious young



Abū'l Ḥasan must have delighted Jahāngīr – as he does us – with his provocative reflections on hunting and hunters.

Literature: for the Rampur version, see *Brown* 1924, pl. IX; for another version in the British Museum, see *Martin* 1912, vol. 2, pl. 177; for the drawing, see *Coomaraswamy* 1930, No. 14. 647, p. 34, pl. XXX.

S. C. W

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

Plate 123/ Freer 31.20 verso

Calligraphic samples (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1020 A.H. [1611-12 A.D.]

One specimen: fragment of *maṣnavī* (poem)

4 lines in all

17,1 × 34 cm

Signature: "The poor wretched sinner

'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may his sins be forgiven.

1020 [1611-1612 A.D.]"

Borders (bottom, left) signed

by master decorator:

"Executed by the pen of Ḥādī,

the illuminator (*zarnishān*) 1169 [1757-1758 A.D.]"

Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art,  
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

O. A.

Plate 124/ Freer 31.20 recto

Jahāngīr Giving Books to Sheikhs

From a *Jahāngīr nāma* manuscript

Mughal school

Circa 1620

31,7 × 20,5 cm

Watercolour, gouache and gold on paper

Borders: attributed to Muḥammad Bāqir

Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution,  
Washington, D.C.

Because of the richness of the materials used and the time expended on their execution, books were part of the official wealth of the imperial court. They were also a source of knowledge, and – for both these reasons – became important honorary gifts on ambassadorial missions and other occasions. Here Jahāngīr honours the Muslim clergy during a visit to Gujarat in 1619:

"On Tuesday, the 16th, I again presented the Sheikhs of Gujarat, who were in attendance, with robes of honour and maintenance lands. To each of them I gave a book from my special collection... I wrote on the back of the books the day of my arrival in Gujarat and the day of presentation of the books" (*Beveridge, Rogers 1909-1914*, vol. 1, pp. 439-40). The St. Petersburg Album includes several highly important pages from the official imperial project to illustrate the *Jahāngīr nāma*, the memoirs of Jahāngīr (see especially Plates 176/ Folio 21 recto, and Plate 177/ Folio 22 recto). Because no bound copy of the manuscript with contemporary illustration exists, it is unknown whether the project was ever completed.

Literature: *Beach* 1981, No. 17 c; *Beach* 1995 fig. 8 (with the original facing within the album reproduced as fig. 9)

M. B.

Plate 125/ Folio 34 recto

Shāh Jahān Receives Shāh Shujā' in Darbār

Artist: attributed to Murad

Mughal school

Circa 1630-1635

20,5 × 32 cm

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

The *Pādshāhnāma* contains many audience scenes (*darbārs*) in which Shāh Jahān's sons and courtiers surround the enthroned ruler. Ellen Smart has pointed out that this particular *darbār* was held on 16 March 1630. Given emphasis by standing before his father is the still-moustacheless Prince Shāh Shujā' (1616-1660). He offers a jewelled golden bowl laden with jewels to his appreciative father, whose dignified expression belies the fact that he collected them discerningly and passionately. The youngest prince, Murād Bakhsh (1624-1661) and darker-skinned Aurangzēb (1618-1707) stand to the right of Shāh Shujā', while the crown prince, Dārā Shikōh (1615-1659), near the throne platform, faces them, sword in hand. Murād, to whom we assign this picture, was an accomplished but less painterly follower of Bichitr.

If his portraits lack the degree of emotional depth found in the work of Jahāngīr's and Shāh Jahān's greatest artists, such as Govard-

han or Abū'l Ḥasan, in compensation he was a brilliant and accurate recorder of imperial finery, from textiles to arms and armour and sumptuous objects. His depictions of architectural elements, such as canopies, columns, lintels, railings, and *jalis* (pierced stone windows), are so inventively precise as to suggest that he served as an architect and designer as well as artist.

Literature: Begley, Desai 1990, p. 37; for other works in the Windsor Castle *Pādshāhnāma* signed by or attributable to Murād, see Welch, Schimmel, Swietochowski, Thackston 1987, p. 229.

S. C. W.

**Plate 126/ Folio 34 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1610

Specimen made up of two parts: a *qiṭ'a* (see Plate 131/ Folio 55 verso), a *fard* (one line) and signatures.

7 lines in all

18,5 × 34,1 cm

Signature: "The humble lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt"

O. A.

**Plate 127/ Folio 13 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (very large and medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 16th century

Specimen of large *nasta'liq*:

2 *beits* and a *fard*

5 lines in all

18,5 × 33,8 cm

Signature:

a) "The humble, lowest of sinners, 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt"

b) In small *nasta'liq*: "Written for the treasury of the supreme, the most noble, the most holy Sovereign"

Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: "Written by the pen of Ḥādī, the illuminator. 1169 [1755-1756 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 128/ Folio 13 recto**

**Divines, Ambassadors, Other Guests, and Entertainers at a Reception of Shāh Jahān**

Artist: attributed to Lal Chand

Mughal school

Circa 1640

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

The most stately and majestic of Mughal historical pictures were painted for Shāh Jahān's official history of his reign, the *Pādshāhnāma* in the Royal Library of Windsor Castle.

Although most of the many paintings made for it are in the Queen of England's volume, others either were omitted or somehow separated from it.

This stray page, the left half of a double page composition, would have been balanced by a depiction of Shāh Jahān, members of his family, courtiers, senior nobility, and prestigious guests. At a time of increasing formality and orthodoxy, protocol had become so codified that people admitted to the imperial *darbārs* were categorised and compartmentalised. Lesser beings, such as musicians, were fenced off from their superiors.

In the centre of this painting are a pair of Muslim religious leaders (*'ulamā*); beyond them diagonal ranks of officials face one another; and, to the right, are two richly caparisoned horses (perhaps ambassadorial gifts). Beyond the animals stand five ambassadors, three of whom, according to their dress, represent the Safavids, Ottoman, and Uzbeks.

Although Shāh Jahān is thought to have been more interested in architecture and precious objects than in the arts of the book, his ateliers produced countless fine pictures for him and his family. Among his artists, were Hindus as well as Muslims, and talented masters from Bukhara and Iran.

Literature: for other paintings by or attributable to Lāl Chand, see Welch, Schimmel, Swietochowski, Thackston 1987, No. 66, pp. 214, 217, and footnote 3.

S. C. W.

**Plate 129/ Folio 25 recto**

**Shāh Jahān Receiving Prince Aurangzēb and His Son Muḥammad Sulṭān in the Hall of Private Audience of the Shāhjahānābād**

**Fort on the 12th of January, 1651**  
 Artist: attributed to Hunhar  
 Mughal school  
 Circa 1650-1660  
 25,5 × 23,5 cm  
 Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Shāh Jahān is seen towards the end of his reign, close to the time of his life-threatening intestinal illness, which prompted his sons to scramble for power in the Wars of Succession. Unfilial to the extreme, the sons struggled one against the other for their father's throne. Battles, intrigues, and assorted nastinesses led to the triumph of hardy, orthodox, sometimes ruthless Aurangzēb, who assumed the throne in 1658. Although the subject of this painting is a *darbār* held in 1651, the painting might not have been intended for the Windsor Castle *Pādshāhnāma*. Instead, it could have been painted for Emperor Aurangzēb's own historical manuscript, the *Ālamgīrnāma*, a project apparently put aside not many years after he came to power. Robert Skelton has identified Rāja Gaj Singh of Marwar, standing between two others to the left of the throne. In front of him, perhaps, is 'Alī Mardān Khān. On the throne platform, behind him, with fly whisk, stands Khān Ḥayāt, the Emperor's rarely identified head of the domestic servants (*khidmatgarān*). He was always admitted to the Presence and was also in charge of wine, slaves (*chelas*), and pages (*khwāssān*). [Oh to read his memoirs!] To the right of the pillar, between two other nobles stands Shāyista Khān, who became Aurangzēb's vizier. More comprehensive in style and even more formal than other illustrations associated with the *Pādshāhnāma* (Plate 132/ Folio 55 *recto*) this picture contains particularly well-finished portraits of Aurangzēb and his circle. It can be attributed to Hunhar, who was strongly influenced by the great Hāshim, and who worked for Aurangzēb during the early years of his reign, when he was a discerning, even ardent patron. Literature: for other paintings possibly painted for the *Ālamgīrnāma*, see Welch 1964, nos. 58, 59.

S. C. W.

**Plate 130/ Folio 25 verso**  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (large)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 1021 A.H./ 1612-1613 A.D.  
 Fragment of a *ghazal*  
 4 lines in all  
 18,1 × 35 cm  
 Signature: "*The humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī. 1021*"  
 Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: "*Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1169 [1755-56 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 131/ Folio 55 verso**  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (large and medium size)  
 Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran; Isfahan  
 1016 A.H./ 1607-1608 A.D.  
 Fragment (*qiṭ'a*) made for the palace library, and one *beit*  
 6 lines in all  
 19,3 × 36,8 cm (assembled out of five parts, including signature)  
 Signature: "*Dedicated to the library of the fortunate, most noble, most august, most holy, supreme Sovereign, may [Allah] make his Empire and rule eternal. Written in 1016 by the slave [of Allah the lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt*"

O. A.

**Plate 132/ Folio 55 recto**  
**Sayyīd Khān Jahān Bhara**  
**in the Thick of Battle**  
 From the Windsor Castle *Pādshāhnāma*  
 Mughal school  
 Mid 17th century  
 23,6 × 33 cm  
 The central horse is inscribed with its rider's name: "*Sayyīd Khān*"

The landscape and fort imply that this painting, like Plate 133/ Folio 54 *recto*, below, describes an incident during the Mughal campaigns against the Uzbeks, an expression of Shāh Jahān's dream of reconquering the lands of his Central Asiatic ancestors. Although a succession of armies, led by princes and the ablest imperial generals, struggled through the ice and snow of the mountainous Hindukush and fought determinedly, the Central Asian

adventure failed. The cost for two years alone was four *krores* of rupees; and although a mere five hundred soldiers were slain in battle, ten times as many Mughals, if camp followers are included, succumbed to illnesses caused by the cold. Eventually, Shāh Jahān's armies withdrew, having subjugated no territory and established no friendly alliances with the rulers of Balkh. For good reason, several pictures documenting these troubling campaigns were omitted when the Windsor manuscript was finally assembled. "The King of the face of the Earth and the King of the World", as Shāh Jahān was described at the time of his birth, surely preferred to forget about the miseries these pictures illustrate.

S. C. W.

**Plate 133/ Folio 54 recto**

**Battle at a Camp**

From the Windsor Castle *Pādshāhnama*

Artist: attributed to Ābid, brother of Nādir al-Zamān

Mughal school

Late 16th – early 17th century

23,5 × 33 cm

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Shāh Jahān's illustrated history of his reign was a major artistic project for many years. For it, many highly detailed scenes were painted by a battery of artists, all of whom were accomplished, and a few brilliant. Among the scattered pages is this tumultuous battle scene, which might have been based not upon mere second-hand accounts but upon personal observation. Several painters, such as Payāk and Ābid, brother of Abū al-Ḥasan, Nādir al-Zamān, seemed to have served in the army, as they were so knowledgeable on military matters, from its gory worst to its heroic heights. The sweep of cavalry and footsoldiers in action has been expressed in this bold design, in which the imperial army drives Uzbeks from their encampment, an episode during the imperial campaign against Balkh. Picking through the tents, horsemen, arms and armour, and landscape, one empathises with such details as the panic-stricken Uzbeks (between tents, left) and the stinging arrow stuck in the leading Mughal elephant's brow. Dramatic, rounded figures with powerful shoulders, arms, and thighs as well as chunki-

ly massed compositions, skewered together by strong diagonals, are characteristic of Ābid.

Literature: for an account of the Balkh campaign, see: *Begley, Desai 1990*, pp. 353-55.

S. C. W.

**Plate 134/ Folio 54 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1021 A.H./ 1612-1613 A.D.

Prayer in memory of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib

4 lines in all

18,2 × 30,3 cm

Signature: "*The slave [of Allah] the humble sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins. 1021.*"

O. A.

**Plate 135/ Folio 100 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran; Isfahan

1017 A.H./ 1608-1609 A.D.

Prayer in Arabic

6 lines in all

18,5 × 30,3 cm

Signature: "*The humble lowest sinner 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt. 1017*"

O. A.

**Plate 136/ Folio 100 recto**

**The Shāh's Hunting**

Artist: attributed to 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār

Isfahan school

Late 17th century

30 × 45,8 cm (original size: 28,9 × 41,6)

Watercolour, ink, silver and gold on paper

The multi figural composition depicts the Shāh and other members of a hunting party. The Shāh, slightly to the right of the centre, is shown on horseback. Certain details indicate that he might be the Shāh Sulaimān (1666-1694 A.D.). His head is encircled with a radiating nimbus. A servant is holding a golden parasol over him, a feature found in miniatures of the Mogul school of the 17th and early 18th centuries. This image of the Shāh

resembles other portraits of the ruler in other miniatures painted by 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār (compare Plate 173/ Folios 98 *recto* and Plate 191/ Folio 99 *recto*). This fact, combined with the presence of details characteristic of the style of this artist, such as modelling of figures with chiaroscuro, a distinctive way of rendering trees as well as narrow-waisted figures and elongated faces, provides good reason for attributing this miniature to 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār.

A. I

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

**Plate 137/ Folio 79 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large and medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century

A page of exercises (*māshq*) decorated with gold ornament

21,5 × 36 cm

Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: "Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-59 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 138/ Folio 79 recto**

**Bird and Flowers**

Artist: attributed to Rīzā-yi Hindī

Mid 18th century

17 × 26 cm (made up of six individual miniatures)

Watercolour and ink on paper

Attributive signature (on Irises): "Executed by the lowest of the low Muḥammad Rīzā-yi Hindī"

This miniature contains a flowering bush with birds which has been attributed to the Deccani-trained artist Muḥammad Rīzā-yi Hindī, see Plate 169/ Folio 78 *recto*.

S. C. W.

**Plate 139/ Folio 75 recto**

**Flowers and a Bird**

Artist: Muḥammad Rīzā-yi Hindī

Iran

Mid 18th century

The margin is made up of six separate miniatures

17 × 26 cm

Watercolour and ink on paper

Attributive signatures on two of the miniatures, with images of an iris:

"Work of the lowest of the low Muḥammad Rīzā-yi Hindī"

For information on the artist Rīzā-yi Hindī, see Plate 169/ Folio 78 *recto*

S. C. W.

**Plate 140/ Folio 75 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large, medium and very small)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century

The entire page is covered with exercises (*māshq*) decorated with gold ornament

21,8 × 32,5 cm

Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: "Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-1759 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 141/ Folio 81 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium and very small)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century

The entire page is covered with exercises (*māshq*) decorated with gold ornament

23,7 × 35,2 cm

Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: "Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-1759 A.D.]"

**Plate 142/ Folio 81 recto**

**Floricans**

Artists: attributed to Ustād Maṣṣūr, Nādir al-'Aṣr; additions attributable to the Isfahan artist, Muḥammad Bāqir

Mughal and Isfahani schools

Circa 1615; mid 18th century

17,9 × 28,3 cm (original size: 12 × 18 cm)

Watercolour, ink and gouache on paper

Attributive signature: "Maṣṣūr"

Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: "The lowest Muḥammad Bāqir".

This sensitive study of two Floricans near a stream is by Ustād Maṣṣūr, Jahāngīr's specialist in flora and fauna. Although the picture is

marred by 18th century “improvements”, Ustād Maṣṣūr was responsible for the birds, for the unretouched areas of the rocks and water, and the khaki (dust-coloured) tufts of grass between the two birds. Neither the skeletal tree and dragon fly on the left, nor the flowering trees and butterflies, however, are by Ustād Maṣṣūr.

These details, along with the vegetation in the foreground were added when the album was assembled in Isfahan, apparently by Muḥammad Bāqir, in imitation of the more talented and earlier Muḥammad-Rīzā of India. According to Jahāngīr, in his “Memoirs”, Ustād Maṣṣūr was “unique” in the art of “drawing”, a word accurately chosen, for his pictures are primarily linear. He applied colour gradually, only after highly sensitive outlining, detailed texturing, and modelling. Jahāngīr so admired Ustād Maṣṣūr that he described him as *Nādir al-‘Aṣr* (“Wonder of Time” or “Wonder of the Age”) and commissioned him to make many studies of birds and animals as well as more than one hundred flowers in Kashmir alone. Sadly, a very small proportion of his work has survived.

Literature: For an account of Ustād Maṣṣūr, see: Beach 1978, pp. 137-41.

S. C. W.

**Plate 143/ Folio 77 recto**  
**Birds and Flowering Acacia**

Artist: [Muḥammad] Bāqir

Iran

Mid 18th century

16,4 × 28,2 cm (original size: 16,4 × 20,2 cm)

Watercolour, gouache and silver on paper

Signature (bottom right): “*The lowest of the low Bāqir*”

Borders signed (bottom left) by the master decorator: “*The lowest of the low Muḥammad Bāqir*”

Muḥammad Bāqir was one of the three artists who worked on the composition and decoration of the Album’s borders and margins (see introductory section to the *The Compiling and Decoration of the Album*). Hardly anything is known about him, and the only miniature of his, contained in this Album, bears an accurate date (Plate 159/ Folio 84 verso). This work was carried out in order to

make a pair with Plate 142/ Folio 81 recto, above, painted by the Mughal artist Maṣṣūr.

S. C. W.

**Plate 144/ Folio 77 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qīṭ’a*)

*Nasta‘līq* (large and medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century

Page of exercises (*māshq*) decorated with gold ornament

18,3 × 28,2 cm

Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: “*Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-1759 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 145/ Folio 72 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qīṭ’a*)

*Nasta‘līq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century

The entire page is covered with exercises (*māshq*) decorated with gold ornament

20 × 30,7 cm

Signature: “*Executed as a practice exercise, by the humble ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī al-Sayfī, may [Allah] forgive his sins. Written for my brother Ḥājī Muḥammad*”.

Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: “*Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-1759 A.D.]*”

Outline stamp of previous owner, with date 1141 A.H. [1728-1729 A.D.]

O. A.

**Plate 146/ Folio 72 recto**

**Animals**

Mughal school

Mostly circa 1610

16,3 × 27,5 cm (dimensions of miniatures in the centre 13 × 13,6 cm)

Watercolour and ink on paper

Few cultures can claim greater animaliers than India’s. Although Ellora, Mahabalapuram, and Sanchi are unequalled sites for seeing stirring animal sculpture, some later representations of animals in Mughal, Rajput, and Deccani art also rank high. The present almost surrealistic *omnium gatherum* is a collage composed from four independent paintings and

ten snippets from the illuminated surrounds of calligraphies. However diverting and lively the tidbits might seem, they served as minor adornments to calligraphies, and provide few fine details over which to linger. If the larger lion and the goat are admirable, the she-cat and bitch suckling kittens and puppies, representing decades of devoted study, far outshine them. Has any artist anywhere rendered livelier, hungrier, wrigglier kittens? Or, a more blissful mother cat? Admire the textures, patterns, colours, tails, and above all the expressions of ecstatic giving and receiving! Such appreciative sensitivity hints that this engaging study of cats might be the work of Abū'l Ḥasan. But inasmuch as artists commonly made their brushes from kitten hairs, most miniature painters were connoisseurs of cats. Dogs were another matter. Fondled, patted, and often adored in Europe, considered good to eat in China, they have been considered as unclean in traditional India. The humble hound bitch and her four cavorting progeny pleased their artist but did not provide useful hairs. Their family portrait must have amused and impressed Emperor Jahāngīr, whether or not it was painted by his favourite artist.

S. C. W.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

Plate 147/ Folio 80 *recto*

A Page of Birds

Artists: Ustād Maṣṣūr, Nādir al-'Aṣr,  
Muḥammad Bāqir

Mughal and Isfahan schools

17th and 18th centuries

15,3 × 26 cm (The birds were assembled  
from various sources and periods;

green background with flowers and sky  
added in Isfahan to cover joins)

Essentially a collage, this improvised composition includes a fine and important study of the legendary, long extinct dodo (*Raphus cucullatus*, Linnaeus 1758), that belongs to the order *Columbiformes* (which includes pigeons and doves). Unfairly and inaccurately, the Dodo bird was once stereotyped as a living tragi-comedy, barely able to feed itself, and ignominiously known as the *didus ineptus*. This slur, based upon depictions by Roelant Savery of an overfed fat specimen held in

captivity in Amsterdam in 1627, is proven wrong by Jahāngīr's dodo bird, a characteristic specimen. The true dodo was nimble, and well adapted to its environment in Mauritius, where many of them existed.

We date the present image circa 1615, and attribute it to the renowned artist Maṣṣūr, whose studies of birds unite scientific objectivity with elegance through sensibility. Before drawing a bird or animal, Maṣṣūr apparently stalked and pondered his subject and was likely to become sentimentally attached to it.

This Folio is not only an appealing work of art, it is also important for scientific reasons. This is one of few pictures believed to have been made from direct observation. In fact, Jahāngīr's picture is considered to be the most exact and trustworthy image. Presumably, the dodo bird lived in Jahāngīr's private zoo. Although the study is abraded and perhaps coarsened at the edges by reworking, it is sensitively, knowingly drawn, and painted with finesse.

The bird at the top right, is a member of the pheasant family, the Western *Tragopan* (*Tragopan melanocephalus*, Gray 1829). It can be attributed to Muḥammad Bāqir, the prolific Isfahani specialist in decorative manuscript illumination. Like its sister in Plate 169/ Folio 78 *recto*, it is an undistinguished work. The parakeet, pair of ducks, and partridges are Mughal pictures, of good quality but difficult to attribute.

The author of this entry is most grateful to Dr. V. Ziswiler of the Zoologisches Museum at the University of Zurich for the invaluable information about the dodo and a member of the pheasant family.

Literature: *Ivanov* 1958

S. C. W.

Plate 148/ Folio 80 *verso*

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

End 16th century

The whole page is covered with exercises  
(*māshq*) decorated in gold

Four specimens: 3 *rubā'ī* (c, see Plate 196,  
Folio 66 *verso*, a); *qiṭ'a*

21,8 × 38 cm

Attributive signature: Mīr ‘Imād  
Margins (bottom right) signed by master  
decorator: “Written by the slave Muḥammad  
Ḥādī. 1162 [1748-1749 A.D.]

O. A.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

Plate 149/ Folio 27 verso

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ’a*)

Nasta‘līq (medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1002 or 1024 A.H./ 1593 or 1615 A.D.

(note under a: 102, which may be either of  
the years given here); 1008 A.H./ 1599-1600  
A.D.; 1610s

Three specimens: an exercise (*māshq*); a  
*rubā‘ī* (the author is ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī; see  
Plate 67/ Folio 18 verso, a; and Plate 66/  
Folio 26 verso, a) and a fragment of *maṣnavī*  
(see Plate 153/ Folio 3 verso, a)

16 lines in all

10,5 × 22,1; 9,6 × 21,2; 10,5 × 20 cm

Signatures: a) “The humble ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī,  
102 [1002 or 1024]”

b) “The humble lowest sinner ‘Imād  
al-Ḥasanī, may Allah forgive his sins and  
absolve him of guilt. 1008 [1599-1600]”

c) “The humble sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī,  
may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him  
of guilt”

O. A.

Plate 150/ Folio 27 recto

Shāh Jahān and a Vizier

(perhaps Āṣaf Khān in old age)

Mughal school

Mid 17th century

19,5 × 27,5 cm

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

The identification of the *wazīr* (vizier) is  
based upon a suggestion by Ivan Stchoukine,  
who published the painting by Bichitr, a  
major artist, from which this one was meticu-  
lously traced. Once again, we are reminded  
that the Mughal workshops produced work  
on several levels, and often resorted to their  
stores of sketches and tracings. Intriguingly,  
Bichitr’s more finely finished original, albeit  
identical in outline, shows a darkly bearded  
Shāh Jahān as he looked in 1630, not, as rep-

resented here, with the greying beard of 1650.  
On the other hand, the *wazīr*, perhaps origi-  
nally intended to be the aged Āṣaf Khān, has  
defied time, and is scarcely a day older in this  
painting than in the one painted twenty years  
earlier. Although well finished, with jewels  
and textile patterns that differ from Bichitr’s  
original, this painting would have been creat-  
ed for presentation, not to grace one of the  
imperial albums.

S. C. W.

Plate 151/ Folio 7 recto

Jahāngīr with a Vizier

Mughal school

Late 17th or early 18th century

19,5 × 27,5 cm

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Powerfully, even dramatically designed and  
boldly executed, this and a somewhat superi-  
or version of the same composition (Plate  
155/ Folio 24 recto, below) and stands out  
among portraits of the Emperor for its sim-  
plicity. However admirable their visual  
impact, psychological details are negligible.  
As much as the Emperor’s likeness is clearly  
recognisable, that of the *wazīr* is generic, baf-  
fling to Mughalists eager for precise identifi-  
cation. Although a master artist probably  
sketched the design, a lesser one who painted  
it did not achieve much beyond skillfully  
employing a *chārbāh* to transfer the outlines.  
He was unable – or, disinclined – to depict the  
rapport between Emperor and *wazīr*.

S. C. W.

Plate 152/ Folio 7 verso

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ’a*)

Nasta‘līq (medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century; 1022 A.H./ 1613-1614

A.D.; 1018 A.H./ 1609-1610 A.D.

Three specimens: a *rubā‘ī*; a fragment  
of a Turkish *ghazal*; a *qiṭ’a*

12 lines in all

8,3 × 17,7; 7,9 × 16,8; 8 × 17,3 cm

Signatures: a) “The humble lowest sinner

‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins”

b) “The humble lowest sinner ‘Imād  
al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins  
and absolve him of guilt, in the year 1022”



c) “*The humble lowest sinning slave [of Allah] ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him. 1018*”

Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: “*Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 153/ Folio 3 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)

*Nastaʿlīq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1016 A.H./ 1607-1608 A.D.;

1009 A.H./ 1600-1601 A.D.;

early 17th century

Three fragments: a part of a *maṣnavī*;

2 *rubāʿī* in Turkish

12 lines in all

8,2 × 18; 8,6 × 17,4; 8,6 × 17,2 cm

Signature:

a) “*The humble sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him. 1016*”

b) “*The humble slave [of Allah] ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive him. 1009*”

Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: “*Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*”

O. A.

➤ **Plate 154/ Folio 3 recto**

**Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) Enthroned**

Artists: attributed to Manohar Dās (portrait) and Ustād Maṣṣūr (throne)

Mughal school

1601

19,5 × 27,2 cm

Watercolour, ink, silver and gold on paper

Attributive signatures:

“*Manohar Dās*” (portrait);

“*Ustād Maṣṣūr*” (throne)

Inscription: “*Portrait of Shāh Salīm known as Jahāngīr*”

Prince Salīm, who was born in 1569, ruled Mughal India as Emperor Jahāngīr (“*World-Seizer*”) from 1605 to 1627. He is seen here in his early thirties, not as bejewelled as he was portrayed later by the same artist, Manohar, in Plate 177/ Folio 22 *recto*, below. This extraordinary picture, by two of the ruler’s favourite artists, might have been painted at Allāhābād between 1599 and 1604,

when Prince Salīm established independence from his imperial father.

While claiming kingship, he scrupulously acknowledged Akbar as “great king;” and in this thoughtful, regal, yet slightly anxious profile portrait, we note the absence of the halo, which later became part of his imperial iconography.

An admirer of pictures Prince Salīm wisely commissioned Manohar and Ustād Maṣṣūr to paint this major work of art. For many years, even as a boy, he had nurtured their artistic progress, admiring the former as a portraitist and the latter as a specialist in flora and fauna. Manohar, therefore, was invited to portray the royal presence, while the latter was asked to lavish his talents on the great golden throne, with its duck-head finials and (possibly) enamelled plaques showing various birds and animals.

Although this is but one of many masterpieces they painted – otherwise separately – for Jahāngīr, it must have furthered their reputations in the imperial circle. We wonder if the glorious throne ever progressed beyond the stage of artistic fantasy.

Literature: Prasad 1940, pp. 39-66.

S. C. W.

**Plate 155/ Folio 24 recto**

**Jahāngīr and his Vizier**

Mughal school

Late 17th or early 18th century

18 × 25,2 cm (original size: 17,3 × 24,7 cm)

Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold on paper

A more successful version of Plate 151, Folio 7 *recto*, above, this forcefully designed painting, with its broad handling and monumentality, nevertheless lacks the psychological nuances admired in earlier Mughal portraiture. The *wazīr* might be the same nobleman depicted standing before the Emperor in Plate 198/ Folio 14 *recto*.

S. C. W.

**Plate 156/ Folio 24 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)

*Nastaʿlīq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran, Isfahan

Early 17th century

(1023 A.H./ 1614-1615 A.D)  
 Three specimens: 2 *beits* and 1 *rubāʿī*  
 12 lines in all  
 7,4 × 15,6; 7,3 × 16,8; 7,3 × 16,8 cm  
 Signature: a) “*The humble lowest of sinners*  
*‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*  
*and absolve him of guilt*”  
 b) “*Written for the offspring of Nūr al-Dīn*  
*Muḥammad, may his life be long.*  
*The humble sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī,*  
*may Allah forgive his sins. [Written] in the*  
*capital city of Isfahan. 1023*”  
 c) “*The humble sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī,*  
*may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve*  
*him of guilt*”  
 Borders signed (bottom right) by master  
 decorator: “*Written by the slave Muḥammad*  
*Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 157/ Folio 20 verso**  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)  
*Nastaʿlīq* (medium size)  
 Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 1019 A.H./ 1610-1611 A.D.;  
 Rabīʿ I 1008 A.H./  
 September – October 1599 A.D.;  
 early 17th century  
 Three specimens:  
*qiṭʿa* (see Plate 117/ Folio 10 verso, b)  
 2 fragments of a *maṣnavī* (c, see Plate 84/  
 Folio 9 verso, a) and a *beit*  
 14 lines in all  
 7,2 × 14,8; 7,3 × 16,8; 7,2 × 16,5 cm  
 Signatures: a) “*The humble sinner ‘Imād*  
*al-Ḥasanī. 1019*”  
 b) “*In the month of Rabīʿ I, in the year 1008.*  
*The humble lowest sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī,*  
*may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him*  
*of guilt*”  
 c) “*The humble sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī,*  
*may [Allah] forgive his sins*”.

Borders signed (bottom right) by master  
 decorator: “*Written by the slave Muḥammad*  
*Ḥādī. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 158/ Folio 20 recto**  
**Lioness Attacking Jahāngīr**  
 Mughal school  
 Mid 18th century  
 18,5 × 26,3 cm (original size: 17,5 × 22,7 cm)  
 Watercolour, gouache and gold on paper

For observations on this contribution to the  
 Mughal imperial legend, see above, Plate 115/  
 Folio 15 recto

S. C. W.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

**Plate 159/ Folio 84 verso**  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)  
*Nastaʿlīq* (medium and very small)  
 Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Late 16th – early 17th century  
 Assembled from three fragments of exercises  
 (*māshq*) decorated with ornamentation  
 20,8 × 7,6; 12,3 × 25,6; 9 × 25,6 cm

O. A.

**Plate 160/ Folio 84 recto**  
**Flowers**  
 Artist: Ḥājji Muḥammad  
 Isfahan school  
 1112 A.H./ 1700-1701 A.D.  
 13,1 × 20,3 cm  
 Watercolour and ink on paper  
 Attributive note in a white wash: “*Work of*  
*Ḥājji Muḥammad in the months of the year*  
*1112.*”

The black ground was probably added when  
 the Album was compiled as the miniature is  
 glued on in four places. The quality of execu-  
 tion is such, that it has cast doubts on an ini-  
 tial attribution to Muḥammad Zamān, and  
 more likely to have been carried out by Ḥājji  
 Muḥammad, as Adle suggests. see section on  
*Hazelnuts*, Plate 168/ Folio 76 recto, below.

Literature: *Tabrizi* 1990, pp. 602-04, 644;  
*Adle* 1980

A. I.

**Plate 161/ Folio 85 recto**  
**Plum Blossom**  
 Artist: Muḥammad Zamān  
 Isfahan school  
 1105 A.H./ 1693-1694 A.D.  
 12,9 × 20 cm (original size: 12,1 × 19,2 cm)  
 Watercolour, ink and gold on paper  
 Attributive signature: “*Written by the most*  
*worthless of slaves Muḥammad Zamān. Year*  
*1105 [1693-1694 A.D.]*”  
 Inscription: “*He (God)! As a tribute to the*

*autocratic, the noblest, the most pious, the most exalted Sovereign... [ending erased]"*

There is no doubt that this miniature is the work of Muḥammad Zamān; the style and technique adopted in this piece are typical of his work. There is question however, as to whether or not the inscription, in gold calligraphic *shekasteh-i nasta'liq*, was done by his hand. Both the signature at the bottom right of the Folio, and the inscription in the upper left, are located in the section of the miniature which was added at a later date.

It is possible, however, that Zamān did originally include an inscription in this miniature, but that it was poorly preserved, and therefore, at a later date, possibly when the Album was assembled, was retraced by another person. However, a comparison of this inscription with one known to be by Muḥammad Zamān, more than sufficiently proves that it was done by him. It would seem likely that this miniature forms a pair (one turn of the leaf) with *Narcissi*, Plate 164/ Folio 83 *recto*, however the *Narcissi* Folio was apparently not in very good condition and in the 18th century the compilers must have decided to create a new background for *Narcissi*, and added the same kind of ground as in *Plum Blossom*, transferring the signatures and inscriptions. This would explain the use of gold and *shekasteh* elements in the handwriting.

A. I.

**Plate 162/ Folio 85 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large and medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century

The entire page is covered by exercises (*māshq*) decorated in gold

24,5 × 36,6 cm

Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: "*Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1757-1758 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 163/ Folio 83 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large and medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century

Exercises (*māshq*) assembled from two fragments and decorated with gold ornament

Top: 25 × 18 cm

Bottom: 25 × 14,4 cm

Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: "*Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-1759 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 164/ Folio 83 recto**

*Narcissi*

Artist: Muḥammad Zamān

Isfahan school

1105 A.H./ 1693-1694 A.D.

12,8 × 20,2 cm (original size: 10 × 16,2 cm)

Watercolour and ink on paper

Attributive note in gold: "*An offering to the Sovereign's personal treasury, drawn by the pen of the lowest of slaves Muḥammad Zamān. 115. "*"

Borders signed (bottom left) by the master decorator: "*The lowest Muḥammad Bāqir*"

From the quality of the painting we can attribute this miniature to Muḥammad Zamān. The background has been discussed above (Plate 161/ Folio 85 *recto*). The attributive note merits further examination here. While the date is given as 115, this should be read as 115 A.H./ 1703-1704 A.D., since the figure for one thousand was often omitted from dates on various objects. However, this gives rise to a discrepancy, for there is a lacquered box in the State Hermitage, done by Muḥammad Zamān's son and signed Muḥammad 'Alī, son of the late Muḥammad Zamān, 1112 A.H. [1700-1701 A.D.]. Muḥammad Zamān must have died somewhere around 1112 if not in that exact year. In that case, a piece with a signature dated 1115 A.H./ 1703-1704 could not be his.

Another conclusion would be that when the Album was assembled, the date of the original signature was not very clear, and by the mid-18th century no one could remember the exact year of Muḥammad Zamān's death; when the date was transferred onto the new background, it became [1]115 whereas the original could have been 11[0]5 A.H./ 1693-1694 A.D. The note at the top indicates that the miniature was painted as an offering to the treasury of the Shāh's personal domain.

A. I.

**Plate 165/ Folio 82 recto**

**Hyacinths**

Artist: Muḥammad Zamān

Isfahan school

1094 A.H. [1682-1683 A.D.]

10,2 × 17,5 cm

Watercolour and ink on paper

Attributive signature:

*"Written by the most worthless of slaves  
Muḥammad Zamān. Year 1094"*

This relatively small, but elegant, miniature reproduces white, violet, and lilac coloured flowers (with green stems) of varying sorts, which are set against a cream-tinted background.

The flowers in the centre of the miniature are a mixture of purple and white hyacinths. This miniature is undoubtedly the finest of the surviving flower paintings.

The artist, Muḥammad Zamān, considered the first Persian artist to paint images of flowers from life, has used both traditional and European techniques for the creation of this painting. These include vibrant, contrasting colours, emphasis on fine line, chiaroscuro and the use of perspectival devices.

An interesting comment was made by Cornelius Le Brun who was in Isfahan in 1703-1704. Describing a local artist in the Shāh's service known for his great mastery in his art, he said "This artist was engaged in copying books about flowers printed in our country [Holland] for the Shāh and in painting and colouring them, which a European ecclesiastic had taught him to do". The artist's name was unfortunately not given.

A. I.

**Plate 166/ Folio 82 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century

Exercises (*māshq*)

assembled out of three fragments, with gold ornament 22,8 × 11,8; 19,1 × 11,2; 18,9 × 8,9 cm

Borders signed (bottom right) by master decorator: *"Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-1759 A.D.]"*

O. A.

**Plate 167/ Folio 76 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (very small and medium)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century

Exercises (*māshq*) assembled out of three fragments, with gold ornament

19,5 × 11,1; 10,3 × 17,2; 11 × 17,8 cm

Borders signed (bottom right) by master

decorator: *"Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-59 A.D.]"*

O. A.

**Plate 168/ Folio 76 recto**

Top: Duck

Mughal school

17th century

14,3 × 12 cm

(original size: 10,6 × 10,5 cm)

Watercolour, ink and silver on paper

Inscription (top): *"Completed as an offering to the Sovereign's personal treasury"*

Bottom: Hazelnuts

Artist: attributed to Ḥājji-Muḥammad Qumī ibn Ḥājji Yūsuf

Isfahan school

1094 A.H./ 1682-1683 A.D.

14,5 × 16,6 cm (original size: 14,4 × 12 cm)

Watercolour and ink on paper

Signature: *"Work of Ḥājji Muḥammad, 1094"*

The Mughals enthusiastically commissioned paintings of flora and fauna. Although no examples have survived either from Bābur's or Humāyūn's reign, the latter is known to have owned albums containing them.

Below (Plate 211/ Folio 47 recto) we can admire the superb depictions of birds, elephants, camels, and other animals in a miniature drawn if not wholly painted for Akbar by his father's Safavid artist, *Mīr Sayyīd-'Alī*, who probably painted independent studies of birds and animals. Best known, however, are those commissioned by Jahāngīr, for whom Abū'l Ḥasan, Nādir al-Zamān, and Ustād Maṣṣūr, entitled Nādir al-'Aṣr, created some of the world's most sensitive natural history pictures. This duck cannot be assigned to him, alas. However, fine the outlining, however detailed the feathering and the eye, the pose is too stiff and awkward to be assigned to this artist.

*Hazelnuts* (bottom) was commissioned originally for the Shāh's personal treasury as were those miniatures by Muḥammad Zamān. In the first edition of the Album, it was attributed to Muḥammad Zamān, although part of his name was missing from the picture (as in one of his miniatures for the "Khamsa" in the J. P. Morgan Library). This attribution was criticised by Adle in his book (*Adle 1980*). In retrospect, Adle's attribution is far more plausible; as this work is most likely by the artist Ḥājji Muḥammad, son of Yūsuf Qumī. However studies have suggested that Muḥammad Zamān had a brother, an artist called Ḥājji Muḥammad, but this is not to say that he can be identified with Muḥammad 'Ibrāhīm, son of Ḥājji Yūsuf Qumī, as Adle suggests. It would perhaps be better to claim that Ḥājji Yūsuf Qumī had three sons who were artists, though it is impossible to prove this definitively.

Literature: *Akimushkin, Grek, Gyuzelyan, Ivanov 1962*

S. C. W./ A. I.

**Plate 169/ Folio 78 recto**

Top: **Western Tragopan**

Isfahan school

Mid 18th century

14,5 × 17,3 cm (original size: 8,3 × 11 cm)

Watercolour and ink on paper

Bottom: **Flowers and Butterflies**

Artist: attributed to Muḥammad-Rīzā-yi

Hindī

Isfahan school

Late 17th century

14,5 × 17,3 cm (original size: 8,5 × 17,3 cm)

Watercolour and ink on paper

This Western Tragopan is awkward in pose and not well painted, is thought to be the work of Muḥammad Bāqir, whose name appears on Plate 143/ Folio 77 *recto* and in many other Folios in this *Muraqqa'*. The flowers and butterflies, which decorate this picture are delightfully bright in colour, well drawn, and liltingly rhythmical. On the basis of ascribed works in the *Muraqqa'*, this spritely picture can be assigned to Muḥammad-Rīzā-yi Hindī, who seems to have been trained in the Deccan, probably at Golconda. We assume that he moved to Iran during the

later 17th century, when the Mughal annexation of the Deccani sultanates painfully disrupted patronage of the arts. Many gifted artists moved to Mughal or Rajput courts. Having been trained at Golconda to paint in a markedly Persian style, he would have been confident of finding enthusiastic patronage in Isfahan. *A Floral Fantasy*, in the collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, painted in the Deccan during the third quarter of the 17th century, offers a similar but earlier and less restrained celebration of flowers, birds, and butterflies. Although unsigned, it might have been painted by Muḥammad-Rīzā at Golconda before the last Sulṭān, Abū al-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, known as *Tana Shāh*, "The King of Taste", succumbed to the Mughals in 1687. If Muḥammad-Rīzā of India painted it there, it is apparent that his style became more calmly classical after the move to Isfahan.

Literature: for *A Floral Fantasy*, see: *Welch, Welch 1982*, No. 75, pp. 224-27.

S. C. W.

• **Plate 170/ Folio 78 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1021 A.H./ 1612-1613 A.D.

18,1 × 35 cm

Fragment of a *ghazal*

4 lines in all

Signature: "*The humble sinner*

*'Imād al-Ḥasanī. 1021*"

Borders (bottom right) signed by master

decorator: "*Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1169 [1755-1756 A.D.]*"

O. A.

• **GAP: Folio(s) missing**

**Plate 171/ Folio 96 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century

Exercises (*māshq*) decorated with gold and coloured ornamentation

5 lines in all

21,8 × 31,1 cm

Signature: "Written as a practice exercise,  
by the humble, humble, humble lowest  
'Imād al-Ḥasanī"

O. A.

**Plate 172/ Folio 96 recto**

**Review of the Herd**

Artist: attributed to 'Alī Qulī Beg Jabbādār

Isfahan school

Late 17th century

42,5 × 26,1 cm

There are no signatures on this painting, but its particular style adopted (see below, Plate 173/ Folio 98 recto) gives us reason to attribute it to 'Alī Qulī Beg Jabbādār. There is also an obvious portrait likeness between the figure standing in the group of courtiers to the left of the Shāh, and one of the figures in the *The Shāh and his Courtiers* miniature.

A. I.

**Plate 173/ Folio 98 recto**

**The Shāh and his Courtiers**

Artist: 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār

Isfahan school

Circa 1660s or 1670s

42,1 × 28,2 cm

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Attributive signature: "He! The son of an old slave 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār"

This painting depicts a young Shāh (probably Sulaimān, acceded in 1077 A.H./ 1666 A.D.) sitting on the terrace of a palace pavilion with his favourite courtiers and musicians. This complex ceremonial composition gives the impression of a certain constraint and tenseness. From this picture, distinctive characteristics of the artist's style can be discerned: slender figures of young men with unnaturally narrow waists and elongated faces; minute, realistic detail in the features of each person depicted, especially in the features of the aged dignitaries (possibly eunuchs); the massive tapering headgear made from cloth *kulāh*; special treatment of multicoloured leaves and vegetation; clouds in the sky and hazy rolling hills in the background. The Shāh's head is encircled with a golden nimbus, a detail which was commonly used by contemporary Indian artists for depicting royal figures it is known that 'Alī Qulī occasionally copied

some miniatures by painters of the Mughal school of the 17th century. 'Above the heads of a group of courtiers standing to the left of the Shāh, are two inscriptions, using letters from the Georgian alphabet; unfortunately these are not legible.

A. I.

**Plate 174/ Folio 98 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century

Exercises (*māshq*) decorated in gold

and painted ornamentation

21,1 × 37,1 cm

Signature: "The humble sinner"

Borders signed (bottom right) by master

decorator: "Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1169 [1755-1756 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 175/ Folio 21 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1022 A.H./ 1613-1614 A.D.

Example of exercises (*māshq*): epithets of Allah

9 lines in all

22,2 × 36,8 cm

Signature: "Exercise by Mīr 'Imād. 1022. "

O. A.

**Plate 176/ Folio 21 recto**

**Festivities on the Occasion**

**of the Accession of Emperor Jahāngīr**

Artist: Abū'l Ḥasan Jahāngīrshāhī

Mughal school

Circa 1605, or circa 1615 [see below]

22 × 37,8 cm

Watercolour, silver and gold on paper

Attributive inscription

(on the pan for removing elephant dung):

"By the most worthless of the humble, Abū'l Ḥasan, Jahāngīr Shāhī"

Few Mughal paintings outrank this one, which leaps from the page. This picture (the left half of a double page) and its now lost companion were so admired by Jahāngīr that

he wrote of them in the *Tuzūk* [see entry above, under Plate 83/ Folio 9 *recto*, in which we discussed the artist, Abū'l Ḥasan.] The picture is alive with innovations, such as the boldly conceived frontal view of an elephant bearing kettle drums, hurtling towards us through the palace gate. Wherever our eyes wander, there are delights. We hear the horn players; and smell the animals and perspiring men, especially those in the foreground, who have shed all manners to scramble for the largesse bestowed by an overweight servant. Among the mostly rowdy celebrants Robert Skelton has identified the Jesuit Father Corsi [slightly left of centre], moustached and foppish Sir Thomas Roe [foreground, behind an Ottoman Janissary], and Sir Thomas's chaplain, Father Terry, who is hatless, balding, and decidedly out of place. Mr. Skelton further informs us that these foreigners, who visited the court between 1615 and 1619, did not in fact attend the celebrations. They were included anyway, perhaps for their picturesqueness, when this painting was made, or – if it is indeed the picture to which Jahāngīr referred – when it was enriched in circa 1615 by additional activities and figures. Abū'l Ḥasan's talent was recognised by Jahāngīr when the artist was still quite young. Abū'l Ḥasan served as Jahāngīr's artist for many years. Like his sharp-eyed, witty patron, the young artist took pleasure not only in the kinds of natural beauty universally admired, but in almost everything odd, quirky, and comical. Nowhere is this more clearly shown as in this miniature: we have only to look at the varieties of costume, the mottling and rippled wrinkles of the elephant, the bemused fellow peeking at us from beyond the great creature's mouth and tusks, and the fetching bevy of courtesans just beyond the Jesuit Father. Regrettably, the *Jahāngīrnāma*, the Emperor's official history of his reign, for which this picture was painted, and its Folios scattered far and wide.

Literature: for a concise account of the *Jahāngīrnāma*, see *Beach* 1978, pp. 60-65.

S. C. W.

Plate 177/ Folio 22 *recto*

**Darbār of Jahāngīr**

Artist: attributed to Manohar

Mughal school

Circa 1607

22,7 × 37,9 cm

Inscription : "...by Allah's grace

*Shāh Nūr al-Dīn*

*Jahāngīr ibn Akbar Pādshāh*"

Like Plate 176/ Folio 21 *recto*, this superb painting was originally part of the *Jahāngīrnāma*, the official illustrated history of the reign. It can be dated on the basis of the portrait of Prince Khurrām [at his father's right], who appears to be approximately fifteen years old, and who can be seen in Plate 103/ Folio 8 *recto*, above, as a mere child. Both of these portraits of Shāh Jahān in his youth can be attributed to Manohar, who also has here composed a crowd of important noblemen traced from sketches made from life, a practice which caused a few noticeable incongruities of scale. This painting and others like it, unlike our historical group photographs, are not reliable sightings of the occasions represented. This imperial darbār does not show the assembled as they looked on a particular day. Rather, it stands for an event certainly attended by most of the major noblemen depicted here, expanded by an assortment of likely "extras".

Few of Jahāngīr's surviving pictures however so precisely render temporary wood-framed structures, textiles, and fences. Gratefully, we observe the air-conduits of the tents, wooden staircase, parasols, umbrellas, tassels, and a remarkable archive of textile patterns. Of great interest, too, are large copies of European pictures in the background, which have been identified by Gauvin Bailey as [left] Georg Pencz's *Tobias, Advised by Raphael*, *Catches a Large Fish*, and [right] a generalised couple derived from European engravings. We have evidence that large ornamental paintings, or textiles, were brought out by the Mughals to adorn tents on special occasions. Jahāngīr, in addition, maintained a picture gallery in a garden pavilion.

S. C. W.

Plate 178/ Folio 22 *verso*

Calligraphic specimens (*qifā*)

*Nasta'liq* (large)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Circa 1610  
 Example of an exercise (*māshq*): epithets  
 of Allah  
 9 lines in all  
 22,8 × 34,6 cm  
 Signature: “*This work was executed,  
 as a practice exercise, by the slave,  
 the slave [of Allah] ‘Imād*”

O. A.

**Plate 179/ Freer 42.18 verso**  
 Calligraphic Specimens (*qiṭʿa*)  
*Nastaʿlīq* (large)  
 Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Early 17th century  
 30,5 × 23,1 cm  
 One specimen: exercises (*māshq*), praises  
 with Allah (see Plate 175/ Folio 21 verso, b;  
 Plate 178/ Folio 22 verso)  
 7 lines in all  
 Attributive inscription (top left): “*Written  
 by the slave of Allah, the sinner,  
 may his sins be forgiven*”  
 Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art,  
 Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

O. A.

**Plate 180/ Freer 42.18 recto**  
**A Night Celebration of the Prophet’s Birthday**  
 Artist: attributed to Būlāqī, son of Hoshang  
 Mughal school  
 Circa 1635  
 30,5 × 23,1 cm  
 Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold  
 on paper  
 Borders signed (bottom centre) by the master  
 decorator: “*Executed by Muḥammad Ṣādiq.  
 In the year 1160 [1747-1748 A.D.]*”  
 Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art,  
 Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

M. B.

**Plate 181/ Freer 42.17 recto**  
**A Night Celebration of the Prophet’s Birthday**  
 Artist: attributed here to Būlāqī, son of  
 Hoshang  
 Mughal school  
 Circa 1635  
 30,5 × 23,1 cm  
 Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold on  
 paper  
 Borders signed (bottom centre) by the master

decorator: “*Executed by Muḥammad Ṣādiq*”  
 Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smith-  
 sonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

On 16 September 1633, an assembly of holy  
 men, scholars, and other important courtiers  
 gathered in the Diwan-i-Jamāʿat at Agra to  
 celebrate the *Mīlād*, or birthday of the  
 Prophet Muḥammad. As described in the  
*Shāhjahānnāma*, an official chronicle of the  
 reign:

“Various scholars and pious persons recited  
 the Quʿrān and expounded upon the greatness  
 and noble perfection of that culmination of all  
 humanity. And for the enjoyment of the  
 assembled worthiest, the atmosphere was per-  
 fumed by incense and fragrant essences, and  
 they were served banquet trays of varied  
 foods, dried fruits and sweets” (Begley, Desai  
 1990).

Signed illustrations (Folios 124b-125a) in the  
*Pādshāhnāma* manuscript at the Royal  
 Library, Windsor Castle, and individual his-  
 torical scenes made for an unknown manu-  
 script, allow both halves of this painting to be  
 attributed to the painter Būlāqī son of  
 Hoshang. The text describing this event is  
 included in the Windsor volume, a complete  
 book with all its illustrations. The volume or  
 volumes for which this and other Shāh Jahān  
 period historical scenes were intended is there-  
 fore unknown.

Literature: Welch 1978, pls. 31-32; Beach  
 1981, nos. 17e-f; Begley, Desai 1990, pl. 21

M. B.

**Plate 182/ Freer 42.17 verso**  
 Calligraphic Specimens (*qiṭʿa*)  
*Nastaʿlīq* (large)  
 Calligrapher: attributed to ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Early 17th century  
 16,9 × 23,7 cm  
 One specimen: fragment of prose (from  
 ‘Abdallāh Anṣārī’s (1005-1088 A.D.)  
*Ilahī-nāmeḥ* decorated with gold and colour  
 see Plate 100, Folio 41 verso, top)  
 5 lines in all  
 Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art,  
 Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

O. A.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing



**Plate 183/ Folio 73 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large and medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century

Exercises (*māshq*) decorated in gold

41,2 × 23,5 cm

Borders signed (bottom left) by the master decorator: "*Work of Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-59 A.D.]*"

O. A.

**Plate 184/ Folio 73 recto**

**Falcon**

Artist: 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār

Isfahan school

Second half of the 17th century

21,3 × 29,4 cm

Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

Attributive signature: "*He (God)! Written by the son of the old slave 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār*"

In this miniature, the falcon and all related items (the hood, the perch, etc.) are drawn in detail with masterly precision on pale, lemon-yellow tinted paper. In the past falcons were regarded as symbols of royal prestige. Being so highly valued, to receive one as a gift was considered a regal honour. The elegance of this painted falcon makes it easier to understand why they were so highly esteemed in the past. 'Alī Qulī's familiarity with European artistic techniques, such as perspective and chiaroscuro, have clearly been employed in this miniature painting. Particularly effective in giving the image a sense of firm ground and depth is the falcon's hood and the shadow it casts to the left. The artist's name is known only in the form 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār. Apparently, he had a long and extremely fruitful career: his earliest extant work is dated 1068 A.H. [1657-1658 A.D.] and is a copy of the miniature *Majnun*, originally the work of the Indian painter Govardhan; his last surviving work, *Portrait of the Russian Ambassador*, is dated 1129 A.H. [1716-1717 A.D.]. 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār's oeuvre consisted of both original and copied works. Many of the works he copied were originally created by Indian painters of the Mughal school of the 17th century, as well as European paintings and engravings. In terms of style, 'Alī Qulī repre-

sented the more European painting style of the mid 17th century Isfahan school. According to Luṭf 'Alī-Beg Adhar Isfahānī 1722-1781, Persian man of letters and historiographer, 'Alī Qulī was of European descent but had adopted Islam, and was known as 'Alī Qulī Farangī. Based on his analysis of 'Alī Qulī's technique, the scholar I. S. Stchoukine doubted very much that the artist had been a European painter, strictly because his work reveals his incapability to apply the laws of perspective correctly (*Stchoukine* 1964, p. 176).

'Alī Qulī worked as a painter at the court of the three last Safavids, 'Abbas II (1642-66), Sulaimān (1666-1694) and Ḥusain (1694-1722). Again, according to Luṭf 'Alī-Beg Adhar Isfahānī, 'Alī Qulī formed a dynasty of court painters which included his son 'Abdāl Beg and his grandson Muḥammad 'Alī-Beg, both of whom were chief painters at the court of the last Safavid and then, of Nādir Shāh.

A. I.

**Plate 185/ Folio 74 recto**

**A Guinea Fowl**

Artist: attributed to 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār

Isfahan school

Late 17th century

21,3 × 28,8 cm

Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

Inscription: "*This is known as a colourful bird*"

This attractive red-eyed, blue and black feathered guinea fowl, described in a cartouche as a "colourful bird", sports golden bangles. It appears to have been painted as the companion to 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār's splendid falcon, Plate 184/ Folio 73 recto. Although the flower, tufts of grass, and stones in the foreground – seemingly afterthoughts – were painted in Mughal style, this picture cannot be accepted as a Mughal work. Neither Ustād Maṣṣūr – Jahāngīr's great painter of flora and fauna – nor any other 17th century Mughal artist would have placed the bird afloat in space as depicted here. Distinctly atypical of the Mughal style, this picture looks ahead in its decorative power to the large studies painted many years later by Indian artists for British patrons. We attribute it to 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār.

S. C. W.

**Plate 186/ Folio 74 verso**  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (large)  
 Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Late 16th – early 17th century  
 Sheet of exercises (*māshq*) assembled from  
 two specimens and decorated with gold  
 ornament  
 24,5 × 37,5 cm  
 (upper section: 24,5 × 19,3 cm;  
 lower section: 24,5 × 18,2 cm)  
 Borders signed (bottom right) by master  
 decorator: "Written by the slave  
 Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-1759 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 187/ Folio 67 verso**  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (large)  
 Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Early 17th century  
 A page of exercises (*māshq*) decorated in gold  
 7 lines in all  
 24,8 × 37,7 cm  
 Borders signed (bottom right) by master  
 decorator: "Written by the slave Muḥammad  
 Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 188/ Folio 67 recto**  
**The Worship of Shiva**  
 Provincial Mughal school  
 Circa 1750  
 17 × 27 cm (original size: 17 × 25 cm)  
 Watercolour, ink, silver and gold on paper

One of the few purely Hindu subjects in this album is this depiction of Shiva *pūjā* (worship), which was respected as a picturesque motif in Mughal painting. The deity is symbolised by a stone *lingam*, or phallic emblem, within a marble pavilion watched over by a blue-skinned female ascetic. Traditional offerings of flower-garlands and foodstuffs are made by a group of women. The gathering is a mixed one: noble-women dressed in sumptuous garments richly embroidered with gold are accompanied by more simply clad devotees. One figure stands out: that of an unidentified young female clad in a long upper garment over a fitted *pāijāmā* and wearing a

head-dress. She appears to be an outsider, accompanying her friends to observe or share in their worship. A similar female figure, although in a different context, can be seen in another Folio of this album (Plate 16/ Folio 69 recto). The painting is characterised by the overall stiffness of pose and line which is found in later 18th century Mughal works.

The visitation depicted here is in keeping with certain Shaivite practices such as the monthly all-night vigil of *māhāśivarātrī* observed on the thirteenth evening of the waning phase of the moon.

The small vessels before the worshipper are likely to contain clarified butter or sanctified water, essential elements in the libations performed during *pūjā*.

The symbolic presence of Shiva within the pavilion is also evoked in the sky, where the moon, similar to the crescent which decorates his locks, recalls his image.

The treatment of this religious subject is associated with the iconography of the musical mode *Bhairavī rāgīnī*. Depictions of *rāgas* and *rāgīnīs*, or musical modes, were usually part of a *Rāgamālā* ('garland of melody') series. These were popularly produced at both Mughal and Rajput centres in northern India during the 18th century. Whether this illustration was once intended to belong to such a series is not clear, but the close iconographic relationship is notable.

For further examples of the treatment of this subject see: Coomaraswamy 1930, part VI, pp. 63, fig. CXXXV; Welch, Beach 1965, p. 69.

N.N.H

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

**Plate 189/ Folio 97 verso**  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (large)  
 Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Late 16th – early 17th century  
 The entire page is covered with exercises  
 (*māshq*) decorated with gold  
 23,4 × 36,3 cm  
 Borders (bottom centre) signed by master  
 decorator: "Written by the slave Muḥammad  
 Ḥādī. 1160 [1747 A.D.]"

O. A.

**Plate 190/ Folio 97 recto**

**The Bestowal of a Ring. Audience of the Grand Vizier, Shāh Qulī Khān**

Artist: attributed to Muḥammad Sulṭānī  
Isfahan school

1106 A.H./ 1694-1695 A.D.

30,3 × 22,2 cm

Watercolour, ink, silver and gold on paper

Inscription: "*He (God)! O Master of our times. 1106*"

The miniature depicts an imperial audience. In the scene, the Grand Vizier of the Safavid ruler Sulṭān Ḥusain (1105-1135 A.H./ 1694-1722 A.D.). Shāh Qulī Khān is about to put a ring on the forefinger of the kneeling youth. He is attended by three servants on the left and one on the right. The treatment of the background landscape, which can be seen behind the columns of the portico, testifies to the artist's acquaintance with techniques particular to European painting.

The style of this artist is extremely similar to that of his contemporary, Muḥammad Zamān. A comparison of this miniature to those in Plate 165/ Folio 82 recto; Plate 161/ Folio 85 recto; Plate 53/ Folio 86 recto; Plate 52/ Folio 89 recto, and Plate 49/ Folio 94 recto) confirms the artists's similar stylistic approaches (especially noticeable are similarities in the representation of the trunks and crowns of trees). Moreover, this miniature risked being wrongly attributed to Muḥammad Zamān because the inscription could be read in such a way as to imply that the name Zamān forms part of the artist's (Muḥammad Sulṭānī) name. Indeed, every aspect of Sulṭānī's miniature (the treatment of faces the sharp chiaroscuro modelling, the somewhat clumsy figures, the accessories, the ornamentation of carpets and sumptuous clothing) is very close to the style seen in Muḥammad Zamān's miniatures.

A. I.

**Plate 191/ Folio 99 recto**

**Shāh with a Dignitary and a Servant Holding a Flask**

Artist: 'Alī Qulī Jabbādār

Isfahan school

Second half of the 17th century

28,6 × 22,9 cm

Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

Attributive signature: "*He! Written by 'Alī Qulī, son of an old slave*" In upper left corner another inscription, in Georgian letters.

This miniature is thought to depict the young Shāh Sulaimān who was enthroned in 1077 A.H./ 1666 A.D., at the age of twenty. Here he is shown enjoying a cup of wine on the terrace of a palace pavilion. The kneeling servant is ready to fill the bowl held out to him by the Shāh. The dignitary standing to the left of the Shāh is dressed almost as luxuriously as the ruler himself. It is possible that he is a member of the royal family.

A. I.

**Plate 192/ Folio 99 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qit'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century

The entire page is covered with exercises

(*māshq*) decorated with gold

25,3 × 36,6 cm

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

**Plate 193/ Folio 45 verso**

No calligraphic specimens were mounted on this page

Red and black border

**Plate 194/ Folio 45 recto**

Left: **The Judgement of Paris**

Artist: school of Kesū Dās

Mughal school

Circa 1590

9,5 × 14,7 cm

Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

Right: **Tribal People**

Mughal school

Circa 1615-1620

9,5 × 22,2 cm (original size: 9,5 × 16 cm)

Watercolour and gold on paper

Although their faces are better suited to the imperial court and harem than to any rural or jungle setting, the elegant man and woman portrayed in the miniature to the right wear "fancy dress" leaf skirts, and provide insight into the imperial court's view of tribal life. Their happy infant, in the foreground, is

attended by a nature-clad servant girl, also of courtly mien. From this very finely painted miniature, perhaps a manuscript illustration, it would seem that the Mughals shared the sympathy for the “noble savage” so frequently held in the West.

Although the vast majority of the European images sent to Akbar’s court depicted religious subjects, a few of them also reflected the Renaissance obsession with Classical Greece and Rome. The miniature to the right is inspired by an engraving of the *Judgement of Paris* by Giorgio Ghisi after a painting by Giovanni Battista Bertani (Antwerp, 1555). The miniature is much more independent from the original than the two works by Abū’l-Ḥasan in this album (Plate 60/ Folio 44 *recto* and Plate 61/ Folio 46 *recto*). By selecting only a few principal figures from the crowded print and placing them in a bucolic setting, the Mughal artist has given the image greater immediacy and drama. This sense is heightened by the gesture of interlocking arms – absent in the print – which interrelates the figures more convincingly.

The drapery is also the Mughal artist’s invention, and demonstrates an aptitude for the new style that transcends mere copying. He has also skillfully adapted the hatched shading of the original to a more painterly wash. Since the background is much later and the figures themselves appear to have been altered by another hand (possibly the Safavid artist Muḥammad Bāqir, who worked extensively on this album), this picture is very difficult to attribute.

Nevertheless, the modelling of the nude torsos and the sweep of the drapery suggest the school of Kesū Dās (flourished circa 1580-circa 1605), who was Akbar’s principal painter of Western art in the 1580s and early 1590s. Kesū specialised in partial nudes (Mughal modesty apparently did not encourage full frontal nudity), and learned his subtle technique in the modelling of flesh and drapery from no lesser a master than Michelangelo himself, whose work he intensely studied from engravings.

Literature: *Burgers* 1988, p. 20, cat. No. 3; *Beach* 1976-77, pp 34-52; *Okada* 1992, pp 95-104.

S. C. W./ G. B.

**Plate 195/ Folio 66 *recto***

**Left: Recital Near a Fire**

Mughal school

Early 18th century

9 × 16,5 cm

(original size: 8,8 × 15,3 cm)

Watercolour, ink

and gold on paper

**Right: The Lady Listens**

Mughal school

Early 18th century

9,5 × 17 cm (original size: 9,5 × 15 cm)

Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

The circle of figures, left, reminds us of compositions by Govardhan and Chitarman, whose visions of rural Indian life are unequalled. It would be exciting to discover the lost original. The artist who painted the listening lady, right, probably also painted Plate 13/ Folio 61 *recto* (bottom).

Both of these coy ladies, almost certainly courtesans, raise their knees and loll against bolsters and pillows in ways beyond the repertoire and canon of Mughal tradition. An extensive literature exists about such professional ladies, who – like the Geishas of Japan – were carefully trained to sing, dance, discourse, and otherwise bring delight.

Literature: For Indian courtesans, see: *Chandra* 1973.

S. C. W.

**Plate 196/ Folio 66 *verso***

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)

*Nastaʿlīq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century; 1018 A.H./ 1609-1610

A.D.; late 16th – early 17th century

Three specimens: three *rubāʿī*

12 lines in all

7,5 × 16,2; 7,7 × 16,4; 7,7 × 16,4 cm

Signatures: a) “*The humble lowest sinner*

‘Imād al-Ḥasanī,

*may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt*”

b) “*The humble lowest sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī. 1018. [1609-1610 A.D.]*”

c) “*This was written by the slave [of Allah] the humble ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*”

Borders signed (bottom right) by the master decorator: "Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]"

O. A.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

Plate 197/ Folio 14 *verso*

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (very large)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century

Specimen used as an exercise (*māshq*)

9 lines in all

21,8 × 36,2 cm

Signatures: "The humble 'Imād al-Ḥasanī"

O. A.

Plate 198/ Folio 14 *recto*

Dervishes Dancing in the Presence of Jahāngīr

Mughal school

Mid 17th century

23,5 × 33 cm

Watercolour on paper

In his "Memoirs" Jahāngīr described this incident, which took place during the 14th year of his reign: "On Thursday, the 1st of the Divine month of 'Aban, I went on a pilgrimage to the mausoleum of the late king (Akbar) (may the lights of Allah be his testimony!), and rubbed the head of supplication on his threshold, the abode of angels, and presented 100 *muhars* as *nazar*. All the Begāms and other ladies, having sought the blessing of circulating round the shrine, which is the circling-place of angels, presented offerings. On the eve of Friday a lofty assembly was held of the holy men (*Masha'kh*), the turbaned people (*arbab-i-āma'im* i.e. ecclesiastics, etc. ), *Huffaz* (those who recite the Qu'ran), and singing people, practiced ecstasies and religious dancing (*wajd* and *sama*), to each of whom, according to the circumstances of his merit and skill, I gave a dress of honour, a *farji*, and a shawl". Although such details as the presences of wives and other women are omitted, there is little doubt but that this painting illustrates the passage in Jahāngīr's *Tuzūk*.

The date of this unusual picture is puzzling. Like its well known variant in the Victoria and Albert Museum, it appears to have been based

upon a lost illustration to the Emperor's illustrated history of his reign, the *Jahāngīrnāma*.

Literature: The Victoria and Albert Museum's related painting is illustrated in *Arnold, Binyon* 1921, plate XVIII. See although *Beveridge, Rogers* 1909-14, Vol. II, pp. 101-2. I am grateful to Robert Skelton for this reference.

S. C. W.

Plate 199/ Folio 28 *recto*

Dervishes Dancing in the Presence of Shāh Jahān, Prince Aurangzēb and Attendants

Mughal school

Mid 17th century

38 × 27,5 cm

Watercolour, gouache and gold on paper

Courtesy of The Museum of the History of Religion, St. Petersburg

In the centre of the composition sits Shāh Jahān dressed in green, seated on a large throne; he is depicted as an aging man with a grey beard holding audience with Prince Aurangzēb who stands in front of him. They are surrounded by his servants and dervishes performing a ritualistic dance in the foreground to music. In the background we can admire a very large building with colonnades running around its sides and extended by a large awning likely to have been one of the court pavilions. On the elaborately decorated *frontale* we can discern a youth wearing a tall hat, and a deer.

A. I./O. A.

Plate 200/ Folio 28 *verso*

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large and medium)

Calligrapher 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th century

The entire page is covered with exercises (*māshq*)

27,7 × 37 cm

Attributive signature (top left): "Written as a practice exercise by the humble, lowest 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may his sins be forgiven, for the eldest son of Kalb-'Alī Beg, may his life be long, in the capital city of Isfahan"

Courtesy of The Museum of the History of Religion, St. Petersburg

O. A.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

Plate 201/ Freer 45.9 *recto*

Jahāngīr Embracing Shāh ‘Abbās

Artist: signed by Nādir al-Zamān ibn Āqā Rīzā

Mughal school

Circa 1618

23,8 × 15,4

Watercolour, gold and silver on paper

Inscriptions, possibly by the author:

top, right to left: “*In connection with the dream which His Royal Highness experienced in Chashmāh-i Nur, he composed a beit disclosing its magical meaning:*”

Beit (top centre): “*Our Sovereign interrupted a dream, but gave me pleasure. That person who stole me from my dream, isn’t its enemy*”

Bottom (right to left): “*As the New Year was drawing closer [it] was completed in a hurry. The blessed portrait of the Sovereign was shown to various people. They subjected it to careful study, reviewed and compared it in all respects. The result was such, that the image, with which the majority agreed, resembled [the original]. He! [Allah] the greatest artist! Executed by the sincere devoted son of the slave Nādir al-Zamān, son of Āqā Rīzā*”

Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: “*Executed by Muḥammad Ṣādiq. Year 1160 [1746-1747 A.D.]*”

Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Despite the implications of both this and the succeeding *Jahāngīr Entertains Shāh ‘Abbās* (Plate 204/ Freer 42.16 *recto*), Jahāngīr and the Iranian Shāh never met. Rather than a historical record, therefore, the image is intended to assuage the Mughal Emperor’s concern about the Shāh’s continually aggressive actions. The symbolism of lion and lamb are drawn from European imagery, but the subtlety with which Jahāngīr is depicted, simultaneously avuncular and all-powerful illustrates both the psychological penetration of Jahāngīrī painters, and their skills at observing the appearance of surface details and the expressiveness of body gestures. There is also considerable wit in the way Jahāngīr’s lion pushes Shāh ‘Abbās’ lamb back towards its proper home.

While other important works by Abū’l Ḥasan, Jahāngīr’s favourite painter, abound in the St. Petersburg Album, this is among his first – and certainly his most imperial – images. He was given the title “*Nādir al-Zamān*” (*Zenith of the World*) about 1618, the date attributed to this painting.

Literature: *Ettinghausen 1961a*, pl. 12; *Welch 1978*, pl. 21; *Beach 1980*, pp. 11-14; *Beach 1981*, No. 17b; *Mughal and Rajput painting 1992*

M. B.

Plate 202/ Freer 45.9 *verso*

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ’a*)

*Nasta’līq* (large and medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1019 A.H./ 1610-11 A.D.

One specimen: *rubā’ī*, composed by the calligrapher. (see Plate 66, Folio 26 *verso*, a; Plate 67, Folio 18 *verso*, a; Plate 149, Folio 27 *verso*, a)

4 lines in all

16,5 × 33 cm

Signature: “*Written by the slave [of Allah], the poor, humble sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may Allah forgive his sins and his secret faults in the year 1019.*”

Borders signed (bottom left) by the master decorator: “*Written by the pen of Ḥādī, the illuminator. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]*”

Courtesy of The Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

O. A.

Plate 203/ Freer 42.16 *verso*

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ’a*)

*Nasta’līq* (large and medium size)

Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1017 A.H./ 1608-1609 A.D.

One specimen: *rubā’ī* attributed to Sheikh Abū Sa’īd ibn Abī-l-Khair 967-1049 A.D. (see Plate 54/ Folio 86 *verso*, a; Plate 55/ Folio 91 *verso*)

16,8 × 32,9 cm

4 lines in all

Signature: “*Written by the sinful slave [of Allah], the sinner ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī, may Allah forgive his sins and secret faults, in the months of the year 1017.*

*In the capital city of Isfahan*”

Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: "Written by the pen of *Hādī*, the illuminator 1170 [1756-1757]"  
 Courtesy of The Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D. C.  
 O. A.

**Plate 204/ Freer 42.16 recto**  
**Jahāngīr Entertains Shāh ‘Abbās**  
 Mughal school  
 Circa 1618

25 × 18,3 cm

Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold on paper

Inscriptions:

top centre: "Portrait of his highness *Nūr al-Dīn Jahāngīr Pādshāh*, son of *Akbar Pādshāh*, son of *Humāyūn Pādshāh*, son of *Bābur Pādshāh*, son of ... 'Umar Sheikh Pādshāh, son of *Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā*, son of *Sultān Muḥammad Mīrzā*, son of *Mīrzā Mīrān-Shāh*, son of *Amīr Ṣāhib Qu'rān*";  
 centre right (probably written by Jahāngīr): "Portrait of my brother *Shāh ‘Abbās*";  
 centre right: "Portrait of *Khān ‘Ālam*";  
 centre left: "Portrait of *Aṣaf Khān*";  
 Borders dated (bottom centre): "Year 1160. [1746-1747]"

Courtesy of The Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Seated by an Italian table that supports Chinese porcelain and Venetian glass, and attended by a nobleman – *Khān ‘Ālam*, ambassador to the Iranian court – holding a sculpture from Augsburg of Diana at the hunt, Jahāngīr and his arch-rival the Iranian Shāh are shown as if at peace. Diplomatic contacts with Iran were intensive in the middle of the 17th century, and Jahāngīr records in his memoirs the frequent dispatch and receipt of official gifts. In his account of the tenth year of his reign, for example, which began in March 1615, the Emperor wrote in the *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, "When the merchant 'Abdu-l-Karim left Iran for Hindūstān, my exalted brother Shāh 'Abbās sent me by his hand a rosary of cornelian from Yemen and a cup of Venetian workmanship, which was very fine and rare". It is likely to be this cup that is shown here. Jahāngīr sits beneath a genealogical diagram that shows his descent from *Timūr* (Tamarlane), a firm justification of his claim to rule.

While grounded in careful observation of peoples and objects, this is nonetheless an idealised statement about universal kingship.

Literature: *Ettinghausen* 1961, pl. 13; *Beach* 1981, No. 17c; *Beach* 1995, fig. 6. See although Jahāngīr, *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, translated by Alexander Rogers, edited by Henry Beveridge, Delhi, 1968 reprint, vol. 1, p. 310.

M. B.

**Plate 205/ Freer 42.15 recto**  
**Jahāngīr Preferring a "Ṣūfī" Sheikh to Kings**

Artist: Bichitr

Mughal school

Circa 1615-1618

25,3 × 18,1 cm

Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold on paper

Signature: "Work of the loyal slave Bichitr"

Borders (bottom centre) signed by master decorator: "Executed by *Muḥammad Ṣādiq*"  
 Courtesy of The Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

In this extraordinary image, Jahāngīr is surrounded by an aura so dazzling that even the angelic figures at the top turn away in self-protection. The Emperor faces the elderly Sheikh *Husain*, head of the Mughal dynastic shrine at Ajmer, while the Sultan of Turkey and James I of England look on. The image of the English king is copied from a work by John de Critz, which must have been given to the Emperor by Sir Thomas Roe, who arrived at Ajmer in 1615 as the first English ambassador to the Mughal court. The Sultan is copied not from a Turkish portrait, but from a European work in the style of Gentile Bellini. This superlative illustration, a rich study in cultural relationships, has been published at length by Richard Ettinghausen (see below).

*Jahāngīr Preferring a "Ṣūfī" Sheikh to Kings* would originally have faced *Jahāngīr Entertains Shāh ‘Abbās* (see Plate 204, above), as can be seen in the proportions of the illustration areas and the identical border decorations. Together they provide an image of the Emperor that is true to his name. *Jahāngīr* means, literally, "The Seizer of the World".

Literature: *Ettinghausen* 1961a, pl. 14; *Beach* 1980, pp. 13-14; *Welch* 1976, pl. 22; *Beach*

1981, No. 17a; *Beach* 1993, fig. 76; *Beach* 1995, fig. 7.

M. B.

**Plate 206/ Freer 42.15 verso**  
Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)  
*Nastaʿlīq* (large)  
Calligrapher: ʿImād al-Ḥasanī  
Iran  
Late 16th – early 17th century  
One specimen: a fragment of *mašnavī*  
(see Plate 123/ Freer 31.20 verso)  
4 lines in all  
19,2 × 36,8 cm  
Signature: “*The humble sinner, ʿImād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and his secret faults in the year...*”  
Borders (bottom centre) signed by master decorator: “*Written by the pen of Ḥādī, the illuminator. 1169 [1755-1756]*”  
Courtesy of The Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Literature: *Beach* 1995, Fig. 4

O. A.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

**Plate 207/ Collection Frits Lugt, verso**  
Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)  
*Nastaʿlīq* (large and medium size)  
Calligrapher: ʿImād al-Ḥasanī  
Iran  
1015 A.H./ 1606-1607 A.D.; early 17th century; 1023 A.H./ 1614-1615 A.D.  
Three specimens: a *rubāʿī*; a fragment of *mašnavī*; a *rubāʿī*  
12 lines in all  
19 × 8,8; 18 × 8,9; 18 × 8,9 cm  
Signatures: a) “*The humble sinner ʿImād al-Ḥasanī, may Allah forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt. In the year 1015*”  
b) “*The humble Mīr ʿImād*”  
c) “*The humble sinner ʿImād al-Ḥasanī, may his sins be forgiven. 1023*”  
Borders (bottom, left) signed by master illuminator: “*Executed by the servant Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171*”  
Courtesy of the Collection Frits Lugt, Institute Néerlandais, Paris

O. A.

**Plate 208/ Collection Frits Lugt, recto**  
Top: **A Prince Visiting a Mullāh, with an Attendant and Two Musicians**  
Artist: attributed to Bal Chand  
Mughal school  
Circa 1645  
14,9 × 15,3 cm (original size: 14,9 × 14,3 cm)  
Watercolour, gouache and gold on paper  
Bottom: **A Prince Offering Refreshments to a Girl, with Two Attendants and a Musician**  
Mughal school  
Circa 1660  
13,5 × 15,3 cm (original size: 13,5 × 14,3 cm)  
Watercolour and gold on paper  
Borders signed by master decorator: “*Muḥammad Bāqir*”  
Courtesy of the Collection Frits Lugt, Institute Néerlandais, Paris

This Folio is comprised of two parts. The upper scene, showing a Mullāh with a visitor and three musicians sitting under a tree, has been attributed to the Mughal artist Bal Chand, based on a stylistic comparison of this piece to two other painted miniatures known to be by the artist.

In the top section of the miniature, Bal Chand's style is said to be representative of the Mughal school as it was during the reign of Shāh Jahān. Although court art under Shāh Jahān continued to produce painted miniatures which represented the public and private activities of the Shāh and members of his court, more emphasis was placed on portraiture. Indeed, Bal Chand has been described as both a competent exponent of the Mughal style, as well as one of the more particularly skilled portraitists of Shāh Jahān's court. The recognition of Bal Chand as a fine portraitist may explain why the faces of the Mullāh, visitor and three musicians appear to be extremely individualised.

Another notable characteristic of the artist's style was his ability to depict minute detail. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the hands of the figures, and in the leaves of the trees under which they sit. It has been suggested that the lower scene, depicting a young prince offering food to a beautiful young lady, appears to be the work of another artist.

*Adapted from Collection Catalogue of Collection Frits Lugt*



•GAP: Folio(s) missing

Plate 209/ Folio 35 *verso*  
Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)  
*Nastaʿliq* (large and average size)  
Calligrapher: ʿImād al-H. asanī  
Iran  
Late 16th – early 17th century  
Exercise (*māshq*)  
23,5 × 36,8 cm

O. A.

Plate 210/ Folio 35 *recto*  
**Shāh Jahān Riding a Bay Stallion**  
Artist: attributed to Hāshim  
Mughal school  
Circa 1630-35  
24 × 31,8 cm  
Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

Shāh Jahān, like all Mughals, was an able and discerning horseman, whose stable was probably the best in the world. His efforts to obtain fine horses are recounted in many passages of the *Pādshāhnāma*. We quote one: "...a merchant ...came from Bandar Surat to court and submitted Arab horses to the royal inspection. Out of these, one had been obtained with great difficulty from ʿAlī Pasha, the ruler of Basra, but only after sending him the most costly and precious of gifts. This horse was greatly approved and admired by His Majesty. Its value was estimated at 15,000 rupees; and having received the name of *Laʿli Bībahā* ('Priceless Ruby'), it was esteemed the best in the royal stud of Arab steeds". Although the artist's name was probably noted in the lower margin by Shāh Jahān himself, it was removed and lost when this portrait of him riding a favourite horse was remounted in Iran. At one time, this fine miniature must have enriched a royal album. Note the stallion's hennaed left fetlock, pastern, and coronet. In the distance between the Emperor and village houses, horsemen, elephants, and footsoldiers add a note of imperial power and reality. Finish, palette, portrait, and distant figures bring to mind Hāshim, one of Shāh Jahān's excellent portrait painters, who specialised in studies of Deccani rulers and who is believed to have joined Shāh Jahān's ateliers when he served as governor of the Deccan, centred at Burhānpur.

Literature: For the quotation on horses, see: Begley, Desai 1990, p. 365. For another excellent equestrian portrait, by Payāk, see: Welch S. C. 1981, No. 59, pp. 202-03.

S. C. W.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

Plate 211/ Folio 47 *recto*  
**Mughals Visit an Encampment of "Sadhus"**  
Artist: attributable to Mīr Sayyīd-ʿAlī  
Mughal school  
Circa 1565 and circa 1635  
46 × 29,5 cm  
Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

This brilliantly observed panorama of Hindu holy men is the remains of one of Mughal India's most ambitious group portraits. It is also one of the most original and witty, for its encyclopaedic study of a convocation of *Sadhus* and yogis is paradoxically displayed as an imperial *darbār*, in which a Mughal family visit an "imperial" holy man. Only one artist known to us could have composed this picture, drawn most of its studied figures, classically perfect textiles, gnarled tree trunks and firewood, and sympathetically naturalistic animals. Nor could any other artist have so convincingly shown every texture, so analytically depicted the *tablas*, *vina*, cooking equipment, food, hair arrangements, and head-dresses: Mīr Sayyīd-ʿAlī, one of the Safavid masters hired by Emperor Humāyūn when he was received in exile in Iran in the early 1540s by the great Safavid patron, Shāh Ṭahmasp (reigned 1524-1576), who had at that very time determined to lessen his patronage of painting. In 1549, Mīr Sayyīd-ʿAlī and a few colleagues joined the Mughals at Kabul, before Humāyūn's victorious return to India in 1554. Detailed support for this exciting attribution can be seen in the artist's repetition in Indian form of artistic ideas he had painted in Iran as an illustration to the renowned "Khamsa" of Niẓāmī of 1539 to 1543, now in the British Library (Or. 2265). One of his most celebrated pictures for this manuscript, now in the Harvard University Art Museums, is *Nomadic Encampment* in which the artist fancifully reinterpreted simple nomads as Safavid courtiers, just as he envisioned holy men here as elegant imperial

Mughals. On every level, from composition to textiles, gestures, animals, and individual figures, Harvard and St. Petersburg *Encampments* are notably alike. Allowing for a few adjustments of sex, age, nationality, and costume (or, lack thereof), the goat-milker and firewood-puffer in Harvard's genre scene are almost identical to their holy equivalents in St. Petersburg. *Mīr Sayyīd-ʿAlī*'s artistic powers are seen here to have survived his travels undiminished. Indeed, enough remains through the later additions and colouring to prove that he and his art – at least for a time – thrived in India. As is well known, he became less than content working for Akbar, but, on the basis of this picture, that he got on wondrously well with *Sadhus*! The costumes of the visiting Mughal family – especially the nobleman's turban and jewelled armband – suggest that the later work was carried out in circa 1635 by a highly accomplished master.

Literature: For *Mīr Sayyīd-ʿAlī*, see: *Dickson, Welch* 1981, vol. 1, ch. 8, pp. 178-91, figs. 236-249.

S. C. W.

**Plate 212/ Folio 47 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)

*Nastaʿliq* (large and medium size)

Calligrapher: ʿImād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century

Exercises (*māshq*), decoratively laid out

22,2 × 35,5 cm

Signatures: “*This was written as a practice exercise by the slave [of Allah] the humble ʿImād al-Ḥasanī*”

Borders signed (bottom left) by the master decorator: “*Written by the pen of Ḥādī. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]*”

O. A.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

**Plate 213/ Folio 56 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭʿa*)

*Nastaʿliq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: ʿImād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century; 1020 A.H./

1611-1612 A.D.; early 17th century

Three specimens: fragment of a *ghazal*

(see Plate 67/ Folio 18 verso, b; Plate 27/ Folio 23 verso, b; Plate 46/ Folio 50 verso, c);  
a *rubāʿī*; a *rubāʿī*

8,3 × 15,7; 8 × 15,4; 6,9 × 15,3

Signatures: a) “*The humble lowest sinner ʿImād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins*”

b) “*The slave [of Allah] the sinner ʿImād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins. 1020*”

c) “*Written by the humble Mīr ʿImād*”

Borders signed (bottom left) by the master decorator: “*Written by the slave Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*”

O. A.

**Plate 214/ Folio 56 recto**

**Hunting Deer at Night**

Artist: attributed to *Mīr Kalān Khān*

Mughal school

1127A.H. [1734-1735 A.D.]

28,2 × 18,6 cm

Watercolour, ink and gold on paper

Attributive signature: “*Work of Mīr Kalān 1127. [1734-1735 A.D.]*”

This depiction of a nocturnal hunting scene is one of the more elaborate variations of a well-known theme in Mughal painting. A Persian inscription on the miniature identifies the artist as *Mīr Kalān* and the date of the painting as 1734-1735. The left half of the composition portrays a tribal couple, usually identified as *Bhils*, hunting antelope. The female of the pair, dressed in a leaf-skirt, illuminates the antelope in an incongruously sharp and angular beam (more akin to that of a modern flash-light than a medieval lamp) while her partner releases a fatal arrow into his target. Emerging from behind the rocky out-crop they occupy, a Mughal hunting party is seen, painted in glowing colours that stand out against the dark ground. Although a clear thematic link between the two halves of the painting is not obvious, it is possible that the Mughals were using the aid of the tribals in their hunting expedition.

The painting is rich with incident, particularly in the background where distant armies and groups of holy men although unrelated to the main hunting theme, enrich its overall treatment. In the foreground, a pot boiling over a flame tended by an aged cook, adds a droll touch.

The artist *Mīr Kalān Khān*'s early career was

at the court of the Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh (1719-1748) where this work must have been executed. It is in a more conventional 18th century Mughal idiom than his later works which are usually assigned to the 1760s. *Mīr Kalān Khān* is believed to have left Muḥammad Shāh's court, possibly following the invasion of Nādir Shāh in 1739, to later enter the service of the Mughal Nawāb Vizier Shujā' al-Daula in Awadh. It was there that he executed some of his most impressive paintings, including a depiction of the Nawāb on a lion hunt, now in the Clive Collection at Powis Castle.

A number of attributed and ascribed works by *Mīr Kalān Khān* are known, several in public collections such as in the India Office Library (Johnson Album). Others have passed through sale-rooms in London and elsewhere. From such evidence a certain characteristic mode in which he and his circle worked, has been identified.

*Mīr Kalān Khān*'s distinctive and eclectic style, particularly in its later phase, shows a marked European influence in the treatment of background. A charming characterisation of figures is also notable. His palette (as in this painting) is often dark and moody, with contrasting areas of light and rich colour. Details are strongly accentuated in gleaming gold highlights. His subjects vary from conventional themes to imaginative allegories. Copies of Bijapurī paintings by *Mīr Kalān Khān* imply a possible Deccani connection which remains obscure. Although his works have attracted considerable attention, unsolved problems still remain. The paucity of dated and reliably inscribed material make it difficult to firmly establish the development of his work. Whether all of the pictures attributed are indeed by him is also open to question. They can be easily confused with those of contemporary and later painters working in his style. His eclecticism in painting probably reflects his origin and movements from one centre to another within the Empire. In the light of these questions, the significance of this inscribed painting, possibly his only dated work, is considerable.

Literature: *Skelton* 1958, pp. 97-125; *Falk, Archer* 1981, pp. 135-36, nos. 239-45; *Archer, Rowell, Skelton* 1987, No. 180; *Col-*

*naghi* 1976, nos. 135 I and II. We are grateful to Robert Skelton for his valuable comments on *Mīr Kalān Khān*.

N. N. H.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

Plate 215/ Louvre 7 171 *verso*

Calligraphic specimen (*qifā*)

*Nasta'liq* (large and medium size)

Calligrapher: attributed to 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century

One specimen: the entire page is covered with exercises (*māshq*)

34,5 × 21 cm

Inscription (top, left): "*Carried out as a practice exercise (māshq) for the Jalālā Muḥammad who is the refuge for brotherhood*"

Borders signed (bottom left) by master decorator: "*Executed by the servant Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-1759 A.D.]*"

Courtesy of the Musée du Louvre, Guimet; Fondes Napoleon, Marteau Bequest, 1916 (No. 286)

O. A.

Plate 216/ Louvre 7 171 *recto*

Emperor Jahāngīr Visits Jadrup, a Holy Man

Artist: attributable to Govardhan

Mughal school

Circa 1617-1620

32,5 × 19,5 cm

Watercolour and gold on paper

Courtesy of the Musée du Louvre, Guimet; Fondes Napoléon, Marteau Bequest, 1916 (no. 286)

Few portraits of Emperor Jahāngīr are more sensitive than this one, in which he listens attentively to the revered *sanyassin* Jadrup. In his *Tuzūk*, Jahāngīr describes visits to this Hindu saint. We quote selected passages, the first of which is taken from the eleventh regnal year (1616): "I had frequently heard that an austere Sanyasi of the name of Jadrup many years ago retired from the city of Ujjain to a corner of the desert and employed himself in the worship of the true God. I had a great desire for his acquaintance [but]... thinking of the trouble it would give him, I did not send for him [and instead went to him

to]... the place he had chosen to live in... the hill which had been dug out and a door made. At the entrance there is an opening in the shape of a mihrab [prayer niche]... The hole [in which he lives is so small that] a person of thin body can only enter it with a hundred difficulties... It has no mat and no straw. In this narrow and dark hole he passes his time in solitude. In the cold days of winter, though he is quite naked, with the exception of a piece of rag that he has in front and behind, he never lights a fire... He bathes twice a day in a piece of water near his abode, and once a day goes into the city of Ujjain... to the houses of the Brahmins... who have wives and children and whom he believes to have religious feelings and contentment. He takes by way of alms five mouthfuls of food out of what they have prepared for their own eating; which he swallows without chewing in order that he may not enjoy their flavour; always provided that no misfortune has happened to their three houses, that there has been no birth, and there be no menstruous women in the house... He does not desire to associate with men, but as he has gained great notoriety people go to see him. He... has thoroughly mastered the science of the *vedānta*, which is the science of Sufism. I conversed with him for six gharis; he spoke well, so much so as to make a great impression on me. My society also suited him. At the time when my revered father conquered the fort at Asir, in the province of Kandesh, and was returning to Agra, he saw him in the very same place, and always remembered him well... After interviewing Jadrup I mounted an elephant and passed through the town of Ujjain, and as I went scattered to the right and the left small coins to the value of 3,500 rupies.." (*Beveridge, Rogers 1909-914*, Vol. 1, pp. 355-59).

During the following year, Jahāngīr revisits Jadrup: "... the royal standards were raised in the neighbourhood of the city of Ujjain... On Wednesday, the 29th, I had an interview with Jadrup, who is one of the austere ones on the Hindu religion...". On Saturday, for the second time, my desire for the company of Jadrup increased. I ran and enjoyed the society of the retirement of his cell. I heard many sublime words of religious duties and knowledge of divine things. Without moderate

praise, he sets forth clearly the doctrines of wholesome Sufism and one can find delight in his society. He is sixty years old. He was twenty two years of age when forsaking all external attachments he placed the foot of determination on the highroad of asceticism, and of thirty-eight years he had lived in the garment of nakedness. When I took leave he said 'In what language may I return thanks for this gift of Allah that I am engaged in the reign of such a just king in the worship of my Deity in ease and contentment, and that the dust of composure from any accident settles not on the skirt of my purpose'". (*Beveridge, Rogers 1909-1914*, Vol. 2, pp. 49, 52-53).

Jahāngīr yet again visited Jadrup near Mathura, in 1619; and again described the encounter: "On Monday, the 12th, my desire to see the Gosa' in Jadrup again increased . . . Sublime words were spoken between us. God almighty has granted him an unusual grace, a lofty understanding, an exalted nature, and sharp intellectual powers, with a God-given knowledge and a heart free from the attachments of the world, so that putting behind his back the world and all that is in it, he sits content in the corner of solitude and without wants. He has chosen of wordly goods half a *gaz* of old cotton (*kirpas*) like a woman's veil, and a piece of earthenware from which to drink water, and in winter and summer and the rainy season lives naked and with his head and feet bare. " (*Beveridge, Rogers 1909-1914*, Vol. 2, pp. 104-06)

Jahāngīr's serious interest in saints and mystics is illustrated in the division of this remarkable painting into two parts. 'Above, the Emperor visits the austere saint in his tranquil hermitage; below, his richly attired worldly staff await, patiently, but unmindful of the wisdom being shared beyond the protective trees. Ujjain is seen in the distance.

Amina Okada has suggested that this picture was painted by Govardhan, the great Hindu artist well represented in the St. Petersburg album.

We agree with her attribution: the subdued 'dusty' palette, rich in gold, whites and off-whites, is one he favoured; moreover, the characterisation, gestures, thin-fingers and calligraphically rippling outlines of sleeves are all consistent with his style.

Govardhan's portraits suggest that he had studied with Manohar, several of whose extraordinary portraits of Jahāngīr and his court are in this album. Prestigious noblemen shown here, and identified by Stchoukine, include Mahabat Khān (upper register, fourth from the left), and Khān 'Ālam (wearing a large white turban, above the horse's head).

M. B.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

**Plate 217/ Metropolitan 12.223.2 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th century; early 17th century;

1007 A.H./ 1598-1599 A.D.

Three specimens: with the right hand one, of four couplets, with the calligrapher's signature between the third and fourth couplet, which runs along the frame dividing it from the left-hand specimens. The left side consists of two *rubā'ī*. (*d* is a repetition of *b*; see Plate 23, Folio 63 verso; Plate 93, Folio 1 verso) 16 lines in all, plus the signature 10,8 × 26; 10,1 × 26 cm (the right hand section is on one sheet, the left is assembled from four pieces)

Signature: c) "*The humble, lowest of sinners, 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and give him absolution*".

Borders (bottom, left) signed by master decorator: "*Written by the servant Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*"

Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Rogers Fund, 1912

M. L. S.

**Plate 218/ Metropolitan 12.223.2 recto**

**Jahāngīr Watching an Elephant Fight**

Artist: attributed to Farrukh Chela

Mughal school

Circa 1605

27 × 21 cm

Watercolour, ink, silver and gold on paper

Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Rogers Fund, 1912

Elephant fights were among the favourite royal entertainments of the Mughal Emperors. There is an illustration, by Farrukh Chela and

Basawan, in an *Akbarnāma* manuscript leaf in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, of about 1590, showing Akbar watching an elephant fight while receiving news of the birth of his son, Murad. A painting in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1989. 135), signed by Būlāqī, from the *Pādshāhnāma*, shows Shāh Jahān watching an elephant fight from a pavilion of the Khas Maḥal in the Red Fort in Agra in 1639, in the presence of his sons and a large group of courtiers. In the present picture Jahāngīr is the only figure of rank and viewing the spectacle from his horse, is the only one in full colour. The rest of the painting is in the *nīm-qalam* technique, that is, light colour tones and washes.

Farrukh Chela was an artist active during Akbar's reign and working in the traditional mode of the time, often with other artists, on crowded action-packed scenes, without much concern for individuality or psychological insights. He was at his best when depicting animals, and his series of elephant pictures are both distinctive in style and of high quality.

The elephants in this picture are characteristic of Farrukh Chela's individual style with their strong outlines, chunky bodies, and well-muscled thighs. The physical interaction of the foreground figures reflects their participation in the sheer excitement of the elephants' encounter, without suggesting any profound tensions or suitable insights. Since Farrukh Chela has been identified as a mainstream painter of the Akbar period, this may be one of his latest works. Portraiture was apparently not his strong point and the somewhat darkened area around the head of Jahāngīr may be the result of the artist's effort to get the likeness right.

M. L. S.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

**Plate 219/ Lichtenstein 131b recto**

**A Pahlavan's Initiation Ceremony**

Mughal school

Circa 1720

26,6 × 21,7 cm

Borders: attributed to Muḥammad Bāqir

Watercolour and gold on paper

The Art and History Trust, Lichtenstein (Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery,

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.)  
The scene shows the initiation of a *pahlavān* (wrestler or strongman) as nobles and a holy-man watch. The division of the background landscape into large, broadly defined shapes, and the presence of a gold and orange sky that reinforces the flat place of the picture surface date the work to the reign of the Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh (reigned 1719-1748).

Literature: *Soudavar*, 1992, No. 131b.

M. B.

**Plate 220/ Lihtenstein 131b verso**

Calligraphic specimen (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1024 A.H./ 1615 A.D.

One specimen: fragment of *maṣnavī*

(see Plate 7/ Folio 17 verso)

4 lines in all

32,6 × 16,1

Signature: "*The humble lowest sinner*

*'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt. 1024.*"

Borders (bottom, centre) signed by mater

decorator: "*Executed by the servant*

*Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]*"

The Art and History Trust, Lechtenstein

(Courtesy of The Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.)

O. A.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

**Plate 221/ Ontario 924.12.146 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large and medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Late 16th – early 17th century

Two specimens: exercises

(*māshq, siyāḥqalāmi*) with gold decoration

23 × 17,7; 23 × 20 cm

Borders (bottom, left) signed by master

decorator: "*Executed by the servant*

*Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-1759 A.D.]*"

Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum

O. A.

**Plate 222/ Ontario 924.12.146 recto**

**The Emperor Aurangzēb Observing "Nilgai"**

Mughal school

Circa 1680

24 × 37,5 cm

Watercolour and gold on paper

Borders attributed to master

decorator: "*Muḥammad Bāqir*"

Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum

This is among the very few important imperial portraits from the later years of Aurangzēb's reign (1658-1707), and it continues the tradition – which became especially popular under Shāh Jahān – of showing the Emperor hunting the species of antelope called "*nilgai*" (blue bulls). There is an important difference here, however. While the scene follows a well established compositional formula in placing the Emperor in a landscape with wild "*nilgai*", Aurangzēb is actually hunting; in fact, it was a sport that did not interest him in later years. In a letter to his son Muḥammad A'zam, he made this clear: "You [like] the pleasure of game while I enjoy myself in conquering fortresses and subduing rebels. Alas! What will be your position in this life and in the life after?" (*Ruk'at-i-Alāmgīrī* 1972, p. 34).

The scene should be compared to an early illustration in Dublin (*Arnold, Wilkinson* 1936, pl. 90). The type and placement of the vegetation, and the inclusion of distant figures amidst a rolling landscape with open space in the distance, is identical in each, but this work is harder-edged, a trait most noticeable in the animals. What was sympathetic naturalism in the earlier scene has become cartoon-like; there is no sensitivity to the individual appearances, and the space is flat on the surface rather than receding into depth. This is an important work to demonstrate the departure of later Imperial mughal painting from the intense concern for the play of light over landscape and for individualistic portraiture (whether of men or animals) that distinguishes painting under Aurangzēb's father, the Emperor Shāh Jahān.

Literature: *Beach* 1995, fig. 22.

M. B.

**Plate 223/ Freer 1994.4 recto**

**Two Mughal Princesses Hunting**

**Game-Birds**

Mughal school

Circa 1680  
 23,8 × 37 cm  
 Watercolour and gouache on paper  
 Borders signed (bottom) by master  
 decorator: “*The humblest Muḥammad Bāqir*”  
 Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution,  
 Washington, D.C. (Anonymous Purchase and  
 Donation of Friends of Asian Arts)

It is unusual for a Mughal artist to portray ladies of the Mughal court engaged in activities outside the confines of the *zenānā* female apartments). Possibly on certain occasions when Mughal princes were travelling between their domains, there were opportunities for the ladies to take part in field sports, but this was not normal practice.

The two princesses are shown hunting, riding in the *howda* of an elephant, one of them holding a gun, the barrel of which protrudes behind the head of the *mahout*. Two attendants dressed in green using slender poles to lure and snare game-birds are placed nearby. Also very rare in Mughal painting, the fine ladies are shown unveiled in the presence of male attendants. The princes and their entourage hunting on horseback are in the distance. The circumstances behind this recently discovered picture are elusive, but it was almost certainly executed by the same artist who painted the facing page within the St. Petersburg Album, *The Emperor Aurangzēb Hunting Nilgais*, now in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (see Plate 223). Judging by the age of the Emperor, the date of the works should be about 1680. During the period of Aurangzēb’s rule, the freely painted, natural landscape style found in *Dārā Shikōh Hunting Nilgais* (see Plate 236) was replaced by more traditionally Indian forms. This included a flatter space, and the careful disposition of non-overlapping, clearly silhouetted shapes.

M. B.

**Plate 224/ Freer 1994.4 verso**  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ’a*)  
*Nasta’liq* (medium size)  
 Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Late 16th century  
 Six specimens: six separate *beits*  
 mounted on the panel, unfinished

12 lines in all  
 25,1 × 16,8 cm  
 Borders signed (bottom right) by master  
 decorator: “*Executed by the servant*  
*Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]*”  
 Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art,  
 Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.  
 (Purchase -Anonymous Donation and Friends  
 of Asian Arts)

O. A.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

**Plate 225/ Art Institute of Chicago**  
 1919. 952 verso  
 Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ’a*)  
*Nasta’liq* (medium size)  
 Calligrapher: ‘Imād al-Ḥasanī  
 Iran  
 Late 16th – early 17th century  
 Three specimens: exercises (*māshq*,  
*siyāḥqalāmi*) decorated in gold  
 11,6 × 23,1; 23,8 × 11,1; 23,8 × 10,8 cm  
 Borders signed (bottom right) by master  
 decorator: “*Written by the servant*  
*Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-1759 A.D.]*”  
 Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago,  
 Lucy Maud Buckingham Collection

O. A.

**Plate 226/ Art Institute of Chicago**  
 1919. 952 recto  
**Four Portraits**  
 Top left: Nādir Shāh  
 Iran  
 Circa 1740  
 8 × 4,1 cm  
 Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold  
 on paper  
 Top right: ‘Ādil Shāh (‘Alī Qulī)  
 Iran  
 Circa 1748  
 8 × 4,1 cm  
 Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold  
 on paper  
 Bottom left: Unidentified Nobleman  
 Mughal school  
 18th century  
 14,5 × 7,4 cm  
 Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold  
 on paper  
 Bottom right: Unidentified Nobleman  
 Mughal school

18th century  
 14,5 × 7,1 cm  
 Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold  
 on paper  
 Overall dimensions: 45,1 × 29,5 cm  
 Borders signed by master  
 decorator: "Muḥammad Ṣādiq"  
 Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago,  
 Lucy Maud Buckingham Collection

It was Nādir Shāh who sacked Delhi in 1739, and it was his caravan which carried to Iran the paintings that would be placed in the St. Petersburg Album. 'Alī Qulī, whose title was 'Ādil Shāh, was the nephew and successor of Nādir Shāh, and possibly the cause of his assassination. He ruled for only one year (1747-1748) before being defeated by his own brother, and these two portraits must therefore be among the very last works gathered for the album. Both men wear a hat introduced by Nādir Shāh as an emblem of the new Afsharid dynasty.

The borders here and on the facing page (now in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery; S1 986.421) have one important characteristic that may be unique within this album. The designs of the borders are identical, but not – as was usual – placed to be mirror-reversed image. This is almost certainly the result of hasty workmanship.

Literature: for further information on 'Ādil Shāh, and an unfinished portrait, see *Soudavar*, 1992, No. 154.

M. B.

**Plate 227/ Sackler S 1986.421 recto**

**Four Portraits**

Top, left: **Shāh Jahān**

Mughal school

Circa 1650

8,8 × 4,8 cm

Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold  
 on paper

Top, right: **Aurangzēb**

Mughal school

Circa 1660

8,8 × 5 cm

Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold  
 on paper

Bottom left: **Dārā Shikōh**

Inscription: "A portrait of this suppliant

at the divine court. Written by Muḥammad Dārā Shikōh"

Mughal school

1650

14,9 × 7,6 cm

Bottom right: **Unidentified Nobleman**

Mughal school

Circa 1660

14,9 × 7,3 cm

Watercolour, gouache, silver and gold  
 on paper

25 × 15,9 (overall dimensions)

Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery,  
 Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.  
 (Purchase -Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust  
 Fund, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition  
 program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler)

Four separately executed illustrations have here been combined on one page, the kind of assemblage that confirms the scrapbook character of the entire volume. The facing page, also containing four portraits, is in the Art Institute of Chicago. For further portraits of Shāh Jahān, Aurangzēb and Dārā Shikōh refer to Plates 4, 24, 28, 64, 106, 107, 125, 129, 150, 209, 222, 227, and 236

Literature: *Glenn, Beach* 1988, No. 345; *Beach* 1995, Fig. 5

M. B.

**Plate 228/ Sackler S 1986.421 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large and medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century

Four specimens: *rubā'i* (in the centre)  
 and three separate *beits* (on the borders)

10 lines in all

23,3 × 13,3; 8,6 × 2,7; 8,3 × 2,9; 8,6 × 2,7;  
 3 × 10,2; 3,2 × 10,5

Signature: "The humble 'Imād al-Ḥasanī,  
 may his sins be forgiven"

Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery,  
 Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.  
 (Purchase -Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust  
 Fund, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition  
 program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler)

Literature: *Beach* 1995, Fig. 5

O. A.



•GAP: Folio(s) missing

**Plate 229/** Harvard 1983.624 *verso*  
Calligraphic specimens (*qifā*)  
*Nasta'liq* (large)  
Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
Iran  
Late 16th century  
One specimen: samples of separate Arabic letters and their connections  
12 lines in all  
32,7 × 20 cm  
Courtesy of the  
Sackler Museum,  
Harvard University

O. A.

**Plate 230/** Sackler 624. 1983 *recto*  
**Lovers on a Terrace**  
**(Shāh Shujā' and His Wife)**  
Artist: attributed to Bal Chand  
Mughal school  
Circa 1633  
22,5 × 13,1 cm  
Watercolour and gold on paper  
Inscription: "*The work of Bal Chand*",  
inscribed by Shāh Jahān himself in the border  
beneath the painting  
Courtesy of the  
Sackler Museum,  
Harvard University

This intimate family portrait was painted for an imperial album in circa 1633, the year when Prince Shāh Shujā' (1616-1660) married the daughter of Mīrzā Rustam, a Mughal related to the Safavid royal family. Honouring this occasion, Abū Ṭālib, the court poet, wrote a chronogram referring to the lovers: "The litter of Bilqīs has arrived at the mansion of Jamshīd". The bride's settlement was four lakhs of rupees, a huge sum, and her relatives provided a profusion of fireworks and lamps to illuminate one of the many imperial events. Much of Shāh Shujā's imperial service was spent as governor in Bengal. During the Wars of Succession, he, his wife, and retainers were driven by Aurangzēb's armies into Assam, a dangerous tribal area, where they disappeared. Although Bal Chand was as interested in people as his brother, Payāk, he depicted them more gently, without drama, albeit with no

less intensity. While Payāk specialised in holy men, soldiers, and others wilted, weathered, and scarred by hardship, Bal Chand concentrated upon graceful, protected, reserved members of the imperial circle, whose times of trouble – like Shāh Shujā's and his wife's – came suddenly, and too often horribly. One can assume that Shāh Shujā's and his wife's heads were taken and suspended in a tribal shrine, to share their psychic powers with their well-intentioned killers.

Bal Chand's compositions, colours, and lines are as subtle as his characterisations. He revelled in nuances, as in Shāh Shujā's elegantly wrinkled white pyjamas upon the barely visible white arabesques of a white carpet, against which he silhouetted transparent glassware highlighted in whites. Note the play of eyes: Shāh Shujā's and his wife's meet lovingly: those of the musician and attendants gaze discreetly into nothingness.

S. C. W.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

**Plate 231/** Harvard 1983. 620 *recto*  
**Hindu Holy Men**  
Artist: attributed to Govardhan  
Mughal school  
Circa 1630-1635  
24,1 × 15,2 cm  
Watercolour on paper  
Private Collection, Courtesy of the Harvard University Art Museums.

Govardhan's miniature brings to life five Hindu holy men meditating beneath a neem tree near an early Kashmīrī temple close to Srinagar, seen in the background.

Each portrait represents a stage of life. In the foreground, a languid youth with a golden sea of curls reclines opposite the figure, a middle-aged *sanyasi* whose other-worldly gaze, self-grown shawl of long hair, and claw-like fingernails attest to his shedding of almost every mundane activity.

To his left, sits an older devotee, whose expressive, disciplined face implies both intellectual power and spiritual grace. At the left of the miniature, momentarily distracted from his elevated state, a dark-bearded figure with a *mala* (rosary) and a turban wound from his own hair, looks out beyond the frame. Behind

the others reclines a holy man whose tense expression hints of troubled dreams. In the foreground, a fire smoulders, producing both warmth and the ashes worn instead of clothing by these aspiring saints.

Nudes are rare in Mughal art, and most of those known to us depict holy men. Although the pose of the naked *chela* (apprentice) here was inspired by an engraving of Saint Chrysostom, interpreted as an Odalisque by the German printmaker Barthold Beham (1502-1540), Govardhan not only changed her sex but trimmed several years from her age. So convincing is the young *sadhu* that Govardhan's adjustments to the western prototype must have been studied from life.

Inasmuch as Prince Dārā Shikōh was so concerned with the varieties of religious personality, it is likely that this remarkable picture, one of Mughal art's most serious investigations of the human spirits, was commissioned by him.

Literature: we are grateful to Gauvin Bailey for discovering Barthold Beham's prototype, for which see: *Bartsch* 1978, vol. XV [8], No. 43.

S. C. W.

**Plate 232/ Harvard 1983.620 verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century

Two specimens: two prose fragments; one (bottom) exercise (*māshq*)

17,8 × 26,6 cm

Borders (bottom right): signed by master

decorator: "*Executed by the servant Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-1759 A.D.]*"

Private Collection, Courtesy of the Harvard University Art Museums.

O. A.

**•GAP: Folio(s) missing**

**Plate 233/ Aga Khan M202B verso**

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq* (large and medium size)

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

Early 17th century

Three specimens: fragment of prose (5 lines)

and two exercises (*māshq*)

10,3 × 10,7 cm; 18,4 × 11,5 cm; 11,3 × 8 cm

Signature: a) "*The humble 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may his sins be forgiven*"

c) "*Written by the humble lowest sinful slave [of Allah] 'Imād al-Ḥasanī son of 'Ibrāhīm*"

Borders signed (bottom left) by master

decorator: "*Written by the servant Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1172 [1758-1759 A.D.]*"

Courtesy of the Collection of Prince

Sadrudin Aga Khan

O. A.

**Plate 234/ Aga Khan M202A recto**

**A Late Mughal Outing**

Artist: attributed to Maḥmūd

Mughal school

Circa 1680

19,3 × 30,3 cm

Watercolour and gouache on paper

Border (bottom centre) signed by master

decorator: "*The humblest Muḥammad Bāqir*"

Courtesy of the Collection of Prince

Sadrudin Aga Khan

The deep blue river flows between groves of shady trees towards distant, bluish mountains. In the middle ground sit four women, enjoying the shade and conversation: the group conforms to similar compositions seen in many late Mughal paintings. The six women in the foreground, however, as indeed the landscape setting, are strongly influenced by European prints.

In the branches bottom left is inscribed the name of Maḥmūd to whom the painting is attributed. Stylistically, this miniature belongs to the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1719-1748) who gave up his initial efforts to restore the declining Mughal Empire in favour of self-indulgence, thus earning the nickname "Pleasure Lover", an enthusiastic patron of music, dancing, and painting. In 1738-1739 Nādir Shāh (reigned 1736-1749), who had first aided and then supplanted the Safavid Shahs of Iran, invaded Northern India and seized and sacked Delhi. His loot included not only the Mughal's famous Peacock Throne, but also some important treasures from the Imperial library.

Literature: *Welch* 1963, pl. 79; for Muḥammad Shāh and his patronage, see *Welch* 1963,

pp. 141-42, and Welch 1978, p. 39.  
*Adapted from the Collection Catalogue*

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

**Plate 235/** Sackler S 1993.42C  
(fragmentary border belonging to **Plate 236**)  
32,4 × 47,6 cm  
Mid 17th century  
Watercolour and gold on paper  
Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery,  
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

The outer floral borders have been cut from this page, so that one sees only the inner red and gold margins which would have surrounded the painting *Dārā Shikōh Hunting Nilgais* (also in the Sackler Gallery; S1993.42a). Inside this band is an unfinished strip, and then the extensions that were made to the hunting scene in the 18th century, when it was placed in the St. Petersburg Album. These extensions would have been made to allow this scene to match in size a larger illustration placed on the facing page, and it is possible (as suggested by Terence McInerney) that that image was *Shāh Shujā' Hunting Nilgais* in the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence 58.068 (see *Beach* 1995, fig. 10). It is size and similarity of subject that suggests this possibility, however, for no album borders remain on the work in Providence. The scene of *Dārā Shikōh* hunting was removed from this sheet recently for conservation reasons.

Literature: *Beach* 1995, Fig. 3

M. B.

**Plate 236/** Sackler S 1993.42A *recto*  
(Fragment belonging to **Plate 235**)  
*Dārā Shikōh Hunting Nilgais*  
Artist: attributed to Payāk  
Mughal school  
Circa 1645  
15,8 × 22,1  
Watercolour on paper  
Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery,  
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

The hunting of *nilgais* (a species of short-horned antelope, known as blue bulls) was a favourite sport of the imperial family,

although the relatively informal nature of this scene is unusual. There is also little evidence of the idealisation of nature usual in earlier landscapes; in fact, the use of such broken, decaying trees as are seen here was a complete novelty. The source is not earlier Indian or Islamic paintings, but northern European landscape images in the style of David Vinckboons or Roelant Savery. Among Mughal artists, it was Payāk who most completely absorbed and transformed these sources into a distinctively Mughal style. His love of night scenes and dramatic lighting effects can be seen as well in *Ascetics by a Fire* (Plate 60/ Folio 44 *recto*, top left).

Literature: *Beach* 1995, Fig. 1

M. B.

**Plate 237/** Sackler S 1993.42B *verso*  
Calligraphic Specimens (*qit'a*)  
*Nasta'liq* (large)  
Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī  
Iran  
Early 17th century  
Three specimens: exercises (*māshq*, *siyāḥqalāmi*) with gold decorative motifs  
10,7 × 21,8; 17,8 × 10; 17,8 × 10,7 cm  
Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery,  
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Literature: *Beach* 1995, Fig. 2

O. A.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

**Plate 238/** McInerney *recto*  
**The Emperor Aurangzēb in a Shaft of Light**  
Artist: attributed to Hunhar  
Mughal school  
Circa 1660  
29 × 17 cm  
Opaque watercolour and gold on paper  
Borders signed by the master  
decorator: "Muḥammad Bāqir"  
Courtesy of the Private Collection  
of Terence McInerney, New York

The Emperor is seated in an enclosed courtyard beneath a massive building with European-style piers and architrave. A garden is visible behind the wall to the left. In the upper corner of the painting, the clouds have parted

to reveal a shaft of moonlight which bathes the Emperor with unnatural light. Aurangzēb faces his second born son, Prince Muḥammad Muʿazzam and a court musician, who are seated at a respectful distance.

The garden setting may be a reference to Agharābād (later called Shalimar), an imperial garden eight miles northwest of Delhi which contained some fine Imperial buildings. It was in this garden that Aurangzēb declared himself Emperor and celebrated his first coronation (21 July 1658). This painting appears to depict the response of heaven to Aurangzēb's declaration. It can be seen as Aurangzēb's apotheosis, and the borrowed elements copied from a European religious print only helped the artist to underline this point.

Aurangzēb's second coronation was celebrated nearly one year later (5 June 1659) after his triumph in the War of Succession was nearly complete. As such, his second or real coronation was celebrated at the imperial seat of power in the red Fort at Delhi. In contrast to the modest nature of the first event, the second coronation was the most splendid ever celebrated by a Mughal Emperor. The festivities lasted more than two months. The identification of the principle figure in this painting as the Emperor Aurangzēb was first suggested by Dr. Ellen Smart, an authority on Mughal painting, who has long specialised in identifying the anonymous figures depicted in Mughal portraiture. Smart compared a number of other portraits of Aurangzēb at approximately the same age. These include the small head and shoulder portrait in the San Diego Museum of Art, the well-known "*Darbār of Aurangzēb*" in the Welch Collection, and the portrait of Aurangzēb enthroned on a terrace in the Chester Beatty Library.

One other factor supports Smart's identification of the principle figure in this painting: the higher placed youth facing the Emperor also appears again in another famous painting. Holding a fly whisk, he stands to the right of the Emperor in the "*Darbār of Aurangzēb*" referred to above. Only a member of the Imperial family would have been portrayed in such proximity to the Emperor. As his features are identical, this youth is undoubtedly Prince Muḥammad Muʿazzam (1643-1712). The second youth is a court musician, identified by his *vina* and by his lips parted in song,

leading us to believe it to be Khushhal Khān Kalawant, a singer and chief musician at court.

Literature: Binney 1979, pp. 54-55, No. 10; Welch 1978, pp. 112-13, and Leach 1995, vol. 1, pp. 487-88, No. 4, 6.

T. McL.

Plate 239/McInerney *verso*  
Calligraphic specimens (*qitʿa*)  
*Nastaʿlīq* (medium size)  
Calligrapher: ʿImād al-Ḥasanī  
Iran

1172 A.H./ 1758-1759 A.D.

Three specimens: a panel at the top in decoupé, dated hemistich (*misraʿ*) and fragment in the centre mounted from two single *beits*.

5 lines in all

28,6 × 16,5 cm

Borders signed (bottom right) by master

decorator: "*Carried out by the servant Muḥammad Ḥādī. 1170 [1756-1757 A.D.]*"

Courtesy of the Private Collection of Terence McInerney, New York

O. A.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

Plate 240/ Christie's 1991, Lot 51, *recto*

A Tired Youth

Mughal School

Circa 1720

30,3 × 19,7 cm

Watercolour and gold on paper

Courtesy of a Private Collection, London

Two fragments are mounted vertically. The top miniature, a night scene, depicts a noble youth clad in a gold jacket, turban, jewels looking weak and tired. He is supported on each arm by a young lady seen leading the youth to bed below an awning. They are followed by two attendants, one carrying a *sitār*. In the bottom miniature again the youth is supported by young ladies, this time other figures are present carrying bottles, *vina* and a flare used to light this nocturnal scene. A figure (centre left) has been added when the Folio was compiled in order to join the two fragments into one composition.

*Adapted from Christie's  
Sales Catalogue*

**Plate 241/** Christie's 1991, Lot 51, *verso*

Calligraphic specimens (*qiṭ'a*)

*Nasta'liq*

Calligrapher: 'Imād al-Ḥasanī

Iran

1011 A.H./ 1602-1603 A.D.;

early 17th century

Three specimens: a fragment mounted from two single *beits* and two *rubā'i* (*c* is composed by the calligrapher himself and repeated, see Plate 67/ Folio 18 *verso*, *a*; Plate 66/ Folio 26 *verso*, *a*; and Plate 147/ Folio 27 *verso*, *b*).

16,7 × 8,2 cm

12 lines in all

Signatures: *a*) "Carried out by the humble slave [of Allah] 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may [Allah] forgive his sins and absolve him of guilt. 1011"

*b*) "Written by the humble slave [of Allah] 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, may his sins be forgiven"

*c*) "The slave [of Allah] 'Imād al-Ḥasanī".

Borders signed (bottom right) by master

decorator: "Carried out by the servant Muḥammad Ḥādī 1171 [1757-1758 A.D.]"

Courtesy of a Private Collection, London

O. A.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

**Plate 242/** Christie's 1994, Lot 10, *recto*

**Border (fragment)**

Iran

1160 A.H./ 1747-1748 A.D.

48,3 × 30,4 cm

Watercolour and gold on paper

Borders (bottom centre) signed by master decorator: "Executed by Muḥammad Ṣādiq. 1160 [1746-1747 A.D.]"

Courtesy of the Private Collection of Hossein Afshar, Paris

O. A.

•GAP: Folio(s) missing

**Plate 243/** Christie's 1994, Lot 11, *recto*

**The Indian Haloed Women**

**Making Respect with Attendants**

Mughal school

Circa 1720

30,5 × 19,7 cm

Watercolour and gold on paper

Courtesy of the Private Collection of Hossein Afshar, Paris

Two miniatures are here featured as one, both scenes are lit by moonlight.

The upper scene showing a group of six women worshipping barefoot in the woods, one kneels at a shrine while the others stand ready to pay homage to the deity carrying beads and flowers.

The lower scene depicts three women and a child listening to a musician on a terrace looking out towards the woods beyond. An attendant holds a candle, supposedly to cast light on the scene, it is however the delicate gold decoration on the women's costume (reflecting the moonlight) in both miniatures which provides light.

*Adapted from Christie's  
Sales Catalogue*

## Register of the Facsimile



Plate 1 / Folio 65 *recto*

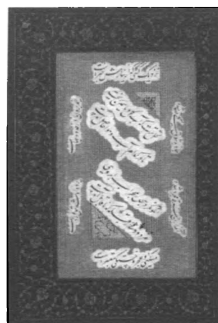


Plate 2 / Folio 65 *verso*



Plate 3 / Folio 16 *verso*

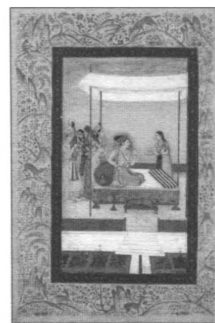


Plate 4 / Folio 16 *recto*



Plate 5 / Folio 71 *recto*



Plate 6 / Folio 71 *verso*



Plate 7 / Folio 17 *verso*



Plate 8 / Folio 17 *recto*

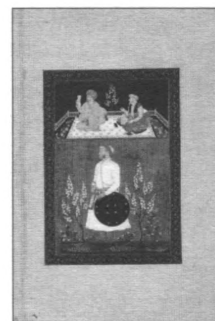


Plate 9 / Folio 38 *recto*



Plate 10 / Folio 38 *verso*



Plate 11 / Folio 60 *verso*

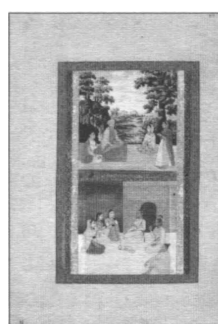


Plate 12 / Folio 60 *recto*

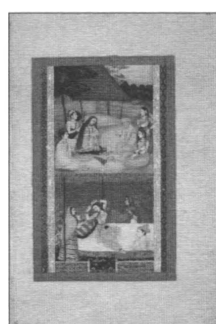


Plate 13 / Folio 61 *recto*

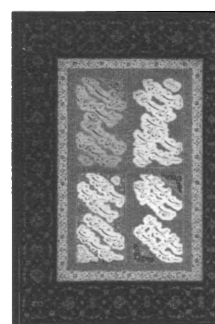


Plate 14 / Folio 61 *verso*

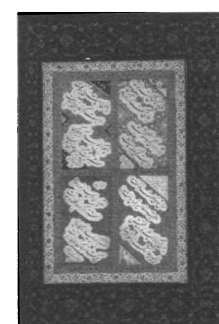


Plate 15 / Folio 69 *verso*



Plate 16 / Folio 69 *recto*

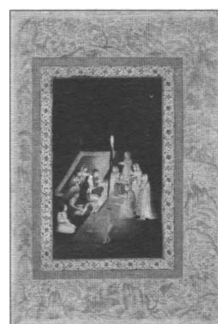


Plate 17 / Folio 57 *recto*



Plate 18 / Folio 57 *verso*

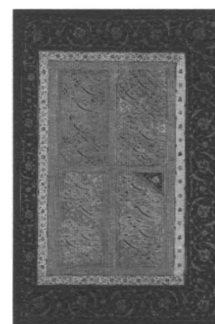


Plate 19 / Folio 58 *verso*



Plate 20 / Folio 58 *recto*



Plate 21 / Folio 4 *recto*

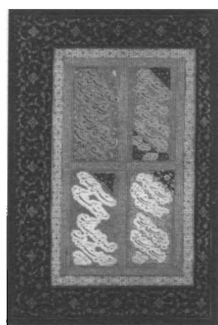


Plate 22 / Folio 4 *verso*

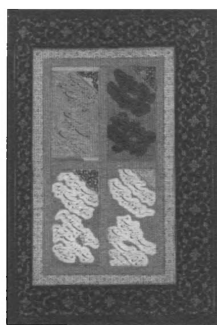


Plate 23 / Folio 63 *verso*

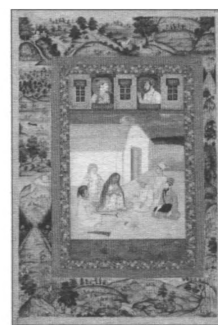


Plate 24 / Folio 63 *recto*



Plate 25 / Folio 5 *recto*

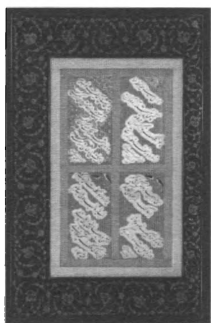


Plate 26 / Folio 5 *verso*



Plate 27 / Folio 23 *verso*



Plate 28 / Folio 23 *recto*

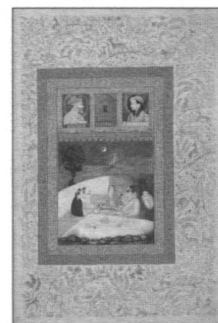


Plate 29 / Folio 6 *recto*



Plate 30 / Folio 6 *verso*



Plate 31 / Folio 92 *verso*

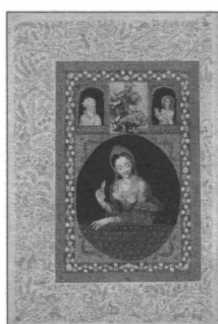


Plate 32 / Folio 92 *recto*

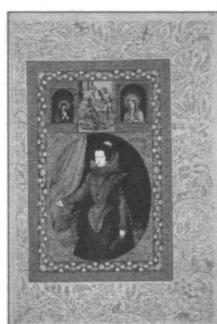


Plate 33 / Folio 88 *recto*

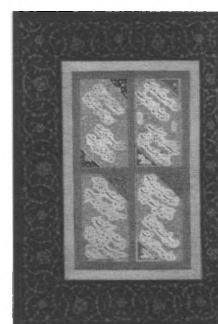


Plate 34 / Folio 88 *verso*



Plate 35 / Folio 62 *verso*



Plate 36 / Folio 62 *recto*



Plate 37 / Folio 87 *recto*



Plate 38 / Folio 87 *verso*



Plate 39 / Folio 68 *verso*

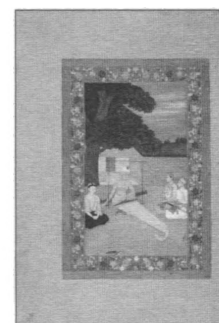


Plate 40 / Folio 68 *recto*





Plate 41 / Folio 52 *recto*

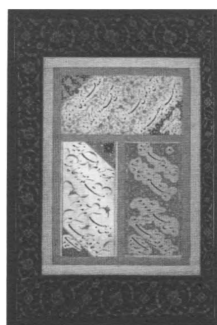


Plate 42 / Folio 52 *verso*

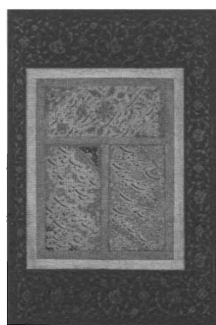


Plate 43 / Folio 64 *verso*



Plate 44 / Folio 64 *recto*



Plate 45 / Folio 50 *recto*

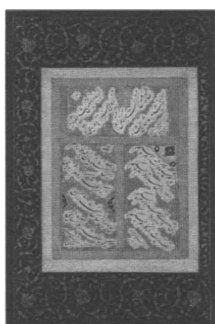


Plate 46 / Folio 50 *verso*

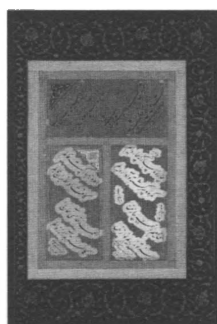


Plate 47 / Folio 93 *verso*



Plate 48 / Folio 93 *recto*



Plate 49 / Folio 94 *recto*

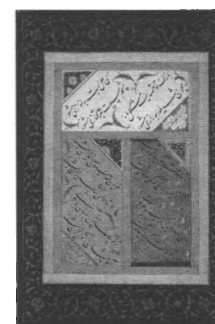


Plate 50 / Folio 94 *verso*

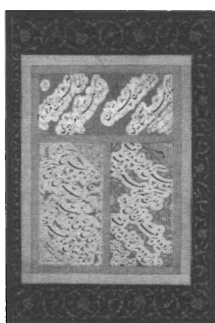


Plate 51 / Folio 89 *verso*



Plate 52 / Folio 89 *recto*



Plate 53 / Folio 86 *recto*

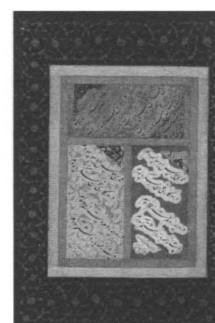


Plate 54 / Folio 86 *verso*

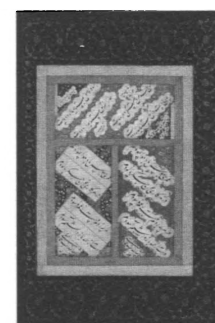


Plate 55 / Folio 91 *verso*

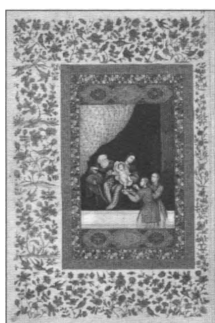


Plate 56 / Folio 91 *recto*



Plate 57 / Folio 90 *recto*



Plate 58 / Folio 90 *verso*



Plate 59 / Folio 44 *verso*



Plate 60 / Folio 44 *recto*



Plate 61 / Folio 46 *recto*



Plate 62 / Folio 46 *verso*



Plate 63 / Folio 29 *verso*



Plate 64 / Folio 29 *recto*



Plate 65 / Folio 26 *recto*

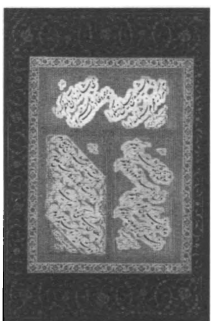


Plate 66 / Folio 26 *verso*



Plate 67 / Folio 18 *verso*



Plate 68 / Folio 18 *recto*



Plate 69 / Folio 33 *recto*  
Museum of the History  
of Religion

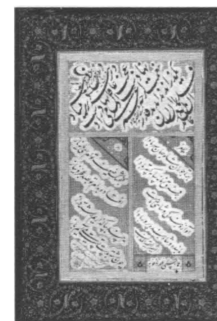


Plate 70 / Folio 33 *verso*  
Museum of the History  
of Religion



Plate 71 / Folio 48 *recto*



Plate 72 / Folio 48 *verso*



Plate 73 / Folio 49 *verso*

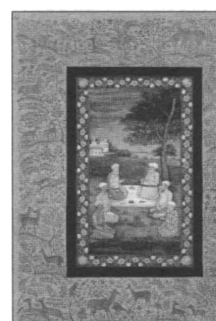


Plate 74 / Folio 49 *recto*

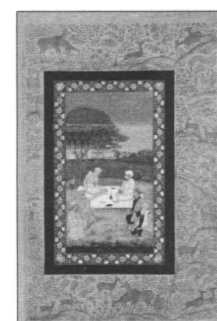


Plate 75 / Folio 51 *recto*

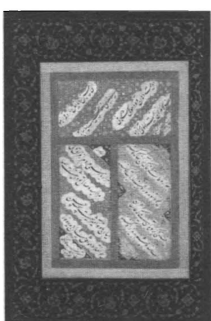


Plate 76 / Folio 51 *verso*

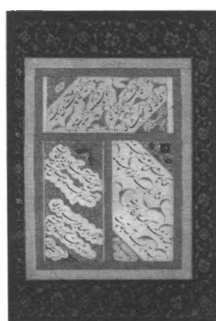


Plate 77 / Folio 42 *verso*

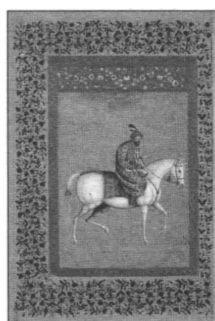


Plate 78 / Folio 42 *recto*

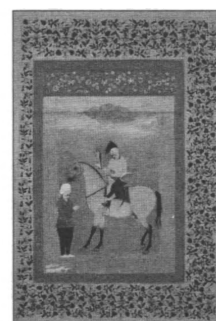


Plate 79 / Folio 36 *recto*

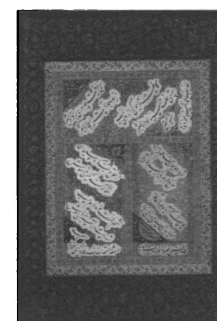


Plate 80 / Folio 36 *verso*

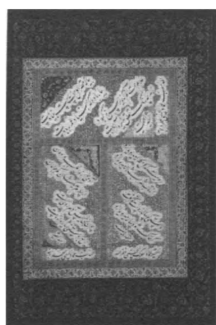


Plate 81 / Folio 95 *verso*



Plate 82 / Folio 95 *recto*



Plate 83 / Folio 9 *recto*



Plate 84 / Folio 9 *verso*



Plate 85 / Folio 59 *verso*



Plate 86 / Folio 59 *recto*



Plate 87 / Folio 70 *recto*



Plate 88 / Folio 70 *verso*

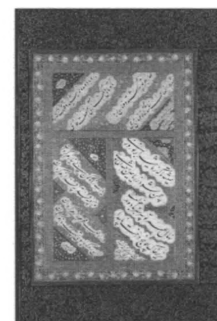


Plate 89 / Folio 53 *verso*



Plate 90 / Folio 53 *recto*



Plate 91 / Folio 19 *recto*



Plate 92 / Folio 19 *verso*



Plate 93 / Folio 1 *verso*

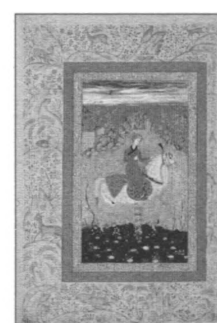


Plate 94 / Folio 1 *recto*



Plate 95 / Folio 2 *recto*



Plate 96 / Folio 2 *verso*

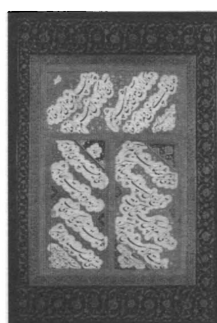


Plate 97 / Folio 39 *verso*

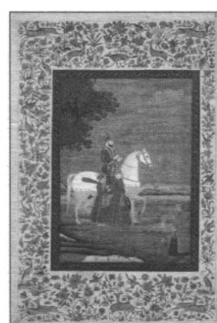


Plate 98 / Folio 39 *recto*

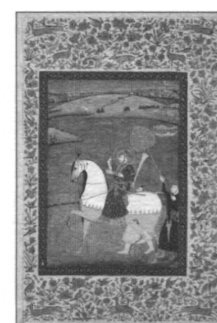


Plate 99 / Folio 41 *recto*



Plate 100 / Folio 41 *verso*



Plate 101 / Folio 37 *verso*



Plate 102 / Folio 37 *recto*



Plate 103 / Folio 8 *recto*

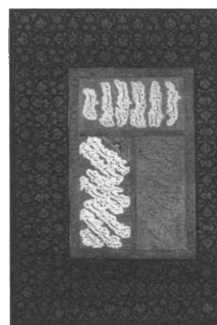


Plate 104 / Folio 8 *verso*



Plate 105 / Folio 32  
*verso*

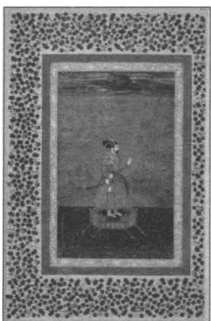


Plate 106 / Folio 32 *recto*



Plate 107 / Folio 31 *recto*



Plate 108 / Folio 31  
*verso*

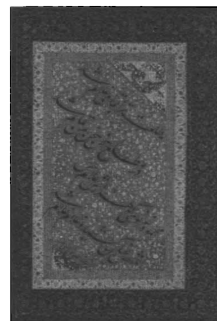


Plate 109 / Folio 40  
*verso*

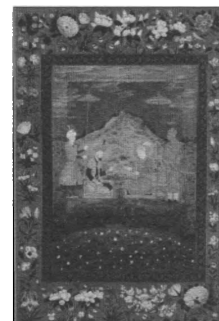


Plate 110 / Folio 40 *recto*



Plate 111 / Folio 11 *recto*



Plate 112 / Folio 11  
*verso*



Plate 113 / Folio 12  
*verso*



Plate 114 / Folio 12 *recto*



Plate 115 / Folio 15 *recto*

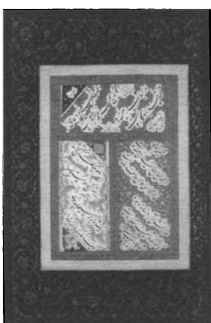


Plate 116 / Folio 15  
*verso*

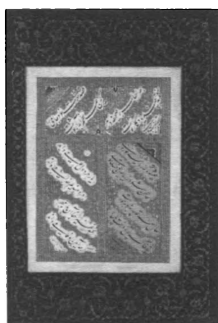


Plate 117 / Folio 10  
*verso*

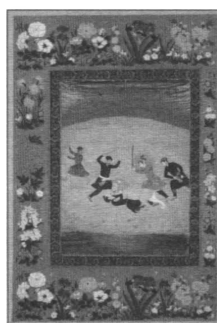


Plate 118 / Folio 10 *recto*

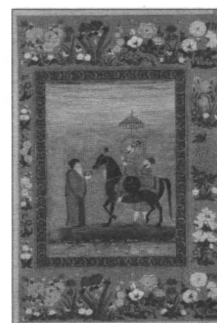


Plate 119 / Folio 30 *recto*



Plate 120 / Folio 30  
*verso*



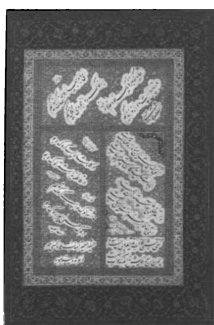


Plate 121 / Folio 43  
*verso*



Plate 122 / Folio 43 *recto*

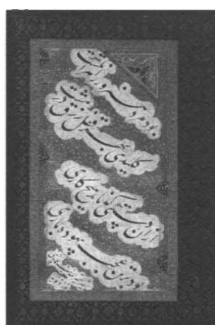


Plate 123 / Freer Gallery  
31.20 *verso*



Plate 124 / Freer Gallery  
31.20 *recto*



Plate 125 / Folio 34 *recto*

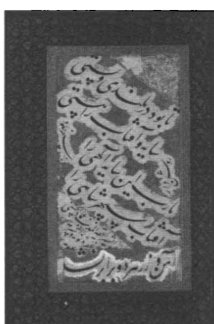


Plate 126 / Folio 34  
*verso*



Plate 127 / Folio 13  
*verso*

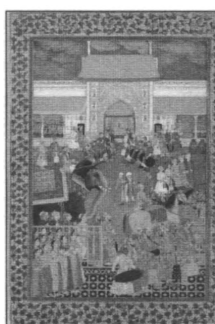


Plate 128 / Folio 13 *recto*

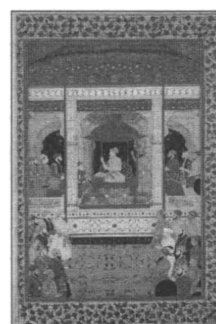


Plate 129 / Folio 25 *recto*

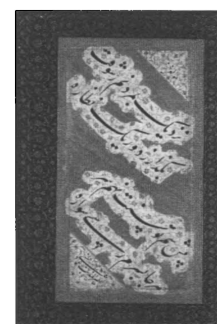


Plate 130 / Folio 25  
*verso*

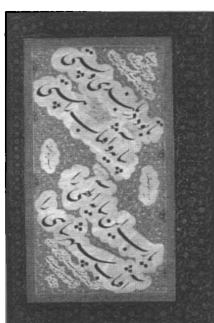


Plate 131 / Folio 55  
*verso*

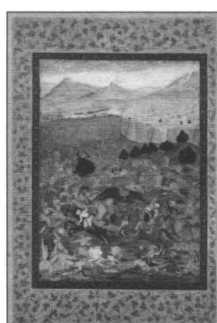


Plate 132 / Folio 55 *recto*



Plate 133 / Folio 54 *recto*



Plate 134 / Folio 54  
*verso*



Plate 135 / Folio 100  
*verso*



Plate 136 / Folio 100  
*recto*

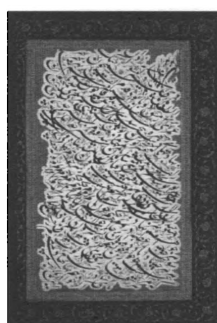


Plate 137 / Folio 79  
*verso*



Plate 138 / Folio 79 *recto*



Plate 139 / Folio 75 *recto*

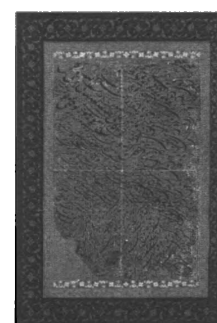


Plate 140 / Folio 75  
*verso*

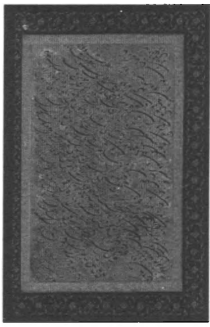


Plate 141 / Folio 81  
*verso*



Plate 142 / Folio 81 *recto*



Plate 143 / Folio 77 *recto*

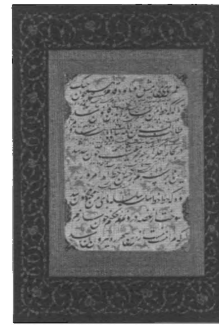


Plate 144 / Folio 77  
*verso*



Plate 145 / Folio 72  
*verso*



Plate 146 / Folio 72 *recto*



Plate 147 / Folio 80 *recto*



Plate 148 / Folio 80  
*verso*



Plate 149 / Folio 27  
*verso*



Plate 150 / Folio 27 *recto*



Plate 151 / Folio 7 *recto*

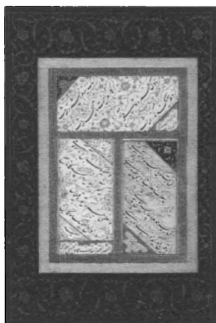


Plate 152 / Folio 7 *verso*



Plate 153 / Folio 3 *verso*



Plate 154 / Folio 3 *recto*



Plate 155 / Folio 24 *recto*

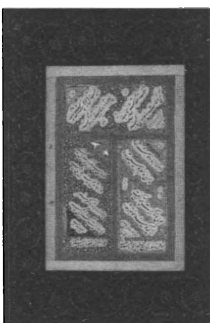


Plate 156 / Folio 24  
*verso*

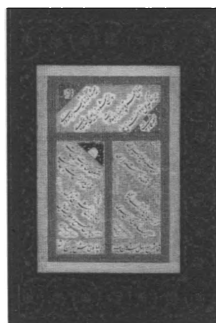


Plate 157 / Folio 20  
*verso*



Plate 158 / Folio 20 *recto*

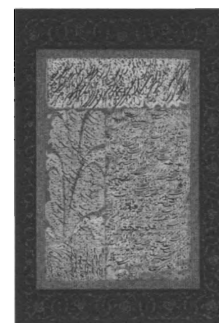


Plate 159 / Folio 84  
*verso*

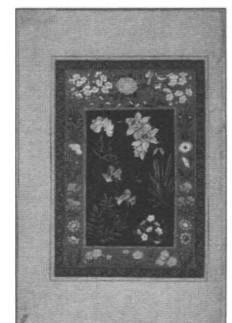


Plate 160 / Folio 84 *recto*

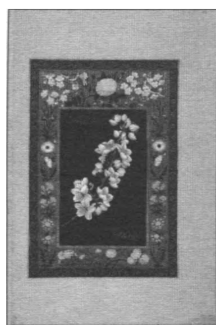


Plate 161 / Folio 85 *recto*



Plate 162 / Folio 85  
*verso*



Plate 163 / Folio 83  
*verso*



Plate 164 / Folio 83 *recto*



Plate 165 / Folio 82 *recto*

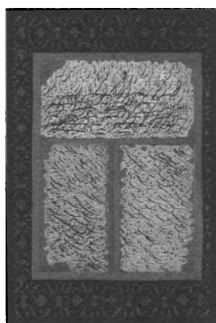


Plate 166 / Folio 82  
*verso*

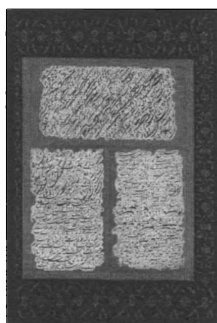


Plate 167 / Folio 76  
*verso*



Plate 168 / Folio 76 *recto*



Plate 169 / Folio 78 *recto*



Plate 170 / Folio 78  
*verso*



Plate 171 / Folio 96  
*verso*

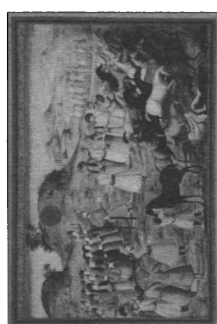


Plate 172 / Folio 96 *recto*

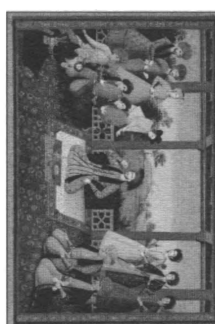


Plate 173 / Folio 98 *recto*

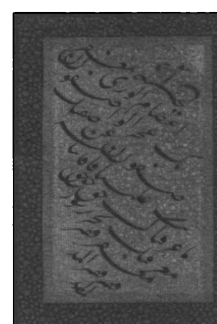


Plate 174 / Folio 98  
*verso*

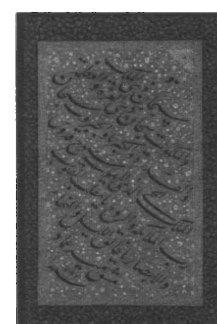


Plate 175 / Folio 21  
*verso*



Plate 176 / Folio 21 *recto*

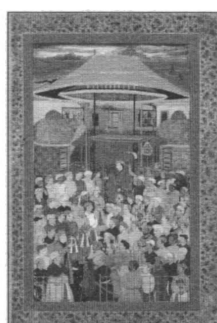


Plate 177 / Folio 22 *recto*

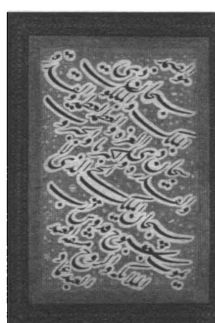


Plate 178 / Folio 22  
*verso*



Plate 179 / Freer Gallery  
42.18 *verso*



Plate 180 / Freer Gallery  
42.18 *recto*

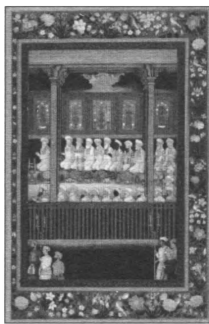


Plate 181 / Freer Gallery  
42.17 *recto*



Plate 182 / Freer Gallery  
42.17 *verso*

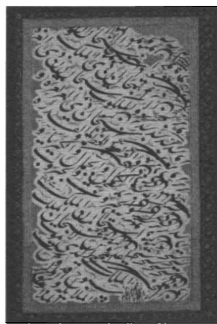


Plate 183 / Folio 73  
*verso*



Plate 184 / Folio 73 *recto*



Plate 185 / Folio 74 *recto*

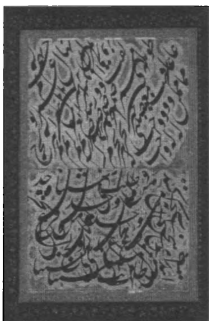


Plate 186 / Folio 74  
*verso*



Plate 187 / Folio 67  
*verso*

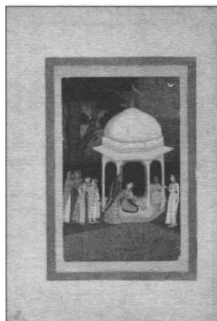


Plate 188 / Folio 67 *recto*



Plate 189 / Folio 97  
*verso*

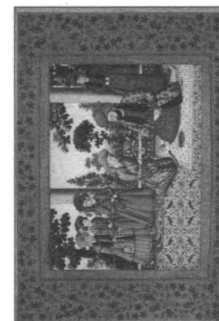


Plate 190 / Folio 97 *recto*



Plate 191 / Folio 99 *recto*

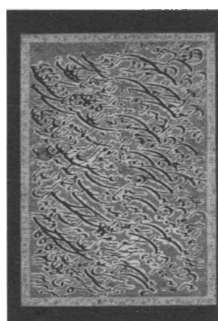


Plate 192 / Folio 99  
*verso*

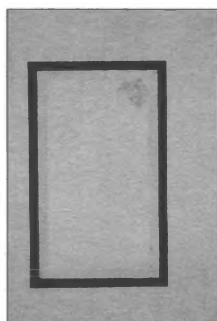


Plate 193 / Folio 45  
*verso*



Plate 194 / Folio 45 *recto*



Plate 195 / Folio 66 *recto*

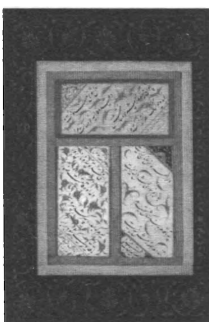


Plate 196 / Folio 66  
*verso*

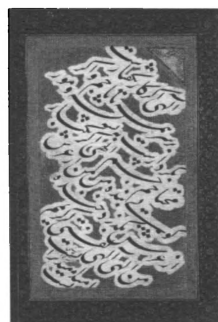


Plate 197 / Folio 14  
*verso*

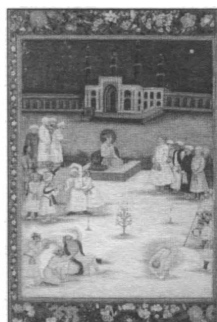


Plate 198 / Folio 14 *recto*

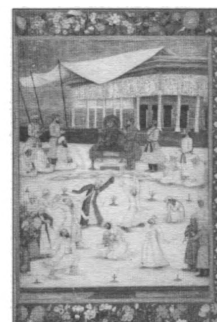


Plate 199 / Folio 28 *recto*  
Museum of the History  
of Religion



Plate 200 / Folio 28  
*verso* Museum of the  
History of Religion





Plate 201 / Freer Gallery  
45.9 *recto*



Plate 202 / Freer Gallery  
45.9 *verso*

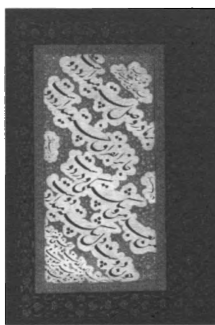


Plate 203 / Freer Gallery  
42.16 *verso*



Plate 204 / Freer Gallery  
42.16 *recto*



Plate 205 / Freer Gallery  
42.15 *recto*

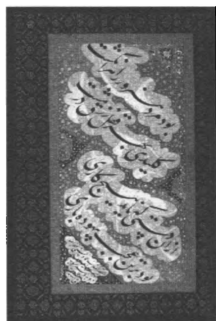


Plate 206 / Freer 42.15  
*verso*

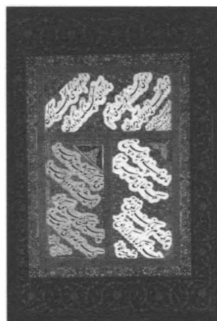


Plate 207 / Frits Lugt  
*verso*



Plate 208 / Frits Lugt  
*recto*

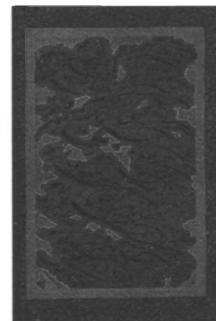


Plate 209 / Folio 35 *verso*



Plate 210 / Folio 35 *recto*



Plate 211 / Folio 47 *recto*

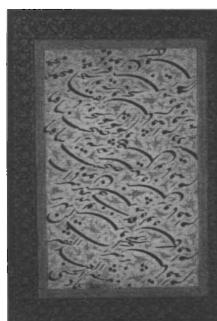


Plate 212 / Folio 47  
*verso*



Plate 213 / Folio 56  
*verso*



Plate 214 / Folio 56 *recto*



Plate 215 / Louvre 7 171  
*verso*

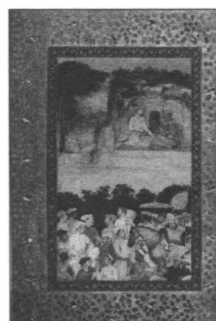


Plate 216 / Louvre 7 171  
*recto*



Plate 217 / Metropolitan  
12.223.2 *verso*



Plate 218 / Metropolitan  
12.223.2 *recto*

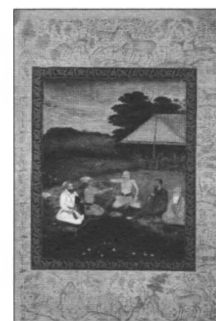


Plate 219 / Lichtenstein  
131b *recto*

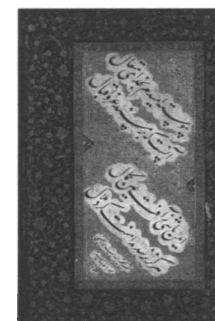


Plate 220 / Lichtenstein  
131b *verso*

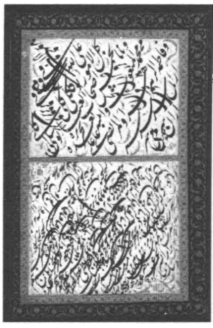


Plate 221 / Ontario  
Museum 924.12.146  
*verso*

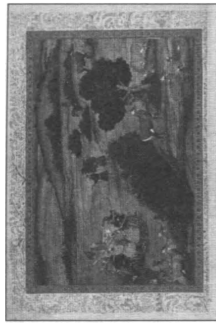


Plate 222 / Ontario  
Museum 924.12.146  
*recto*

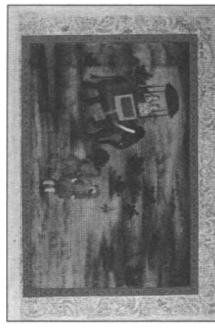


Plate 223 / Freer Gallery  
1994.4 *recto*

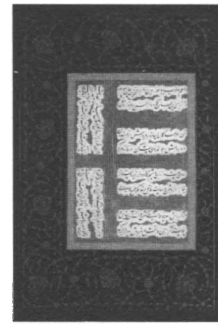


Plate 224 / Freer Gallery  
1994.4 *verso*



Plate 225 / Chicago  
1919.952 *verso*



Plate 226 / Chicago  
1919.952 *recto*



Plate 227 / Sackler  
S 1986.421 *recto*



Plate 228 / Sackler  
S 1986.421 *verso*



Plate 229 / Harvard  
1983.624 *verso*

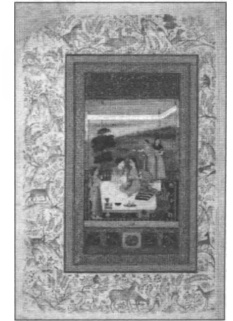


Plate 230 / Harvard  
1983.624 *recto*



Plate 231 / Harvard  
1983.620 *recto*

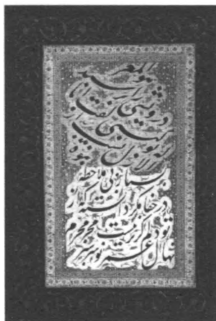


Plate 232 / Harvard  
1983.620 *verso*

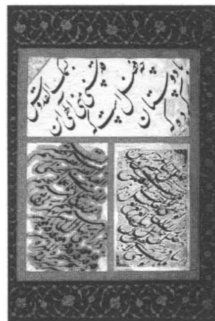


Plate 233 / Aga Khan  
M202B *verso*



Plate 234 / Aga Khan  
M202A *recto*

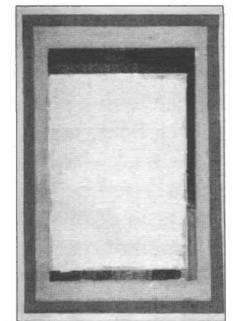


Plate 235 / Sackler  
S 1993.42C



Plate 236 / Sackler  
S 1993.42A *recto*

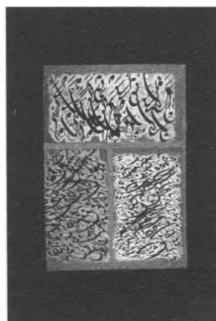


Plate 237 / Sackler  
S 1993.43B *verso*

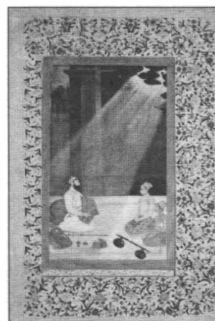


Plate 238 / McInerney  
*recto*

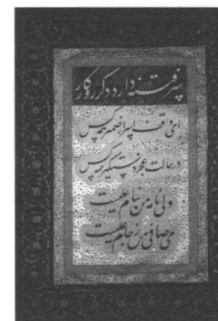


Plate 239 / McInerney  
*verso*

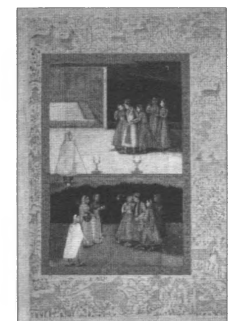


Plate 240 / Christie's  
1991 Lot 51 *recto*

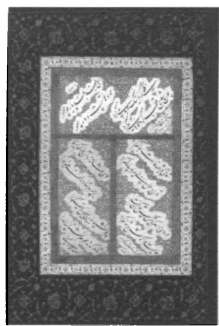


Plate 241 / Christie's  
1991 Lot 51 *verso*

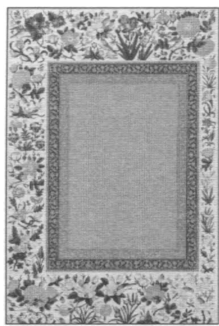


Plate 242 / Christie's,  
1994 Lot 10 *recto*

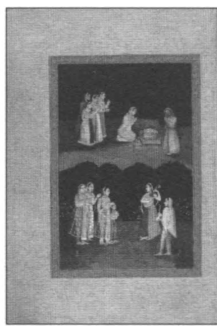
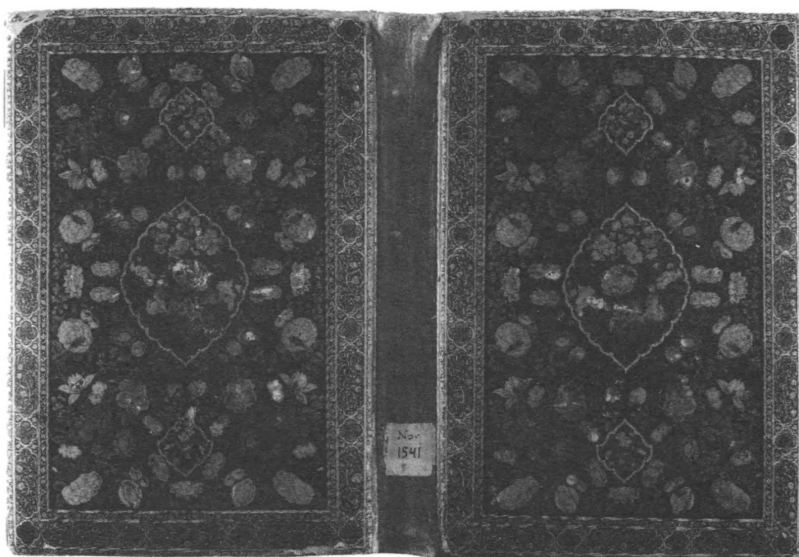


Plate 243 / Christie's,  
1994 Lot 11 *recto*

## Covers

Binding decorated with floral paintings of papier mâché under pale yellow lacquer (34,5 x 51,5 cm). The paintings decorating the inside covers consist of a compositional scheme of a central field with three medallions, vertically arranged, decorated with flower motifs and silhouettes of birds, surrounded by one large frame and two narrow borders with gilded plant motifs. The central field of both covers is decorated in a similar way: two loops with intertwining leaves and flowers that completely cover the surface with a symmetrical motif on a black background. The central part of the back cover is of a single color, a cherry-red background sprinkled with gold dust, with no ornamentation. The large frame on the covers consists of sixteen scrolls containing verses alternating with floral medallions. In each cartouche is the date 1147/1734, the total of the numeric value in the letters of each hemistich (*miṣrāʾ* being 1147). On the inside cover of the binding is a panegyric mentioning the name of the person who ordered the binding. It is Mirzā Mahdī, who, judging by the praise of his name, was a highly important person. In the center of the right vertical frame on the inside back cover is the date 1151/1738-1739.



## Appendices

## Concordances

Folio	Plate
1 <i>recto</i>	94
1 <i>verso</i>	93
2 <i>recto</i>	95
2 <i>verso</i>	96
3 <i>recto</i>	154
3 <i>verso</i>	153
4 <i>recto</i>	21
4 <i>verso</i>	22
5 <i>recto</i>	25
5 <i>verso</i>	26
6 <i>recto</i>	29
6 <i>verso</i>	30
7 <i>recto</i>	151
7 <i>verso</i>	152
8 <i>recto</i>	103
8 <i>verso</i>	104
9 <i>recto</i>	83
9 <i>verso</i>	84
10 <i>recto</i>	118
10 <i>verso</i>	117
11 <i>recto</i>	111
11 <i>verso</i>	112
12 <i>recto</i>	114
12 <i>verso</i>	113
13 <i>recto</i>	128
13 <i>verso</i>	127
14 <i>recto</i>	198
14 <i>verso</i>	197
15 <i>recto</i>	115
15 <i>verso</i>	116
16 <i>recto</i>	4
16 <i>verso</i>	3
17 <i>recto</i>	8

Folio	Plate
17 <i>verso</i>	7
18 <i>recto</i>	68
18 <i>verso</i>	67
19 <i>recto</i>	91
19 <i>verso</i>	92
20 <i>recto</i>	158
20 <i>verso</i>	157
21 <i>recto</i>	176
21 <i>verso</i>	175
22 <i>recto</i>	177
22 <i>verso</i>	178
23 <i>recto</i>	28
23 <i>verso</i>	27
24 <i>recto</i>	155
24 <i>verso</i>	156
25 <i>recto</i>	129
25 <i>verso</i>	130
26 <i>recto</i>	65
26 <i>verso</i>	66
27 <i>recto</i>	150
27 <i>verso</i>	149
28 <i>recto</i> Museum of the History of Religion	199
28 <i>verso</i> Museum of the History of Religion	200
29 <i>recto</i>	64
29 <i>verso</i>	63
30 <i>recto</i>	119
30 <i>verso</i>	120
31 <i>recto</i>	107
31 <i>verso</i>	108
32 <i>recto</i>	106
32 <i>verso</i>	105
33 <i>recto</i> Museum of the History of Religion	69
33 <i>verso</i> Museum of the History of Religion	70
34 <i>recto</i>	125
34 <i>verso</i>	126
35 <i>recto</i>	210
35 <i>verso</i>	209
36 <i>recto</i>	79
36 <i>verso</i>	80
37 <i>recto</i>	102
37 <i>verso</i>	101
38 <i>recto</i>	9
38 <i>verso</i>	10

Folio	Plate
39 <i>recto</i>	98
39 <i>verso</i>	97
40 <i>recto</i>	110
40 <i>verso</i>	109
41 <i>recto</i>	99
41 <i>verso</i>	100
42 <i>recto</i>	78
42 <i>verso</i>	77
43 <i>recto</i>	122
43 <i>verso</i>	121
44 <i>recto</i>	60
44 <i>verso</i>	59
45 <i>recto</i>	194
45 <i>verso</i>	193
46 <i>recto</i>	61
46 <i>verso</i>	62
47 <i>recto</i>	211
47 <i>verso</i>	212
48 <i>recto</i>	71
48 <i>verso</i>	72
49 <i>recto</i>	74
49 <i>verso</i>	73
50 <i>recto</i>	45
50 <i>verso</i>	46
51 <i>recto</i>	75
51 <i>verso</i>	76
52 <i>recto</i>	41
52 <i>verso</i>	42
53 <i>recto</i>	90
53 <i>verso</i>	89
54 <i>recto</i>	133
54 <i>verso</i>	134
55 <i>recto</i>	132
55 <i>verso</i>	131
56 <i>recto</i>	214
56 <i>verso</i>	213
57 <i>recto</i>	17
57 <i>verso</i>	18
58 <i>recto</i>	20
58 <i>verso</i>	19
59 <i>recto</i>	86
59 <i>verso</i>	85
60 <i>recto</i>	12
60 <i>verso</i>	11
61 <i>recto</i>	13
61 <i>verso</i>	14
62 <i>recto</i>	36

Folio	Plate
62 <i>verso</i>	35
63 <i>recto</i>	24
63 <i>verso</i>	23
64 <i>recto</i>	44
64 <i>verso</i>	43
65 <i>recto</i>	1
65 <i>verso</i>	2
66 <i>recto</i>	195
66 <i>verso</i>	196
67 <i>recto</i>	188
67 <i>verso</i>	187
68 <i>recto</i>	40
68 <i>verso</i>	39
69 <i>recto</i>	16
69 <i>verso</i>	15
70 <i>recto</i>	87
70 <i>verso</i>	88
71 <i>recto</i>	5
71 <i>verso</i>	6
72 <i>recto</i>	146
72 <i>verso</i>	145
73 <i>recto</i>	184
73 <i>verso</i>	183
74 <i>recto</i>	185
74 <i>verso</i>	186
75 <i>recto</i>	139
75 <i>verso</i>	140
76 <i>recto</i>	168
76 <i>verso</i>	167
77 <i>recto</i>	143
77 <i>verso</i>	144
78 <i>recto</i>	169
78 <i>verso</i>	170
79 <i>recto</i>	138
79 <i>verso</i>	137
80 <i>recto</i>	147
80 <i>verso</i>	148
81 <i>recto</i>	142
81 <i>verso</i>	141
82 <i>recto</i>	165
82 <i>verso</i>	166
83 <i>recto</i>	164
83 <i>verso</i>	163
84 <i>recto</i>	160
84 <i>verso</i>	159
85 <i>recto</i>	161
85 <i>verso</i>	162

Folio	Plate
86 <i>recto</i>	53
86 <i>verso</i>	54
87 <i>recto</i>	37
87 <i>verso</i>	38
88 <i>recto</i>	33
88 <i>verso</i>	34
89 <i>recto</i>	52
89 <i>verso</i>	51
90 <i>recto</i>	57
90 <i>verso</i>	58
91 <i>recto</i>	56
91 <i>verso</i>	55
92 <i>recto</i>	32
92 <i>verso</i>	31
93 <i>recto</i>	48
93 <i>verso</i>	47
94 <i>recto</i>	49
94 <i>verso</i>	50
95 <i>recto</i>	82
95 <i>verso</i>	81
96 <i>recto</i>	172
96 <i>verso</i>	171
97 <i>recto</i>	190
97 <i>verso</i>	189
98 <i>recto</i>	173
98 <i>verso</i>	174
99 <i>recto</i>	191
99 <i>verso</i>	192
100 <i>recto</i>	136
100 <i>verso</i>	135
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Freer Gallery 42.15 <i>verso</i>	206
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Freer Gallery 42.16 <i>verso</i>	203
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Freer Gallery 42.17E <i>verso</i>	182
Freer Gallery 42.18F <i>recto</i>	180

Folio	Plate
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Freer Gallery 45.9 <i>verso</i>	202
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Freer Gallery 1994.4 <i>verso</i>	224
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