

German Private Collections of Indo-Islamic Paintings

Joachim Bautze

When an Indian painting found its way to Europe between the 17th and 19th centuries, it was usually a Mughal miniature, that is, a painting on paper or, rarely, on cotton or silk fabric, which had been created under the patronage of the Mughal emperors or princes. Paintings were also created under Rajput, i. e. under Hindu and Jain patronage. These paintings, however, did not appeal to the European contemporaries, who believed the composition and harsh shades of their colouring, today the expression of artistic daring, to be unrefined.

Mughal paintings, however, met with great approval in Europe: Rembrandt and Maria Theresa are two of the better-known collectors. Only a few people appreciated their detached aesthetics and technical perfection. Rembrandt, e. g., imitated them in drawings. His compatriot, Willem Schellinks, even painted large-format oil paintings of Mughal miniatures. The paintings were made available to the general public in the form of copper-plate engravings which illustrated the works of Indian and Asian history. Next to the British, it were primarily the Dutch who made the literary public familiar with Indian miniatures. The overwhelming interest in the Indian miniatures, however, was to visualize the Great Mughals, to look at their portraits.

Personal trips to India from Europe at that time were not only seldom but almost impossible for Germans. The Portuguese, British, French, Dutch, and Danes considered parts of India as their own territory. Anyone wanting to enter India on a European ship first had to seek the permission of the respective country's East-India trade company. Usually, one even had to enter into the service of one of these trading companies as a sales representative or, more often, as a common soldier. The sales representative from Elbing, who became famous under the name Joan Joshua Ketelaar, is perhaps the most prominent German who, at the beginning of the 18th century, achieved high honours in the service of a foreign trading company in India. Ketelaar travelled, on behalf of the Dutch East India Company, throughout the North of the subcontinent, meeting some of the most important rulers of the country on his journeys. His personal journal, which unfortunately is only partially preserved, reports every detail of the practice of bribery in the country, in which valuable works of art played an important role (Vogel 1937, 357-393). Maybe some of the mini-

atures from India, which A. Chalcelain printed in the form of engravings, in the fifth volume of his *Atlas historique*, in Amsterdam, were procured and sent home by Ketelaar. Whether or not Ketelaar himself collected Indian miniatures is not known.

One of the many Germans, who made their way to India as soldiers in the service of the French, was Walter Balthasar Rainard, more notorious than famous in India under the name "Samru". Samru, who was born around 1720, deserted from his French contingent around 1750 and offered his services to the native Indian princes. He eventually was appointed general of his own troops and ruler of Sardhana. He died on 4th May, 1778 and was buried in the Catholic cemetery in Agra in a chapel of Indian design. It is not known whether Samru appreciated Indian painting. His wife, however, the "Begum Samru", was known for her passion for collecting Indian paintings. The Begum Samru, world-renowned through Jules Verne's novel "*Les Cinq Cents millions de la Begum*" (1879), survived her husband by many decades; she died on 27th January, 1836, as a Christian in Sardhana (Noi 1906, 129; Bauerji 1925, 127f.). The Begum, of whom in fact several portraits by Indian painters exist (Sleeman 1844, Vol. 2, frontispiece; David - Soustiel 1983, 112, no. 149; Sotheby's Colomade 14th Oct., 1992, lot 522), gave in 1828 one of her portraits as a "token of friendship" to the British General Lord Viscount Combermere, who was staying near her state, as a present. This portrait was apparently of "exceedingly good likeness" (Mundy 1858, 180f.).

Leopold von Orlich's main task in India was to prepare, in his function as military observer, the Prussian prince's visit to the British troops, fighting among others - the Sikhs. In February, 1843, he describes the ivory paintings from Delhi, which were still strongly influenced by the Mughal style: "Also ivory paintings - portraits as well as buildings and processions are executed most perfectly here and they would do honour even to our first class artists. They are not only admirably true to nature, but also executed delicately and accurately" (Orlich 1845, Band II, 17). We do not know, whether von Orlich collected such paintings or took them back home.

Ivory paintings from Delhi made their way in the 19th century to the present day Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich. Behind the frame of the oval portrait of Mumtāz Mahal, an old paper label reads: *Fakir Chand and Rughnath Das, Delhi - India* (Buedeker wrote that Fakir Chand & Rugh-

nath Das was the name of a firm owning a shop for ivory-carvings (Bacdeker 1914, 176), beneath it: *No. B 64*, and below that: *Rs. 5/-*. The backside of the "Hari Mandir" in Amritsar carries the same label with the number *No. B27* and the low price *Rs. 5/-*. Added to these paintings, which carry order numbers, were several ivory paintings from the collection of the Schlagintweit brothers. Three portraits came from "Ram Singh Pandit" of Lahore. They portray three Maharajas painted in the Sikh fashion of the time. Moreover, there is one portrait of "Vazir Ali Shah, The Last King of Audeh" (Wazir Ali Shah) and one of "Navab Asiddilla" (Nawwab Asadullah), also from the Schlagintweit Collection. Prince Waldemar of Prussia received, apart from a sabre and a ring, a portrait of the prince (*Nawwab*) of Lucknow, at that time, in regard of Islamic art tradition, the most important city in India, on the occasion of his visit on 26th March, 1845 (Kutner 1857, 209). The prince's physician, Dr. W. Hoffmeister, received "from the king" [i. e. the *Nawwab*], in addition to "richly decorated sabres and other weapons made of Isfahan-steel with a brilliant sheath and a magnificent hilt", a "large folio-volume with the clearest miniature pictures on a gold background and furnished with arabesques painted on a gold background on the cover. It is", as Hoffmeister continues, "a rare Persian manuscript which contains the epic poem of Häfiz [instead of Firdawsī], the Shāhnāma, enriched by most elegant miniatures on a gold background and furnished with beautiful arabesques in blue and carmine" (Hoffmeister 1847, 181). It is highly likely that the physician received a manuscript which originated from India and, as the commissioned work of an Islamic ruler, was written in Persian. Until the end of the 19th century, Lucknow was considered the stronghold of Persian literature in India, as Mirza Muhammad Hadi Ruswa (1858-1931) tells us about in his novel "The Courtesan of Lucknow".

On 24th December, 1910, the German crown prince received, during his stay in Jaypur, on occasion of the Christmas festivity a portrait of the Maharaja of Jaypur: "The Maharaja had ordered to give ... presents to a number of Christian children and he gave portraits of himself as presents to the crown prince and all the travellers" (Bongard 1911, 91). Ruprecht, crown prince of Bavaria, travelled to India a decade earlier than the German crown prince. He does not mention paintings given as presents to him, but he comments on wealthy families of Rajasthan, the capital of which is Jaypur today: "Even the notables live in houses furnished with some mats and cushions and perhaps several miniature paintings" (Ruprecht 1922, 108). Although there are some more old German descriptions of Indian paintings, still they mostly do not mention Mughal paintings or the author was not a German.

Records of Indian paintings in German private collections are rarer than old German descriptions of paintings in India.

"... When a few years ago a charitable lady in Berlin showed me the pretty pictures that her father, who had long been a governor in India, had brought back with him, the tenderly painted, serene faces seemed quite familiar to me and it was as if I were looking at my own family gallery." Regina Hickmann, who used this quotation from Heinrich Heine in connection with Indian miniature painting, rightly remarks that Heinrich Heine must have seen portraits of Mughal origin (Hickmann 1975, 8f). The same author also published, according to the entry in the inventory: "15 pages with old Mohammedan paintings from Srinagar, Kashmir" (Hickmann 1986, 211), which were presented as a gift to the former Königlich Zoologisches und Anthropologisch-Ethnographisches Museum in Dresden in 1886 by Dr. E. Hultsch. Hultsch, therefore, once owned these paintings and calligraphies, though he can hardly be considered a private "collector" in the modern sense of the word, just as Heine's "charitable lady" in Berlin at the beginning of the 19th century was not a "collector" in the modern sense.

In the first decades of the 20th century, individuals began building up collections of Islamic art in Germany, which also contained, among others, Mughal paintings from India. In 1935 there were even two exhibitions, in which Indo-Islamic paintings, belonging to German collectors, were represented. One, organized by the Kestner-Gesellschaft in Hanover from 12th November to 15th December, was presented to its visitors under the title: "Indische Miniaturen vom 16. - 19. Jahrhundert aus öffentlichen und privaten deutschen Sammlungen" (Indian Miniatures from the 16th to the 19th Centuries from Public and Private German Collections), selected by Ernst Kühnel, director of the Islamische Kunstabteilung der Staatlichen Museen Berlin. The catalogue lists over 227 numbers, out of which 163 catalogue entries in the "Teil I" (Part I) represent Indian miniature painting under the Mughal emperors. Of these, two paintings were recruited from Akbar's *Hamzanāma* by Prof. Dr. Friedrich Sarre from Berlin-Neubabelsberg (Kühnel 1935, 4, no. 1-2; see also Kühnel 1923, ill. 71 "Mughal border-painting", ill. 132; Kühnel 1942, ill. 67, just to mention a few), 14 paintings from the collection of Hans Berg of Hackhausen near Solingen-Ohlig (Kühnel 1935: cat. nos. 9, 10, 18, 42, 52, 54, 55, 61, 63-65, 98, 146 and 156), and 13 paintings from Otto Sohn-Rethel, Düsseldorf (Kühnel 1935, nos. 11, 13, 19-22, 41, 44, 53, 60, 85 and 142). Paintings from the collection of Walter Schulz, Leipzig, (Schulz 1914: vol. 2, pls. 187, 188 and 193) were not exhibited.

The other one, "Ausstellung islamischer Miniaturen, Textilien und Kleinkunst" (Exhibition of Islamic Miniatures, Textiles and Crafts), was organized together with the Verein der Freunde Asiatischer Kunst und Kultur and the Kulturbund in the Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie. The miniatures were compiled for the catalogue by Dr. Emmy Wellesz and Dr. Kurt Blaustein. Six of the paintings listed in the chapter "India, Mughal Art" were taken from the collection of Professor Emil Pretorius from Munich (Cat. Vienna 1935, no. 63, 65, 68, 73, 80, 88 and 104). Pretorius' collection remained for the most part in Germany; an exhibition in Munich was dedicated to this collection in 1982 (Bothmer 1982, who, however, does not mention the exhibition from 1935). The most important Indian paintings of other German private collections are in the USA, in Switzerland or England, among other places today. For example, cat. no. 1 from the Hanover exhibition, an often published painting from the *Hamzanāma* of the Sarre collection, became cat. no. 1 of the exhibition catalogue, published 1991, of the collection owned by the London painter Sir Howard Hodgkin (Topsfield/Beach 1991, 20f). The illustration from Akbar's *Hamzanāma*, sold by auction in New York on the 3rd October, 1990, at a sensational price (Christie's New York 3rd Oct., 1990, 28), once was part of a German collection, that of Egon Zerner (Glück 1925, 154) and H. Tiedemann in Berlin respectively (Goetz 1930a, 149). Another important Berlin collection at the beginning of the Thirties was the collection of Jacob Goldschmidt, which included several Mughal paintings mentioned or reproduced in the pertinent literature (Goetz 1930a, 145, 151, 153, ill. 5 [= Binney 73, cat. no. 30 = Heerumaneck 84, pl. 164]).

With the exception of one collection, which, however, did not provide any materials for this exhibition, no comprehensive private collection of Indo-Islamic paintings exists in Germany, which most collectors attribute to the prices for Mughal paintings, which have risen to astronomical levels. Other collectors, having gathered significant numbers of non-Islamic Indian paintings, criticize the "lack of colour intensity" in most of the Mughal paintings.

Although large parts of the Indian Subcontinent were under Islamic rule after the end of the 12th century, few Indo-Islamic paintings have survived datable prior to the 15th century. Miniatures, which surely had been painted at that time in India, were probably so similar in style to the miniatures from the Western Islamic empires, that it is impossible to discriminate them with certainty yet. The only published exception is a *Firman* of Muhammad ibn Tughluq, the Sultan of Delhi, dated 1325 (Cat. Keir Coll. 1976, pl. 150, VI.39; Losty 1982).

A Koran from Gwalior in Central India, dated 1399H, together with other Korans copied in India from the beginning of the 15th century, documents that India's Islamic rulers were interested in such works with ornate calligraphy (Welch - Welch 1982, 141-144; Losty 1982, 55-56). An illustrated *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī, painted in a provincial Shiraz sub-style, can only have originated from India, for the pigment for yellow was only used in India at that time. This illustrated manuscript dates from the first half of the 15th century (Fraad - Erttinghausen 1971, ill. 138; Losty 1982, 57f.).

The earliest miniature (cat. no. 181) of this exhibition dates from the pre-Mughal Sultanate period, as well as the three leaves (cat. no. 182) from the *Chandayan* epic, which was very popular in the so-called "Sultanate" period. Typical features of these early miniatures are arabesque decorations of the architecture, colours, which were generally shaded, different horizontal levels for simultaneous depiction of different parts of the story, snake-like bands of clouds in the sky, and a style of representing the landscape like a brocaded textile.

After the conquest of India by the Mughals, the art of painting, which was promoted by the Islamic rulers in India, underwent a decisive transformation. Humāyūn, Bābur's successor, who conquered North India from the West in 1526, soon was driven into exile to Persia. Assisted by Shāh Tahmāsp, he gained power again in the year 1556. He brought two painters from his exile at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp along to India. The two painters had already worked for Shāh Tahmāsp on his *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī, beyond doubt the most valuable illustrated Islamic manuscript in existence. These two artists, Khwāja 'Abdus-Samad and Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, who had already been working for Humāyūn near Kahlā a few years before his reconquest of Delhi, may to a considerable extent have determined the artistic direction of the atelier, which was brought into existence by Humāyūn's son and successor, Akbar.

Akbar had over 30 Islamic texts of mostly historical content, many of them very voluminous, lavishly illustrated. Several other texts were translated by Akbar's order from Indian languages and were then illustrated, too. The number of miniatures, which were painted under Akbar's patronage, amounts to thousands; one text, the *Hamzanāma*, painted or, rather, written on large-format pieces of cotton fabric, contains more than 1,400 pages, only about 10% of which have been preserved. Projects such as these could only be carried out with the help of ateliers in which hundreds of drawers and painters were employed. Several captions even tell of the division of labour at one of the studio paintings: one artist finishes the sketch which determines the entire composition, the second

inserts the portraits, and a third colours the picture. Since the painters often could not write, their names appear in unremarginated folios from Akbar's time usually outside of the picture, maybe written by librarians. The miniatures have been actually "signed" only in few cases. The artists' names show that the majority of them were Indians, probably Hindus. Some of them belonged to the lower social classes, the so-called "castes"; nevertheless, they were employed by the leader of Akbar's atelier for their artistic abilities. For example, one of the most outstanding artists, Dashvant, came from a "caste" whose sole duty was carrying sedan-chairs (*palanquins*) (Abu'l-Fazl 1977, 114).

Some of the texts, for example the *Akbarnāma*, i. e. the biography of Akbar, or the *Bāburnāma*, the autobiography of his grandfather, were painted in various "editions", each "edition" differing slightly from its predecessor, but still identifiable by, usually compositional, similarities. The so-called *Bāburnāma* exists in at least four, if not five, different versions, each of them containing at least 183 illustrations.

Akbar ordered a Persian translation of his grandfather's memoirs, which had originally been written in Chaghatay Turkī. This translation was accomplished under the leadership of Mirzā 'Abd ar-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān and presented to Akbar on 24th November, 1589. Before having the translated text written down, Akbar supposedly decided which events from Bābur's life were to be illustrated. The three paintings presented here (cat. nos. 183a-c) belong to this translation, which was made in 1589 and is, therefore, the oldest illustrated Persian translation. 21 of these paintings, the largest group of this version, are preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Altogether 108 of the original 191 paintings of the first version are known today. Most of the miniatures were introduced in remarginated form into the fine arts trade at the beginning of this century. Because the colourless paper borders, which are still preserved in the original on some pages, were probably too unattractive to the dealers, they were often removed along with the artist's name which was written on them at that time, and were replaced by better-preserved borders from other Islamic manuscripts. A large number of miniatures was mounted within the borders of the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*, a Persian dictionary of Jamāl ad-Dīn Husayn Inju composed in 1607-08. Borders from this *Farhang* framed not only paintings from the *Bāburnāma*, but also from the *Akbarnāma* and other illustrated texts.

Some leaves found their way into the fine arts trade with borders from other manuscripts or simply mounted on gold-sprinkled paper. Today these remarginations are generally

blamed on the dealers Georges Demotte and Hāfez Mahmūd Khūn Shayrānī (Smart - Walker 1985, 78), although even in the 18th and 19th centuries in India entire damaged miniatures from the manuscripts were simply being replaced by copies, painted before removal of the damaged leaf.

The text on the reverse of miniatures, which had already made their way into the European fine arts trade at an early date, often does not correspond to the pictures, because the pictures were "split", i. e., a painted recto was separated from a painted verso. The miniature then had to be strengthened, due to the weakness of the paper, by mounting it on a page from another, more or less suitable manuscript.

Illustrations can be identified with the help of the text-panels, or by comparing their form of presentation to versions which either have captions or are more complete.

In addition to historical and historicizing novels, Akbar also had fables illustrated. One of the first works of this type which Akbar commissioned for illustration is the "Cleveland *Tūtī-Nāma*", named after the Cleveland Museum, which owns most of the 335 preserved folios, of which 218 are illustrated (62.279/1-341 and frontispiece; *Tūtī-Nāma* 1976). The *Tūtī-Nāma* is based on the ancient Indian *Shukasaptati*, "The Parrot's 70 Stories", or "The Parrot's Book". "The Parrot's Book" illustrated for Akbar is, however, an abridged Persian version of 52 stories by Ziyā' ud-Dīn Nakhshabī, dated from 1329-30. The "framing story" is as follows: In the absence of Khojaste's husband who went on a journey, ever so often when she intends to leave to meet her lover at night, the parrot asks her a question, such as: "If you, of Khojaste, are as smart as Mrs. So-and-so with her lover, then go!" Khojaste of course becomes curious and always asks: "How does that story go?" And so the parrot begins to tell his story, keeping Khojaste entertained all night, thereby keeping her from meeting her lover. The 52 stories are thus told in 52 nights, until finally her husband has returned.

There are two other versions of the "Cleveland *Tūtī-Nāma*"; these are the fragmentary "Beatty *Tūtī-Nāma*" from the collection of Chester Beatty in Dublin (Ind. Ms. 21, with 113 illustrations spread over 143 folios, s. Losty 1982, 88-89 with references to 17 additional, published paintings of the Dublin section of the manuscript), and a few folios of a third version in the Bharat Kala Bhavan in Benares (Chandru 1976, 82 and pls. 113-114).

Some of the illustrations of the "Beatty *Tūtī-Nāma*" are probably inspired by miniatures from the "Cleveland *Tūtī-Nāma*", which is dated two decades earlier, as corresponding research shows (s. for example "Cleveland *Tūtī-Nāma*", f. 32v

with Skelton 1988, 39-41, P12 or "Cleveland *Tūti-Nāma*", ff. 337v and 338r with Fischer - Goswamy 1987, 152-153, no. 74).

Akbar's chronicler, Abu 'l-Fazl, reports the emperor's order to have portraits painted: "At His Majesty's command portraits have been painted of all of His Majesty's servants and a huge album... has been made. Thus the dead have gained a new life, and the living an eternity" (Kheiri 1921, 11; Abu 'l-Fazl 1976, 184).

All the miniature paintings shown here are painted with water-colours, sometimes supplemented with gold-leaf, on paper.

Illustration from an Iskandarnāma

Water colours on paper

Leaf: 33.2cm x 23.0cm; miniature: 22.2cm x 14.9cm

India, Sultanate period, first half of the 15th century

L. V. Habighost Collection

Provenance: Bickford Collection

The earliest of the miniatures in this exhibition shows how parts of corpses which have begun decomposing, have been found at the construction site of a building, to which the gesture of the figure in the window is pointing. An observer on horseback is putting his "finger of astonishment" to his mouth. A sparsely clad, dark-skinned figure is hanging upside-down from a pole on the house. All the people are portrayed in semi-profile and their portrayal recalls the Persian painting of the time. The red dot within the outer margin is significant, as such dots marked both the left and right margins of Indian manuscripts of the time. The pages were fastened in the middle by a string which went through all the pages and held them together and in order. In the course of time, however, the string was abandoned, as it rubbed against the pages while they were being turned, but the red marks on both margins remained, since Indian manuscripts, although collected in bundles, were no longer bound as were, for example, Persian manuscripts.

The illustration was probably reimagined, due to the poor state of preservation of the surrounding text, just as most miniatures of the *Khamva* (Quintet) by Amir Abu 'l-Hasan, which were created in India in the 15th century, were mounted on other, better preserved pages of text of the same manuscript, so that the text often does not correspond to the picture. The painting at issue is attributed to a dispersed *Iskandarnāma*.

J.B.

Published: Cat. Bickford Coll. 1975, no. 43; Sotheby's New York 2005/21st Sept., 1985, no. 447; Lansingh-Scheurleer 1978, 20, no. 22; Cat. Binney Coll. 1981, 28.

Illustration from the so-called "Bombay Chandayana"

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 24.8cm x 19.4cm; miniature: 18.4cm x 13.7cm

India, probably region of Delhi, first half of the 16th century

W. Uhle Collection

Provenance: Fasajee Collection

Fine arts trade, London

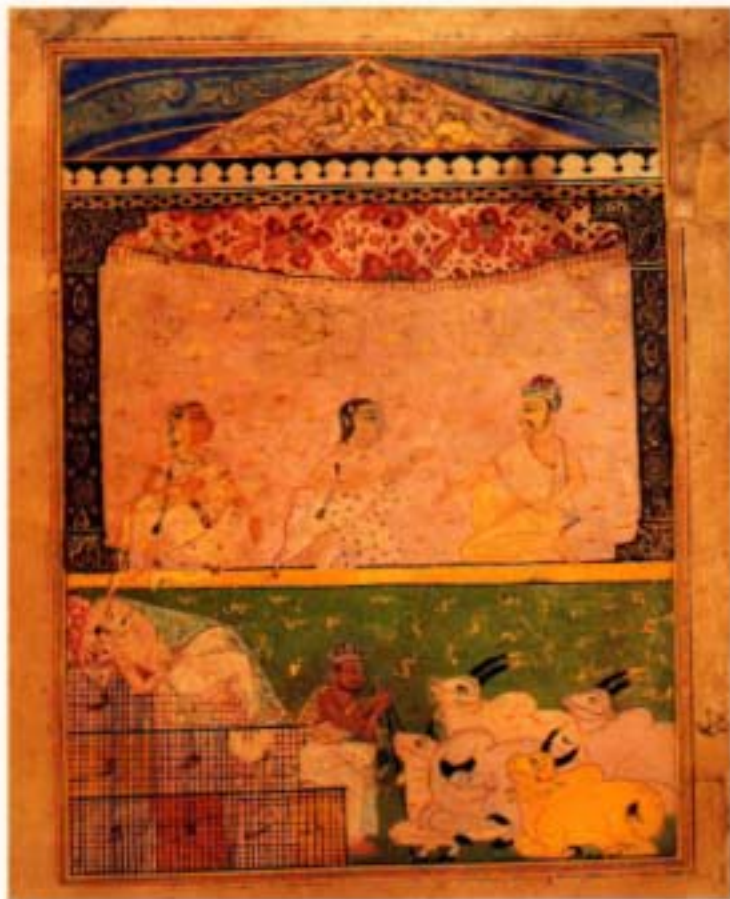
This and the following two catalogue entries belong to a dispersed illustrated *Chandayana* manuscript of the love epic of Lauruka and Chanda. The love story, which could almost be called mystical, is told by Mawlānā Da'ūd from Doimān, near Kanpur, who composed this poem in 1389, during the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughluq, for his vizier, Juhān Shāh, the son of Khān Juhān Maqbūl. It is written in *Avadhī*, an Eastern "Hindi" dialect. Five fragmentary illustrated manuscripts of this poem have survived, all of which originated from between the second half of the 15th and the first half of the 16th century in North India. A relatively extensive fragment can be found in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (Ms. or. fol. 3014). The three leaves at issue, however, stem from the "Bombay *Chandayana*", so-called because the Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay owns 68 miniatures of this manuscript. The leaves of the "Bombay *Chandayana*" belong to the most attractive illustrations of this poetry. Every page of text is written in courtly *thulsi* (or in *nastihl*), which might refer to the area around Delhi [C.P.11.]. The upper-most, middle and lower-most, bordered and centered text areas contain two hemistichs, each in two lines of red writing, and each equally large text area between these is filled with two lines of two hemistichs, each in black script.

Cat. no. 182a certainly belongs to the more interesting paintings of this manuscript due to the overlapping technique used in the presentation of the cattle herd. The way the garments project into the space makes them look as if they have been treated with too much starch, especially the way in which the women's garments stick out conspicuously from their bodies. The artist may have borrowed this manner of depicting clothes, together with the inventory of gestures, from Jain illustrations, which were copied in very large amounts in the 15th and 16th centuries.

Although this poetry was very popular, no complete copy has been preserved. Nor does the compilation of all versions known today reveal how the story of Lauruka and his beloved Chanda ends (Gupta 1981, 305).

J.B.

*Unpublished**Literature:* s. cat. no. 182c.



182b

Illustration from the so-called "Bombay Chandayana"

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 25.8cm x 19.4cm; miniature: 13.9cm x 10.9cm

W. Uhdé Collection

Provenance: Essajee Collection

Fine arts trade, London

Unpublished

Literature: s. cat. no. 182c.

182c

Illustration from the so-called "Bombay Chandayana"

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 24.8cm x 19.3cm; miniature with dome: 17.9cm x 12.3cm

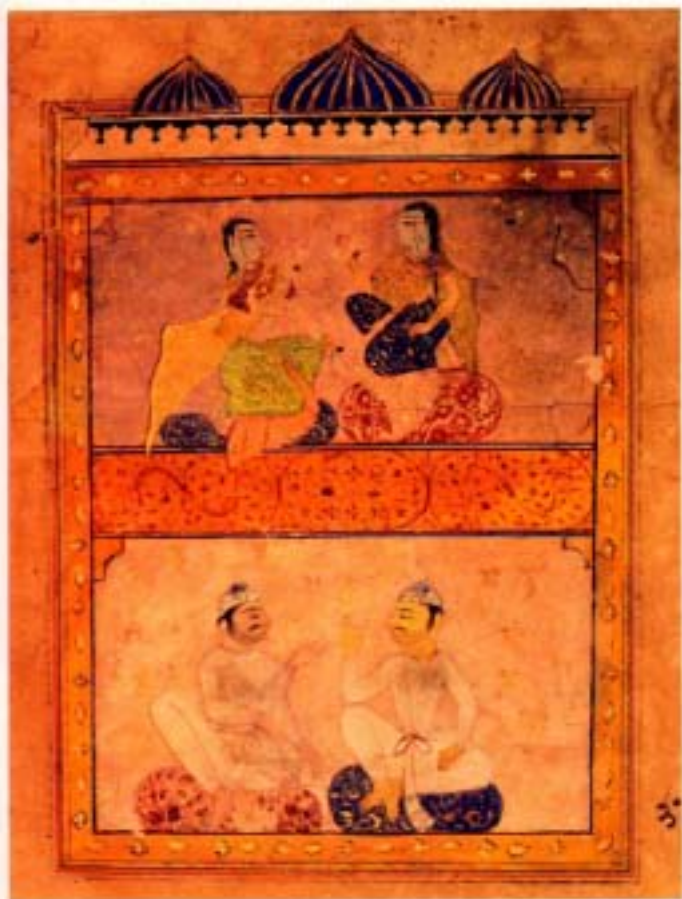
G. Heil Collection

Provenance: Essajee Collection

Fine arts trade, London

Unpublished

Literature: For the leaves in Bombay s. Losty 1982, no. 45 colour ill. 16; Goswamy 1986a, nos. 2 and 86 (= Goswamy 1986b, nos. 23 and 114); Leach 1982, no. 202, colour ill. p. 72; Cat. Paris 1978, no. 178; Chaitany 1982, ill. 7; Gorakshar - Desai 1987, no. 68f.; Khandalavala - Chandra 1964, 27-31, frontispiece, ill. 19-24; Khandalavala - Chandra 1969, 44-114, colour ill. 24, ill. 156-175; Chandra 1976, ill. 106-111; Iyer 1967, 22, no. 16; Khandalavala 1983, 26, ill. 22; Desai 1985, 5, no. 4; Beach 1992, 23, ill. 15. For the leaves from other places s. Christie's 16th June, 1987, lots 113f.; Sotheby's 12th Dec., 1972, no. 61 (= Chandra - Ehrenheim 1976, no. 22, pl. 7); Sotheby's 13th Dec., 1972, no. 86 (= Cat. Binney Coll. 1973, 20f., no. 6b = Binney 1981, ill. 40); Cat. Binney Coll. 1973, no. 6a (= Binney 1981, ill. 39); Sotheby's 27th March, 1973, no. 102 (= Lunsingh-Schuurleer 1978, 21, no. 5, ill. 6); Sotheby's 22nd April, 1980, no. 34; Sotheby's 15th Oct., 1984, no. 97; Cat. Ehrenfeld Coll. 1988, pl. 3; David Soustiel 1986, no. 30; Falk - Lynch 1989, no. 1; Archer 1960, pl. 12; Leach 1986, 18-20, no. 7, with reproduction of the page with text; Sharma - Khare 1985, 95, no. 126; Khandalavala 1985.



183a

**Illustration from the "Victoria and Albert Museum
Bābur-Nāma"**

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 30.3cm x 19.5cm ; miniature: 20.7cm x 12.5cm

Mughal-India, 1589/90, border later

L. V. Habighost Collection

Fine arts trade, London

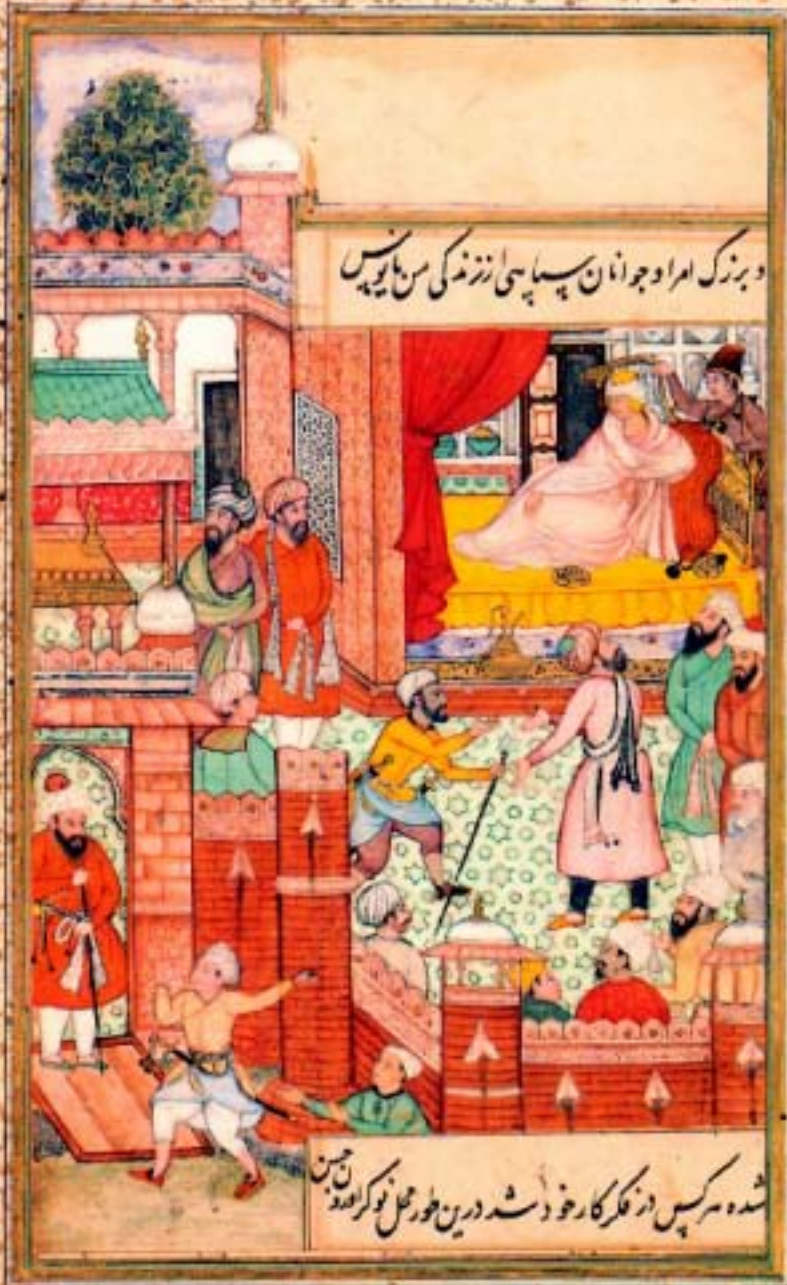
In 1498, the sixteen-year-old Bābur fell ill, so that for days he could neither move nor speak. As he himself writes in his memoirs, water from a piece of soaked cotton had to be dripped into his mouth. Various high officials in his surroundings were selfishly planning for the event of his demise as Bābur slowly began recovering, until eventually he was "his old self" again (Beveridge 1979, 88f.; Stammer 1988, 189). The actual text reads: *The great emirs and military noblemen doubted my surviving and each was thinking of his own affairs, as a messenger from Uzim Hanan arrived ...* [C.P.H.]. A version in the British Library which dated from only a little later, i. e. around 1590 (Oe. 3714, f. 70a, illustrated: Suleiman 1970, pl. 16 [= Stammer 1988, 188 = Burgham 1938, title-page = Goetz 30b, ill. 131 = Topsfield 1980, 67]), shows how water is being dripped into Bābur's mouth. The text of the leaf of the British Library, written in *nasta'liq*, begins somewhat earlier than the present painting, although it is identical over longer passages on both pages. The fourth version, dated from 1597-98, of whose 183 illustrations 173 have found their way into the National Museum in New Delhi, also shows, on folio 51, how in Samarkand the sick Bābur's thirst is being quenched (Randhawa 1983, 108, folio no. 51; Pant 1989b, ill. 71).

J.B.

Published: Christie's 11th/12th June, 1984, no. 188; Christie's 11th Oct., 1988, no. 93.

Literature: s. cat. no. 183c.

و بزرگ امر او جوانان سپاسی از زندگی من بایوس



شده سر کس از فکر کار خود شد درین طور عمل نوکران من

183b

Illustration from the "Victoria and Albert Museum
Bābur-Nāma"

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 34.6cm x 22.7cm ; miniature: 22.7cm x 12.7cm

Border around 1620

L. V. Hubighorst Collection

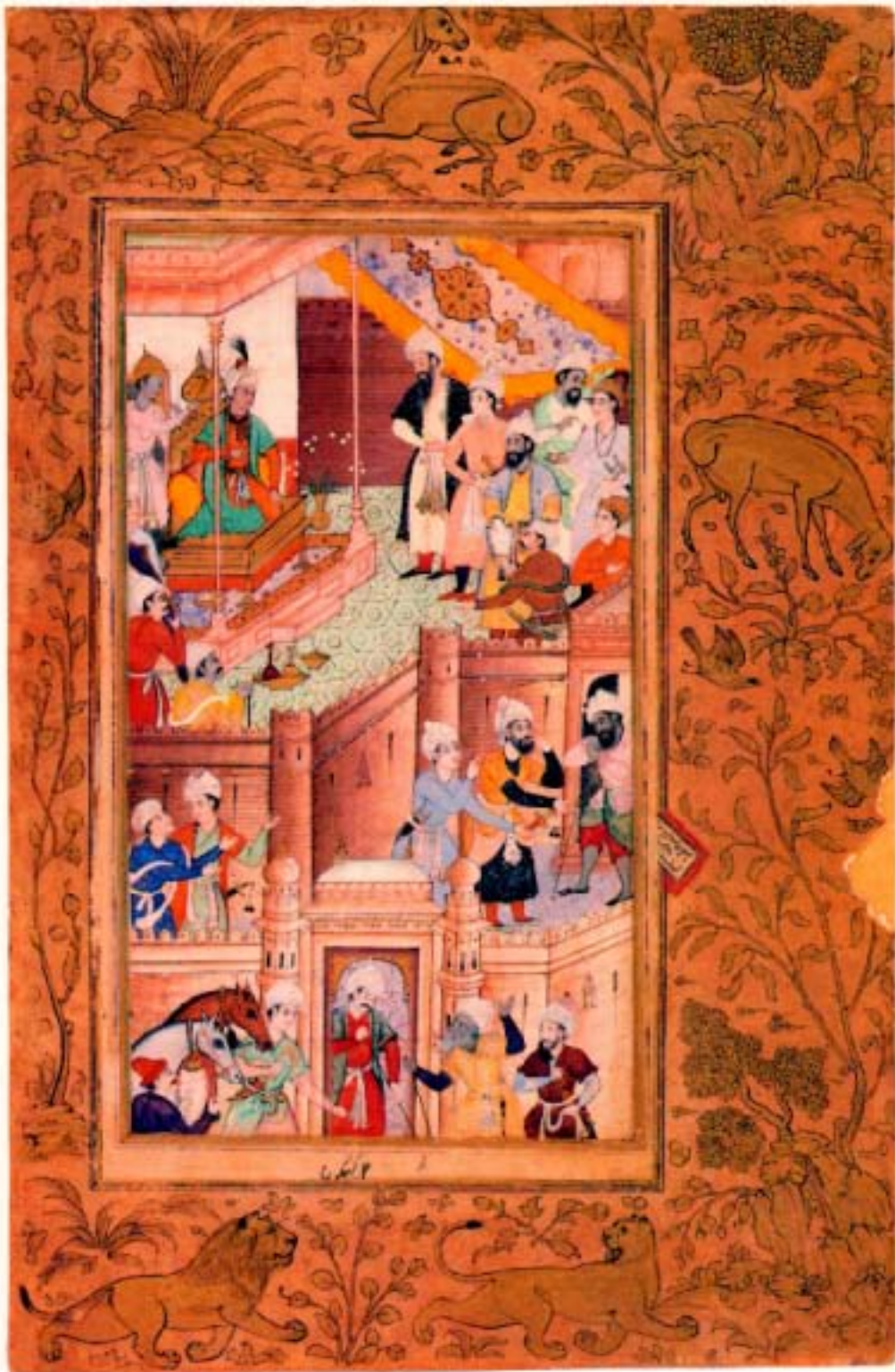
Provenance: Demotic Collection

Fine arts trade, London

The correct assignment of this leaf is difficult to make as there are no areas of text in the picture. It is the young, beardless Bābur on his throne, which might lead to a chronological assignment of the depicted episode. It is analogous to Or. 3714, f. 80b of the British Library (following Titley 1977, 123; f. 81b according to Suleiman 1970, pl. 17 [= Stammler 1988, 205]), and is also supposed to depict an event of the year 1497/98, in which Bābur receives 'Alldust Taghay in the fort at Marghinan. 'Alldust Taghay had surrendered the city of Andijan while Bābur was ill, though provided with a sufficient number of soldiers and supplies, as Bābur himself writes in his memoirs (Beveridge 1979, 100; Stammler 1988, 204). According to another interpretation, the picture depicts Bābur receiving the news of the loss of Andijan (Suleiman 1970, 141, corresponds to Beveridge 1979, 90).

Under the painting we can read *'amal-i Khem Karan* (work of Khem Karan). Although no other miniatures by Khem Karan are known from the "first" version of the illustrated *Bāburnāma*, we do know that he took part as a painter, illustrating a number of other manuscripts at the time of Akbar's reign between 1584 and 1604 (Titley 1977, 189 Index; Beach 1981, 236 Index; Khān 1969, 429; Dimand n. d., 20f., colour pl. 11). In the work "Akbar's Furnishings" (*Ā'in-i Akbarī*) completed between 1597-98 by the chronicler and translator Abu 'l-Fazl, Khem Karan is considered to be one of the "most famous and best" of Akbar's painters in the chapter about the *Ā'in-i taswīr-khāna*, i. e. "Furnishings of the Painters' Studios" (concerning the latest translation of this passage s. Chandra 1976, 182-184).

J.B.



183c

**Illustration from the "Victoria and Albert Museum
Bābur-Nāma"**

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 35.0cm x 22.6cm; miniature: 25.8cm x 14.8cm

Border later

L. V. Habighorst Collection

Provenance: Vera Amherst Hale Pratt Collection

Fine arts trade, London

The third painting from the *Bāburnāma* can be compared to Or. 3714, f. 285a of the British Library in London (Suleiman 1970, pl. 44). The one-lined texts in both miniatures agree with each other, although once again the text of the leaf in London begins somewhat earlier. Nevertheless, there are two different interpretations of the scene. According to the first, the end of the battle at Kandahar in the year 1507-1508 is being depicted. Bābur was surrounded by only eleven loyal followers, among them his librarian, the rest of his army had left pursuing fleeing troops. Even with this small number of soldiers the courageous Bābur was still able to overcome enemy resistance, drive them back and decide the battle in his own favour (Suleiman 1970, 146; Beveridge 1979, 336f.; Stammler 1988, 526). According to the second interpretation, an event from the same year has been captured in the picture. The main character would then not be Bābur, but rather Bābur's paymaster, Shāh Mansūr, who, with an *aigrette* on his turban, is approaching the town of Andākhud carrying gifts, when he is attacked by leaderless Uzbeks who plunder the gifts (Titley 1977, 123; Beveridge 1979, 325f.; Stammler 1988, 512). The translation of the caption is: ... accompany him, suddenly in the confusion they throw down... [C.P.H.] An inscription on the right-hand side of the picture reads: *The painter of these pictures is Haydar Kashmiri, the lowest of people, pupil [or: servant] of the world's guardian, the Shāh.* [C.P.H.] Haydar Kashmiri painted a miniature for the *Timurnāma*, ca. 1584, preserved in the Khuda Bukhs Public Library in Bankipore, Patna, and three miniatures for the chronicle *Jāmi' at-Tawārīkh* or *Chingiznāma* by Rashīd ad-Dīn, completed in 1596 and dispersed among various collections (Beach 1981, 218, 225). His name shows that there were at least painters from Kashmir at the time of Akbar, and one may assume that there may also have been painters' ateliers in Kashmir, where the Mughals often lived in their summer residence to escape the scorching heat of the Indian plains.

J.B.

Literature: Cat. New York 1930, 58-61; Strzygowski 1933, ill. 187; Smart 1978, 121; Cat. Binney Coll. 1973, nos. 46a-46b; Smart/Walker 1985, 77; Sotheby's, 22.11.1985, lot 256c). For a series of other pages the historical work *Rauzat us-Safā'*, copied between 1571-172 in Shiraz by Mirkhwand, was used (Lowry - Beach 1988, 50). For example, this miniature painting (cat. no. 183c) was framed with the border of a *Shāhnāma* by Firdawsī, completed in

1620 in India (Lowry - Beach 1988, 124f, no. 158; Strzygowski 1933, ill. 220 [= Leuven-Waller - Dantop 1927, ill. 18 = Grousset 1930, 321]; Cat. Heccramanck Coll. 1984, pl. 158). For remargination with the borders of other manuscripts compare for example the border of the *Bāburnāma* miniature in Brush - Milstein 1984, 138, no. 164 with the cat. no. 183c. For mounting on gold-sprinkled paper s. Sotheby's 12th April, 1976, lot 66 and 67 [= Pal 1983, M5]; Fischer - Goswami 187, no. 63 in comparison with the border of the cat. no. 183a. For removal and replacement of damaged illustrations from the *Bāburnāma* s. British Library Or. 3714, 44. ff. 417b-418a (illustrated, Clarke 1922, pls. 2-3) and Sotheby's, 23th April, 1979, lot 125 [= Pal 1983, 124-125, M8a-M8b, where, however, the much later date of origin was not recognized].



Illustration from the so-called "Beatty Tūti-Nāma"

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 29.4cm x 22.9cm; miniature: 15.7cm x 12.4cm

Mughal-India, 1580-1585, border later

L. V. Habighorst Collection

Fine arts trade, Frankfurt/Main

The "Beatty *Tūti-Nāma*", to which this leaf belongs, was brought to France by one of Ranjit Singh's generals, Jean Francois Allard (1785-1839). It was then bought by Félix Feuillet, the later Baron F. S. Feuillet de Conches. Many pages may then have been removed from Allard's (complete?) copy towards the end of the 19th century, in connection with the dissolution of Baron Feuillet de Conche's collection, and some pages were remargined (Cat. Ehrenfeld Coll. 1988, 32).

The seven-line text in the inscription panel reads: *A man has no greater capital than his openness - a woman no better than her fair temper. Through women's bad temper two brothers became prematurely old - through the woman's fair temper the older brother stayed young. Khojaste asked: "Who was the brother who remained young and who were the two who became old?" The parrot responded: "It is said..."* [C.P.H.] We stop here because the text does not correspond to the picture, although both text and picture belong to the *Tūtināma*. The text begins with the "framing story" of the 49th night (Simsar 1978, 302) and has been assigned to the "Cleveland *Tūti-Nāma*", together with the corresponding illustration (f. 311r). In the printing of the "Cleveland *Tūti-Nāma*", Khojaste is standing, as one would expect, in front of the parrot, who is sitting on the cage, just as in many of the other illustrations of the "framing story" (ff. 37v, 43r, 51v, 80v, 87r, 95r, 102v, just to name a few). However, in analogy to the "Cleveland *Tūti-Nāma*", the picture appears to illustrate an event of the 32nd night (f. 209v): "Utarid, a clerk, had a wife named Khurshid, 'the brilliance of her face made the moon resemble a tiny star'. When Utarid had to go on a journey, he instructed his brother Kayvān to take care of Khurshid as well. After Kayvān saw that his brother had left, he sent a woman messenger with the following message to Khurshid: 'Oh Khurshid, the heavenly beauty, for a long time I have been so madly in love with you so that my life is dependent on your affections. The presence of Utarid has prevented me from declaring my love ... now that he is away, let us ... play the game of love' (Simsar 1978, 201f.). In the Cleveland version of the present painting, Kayvān can be seen sitting on the right-hand margin. He was either cut off here during remargination, at the time when an incorrect text was fastened to the manuscript during the "restoration" works, or he was never placed in the picture of the later version published here. Several folios were added to the "Cleveland *Tūti-Nāma*" centuries after the original completion, which explains the mismatch of text and picture of the exhibited painting. In the story of the 32nd night, there are, indeed, three men mentioned in the story, besides Khurshid. Although

the three men are not related to each other, they all have the same goal, as far as Khurshid is concerned. In this respect the context of the introductory text is not so far removed from the actual corresponding passage, and makes the "restorators'" mistake likely.

J.B.

185**Portrait of Kuchak Oghlan, painted by Nanha**

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 23.3cm x 14.9cm; miniature: 12.7cm x 6.8cm

Mughal-India, 1595-1605

L. V. Habighorst Collection

Provenance: Heeramaeck Collection

Fine arts trade, London

This leaf belongs to one of the portrait albums, which originated from Akbar's time. Most of the miniatures of this album, which has not been re-compiled yet, were probably also painted for Akbar in the last decade of the 16th century, but according to the latest research, it was originally compiled for Prince Salim, the later Mughal emperor Jahāngir (Beach 1985, 8, no. 1; Beach 1992, 77, 79), especially as some of the portraits may have been painted as early as at the beginning of the 17th century and as one of the paintings in this album refers to "Shāh Selim" (Cat. Binney Coll. 1973, 70, no. 42). Characteristic for this album are the narrow, upright-format miniatures, a narrow, horizontal text area, generally with one line of writing directly above and below the miniature, a narrow, brown border with soft, gold-blossom motifs, which frame both the text areas and the painting, and an outer border with pale golden motifs which are symmetrically arranged on an axis in geometrical distribution. The thin, upright format of the miniatures might show the influence of the more-or-less contemporary Safavid individual portraits (Sichoukine 1959, pl. XXX; Swietochowski - Babaie 1989, no. 23; Gray 1961, 161 colour pl.). The earliest ascertainable paintings of this album made their way to Europe once again through the art dealer G. J. Demotte, who also owned an additional miniature in this exhibition (cat. no. 187a).

The writing on cat. no. 185 reads: *This is the portrait of Kuchak Oghlan/Nanha drew this picture.* [C.P.H.] The aged but not haggard man with a grey beard and many wrinkles in his face has to support himself on his staff because of his age. Like in case of many portraits in this album, the exact identification of this very expressive portrait is uncertain. *Oghlan* means "son of", probably the son of "Kuchak Khwāja" in this case. Kuchak Khwāja was the brother of the well-known officer under Bābur, Khwāja Kilan Beg (s. Beveridge 1979, 772). Kuchak Khwāja, as the guardian of the royal seal, enjoyed Bābur's special trust (Beveridge 1979, 281; Beveridge 1952, 322).

Another possibility of identification is offered by Akbar's chronicler,



who mentions "Kuchak 'Ali Khān Kolābī" (Abu 'l-Fazl 1977, 484). According to this version, Kuchak 'Ali comes from Badakhshan, to the north of the Oxus. Since he served Akbar as early as the latter's tenth year of reign (beginning in March 1565) in a position of responsibility, he could no longer have been young around 1600, when the miniature was made.

Nanha painted as early as c. 1584 under Akbar, continued his career during the entire period of Jahāngīr's reign (1605-1627), and may have worked a few years for Shāh Jahān as well.

J.B.

Published: Cat. Heeramanek Coll. 1984, 208, colour pl. 183; Sotheby's 20th Nov., 1986, no. 22.

Literature: For the portrait album: Strzygowski 1933, pl. 76, ill. 208 [= Cat. Williamstown 1978, 118 = Okada 1992, 112, col. pl. 121 = Beach 1992, 79]; Sotheby's 7th Dec., 1964, 8f., lot 25 [= Cat. Binney Coll. 1973, no. 42 = Okada 1992, 107]; Welch 1978, 22, ill. IV [= Beach 1985, no. 1 = Brand 1987, 107]; Gray 1953, 24, ill. 6 [= Cat.

London 1950, pl. 145, no. 811]; Tandan 1982, ill. 15, col. pl. VII [= Das 1991, 44, ill. 5]; Cat. Goloubew Coll. 1929, 75, pl. LXXI, no. 121; Cat. Sir Cowasji Coll. 1965, no. 11; Brand-Lowry 1985, 83, no. 54. On Nanha: Titley 1977, 189 [Index]; Cat. Williamstown 1978, 148-150; Beach 1978, 148-150; Beach 1981, 236 [Index]; Das 1983, pl. I; Drout 28th June, 1983, no. 60; for the artist's self-portrait s. Guy 1990, 78.

Portrait of a Mughal nobleman in conversation with scholars

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 21.9cm x 13.6cm; miniature: 14.9cm x 8.7cm

Mughal-India, around 1610

L. V. Habighoest Collection

Fine arts trade, Frankfurt/Main

This painting originated with certainty from the period of Jahāngīr. The colours have been applied so softly that the picture rather conveys the impression of a coloured drawing than that of a painting. The miniature shows a young man, presumably one of the Mughal princes, seated, with a book in his left hand listening to the discourse of a scholar who is standing before him. The bearded scholar is holding a book and a rosary in his left hand. Directly behind the prince, a servant is standing with a swathed sword, fanning a shawl above the pupil's head. Next to him, another servant is waiting, with a full quiver wrapped in cloth and a bent bow. A third servant is squatting before the prince and stirring food in a bowl. The serenity of the scene is underlined by a young tame roe (?) in the foreground, which is lying before a valuable Chinese porcelain bowl from the 14th century (Smart 1975-1977; Das 1992).

The numerous stamps and writings on the picture's verso testify to its former collectors, among them the Mughal emperors Shāh Jahān and Aurangzīb. In terms of painting technique, size and scenery the miniature is comparable to two or three other paintings.

The first miniature was part of A. C. Ardesthir's collection and has been reproduced partly in colour (Sotheby's 10th July, 1973, 36-37, lot. 31 = Christie's 16th Oct., 1980, 36-38, lot 69). A seated young man, pouring wine, is identified by a caption as Prince Murād, i. e. one of Akbar's sons. Behind him a fan-bearer is standing. According to the caption, the man sitting facing Murād is another of Akbar's sons, Dāniyāl. The inscription on a side table identifies the artist: *Manohar*.

The second painting shows a young man under a tree with a bottle of wine and a cup in front of a dervish, who is wearing a fur-lined head-covering (Godard 1937, 238-239, pl. 43). A man carrying a sword is standing behind him waving a shawl as in the miniature shown here. This also is the work of Manohar and, as already mentioned, its dimensions correspond to the present miniature.

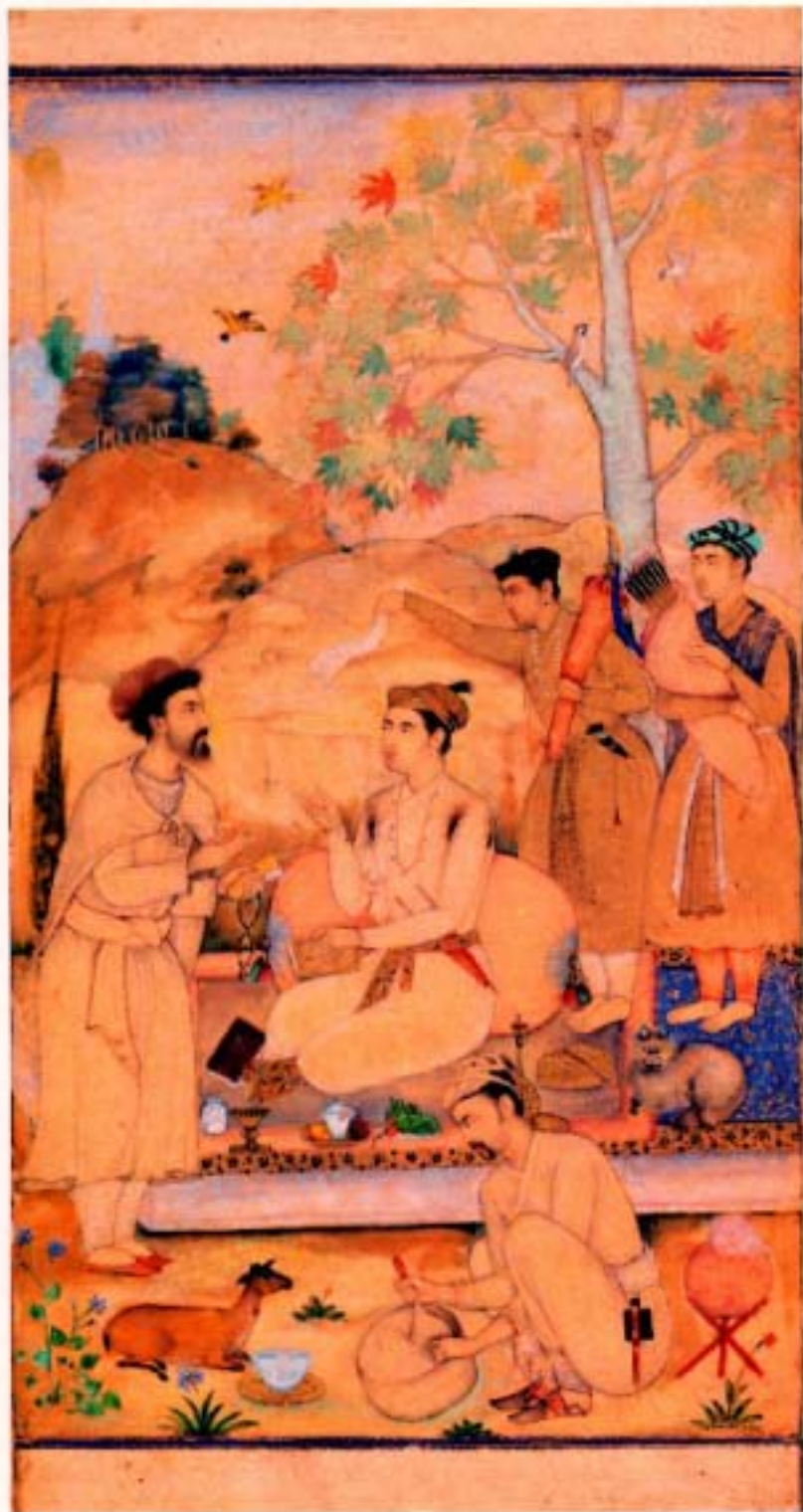
In the third painting there is a young man, again sitting under a tree, offering a cup of wine. The bearded old man with a fur-lined cap, the servant with the swathed sword, the man with a stringed instrument, and others are already known from the other two paintings. However, the painting, which is in a private collection in San Francisco, is the largest of all mentioned here in its dimensions (Binyon 1921, pl. VI = Christie's, 24th/25th June, 1965, lot 47 = Cat. Williamstown 1978, 163-164).

In none of the cases, the young men are identified beyond doubt, the captions on the poles of the sun-canopy are not necessarily correct, as for example a contemporary portrait of Dāniyāl (Welch 1987, 114-116, no. 18) with the young man of the same name from the first painting under comparison. As far as the young men's pose is concerned, one can say that there is a striking resemblance among them. A closer look, however, reveals that their faces differ. A young man, or prince, meeting a dervish in the open is a popular motif in Mughal painting, it was introduced under one of the co-founders of the royal painters' ateliers, 'Abd as-Samad, into painting sponsored by the Mughal emperors (Welch 1976, no. 10 = Welch - Welch 1982, 162-167, no. 56); therefore neither the dervish nor the young man necessarily represent portraits of individuals. A sort of counterpart to the dervish-young man motif in Mughal painting is the motif, also popular at that time, of a lonely woman being consoled by a female friend (Ray 1975, 158-159, pl. IX). cat and young roebuck are represented there as they are here.

In analogy to the first two paintings under comparison, cat. no. 186 belongs to the school of the painter Manohar, recognized as one of the most versatile painters under Akbar and Jahāngīr (Cat. Williamstown 1978, 130-137; Beach 1981, 256 [Index]; McInerney 1991: Okada 1992, 136-147).

Impressions of Persian seals on the verso show that the leaf once belonged to the collection of one of the Shāh Jahān's servants, later to the collection of a man from 'Alamgīr's, i. e. Aurangzīb's retinue.

J.B.



187a

Portrait of Mu'izz al-Mulk

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 17.3cm x 8.9cm; miniature: 16.2cm x 7.9cm

Mughal-India, c. 1610-1613

L. V. Habighorst Collection

Provenance: Demotte Collection; Heeramaeck Collection

Fine arts trade, London

This leaf was already catalogued in 1930 by the curator of manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, F. Blochet (Cat. New York 1930, 56, no. 160). According to Blochet "a Dignitary of Turkish origin at the Court of the Great Moguls of Hindustan" was portrayed. A Heeramaeck - the famous art dealer N. Heeramaeck may have obtained the miniature from Demotte - also refers to the miniature as representing a "Turkish nobleman" (Cat. Heeramaeck Coll. 1984, 160). Indeed, the long fur-lined coat with a gold brocade pattern does seem to indicate a Turkish origin, as this pattern is found on Turkish textiles at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century.

The placement and the form of the caption on the left margin recall comparable captions from Jahāngīr's hand (s. Welch 1987, no. 33; Kühnel - Goetz 1924, pls. 5-6). It reads: *Portrait of Mu'izz al-Mulk* [C.P.H.]. In Jahāngīr's official biography Mu'izz al-Mulk is referred to several times. He was a Suyyid from Bukhara and a book-keeper of the furriery under Akbar (Rogers - Beveridge 1978, 45), to which the fur-lined coat discussed above testifies. He should not be mistaken for Mīr Mu'izz al-Mulk from Mashhad who died in the 24th year of Akbar's rule (s. Abu 'l-Fazl 1977, 414-415). In 1605/6 Jahāngīr appointed him to the department of construction (Rogers - Beveridge 1978, 45) and he accordingly received commissions from the emperor (Rogers - Beveridge 178, 136). A little later he is made paymaster (*bakhsh*) of the army sent against the Rana (Rogers - Beveridge 1978, 172). In 1610-11 he advanced to the post of Minister of Kabul (Rogers - Beveridge 1978, 172). In the following years his rank (*mansab*) was increased by 300 to 1800 (Aibar Ali 1985, 52). In 1612/13 Jahāngīr mentions him for the last time when he promotes Mu'izz al-Mulk to [Royal] Paymaster (*bakhsh*) (Aibar Ali 1985, 54).

Noteworthy is the long blade of the sword which Mu'izz al-Mulk is holding in his right hand. A European origin has already been suggested (Cat. Heeramaeck Coll. 1984, 160), one could even narrow it down to a German smithy, especially as an English traveller, William Hawkins, reports of more than 2,200 German swords in the Mughal's treasury in 1610 (Foster 1921, 103). European blades were very popular in India. The relatively short quillon and the missing knuckle-guard, a typical feature of comparable straight blades, make the sword appear rather "exotic" for Indian standards.

The grey hair indicates an advanced age of the subject, thereby corroborating a date around 1610-1613. The suggested assignment of the miniature to the artist Muhammad Nādir as Samarqandī

(Sotheby's 20th Nov., 1986, 27) is unsustainable, if the early date, which we have established, is taken into consideration, especially since there really was a Turkish ambassador at Shāh Jahān's court at that time, who was actually painted by court artists (Sotheby's 22nd/23rd Oct., 1991, lot 503). This miniature documents the great interest which Jahāngīr had in this type of portrait.

J.B.

Published: Cat. New York 1930, 56, no. 160; Cat. Heeramaeck Coll. 1984, 214, colour pl. 192; Sotheby's 20th Nov., 1986, no. 27.

Literature: For the Turkish pattern s. for example Sotheby's N. Y. 15th June, 1979, lot 345; Christie's 10th Oct., 1989, lots 394-395; Colnaghi Oriental 8th Apr. - 15th May, 1981, lot 27; Christie's 11th Apr., 1989, lot 320.

187b

Portrait of Pīr Khān, i. e. Khān Jahān Lodi

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 41.2cm x 28.1cm; miniature originally: 14.3cm x 8.3cm

India, 1620-1630

G. Heil Collection

Provenance: Maharana of Mewar/Rajasthan Collection; Michael Goedhuis Collection

Fine arts trade, London

This Mughal painting was not remarginated by European art dealers or by Mughal librarians, but by a descendant of one of the Mughals' greatest enemies; the Rana of Mewar. Mewar, in Southern Rajasthan, did not surrender to the Mughal army, led by Prince Khurram, the later Shāh Jahān, until 1614. The defeat of Mewar's army was an extremely important event and of course was worth a picture to the Mughal emperor.

In the following years Mughal paintings found their way into the "House of Lights", as the Maharanas called the rooms where the paintings were preserved. On the whole, important collections of Mughal paintings were preserved in India primarily in the libraries of the one-time enemies of the Mughal empire; the later Persian and European conquerors of India obviously knew nothing of these art collections. An entry written in Nagari on the reverse, a "122" below a "20", clearly shows the system of classification used in Mewar, with the number "20" standing for portraits of the Mughal emperors and their nobles. An older inventory number reads "128" and the declaration of value under it reads: *kīmat*: 15, i. e., the value of the miniature was estimated at 15 Indian rupees. On the back of the picture itself, barely legible *nasta'liq* writing can be seen (the back is secured by a kind of gauze which partially hides the writing).

On the picture-side at the lower, remarginated border *Sabīb Khān Jihān* [sic] *Lodī* (Portrait of Khān Jahān Lodi) is written in gold *Nagari*. The black *nasta'liq* writing confirms the identification of the



man portrayed in front of a dark background. Because the picture's margin - the actual portrait is hidden by the anthracite-coloured field - was inserted later, it is important to know that contemporary, comparable portraits with contemporary captions about this man have been preserved. These paintings show that identifications which were added later are correct.

Khān Jahān's actual name was Pīr Khān, son of Dawlat Khān and the younger brother of Muḥammad Khān. After the latter's death he befriended Akbar's third son, Mīrzā Dāniyāl, who, however, soon became the victim of his indulgence in drinking. Jahāngīr took a liking to him and in 1606/07 named him *Salabat Khān*. In 1607 he received the title *Khān-i Jahān*, under which he became known. Jahāngīr called him *farzand* (son) and allowed him to take part in the royal hunting expeditions together with his sons. He was considered the best marksman (Rogers - Beveridge 1978, 128f.). In 1608/09 he was promoted to the rank of *pāy hazāri*, the commander of 5,000 cavalrymen and infantrymen. In 1612/13 Jahāngīr appointed him to the office of the administrator of Berar. In addition to that he was made commander-in-chief of Thanesar in 1614/15 and was confirmed in this office one year later. In 1617 he was appointed as "commander over 6,000". Two years later he became the administrator of Multan. He was chosen in 1621/22 as "lord of Multan", confirmed one year later as administrator of Multan, and in 1623/24 became administrator of Agra. Soon after, the administration of Gujrat was assigned to him. In 1624/25 he took over the administration of Burhanpur in the Deccan, after the holder of that office, Prince Parveer, had died. One year later, he became *sipāhsālār*, and approximately two years later, administrator of the entire Deccan. In his first year of office, he was confirmed in this function by Shāh Jahān's commission. Thereupon Shāh Jahān increased his command to 7,000 cavalry and infantrymen. A few months later, Khān Jahān Lodi was not only confirmed as administrator of the Deccan, but Malwa was also put under his command. After Shāh Jahān took office, Khān Jahān Lodi concerned himself rather with the former enemies of Khurram (Shāh Jahān) than with the emperor himself. On 3rd February, 1631, he lost his last battle against the superiority of the royal troops. Shāh Jahān had his death immortalized for his *Shāh Jahān Nāma*.

As the miniature makes a contemporary impression, it should be dated from 1620 to 1630.

J. B.

Published: Falk 1978, 35, no. 22, ill. p. 86; Sotheby's 29th/30th Apr. 1992, no. 286.

Literature: For the defeat of Mewar's army s. Guy 1990, 78, no. 53; concerning the later Berlin version s. Goetz 1930a, 150 pl. XCH = Goetz 1930b, pl. 21, no. 59 = Kühnel 1955, pl. 8 = Kühnel n. d., 29 = Hickmann 1979, no. 27. For the identification of Khān Jahān Lodi s. Sichoukine 1929/30, 220, no. 15 [XII]; pl. LIV, the writing is recognizable on the end of the belt around his hips = Sichoukine 1929a, pl. XXVIII = Das 1986, pl. VII; Burrell - Gray 1963, 103 [= Carroll 1972, 22 = Welch 1978, 74-75 = Okada 1992, 147]. Khān Jahān Lodi is

identified in the right half of the picture in an inscription on the collar of the frock coat; other comparable pictures see Sichoukine 1929/30, 225; Falk - Archer 1981, 63, no. 47. For the death of Khān Jahān Lodi in the *Shāh Jahān Nāma* s. Rogers - Beveridge 1978, vol. 1, 468 [Index], vol. 2, 310 [Index]; Beveridge - Prasad 1979, vol. 1, 795-804; Begley - Desai 1990, 591 [Index], pl. 15 [= Carroll 1972, 25 = Beach 1992, col. pl. G], Athar Ali 1985, 357 [Index Jahāngīr], 370 [Index Shāh Jahān], each under "Pīr Khān".

188

Portrait of the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 33.3cm x 21.0cm; miniature: 13.6cm x 7.2cm

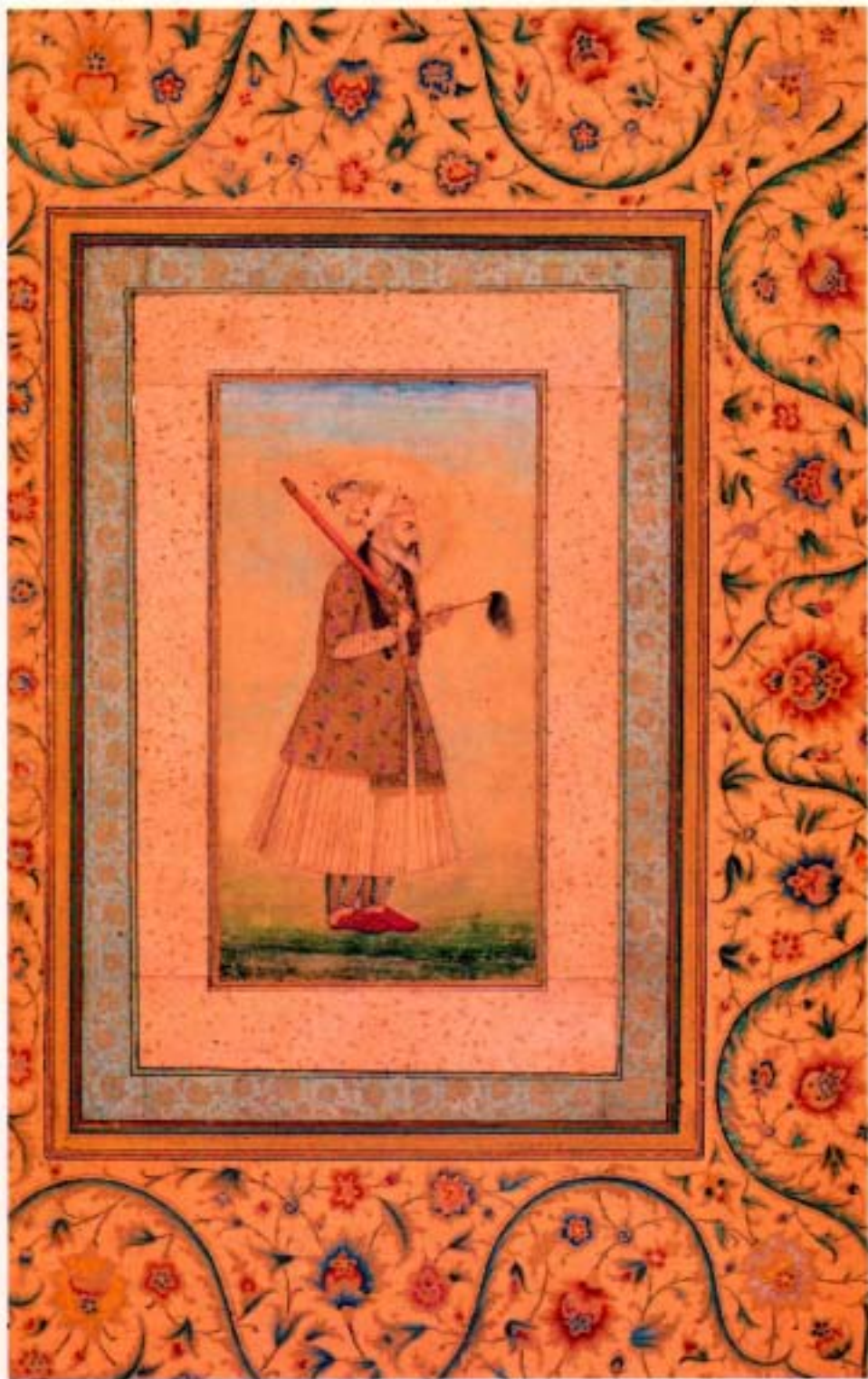
Mughal-India, 1645-1650

L. V. Habighorst Collection

Fine arts trade, London

When Shāh Jahān took over the government in 1628, Mughal painting had already reached its zenith. The painting shows him between c. 1645 and 1650, with a strongly greyed, though not completely white beard, which sets itself apart in a clear, but discrete contrast from the ermine-lined collar and the dark hair of the fly-whisk. As in numerous other pictures, the emperor is standing on a background of a concisely suggested landscape, showing a stern profile and shouldering a sword. In no other version the artist applied colour as cautiously as here. The expression on the emperor's face seems not very flattering. A coldness surrounds the ruler, who slightly bends forward, this lends a certain harshness to his features, not encountered elsewhere. By comparing this painting to later versions, we come to the conclusion that it might have been painted by a contemporary and perhaps critically inclined artist.

The fly-whisk in the emperor's left hand, also to be found in other portraits, is held so lavily and feebly, that it disturbs the clear line of the picture. This was certainly intended by the artist, as other versions tend to intensify Shāh Jahān's royal aura: the St. Petersburg Album (Ivanov - Grek - Akimashkin 1962, col. pl. 5), a painting in the British Museum, London (Sichoukine 1929a, pl. XXXVIIa), another example from the "Late Shahjahan Album" in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in Washington (Grousset 1949, 140, ill. 85 = Lowry - Beach 1988, 287, no. 338), and a further in another folio of the same album (Cut. Williamstown 1978, 127, no. 45, and 129). A corresponding contemporary image, which cannot be assigned to any album, is also known (Raetz 1987, 17-18, col. pl. 4). Even after Shāh Jahān's death the Mughal artists did not stop painting him standing, shouldering a sword, with or without a fly-whisk; this motif is to be found on many miniatures. Even Shāh Jahān's eldest son and designated successor, Dīrū Shikōh, had a portrait made of himself with a shouldered sword.



a fan and a nambas like his father (Christie's 12th Apr., 1988, lot 110 = Sotheby's N. Y. 21 st/22nd March, 1990, lot 52). The popularity of the portrayal of Shāh Jahān with sword and fan in his advanced years is also shown by the pictures, which originated from far away, that is, which come from the hands of Rajput painters (Pal 1989, 224, no. 237 [Buschli]; *Maggs Bull.* 32, 1980, pl. VI, no. 37 [Bikaner]; *Indian Paintings* 1979, no. 47 [Kota]).

J.B.

Published: Christie's 13th/14th June, 1983, no. 131.

Literature: For the fly-whisk motif s. Eastman 1934, no. 48; Fischer - Goswamy 1987, 99-100, no. 45; *Cat. New York* 1930, 64-65, no. 189; Clarke 1922, pl. 9, just to name a few. For Shāh Jahān standing with a shouldered sword s. Strzykowski 1923, pls. 12 and 22; *A la Cour* 1986, 1986, 48, no. 21; Sotheby's 14th July, 1971, lot 56, ill. opposite p. 15; Weber 1982, 451-453, ill. 92; 400-402, ill. 75.

189a

Discussion of scholars

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 55.9cm x 35.0cm; miniature: 25.8cm x 14.9cm

Mughal-India, around 1650, border later

Calligraphy on the reverse by Husām al-Dīn al-Husaynī

W. Ulbrich Collection

Fine arts trade, London

The following three miniatures from a splendid album, which was probably remargined in the 18th century, were originally painted for Shāh Jahān around 1650. This leaf shows two Islamic scholars deep in conversation on a terrace in the open. The white-bearded man facing to the right can be identified by his richly adorned dagger as a member of the Mughal nobility. He is holding an open book in both hands. Opposite him, a plainly-dressed man is sitting and holding a book in both hands. To his left, that is, in the right foreground, a buto-headed man is squatting, wrapped in a blanket. Opposite this scholar with cropped hair, a richly clad man is sitting cross-legged, armed with a dagger. The servant standing behind the brocaded cushion-roll indicates his master's high status.

On the opposite side of the red balustrade closing off the terrace, double poppy flowers thrive alongside roses and other flowers with bright blossoms which remind one of dahlia. A surus crane pair (*gruz antigone*) seem to step right out of the painting while two parakeets (*positiv ulu al-azamir? or lorius garrulus? s.* Falk - Hayler 1984, frontispiece) enjoy sitting in a tree with drooping branches.

As the picture contains no writing, the depicted people cannot as yet be identified. We encounter the man with the shaven head in the same, though laterally reversed position, in a picture which immortalizes a gathering of eight sufis and mullahs, however, the people here have also not been identified (Sotheby's 13th Dec., 1972, lot 95

= Christie's 16th Oct., 1980, lot 65 = Fischer - Goswamy 1987, 189-190, no. 93).

It is easy, however, to identify the painter, since there are two miniatures carrying his name very close to this painting. The first is a well-known miniature, formerly in the collection of George Demotte, Paris, the Comtesse de Bechague, Paris, and the Hagop Kevoorkian Foundation. It is now in a private collection and has been published several times. The second, less-known painting is owned today by the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Goetz 1930a, 153; Strzykowski 1933, ill. 185; *Cat. Williamstown* 1978, 130).

All three miniatures, painted with the same palette of bright, metallic colours, show a close likeness in the symmetrical distribution of persons and the tree in the middle, painted with detached perfection. The brightly coloured flowers we find in each of the miniatures, of which the better known is dated 1064H/1653 and attributed to Hāshim. The second one, though not dated, carries a colophon citing the name of the same artist. Hāshim, or Mir Hāshim, was one of the best known portraitist of the Mughal atelier, as proved by his oeuvre, to which we may add this hitherto unknown portrait as another masterpiece (*Cat. Williamstown* 1978, 127-130; Seyller 1991; Okada 1992, 148-154). One of this artist's miniatures was already reproduced in colour in 1911, on occasion of the "Festival of Empire and Imperial Exhibition", where it had been exhibited in the Indian section (Smith 1912, pl. 7).

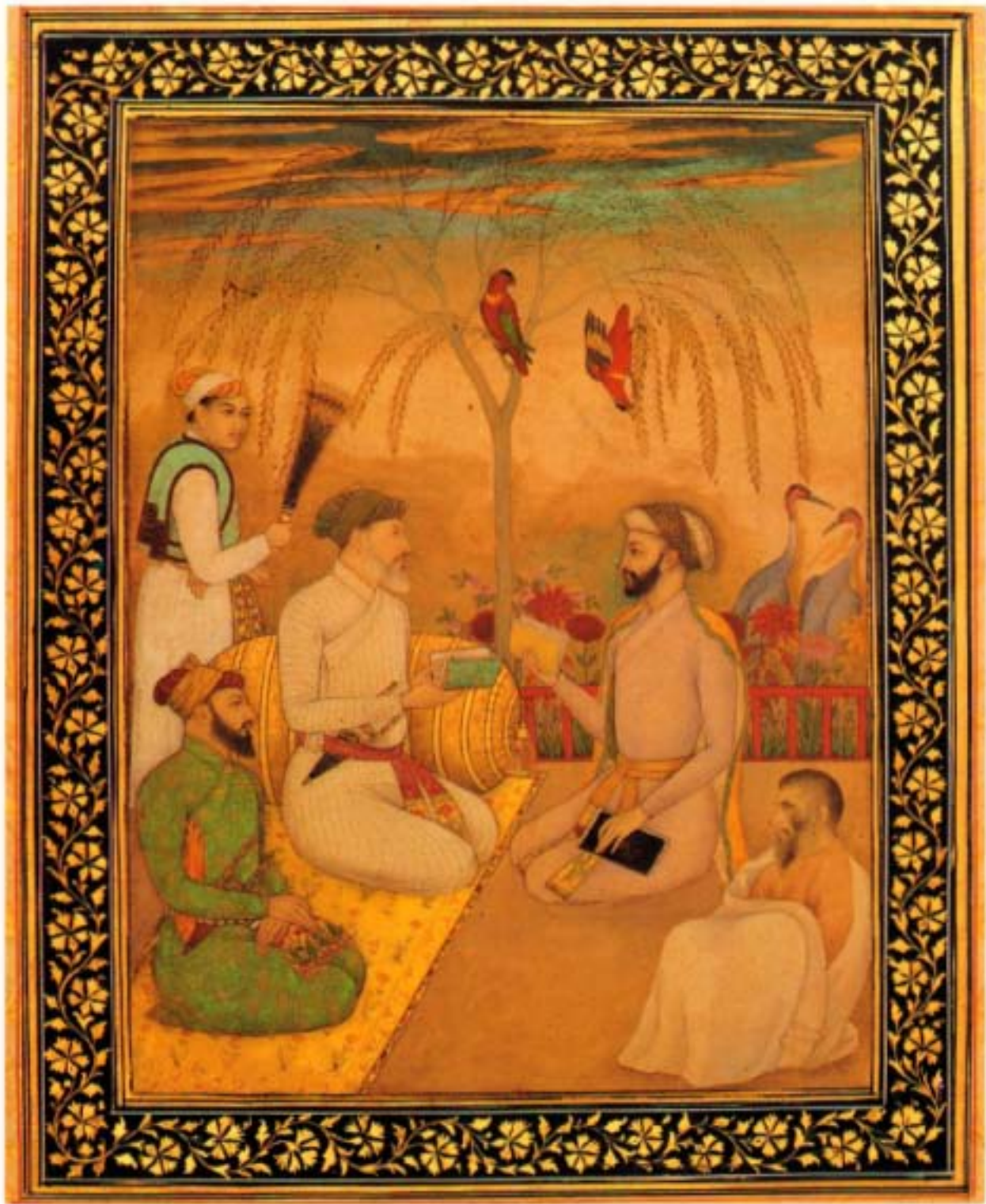
The verso carries a calligraphy of several lines. The diagonal writing seems to be surrounded by a border of clouds. As far as the composition of the page is concerned, a comparable leaf is to be found in the collection of the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin. The painting of the empty space, in analogy to a few specimens in the same museum's collection, must be dated from the middle of the 17th century.

The text reads: *He [God] is the Mighty, exalted in His name! From the Generous One's [God's] power you shall be the master of the world! Omniscient of all truth is [only] Fate. [His] head became fresh and green, the dried-up plain in the earth, once again the young man of the world became [grew]! Pte [old] [C.J.H.].* The Persian verses were signed by *the servant who asks for permanence of his fortune and reign, Husām al-Dīn al-Husaynī.*

J.B.

Unpublished

Literature: For the first comparable miniature by Hāshim s. Martin 1968, 1968, pl. 214; Burghorn 1938, 2167; Sotheby's 3rd Apr., 1978, 100-101, lot 99; Falk 1985, 172-173, no. 152; Octagon 1985, vol. XXII, no. 3, 9; Fischer - Goswamy 1987, 90-91, no. 40; Seyller 1991, 115, ill. 10). For the comparable leaf in the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin s. Hickmann 1979, no. 58; s. also Sotheby's 2nd May, 1977, lot 28 (= Fischer - Goswamy 1987, 76-77, no. 30); Fischer - Goswamy 1987, 72-73, no. 28; Welch 1987, no. 93. For the dating s. Hickmann 1977, nos. 34 and 36, s. also Welch 1987, no. 61; Sotheby's 10th July, 1973, lot 41 (= Fischer - Goswamy 1987, 70-71, no. 27).



189b

Album leaf with copies of two drawings

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 55.8cm x 34.8cm; miniature: 18.3cm x 7.1cm

Mughal-India, around 1650

W. Uhdé Collection

Fine arts trade, London

The two slightly shaded drawings are surrounded by a dark blue border with golden blossoms. We may safely identify the top drawing as copied from a German or Flemish engraving of the 16th century, or rather after an Indian copy of such an engraving (s. Beach 1965). The Indian artist may have used a picture of the Trinity in the form of the "throne of grace" as a model, though omitting the dove. The caption at the bottom of the leaf refers to the original drawings, too: *Portrait of Jesus, peace be upon him* [C.P.H.].

The lower drawing was taken from a drawing which originated from Akbar's time, i. e. around 1585. This is preserved in the collection of Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan (Fischer - Goswamy 1987, 166-167, no. 81). It portrays a wandering ascetic, facing the observer, with his beggar's bowl in his right hand and a fan in his left. His companion wrapped in a plain shawl holds a long staff. Both are accompanied by a dog with a red collar: the first ascetic seems to hold his leash (Sotheby's 1st Dec., 1969, lot 170; s. also Kühnel - Goetz 1924, pl. 40, fol. 6b). The artists probably intended to feature a certain type of ascetic rather than an individual.

An additional version exists of the ascetic shown from the front, which portrays him beardless, but clearly with ear-rings, i. e. as a *Kangshat-Yogin* (Dada 1983, vol. 2, ill. 456).

J.B.

Unpublished



189c

Mullahs and poets taking part in an open-air concert

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 55.8cm x 24.8cm; miniature: 17.9cm x 13.6cm

Mughal-India, around 1650

Verso: three Persian verses in an elegant *nasta'liq* script

W. Uhde Collection

Fine arts trade, London

In the third painting of the album, we meet a group of Islamic scholars, some singing, others meditating, taking part in the concert performed by a singer, a lute player, a tambourine player, and a musician who beats time by clapping his hands. The elder, bearded man in the middle of the miniature is raising his hands, open-mouthed, as if he were praising the glory of God, the Almighty, in some kind of refrain. Scenes of such devotion can still be observed today in exactly the same way as the artist has shown here, for example in Ajmer at the grave of the saint Chishti. The mullahs portrayed represent important religious teachers of Islam of that period. Their repeated representation in other miniatures shows how well-known (they must have been in their time).

The bare-headed man with the long white beard, squatting in the foreground at the edge of the terrace-covering, is depicted in another painting sitting beneath a tree in an open landscape, where he is attending a musical presentation (Mehta 1926, 97-98, pl. 40 = Khan-dalavala 1938, pl. XVIII).

The man on the left side concealing his hands in the long, wide sleeves of his garment, is known from at least two other paintings. In one, he sits under a tree and listens to a musical presentation, as in the present picture (Martin 1968, pl. 207, left). In the other, he sits in a landscape, facing a scholar with a book in his hand. His name is given here as *Shaykh 'Aynuz-Zaman* (Cat. Williamstown 1978, 130 = Strzygowski 1933, pl. 64, ill. 185).

The gentleman with the long-sleeved coat and the hat-like head-covering on the left side of the picture is also known from at least two miniature paintings. We find him depicted again on the border of an album leaf, showing a conversation between two mullahs (Stchoukine 1929b, pl. XIII = la Cour 1986, 52-53, no. 26 = Okada 1988, 46-47, no. 22). He appears in a border painting of yet another album leaf, attributed to the painter Govardhan. This miniature shows an Islamic scholar in the middle, sitting together with a Mughal nobleman under a tree, listening to a singer (Okada 1992, 204, no. 242). In yet another picture, he is depicted standing with other famous personages on the left-hand side of the miniature, just as in the present painting (Ettinghausen 1961, pl. 11, left = Cat. Williamstown 1978, 97-98, colour pl. opposite p. 88 = Losty 1991, 74-76).

The second gentleman raises both hands to his chest. He stands not

far from the man just mentioned in the miniature under comparison (Ettinghausen 1961, pl. 11, left = Cat. Williamstown 1978, colour pl. opposite p. 88 = Losty 1991, 74-76).

The man with the turban, leaning slightly forward and carrying his name *His Excellency Shaykh Sa'di* [C.P.H.] written beneath his knee, shows a close likeness to the man with the hook, identified as the famous poet of the 13th century, Sa'di, in the already mentioned painting under comparison.

The type of patterning of the terrace-covering seems to be typical for these kinds of miniatures, as they can be found in several other versions of pictures with the same, or with similar, subjects.

In his portrait, the painter followed Govardhan, an expert in portraying people, especially ascetics and mystics of different religious affiliations in varying situations (Cat. Williamstown 1978, 118-125; Okada 1992, 185-205).

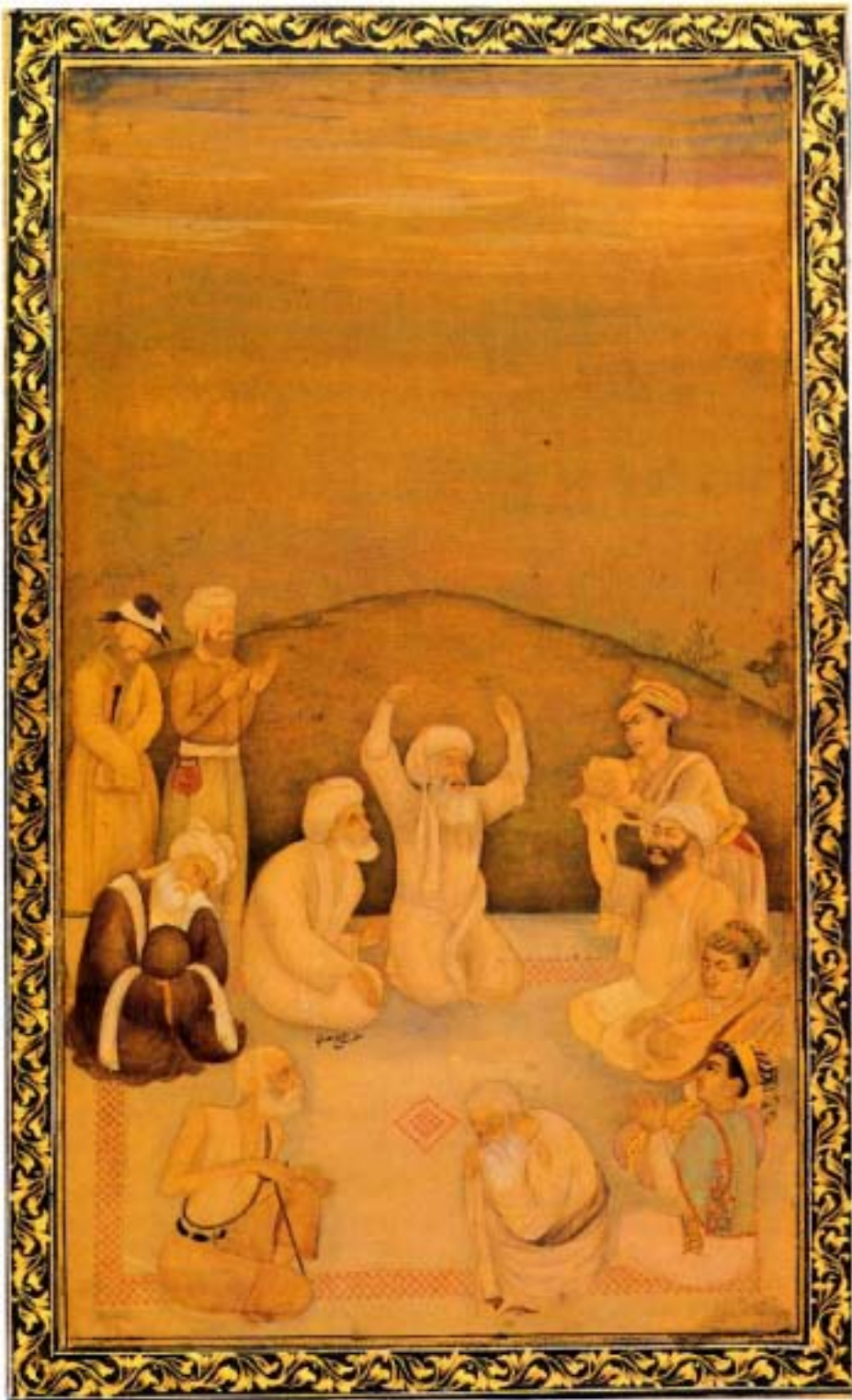
The present miniature, however, lacks Govardhan's style of landscape painting and, therefore, probably derives from the hand of an artist working in the same atelier as Govardhan. *Shah Jahān's* personal interest in Islamic scholars is documented not only by miniatures very similar to the present painting in terms of subject and mood (Soustiel - David 1986, 20-22, no. 8, by the painter Govardhan [= Okada 1988, 34-35]; Ivanov - Grek - Akimushkin 1962, pls. 76, 77, and 78), but also by a painting which shows him entertaining such Islamic theologians on occasion of a festive banquet (Welch 1978, 100-103, colour pls. 31-32).

The verso shows a diagonal six-line calligraphy. Above the blank space in the corner, usually reserved for a signature, the text written in *nasta'liq* reads: *He [is God] A sweet-smelling flower I received from the hand of my lover in the bath. I asked her: Are you musk or amber, since I am drunk from your heart-beguiling scent? She answered: I was unworthy soil, however, I spent some time with a flower [C.P.H.]*

J.B.

Unpublished

Literature: Cf. for portraits of Sa'di Ettinghausen 1961, pl. 11, left [= Cat. Williamstown 1978, unnumbered colour pl. opposite p. 88 = Losty 1991, 74-76], he shows up again in a further painting (Pinder-Wilson 1976, 77-78, no. 138 = Falk - Archer 1981, 404, no. 83). For the patterning of the terrace s. Sotheby's 13th Dec., 1972, lot 95 = Christie's 16th Oct., 1980, lot 65 = Fischer - Goswami 1987, 189-190, no. 93; Kheiri 1921, pl. 22.



190a

Portrait of Sulaymān Shikūh, grandson of Shāh Jahān, in conversation with a scholar

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 24.1cm x 16.5cm; miniature: 23.8cm x 16.2cm

Mughal India, 1655-1658

L. V. Habighorst Collection

Fine arts trade, London

Here is Dārā Shikūh's eldest son, Sulaymān Shikūh, born on 5th April, 1635, sitting opposite a religious scholar, a subject which was realized many times, depicting him together with his father. A few years before his violent death - Awrangzib, who in the meantime had had his father murdered, had Sulaymān dragged slowly to death, starting at the 15th January, 1662. He did not die until May of the same year (Sarkar 1912, vol. 2, 236) - he resembles his father, Dārā Shikūh, at a first glance (s. for example Falk - Digby 1979, 42-43, no. 19 with Coomaraswamy 1981, pl. LXVI). Like him, Sulaymān Shikūh was often seen in the vicinity of the emperor, Shāh Jahān, as is exemplified by several paintings. An inscribed double portrait showing both pretenders to the throne with a nimbus either, reveals the physiognomical differences. Thus, it admits an identification of portraits of Sulaymān Shikūh which had not been achieved hitherto (for example Sotheby's 11th July, 1972, lot 52).

An impression from a seal on the painting's verso gives the date 1074H/1663-64. The portrait most probably was painted in Sulaymān Shikūh's lifetime around between 1655 and 1658, when he was in a position to have such a double portrait painted, preceding the time, when one of his brothers, Awrangzib, came into power, which he retained for the rest of his life.

An inscription on the verso indicates that the painting is the work of the painter *Chitarman*. Chitarman must have been primarily a portrait painter, as he did not participate in the illustration of historical novels or biographies. Four of his works depict Dārā Shikūh (Cat. Williamson 1978, 111-113; Tiley 1977, 164, nos. 37 and 52).

J.B.

Published: Sotheby's 5th July, 1982, no. 2.

Literature: For double portraits of Sulaymān Shikūh and his father s. Godard 1937, 202-203, ill. 72 and 72bis; Sotheby's 26th March, 1973, lot 12; Lowry - Nemaee 1988, 208-209, pl. 72). For Sulaymān Shikūh and his father in the vicinity of the emperor s. an example existing in at least three versions: Grck 1971, pl. 19 [= Grck 1983; colour pl. with the caption "Shāh Jahān's Darbār"]; Binney 1973: 90, no. 64; la Cour 1986, 60, no. 30; each time, Sulaymān Shikūh is standing behind his father sitting on a low stool in front of the royal throne. Even as a child Sulaymān Shikūh had himself portrayed with his religious tutor (Maggs 20, 1972, 42-43, no. 76 = Welch 1976, 52-53, no. 20 - Leach 1986, 90, ill. 25D) = Okada 1992, 156, ill. 187. For

the double portrait showing the physiognomical differences of father and son s. Christie's, 13th Oct., 1982, lot 50 = Cat. Ehrenfeld Coll. 1988, 66-67, no. 25 = Sotheby's N. Y. 21st/22nd March, 1990, lot 14 = Sotheby's N. Y. 5th Dec., 1992, lot 147.

190b

Portrait of Shaykh 'Alim ad-Dīn, called Wazīr Khān

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 30.4cm x 21.4cm; miniature: 22.3cm x 11.3cm

India, end of the 17th/beginning of the 18th century

Verso: Arabic calligraphy by Farhullāh

L. V. Habighorst Collection

Fine arts trade, Frankfurt/Main

One of the most famous Mughal physicians had one of the most important mosques of the subcontinent built, however, portraits of him are hardly known. This was Wazīr Khān, the man supporting himself on a straight sword in cat. no. 190b. The Persian inscription *Portrait of Wazīr Khān* [C.P.H.] and the inscription in the Indian *Nagari* script *Wazīr Khān* inform us of his identity. This identification is confirmed by several inscribed, contemporary portrayals of the same man (Ivanov - Grck - Akimushkin 1962, pl. 33, no. 27; Arnold - Binyon 1921, pl. XX, no. 21).

Wazīr Khān, whose real name was Shaykh 'Alimuddin, was the son of Shaykh 'Abdul Latif and grandson of Shaykh Hishām-ud-Dīn. After studying Arabic, 'Alimuddin studied medicine under Hakim Dāwī. He entered the services of Prince Khurram, the later Shāh Jahān, and was appointed administrator of his household. Thereafter, he was promoted to supervisor of the culinary department, and finally, still under Prince Khurram, to minister. During this time 'Alimuddin also received the title *hakim*, which means "doctor". In 1627-28 he received the title *wazīr* (Aghar Ali 1985, 97). A year later he was made administrator of Agra by Shāh Jahān. In 1631/32 he advanced to the position of "Commander of 5,000" and somewhat later he was officially commissioned to the administration of the Punjab, an office in which he was confirmed two years later. In 1634-35 he was officially chosen as administrator of Lahore and, two years later, confirmed in this office. In 1637/38 he is mentioned again as the administrator of the Punjab and in 1639/40 as the administrator of Lahore. The administration of Agra (Akhbarabad) was presented to him again in 1640/41. A few months later, he passed away.

Wazīr Khān enjoyed a position of trust at the court. For example, in December 1631 he accompanied the remains of Mumtāz Mahal, for whom Shāh Jahān had the "Tāj Mahal" built, from her temporary burial place in the garden of Zainabad to Agra, where she was entombed. In January 1634, Wazīr Khān cured the crown prince Dārā Shikūh.



On 16 January, 1635, another prince, Murād, who had come down with smallpox, was entrusted to Wazīr Khān's care.

Wazīr Khān was a man of means. When Shāh Jahān visited Lahore in 1628, Wazīr Khān showered him with gifts, jewels, gold, silver, valuable textiles, carpets, horses, and camels, amounting to more than 400,000 rupees, were presented to the emperor. Only a few days earlier, he had already given him more than 1,000 gold coins.

The mosque named after Wazīr Khān in Lahore, the "the chief ornament of the city" (Latif 1892, 214), is regarded as the eminent monument founded by him in 1634, while he was administrator of Lahore. Rudyard Kipling's immortalized it in "The City of Dreadful Nights". Kipling's father, John Lockwood Kipling, even wrote the best publication on the mosque of Wazīr Khān, which he illustrated with colour plates unique in terms of quality.

Though Wazīr Khān had himself portrayed here like Shāh Jahān, facing a vizier (Asaf Khān) (Ivanov - Grek - Akimushkin 1962, pl. 31, corresponds to Lowry - Nemazee 1988, 174-175, col. pl. 55), the miniature was hardly painted in the same period, it shows features of simplification and stylization typical of the end of the 17th and at the beginning of the 18th centuries.

On the verso a *ta'liq* calligraphy in Arabic and Persian can be seen: *[God] is the powerful one. Praise him, who chooses someone resembling himself, the ability of my reasoning does not find the way to the depth of his perfection, the extent of exploration of His Holiness from our side is as follows: I am and explore the world from the shaft of a well; written by the poor sinner Faahullāh/God forgive him [C.P.H.].*

J.B.

Unpublished

Literature: For Wazīr Khān s. Saksena 1976, 372 [Index]; Begley - Desai 1990, 602 [Index]; Athar Ali 1985, 362, Index [under: Hakim 'Alimuddin, Wazīr Khan]; Latif 1892, 51, 61, 215-221. For Wazīr Khān's mosque s. Kipling 1887; s. also Latif 1892, 214-221 with wood-engravings; Fischer - Fischer 1976, colour pls. XXX-XXXI.

191

Album page with calligraphies and portrait of a noblewoman

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 25.9cm x 17.6cm; miniature: 11.2cm x 5.6cm

India, drawing around 1770, calligraphy earlier

G. Heil Collection

Provenance: Sir Howard Hodgkin Collection

Fine arts trade, London

The painting certainly originated in the 18th century. The painting

was mounted to works of calligraphy, the resulting impression of the leaf is rather pleasant.

The discretely coloured drawing - the only colour is the red-violet of the shoulder cloth - fades according to scale behind a large area of text. The drawing depicts a lady, set slightly lopsided on the plane, facing to the right and wearing a splendid necklace. She stands holding a small flower in her left hand, raising it to her chin, and carrying a bulbous bottle in her right hand, slightly dangling. On the bottle which seems to be made of porcelain, a squinting woman is depicted, holding a goblet in her left hand, while her right hand, placed on her hip, is holding a similar bottle, doubtlessly a wine bottle, too. In other paintings of this type, the woman holds a cup or goblet in her right hand. The artist of the present drawing chose the flower instead of a vessel. A flower is rather unusual in combination with the wine bottle. The drinking vessels used to get drunk are mentioned in the calligraphy under the drawing. Women holding flowers and blossoms are so numerous in Mughal paintings, that we may refrain from further reference. The pose of a woman holding a flower (narcissus) is revealed again in one of the miniature-albums collected by Antoine Polier in Lucknow (Maggs Bulletin no. 39, 1985, no. 10). It recalls the woman of this miniature, which we would like to date from around 1770, despite the serious and austere facial expression on her face, a feature appearing again in another close painting (A la Cour 1986, 107, no. 87).

The large-format calligraphy in the *ta'liq* script probably precedes the drawing. The Persian text reads: *Why do I compare that face with the moon, it is better to abandon the unbelievable comparison, Even if something suitable should be found to compare her to, She would still be a hundred times more beautiful. Signed: Muhammad Bāqir, the poorest. [C.P.H.]* The translation of the text above the drawing reads: *So that I may ascertain but one aspect of his creation! And inquire for his antipathy and his sympathy/That he was so established at that, excited and thrilled./Made me wonder about this strange effect. [C.P.H.]* The text area at the page's lower margin is filled with the following lines: *The pilgrim's caravan is heading for Egypt./The way to Egypt would soon be overcome./The pain over the separation would pass./Until the next day one becomes drunk from a few cups./So they travel, until Egypt is close./Their own pilgrims' symbol (mashal) proceeds./The loved ones in Egypt are being informed./If you wish to receive them, get up! [C.P.H.]*

The entire leaf is surrounded by marbled paper, which was already used in India at the beginning of the 17th century as material for book covers (s. for example Sichoinkine 1929b, no. 42, pl. XI = A la Cour 1986, no. 15, pl. p. 45 = Okada 1988, 24-25, no. 11 = Okada 1992, 198, ill. 234).

J.B.

Literature: For the motif of the woman with a cup or goblet s. Grek - 1971, pl. 36 [= Cat. Siltykov - Shchedrin Coll., 1983, Dorn 489, sheet 41]; Falk - Archer 1981, nos. 68 f.16, 68 f.28, 99; Godard 1937, ill. 107; Cat. Pozzi Coll. 1928, pl. XI.VI [= David - Soustiel 1983, 29, no. 18]; Drott 28th June, 1983, no. 76, just to mention a few.



192a

**Copy of a miniature from the "Bodleian painter" (c. 1620)
by Mir Kalān**

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 35.9cm x 23.8cm; miniature: 28.8cm x 17.2cm

India, Payzabad or Lucknow, 1750-1770

L. V. Habighrost Collection

Fine arts trade, Frankfurt/M.

This painting also deals with wine-drinking: three young women are standing in a courtyard and are being watched by an elderly woman with a pensive expression on her face, who is supporting herself on a stick and standing before the entrance to the house. The young woman in the middle is holding in her left hand a branch from the tree, which grows on the other side of the courtyard wall, its branches hanging down into the courtyard, while her right arm touches her friend's shoulder. Her friend is pulling a brocaded part of her garment up with her right hand, with her left hand she is offering a small drinking-cup to her friend. A woman facing these two is pouring herself some wine from the bottle in her left hand.

The top part of a Persian (?) inscription in the upper margin on the leaf's verso has been cut off. Below that, a *Nagari* inscription, which surely repeats the Persian (?) inscription in an Indian (*Nagari*) script, reads: *Chand Bibi Patishāhādī dakshina*, which means: Chand Bibi, the Deccan Queen. In fact, a Chand Bibi did rule in the Deccan as a sultana. She was the daughter of Husayn Nizām Shāh I of Ahmadnagar, sister of Muruzā Nizām Shāh, and wife of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I of Bijapur. After the death of her husband (in 1580), she ruled the neighbouring kingdom of Bijapur, while her nephew, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, was not yet of age. In 1595 she successfully defended Ahmadnagar against the Mughal troops, led by Murād, the son of Akbar. In 1599 she was condemned to death by insurgents (Beale 1894, 114).

There are two miniatures which show many stylistic similarities to this painting. The first painting portrays Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijapur (Skelton 1958, 107, ill. 4 = Archer 1960, pl. 16 = Zebrowski 1983, 88, 91, ill. 67), the second miniature, in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library of St. Petersburg, depicts almost the same elderly woman as the present miniature (Grek 1971, no. 63 = Cat. Saltykov-Shchedrin Coll. 1983, Dorn 489, sheet 69). Both pictures under comparison were furnished with the same inscription, *Umd-i Sāhib Salāmāt* (Lord of Redemption); in the miniature of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, it appears on the stick-fan, and in the picture in the St. Petersburg library, in the upper margin of the picture as part of the architecture. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II himself was probably meant with "Lord of Redemption" (Cat. Saltykov-Shchedrin Coll. 1983, Dorn 489, sheet 69; Skelton 1958, 109-110). All three pictures – the present, the portrait and the painting in St. Petersburg – contain references to the time of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. However, none of these originated from the ruler's lifetime. The two paintings referred to are considered

copies from the Deccan, dating from the second half of the 17th century after contemporary originals from the early 17th century.

This leaf, hitherto unpublished, may not have been painted in the Deccan either, despite the numerous stylistic correspondences such as the tree on a brown-gold background, the treatment of textile, the preference for semi-profiles. Another stylistically even closer miniature copies the St. Petersburg painting. The version of the St. Petersburg miniature is kept in the India Office Library in London and has been published several times (Cat. London 1950, no. 818, pl. 146 = India Office Library Colour Prints no. 14 = Falk - Archer 1981, no. 239, pl. 10 = Zebrowski 1983, 88, ill. 66 = Losty 1986b, 68-69, no. 59).

A third version, a mirror-image of the two mentioned above, is also considered the work of a Deccan artist of the 17th century (Grek 1971, no. 64), so is a fourth (Sotheby's 10th July, 1968, lot 80 = Sotheby's 23rd Apr., 1971, lot 36) and a fifth version (Kramarsch 1986, 43, no. 38), here only mentioned for the sake of completeness. In terms of style and composition, both are not comparable to the first-mentioned St. Petersburg or the London version.

The London version of the lost original from Bijapur, which is attributed to the "Bodleian painter" (Zebrowski 1983, 87-88) may be the stylistically closest to this painting. It bears the name of the painter, Mir Kalān Khān. This painter's name was not adopted from the lost original, but it cites the copyist, who probably painted the lost original or a faithful copy thereof in the second half of the 18th century. Mir Kalān Khān is considered "a thorough-going eclectic who could turn his hand to the imitation of any period or style" (Skelton 1958, 108).

The oldest painting of a Mir Kalān, who is most likely identical with the "Mir Kalān Khān" of later paintings, carries a date corresponding to 1734-35 of the Christian era (Grek 1971, no. 42 = Cat. Saltykov-Shchedrin Coll. 1983, Dorn 489, sheet 11). An additional picture from the same year also has the inscription: *'amal Mir Kalān* (Ivanov - Grek - Akimushkin 1962, no. 73 = Indian Miniatures 1988, pl. 15). An unsigned painting, dated 1742, is attributed to Mir Kalān Khān (Cat. Binney Coll. 1973, 104, no. 79). A similarly inscribed miniature, which probably was painted c. 1750 in Fuzaybad, prior to Mir Kalān Khān's move to Lucknow, shows the copy of a Mughal miniature from the early 16th century (Gahlin 1986, 37-38, no. 49, pl. 45 = Gahlin 1991, 50, no. 49, pl. 49). The copy of a Mughal miniature from the beginning of the 17th century is attributed to Mir Kalān Khān and is dated from 1740-45 (Cat. Binney Coll. 1973, 105, no. 80). Mir Kalān Khān produced a Persian miniature of a signed painting, today kept in Copenhagen (Falk - Archer 1981, no. 10 = Welch 1985, 280-281, no. 187). Another painting, designated as the work of Mir Kalān Khān in the border, includes elements of European paintings (Falk - Archer 1981, 137, no. 238 = Desai 1985, 122-123, no. 101). Further paintings, attributed by contemporaries to Mir Kalān Khān, are kept in the India Office Library, London (Falk - Archer 1981, no. 240), or have turned up in the fine arts trade (Sotheby's N. Y. 22nd March, 1989, lot 71). A complete survey of his works has not yet been

offered, however, considering the paintings attributed to him, although not by contemporaries, his oeuvre must be considerable.

For the reasons mentioned above, the painting is most likely a miniature copied in the mid-18th century from an original, dating from the early 17th century and made in Bijapur in the Deccan. The painter Mīr Kalān Khān copied it. He probably came from Delhi via Payzabad to Lucknow, where he worked for the local *nawwāb*, though never as a portrait painter.

J.B.

Unpublished

Literature: For Mīr Kalān Khān's: Ivanov - Grek - Akimushkin 1962, nos. 74-75; Falk - Archer 1981, nos. 241-245; Leach 1982, 147, no. 189; Sotheby's 27th Nov., 1974, lot 753; Falk 1976, nos. 134-135; Ehnborn - Topsfield 1987, 36-37, no. 14; Drouot 16th Dec. 1988, 22-25, nos. 7-8; Soustiel - David 1990, 23, no. 60; Sotheby's 10th July, 1968, lots 76, 84, 84, 85 [=Sotheby's 7th Dec., 1977, lot 20] 102 and 105; Sotheby's 11th July, 1972, lot 16.

192b

The Mughal emperor Jahāngīr on a lion-hunt

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 46.5cm x 31.5cm; miniature: 30.5cm x 18.5cm

India, end of the 18th or beginning of the 19th century

L. V. Hahighorst Collection

This painting is also based on an older copy, from which, however, several versions have been preserved. The picture shows a lioness leaping at an elephant, in whose *haudaḥ* (elephant-seat) a man identified as the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr is sitting, whose name is written between the forelegs of the elephant. The elephant driver, frightened, is ducking to the side. The attendant, responsible for reloading the rifle for the emperor, raises the rifle in horror into the air. He seems to be jumping from the *haudaḥ*, while Jahāngīr, grabbing his shield and sabre, just cuts a deep wound in the lioness' head. A horseman in the foreground appears to be drawing his sword, while another one in front of the elephant is rushing to the scene with his poised lance. In his *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, his autobiography, Jahāngīr describes several lion hunts. In his *Jahāngīrnāma*, which he had illustrated analogous to Akbar's biography, the *Akbarnāma*, many such hunting scenes have been depicted, it is rather difficult, however, to assign the paintings to the text (for text panels are lacking in the illustrated leaf). In an often reproduced painting from the *Jahāngīrnāma*, the emperor had just shot a lioness in her eye, as one of the beaters is frantically pointing out (Bhattacharya 1973, 29, pl. 40) = Das 1978, frontispiece). The corresponding section in the *Tūzūk*, however, mentions a tigress (Rogers - Beveridge 1978, vol. 1, 286-287), though the text and illustrations otherwise correspond.

The translators of the *Tūzūk*, who also confused the "rhinoceros" referred to by Jahāngīr with the similar Persian word meaning "wolf" (Skelton 1988: 44-45), misinterpreted the Hindustani word for "lion" as "tiger", since in Hindustani there is only one word for both animals (*shēr* or *shīr*).

The difficulty of assigning the picture to the proper text is overcome by comparing the painting to older versions. Five older versions differ from cat. no. 192b in the choice of weapon. Whereas Jahāngīr uses a sabre here to ward off the lioness, he hits her with his rifle there.

Percy Brown identified the scene depicted in no. 192b with the following passage in the *Tūzūk*: "It happened to me once when I was prince that I had gone out in the Punjab to hunt tigers. A powerful tiger appeared out of the wood. I fired at him from the elephant and the tiger in great fury rose and came on the elephant's back, and I had not time to put down my gun and seize my sword. Inverting the gun, I knelt, and with both hands struck him with the stock over the head and face so that he fell on the ground and died" (Rogers - Beveridge, 1978, vol. 2, 270).

In the five versions mentioned above, the artist did not allow the Mughal emperor the time to load nor to turn the hunting rifle around. Jahāngīr is hitting the animal with the barrel and is holding his rifle tightly by its butt. In the other painting, dated from around 1600, which, in fact, shows Jahāngīr as Prince Salīm, the lion is probably really being warded off with the butt-end of the rifle (Christie's 23rd Apr., 1981, 40-41, lot 78). The painting belongs to an entire album of hunting scenes, a sort of *Shikārnāma*, from which many paintings have become famous (for a listing see Skelton 1988, 43-44). The scene from the *Shikārnāma* of Prince Salīm corresponds to a miniature showing the prince as emperor. It cannot be decided, whether Jahāngīr keeps off the attacking lion with the butt or the barrel of his rifle (Cat. London 1950, no. 708, pl. 134).

Jahāngīr's memoirs contain, indeed, a description in which a tiger (lion) which is leaping at an elephant, is successfully being warded off with a sword: "... one day he (Mas'ūd) went to hunt tigers in the borders of Hindustan, and was riding an elephant. A very large tiger came out from the wood, and made for the elephant. He threw a javelin ... and struck the tiger's chest. The tiger, enraged at the pain, came up on the elephant's back, and the Amir knelt down and struck him such a blow with his sword that he cut off both the tiger's fore-feet, and the tiger fell backwards and died" (Rogers - Beveridge 1978, vol. 2, 270).

The painter of the miniature shown here may have combined both of Jahāngīr's stories, especially as one directly follows the other in the memoirs. The identification of the horseman rushing to the scene does not appear to be sure, despite the *nasta'liq* inscriptions.

Shāh Jahān found himself in a similarly dangerous situation: "Once it happened to King Shajahan that a badly wounded tiger bounded up and hung on with its claws fixed in the elephant's head. The elephant-driver fell to the ground from fright. The king, seeing himself in this urgent danger, clubbed his match-lock and hit the tiger with it on the

head. But the tiger did not let go, and the elephant, finding he could not make use of his trunk, ran furiously till he found a tree, against which he crushed the tiger. It was on this account that Shahjahan gave orders for the head of the elephants to be protected in future down to the end of the trunk with a covering of thick leather, studded with sharp nails." (Mansucci 1981, vol. 1, 185). One of the paintings shows the head protection and the attacking lion. Others in their turn depict an elephant crushing a lion on the ground and a lion attacking the royal elephant (Sotheby's 11th Dec., 1973, lot 30 and frontispiece). It must have happened quite a few times that a wounded lion leaped and clawed at the head of the hunter's elephant (Bernier 1916, 183). The lion-hunt with elephants was depicted in Mughal paintings also in a less dramatic way (Sotheby's 9th July, 1974, no. 100 [= Hodgkin - McInerney 1983, no. 36]; Randhawa - Galbraith 1968, 45, pl. 5 [= Begley - Desai 1990, pl. 17]; Arnold - Wilkinson 1936, vol. III, pl. 91).

Under the Mughals, the lion-hunt was a privilege of the emperor. Anyone other than the emperor had to apply for a special permit to hunt a lion (Roe 1926, 365 [letter dated 25th May, 1617]).

The present painting belongs to a group of Mughal miniatures copied in the old manner either at the end of the 18th, or even the beginning of the 19th century. At the beginning of this century, such paintings were considered contemporary and were, therefore, dated earlier (Chandra 1949, 79-85).

J.B.

Unpublished

Literature: For the Calcutta version s. Brown 1975, 134, pl. XLIII = Randhawa - Galbraith 1968, 33, pl. 2 = Kar - Mukherjee 1976, 6, ind. no. 188), three versions in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR, Academy of Sciences, Leningrad Branch (Ivanov - Grek - Akimashkin 1962, pls. 61 [= Indian Miniatures 1988, pl. 8], 62 and 63. The fifth version was owned by Jean Puzzi (Palais Galliera 1970, no. 74).

192c

Production, sale, and consumption of opium-preparations

Water colours and gold on paper

Leaf: 35.8cm x 24.0cm; miniature: 29.5cm x 17.5cm

India, mid-18th or end of the 18th century, after a painting from the 17th century

L. V. Hahighorst Collection

Fine arts trade, Frankfurt/Main

The last painting picks up a subject of Mughal painting referring to a long tradition: that of opium and *bhang*-users. It depicts 24 men en-

gaged in preparing, acquiring or trying to acquire drugs, or consuming them, either through infusion or a water-pipe. Some illustrations of this subject may have been borrowed from Persian miniatures. These men appear cheerful in their unruliness, unlike a real opium addict, who Jahāngīr had portrayed one day before his death. The result was a painting and a sketch of the emaciated, dying man who never knew that his picture was to become the most frequently published Mughal portrait of all times.

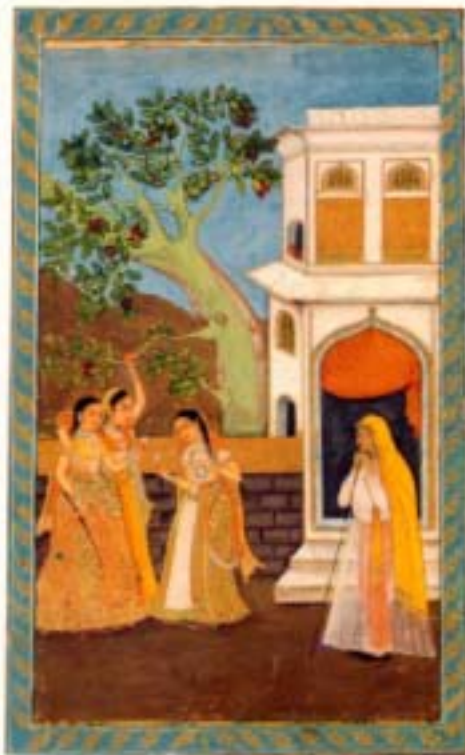
The subject was also very popular in India outside the Mughal atelier; sometimes a mouse is set into the scene, disturbing the peace of the drug users (Khambalivala 1958, pl. XVI).

An older version of the present painting, supposed to be in a German private collection, we could not evaluate.

J.B.

Unpublished

Literature: For possible borrowings from Persian miniatures s. Sotheby's 11th July, 1972, lot 53, however, mostly they are of genuinely Indian origin and have been known since Akbar's time (Eimboen - Topsfield 1987, no. 3; Sotheby's 22nd/23rd May, 1930, lot 61; Cat. Sir Cowasji Coll. 1965, ill. 43; Leach 1986, 132-134, no. 42, col. pl. X. For the portrait of the dying man s. sketch: Martin 1968, pl. 200, top = Mateau - Vever 1913, vol. 2, no. 248 = Cat. Goloubew Coll. 1929, pl. LXXI, no. 124 = Coomaraswamy 1981, pl. XXXII = Strzygowski 1933, pl. 49, ill. 139 = Burgham 1938, 2189 = Schroeder 1947, 73-87 = Fittinghausen 1962, vol. VI, pl. 877 = Gascoigne 1971, 134 = Welch 1987, 47, no. 16 = Das 1978, pl. 50 = Cat. Williamstown 1978, 162, no. 60 = Welch 1978, 27, ill. V = Welch 1985, 227-228, no. 149a = Okada 1992, 203, no. 241 = Beach 1992, 110, ill. 80; coloured miniature: Martin 1968, pl. 200, bottom = Coomaraswamy 1913, no. 169 = Arnold - Binyon 1921, pl. XXIV = Clarke 1922, 2 = Brown 1975, pl. L = Strzygowski 1933, pl. 49, ill. 140 = Cat. London 1950, 162, no. 733 = Anand 1958, 32, ill. 10 = Rawson 1961, 114 = Lawrence 1963, pl. 13 = Welch 1963, no. 28 = Anand 1973, 106 = Pinder-Wilson 1976, 72, no. 125 = Das 1978, pl. 49 = Welch 1978, 85, pl. 23 = Chaitanya 1979, pl. 38 = Leach 1982, 148, no. 191 = Welch 1985, 227-228, no. 14.



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