

# Notes on an Aurangzeb Period Album of Bird and Animal Paintings

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Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II of Jaipur (1700-1743) is well known as the great astronomer who designed the astronomical instruments in the observatories popularly known as Jantar Mantars, at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, Mathura and Varanasi, and an inspired town-planner who founded the unique city of Jaipur. Less known, but no less remarkable, was his interest in the development of arts and craft.

After ascending the throne of Amber at the tender age of 12 Jai Singh had to pass through many vicissitudes owing to the unstable and complex political situation prevailing in India during the last decades of Aurangzeb's rule and the years after his death. In spite of all this, Jai Singh found time for the active pursuit of art, literature and astronomical studies. We have come across several sets of *Ragamala* paintings<sup>1</sup> and at least one *Baramasa Sadrituvarn* series prepared within the first decade of his reign.<sup>2</sup> This is known in spite of the fact that the bulk of the total output of the Amber-Jaipur atelier is still stored unsurveyed in the Jaipur City Palace.

Sawai Jai Singh recruited several painters from Delhi to work for him in Amber and in Jaipur after its construction between 1727-34. Kr. Sangram Singh has reported the existence of an illuminated manuscript of the Krishna legend painted by an artist called Muhammad Shah.<sup>3</sup> The court records, preserved in the Rajasthan State Archives at Bikaner, give the names of two other painters, Fazil Muhammad and Sadiq Muhammad, who were brought by Sawai Jai Singh from Delhi.<sup>4</sup> However we have no information as yet about the work they accomplished in Amber-Jaipur. Sawai Jai Singh not only employed painters to prepare new paintings and illustrations to manuscripts but also showed

considerable interest in building a collection by acquiring albums, loose miniatures and illustrated manuscripts from various sources. We are able to gauge the extent and nature of his collection from the comprehensive list that was prepared about two years after Jai Singh's death in 1743. This list, which is preserved in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, describes as many as 2,498 loose paintings which were handed over on orders from Maharaja Sawai Ishwari Singh to Sitaram, Uda Chela and Sahibram Chitera of the Suratkhana. These include amongst other subjects portraits of Mughal emperors, princes, nobles, holy men, Europeans and unidentified men and women, and paintings of birds, animals, flowering plants and hunting scenes. The painters were asked to arrange and mount these loose miniatures in albums bound with brocade or Gujarati *mashru* cloth. Besides the loose miniatures there were many albums and illustrated manuscripts procured by *vakils* and traders for the Maharaja. The most notable amongst these are the celebrated bound volumes of the Persian *Ramayana* and *Razmnama* specially prepared for Emperor Akbar. The *Razmnama* volumes were valued at Rs. 4,024-0-2 pice and the *Ramayana* volume was valued at Rs. 2,576 in a court record of 1810 VS (AD 1753). When Sawai Madho Singh I ascended the Jaipur *gaddi*, after his brother Sawai Ishwari Singh had committed suicide, there were 112 bound albums in the Suratkhana.<sup>5</sup>

We are presently concerned with an album of birds, animals, flowering plants and other paintings described in an inscription on the opening folio as a 'valuable item of Alamgiri period', which was procured by Sawai Jai Singh in the sixth year of Emperor Farrukh Siyar's reign (=1718 A.D.) at a cost of Rs. 600/-, a considerable sum of money at that time.<sup>6</sup> It not only has a number of lively paintings of rare and uncommon birds and animals, but also authentic evidence regarding their identity, provenance and in some cases the names of the vendors and price.

The album has 25 folios containing 48 paintings and two ornamental paper-cuttings pasted on the opening folios. Of the paintings, four depict flowers and fruits, 25 birds and animals, while the remaining paintings show young princesses, ladies at worship, tribal life, meeting of officials, etc. It appears that following standard Mughal practice the album originally contained paintings and calligraphic specimens arranged in such a manner that when the album was open, either the miniatures or the calligraphic specimens would be visible. Sawai Jai Singh had the calligraphic specimens replaced by pictures of genre scenes and women painted by the artists of his Suratkhana. This is corroborated by one painting (AG 939) (see fig. 1) which bears the



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

date 1782 VS (A.D. 1725).

The contents of the album are:

- AG 929, 930 paper cuttings,
- 931 carnation flower
- 932 Bust of a young lady with nosegay
- 933 11 varieties of Barbary goats (See fig. 2)
- 934 Rabbits — many varieties
- 935 Yogini seated under a tree
- 936 Zebra brought from Abyssinia for Badshah Alamgir (See fig. 3)
- 937 Siyah gosh and hunting Cheetah given by Nawab Allhavardi Khan<sup>64</sup>
- 938 Dumba goat, Chinkara, Nilgai, ram and goat (See fig. 5)

Fig. 1  
A lady offering homage at a Shiva shrine. AG 939

Fig. 2  
Variety of Barbary goats. AG 933



Fig. 3

Fig. 3  
Zebra brought from abroad  
for the emperor Alamgir.  
AG 936

- 939 Princess worshipping Siva (See fig. 1)
- 940 Lady standing
- 941 Sarus crane
- 942 "Murgh zarrin" from Kashmir (See fig. 6)
- 943 Lady in a landscape worshipping Siva
- 944 Oval shaped miniature of a princess
- 945 White partridge and turkey<sup>7</sup>
- 946 Turkey chicks — 15<sup>8</sup>
- 947 Yogini seated outside a hut
- 948 Bust of a lady holding rose
- 949 Barasinga from Kalinjar forest
- 950 Crocodile from Orissa (See fig. 4)
- 951 Group of Bhils
- 952 Black horse for the "dera" of Paramandal
- 953 Elephant given by Alamgir Badshah
- 954 Elephant given by Alamgir Badshah

- 955 African elephant  
956 Princess holding lotus in her right hand  
957 Sambhar from the Kalinjar hills  
958 Horse given by Alamgir Badshah  
959 Laila and Majnun  
960 Oval miniature of a lady  
961 Different varieties of birds  
962 Falcon/hawk from Darbhanga  
963 Lady standing  
964 Princess holding flower  
965 Birds and animals from Darbhanga  
966 Ostrich  
967 Princess seated with a lady attendant (See fig. 7)  
968 Meeting of Mahmud Khan and Jamal Khan  
969 Rhino from Subh Patna  
970 Cassowary brought from the port of Surat<sup>9</sup>  
971 Lady  
972 Nagkesar flower from Bengal (See fig. 8)  
973 Branch with mangoes  
974 Flowering branch  
975 Horse presented by Alamgir during the tour of Jodhpur  
976 Lady sitting beneath a willow tree  
977 Birds and animals from Orissa, Kalinjar and<sup>10</sup> Kashmir

Almost all the miniatures showing birds and animals bear Persian legends written in bold Nastaliq script giving details of identification, provenance and related information regarding the subjects depicted therein. Five of these, AG 936 (Zebra), and 975 (horse) also mention Emperor Alamgir (Aurangzeb), the last specifying that the horse was gifted by the emperor during his tour of Jodhpur. Aurangzeb proceeded to Jodhpur from his temporary military headquarters at Ajmer in August, 1676, for military action against Mewar in the course of which Jodhpur was annexed. He never returned to these places again. The zebra shown in AG 936 is described as having been brought from Abyssinia for Aurangzeb.<sup>11</sup> Sarkar mentions the arrival of two Abyssinian embassies at the Mughal Court in 1665 and 1671 and it is possible that the zebra was brought with either of these, probably with the latter, as explained below. The legends also give the names of governors (*Subedars*), commanders of forts (*Qiladars*) where it is apparent that these rare and uncommon birds and animals were procured for Emperor Aurangzeb from far-flung provinces and ports, and their likenesses prepared at his instance. Unfortunately, nowhere in the album is the name of any painter

given. After the album was acquired by Sawai Jai Singh in 1718 it was rearranged and rebound with the new materials which replaced the calligraphic specimens in or after 1725. In many examples, Hindi translations of the Persian legends were noted on the paintings or on separate slips and pasted onto the mount. Some of these are contemporary Mughal works while the rest were painted in Sawai Jai Singh's Suratkhana. Thus the album contains interesting miniatures from the Mughal atelier painted in the last quarter of the 17th century as well as examples of the Amber-Jaipur school of the early 18th century.

The album is of great importance as it reveals Emperor Aurangzeb's interest in wild life about which earlier we did not have much evidence. Babur was a great naturalist and his meticulous description of Indian flora, fauna and avifauna in his memoirs, the *Waqiat-i-Baburi*, and Jahangir's interest in wild life as revealed in numerous entries of his autobiography, the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, are well known. What was not known was that Aurangzeb also showed a similar interest in the subject and even had authentic likenesses of many of these specimens prepared. It might be possible to identify additional materials of a similar nature belonging to the Aurangzeb period and now lying scattered in various collections. The album also contains pictures of a number of specimens of foreign origin. These are a zebra (AG 936), an African elephant (AG 955), a group of Barbary goats (AG 933), turkey (AG 945 & 946), an ostrich (AG 966), a cassowary (AG 970) and a Tibetan yak (AG 977). Besides these there are pictures of rare pashmina goats, albino crows and yellow parrots (AG 977), a large rhino which was trapped in Suba Patna in north Bihar (AG 969), and a huge man-eating crocodile from Orissa in whose abdomen a large quantity of silver ornaments was found (AG 950).<sup>12</sup>

The following examples have been selected to give a fair idea of the type of paintings in this album and the information provided therein:

Fig. 2 (AG 933): A page showing eleven varieties of barbary goats. It may be recalled that Emperor Jahangir had Barbary goats in his establishment. He has given full description of his experiment of crossing the *markhor*<sup>13</sup> with Barbary goats in the following terms:

"At Ahmedabad I had two *markhor* goats (*Capra Megaceros-Hutton*). As I had not a female in my establishment to pair with them, it occurred to me that if I could pair them with Barbary goats, which they bring from Arabia, especially from the port of the city of Darkhar (ancient Dhafur on the west coast of Arabia,

now known as Mirbat) young of their form and qualities might be obtained. In short, I paired them with seven Barbary ewes, and after six months had elapsed each of the latter had young ones at Fatehpur: there were four females and three males, very pleasing in appearance, of good shape and good colour. In their colour, those kids which resembled the male were dun-coloured with black stripes on their back . . . of their liveliness and laughable ways and their manner of gamboling and leaping, what can be written? Some of their ways are such that the mind derived uncontrolled pleasure from looking at them...When one month or even twenty days old, they would leap upon high places and throw themselves on the ground in a way that if any other but a kid were to do so, not one limb would be left whole. As it pleased me, I ordered them always to be kept near me, and I gave each of them an appropriate name. I am much delighted with them and pay great attention to bringing together *markhur* (or ibex) males and well-bred she-goats.<sup>14</sup>

Fig. 3 (AG 936): Zebra, The painting has an inscription stating that the zebra (oddly called, *khachchar* or mule) was brought from the surroundings of the "Habsh country" (Abyssinia) for Emperor Alamgir. Two other paintings and one unfinished drawing of the zebra are known, one painting in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London,<sup>15</sup> another in a private collection,<sup>16</sup> and the drawing in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.<sup>17</sup> The first one was brought from Abyssinia and presented to Emperor Jahangir by a leading courtier Mir Jafar in 1621. Jahangir had never seen a zebra before and had doubts about the bold black stripes on the coat of the animal. He wrote in his memoirs:

"At this time I saw a wild ass (*gur-khar*) exceedingly strange in appearance, exactly like a lion (*sic*, actually a tiger). From the tip of the nose to the end of the tail, and from the point of the ear to the top of the hoof, black markings, large or small, suitable to their position, were seen on it. Round the eyes there was an exceedingly fine black line. One might say the painter of fate, with a strange brush, had left it on the page of the world. As it was strange, some people imagined it was coloured. After minute inquiry into the truth, it became known that the Lord of the World was the Creator thereof. As it was a rarity, it was included among the royal gifts sent to my brother Shah' Abbas."<sup>18</sup> Though he does not mention it here, he instructed his favourite painter Ustad Mansur to make a likeness of the animal before it was sent to Persia. Ustad Mansur's study preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, bears the legend: 'a wild ass which the Turks who came with Ja'far brought from Abyssinia in the year 1030 AH (A.D. 1621). This

picture was drawn by Nadir-al-'Asri Ustad Mansur in the 16th regnal year.'

Zebras were in much demand in India. The French traveller Francois Bernier writes of a zebra being brought by the Abyssinian embassy in January, 1664.<sup>19</sup> The embassy was bringing 25 choice slaves ("nine or ten of whom were of a tender age and in a state to be made eunuchs", 15 horses, and "a small species of mule, whose skin I have seen: no tiger so beautifully marked, and no *alacha* (*ilayacha*, a kind of striped *mashru* cloth) of the Indies, or striped silken stuff, finely and variously streaked; . . .". Obviously Bernier too was not familiar with a zebra, and mistook it for a mule. The zebra died during the twenty-five day long sea-journey from Mocha to Surat but its skin was preserved. Aurangzeb took an interest in the zebra skin and Bernier too remarked upon it.

There was a second embassy from Abyssinia which visited the Mughal court in 1671.<sup>20</sup> The painting under discussion evidently shows the specimen that this embassy had brought and presented to Emperor Aurangzeb.

AG 937: shows two animals of prey trained and used for

Fig. 4  
A crocodile from Orissa.  
AG 930

Fig. 5  
Dumbas and other animals.  
AG 938

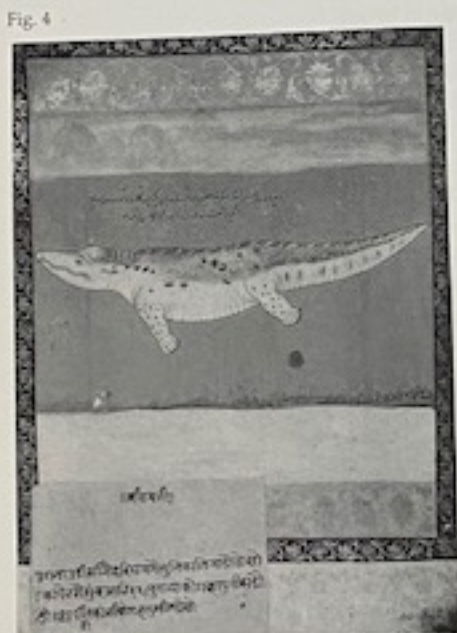






Fig. 6

hunting: a *siyahgosh* and a cheetah. These, according to the inscription, came as presents from Nawab Allahvardi Khan, a leading noble and official of Aurangzeb. The Mughal emperors were very fond of hunting, falconry and fishing. Amongst the various methods employed, hunting with trained cheetahs and *saltuki* hounds was very popular. Akbar had a big collection of hunting cheetahs and no court scene or hunting scene was complete without a collared or blindfolded cheetah seated majestically with its keeper. The *siyahgosh* or caracal (*Feliscaracal schreber*) is a creature of scrub jungle or deserts of western or north-western India. Like the cheetah it can be trained to hunt small game.<sup>21</sup> According to Emperor Akbar's biographer Abul Fazl, Akbar was very fond of this "plucky little animal" for hunting purposes. He writes, "In former times it would attack a hare or a fox, but now it kills black deer".<sup>22</sup>

Fig. 5 (AG 938): A page showing four pairs of animals *dumba*,

Fig. 6  
The *Murgh-i-Zareen* from  
Kashmir. AG 942.

*chinkara*, *nilgai* and Jacob sheep. Normally Mughal albums contain individual examples of each species in a painting, but in this album there are some pages which contain several species put together.

The Mughal emperors including Babur and Jahangir have described several kinds of sheep, goat and deer seen and hunted by them. Paintings of *nilgai*, black buck, "rang" deer, *chinkara* and *markhor* are found in large numbers. There are many fine paintings of *nilgai* and black buck from Jahangir's reign painted by Ustad Mansur and Manohar, preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; British Museum, London; Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; and Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur. Under Jahangir and Shah Jahan, expert artisans carved many a beautiful and delicate knife and dagger handles of jade, crystal, ivory and precious metals in the shape of the *nilgai's* head. The Jacob sheep is a rare species. An excellent study of a majestic

Fig. 7  
Princess seated with  
attendants. AG 967

Fig. 8  
The Nag Kesar flower from  
Bengal. A.C. 973



Fig. 8



two-horned ram of the spotted or Jacob sheep is preserved in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur.<sup>23</sup> There are several references to the wild ram in the *Memoirs* of Jahangir. In one place he writes about his attempt to find out whether worms exist in the horns of wild ram which provoke them to fight.<sup>24</sup>

Fig. 6 (AG 942): Monal pheasant, *Murgh Zarrin*. The Monal or Impeyan pheasant (*Lophophorus-impejanus*), is a large bird of brilliant plumage. It is to be found in the mountains of Afghanistan and in the Himalayan belt from Kashmir to North-eastern India, at elevations between 6,000 and 14,000 feet, according to the season.<sup>25</sup> This particular specimen was brought from Kashmir. Babur mentions the Monal in his account in the Baburnama.<sup>26</sup> Jahangir also refers to it in his *Memoirs*,<sup>27</sup> though no painting of the bird from his time has yet come to light.

AG 945-946: These two paintings relate a fascinating story.<sup>28</sup> The first one shows a turkey (*Meleagris gallipavo*), along with two pairs of partridges brought from Peshawar and a pair of white partridges from Agwasi. On these paintings the Persian and Hindi inscriptions give the information that a pair of *philmurgh* (lit. elephantine bird = turkey) were bought from Suba Orissa for sum of two rupees. These had in the course of two years multiplied into seventeen birds. The second painting, however, shows fifteen young turkeys of uniform size in rows.

The first recorded arrival of a turkey at the Mughal court was in 1612 when the Mughal Governor of Surat, Muqarrab Khan, was sent to Goa by Jahangir to fetch rarities. He brought, amongst various other objects, a turkey cock. The turkey is a New World bird which had been brought into Portugal only a few decades earlier. Jahangir was fascinated by the strange shape and behaviour of the bird and has left a long, carefully observed account in his *Memoirs*.<sup>29</sup> He instructed his favourite painter Ustad Mansur to draw a likeness of the bird. Mansur's signed work is preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.<sup>30</sup> A good replica of this painting is preserved in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum.<sup>31</sup> While another copy is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.<sup>32</sup> Another early 17th century picture of a turkey cock is to be found in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.<sup>33</sup>

AG 969: Rhinoceros: According to the inscription this majestic animal was brought from Suba Patna. Babur was fascinated by the Great One-horned Rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros indicus*) and gives an accurate description of the animal in his account of Hindustani flora and fauna. He encountered and hunted rhino in the jungles of Peshawar and Hastnagar as well as in the land between the river Indus and the jungles of the Bhira country (Punjab). He also

notes that hordes of rhinos are found on the banks of the Saru river (Ghagra).<sup>34</sup> In Akbar's time, rhino was noticed in the Chambal region. Jahangir killed one in the Kul Nuh forest near Aligarh in 1622 with a single shot.<sup>35</sup> Paintings of rhino-hunts of the Mughal emperor have survived, though no likeness of any individual specimen from the earlier Mughal era has so far been discovered.<sup>36</sup>

It is to be noted that the rhino illustrated here was captured in north Bihar (Suba Patna). Today the Nepalese Terai, Jalpaiguri and Upper Assam regions are the only areas in the Indian sub-continent where rhinos are found.

It seems that by the end of 17th century rhinos became scarce or extinct in north-western and northern India where these were sighted in the first quarter of the 16th century by Babur, and a century later by Jahangir.

As already mentioned the painting of a princess and her attendants at worship (AG 939) bears an entry at its back dated VS 1782 (AD 1725) from which it has been surmised that the album was rearranged after this date when the calligraphic specimens were removed from the album to accommodate a number of contemporary miniatures. As per prevailing norms pictures of pretty women standing with a flower, seated under a tree or in the company of female attendants engaged in puja or enjoying music, etc., took their place.

There is nothing new in this as a large number of early 18th century paintings arranged in albums or in loose leaves have been observed in different collections throughout the world. The types became standardised in Delhi in the first quarter of the 18th century and were copied or reworked in Farrukhabad, Lucknow, Patna, Murshidabad, Bikaner, Amber-Jaipur, etc. Sawai Jai Singh was able to collect numerous examples of these types which were mounted on different albums in the Jaipur Pothikhana.

The miniature "Princess worshipping" (AG 939) has numerous variations found in different collections including one attributed to Fateh Chand c. 1745 in the Maharaja of Jaipur collection,<sup>37</sup> one in a Johnson Album, in the India Office Library signed by Fateh Chand c.1760,<sup>38</sup> and another by Mihr Chand in the Berlin State Museum.<sup>39</sup> Similarly the painting of a lady in a pensive mood seated on a branch of a drooping willow tree (AG 976) has many variations including two in the Berlin State Museum.<sup>40</sup>

The *nimqalam* drawing with traces of colour showing the bust portrait of a lady holding a rose (Fig. 7) (AG 948) is reminiscent of a similar bust portrait of an unknown lady painted by Kalyan Das,

c. 1750, and preserved in the India Office Library.<sup>11</sup> The composition showing a Mughal court lady leaning against a bolster on a beautifully embroidered floor-spread on a platform with a Hindu princess and a female *tambura*-player seated before her (AG 967) recalls a similar composition in the Berlin State Museum where the group includes another female attendant and all are shown seated on a platform before a lake in a hilly landscape.<sup>12</sup> Almost all other examples of similar nature in the album in which standing or seated ladies or *yogins*, etc., are seen, are stock motifs, repeated time and time again, and found in albums built up in the 18th century for minor rulers and European collectors.

It is not possible to comment on their exact provenance at this stage as, stylistically, these are quite different from the earlier *Ragamala* and *Baramasa* sets painted at Amber and noted above, or other *Ragamala* sets prepared in Jaipur after the atelier was reorganised in 1735 or thereabouts. These may be products of the Farrukh Siyar-Muhammad Shah period in Delhi, or copies prepared by the painters recruited from Delhi by Sawai Jai Singh; they may even be products of the newly organised atelier of Jaipur following the Delhi model. In any case, the album is an interesting document of Mughal studies during Aurangzeb's period.

#### Note

All the works are reproduced through the courtesy of the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum Trust and were first photographed by S.G. Tawari.

#### Notes

1. After Sridhar Andhare's publication of a near-complete *Ragamala* set painted at Amber in 1766 VS (AD 1709) in the Kankroli Art Collection, fragments of at least six other *Ragamala* sets of the same or similar style and provenance have been identified. These are:

a. *Ragamala* set, dated 1766 VS (AD 1709), Kankroli Art Collection. S.K. Andhare, "A Dated Amber *Ragamala* and the problem of provenance of Eighteenth century Jaipur painting", *Lalit Kala*, no. 15, 1972, 47-51, plates, and K. Ebeling, *Ragamala Painting*, Paris, 1973, 151 (set 46). Col. pls. C2, C25, C56, plates 73, 157, 168-70, 177-8, 185-6, 194, 200-1, 205, 211, 213-17, 226-31, 233, 238, 272, 276-7, 288.

b. *Ragamala* set, C. 1700-10, Baroda Museum, pl. 5a/92-117. O.C. Gangoly, *Critical Catalogue of Miniature Paintings in the Baroda Museum*, Baroda, 1961, pl. XLIII; Ebeling, 1973, 185 (set 43).

c. *Ragamala* set, C. 1700-10, Baroda Museum no. 5a/41-55. Gangoly, 1961, pl. XLII, (gives a 17th date); Ebeling, 1973, 187 (set 45).

d. *Ragamala* set, C. 1700-10, Private Collection; Ebeling, 1973, 188, (set 47). Ebeling refers to an example illustrated by H. Goetz, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, Oxford, 1950, pl. 94 (p. 37 as stated by Ebeling) described as early 19th century Bikaner.

e. *Ragamala* set, C. 1700-10, dispersed, among Kr. Sangram Singh Collection, Jaipur, (Sangram Singh *Dhundhar Painting*, Jaipur, 1977, 15 no. 5-8, pl. 8; Ebeling, 1973, col. pl. C. 13, C. 27); Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; S.C. Welch Collection; J.P. Goenka Collection; State Museum, Lucknow; and Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur (A.K. Das, "Miniatures", *Marg* (Homage to Jaipur), XXX, 4, 1977, Col. pl. 2; idem, *Treasures of Indian*

- Painting, Series V, 1986, (Col. pl. 1): Ebeling, 1973, 186 (set 44).
- E. Ragamala set, C. 1700-10, originally with a Jaipur dealer (published by O.C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis* (Calcutta, 1924, I, 71-II, plates VII A, XIII, XIII, LVIC, LVII, LVIII, LXIIC, LXXID, LXXVI, LXXVII B; Ebeling, 1973, pl. 74) now dispersed: Baroda Museum (H.Goetz, "The Kachchawaha School of Rajput Painting" (Amber and Jaipur); *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum*, VI, 1999, 33-47, fig. 9); Brooklyn Museum, New York; Cleveland Museum of Art (Linda Leach, *Indian Miniature Paintings and Drawings*, Cleveland, 1986, 167-9 no. 60); Berlin Museum (E. & R.L. Waldschmidt, *Miniatures of Musical Inspiration*, Berlin, 1975, 460-2 fig. 64); Ebeling, 1973, 188, set 48.
2. Folios of a damaged and dispersed *Baramasa-Sadritsarnan* series are preserved in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur (Unpublished), with one folio in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi (V.P. Dwivedi, *Baramasa*, Delhi, 1980, pl. 117). Two folios of *Nayikabhedha* from another set painted in a similar style are preserved in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur (G.N. Bahara and Chandramani Singh, "Some illustrated Rajasthan Manuscripts from the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum", *Art Heritage*, New Delhi, 1990, 47-8, fig. 7). Two folios from the same *Baramasa* set (months of Jyeshtha and Magha) are in the Museum of Fine Art, Boston, Coomaraswamy, 1926, V, 191f, pl. CIV, CV).
3. Sangram Singh, 1977, 2.
4. A.K. Das, *Treasures of Indian Painting*, Series one, Jaipur, 1976, Introduction.
5. Vide: A.K. Das's paper being published in the Douglas Barrett Festschrift.
6. Album AG 929 to AG 977. Two folios showing turkey bird and chicks (AG 945, 946) published: A.K. Das, "Turkey in Mughal and Amber-Jaipur Paintings", *Journal of Indian Museums*, XXX-XXXI 1974-5, 60-6, figs. 5, 6, and two folios, a group of birds and animals and a cassowary (AG 977/970) published, A.K. Das, *Treasures of Indian Painting*, Series four, Jaipur, 1983, Col., pl. V, VI.
- 6a. For a colour reproduction (see A.K. Das, "The Imperial Cheetahs in Akbar's Shikarakhana," *The India Magazine*, Delhi, August, 1985, (Vol. 5 no. 9), 29.
7. Das, 1974-5, fig. 5.
8. Das, 1974-5, fig. 6.
9. Das, 1983, col. pl. VI.
10. Das, 1983, col. pl. V.
11. Sir J.N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1972, II, 78, 78-9 fn.
12. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the stuffed skin of a giant crocodile caught in Orissa is exhibited in the Zoological galleries in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, along with several kilograms of silver and other ornaments recovered from its abdomen.
13. According to Dr. Salim Ali the animal is an ibex. "The Moghul Emperors of India as Naturalists and Sportsmen", *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society*, Bombay, XXXII, 1927, 36f.
14. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English tr. by A. Roger, ed., H. Beveridge, London, 1914, II, 88f. A page of drawings of the goats attributed to Ustad Mansur was in the collection of the French dealer M. Demotte: Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Oxford, 1924, pl. XXII, fig. 1.
15. Acc. No. IM23-1925: S.C. Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting*, New York, 1977, pl. 27 col.
16. *Islamic Art from India*, Spink & Son Ltd., London, 1980, no. 70 col, now in the Ravi Kumar collection, Paris.
17. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, vol. VI, Boston, 1930, pl. XLII.
18. *Tuzuk*, II, 201.
19. *Travels in the Mogul Empire, 1656-1668*, English tr. by A. Constable, ed. V.A. Smith, Oxford, 1916, 135f.
20. Sarkar, 1972, 78, 78-9 fn.
21. My friend D.S. Chavda has identified it as a species different from the species brought by Mir Jafar for Jahangir in 1621.
- 21a. See *Supra*, note 6a.
22. Abu'l Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, English tr. H. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1873 (reprint Delhi, 1965), 301.
23. Das, 1986, pl. II col.; S.C. Welch, *India*, New York, 1985, no. 108, There is a drawing of the head and forepart of a similar ram in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Coomaraswamy, 1930, pl. XLII.
24. *Tuzuk*, II, 88-9.
25. Salim Ali, *Indian Hill Birds*, London, 1948, 176.
26. A.S. Beveridge, *Baburnama*, London, 1921, II, 496; Salim Ali, 1927, 54.
27. *Tuzuk*, II, 220.
28. Das, 1974-5, 64-7.
29. *Tuzuk*, I, 215-6.
30. No. IM 135-1921: G. Hambly, *Cities of Mughal India*, London, 1968, pl. 95 col.
31. No. AG 839: Das, 1974-5, fig. 3.
32. No. R.210: E.B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, London, 1908, pl. LXII col., N.R. Ray, *Mughal Court Painting*, Calcutta, 1975, pl. XII, col.
33. Das, 1974-5, fig. 4.

*Notes on Aurangzeb Period Album*

34. Beveridge, 1921, II, 489f; Salim Ali, 1927, 859f.
35. For a detailed account of rhino in Mughal art: R. Ettinghausen, *The Unicorn*, Washington, D.C. 1950.  
J. Bautze, "The Problem of Khadga (Rhinoceros Unicornis) in the light of Archaeological Finds and Arts" *South Asian Archaeology*, Naples, 1985, 419f.
36. For a painting of a rhino standing majestically in a landscape identified as Deccanese, C. 1770:  
H. Soutiel, *Miniatures Orientales de l'Inde*, Paris, 1973, no. 59 col. pl.
37. M.S. Randhawa and J.K. Galbraith, *Indian Painting, the Scene, Themes and Legends*, Boston, 1968, pl. 10 col.
38. Identified as Bhairavi Ragini: T. Falk and M. Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, London, 1981, no. 202.
39. E. Kuhnelt, *Miniaturmalerei im Islamischen Orient*, Berlin, 1922, pl. 134, *Indische Miniaturen*, Berlin 1933, no. 41.
40. No. J. 459 fol. 230 (Kuhnelt, 1933, no. 32) where the lady is seen standing but the tree is shown much smaller. Also no. J. 4915 fol. 15a.
41. Falk and Archer, 1981, no. 199.
42. Regina Hickmann and Volkmar Enderlein, *Indische Albumblätter*, Leipzig & Weimar, 1979, no. 33 col.
43. Vide Waldschmidt, 1975, 462 ff for a detailed discussion.

Volkmar