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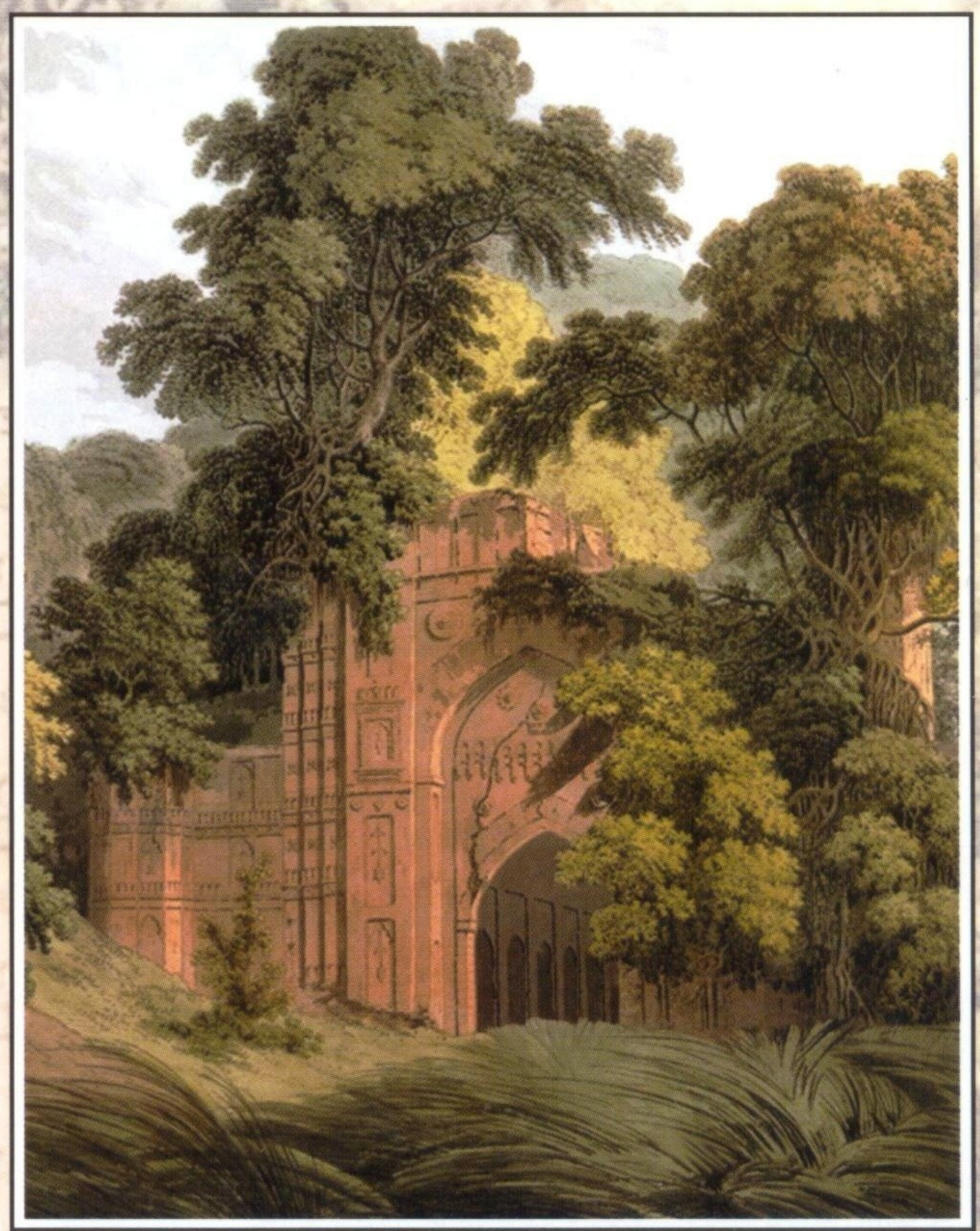

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Representation of Middle Class Professionals in Mughal Visual Art

MUGHAL MINIATURE paintings have since long been appreciated for their aesthetic value. Some scholars have also utilized Mughal miniatures as a source for reconstructing the material culture of the Mughal period.[1] Yet scant attempts appear to have been made to exploit the Mughal miniatures to help reconstruct various aspects of the social history of the period. In this essay I attempt to use the Mughal miniatures as a source to understand the Mughal social fabric.

The Concept of the 'Middle Classes'

The concept of a 'middle class' emerged in fourteenth-century England with the rise of a trading community, which monopolized certain spheres of trade and gradually organized itself into associations and groups. It was an urban-based class that represented the antithesis of the old regime, which was based upon fief and personal service.[2] The new class that went with nomenclature of 'middle classes' comprised not only merchants, but also professionals like lawyers, physicians, printers, master-artisans, etc., who as individuals, appeared to be independent of the feudal nobility. The social and political vacuum created by feudal decline was being steadily filled by the rising middle class and the monarchy, which was the initial support behind the development of the former.[3]

But until the advent of the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century, these social strata were contained to an extent on account of the general technological backwardness. It was only with the coming of the machine and growth of industries that the middle classes could create a new social order, incorporating the rising industrial entrepreneurs.[4]

One of the peculiar features of the middle classes in Europe was that as a class it was independent of state control: though as individuals, its members were quite often in the pay of either a noble or the state itself. The

basic element that distinguished these members of the middle class from the others was their professionalism.

With its origin in the thought processes of the French physiocrats, the concept of bureaucracy also developed with the rise of machines and industries in the eighteenth century. It signified a collective designation for officials organized on a more or less systematic basis and who discharged executive functions. Insofar as power based directly on land control often required the direct use of force rather than detailed literate administration, the feudal system (in its classic west European form) had little scope for true bureaucracy. Bureaucracy began to develop in west Europe as the growth of royal power accompanied the disintegration of feudalism. A complex apparatus of administration now tended to take shape. The rise of this bureaucracy synchronized with the rise of middle classes.[5] It was from this class that the European bureaucracy came to be increasingly recruited. This was the case with the royal bureaucracy even in the Ancient Regime in France.

Numerous modern scholars have negated the existence of a middle class in Mughal India—an opinion based upon a comment by François Bernier, a French traveller who came to India during the seventeenth century. Bernier claimed:

> . . . there is no middle state in Delhi (India). A man must be either of high rank or live miserably . . . .[6]

Bernier's statement is problematic. Coming from France, he would have tried to look at everything in Mughal India with a European bias and went so far as to consider the king as the proprietor of the land apparently because the large size of revenue seemed to him as the proprietor's rent.[7] Having been conditioned by emerging modern Europe, Bernier could never imagine that a peasant could ever own the land. Witness to frequent transfers of the jagirdars, he also knew the land could not belong to the peasant. It is, therefore, not certain if Bernier was accurately reporting when he spoke about the non-existence of the 'middle class'. Second we should be further cautious as Bernier is referring to a 'middle state' or stratum and not talking of the middle class.

Moreland accepted the view of Bernier and in his turn also denied the presence of this 'class' in the Mughal empire. The exception he made was regarding the 'mercantile class' whose existence he accepted; however, he admitted the existence of 'something like a middle class' in Bengal.[8] He goes on to say:

> There were at this time no lawyers, very few if any professional teachers, no journalists or politicians, no engineers, no forms of employment corresponding to

the modern railway, postal or irrigation services, or to factories and large workshops, few landholders in the modern sense, and, unless I am mistaken, scarcely any families living upon accumulated property; and if we remove these elements from the middle classes as they exist today, we shall find that there is very little left, beyond the families dependent on the various public offices.[9]

B.B. Misra also believes that this 'intermediate group' did not enjoy an independent position of its own or social prestige in the Mughal empire.[10] Karl Marx, and later, Max Weber had also held the view of a static Indian society, without any real proto-capitalist or middle class.[11] Recent studies, however, have seriously challenged this view.[12]

It was Wilfred Cantwell Smith who raised the issue of a possible middle class in the Mughal empire in one of his early articles.[13] Middle classes, he said, were intricable to the Mughal empire. He hypothesized that the rise and florescence of the Mughal empire as a political, economic and cultural process was connected with the florescence from early sixteenth century of a prosperous merchant middle class. He further suggested that the widespread prevalence of a money-economy greatly helped in the growth of a class which based itself on a non-feudal income.

Smith reasoned that the large size of the empire greatly helped in the growth of this class, as it facilitated unhindered long distance trade by the merchants.

Second, he argued that the mansabdari system virtually meant an abolition of a purely landed upper class and instead gave way to its transformation into a class of 'salaried government officials'. Third, with the politico-administrative unification, there was a spurt in the construction of roads and *sarais*. He opined that it must have been the merchants 'who would have applauded the most' when the roads were constructed. Fourth, Smith drew attention to the second regulation of the 'Twelve Ordinances' proclaimed in 1605 when Jahangir ascended the throne, which is a pointer to the importance of the mercantile and middle classes in the Mughal empire. It was in the ordinance that Jahangir had tried to conciliate the merchants by announcing the abolition of practices harmful to their vocation. Last, Smith held that the systematization of the currency all over the empire was an indicator of the growth of this middle class. All this and much more, he maintained, gestured towards a growing money-economy and the conversion of land revenue into cash, which in turn would lead to a cash nexus that would benefit and promote the middle classes. Thus to W.C. Smith, the prosperity and importance of the middle class in the Mughal empire was no mere speculation.

Moreland, Chicherov, Pavlov and Satish Chandra have supported the general thesis of Smith.[14] All of them discern a widespread prevalence of

money-economy resulting from a growing trend of production for the market in the agricultural as well as non-agricultural sectors. They also say that the introduction of world commerce by various European companies and the subsequent creation of merchant capital, which was further helped by the 'putting out system' testify to the prosperity of merchants, bankers and people belonging to other professions. Irfan Habib also suggests a 'rural-monetisation', which created surplus agricultural produce that aided urban growth.[15] Iqtidar Alam Khan took up the issue in 1975 and enumerated the various components of the 'middle class', which he defined with E.M.S. Namboodiripad as 'a class consisting of all those who do not belong to either of the two main antagonistic classes'.[16] He has tried to make a functional as well as a structural study of the various components of this middle class including the commercial and financial sections, the lesser official functionaries and the professional classes (e.g. physicians, scholars, artists, architects, etc.).

Tapan Raychaudhuri, however, appears to believe that there existed, what he sees as a 'sizeable middle-income group' in Mughal India.[17] He does not discuss a middle class or middle classes in the Mughal empire. In my dissertation on 'middle classes' in Mughal India, like Khan and Namboodiripad, the working definition employed is 'a class between the two antagonistic classes'.

Dealing with a period when industries were yet far in time we get references to distinct 'groups' in Mughal society, who were generally urban-based and drew their livelihood by selling their 'skills'. They were 'salaried', mobile, masters of their own fates not necessarily depending on the prebends and benefices of the state (and thus, 'professional'). Although not really conscious of their status as a distinct 'class' in the modern sense of the term, yet they appear to be aware of the distinct character of their own as compared to the Mughal ruling elite and the common masses. In this period one cannot talk of the 'postal or irrigation services, or to factories and large workshops' or the workers and professionals therein, but professionals like physicians, surgeons, architects, engineers, teachers, bureaucrats, master craftsmen, musicians and painters apart from the traders and merchants in the urban centres were aplenty and thriving as a result of their skill and specialized training.

A study of Mughal society does reveal the existence of a 'middle-class' who made their living by selling their professional skill. The Mughal school of painting, unlike the Persian and pre-Mughal Indian schools of paintings, being more attuned to realism depicts the members of this class with much accuracy. In fact, numerous premises formulated by a reading of the textual evidence are confirmed if collated with the information revealed by the Mughal miniatures. An extreme emphasis on accuracy of portraiture and a

realistic depiction of historical events was the hallmark of the paintings made under the regime of Akbar and his successors.

Learned professions

Amongst the middle classes, members of the learned professions appear to be the most numerous in depictions in the Mughal miniatures. A total of 64 Mughal paintings (including 8 margin depictions) are devoted to the members of this section of the middle class. Around 48 per cent of these representations belong to the reign of Akbar (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

Reign	*Teachers*	*Scholars*	*Poets*	*Calligraphers*	*Total paintings*
Akbar	7	14	5	5	31
Jahangir	7	7	4	8	26
Shahjahan	5	4	3	2	14
TOTAL	19	25	12	15	71

Amongst the learned professions depicted, the largest number is that of the ubiquitous 'scholars': the learned men depicted with books, pens and inkstands. The second-largest number is that of the calligraphers, who found greater represention under Jahangir. Almost invariably the dress code of the teachers and scholars was similar to that of the *ulema*. Most have been depicted wearing a long wide-sleeved *qaba* over an ankle-length *jama* which was held in place with the help of a simple *patka* or *katzeb*. This *patka* in the case of teachers and scholars was mostly plain, and was possibly made of cotton[18] (see Plate I). The dress of the older poets depicted in the Mughal miniatures resembles the attire of the *ulema* and the scholars[19] (for theologians and mullas see Plate II) but in the case of younger members of this aesthetic profession, the resemblance is much more with the members of the bureaucracy and nobles.[20] The most distinguishing feature of the Mughal attire was the *dastar* or turban. It was the *dastar*, which signified the social status and dignity of a person.[21] This *dastar* was folded in loops which could be crosswise, circular or oblique on either a cap (*kulah*) or directly on the head.[22] Our paintings testify that the teachers mostly tied very heavy turbans (see Figure 1, *dastars* 12, 18, 19, 20, 22) which were tied in oblique loops. All these turbans were made of a piece of cloth of one colour.[23] In one margin painting a teacher is shown sporting a turban (Figure 1, *dastar* 17) which was tied after twisting the cloth in the form of a rope.[24]

It is interesting to note that whenever a teacher is depicted, he is shown (Plate III) along with his pupils and books. They are invariably portrayed

seated either on a platform or on a mat. The importance of the notion of imparting knowledge during the reign of Akbar can be gauged from the fact that during his regime two paintings of madrasa and one of a pathshala (school) were commissioned.[25] The pundits while teaching, are shown wearing very small turbans (Figure 1, *dastars* 4 and 28) lightly placed on their heads.[26] As far as the pupils are concerned, in most cases they appear to be princes or young high born gentlemen. It is only in one case that a student appears to belong to a lower stratum of society.[27] But then possibly, the artist was here giving vent to his imagination while also trying his hand on a Western theme.

The scholars in the Mughal miniatures are similarly identifiable with the help of the books and pen either in their hands or placed nearby (Plates IV and V). In most cases their *dastars* were similar to those adorning the heads of the theologians (Figure 1, *dastars* 11, 18, 22–27). Some times they simply wore a *kulah* without a turban[28] (Figure 1, *dastar* 34).

The *dastars* of the poets were generally shorter than those of the scholars and *ulema*, though were very similar in appearance (Figure 1, *dastars* 12 and 23).[29] Sometimes they resembled the turbans of the nobility, yet were simpler in make (Figure 1, *dastars* 8 and 12).[30]

Unlike the *dastar* of the teachers, scholars and the poets, those of the calligraphers were quite dissimilar to the headgear of the theologians (Figure 1, *dastars* 4, 10, 14 and 16). Only in a few cases were they tied over a *kulah* (Figure 1, *dastar* 15).[31] Surprisingly they are never shown wearing a *qaba*. Mostly depicted in the knee-long Mughal *jama*, *shalwar*, or trousers, which were crinkled around and below the knees, they are depicted with a *shawl* casually draping their shoulders.[32] Like the nobility, they could tie silken and brocaded *patkas*.[33]

True to their profession, the calligraphers are depicted along with their long reed pens, pen-boxes, slates and sheets of paper.[34]

Interestingly enough, the number of depictions of this learned class comprising of the teachers, scholars, poets and calligrapher began to decline from the reign of Shahjahan. It is only in the case of calligraphers, that there is a rise during the reign of Jahangir over Akbar, and then only to decline to only two under Shahjahan (see Table 1).

Medical profession

In Mughal India, like the other professions, we find the physician's profession had also gained prominence. Mughal Persian sources like *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, *Ma'asir-i Rahimi*, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, the *Padshahnama* of Lahori and the *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri* all indicate the pre-eminence of the

physicians. Abul Fazl, Nizamuddin Ahmad and Lahori while listing *ulema* and poets also enumerate the prominent physicians of their period.[35] The Mughal emperors appear to have taken considerable interest in patronising them. A sizeable number of these physicians were given service in various capacities and were also sometimes assigned mansabs (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

Region	*Those holding mansabs*	*Depicted*	*Physicians who did not enjoy mansabs*	*Depicted*	*Total physicians*
Akbar	8	1	34	8	42
Jahangir	7	1	12	2	19
Shahjahan	15	1	9	–	24

The Mughal miniatures too reflect their prosperity. Out of the total 16 miniatures which I have been able to consult which depict the physicians, 8 belong to the reign of Akbar.

TABLE 3

Region	*Actual portraits*	*Court*	*General*	*Bazar*	*Total paintings*
Akbar	–	4	4	–	8
Jahangir	3	–	–	1	7
Shahjahan	1	–	–	–	1

This tallies with the fact that Akbar had the largest number of physicians under him. In the subsequent reigns their numbers probably declined, yet as far as their status is concerned it appears to have remarkably improved. Physicians like Muqarrab Khan and Alimuddin Wazir Khan rose to mansabs of 5,000.[36] Muqarrab Khan and Masihuzzaman were given important administrative assignments of the port-officership of Surat. Ultimately Muqarrab Khan rose to the position of the governorship of Gujarat.

Mughal miniatures reflect this growing prosperity of the medical profession. Under Jahangir physicians are depicted standing amongst the courtiers. He can be identified from an inscription '*shabih-i Muqarrab Khan*'.[37] In all the depictions he is shown wearing a white silken *dastar* (Figure 1, *dastar* 1) with a golden design. This attire is typical of a Mughal noble, with the exception that he is always shown wearing sober colours. Unlike him, the other physician-bureaucrat, Masihuzzaman Khan is depicted donning a dress, which is typical to the attire of the scholars and *ulema*.[38]

The Mughal miniatures confirm Manucci's stray remark that there was a hierarchical division amongst the physicians serving the kings and the princes.[39] In three or four miniatures, a chief physician is depicted tending the patient along with his subordinate colleagues (Plate VI).[40] The practice of physicians setting up private clinics in the bazaars also finds place in the Mughal miniatures. A miniature attributed randomly to Abul Hasan and pertaining to the reign of Jahangir depicts a physician (or was he just a druggist?) sitting under a *shamiana* on a platform, and advising an old patient (Plate VII).[41] All around the old physician on the platform are displayed vials, bottles, jars, cups and bags containing a number of drugs, viz., *sufuf* (powder), *sharbats* (syrups) and *arq* (medicinal liquid extracts). A number of books are at hand, as is a small mortar and pestle to mix the medicines. On one of the bottles is inscribed *sharbat-i diq* (syrup for consumption). Every bottle and bag is labelled. Behind the physician stands a boy, who probably acted as his assistant.

. The physicians' attire under the Mughals appears to have resembled that of the religious classes: their *dastar* (Figure 1, *dastars* 11, 12, 13, 15 and 36) were heavy and circular in shape. Their *jamas* were shorter than those of the *mullahs*, and were only up to the knees, and had (unlike the *jamas* of the religious classes) tight sleeves. The physicians are frequently shown wearing a shawl.

A perusal of the Mughal miniatures shows that the artist, to mark the presence of a physician, would always place nearby a mortar and a pestle to signify the mixing of the drugs. In most of these paintings a young man or a woman is depicted sitting, preparing the medicines with this *ahandasta*.

The Mughal physicians, as we know, were also pharmacologists. Was the depiction of the preparation of medicines in the presence of the physicians diagnosing their patients due to this fact?

The profession of nurses and midwives is also mentioned in our sources (Plate VIII). The statement of Fryer to the effect that only the rich needed the services of midwives and nurses[42] also finds partial support in the paintings. The royal birth scenes depict nurses and midwives.[43] Their garb consisted of 'a long flowing dress from neck to ankles' known as *peshwaz* and a *chadar*. Sometimes they would also don a *kulah* (cap) like a Turkish cap (Figure 1, *dastar* 32).

Astrologers and astronomers

The profession of the astrologers and the astronomers was equally important—one that finds ample depiction in the Mughal miniatures.

In the 10 miniatures (out of which 8 belong to the reign of Akbar) pertaining to the theme, 19 astrologers have been depicted, 3 of whom are Hindus.[44] Like the Muslim astrologers, they are shown wearing the *jama*, which however, was tied to the left, and a pair of tight fitted trousers. The *dastars* of the Hindu astrologers were smaller in size (Figure 1, *dastars* 28, 29 and 38) than those of the Muslim astrologers, which were larger and heavier (Figure 1, *dastars* 5, 11, 12, 13, 19 and 32). Interestingly, one of the Hindu astrologers is depicted with a *tilak* on his forehead.[45] The question arises: whether he was a Brahmin. We know of two very famous Hindu astrologers of Akbar's court, Jotik Rai Nilkantha and Krishna Dwaijna.[46] The same painting depicts two Hindu astrologers, one, an old man with a *tilak*, and the other, a young man. If they are Nilkantha and Krishna then what is the identity of the well dressed, dark complexioned Hindu court-astrologer standing before Akbar, presenting Salim's horoscope written in Devanagari script?[47] His dress betrays his high status and affinity to the court. One may perhaps assume that he is Jotik Rai of Akbar's court.

As far as the Muslim astrologers are concerned, they resemble (as per Mundy's statements) the theologians in their attire. In their case, the sleeves of the *jama* were wide and they wore either a shawl or donned a *qaba* on top of it (Plate IX).

The bazaar astrologers referred to by Manucci[48] have been depicted by Mughal painters as well. A miniature of the *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*, painted sometime between 1590–5 depicts a bazaar scene, where an astrologer, just as in the case of the bazaar physician, is portrayed sitting on a platform shielded by a *shamiana*, accompanied with the tools of his trade: a few books, a sand clock, a box, and an astrolabe. Behind him stands his assistant, a young boy.[49] A predominantly female clientele surrounds him (Plate X). Just as the mortar and pestle of the physician, the astrologer announces his presence by the astrolabe on a tripod. His receipts by way of fee are stored in three small bags of money.

Govardhan, the painter of Shahjahan, depicts another such astrologer. He is shown amidst a rural setting.[50] Like the bazaar astrologer, he sits in front of his hut consulting a book, surrounded by a rural clientele. His astronomical instruments—an astrolabe, an inkpot, a globe and a sand clock—are strewn all around.

A few representations of astronomers too are to be found in our paintings. Just like their astrologer friends, the astronomers too are depicted along with their instruments: the sand clock, books, astrolabe and, most importantly the ring dial (Plate XI).[51] Basically depicted aboard ships, aiding in navigation by interpreting the movement of the stars,[52] the astronomers

wear the long flowing *jama* with full sleeves and *dastars* (Figure 1, *dastars* 13, 21, 30 and 36).

Architects and engineers

Another 'middle class' profession, which was of consequence, was that of the architects and engineers. The hectic building and construction activity under the Mughals is beyond dispute. Apart from the royalty and the nobility, the members of the lower social groups like petty bureaucrats, who otherwise complained of paucity of money and office, are also credited with having taken an active interest in building their houses at large expenses.[53] Abul Fazl devoted a full *ain* on the building establishment,[54] yet no Mughal source, be it Abul Fazl himself, Khwand Amir, Badauni, Nizamuddin Ahmad, or Lahori, mention the name of a Mughal architect, as had been done in the case of the scholars, physicians and poets.[55] A perusal of our sources indicates that the work of building construction was headed by an officer who supervised the construction of a building or an edifice, known as *Mir-i Imarat*. Beneath him in the hierarchy was the chief architect, the *saramad- i me' maran* who was sometimes simply called *me'mar*. Under him were the masons (*me 'mars*) and other master craftsmen. Another very important professional involved in the building construction activity was the *naqshanawis* or the plan drawer.

Our Mughal miniatures offer a faithful record of the presence of these professionals. In a number of paintings showing the construction activity is depicted a well-attired individual, usually on a raised platform and flanked by attendants and horses.[56] He is the supervisor of construction, the *Mir-i Imarat*. His attire resembles that of the nobility: a colourful full-sleeved *jama*, embroidered silken *patka*, a long scarf or thin *shawl* and a *dastar* (Figure 1, *dastars* 1 and 3; Plate XII).

In almost all the miniatures dealing with building construction, are portrayed men with long sticks giving instructions to the various craftsmen. They wear knee-length *jama*, embroidered silken *patka*, trousers and shoes. Wherever a group of stonecutters, masons or labourers are doing a job, this ubiquitous man keeps a watchful eye. He appears to be the overseer or supervisor of construction activity, reference to whom is missing in the written records. Some paintings dealing with building construction depict another professional whose status appears in the paintings to be higher than that of the overseer and lower to that of the *Mir-i Imarat*. He is always shown near the site of hectic activity either taking down notes[57] or explaining a point to the visiting dignitary verbally[58] or with the help of a graph.[59] At other times this person is also depicted as standing or giving directions to the overseer.[60] His *dastar* (Figure 1, *dastars* 5 and 35) was less ostentatious than that of the *mir-i imarat*, but would sometimes resemble that of the

higher classes (Figure 1, *dastars* 31 and 39). This person was perhaps the chief architect.

The importance and affluence of architects and engineers can thus be deduced from their portrayal in Mughal miniatures. Fully clothed from head to foot, they appear to have had a fairly high status in society.

These Mughal miniatures also show us the various master craftsmen involved in the building work (Plate XIII). From these depictions, it appears that the *naqqash* (carver) had a superior position to that of a *sahakar* (plain stonecutter).[61] A *sahakar* is mostly depicted wearing a crude turban, a short *jama* and short trouser,[62] while a *naqqash* is shown wearing a more elaborate turban (Figure 1, *dastar* 4), a longer *jama* and a full-length pair of trousers.[63] They are also sometimes shown wearing shoes, which may determine a degree of respectability over the lower groups involved in building work.

Another category of craftsmen involved in the construction activity was that of the ironsmiths, whose position in society appears to have been the same as that of the *naqqash*. Like him they wear a turban (Figure 1, *dastars* 6 and 7), a long *jama* and trousers. But unlike the attire of the *naqqash*, the shoes are conspicuous by their absence.[64]

Painters

Much impetus was provided to the performing arts under the Mughals. It was during the reign of Akbar that two important fields—painting and music—were given a new meaning and import.

Although nothing is known about the presence or absence of painters under Babur, it was during the reign of Humayun that attention began to be given to recruiting accomplished painters to the Mughal court.[65] For Babur's reign we have names of six painters. During Akbar's reign, the number rose steeply to about 260,[66] 56 per cent of whom were Hindus (see Table 4). In the subsequent reigns, the total number of the members of this class recruited by the Mughal state displayed a steady downward trend. However, this in no way would mean a decline in the members of this professional group in Mughal society.

TABLE 4

Reign	*Actual painters*	*Total depicted*	*Total hindus*	*Hindus depicted*	*Total muslims*	*Muslims depicted*
Humayun	6	–	–	–	6	–
Akbar	260	11	145	2	115	5
Jahangir	84	9	43	6	41	3
Shahjahan	35	4	17	4	18	–
Aurangzeb	12	–	8	–	4	–

A sizeable number of this group earned its livelihood in the private ateliers established by the Mughal nobles (Plate XIV). By the latter half of the seventeen century, the bazaar painters who were self-employed begin to be noticed.[67] Even during the reign of Akbar it appears that these painters would attract clients to their place of work to have their portraits drawn. Thus a miniature preserved in State Library, Berlin, depicts two anonymous painters at work and an elderly gentleman of high birth walking away after being provided with his portrait made by these painters.[68]

The painters who were recruited by the Mughal state were paid regular monthly salaries. According to Abul Fazl:

> The Daroghas and the clerks weekly lay the work of all painters before His Majesty; he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship, or increases the monthly salaries.[69]

These salaried state painters, apart from illustrating books commissioned by their benefactors, were also required to be present at private gatherings to record the events visually for posterity.[70] The importance of this class can be gauged from the fact that they were sometimes ordered by the emperor to include their self-portraits on the colophon.[71] Sometimes, the painters could also be allowed to enter the *haram*.[72] Incidentally, the art of painting was not an exclusive male profession. Nadira Banu, Sahifa Banu and Ruqaiya Banu are known to have painted during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. Accordingly, a folio from *Khamsa-i Nizami* depicts a woman painter busy making a self-portrait.[73]

It is interesting to note that although the percentage of Hindu painters fell from 56 per cent under Akbar to 51 per cent under Jahangir, the number of portraits of Hindu nobles rose to 6 out of 9 from 2 out of 11 paintings. In the reign of Shahjahan the strength of the Hindu painters was about 48.6 per cent. Yet all the 4 painters depicted were Hindus. No portrait of a Muslim painter from the reign of Shahjahan survives or has been identified so far.

From the 24 or so portraits and self-portraits of the painters, it appears that there was not much marked difference between the attire of the Hindu and Muslim painters. Almost all of them wore *dastars* (Figure 1, *dastars* 1–9), long *jamas*, full trousers, a *patka*, which could be single or embroidered, and a shawl. It is only in the case of Kesavdas that the dress is irregular. The painter in this portrait wears a *dhoti* and a shawl draping his naked shoulders and torso.[74] He was, we are informed, a Kahar by birth.

These Mughal painters were recruited not just to illustrate the books and paint court scenes and important occasions, but would also execute wall

paintings (Plate XV). A large number of what are known as Akbari and Jahangiri wall paintings survive on the walls of Fathpur Sikri, Aram Bagh (Agra), and the Lahore Fort. At least two Mughal painters, Abdus Samad[75] and Daswant[76] were accomplished in painting on the walls, as can be attested to by a miniature preserved in the Clive Album records.[77] Paper-makers, scribes, and a number of apprentices helped the Mughal painter in his endeavour.[78]

Musicians

As far as the musicians are concerned, they are depicted mostly in the court scenes or in the company of the princes and dervishes. Like the other professionals, they too were always depicted with the instruments of their profession. They are shown wearing a *dastar* (Figure 1, *dastars* 1, 8 and 12), a long *jama* and the *patka*. From their depiction it appears that there was a difference in the status between those musicians who comprised the ensemble of *naqqarkhana* and played outdoors,[79] and those who played music for entertainment inside the court such as Tansen, Baba Ramdas and Baz Bahadur and others.[80] The musicians of the *naqqarkhana* are never individualized but are always shown clustered together in a corner where they produced their music.

This notion finds support from Abul Fazl. When he discusses the *naqqarkhana,* he mentions only the name of the instruments and the tunes to be played. Among the prominent musical instruments played at the *naqqarkhana* mention is made of *surna, nafir, kuwargah* and the *naqqarah*; while amongst the tunes we find reference to *mursali, badshahi, ikhlati, ibtida'i, shirazi* and *qalandari* amongst others. Such form of mention gives the impression that the tunes and instruments were of more importance than those who played them. This difference is explicitly brought out in two miniatures from the *Padshahnama* of Shahjahan's reign. Both are of Dara Shikoh's wedding procession, which depicts both the groups of musicians. Musicians who performed for entertainment within the court, with their string and percussion instruments, seem to have pride of place at the head of the procession atop horse-drawn carriages, flanked by a few musicians of the *naqqarkhana,* while the bulk of the *naqqarkhana* follow at the rear of the procession.[81]

On the basis of their dress also they can be divided into two categories; the ordinary musicians, who dressed like a soldier or a *naqqash,* and those who were highly placed in the court, who would then fashion themselves like a noble.[82]

Amongst those musicians who played for entertainment, there appears to have been a further division in status. For instance, despite the frequent depictions of the Persian 'daf' (a one-sided drum in the shape of the Western tambourine, and sometimes with metal discs on the side as well) which based on the miniatures appears to have been the main percussion instrument of the music of entertainment throughout the period, it does not rate a mention in Abul Fazl's list. Consequently, this omission of *daf* players by Abul Fazl was probably because it was not a solo instrument but the percussion accompaniment to other instruments, in particular string instruments, which, with vocals dominate the list.

As in the imperial court, musicians were also employed in the mansions and karkhanas of the nobility and the wealthy to provide regular entertainment. Thus a seventeenth century miniature of a noble in his diwankhana hosting an assembly of poets depicts five musicians seated along with the poets, and playing a flute, *kamancha*, *tambura*, *daf*, and *qanun*.[83] It is interesting to note that all the instruments here are Persian and that the *tambura* is even held in its original manner as a melody instrument. This suggests that simultaneous with the regular practice of recruiting musicians in the service of the nobles, there was also a synthesis of Indian and Persian musical traditions at the court whereas foreign music in its original form was still performed in the households of nobles of foreign origin like Zafar Khan even late into the reign of Shahjahan.

Music was also a part of devotion at Hindu temples, and the *dhrupad*, the dominant vocal style at the Mughal court, had its origins here. Peter Mundy provides a useful sketch of worshippers in a Hindu temple showing a kettledrum, a gong and a *shankh* (conch shell) being played.[84]

Besides, there are also miniatures of wandering minstrels performing outdoors with audiences made up of common people. One such miniature from Jahangir's reign by Govardhan depicts a singer and a *rubab* player performing in a camp possibly of travelling merchants.[85] Another miniature from Shahjahan's reign shows a man who seems to be a porter seated on the ground listening to a singer (a mirror copy of the singer in the Govardhan painting) and a player on an unidentifiable lute (Plate XVI).[86] Admittedly, none of these miniatures look as though they are in an urban setting, but they can be taken as indicative of the prevalence of music among the common people.

Mercantile classes

The last, but not the least important middle class profession depicted in the Mughal miniatures is that of the merchant. While rejecting the existence of a middle class in the Mughal empire in India, Moreland had made an

exception so far as the 'mercantile class' was concerned, which he grudgingly accepted to be in existence.[87] W.C. Smith too had mainly concerned himself with the merchants while arguing the case of the middle classes. To him the mercantile middle class could survive only in a region which was given peace and tranquillity. The politico-administrative unification under the Mughals rendered a spurt in the construction of roads and sarais. The developments would have been 'applauded the most' by the merchants.[88] This thesis of Smith finds support from two Mughal miniatures. The first of these depicts Humayun returning to the merchants some goods which were plundered by the troops of Mirza Kamran.[89] This is a depiction of the conditions of the state during a political turmoil. The second painting belongs to the period of peace, when sarais had been constructed to ensure safety and a proper resting place for merchants in transit.[90]

Most of the miniatures pertaining to merchants depict peddlers, petty shopkeepers and town shops.

TABLE 5

Region	*Peddlers*	*Village shop-keepers*	*Town shop-keepers*	*Whole-saler*	*Miscella-neous*	*Total*
Akbar	3	–	3	2	4	12
Jahangir	–	1	1	–	2	4
Shahjahan	–	–	2	–	–	2
Aurangzeb	–	–	1	–	–	1

A very interesting miniature depicting a rural market shows that women were also entrusted with looking after village shops.[91] This painting portrays a man being enticed on the one hand, by the lady sweetmeat seller and on the other by a fishmonger with a basket full of fish. The female members of a family are also shown selling milk from the village dairy. The miniature is reminiscent of any actual present-day village mart.

The petty peddlers under the Mughals bore stark resemblance to the present-day *khwanche walas* (hawkers), with their weighing scales, baskets and bags who can still be found near construction sites.[92]

These peddling merchants would move from one place to another with the Mughal encampments as well (Plate XVII).[93] Mughal miniatures depict wholesalers as well, who would carry their goods on bullocks and camels. They wore knee-length *jamas* tied in place with a simple *patka*. Most wore the *dastar* (Figure 1, *dastars* 4 and 14).[94]

The representation of town bazaars and its shopkeepers is more common (see Table 5) and is represented in the works of the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir,

Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. Two miniatures from the reign of Akbar depict the famous Chaharsuq Bazaar and the market near the Hathipol at Fathpur Sikri (Plate XVIII).[95] As has been confirmed from the surveys and excavations at Fathpur Sikri, the Mughal shops comprised of two parts—a verandah and a small chamber constructed behind it.[96] From these miniatures, and the one depicting the market near the city wall of Delhi,[97] it appears that the merchants-shopkeepers sat and displayed their wares on the verandah. The chamber was used as a storeroom.[98] The bazaar shopkeepers could also sit on a platform with a canopy.[99] These shopkeepers in the town markets were better dressed than their peddler cousins. They wore full *jama*, trousers, *patka* and *dastars* (Figure 1, *dastars* 5, 6 and 8), which were more ornate in pattern and style.

Another group from the mercantile class, which has been depicted, is that of the lapidaries, jewellers, and cloth and glass manufacturers. They resembled to a large extent the master craftsmen and master masons depicted in scenes of building construction. Being a class above the ordinary craftsmen, they are shown wearing *dastars* (Figure 1, *dastars* 4, 5, 12, 13 and 34), long flowing *jamas*, and full trousers. They can be identified through the depiction of their various tools of the trade.

The preceeding pages would have shown that representatives of the urban middle classes can only be identified with the work that they are shown doing in our paintings. The work or activity itself gets a meaning only through the placement of material objects needed for their profession. Thus a physician is shown with his mortar and pestle. The architect through his appearance in the middle of a construction site; an astrologer with his astrolabe, water or sand clock; a painter with his brush and colour plates; the scribe and calligrapher with their pen and paper and so on.

Further, a comparative study of the depiction of the nobility (see S.P. Verma, *Material Culture*, 1978) and that of the urban middle classes hints to an independent character of the latter. They dressed in very utilitarian clothing, and were far more attached to their profession than to ostentatious flaunting of wealth or status.

Yet interestingly enough, they never seem to unduly assert themselves. It must be pointed out that despite many of them, like Fathullah Shirazi, Hakim Ali Gilani, Virji Vora, Santidas Sahu, Ustad Ahmad *Me'mar* leaving a permanent mark on Mughal society, economy and culture, yet they never appear to have patronized the artists and painters for their own portraiture as the nobles had done. Even if depicted, the members of this class always appear not in a central position but on the periphery and margins. It may then be surmised that this class had thus not yet developed to the extent as

their counterparts in European societies during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

TABLE 6

S. No.	*Theme*	*Akbar*	*Jahangir*	*Shahjahan*	*Aurangzeb*	*Total paintings*
1.	Teachers	7	5	–	–	12
2.	Scholars	14	7	4	–	25
3.	Calligraphers/ scribes	5	8	2	–	15
4.	Poets	5	4	3	–	12
5.	Physicians	8	7	1	–	16
6.	Nurses	4	1	–	–	5
7.	Astrologers	8	1	1	–	10
8.	Astronomers	4	1	–	–	5
9.	Architects/ building superintendents	16	2	–	–	18
10.	Painters	11	7	4	–	22
11.	Musicians	15	8	7	–	30
12.	Master craftsmen	6	5	1	–	12
13.	Mercantile classes	12	4	2	1	19
14.	Religious classes	36	40	36	1	113

Notes

*It is indeed an honour to be associated with a work felicitating a great historian of medieval India, Professor Aniruddha Ray. His own horizons of research have been high and quite varied, spanning from trade and commerce to history of towns; economic history to medieval archaeology. In fact there are very few historians who are equally comfortable in an archive or a library and on an 'explorative archaeological' trip! His works on such varied fields as the economic history of Bengal (with all its dry facts), the history of technology, Mughal administration and his contributions to an understanding of medieval Gaur are a testimony to this fact. I came in contact with him while completing my Master's in History at Aligarh when he visited the department (probably for the umpteenth time!) sometime in 1982. Although then unable to follow what he spoke, yet he left a lasting impression

on my mind. Subsequently our meetings became more frequent after I joined research and he emerged as one of my sources of reference. It was he who along with Irfan Habib helped me research on the Mughal middle classes, besides taking interest in 'visual archives' and 'Medieval Archaeology'. I dedicate this essay to Aniruddha Ray and to his constant prodding!

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5. For the various definitions of the term 'bureaucracy' and its conceptual development in the West, see B.B. Misra, *The Bureaucracy in India: An Historical Analysis of Development up to 1947*, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 1–37.
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7. Ibid., pp. 226 and 234.
8. W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar: An Economic Study*, London, 1920 (rpt, New Delhi, 1983), pp. 26, 27n.
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11. For Karl Marx, see *New York Herald Tribune*, 25 June 1853, reprinted in *Articles on India*, Bombay, 1943. See also Irfan Habib, 'Marx's Perception of India', in *Marx on India and Indonesia*, Karl-Marx-Haus, Trier, 1983; and in *Marxist*, Delhi, vol. I, no. 1, 1983; For Weber's ideas see Morris D. Morris, 'Values as an Obstacle to Economic Growth in South Asia: An Historical Survey', *Journal of Economic History*, vol. XXVII, December 1967, no. 4, pp. 588–607.
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18. See for example 'A Scholar and his Pupil', attributed to Mir Sayyid Ali, Edwin Binney, 3rd Collection, Brookline, Massachusetts, cf. Brand and Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory*, New York, 1985, p. 103, pl. 67; 'Shaikh Husain Jami & Attendant', signed by Govardhan, Musee Guimet, Paris, no. 7173, cf. Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters, Indian Miniatures from 16th & 17th Century*, tr. Deke Dusinberre, Paris: Flammarion, p. 198, pl. 234.
19. For example, 'Zafar Khan with Poets and Scholars', attributed to Bishandas, *Masnavi* of Zafar Khan, Royal Asiatic Society, London, ms.,Pers. 310, fols. 19 (b)–20 (a), cf. Amina Okada, op. cit., pl. 194; 'Poetry Recital' (first quarter of the seventeenth century) cf. A.J. Qaisar, *Indian Response to European Technology*, op. cit., pl. 9; 'Portrait of Jam Qudsi', by Bichitr, Art Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta, no. 33, cf. Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals* AD *1550 to* AD *1750*, Oxford, 1924, pl. 61, fig. 1.
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21. For a discussion on the turban of the king, nobility and working classes, see S.P. Verma, *Art and Material Culture*, op. cit., pp. 49–50.
22. Ibid., p. 50.
23. See for example, 'A School Scene', painted by Dharamdas, *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau, Walter Art Gallery, Baltimore, W.613, f.26 (b), cf. Rumer Godden, *Gulbadan: A Portrait of a Rose Princess at the Mughal Court*, New York, 1980, pl. p37; 'A School Master and His Pupil', cf. Brand & Lowry, *Akbar's India*, op. cit., pl. 42; 'Prince with his Teacher', cf. *Miniatures in Lahore Museum*

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28. For example, 'A Learned Man', attributed to Basawan, cf. Brand & Lowry, op. cit., pl. 41.
29. 'Poetry Recital', cf. A.J. Qaisar, *Indian Response to European Technology*, op. cit., pl. 9; 'Portrait of Muhammad Jam Qudsi', by Bichitr, op. cit.
30. 'Poet & Listener', margin painting by Govardhan in *Muraqqa-i Gulshan*, op. cit.; 'Zafar Khan in the Company of Poets and Scholars', op. cit.
31. 'Babur dictating his Memoirs to a scribe', unsigned, State Library, Rampur, cf. P. Brown, op. cit., pl. V.
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41. 'An Old Man Consults a Doctor', *Bostan-i Sa'di*, Aboulala Soudavar Collection, f.176r, cf. S.C. Welch, et. al., *The Emperor's Album: Images of Mughal India*, New York, 1987, Fig. 25.
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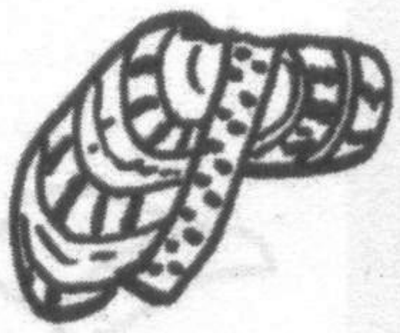
66. See S.P. Verma, *Mughal Painters and their Work*, op. cit., p. 24.

67. Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. S. Sen, New Delhi, 1949, pp. 55, 65; Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire, 1656–58*, tr. A. Constable and Smith, London, 1968, pp. 254–5.
68. 'Artists at Work', Berlin Album, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, cf. SC Welch, *India: Art and Culture*, Ahmedabad, 1988, pl. 105.
69. Abu'l Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, op. cit., p. 116.
70. 'Zafar Khan with poets and scholars while artist takes their likeness', *Masnawi* of Zafar Khan, Royal Asiatic Society, London, ms. Pers. 310 (dated AD 1662–63), fols. 19(b) and 20(a), cf. Amina Okada, op. cit., pl. 194.
71. See inscription on the miniature, 'Daulat Painting the portrait of the Calligraphist Abdur Rahim *Ambarin Qalam*', *Khamsa-i Nizami*, Dyson-Perrins Collection, Malvern, BM. Or. 12208, fol. 325(b), cf. Amina Okada, op. cit., pl. 2; See also 'Manohar & Muhammad Husain Kashmiri', *Gulistan-i Sa'di*, Royal Asiatic Society, London, no. 258, fol. 128, cf. Amina Okada, op. cit., pl. 155.
72. 'A Princess examines a Portrait' (Akbari), Bodlein Library, Pers. 61, fol. 23(b) cf. Ivan Stchoukine, *A L'Epoque des Moghols*, op. cit., pl. VII.
73. 'The Lady Paints a Self-Portrait while her attendant faces her holding the Mirror' (Akbari), *Khamsa-i Nizami*, BM. Or. 12208, fol. 206(a), cf. AJ Qaisar, *The Indian Response*, op. cit., pl. 7(a).
74. 'Akbar, a noble and the Painter himself', signed Kesavdas, *Jahangir's Album*, State Library, Berlin, fol. 25(a), cf. S.P. Verma, *Mughal Painters*, op. cit., pl. xxxv.
75. Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhirat ul Khawanin*, ed. Moinul Haq, Karachi, 1961, vol. I, p. 87; Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir-ul Umara*, ed. Abdur Rahim and Ashraf Ali, Calcutta, 1891, vol. II, p. 528; Abu'l Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, op. cit., p. 117.
76. Abu'l Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, op. cit., p. 117.
77. 'Mughal Painter executing a wall painting', *Clive Album*, V. & A., IS-48-1956, cf. A.J. Qaisar, *Building Construction*, op. cit., pl. 9.
78. 'Akbar's Atelier', *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*, ms. 39, fol. 19(a), Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan Collection, Rietzberg Museum, Zurich, cf. Brand and Lowry, *Akbar's India*, op. cit., pl. 19.
79. *Ain*, vol. I, pp. 52–3.
80. *Ain*, vol. I, p. 183.
81. See, 'The Delivery of Presents for Dara Shukoh's wedding', fol. 120B and 121A, cf. Milo Cleveland Beach and Ebba Koch, *King of the World: The Padshahnama*, London, 1997.
82. See for example the portraits of Tansen in the Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Virginia, and National Museum, New Delhi (50, 14 /28), cf. Brand and Lowry, *Akbar's India*, op. cit., pl. 55.
83. 'Zafar Khan in the Company of Poets, scholars and musicians', *Masnawi* of Zafar Khan, ms., India Office Library, fol. 26 r, cf. Amina Okada, *Indian Pictures of the Mughal Court*, New York, 1992.
84. *Ain*, vol. I, p. 183.
85. 'Group of men listening to a singer and a musician', Minto Album, ms. 7, no. 11, Chester Beatty Museum, Dublin, cf. S.C. Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting*, London, 1978, pl. 28.

86. 'Rubab player, his companion and a peasant', Bichitr, Minto Album, Victoria & Albert Museum, IM, 27 & A-1925 cf. Krishna Chaitanya, *A History of Indian Painting: Manuscript, Mughal and Deccan Traditions,* New Delhi, 1979, Fig. 57.
87. W. H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar: an Economic Study,* London, 1925, pp. 26–7.
88. W.C Smith, 'The Mughal Empire and the Middle Classes', op. cit.
89. Painting signed by Miskin, *Akbarnama,* BM. Or. 12988, fol. 120(b), cf. S.P. Verma, *Mughal Painters & their Work,* op. cit., *s.v.*, Miskin, no. 46.
90. 'Merchants asking for room in *sarai*', *Darabnama,* BM. Or. 4615, fol. 93(b), cf. S.P. Verma, *Mughal Painters & their Work,* op. cit., *s.v.*, Farrukh Chela, no. 8.
91. 'Two travelers buying food in a village', signed by Meodas, BM., Oriental Antiquities, no. 1920-9-17-0255, cf. Pinder-Wilson, *Paintings from the Muslim Courts of India,* reprodn. no. 76; see also S.P. Verma, *Mughal Painters & their Work,* op. cit., *s.v.*, Meodas.
92. 'Building of the Agra Fort' (Part I), signed by Miskina and Sarwan, *Akbarnama,* VA, IS-2-1896, no. 117, Geeti Sen, op. cit., pl. 45.
93. 'Babur inspecting Encampment', *Baburnama,* National Museum, New Delhi, no. 50. 326, fol. 205, cf. Rai Krishnadasa, *Mughal Miniatures,* Lalit Kala Academy, 1955, pl. 2; 'Babur sitting on an Earthen Platform erected in the Middle of Kutila Lake', signed by Pidarath, *Baburnama,* BM. Or. 3714, fol. 459(a). cf. *Miniatures of Baburnama,* op. cit., pl. 28.
94. 'Traders of Kand-i Badam', signed by Bhura, *Baburnama,* BM. Or. 3714, fol. 6(b), cf. *Miniatures of Baburnamah,* Samarqand, op. cit., pl. 3; 'A Market Scene at Kand-i Badam', signed by Surdas, *Baburnama,* National Museum, New Delhi, no. 50.326, pl. 1, fol. 4 (a), cf. ms. Randhawa, *Paintings of the Baburnama,* New Delhi, 1983, pl. I.
95. 'Building of the City of Fathpur', signed by Balchand, *Akbarnama,* Chester Beatty Library, fols.152–3, cf. Arnold and Wilkinson, op. cit., pl. 24; 'Rejoicing at Akbar's return to Fathpur Sikri' (part II), signed by Kesav and Jagjiwan, *Akbarnama,* V. & A., IS-2-1896, no.117, pl.111, cf. Brand and Lowry, op. cit., pl. 3(a).
96. See S.A.N. Rezavi, 'Bazars and Markets at Fathpur Sikri', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* Bhopal, 2001.
97. 'Attempted assassination of Akbar in 1563', signed by Jagan, Bhawani and Madhav, *Akbarnama,* V. & A., IS-2-1896, no. 117, pl. 33, cf. Geeti Sen, op. cit., pl. 27.
98. See also 'Scene of a City Gate', signed by Aqa Riza, *Jahangir's Album,* State Library, Berlin, fol. 14(a), cf. Kuhnle and Goetze, op. cit., pl. 1; 'Blind Pilgrim Procuring food from a Confectioner's shop near the Dargah at Ajmer', signed by Hashim, Wantage Collection, V. & A., IM-131-1921, cf. S.P. Verma, *Mughal Painters and their Work,* op. cit., pl. xxii.
99. See for example, 'Making of Sherbet', *Jahangir's Album,* State Library, Berlin, fol. 21(b), cf. Kuhnle and Goetze, op. cit., pl. 19. See also the 'Bazar Physician' and the 'Bazar Astrologer', op. cit.

1. 

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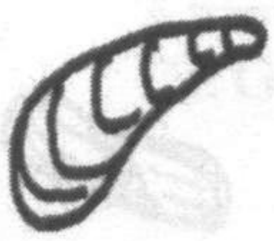
4. 

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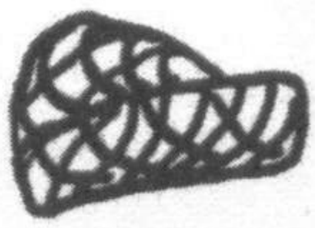
7. 

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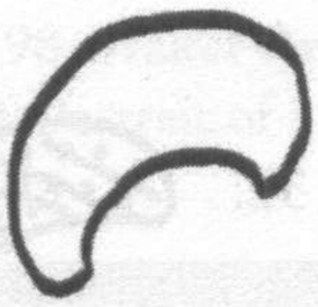
11. 

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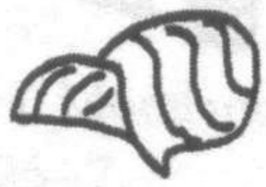
(FIGURE 1 *continued*)

Figure 1: *Dastars* (*Contd...*)

22. 

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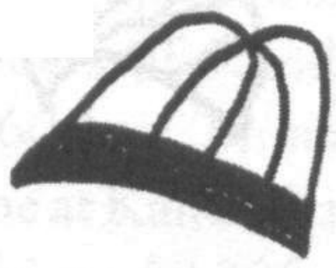
26. 

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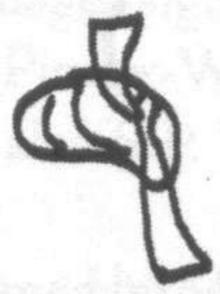
30. 

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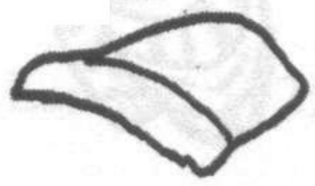
34. 

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FIGURE 1: *Dastars*

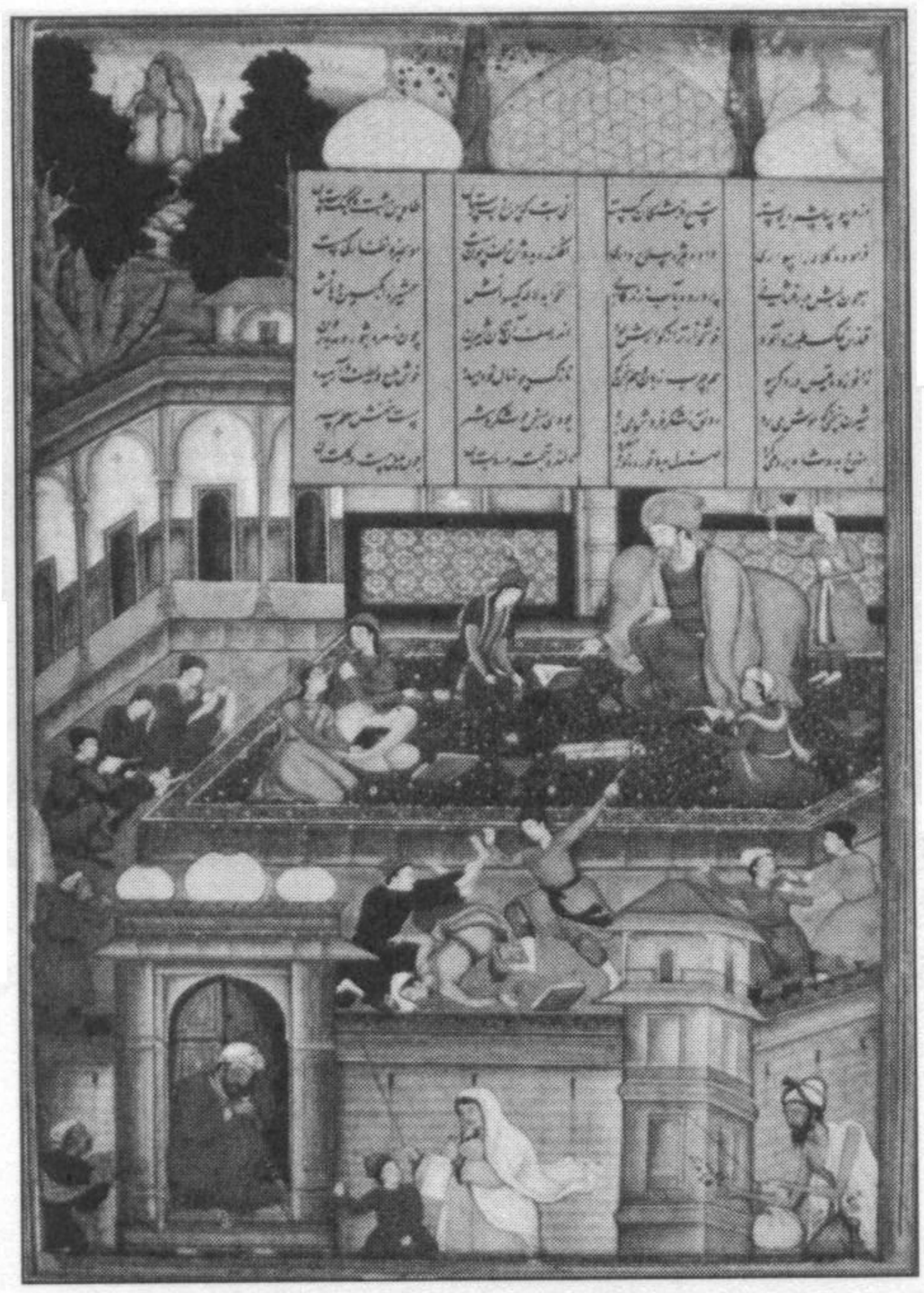

Plate I: 'School Scene' Teacher with his pupil, *c.* 1595, Khamsa of Nizami, Fol. 98, Walter Art Gallery, Baltimore, CF. Godden, Gulbdan: A Portrait of a Rose Princess, p. 37

Plate II: 'Mulla & Other Theologians in a Mosque', *c.* 1595, Tarikh-i Alfi, National Museum, New Delhi, Rumer Godden, *Gulbadan: A Portrait of a Rose Princess*, p. 133

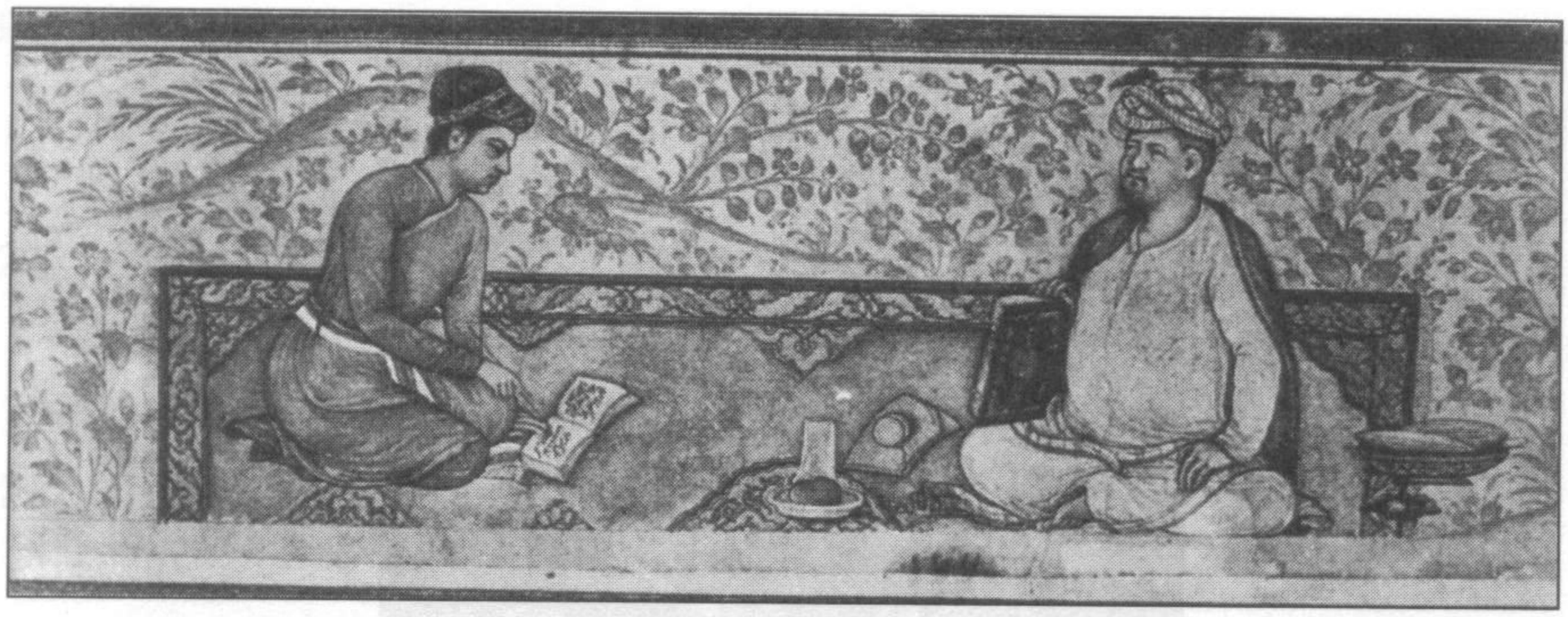

Plate III: 'A Student and his Teacher', *c.* 1610 (Margin), Govardhan, Muraqqa of Jahangir, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, MS. 117 Fol. 25(b), CF. Amina Okada, Imperial Mughal Painters, Pl. 232

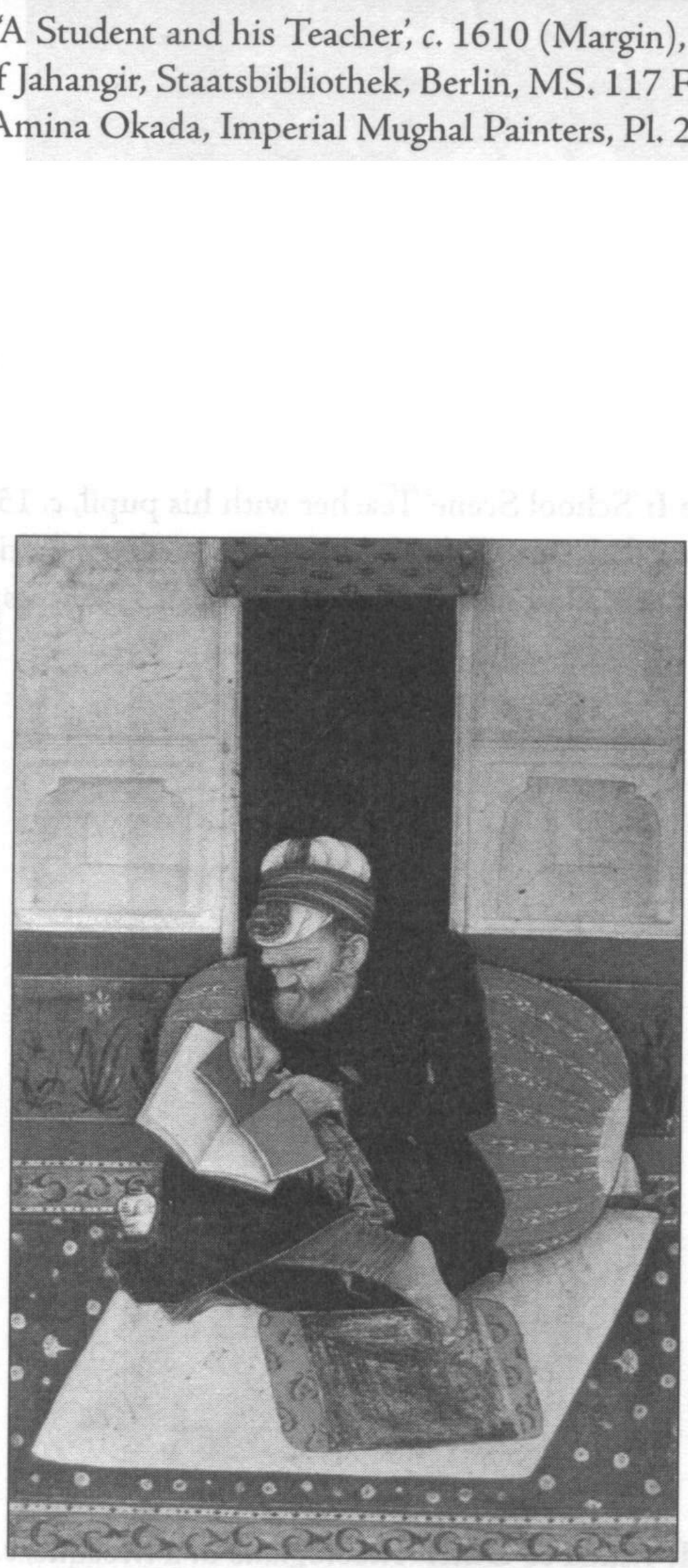

Plate IV: 'A Scribe', *c.* 1625 Fogg Art Museum, CF. S.C. Welch, Imperial Mughal Painting, Pl. 29

Plate V: 'Poet & Listeners', *c.* 1610, Govardhan, Muraqqa of Jahangir (Margin), Nasli and A. Heermaneck Colln., Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Inv.M.78.9.11r CF. Amina Okada, Imperial Mughal Painters, Pl. 231

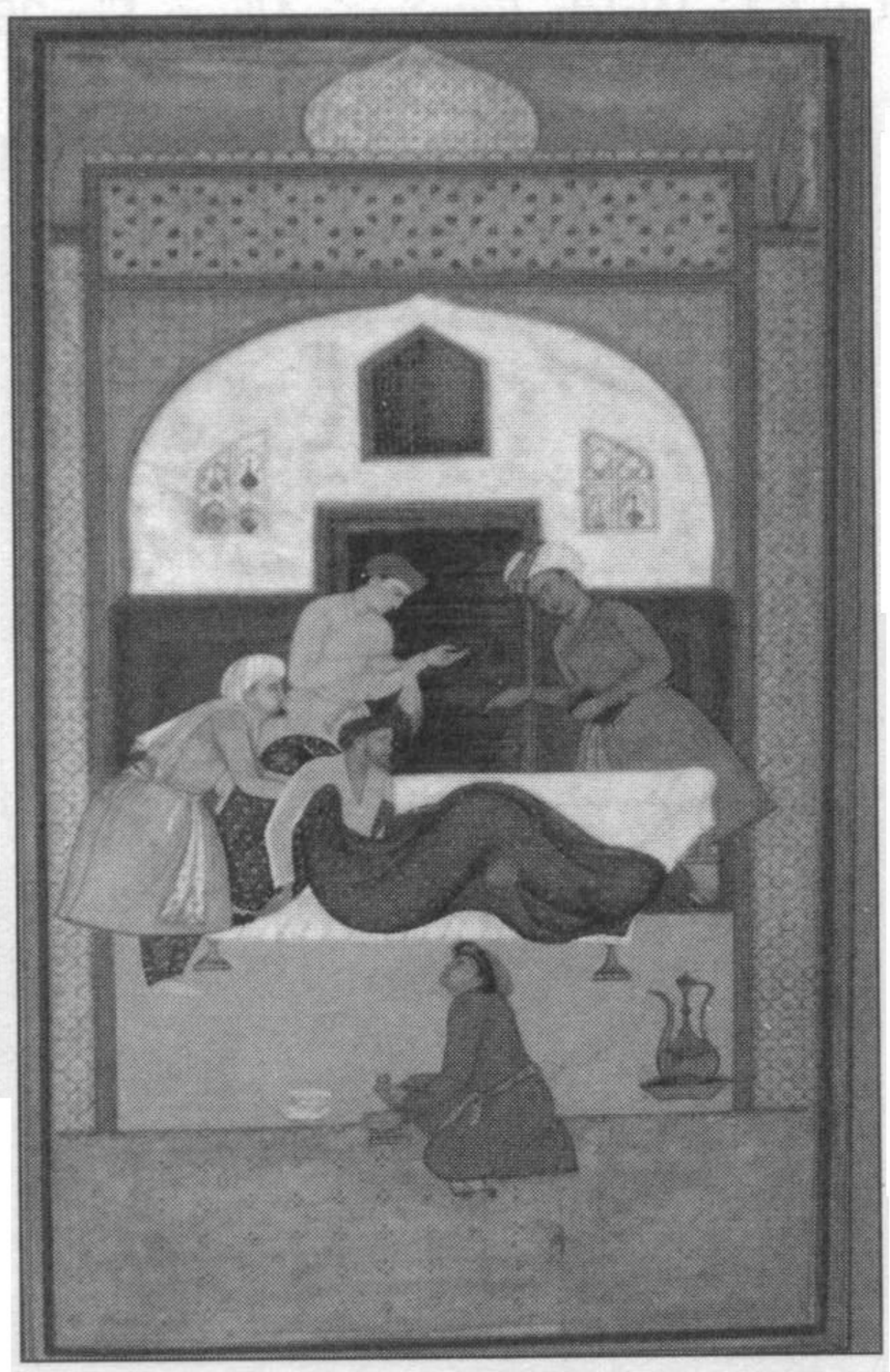

Plate VI: 'Physicians Tends to a Patient', *c.* 1602–3, Mirza Ghulam, *Diwan-Hasan Dihlavi*, W. 650, Fol. 127, Walter Art Gallery, Baltimore, CF. Amina Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters*, Pl. 120

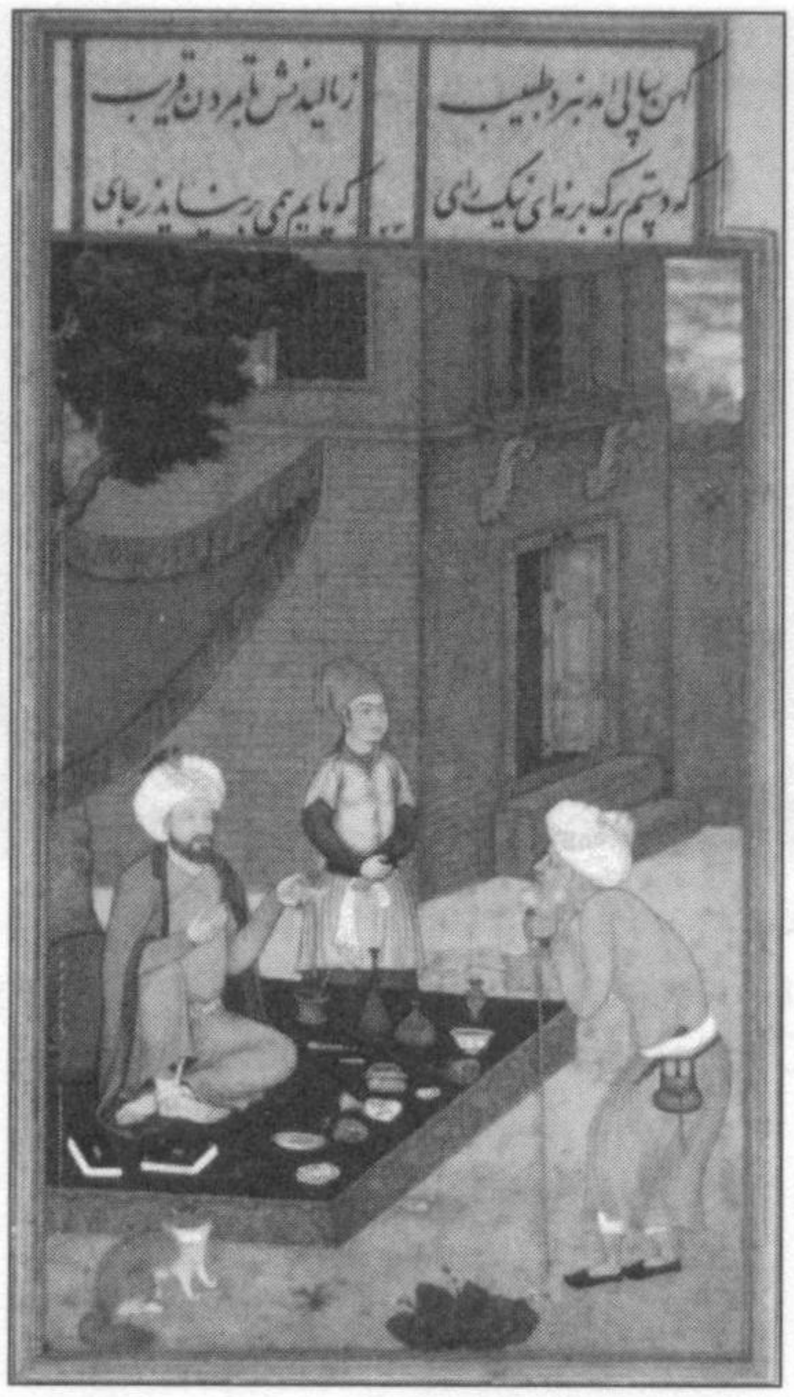

Plate VII: 'Bazar Physician', *c.* 1610–11, *Abul Hasan, Bustan-i Sa'adi,* Fol. 176 r, Aboulala Soudavar Colln., CF. S.C. Welch, *Emperor's Album,* Fig. 25

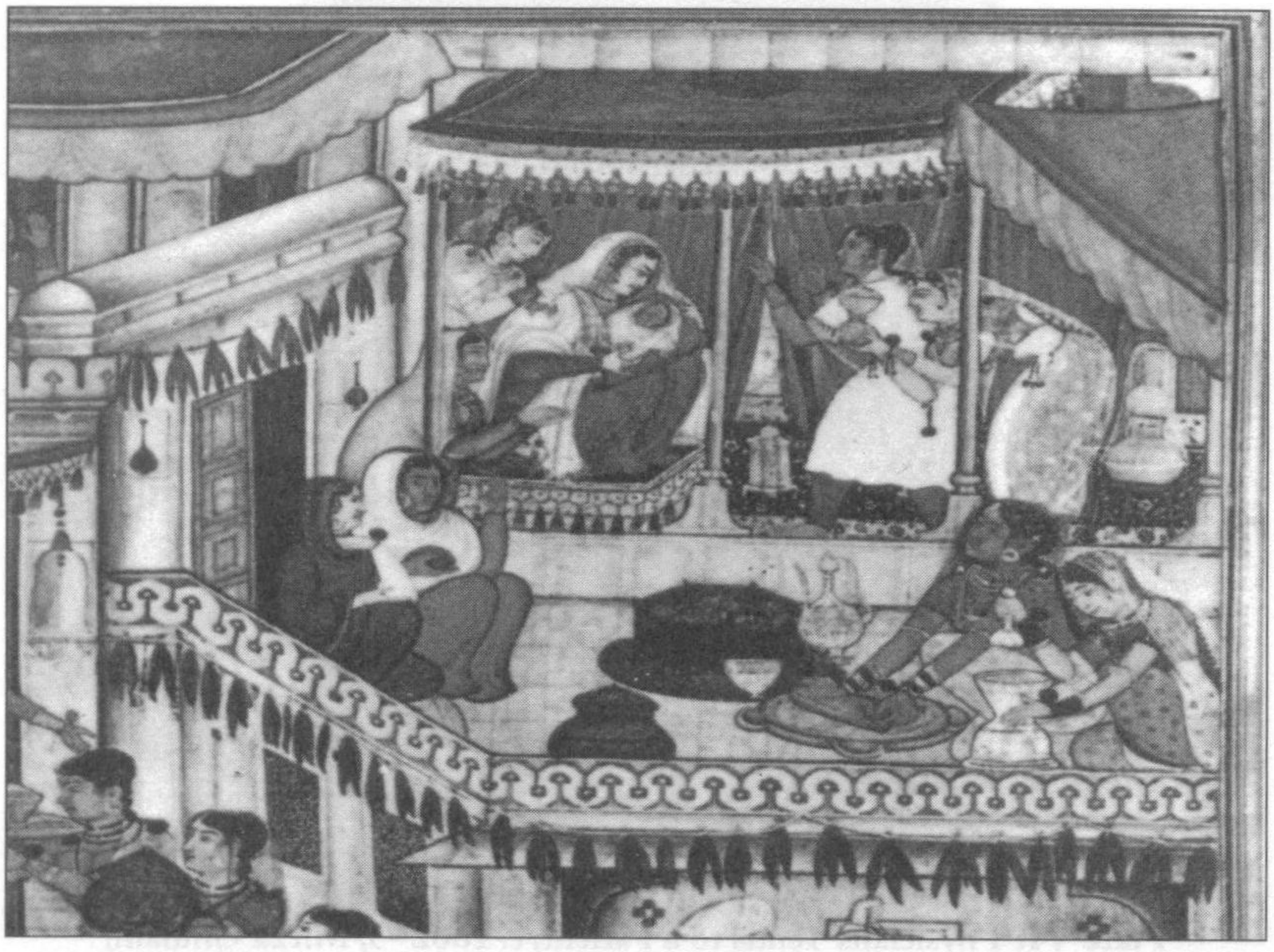

Plate VIII: 'Nurses, Detail from "Birth of Prince Murad"', *Akbarnama,* AN, IS-2-1896, Acc.no. 80/117, cf. Brand and Lowry, Akbar's India, Fig. 2

Plate IX: 'Birth of Prince Murad' (detail) Bhura and Basawan, Akbarnama, Victoria and Albert Museum, IS-2-1896, no.117, pl. 80, cf. S.R. Sarma, Astronomical Instruments in Mughal Miniatures, in Inge Wezler ed., *Studies zur Indologie und Iranistk,* Pl. 1a

Plate X: 'Bazar Astrologer with his Clients' (Detail), *c.*1590–5, *Akhlaq-i Nasiri,* Prince Agha Khan Colln., Museum Rietzberg, Zurich, cf. S.R. Sarma, Astronomical Instruments in Mughal Miniatures, in Inge Wezler, ed., *Studies zur Indologie und Iranistk,* Pl. 10

Plate XI: 'Astronomer with Ringed dial & Sand-glass', *c.* 1610, Margin Painting, *Jahangir's Album*, Naprstek Museum, Prague, CF. S.R. Sarma, Astronomical Instruments in Mughal Miniatures, in Inge Wezler, ED., *Studies zur Indologie und Iranistk*, Pl. 8

Plate XII: 'An Architect, "Babur Supervising Laying of Garden"', Bishandas and Nanha, *Baburnama*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, cf. B. Gray, The Arts of India, New York, 1981, Fig. 142

Plate XIII: 'Master Masons, Supervisors, Labourers and Akbar', Details from 'Akbar Supervises Constructions at Fathpur Sikri', Madho Khurd, *Akbarnama*, AN, IS-2-1896, Acc. no. 91/117, cf. Geeti Sen, *Paintings from the Akbarnama*, Pl. 61

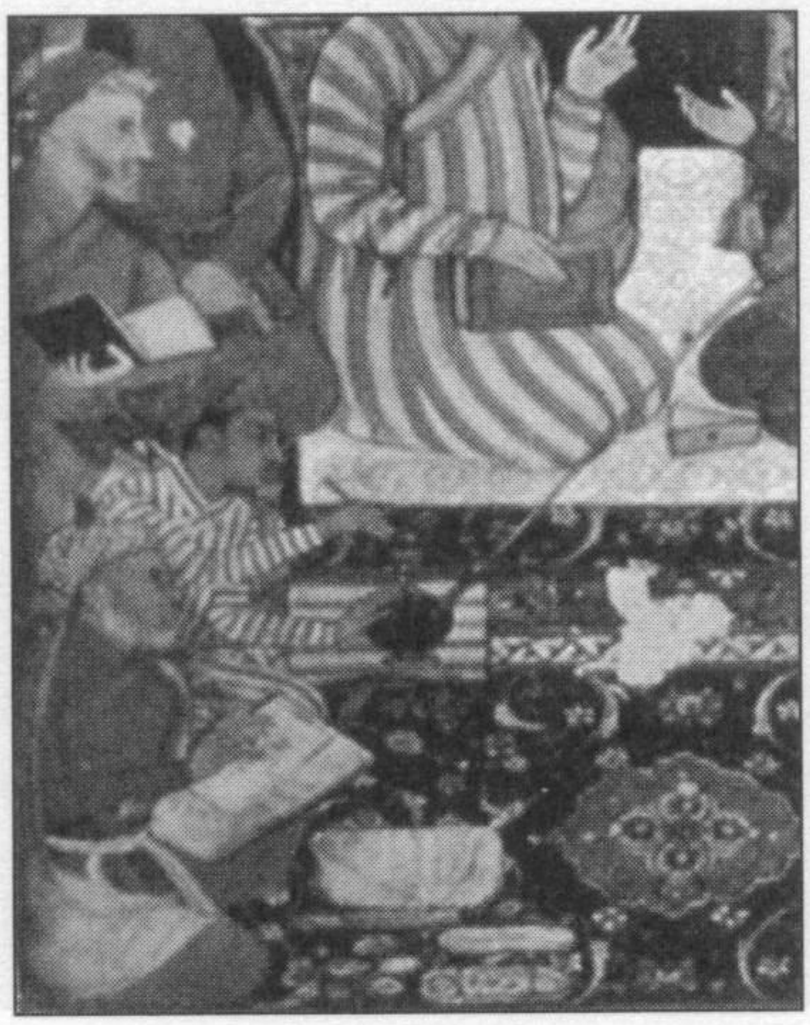

Plate XIV: 'A Painter, detail from Zafar Khan in the Company of Poets & Scholars', *c.* 1640, Bishandas, *Masnawi* of Zafar Khan, Ms. Raas Loan 3, Fol. 25v & 26r, CF. Amina Okada, Imperial Mughal Painters, Pl. 194

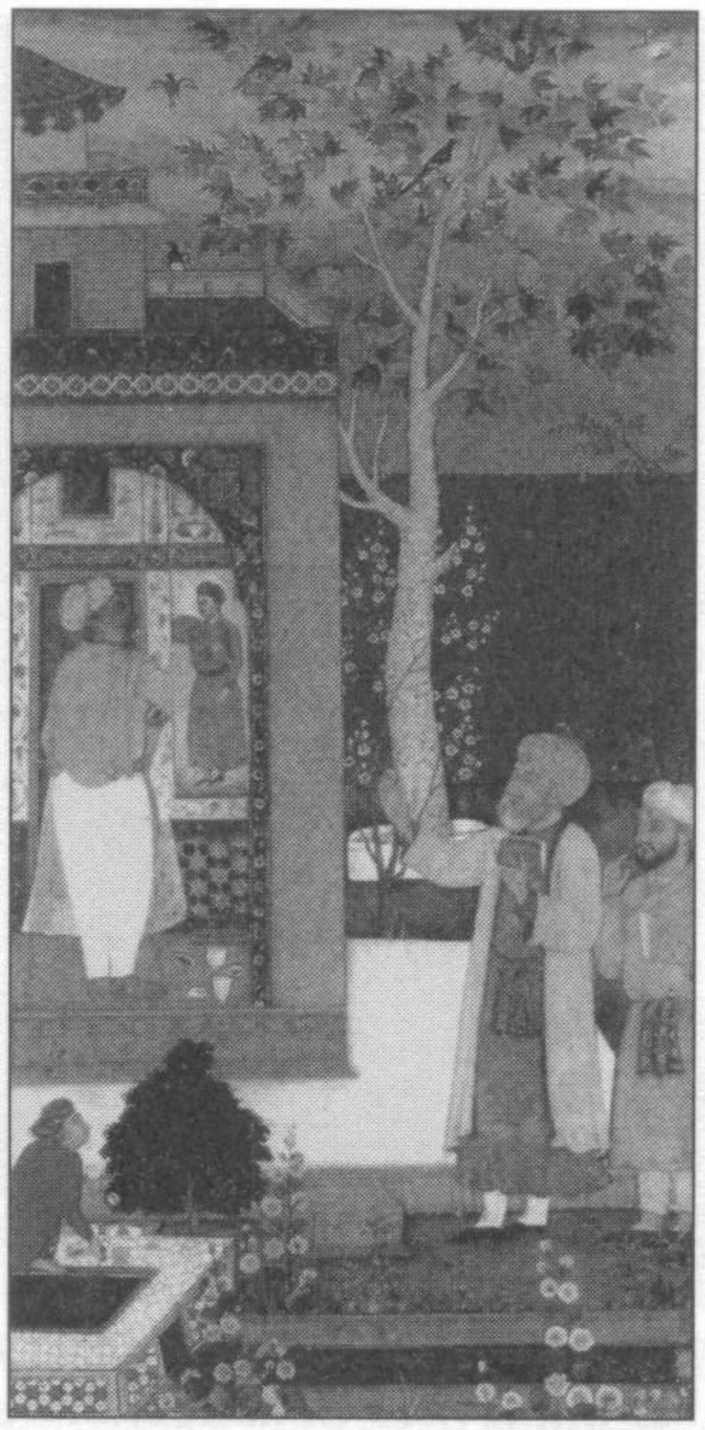

Plate XV: 'An Artist at Work on a Wall Painting' *c.* 1600–10, Small Clive Album, IS-48-1956, Fol. 56a, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, CF. Susan Stronge, Painting for the Mughal Emperor

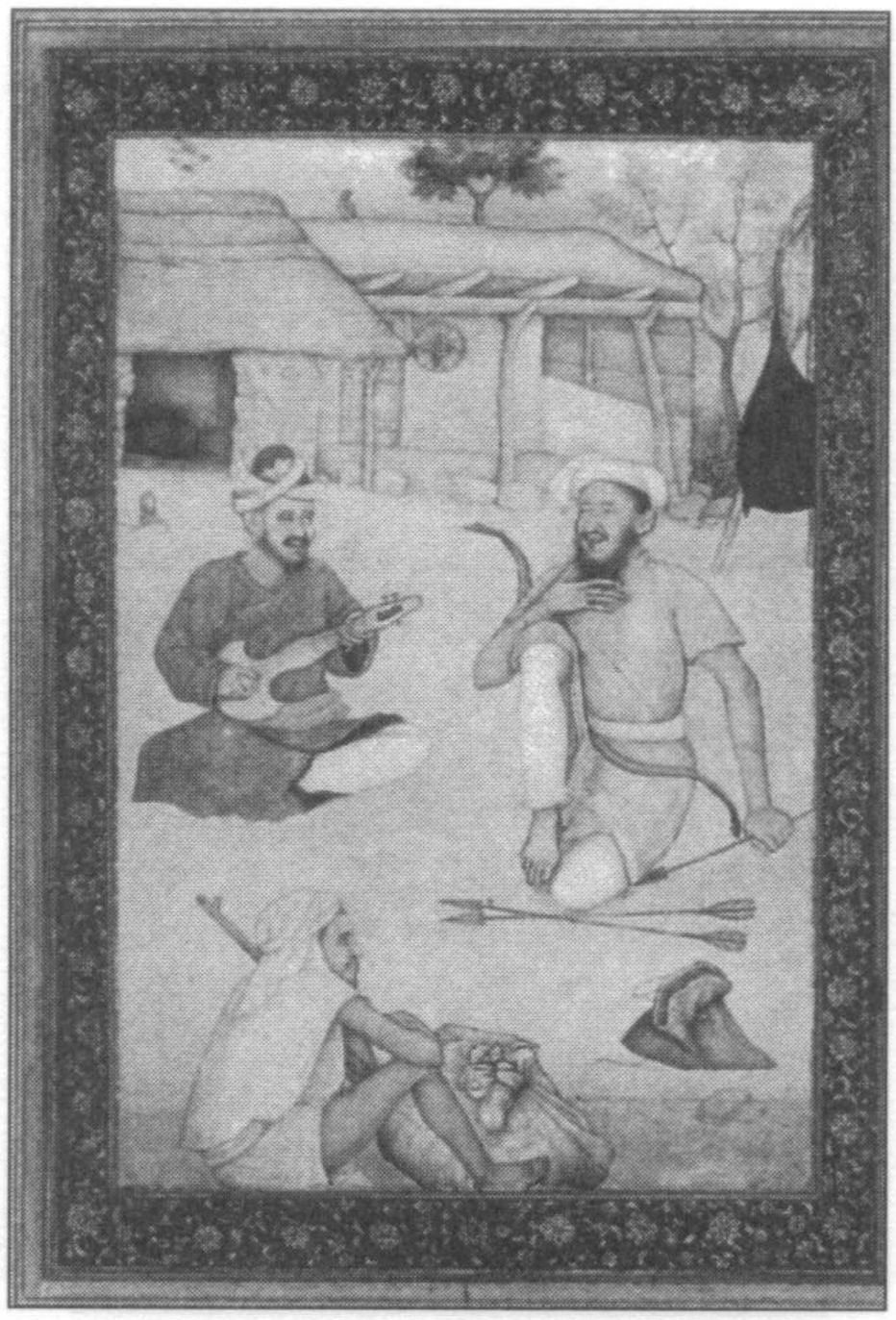

Plate XVI: 'Singer & Musician', Bichitr, Minto Album, *Victoria and Albert Museum*, IM 27-1925, London, cf. Susan Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor*

Plate XVII: 'Grain Seller in a Camp Market' (detail), *c.* 1600, *Baburnama*, no. 50326 National Museum, New Delhi, cf. S.P. Verma, *India at Work*, Fig. 7

Plate XVIII: 'Shopkeepers (Pan-sellers) in the Market Beneath Hathipol', details 'Akbar's return to Fathpur Sikri', *c.* 1590, *Akbarnama*, Victoria and Albert Museum, IS-I-1896 110/117, cf. Brand and Lowry, *Fathpur Sikri*, Pl. 1.1