

The Imagined Embrace

GENDER, IDENTITY, AND IRANIAN ETHNICITY IN
JAHANGIRI PAINTINGS

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It is well known that Emperor Jahangir had several fantastic paintings done in the late teens of the seventeenth century depicting imaginary meetings between him and Shah 'Abbas I of Iran. Much speculation has swirled around the meaning of these paintings, which (it has been suggested by Milo Beach) were influenced by contemporary English allegory and symbolism, introduced to the Mughal court by British envoy Thomas Roe. That is, the pictorial equivalents of Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* suggested to Jahangir and his painters the possibilities for symbolist encounters with foreign monarchs. While the tracing of influences, which tends to preoccupy art historians, can help us understand how certain techniques and motifs might have been introduced, they do not resolve the question of motivation or local meaning.

There is clear evidence that monarchs such as Jahangir took a lively interest in shaping their ateliers, following the work of individual authors, and setting basic themes as well as larger projects, so that painters were quite dependent on the monarch. Asok Kumar Das observes that

at the time of Jahangir the dependence was carried to the extreme as the paintings were required to be modelled on the standard arbitrarily set by the emperor. When the painter worked according to the emperor's set ideas, he was likely to receive proper attention; otherwise he was destined to incur his displeasure. The paintings produced in Jahangir's studio are essentially products of his specific demands.¹

Despite the ways in which the paintings therefore shed light on Jahangir's personality, the import of these works of representation for the construction of the self has tended to be ignored.

In this essay I wish to appeal in a general way to the "psychoanalytic idea of fantasy, with its ability to describe how the subject participates in and restages a scenario in which crucial questions about desire, knowledge, and identity can be posed and in which the subject can hold a number of identificatory positions."² I ask why Jahangir wished to meet Shah 'Abbas in the album and what drove him to request such fantasies from his stable of artists. I wish to argue that the symbolism of sex, gender, ethnicity, and status hierarchy is at the heart of the matter: that Jahangir's own fears of emasculation are sublimated in the Shah 'Abbas series by means of a homoerotic reassertion of his masculinity in the face of Iranian threats to it.

I begin by positing certain ambiguities of cultural identity in Mughal India. The Mughal Empire's elite was remarkable in many ways. First, it was extremely wealthy, although it almost certainly did not come close to realizing the claim it made on fifty percent of the country's agricultural production. The top Mughals were the equivalent then of our billionaires today. Although they did provide some security and saw to the irrigation canals, laying the basis for prosperity, they did so at a far higher cost than most contemporary states. As Walter Benjamin might have observed had he turned his gaze to the subcontinent, all Mughal art and architecture is a testament to the ruthless exploitation of the Indian peasantry. In addition, this ruling elite was strikingly multicultural, drawn from Iranians, Central Asian Turkic peoples of various sorts, Afghans, Indian Muslims, Rajputs, and Marathas, among others. Each of these ethnic groupings provided troops and officers to the military and could be mobilized on ethnic grounds on occasion.³ Of course, these ethnicities within the Mughal power elite, whatever linguistic or religious bases they may have had, were continually constructed and reconstructed.

The "Iranian" had a number of potential meanings in court culture. Clearly, the Iranian can be heroic.⁴ Here we can instance Rostam and other heroes of the fantastic who occupied such a central position in Mughal storytelling at Akbar's court. While Jahangir went on to be rather less interested in epics such as the *Shahnamah* or the *Mahabharata* than the mythologically minded Akbar had been, his atelier did not entirely forsake the legendary or fantastic. His painters reached a compromise with a sort of royal magical realism in the fantastic scenes of Jahangir's imaginary meetings with historical and contemporary religious and political figures, wherein the fabulous heroes of Iran were supplanted by Jahangir himself.

Among the Mughal elite the Iranis came to be the wealthiest faction, with the highest salaries, below only the Chaghatai ruling family of Timurids itself.

They knew and took pride in the way Shah Tahmasp had provided Humayun, the second Mughal ruler, with the arms and materiel to make a second assault on India, thus in effect bearing responsibility for the establishment of the Mughal Empire as an ongoing concern as opposed to Babur's mere adventure. Given this debt, Mughal India would always be in some sense subsidiary to Iran, from whence much of Indian court culture, language, and arts would also derive.

But the Iranian male can also be effeminate.⁵ The princes, courtiers, poets, artists, and hangers-on who flocked to India in the Mughal period are often depicted in art as slender and lacking in manly qualities. The hedonic tradition in some Persian poetry, celebrating drink and decadence, could only add to this image of some Iranians as lacking the seriousness of the virile, clear-minded soldier. A painting done for Shah Isma'il's *Divan* illustrated the verses "I have never seen anyone so beautiful as you on earth, / never in this world anyone so gorgeous as you" with a depiction of five slender young men in a landscape, and the homoerotic overtones are palpable.⁶ In Iranian and Mughal court culture, as in ancient Greece, the virile male was defined as the one who penetrated the bodies of others, whether male or female; and sex with a youth was not considered shameful or deviant for a powerful man, though being penetrated by another man did detract from the masculinity of the one who was penetrated. In India, Iranian youths were prized, like Iranian women, for their fairness of skin.

The Iranian can be an embodiment of wisdom, whether sober or ecstatic. Elite Mughals learned their ethics from Iranian poets, and their mysticism from Iranian Sufis.⁷ Akbar had a particular fondness for Rumi, Jahangir for Sa'di. Indeed, Jahangir had a painting made of an imaginary audience between himself and the great ethical poet.⁸ In turn, the ecstatic tradition of Persian mysticism evoked a different sort of drunkenness than that attained in Hafiz's taverns, though Sufis would read the latter as allegorical as well. As illustrated in the painting from Rumi's *Mathnawi*, the dancing of Sufis in the presence of the pir could form a visual analogue to the revelry of courtiers in the presence of the shah.⁹ On a different level, in India these God-intoxicated male adepts formed a homoerotic analogue to the frolicking, love-struck gopis or cow-girls around the god Krishna.

Finally, the Iranian as female can embody the highest ideals of female beauty, fair-skinned as a *pari*, rose-cheeked, with a rosebud mouth, able to inspire an obsessive and self-destructive love as Layli did to Majnun.¹⁰ (Although Layli is technically an Arab, Indians received the story through Nizami and his imitators, lending it a Persian aura.) Or she can represent the ecstasies of the erotic, as Shirin does in a Jahangiri painting of the teens, when Khusrau comes upon her naked and bathing (in a waterhole that itself represents the vagina, as

Hindu mythology—which sees all apertures in the earth as yoni or genitalia of the goddesses—also would acknowledge).¹¹ By the seventeenth century younger princes were dismissing these Iranian love stories, however, as hackneyed chestnuts. Das observes that the “Poet Nawi relates in his *Suz-u-Gudaz* . . . that Salim’s [Jahangir’s] brother Daniyal (d. 1604) told him: “The love story of Farhad and Shirin has grown old; if we read at all let it be what we have ourselves seen and heard.”¹² Things Iranian here are associated with the ersatz, with the medieval and the hoary, in contrast to the humanist sensibilities of many at court in seventeenth-century Mughal India, who wished to focus upon direct experience. A concern with naturalism and experiencing things for oneself is also characteristic of Jahangir’s memoirs.

Now we come to Jahangir. Surely, for him, the “Iranian” inescapably had overtones of his relationship with his wife Nur Jahan, a Tehrani whom he married in 1611. Although counted among the “great Mughals,” he certainly was the least of them. Brought up to wealth and luxury, he did not have to struggle simply to establish a kingdom, as his three hardened forebears had, but instead inherited one. He gradually sank into an alcoholic and drug-induced stupor that made it more and more difficult for him to actually rule the empire. Increasingly, his queen, Nur Jahan, took the reins of rule into her capable hands as well as aiding a process begun sometime earlier whereby her relatives gained a large number of important posts.¹³

As a pampered prince, Jahangir could indulge in sensual pleasures to his heart’s content, as the paintings of his indefatigable cavorting with an ever-growing bevy of Hindu and Muslim wives and concubines suggest.¹⁴ But reality did impinge on his life occasionally. He was denied the throne until his mid-thirties and was circumscribed by his father’s policies and greatness. He even briefly went into rebellion against Akbar. Jahangir’s cultivation of a state of alcohol- or opium-induced stupor may be seen as an attempt to deal with his unresolved conflicts with his father by regressing to a childlike, dependent state that predated them. And Ellison Banks Findly and others have pointed out that his middle-aged marriage to a middle-aged Nur Jahan appears to have represented at least in part a search for a nurturing mother figure who could manage his life, given his regression.¹⁵

Jahangir’s drug-dependent state and his surrender to Nur Jahan as a surrogate mother were unsuccessful strategies insofar as they allowed him to avoid coming to terms with his troubled relationship with his very formidable father and therefore with his own manhood, thus stunting his growth as an individual and as a man. Unlike his three forebears, Jahangir virtually never led his troops into a major war, and his reign was not notable for any truly significant conquests (those that were accomplished against the Rajputs and in the Deccan were mainly the work of his third son, Khurram, later Shah Jahan). With

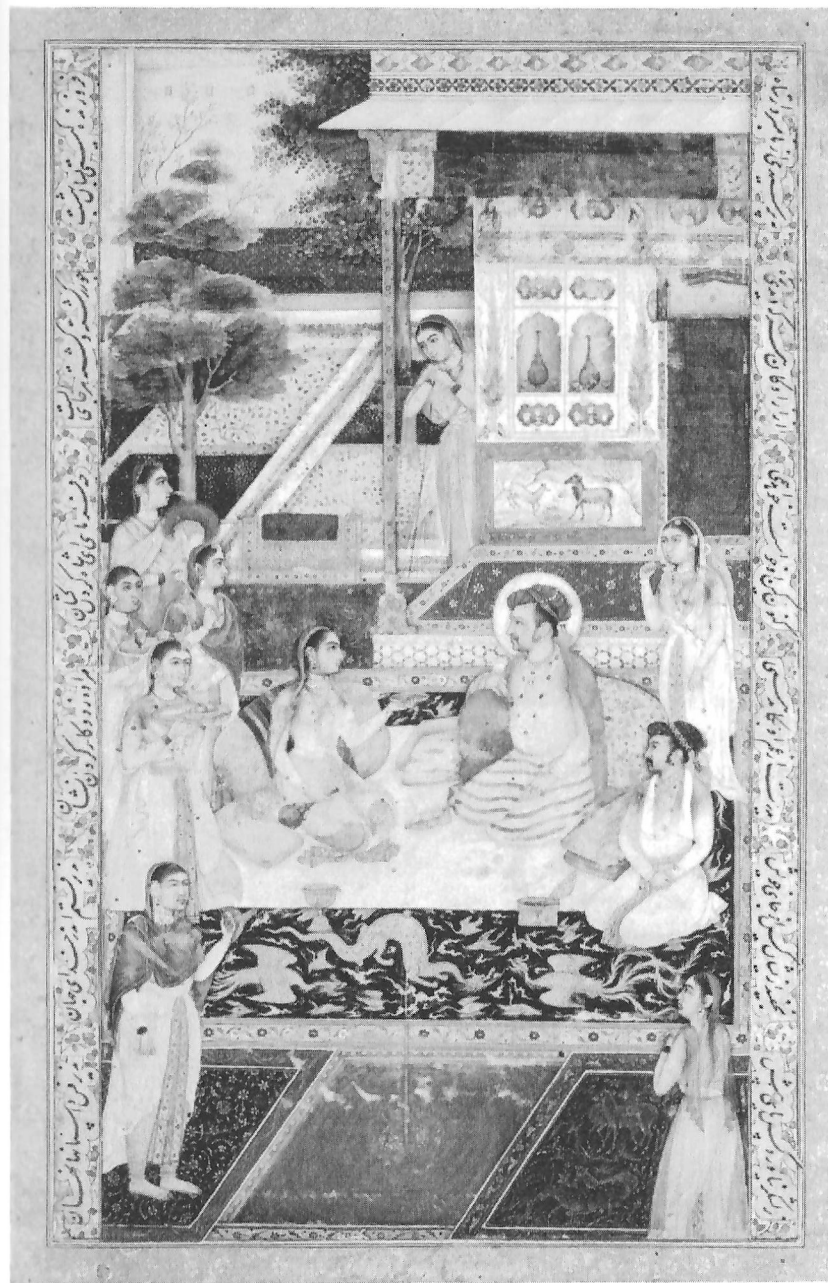


Figure 2.1. *Jahangir and Prince Khurram feasted by Nur Jahan*, India, ca. 1617. Freer Gallery of Art.

Nur Jahan's advent he is said to have lost interest in other women; and if we accept the maternal nature of her relationship to him, he was hardly by this time the stallion he had been in his youth. Among the few "masculine" activities he took part in was hunting, which he pursued with skill and alacrity when young. But he had taken a vow at sixteen not to kill animals in the hunt when he reached age fifty, and he attempted to honor the oath (although he was inconsistent about it). Whatever the origins of this vow—whether Akbar's "Divine Faith" (*din-i ilahi*) or Jahangir's personal psychology—it did deprive him in his later years of one of the last unambiguously male public roles left to him, leaving him even more emasculated in the terms of chivalric, courtly codes of masculinity.

These cultural symbols have implications for understanding the depiction of gender at the Mughal court, of course. But they are also imbricated in conceptions of ethnicity and cultural geography. Iran comes to be a symbol for the mother figure not only via the Iranian Nur Jahan but also because Tahmasp had played a key role in enabling Humayun to reconquer India, thus making Iran in some sense a "mother" of the Mughal Empire.

Despite Jahangir's love for Nur Jahan and gratitude to her for caring for him, it is impossible that he did not also at times feel threatened by the aggressive way she stepped in to play a major role in running his empire, most often through her brother, Asaf Khan; her father, I'timad ad-Dawlah; and the far-flung Tehrani clan in general. In the terms of the typical depictions of gender roles at the Mughal court, Jahangir's drugged passivity surely feminized him, while Nur Jahan's vigorous interventions in policy masculinized her.

Even at court, despite Jahangir's halo of authority, Nur Jahan was capable of reducing him to a guest in his own palace. Findly explicates the painting *Jahangir and Prince Khurram Feasted by Nur Jahan*:¹⁶

An album painting depicts the festivities hosted by Nur Jahan for Jahangir and his son Prince Khurram in honor of the latter's conquests in the Deccan. The party took place in October 1617 in Mandu . . . although Jahangir is still the dominant figure . . . he now shares the viewer's attention with Nur Jahan, who is not only clearly in charge but supported as well by an army of women. While they do not intimidate, their numbers and their confident demeanor celebrate an autonomous environment of pleasure in which Jahangir and Khurram are still, decidedly, guests. Moreover, the cups of wine, the luxurious textures of cloth and stone, and the open necklines and midriffs indicate something new has happened to the lives of zanana women.

The management skills needed by a royal wife, who oversaw some 5,000 concubines in the harem and supervised many aspects of the running of the

palace, no doubt prepared Nur Jahan for her interventions in wider imperial affairs.

The phallicization of Nur Jahan is apparent in her carrying a musket for hunting, in her sharp-shooting prowess, and in the way she substitutes herself for the emperor in 1619. In his memoirs, Jahangir writes:

My huntsmen reported to me that there was in the neighborhood [of Mathura] a tiger, which greatly distressed the inhabitants. I ordered his retreat to be closely surrounded with a number of elephants. Towards evening I and my attendants mounted and went out. As I had made a vow not to kill any animal with my own hands, I told Nur Jahan to fire my musket. The smell of the tiger made the elephant very restless, and he would not stand still, and to take good aim from a howda is a very difficult feat. Mirza Rustam, who after me has no equal as a marksman, had fired three or four shots from an elephant's back without effect. Nur Jahan, however, killed this tiger with the first shot.¹⁷

The episode, a masculinization of Nur Jahan, was made possible both by her own initiative and previous target practice and by Jahangir's vow (which he may have honored on this occasion simply to mask the trembling hands of an alcoholic and opium addict). Even in a pre-Freudian culture the musket surely bore a phallic connotation, more especially in a largely Hindu society, which was often explicit about such symbols. Here the masculinization also strongly implies an emasculation of Jahangir (she uses his own musket!). A painting survives of Nur Jahan hunting, holding her musket upright.¹⁸ It might be objected that this depiction of Nur Jahan must have been at the emperor's own instance. The story about how Jahangir shaped the works of his atelier, however, must be modified by the plausible assertion by Pratapaditya Pal and Ellison Findly that Nur Jahan also commissioned paintings and had an influence on subjects chosen by artists at court, especially in the new attention to the depiction of women as agents that characterizes the paintings of the Jahangir period.

Other paintings depict Nur Jahan's Tehrani relatives who held high office, such as Asaf Khan, her brother, attending Jahangir.¹⁹ Jahangir was cognizant of the way in which Iranians both bordered his empire as neighbors and constituted a distinct ethnicity among his own nobles, transcending and transgressing the boundaries of self and other. The Tehranis constituted a network of supporters on whom he could rely, and he likewise viewed the external Iranians as allies. The depictions of Jahangir with his brother-in-law and father-in-law pose something of a difficulty for my analysis, since they show the emperor as darker in complexion than some Iranians at court. Yet there is evidence in other paintings that light complexion is used as a status marker (influenced,

perhaps, both by the light blue skin of Hindu gods in the Rajput tradition and by the Persian aesthetic tradition of equating fair skin with celestial bodies such as the moon). The only explanation I can proffer at the moment is that Nur Jahan's fairness reflected well on the emperor's own status and therefore could be admitted in her and in her close relatives.

What of the Iranians without? Jahangir continually refers to Shah 'Abbas as his "brother" in his memoirs, at least until the 1622 Iranian reconquest of Qandahar. He even notes, when he forbids tobacco, that "his brother" Shah 'Abbas had taken the same step. This diction accords with the general "family romance" of Iranians in which Jahangir was entangled. If Safavid Iran had in some sense given birth to Humayun's Mughal Empire, and if the Iranian Nur Jahan was a surrogate mother for Jahangir, then the symbolic position of the Safavid emperor as Jahangir's brother takes on more than merely rhetorical resonance. In 1611 an embassy arrived in India from Iran, bearing gifts as signals of goodwill. In 1613 Jahangir reciprocated with an embassy headed by Khan 'Alam to Isfahan in order to seek continued good relations with Iran. The artist Bishan Das accompanied the Mughal party and painted several portraits of the Safavid monarch, which he brought back to India. Some of the imaginary meetings between Jahangir and Shah 'Abbas appear to have been painted while that embassy was still abroad, so that the figure of Shah 'Abbas had to be retouched (once his actual likeness was better known) upon the artist's return. Bishan Das, distant from court and without direction from Jahangir, tended toward naturalism; he shows Shah 'Abbas's complexion as much lighter than Khan 'Alam's.²⁰ Or it may be that Bishan Das used complexion to denote status, allowing the Iranian monarch to be fairer than the Mughal ambassador in his own court. In a portrait of the shah himself, Bishan Das renders his complexion somewhat darker.²¹

Back in Agra, one of the first fantastic paintings produced by Jahangir's atelier in the middle of the teens shows the emperor standing upon the globe, shooting an arrow at the decapitated head of his nemesis in the Deccan, the Abyssinian general who was the mainstay of the Ahmednagar Nizam Shahs, Malik 'Ambar.²² The painting, dated around 1615, is pure wish-fulfillment. Malik 'Ambar was chased from the Ahmednagar capital in 1616 by Prince Parvez and then defeated decisively by Prince Khurram a little while later; but in the early 1620s he renounced the terms of the treaty he had signed with the Mughals once more. Under Jahangir, Ahmednagar would not stay conquered. The painting restores to Jahangir a centrality and a masculine role, symbolized by the shooting of the arrow, of which his addictions and lack of martial vigor had robbed him. The motif is repeated in the 1620s in a painting showing the emperor vanquishing poverty with his bow. Poverty is symbolized by the very dark figure of a Hindu mendicant. The dark pigmentation of both Malik 'Am-

bar and the figure of poverty had hierarchical ethnic implications in an empire where the ruling class tended to be fairer than the Indian peasantry. In the scene where he shoots poverty, Jahangir is standing upon a globe within which lie a lion and a lamb, symbols of peace that may be drawn from Christian iconography.

Another fantastic scene is a diptych in which the emperor is depicted receiving the ethical poet and mystic Sa'di at his court.²³ It seems to me that in this period Jahangir attempted to reinterpret his drug-induced stupor, which mortified him throughout his life, as a sort of *ḥāl* or mystical state of nearness to the divine. Iran was associated in the mind of the Mughal elite with Sufi and ethical teachings such as those of Sa'di, so that Jahangir's dependent passivity is recast not as effeminate and decadent but as the masculine role of a Sufi adept. Sa'di's *Bustan* and *Gulistan*, moreover, were very much associated with male education, reinforcing the legitimation of the emperor's manhood that the Iranian sage was made to provide.

Having met the Iranian Sa'di, master of the spiritual and ethical realms, Jahangir now proceeds to meet Shah 'Abbas, master of Iran itself. Here again, questions of gender symbolism enter in. Shah 'Abbas was hypermasculine in his activities, leading armies and making conquests. He took back Tabriz and Baghdad from the Ottomans and extended Iran's rule into Central Asia. He was as successful a conqueror for the Safavids as Akbar had been for the Mughals. In contrast, as we have seen, Jahangir added very little territory to the Mughal Empire during his reign, and his third son Khurram (later Shah Jahan)—ally of Nur Jahan—was mainly responsible for that. The motivation for the imaginary meetings with Shah 'Abbas appears to have been to associate himself with the machismo of the shah, making the point of his being an equal in power and masculinity despite the very different records of their reigns. Thus, the two monarchs are depicted sitting on a divan as equals, though Shah 'Abbas is given the slighter frame and is shown in three-quarters profile, whereas Jahangir is depicted as physically more prepossessing and is shown in pure profile, a regal pose in Mughal painting. Finally, the complexions are manipulated so that—in contrast to Bishan Das's contemporary paintings directly from the subject—Shah 'Abbas is shown as dark, whereas the half-Rajput Jahangir is shown as fair-skinned. They are waited upon by Asaf Khan, Jahangir's minister and an ethnic Iranian, the brother of Nur Jahan, suggesting the kindred nature of the Mughal's relationship to Iran.²⁴

But the final fantastic image does not show equals at all. Jahangir and Shah 'Abbas are depicted astride the globe, Jahangir standing on a lion and the Safavid monarch on a lamb.²⁵ Shah 'Abbas is shown as even more slight of frame than in the portrait on the divan and is being dominated and encompassed by the bear hug of Jahangir. The pose recalls the attitude of Krishna



Figure 2.2. *Jahangir Welcoming Shah 'Abbas, Abu'l-Hasan, ca. 1618*. Freer Gallery of Art.

with Radha common in Rajput paintings of the time. Shah 'Abbas's slender body recalls the Iranian young men used as catamites by nobles, and Jahangir appears to be stretching his hand toward the shah's crotch. The image has the effect of reducing Shah 'Abbas from a ferocious, hypermasculine world-conqueror on the Mongol model to a willowy and seductive youth on lamb-skin. Jahangir is promoted from passivity, the effeminate dandy castrated by a domineering Nur Jahan, to a cosmic chieftain with the lion as his hypermasculine totem—his realm bigger than that of Shah 'Abbas, who is subjected by the homosocial embrace of the Mughal ruler. Here again, Jahangir is fair-skinned while the Iranian is depicted as dark.

Although the fantastic images were ostensibly aimed at celebrating the alliance between Iran and the Mughal Empire, they actually functioned as wish-fulfillment for the besotted Jahangir. By their means he recovered in the miniature painting the masculinity he feared he had lost to Nur Jahan and her clique of Iranians within his court and his empire. The elements of ethnicity, gender, and status hierarchy are all in play here. Jahangir is larger and fairer, emphasizing his higher status. Shah 'Abbas is forced into a feminine pose of erotic subjection.

A parallelism of pose and atmosphere exists between these fantastic paintings of Jahangir with Shah 'Abbas and a depiction of Jahangir with Nur Jahan. After the emperor's death, a painting was done in 1632 (attributed to Govardhan) of Jahangir with Nur Jahan as a dominating lover, larger than she is, wrapped around her. Was Shah Jahan attempting to restore his father to masculine supremacy over his wife's feisty aunt?²⁶ Ironically, this painting of the deceased emperor embracing his wife, who is depicted as petite, submissive, and loving, appears to be modeled on the homoerotic embrace that Jahangir bestowed upon Shah 'Abbas in Abu'l-Hasan's earlier fantasies of the late teens.

The Irani was a recognizable ethnicity in Mughal politics and culture, and Jahangir's atelier invested Iranianness with multiple meanings. The Iranian was mystic, sage, and teacher; and in his fabulous miniatures Jahangir could be shown giving a royal audience to a figure like Sa'di. The Iranian youth could be a ravishing catamite. Iranian courtiers were depicted as respectful and loyal servants. Shah 'Abbas, Jahangir's "brother," was a bosom buddy. In the real world that these fantasies were meant to deal with, of course, the Iranian could pose a dire threat to the monarch. Irani clans like the Tehranis, to which his queen belonged, could usurp royal prerogatives and arrogate to themselves enormous power in the kingdom. Nur Jahan and her relatives had vastly disproportionate control over Mughal resources, and the queen appears to have engaged in policy-making. Safavid Iran could be rival as well as ally, as in the conflict over Qandahar. The effeminate, drug-addicted libertine Jahangir was in reality no match for the lithe world-conquering Shah 'Abbas.

In these paintings the half-Chaghatai, half-Rajput Jahangir has by means of his intense masculinity pulled the Iranians around him, within and without, into a posture of erotic submission, turning them into analogues of the Rajput princesses with whom he frolicked on Holi. In the psychic struggles waged in Jahangir's picture albums between the Iranian as supportive (as mother, brother, lover, even Self) and the Iranian as symbol of the Other, of domination or even castration, the latter won out in the real world. Nur Jahan had great influence over the running of Jahangir's empire when his health collapsed in 1619; and then the armies of Shah 'Abbas recaptured Qandahar in 1622. But the fantasies of desire, knowledge, and identity generated by Jahangir and his atelier remain recorded in the miniatures. Here in the alternate dimension of the album, Jahangir's own fears of emasculation are sublimated in the Shah 'Abbas series by means of a homoerotic reassertion of his dominant masculinity in the face of Iranian threats to it. This pose even appears to resurface after his death, with Govardhan's substitution of Nur Jahan for Shah 'Abbas. Jahangir's fantasies allowed for many subject-positions with regard to the Iranians in his life; but in the album, unlike real life, he always maintained his imperial dignity in these encounters.

NOTES

1. Asok Kumar Das, *Mughal Painting during Jahangir's Time* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1978), p. 107.
2. Constance Penley, "Feminism, Psychoanalysis and the Study of Popular Culture," in Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey, eds., *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations* (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1995), p. 303.
3. The locus classicus for this discussion is Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, 1707-1740* (Aligarh: Dept. of History, Aligarh Muslim University, 1959).
4. *Chase Scene from the Shahnamah*, N. India, early 1500s, private collection, in Pratapaditya Pal, *Court Paintings of India, 16th-19th Centuries* (New York: Navin Kumar, 1983), p. 117; *The Birth of Rustam*, from a *Shahnamah* produced early in Jahangir's reign (ca. 1610), Rothschild Collection, in P. and D. Colnaghi Co., *Persian and Mughal Art* (London: Colnaghi, 1976), p. 175; Basawan, *The Flight of the Simurgh*, Imperial Mughal, ca. 1590, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan Collection, M. 146, in Amina Okada, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court* (New York: Harry N. Adams, 1992), plate 81.
5. *Youth Lounging with Wine Cup and Fruit*, Isfahan, ca. 1600, in Colnaghi, *Persian and Mughal Art*, p. 41.
6. *Five Youths*, illustration from earliest MS of Shah Isma'il's *Divan*, Tabriz, ca. 1520, in Glenn Lowry with Susan Nemazee, *A Jeweler's Eye* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, in association with University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1988), p. 119.
7. *Iranian Dervish in Mughal India*, Imperial Mughal, early seventeenth century, private collection, in Pal, *Court Paintings*, p. 163.

8. *Sa'di in the Hindu Temple of Somnath*, after an original by Dharm Das, Imperial Mughal, ca. 1625, private collection, in Pal, *Court Paintings*, p. 177.
9. *Dervishes Dancing at a Prince's Enthronement*, illustration from a fifteenth-century Iranian Mathnavi MS, in Lowry with Nemazee, *A Jeweler's Eye*, p. 155; this painting makes a visual analogy between royal pastimes and mystical enlightenment, in the spirit of Rumi.
10. *Laila, Majnun and the Animal Kingdom*, attributed to Mishkin, Imperial Mughal, ca. 1605, private collection, in Pal, *Court Paintings*, p. 155.
11. *Prince Khusrav Comes Upon Shirin Bathing*, Mughal, ca. 1610-20, Rothschild Collection, in Colnaghi, *Persian and Mughal Art*, p. 202.
12. Das, *Mughal Painting*, p. 60; cf. *Death of Farhad*, Imperial Mughal, 1650 or earlier, private collection, in Pal, *Court Paintings*, p. 169.
13. Ellison Banks Findly, *Nur Jahan, Empress of Mughal India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); see especially the work she cites by Irfan Habib on this issue.
14. *Jahangir Plays Holi with His Concubines*, ca. 1615-25, ascribed to Govardhan, a page from the Minto Album, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, in Okada, *Indian Miniatures*, p. 191.
15. Findly, *Nur Jahan*.
16. *Jahangir and Prince Khurram Feasted by Nur Jahan*, India, ca. 1617; Freer Gallery of Art, in Ellison Banks Findly, "The Pleasures of Women," *Asian Art* 6, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 80.
17. Jahangir, *Memoirs of Jahangir*, trans. H. M. Elliot, ed. John Dowson (Lahore: Islamic Book Service, 1975 [1871]), p. 205. The Persian text is Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Muhammad Hashim (Tehran: Intisharat-i Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran, 1982).
18. Abu'l-Hasan, *Nur Jahan with a Firearm, Hunting*, ca. 1612-15, Raza Library, Rampur, in Milo Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 96.
19. *Nur Jahan's Brother, Asaf Khan, in Audience with Jahangir*, ca. 1650, Late Shahjahan Album, Vever Collection, Sackler, in Lowry with Nemazee, *A Jeweler's Eye*, p. 170; *Nur Jahan's Father, I'imad ad-Dawlah, in Audience with Jahangir*, Manohar, ca. 1615, Kevorkian Album, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in Okada, *Indian Miniatures*, p. 146.
20. Bishan Das, *Shah Abbas Receives Khan 'Alam, Jahangir's Envoy*, Goloubew Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 14, 665, in Okada, *Indian Miniatures*, p. 158.
21. Bishan Das, *Shah 'Abbas*, ca. 1620, in Colnaghi, *Persian and Mughal Art*, p. 191.
22. Abu'l-Hasan, *Jahangir Symbolically Killing Malik 'Ambar*, ca. 1615-20, Minto Album, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, in Okada, *Indian Miniatures*, p. 47, fig. 48.
23. *Jahangir Receives the Poet Sa'di*, attributed to Abu'l-Hasan; Mughal, ca. 1615, in Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting*, pp. 102-3.
24. Abu'l-Hasan, *Jahangir Welcoming Shah 'Abbas*, ca. 1618, St. Petersburg Album, Freer Gallery of Art, in Okada, *Indian Miniatures*, p. 56, fig. 53.
25. Abu'l-Hasan, *Jahangir's Dream*, ca. 1618, St. Petersburg Album, Freer Gallery of Art, in Okada, *Indian Miniatures*, p. 56, fig. 54.
26. Govardhan(?), *Jahangir and Nur Jahan*, 1632, a page from the Kevorkian Album, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in Okada, *Indian Miniatures*, p. 192.