



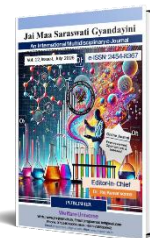
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Representations of Spirituality: Saints and Ascetics in Mughal Visual Culture (16th–17th Centuries)

Dr. Abdul Munim^{a,*}, 

^aGuest Faculty, Department of History, NCWEB, University of Delhi, India.

KEYWORDS	ABSTRACT
Saints, Ascetics, Sufi Saints, Faqeer, Qalandar, Dervish, Sadhu, Jogini, Sama, Zikr, Jagat Gosain Jadrup, Shaikh Phul, Mullah Shah, Mia Mir, Shaikh Saleem, Chishti, Hindu Yogis and Sannyasis, Jain Ascetics, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah, Jahan, and Religious Synthesis.	Mughal miniature paintings played a significant role in the study of the spiritual and cultural history of the Mughal era, particularly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While Mughal paintings are known for their depictions of court life, royal ladies, field scenes of battle, and ceremonies, they also evolved a visual tradition of depicting saints, ascetics, mendicants, and spiritual teachers. Representation of religious group, Sufi Saints, Faqeers, Bairaghi, Hindu Yogis, Yoginis, Sannyasis, Sadhus, group of religious and Jain monks gives an important source of knowledge for the religious life of Medieval India. The current study focuses on the portrayal of religious and spiritual personalities in the miniature paintings of the Mughal era during the reign of Akbar, Jahangeer and Shah Jahan. Paintings of meditation, devotional gathering, spiritual exercises, pilgrimage, travel and meeting with rulers and princes by holy men provide a valuable insight into religious life of the time. In Akbar's reign, the depictions of religious community paid attention to greater religious dialogue and interaction. During Jahangeer's tenure, artists started depicting saints and ascetics as individuals and their unique looks and characteristics. During the reign of Shah Jahan, painters began to show greater respect and importance to the spiritual persons and often depicted groups of saints and learned men along with princes and other court members. The study reveals that the religious images played a significant role in Mughal painting and provides a greater insight into the religious and cultural life of Medieval period. The paintings of the Sufi and Hindu religious traditions depict the life of various communities and the interaction between them. Thus, Mughal miniature paintings can be applied to the analysis of the themes of spirituality, pilgrimage, religious observance, and common cultural features of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in India.

Hypothesis

It is hypothesized that the portrayal of Sufi saints,

Corresponding author

*E-mail: munaimster@gmail.com (Dr. Abdul Munim).

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 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2996-0692>

Hindu Yogis, Sannyasis, Faqeers, Sadhus, Yoginis and other spiritual personalities in Mughal miniature paintings mirrors the significance of the religious life, and interaction between the Hindu-Muslim cultures in Mughal India. Scenes depicting the visit of Muslim rulers and princes to Hindu saints and religious teachers, with the accompanying spiritual and intellectual exchanges, indicate that there were religious dialogue and the transfer of knowledge. The study will also analyse the portrayal of Hindu and Muslim ascetics and saints travelling in groups and Hindu Yoginis who would receive both male and female pilgrimages. Therefore, the study postulates that Mughal miniature painting did not only encompass the courtly and secular subjects but also showcased religious diversity, religious practices, inter-religious encounters, culture interaction, and culture synthesis between Hindu and Muslim in the Mughal era.

Research objective:

To study the representation, movements, and spiritual practices of Hindu and Muslim saints and ascetics, along with their interactions with people from different social and religious backgrounds, in order to examine how these visual representations reflect religious diversity, Hindu-Muslim interaction, cultural exchange, and the development of a composite cultural tradition in Mughal India, while assessing Mughal miniature painting as a visual source for understanding the religious and social life of the period.

Review of literature

The existing scholarship on Mughal miniature painting has largely focused on courtly, imperial, and secular themes, while the representation of religious personalities has received comparatively less attention. Scholars such as James Mallinson, Rachel Parikh, J. P. Losty, and Roselyne Hurel have examined various aspects of Hindu and Muslim spiritual personalities in Mughal art. Their studies discuss the representation of

Yogis, Sannyasis, Sadhus, Sufis, Faqeers, and other ascetics, along with their interactions with Mughal rulers, and their spiritual practices. Mallinson and Parikh have particularly highlighted the representation of Yogis and their relationship with the Mughal court, while my earlier studies have given particular attention to the depiction of Hindu and Muslim saints in Mughal miniatures. J. P. Losty has examined the different forms and visual representation of ascetics, whereas Roselyne Hurel has drawn attention to the relatively rare depiction of female ascetics and Yoginis in Indian painting. These studies demonstrate that Mughal artists carefully observed and represented diverse religious personalities and their spiritual practices. However, comparatively less attention has been given to a comparative study of Hindu and Muslim saints, particularly their movements in groups, their relationships with rulers and devotees, religious dialogues, and the broader cultural exchanges reflected in these paintings. The present study seeks to address this research gap by examining these representations collectively to understand religious diversity, Hindu-Muslim interaction, cultural exchange, and the development of a composite cultural tradition in Mughal India.

Research Methodology

The present work adopts a qualitative, historical and art-historical methodology to explore the depiction of Hindu and Muslim saints and ascetics in Mughal miniatures of the 16th and 17th centuries. The study relies primarily on the visual analysis of selected paintings, with textual sources of the period, including the *Baburnama*, *Akbarnama*, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, and European travellers' accounts. Illustrations of Mughal manuscripts, imperial albums and paintings from various collections will also be used. The analysis will be bolstered by secondary sources such as books, research articles, catalogues and

other works on Mughal paintings and religious traditions. A comparative study of *Sufis*, *Faqeers*, *Yogis*, *Sannyasis*, *Sadhus*, *Yoginis* and other spiritual personalities will be undertaken with special emphasis on their religious practices, movements, interaction with rulers and devotees, their involvement in religious and cultural exchanges, etc. The study will combine visual and textual sources to gain an understanding of the religious diversity, Hindu-Muslim interaction and cultural and spiritual synthesis as reflected in Mughal miniature paintings.

Introduction

During the Mughal period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Mughal miniature painting emerged as an important medium for representing the social, cultural, and religious life of India. Apart from depicting royal courts, battles, and imperial activities, Mughal artists also portrayed various spiritual figures, including *Sufi* saints, Hindu *Sadhus*, *Yogis*, *Yoginis*, *Sannyasis*, *Bairagis*, and *Faqeers*. These paintings provide valuable insights into the religious beliefs, spiritual practices, and popular traditions of Indian society during the Mughal period.

The artists of this era carefully observed and represented the lives of numerous wandering ascetics, mendicants, and holy men belonging to different religious communities. Such figures were depicted in various contexts, including meditation, religious discussions in hermitages, receiving visitors, travelling through landscapes, and expressions of spiritual devotion. These paintings include representations of ecstatic *Sufi* dancing. In the paintings of Akbar's and Jahangir's reigns, these religious figures were often shown as unique and ascetic personalities, emphasizing their simplicity, poverty, and unconventional way of life. In contrast, during the Shah Jahan's period, they were frequently represented as respected, dignified, and prosperous individuals, dressed in flowing robes and

engaged in religious and intellectual discussions.

During the reign of Emperor Akbar, the Mughal atelier developed a sophisticated approach to representing spiritual personalities. Artists such as Basawan, Miskin, Farrukh Beg and Manohar portrayed holy men with attention to individuality, physical appearance, and emotional expression. Their works reflected Akbar's broader interest in religious dialogue and cultural exchange, particularly through interactions among different religious communities at the imperial court.

Under Emperor Jahangir, the representation of saints and ascetics became more refined through the development of portraiture and symbolic imagery. Artists such as Govardhan, Bichitr, Abul-Hasan, and Hashim created sensitive portrayals of *Sufis*, *faqirs*, *yogis*, and other spiritual figures. Govardhan was renowned for his realistic studies of ascetics and holy men, emphasizing their age, physical features, and spiritual character. Bichitr and Abul-Hasan incorporated spiritual figures into imperial albums (*Muraqqa's*), where images of saints were placed alongside portraits of rulers, nobles, and intellectuals.

During Shah Jahan's reign, the way saints and ascetics were shown in paintings changed even more. Instead of emphasizing only their poverty and unconventional lifestyles, artists often represented them as dignified figures of religious authority and intellectual wisdom. These images presented holy men as respected bearers of spiritual knowledge, frequently shown in elegant robes and engaged in religious discussions¹.

In Mughal painting, secular subjects such as court scenes, kings, hunting, nature, animals and birds, daily life, and portraits are very prominent. Therefore, historians have also focused more on these themes. Religious subjects and paintings, comparatively, have received limited scholarly attention. Contrary to the view expressed by Vincent A. Smith noted that "there is hardly a trace of religious sentiment unless it is to be

detected in the occasional sympathetic delineation, and that even holy men are occasionally caricatured,²" the religious dimension of Mughal artistic production deserves careful consideration. Mughal art was not completely free from spiritual expression; religious themes and sentiments were also an important, though often neglected, part of its artistic tradition.

In these generalizations there may well be an underestimation of the spiritual content of Mughal arts, and a misunderstanding of the expression of spiritual ecstasy. There are many paintings that can be identified because they are full of and obvious of religious elements. Devotional songs (*Sama*), performed with complete concentration on their rhythm, were sung, and while devotional dances (*Wajd/Zikr*), performed with rhythmic bodily movements, were practised to attain union with God or an intuitive spiritual perception.³ All of these different ways of Muslim believers to connect their life with the unseen, produced joyful expressive attitudes which, to the onlooker who did not know the Muslims, might seem artificial or even humorous. These are highly expressive of the ecstatic life of Islam which is full of divine light and energy.

Mughal painters produced numerous portraits of eminent Sufi saints and other revered religious figures, notably Shaikh Salim Chishti⁴, Shah Bari⁵, Mia Mir of Lahore⁶, Mullah Shah of Badakhshan⁷, Shaikh Phul⁸, and Sufi Abdul Abbas Qacab⁹, reflecting the growing acceptance of portraiture within the cultural milieu of the Mughal court.

It is also possible to see the expression of most subtle religious feelings in the paintings of a *Yogini*, preserved in the Raza Library, Rampur; here the use of lines and colours helps to convey the religious emotion. This painting depicts an unidentified Hindu female devotee and some of her disciples, male and female. The sacred fire in the centre of the gathering, symbolizing the beginning of the night and the musical instrument

played skilfully by one of the disciples, symbolizing that the *Sankirtan* has begun in which all seem to be absorbed. Life and spiritual feeling pervade the whole scene: background, foreground and central figures alike; they are attributes of an artist who must be well acquainted with the religious ceremonies.¹⁰

Although there are a few examples of Hindu women saints in Mughal painting, there is no known depiction of a Muslim woman saint by any Mughal painter. It is possible that no famous Muslim woman saint came to their attention or became a subject of their paintings.

This is only a small sample of which there are many others to be added to the list. The paintings of *Derveshes* and Priests absorbed in mystical ecstasy beneath a tree¹¹ or lost in mystic dances¹² and Encounters with spiritual teachers and ascetics¹³ full of religious enthusiasm, zeal and devotion form a group which draws its main inspiration from the mystic movement. Clearly visible in them are mystic lines and colours and through them Muslim spiritual feelings are effectively expressed.

The *Derveshes* were most numerous in Persia, but not in great numbers in India. In India the ascetics of the *Sufis* were generally called *Faqeers*¹⁴ and in Turkey, Egypt, Arabia and Persia they were called *Derveshes*. *Then there are various types of Musalman Fakirs: Some of them have almost no clothes on their bodies like the Fakirs of idolaters, and they have no abode, but they do what they like without shame. Such clothes reach only down to the ankles and cover the wretched rags underneath. These Fakirs generally travels in a company, some fakirs have more than 200 disciples, whom they assemble by sound of the drum and with a horn similar to those of our huntsmen. The third class of Fakirs, is one that being born of poor parents, and wishing to learn the law thoroughly, in order to become Mullah or doctors, take up their abode in mosques, where they live on charity is given them, and there they*

plant their standard, lances and other arms.” They use their time in reading the Koran, which they learn by heart, and when they are able to add to this some little knowledge of the natural things, so it is to the example of a good life, according to their ideas.¹⁵ These Faqirs normally go in groups with a chief or leader each group. It's not uncommon to see them go entirely nude, in winter or summer. The young *Faqeer*, make many large fires and *Faqeer* seated themselves around fire.¹⁶ Their hair reaches down to the ground; their nails are as long as their fingers¹⁷ and they have the pipe of Tabacco.¹⁸ There are a lot of gardens that are small and have a cottage, where a *Faqeer*¹⁹ is living. Tavernier writes that most gesture *Faqeer* live in squalid huts near their Pagoda.²⁰ Some of *Faqeers* make long journeys, not only without any clothes, but also bearing heavy chains of iron around their legs, like those which are placed about the legs of elephants.²¹ Their baggage's, consisted of four boxes full of Arabic and Persian books and some cooking utensils, and they had ten or twelve oxen to carry those among the troop who were invalids”.²²

The Mughal artist often depicted *Faqeers* congregating beneath trees in addition to these well-known saints.²³, assemblies of *Derveshes*,²⁴ their mystic performances²⁵, painting depicts princes visiting teachers and presenting them with offerings²⁶ and holy men.²⁷

The small paintings are unique among the remaining Indian art works for the inclusion of portraits of saints, especially *Yogis* and *Sannyasis*, that are inscribed. These figures may be historical, legendary or symbolic figures related to the unorthodox and other religious movements in medieval Hinduism. They also depict common religious beliefs and practices of the Indian people, which thrived in Mughal India 16th and 17th centuries.

Hindu *Sadhus*, *Jogis* and *Sannyasis* are seen in many of the paintings, which Mughal artists painted. Most of these are not allocated. But no one can doubt the figures

are of Hindus. Some wore loose clothing with coloured patches,²⁸ some wore yellow-ochre garments and carried begging bowls and bags in their hands²⁹ but others, however, wore only small loincloths, with their bodies smeared with ash and their unkempt hair falling in long strands over their shoulders. They wore large, circular earrings and were depicted either seated beneath trees or walking with their disciples, who carried horns and bunches of peacock feathers (*morchal*)³⁰ bear distinctive marks of Hinduism.

At times, this group of *Yogis* also includes a Hindu *Yogini*, dressed in a yellow-ochre sari, with her hair left loose large circular earrings in her ears, and a rosary in her hand.³¹ Sometimes, she is depicted seated beneath a tree, accompanied by one or two disciples.

One of the favourite subjects of Mughal and Rajasthani painters, Krishna's dance with the *Gopis*, Ras Lila, was influenced by the popular *Bhakti* (*Vaishnava*) movement in North India. Its impact is also manifested in the portraits of Hindu spiritual leaders and reformers. Kabir was especially popular with Mughal artists³² among various religious and spiritual teachers and reformers.

Baba Gorakhnath³³ was one of the earliest literary personalities who gave significant contribution to the copious tradition of the *Bhakti* thought in the Hindi literature, and Keshava Das³⁴ (1617 A.D.), who wrote one of the most laudable pieces of literature of his time *Kavi-Priya*, were also portrayed in Mughal paintings. In addition to these, other Hindu themes such as visits of spiritual masters³⁵ (*Yogis*), toad-like figures and depictions of the tortoise posture were also depicted in Mughal painting.

In one Mughal painting a night gathering of Hindu ascetics are depicted gathering at the outside of a thatched hut with vines growing up it. The main character is sitting on a mat of grass with his long and matted hair and is dressed in a pink *dhoti*. An old

Kanpata Yogi is sitting beside him supported by *Yoga Patta* while he is in meditation. Opposite them, on the other side of the fire, are two monks dressed in pink robes. The elder monk raises his left hand in a gesture of exposition, while the younger monk counts the beads of his rosary. Also depicted are a peacock-feather fly whisk, a crutch used for meditation, and a water pot. The hut is situated on the edge of the river and behind are buildings.³⁶ Another drawing, attributed to Govardhan and dated to 1620 A.D., depicts a Hindu ascetic dressed in a loincloth, seated on the bank of a river outside his cell, amidst an outcrop of rocks. He holds a crutch under his left armpit and a water vessel in his hands. There is also a water vessel in the alcove. The image shows a forest scene with a hermitage, with a young ascetic standing in front of a hut over which greenery grows, indicating a *Banyan* tree. He is holding a large rosary (*mala*) in both hands. The hut is surrounded by a group of deer, and there is a stream running in the foreground. In the background on the right side, there are three women moving towards him in a cautious or discreet manner. According to the ascetic tradition, ascetics wore prayer beads around the neck and wrist, a *tilak* (a sacred mark) on the forehead, and a *dhoti* reaching just below the knees.³⁷

Further, there are paintings of Jain monks in Mughal miniature paintings. A painting (1595 A.D.) shows barefooted³⁸, A Jain ascetic is depicted carrying a water bowl in one hand and a stick in the other. He wears a *lungi* reaching to the knees, with a thin, transparent muslin cloth draped around his shoulders. A book is tucked under his armpit, and he wears a ring in his ear. These paintings are a rich blend of Hindu and Muslim traditions and beliefs. Hindus and Muslims were brought closer through the teachings of spiritual teachers and reformers from both communities. Their sympathetic endeavours led to the creation of a wonderful amalgamation of the Hindu and Muslim

cultures, visible in the Mughal painting.

Paintings of royal visits to Hindu *Yogis* and *Sannyasis* can also be viewed as an artistic synthesis and *spiritual fusion* between the two cultures. It is said that Akbar often visited Hindu *Yogis* and *Sannyasis* to learn spiritual knowledge and gain enlightenment, and that Akbar travelled for inspiration to Hindu shrines.³⁹ He was once very interested in the lives of *Sadhus* at the extent of interfering in their quarrels. The *Akbar Nama* records in detail his involvement in the conflict between the Kur and Puri *sannyasis* at Thanesar in 1567 A.D.⁴⁰ A miniature in an *Akbar Nama* which is kept in the *Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, clearly portrays this episode. In 1581 A.D.,⁴¹ Akbar visited the renowned Hindu Shrine of *Balanath Tillah* near Rohtas⁴². It is also reported that on his way back from deccan to Agra in 1607 A.D., he waited on Gosain Jadrup.⁴³ However, Emperor Jahangir made a point of preserving a record of his visits to Gosain Jadrup,⁴⁴ Jahangir provides a detailed account of his meetings with Gosain Jadrup in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. He walked about one-eighth of a kos on foot to meet the spiritual teacher, who lived in a small cave, with no mat or even a thin layer of straw, and in just a simple loincloth. Nor did he wear anything except a loincloth.⁴⁵ The latter's spiritual achievements impressed Jahangir so much that he came to visit him several times in order to attain religious merits.⁴⁶ It is corroborated by Sir Thomas Roe, who also noted down the visit of Jahangir to the Hindu ascetic.⁴⁷

Sufis and *mullas* engaged in conversation are also element of some Mughal paintings depicting Mystics or saints. Their seamless integration creates the impression that the figures were originally conceived as part of the same group. One example from the Shah Jahani era, dating to around 1640 A.D., depicts four Muslim religious figures engaged in a philosophical discussion, conveying a sense of intellectual reflection and spiritual

contemplation⁴⁸.

Thus, Mughal miniature paintings were not merely artistic creations but also important historical sources that reflect the religious diversity, cultural interactions, and social realities of 16th- and 17th-century India.

In conclusion, the depiction of *Sufi* saints, Hindu *Yogis*, and *Sannyasis* in Mughal painting reflects the spirit of religious tolerance and cultural synthesis that characterized the Mughal period. These paintings not only record historical encounters but also symbolize the harmonious interaction of Hindu and Islamic traditions, demonstrating how Mughal art became a powerful medium for expressing the composite culture of medieval India.

Endnotes:

- ¹ Pal, P. A.: *Romance of Taj-Mahal*, 1989, New Delhi, fig. 117, p.100.
- ² Smith, V.A.: *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1911, p.495.
- ³ Barrett, D. & Basil, G.: *Painting of India*, Skira, 1963, Plate 10; Pal, P.A., op. cit., Fig. 97, p.101; Badaoni, A.: *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, trans. W. H. Lowe and T. W. Haig, 3 vols., Calcutta.
- ⁴ Kühnel, Ernst and Hermann Goet: *Indian Book Painting from Jahangir's Album in the State Library in Berlin*. London, 1926, Fig. 14 (Border detail from Page 22a).
- ⁵ Stchoukine, Ivan; *La peinture indienne à l'époque des Grands Moghols*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1929, Plate XL VIIIa.
- ⁶ Havell, E.B.: *A Handbook of Indian Art*, London, 1920. Plate LXXIV B; Acc. No. 695, Bharat Kalan Bhawan, Varanasi.
- ⁷ Smith, V.A.: op. cit, Plate A.
- ⁸ Pal, P.A.: (ed.) *Master Artist of the imperial Mughal Court*, Bombay, 1991, Fig. 5.
- ⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰ Album No. -7/10, Raza Library Rampur.
- ¹¹ Brown, P.: *Indian Painting under the Mughal (1550-1750 A.D)*, New York, 1975, Plates LI, LII; Bussogl, M.: *Indian miniatures*, Middlesex., 1969, Fig. 62.
- ¹² Brown, P.: op. cit, Plates LI, LII; Bussogl, M.: op. cit. Fig. 62.
- ¹³ Ibid, Plate. XVII, Brown, P; op. cit, Plate LXVII.
- ¹⁴ Majar, C.H. Buck: *Faith Fair and Festival of India*, New Delhi, 1977, p.208.
- ¹⁵ Tavernier J. B; *Travels in India*, trans. V. Ball, New Delhi, 1977, Vol. II, pp.139, 140, 141.
- ¹⁶ Ibid, p.196.
- ¹⁷ Ibid, Vol. II, pp.200.
- ¹⁸ Ibid, Vol. II, pp.145-146.
- ¹⁹ Peter Mundy: *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667*, Edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Vol. III. Cambridge, the Hakluyt Society, 1919, reprint, New Delhi, 1994, p.106.
- ²⁰ Tavernier, op.cit, p.197.
- ²¹ Bernier, F.: *Travels in the Mogul Empire, A.D. 1656–1668*, Trans. Archibald Constable, rev. Vincent A. Smith, New Delhi: Oriental Reprint, 1983, p.317.
- ²² Tavernier, J.B., : op. cit, Pp.68.
- ²³ Smith, V.A.: op. cit., Plate 184 (a).
- ²⁴ Brown, P.: op. cit, Plate LI; Pal, P.A: op. cit, Fig. 12.
- ²⁵ Binyon, Laurence. *Asiatic Art in the British Museum: Sculpture and Painting*. Paris and Brussels, 1925, Plate XVIII: Bussagl, M.: op. cit, fig. 43, (on Page 97).
- ²⁶ Binyon, L.; *Asiatic Arts, Sculpture and Painting*, New Delhi, 1981, Plate. LVII; Binyon, L.; op. cit, Plate LXVI; Smith, V.A.: op. cit, Plate B; Acc. No. 61.1004, National Museum, New Delhi.
- ²⁷ Khandalavala, Karl: *Indian Sculpture and Paintings: An Introductory Study*, Bombay, 1938, Plate XVIII; Coomaraswamy, Ananda K. *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Part VI: Mughal Painting*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930, Fig. on p.40; Binyan, L.: op. cit., Plate LVII.
- ²⁸ Bussogli, M.: op. cit, Plate 62 (see Border detail).
- ²⁹ Ibid; Peter Mundy; *Travel in Europe and Asia*, op. cit, Vol. II, PP.176-177.
- ³⁰ Binyon, L.: op. cit, Plates XIX, XXVIII; Tavernier; *Travels in India*, op.cit, Vol. II, p.316; Peter Mundy: op. cit, Vol. II, PP 176-177; Petra Della Valle: *The Travels of Della Valle in India*, trns. By Edward Grey, Londo, 1891, Vol. I, pp.94-100; Robinson, W.R.; *Islamic Painting and Arts of Book*, London, 1976, p.262, Plate 129, V.73.
- ³¹ Album No. 7/1, (photo No. 167), Raza Library, Rampur.
- ³² Acc. No. 79.444, National Museum, New Delhi.
- ³³ Skelton, R; ed. *The Indian Heritage: Court Life and Arts under Mughal Rule*, London, 1982, Fig. 3, p.157, Proceeding from left to right Fig. No. 9;
- ³⁴ Kuhnel, E. & Goetz, II.: *Indian Book painting.*, op. city, Folio 25a, Plate 39.
- ³⁵ Stchoukine, Ivan: op. cit, Plate LX.
- ³⁶ Robinson, W.R.: *Islamic Art*, op. city, p.262, Plate 129, V.73
- ³⁷ Ibid, Plate 125 (V. 68), p.258.
- ³⁸ Pal, P.A.: *Indian Painting (V.I), (1000-1700), A Catalogue of This Los Angeles County Museum of Art Collection*, 1993, Ahmadabad, p.304, Plate 11.
- ³⁹ Amina Okada: *Imperial Mughal Painters, Indian Miniature from the 16th & 17th Centuries*, Tran. Deke Dusenberre, Paris, 1992, Flammarian, P.4.
- ⁴⁰ Akbarnama,: op.cit, Vol II, p.236.
- ⁴¹ Ibid, Vol.II, pp.422-424.
- ⁴² Ibid, Vol. III, p.513; Monserrate, Father, A, J.: *The commentary of Father Monserratte*, Trans, J.S. Holyland, Oxford, 1922, pp.115-116.

⁴³ *Ain-i Akbari*, (Blockmen), op. cit, Vol. I, p.339.

⁴⁴ Coomaraswamy, A.K.: "Portrait of Gosain Jadrup". in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1919, p. 389; Foster W.: *Early travels in India (1616-1619)*; Jalandhar, 1993, p.343.

⁴⁵ *Tuzuk-e Janangiri*,:op.cit, Vol.I, p.355.

⁴⁶ Ibid, Vol. II, P.P. 52, 104

⁴⁷ Foster, W.(ed.): *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, Jalandhar,1993 Vol. II, p.380.

⁴⁸ Gupta, S.P., *Masterpieces from the National Museum collection*, New Delhi 1985, p. 101, Plate 132.
