
The legacy of performing art: exploring the eighteenth Century Jaipur *Gunijankhana*

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Indian music gradually evolved through the efforts of many patrons, musicologists, and maestros who kept innovating and inventing. Jaipur *gunijankhana*(music workshop)which stood test of time and it had the benefit of surviving till twentieth century. It sustained its legacy till India achieved independence. Once the colonial intervention came about, music came in close scrutiny of the west .There were two divergent opinions on music. Late eighteenth century Orientalist William Jones wrote the first western treatise and scholarly inquiry on Indian Music.¹ His essay on musical modes of *Hindoos* first appeared in Asiatic researches. Jones is known for his encyclopaedic knowledge. He attempted to study Indian music in a positive frame. Another school of opinion is of those who considered Indian music as inelegant, disagreeable, insufferable, harsh, making piercing sound. To this school of critics of Indian music belong Captain Campbell (journey overland to India), Abbe J. A. Dubois, and Walter Hamilton writing on Indian music in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The legacy of music is evident from sculptures, antiquities, literature, temple art and historical works. It evolved under the aegis of wide range of patrons ranging from Sufi saints to Emperors.² Music developed for devotional and recreational purposes. Like the promotion of music at court, shrines³ and temples were also significant hub where music and singing were carried out from generation to generation.⁴In royal courts, music was employed in order to unwind from the hectic administrative and military responsibilities and was often played in evenings till the dawn broke. The Emperor and nobles regaled in enjoying the pleasures of music and other art forms.

Royal Music was developed at many levels. They maintained large establishments⁵ consisting of a large retinue of staff to cater to the aristocratic luxuries. Books were compiled on vital elements of music. The airs were invented and polished. Music maestros (*ustads*)⁶ imparted training in order to hand over rich legacy as also to overcome their shortcomings.⁷ Musical instruments were invented and improved. Gradually, the Imperial music impacted different states of the Empire and Jaipur was one such state.

AbulFazl is extremely praiseworthy of the talisman of music and informs that Akbar patronised this enchanting art. Musicians belonging to different clans adorned the court, among these were Hindus, Iranis, Turanis, and Kashmiris. There was a schedule to be followed, one day was assigned to each musician.⁸ Among the principal musicians were singers (*Goyanda*) chanters (*Khanadas*) and players (*Sazandas*). We have an exhaustive inventory of artists belonging to above categories, among whom Tansen stands out as the first and foremost. Lauding Tansen's feat in music AbulFazl says that such an artist is seen after lapse of thousand years. Tantarang Khan, the son of Tansen is also mentioned in this list of illustrious musicians.⁹

Following the example at the Imperial court during Akbar's time when musicians like Tansen entertained audience, the Amber rulers also promoted music at Amber court. Younger brother of Man Singh, namely Madho Singh took keen interest in dance and drama. Emperor had granted him Bhangarh in *jagir*. He had a palatial mansion at Agra named Madhav Bhavan. Tansen and other eminent singers and musicians were regular visitors in that mansion. Madho Singh is reported to have patronised musicians. One such eminent artist whom he patronised was Pundrik Vithal (sixteenth century), a native of Khandesh, who had earlier served Sultan Burhan Khan, the ruler of Khandesh. After the annexation of Khandesh, Pundrik Vithal had joined the *Mughal* court.¹⁰ He authored *Nartanya*, *Nirnaya*, *Raga Nanjari*, *Snighra Bodhini*, *Nama Mala* and

ShadaraBodhini, NamalaChandrodaya. Sources reveal that most of the Rajas of Rajasthan were art loving and patronised music.¹¹

Performing art

In the 17th – 18th c. performing art centres, viz *gunijankhana, gandharshala, nrtyaghar, rangshala, talimkhana, sangeetprakash* were established in various states such as Jaipur, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Alwar, Bikaner, etc.¹² Many artists or performers were appointed and these artists with their experience and practice brought forward a generation of artists who founded varied *gharanasin* Rajasthan. Jaipur, Jhalawar, Bikaner, Tonk, etc established huge art centres and appointed therecompetent artists. There were different experts in varied fields, like *goinda* (vocalist), *sazinda* (instrumentalist), *kalawant, gandharv, gayak, kirtankar, sangitkar, sarodya, sitarya, haluka, jaltarangvadak, beenakar, pakhawaji, kathak, rasdhari, kanwal, dholkia*, etc.¹³

Karkhana set up

Gunijankhana is the *Karkhana* which comprised of musicians, artists, singers (*gayak*), instrument players (*vadak*) and dancers (*nrtak*). Etymologically, *Gunijankhana* is debated to be a derivative of *Gunjan*, i.e. echo or *Gunijan* meaning skilful or dexterous (artists).¹⁴ Amber Rulers grew up to enjoy the aesthetics of the Mughal court. As different artists, writers, poets, painters and sculptors displayed their talent, likewise musicians and dancers thrived and built a reputation for Jaipur. Jaipur competed in *khyal* singing with Gwalior, Indore, and Kirana (Agra) *gharana*. Jaipur *kathak* also competed with Banaras and Lucknow art, and Jaipur *Beenakars* were known to be established.¹⁵

Karkhanas were not isolated units. They were interacting entities. The archival records like *JamakharchGunijankhana* furnishes interesting information on raw material such as wood, metal, cloth, accessories that were needed for preparing musical instruments,¹⁶ artists involved in music and related art forms like singing dancing, as well as expenditure incurred in music

industry. The *pothikhana* documents give us information on works on music prepared in *pothikhana*, viz. *SangeetDarpan*, *SangeetMimansa*, *Geet Prakash* or *TaalAdhyay*.¹⁷ Amber atelier history of music can be studied from different literary works namely *RagManjari*, *SwarSagar*, *RadhaGovindSar*, *RagRatnakar*.¹⁸ Amber atelier prepared *Ragmala* paintings which are based on visual depiction of classical Indian musical melodies called *Ragas*. *Ragmala* depicts the theme of musical note or *Raga*.¹⁹ *Ragmala* paintings are also extant in museums of Rajasthan. The beautiful masterpieces of musical instruments adorn different museums of Jaipur and Jodhpur.²⁰

In the nineteenth century fame of Jaipur music reached its zenith which rested on practice and experience of more than two centuries. Music was patronised by Jaipur rulers, the rich collection of books on music preserved in *pothikhanamanifests* this longing for music.

Establishment of *gharana* was due to patronage of rulers and their *harem*. The nomenclature was according to founder, nativity and place. *Gharana*, though literally implies household, is meant to imply a school that practises a particular *reeti /shaili* of music. The art is handed from teacher to student (*guru-shishya*). There were different *gharanas* in Rajasthan and the artists settled there. It should not surprise us that their generations are still traceable. Credit goes to the illustrious line of artists for adding glory, through their art, to the royal lifestyle.

History

Medieval music can be traced from Man Singh Tomar,²¹ Swami Haridas and Tansen among others. The eldest son of Tansen was Surat Sen, and *Soniyagharana* (school) was established in his name in Jaipur. In fact, three *gharanas* were the offshoots of Tansen. *Soniyagharana* took up both *drupad* (a type of Indian classical singing) and *sitar vada* (playing) in Lucknow, Banaras and Rampur. *Soniyagharana* was divided into two. First one who became famous *Veenavada* of Kishangarh (Ajmer) was Sam Mohan Singh, marrying his daughter in his family. Their next generation started using both *Dagur* and *khandarvani*. Second one was led by the youngest son of Tansen (Tantarang Khan/ Vilas Khan) who specialised in *DrupadShudhVani* and *Rubab*.

Tansen's daughters Saraswati Devi and Trilok Devi were *kalawants* which is evident from Ajmer Archives. Jaipur earned fame for cultivating varied realms of art.²²(Various realms of art form are depicted in Table 1.)

Table 1. Various realms of art forms

Type	Art form	Schools
Singing	<i>Drupad</i>	<i>Daagargharana</i>
<i>Vadan</i>	<i>Sitar</i>	<i>Saini gharana</i>
<i>Vadan</i>	<i>Beena</i>	<i>Beenakargharana</i>
<i>Vadan</i>	<i>Pakhawaz</i>	<i>Jaipurnathdwara</i>
Dance	Dance	<i>Jaipurnathdwara</i>

Musicians

Musicians were court artists and public performers. They came from different countries, religion, and castes. They contributed immensely to the cultural life of the period. Reputed artists are considered mention worthy in *Baburnama* and *Ain-i-Akbari*. In similar strain Jones observes that music in India is practised by eminent ranking Indians (often referred to as *musalmans* and *hindoos*) rather than mercenary (hired) musicians. However, Solvyns observes that musicians were being largely drawn from lower castes like scavengers, leather worker, palanquin bearer which he disdainfully terms as *loutchias* and *pariahs*.

Code of conduct of musicians

The presence of musicians was welcomed in the Mughal court and they were assigned a particular place there. There were rules for positioning musicians/artists in court. While on the right-hand side, there were seated nobles, the left side was assigned to artists. On the festive occasions, singers were the first to perform, followed by *sitar*, *veena*, *sursingar*, and *rubab*, then singers sang *alap*, *drupad*, then *hori* and *khyal*. Singing was initiated by youth and ended with

elderly and last to perform was *ustad*(music maestro). Gatherings were separate for instrumental and vocal music, and dancing.²³

The artists took due care of their health and hygiene, physical fitness and proper diet. Their day started with practice under *guru* and they did not perform unless allowed by *guru*. The legacy of this art was handed from generation to generation.²⁴ All artists had competitive spirit to excel in their realm.

Occasions to play music were afforded at birth, marriage, parties, welcome ceremonies and other festive ceremonies. Even if these occasions did not take place, musicians/artists had to appear for attendance at temple, palace, and seraglio, etc. where singing and dancing were regular custom. Performers aimed at practice, bold performances, application of novelties and excellence in skills of artists and their disciples.

Many rulers of Rajasthan themselves learnt music and singing. Experts were appointed for the purpose of teaching instrumental/vocal music to rulers and nobles. They were accordingly remunerated handsomely for the purpose. *Jagirs*, mansions, palanquins, horse, elephant were conferred on them.²⁵ They were also honoured by *siropao*, jewellery, cash, and distinguished titles of meritorious distinction, like *sangeetchuraman*, *sangeetbhaskar*, *sangeetsaroj*, *aftab e musiki*²⁶.

Sur (key or scale of musical note)

The *sur* play vital role in the song form. *Sur* are seven in number and are adapted from various calls of animals or birds, like *saraja* from peacock, *rishab* from *papiha*(cuckoo), *gandhara* from goat, *madhyam* from *kulank* (crane), *pancam* from *koyal* (nightingale), *dhaivat* from frog, and *nikhad* from elephant.²⁷

Musical instruments

There is a whole range of music instruments that were widely used for various occasions. Musical instruments like *Karna*, *GhiChak*, *Qubaz*, *Surna*, *Qanan* and *Sarmandal*, mentioned in *Ain*²⁸ were not prepared in Jaipur *Karkhanas*. Poet Amrit Rai, author of *Manchrita*, writes about performances of musical instruments, like *Jaltarang*, *Veena*, and *Rabab*, in Amber palace in 1585 A.D. Some of the important music instruments are listed in the table 2 given below. The museums of Rajasthan have profusely decorated musical instruments with beautiful necks, keyboard and resonators chiselled with animal, floral and geometrical motifs, studded with gems.

The Flemish artist Francois Baltazard Solvyns made first systematic portrayal of Indian music instruments. He prepared etchings and produced a folio edition of 288 plates.²⁹ *Les Hindus* also published 4 elephantine volumes, where one finds extremely critical description of Indian music and musical instruments.

Table2: Classification of Musical Instruments

Name of the instrument	Type
<i>Pakhwaz/mridung</i>	Drum
<i>Tabla</i>	Drum
<i>Dhol</i>	Drum
<i>Tambura/tambura</i>	String instrument
<i>Sarangi</i>	String instrument
<i>Rabab</i>	String instrument
<i>Sehtar</i>	String instrument
<i>Beni</i>	String instrument
<i>Manjeera</i>	Paired cup cymbals
<i>Ghungroo</i>	Small bells

After having examined various aspects of Indian music, it may be added here that we are fortunate to have primary archival records on music industry which are housed in Rajasthan state archives, Bikaner and exquisite masterpieces of musical instruments in museums of Rajasthan. This information can be substantiated by *Baburnama*³⁰, *Ain*³¹ and *Mankutuhul*. Faqirullah classifies musical instruments into four categories viz. *tat* (stringed), *bitat* (skin covered), *Ghana* (percussion) *sikhara* (blowing instrument)³²

Mughal Emperors took keen interest in music; they relished classic and innovative tunes. AbulFazl credits Akbar with the creation of more than two hundred tunes, including *Jalalshahi*, *Mahamir* and *nauroz*.³³ Consequently, musical instruments occupied considerable significance. Musicians developed and improved many musical instruments. While some of the musical instruments are commonly known even today, others have become extinct. It would thus be worthwhile to describe the musical instruments of Jaipur *karkhana*.

Pakhawaz/Pakhawaj- It is a barrel shaped drum like instrument, which is empty bellied played upon with open hand rather than fingers while tuning is controlled by round wooden blocks which manage tension.³⁴ Solvyns informs us that the *pakhawaz* is an essential accompaniment of *dhrupad* genre of music. Earlier it was played in *kirtan* singing of *Vallabha* sect of western India as well as in dance performance at court. Among the *nidrums* it has enjoyed high esteem. Perhaps this is the reason why the performer belonged to high castes³⁵. The goat skin used for covering ends of this drum and ropes are tied to goat skin for tightening.

Although from Solvyns' account it would appear that the appearance of the instrument was plainly insipid. However, our records show considerable variations in it. Velvet was used to frame and padding purpose. The price was determined by the nature of workmanship. Velvet was employed for different purposes, like strap used to hold the instrument across the neck. The velvet of Vijaysar was particularly preferred and it carried handsome price. *Pakhawaz* of Pilibhit

wood was in demand and moderately priced variety was also available. The statement of price mentions the *Pakhawaz* of Vijaysar variety of *makhmal* at Rs 30/-, the *Pakhawaz* of Pilibhit ranged from Rs 30/- to Rs 07/-, the velvet cushion of *Pakawaz* was of Rs 15, plain velvet framed variety was priced at Rs 12/-³⁶

Tabla- *Tabla* is the most commonly played drum. Structurally it is an egg-shaped or hemispherical instrument. The entire instrument of *tabla* consists of two drums, the *bayan*- left side drum and the *dayan*- right side drum.³⁷ The left drum is a small hemispherical structure made up of clay or metal such as copper, etc. The right hand drum is made of wood usually of *shishum*, *neem* or mango wood. Animal (usually goat) skin is stretched across the open ends of both the drums. *Tabla* is an instrument of fingers, whereas *pakhavaj* is an instrument of an open hand. *Tabla* became more popular in twentieth century; earlier *pakhawaz* and *mridung* were in regular use. *Tabla* seems to be suited for lighter variety of music usually of joyous type and hence was very popular with the common people specially in folk music. Price statement gives rate of *tabla* as Rs 30/=.³⁸

Dhol- is an elliptical drum. There are variations in its kinds and size. It also finds mention in *Ain*.³⁹ It was a very popular folk drum. It was barrel shaped with skin coverings on both sides. For beating the drum, use of hands, sticks, or combination of both was practised. *Dholki*, a variation of *dhol* was priced at Rs 30/=.⁴⁰ *Dhol* also finds mention in *Razmnama* (Jaipur).⁴¹ It created rhythm in dance performance or vocal recital.

Tambura, also known as **Tamburi**, or its present version *tanpura*, is long-necked fretless Indian lute. This lute has a hollow neck and usually has four metal strings attached to a round body. The musician plays the instrument by plucking the strings while seated behind it. The *tambura* supplies a drone like notes of music and is used in both classical and folk music of

India. Solvyns describes it as a magnificent instrument, covered with paint and gilding, ornamented to an excess of luxury. It is played by 'touching one the four chords which comprise this instrument. 'It is an object of luxury according to him flaunted in the best rooms of house to attract attention, it is observed as symbol of wealth because of patronage of *tambura* playing musicians by *zamindars*.⁴² The Jaipur *tamburas* were fitted with a variety of fabric, such as *kharwa* , *momjamarangin* , *momjamagaziand mashrusada* .The last being in most popular demand.⁴³

Sarangī is another instrument that finds mention in *gunijankhana* document. It is perhaps the only instrument in classical Indian music which can produce almost all the nuances of vocal music of any style of classical Indian music, for example *dhrupad*, *khayal*, *thumri*, *tappa*, *ghazal*, *bhajan*. Solvyns describes it as violin/cello with more cords. According to him, of all kinds of musical instruments, *sarangi* comes nearest to that of European music. The performers of this instrument were identified as *loutchas*.⁴⁴ According to Faqirullah, *sarangi* is actually *Ghichak* and is played in a similar manner. In size it is smaller than *Rabab*.⁴⁵

Rabab is a melodic string instrument in the lute family. It is described by Babur.⁴⁶ It is a long-necked lute with a slight bulging body. It has two playing strings which are plucked by means of a small blade like structure-plectrum. Many features of *rabab* are similar to the Indian *sarangi*, though it is played differently. According to *Ain*, the musician Qasim Bar created a variation of *Rabab*. Faqirullah observes that *rabab* had 6 to 8 strings in its varied types. The extra copper wire ensured that it did not slack in rainy season. However, the extra strings need application of *mulayamnawaz* technique which an *ustadikamil* (musical maestro of high stature) can accomplish.⁴⁷ Solvyns compares it to Italian Mandolin of eighteenth century.⁴⁸

Sitar- Early *sitar* or *sehtar*⁴⁹ was a small instrument with a pear-shaped resonator and a relatively long, thin neck with gut frets. It was played by a plectrum worn on the right hand for plucking its strings. *Sitar* gained increasing popularity due to the *SenaiGharana* of Jaipur. According to Solvyns, *sitar* resembles guitar in form and name. According to him, European could comfortably handle it, since Indians prefer merely to touch the chords, which creates dull and monotonous sound”. His description indicates it was an accompanying instrument in courtesan dancing and as solo instrument of professional Muslim musicians.⁵⁰ According to Alistair Dick, history of *sitar* can be traced to *Tambur*. He postulates that the Indian *sitar* and *uzbikdutar* share a common ancestry. His argument is based on structural similarities exhibited by the instrument details.⁵¹

Ghungroos are small metallic anklet bells that are strung together. For producing music they are tied around the feet of a dancer to accentuate and complement the rhythmic aspects of dance. They are commonly used in folk music and *bhajans* (devotional songs) to add another wave of music to the rhythm. They are generally strung together either on a thin cloth string or brightly coloured velvet patch of cloth and worn immediately above the ankle. When used in music only, *gunghroos* are attached on a stick or a disc and used to produce resonance or add a jingling effect to different sounds.

Veena is a string instrument and finds mention in *Ain*.⁵² *Veena* is one of the important solo instruments of Indian classical music. It is described as an instrument composed of two pumpkins of unequal size and cut through the middle and united by long tube of wood upon which are stretched several chords of spun cotton. Solvyns affirms the sound as very sweet and harmonious, especially in higher notes. He adds that the musician would be keenly heard with pleasure in an European concert.⁵³ According to William Jones, *Veena* is the finest instrument of ancient times and that it was invented by Narada.⁵⁴ Maharaja Sawai Ram Singh II had learnt to

play *Veena* beautifully from Rajab Ali Khan.⁵⁵ The Raja held the latter in high esteem and conferred assignment, palanquin, etc. on him.

To conclude the above perusal of *gunijankhana* indicates that Indian music experienced peak of eloquence. During colonial intervention it was considered by some as a ray of unpleasant noise. This un-aesthetic criticism notwithstanding, Indian music invented and reinvented itself to survive such blistering attacks. Over a period of time it has finally emerged as an echo and resonance of rich Indian culture.

Endnotes

¹. *The Works of Sir William Jones*, Vol. IV, London, 1807. pp. 15-16.

2. Richness to Indian music was rendered by saint poet musicologist Amir Khusrau. He is credited for the fusion of *saut* and *naqsh* strains of Persian music with Hindi *geet*. He gave major inputs into the popular song forms of Delhi, namely *qawl*, *tarana*, *khyal*, *naqshnigar*, *basit*, *tillalana* and *sohila*. See Faqirullah (Nawab Saif Khan), *Tarjuma-i-Mankutuhala & Risala-i-Ragadarpana*, Eds.

Sahab Sarmadee, Motilal Banarsi Dass Publications Pvt. Ltd., Delhi. p. 101-103.

3. *Farman* addressed to the *jagirdar* and *karori* of Ajmer regarding discharge of duty at the shrine, which included *qawwali* on Fridays and during 'Urs time, *Farman* dated. 26 *zilaqada*, 20 *julus* 1056 A.H/ 3 January, 1647 A.D., Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. (henceforth R.S.A.B)

4. Nathdwara Goswami were one of such examples; they belonged to *Vallabh* sect of *Pushtimarga* convention of *Kirtan* singing. They specialised in playing *sitar* and *pakhawaz*, see also Pratap Singh Chowdry, *Rajasthan: Sangeetaur Sangeetkar*, Jawahar Kala Kendra Jaipur, Publication Division Jaipur, p. 39.

5. On the same pattern were developed Jaipur *karkhanas*, which included the music workshop. *Jama Kharch Gunijan Khana Huzuri Mitijyestha Sudi*, 13 V.S. 1818/1761 A.D. Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

6. *Mankutuhala*, pp. 179-185.

7. Such performing defects included *Sandista* (The act of trying to sing with clenched teeth), and *Bhita* (to express the notes with timidity and lack of confidence), etc. *Ibid*. pp. 150-155.

8. See, Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eds. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Sir Syed Academy, Aligarh, 2005. pp. 507-508.

9. *Ibid*.

10. Pundarik Vithal was an eminent scholar at Akbar's court. His literary feat was to relate Persian melodies with the Indian tunes, see, *Mankutuhala*, p. xxv.

¹¹. Girja Shankar Sharma, *Sources on Social and Economic History of Rajasthan 17th-20th C. A.D.*, Vikas Prakashan, Bikaner, 2005. pp. 188-194.

¹². *Rajasthan: Sangeetaur Sangeetkar*, op. cit., p. 8.

¹³. *Dastur Komwar* provides detailed information on each of these categories. See, *Dastur Komwar*, R.S.A.B.

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- ¹⁴. *Cultural Heritage of Jaipur*, Eds., Jai Narayan Asopa, United Book Traders, Jodhpur, 1982. p. 96.
- ¹⁵. *Rajasthan: SangeetaurSangeetkar*, *op.cit.* pp.8-10.
- ¹⁶. *JamaKharchGunijanKhanaHuzuriMitijyesthaSudi*, 13 V.S. 1818/1761 A.D. RSAB.
- ¹⁷. *JamaKharchPothikhanaDated 1 Safar 1109/19 Oct. 1698 to 20 Rajab 1111/ 11 Jan. 1700*. RSAB.
- ¹⁸. *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹. *JamaKharch Surat khana*, 1787/1730 to 1788/1733 R.S.A.B
- ²⁰. *Museums of Rajasthan*, Eds., Chandramani Singh, Jawahar Kala Kendra, Jaipur, 2009. pp. 10-11, 57, 112-113.
- ²¹. Man Singh, the ruler of state of Gwalior was known for his thorough insights into music (*ilm I mausiqi*). He authored *Mankutuhul*. He initiated the *dhrupad* compositions of music. *Mankutuhul*, pp. 11, 97.
- ²². *Rajasthan: SangeetaurSangeetkar*, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-23.
- ²³. *Ibid.* p. 11.
- ²⁴. *Ibid.*
- ²⁵. *Gunijankhana Budget 1882-1945 A.D. Cf. Rajasthan: SangeetAurSangeetkar*, pp. 53-55, 57-58.
- ²⁶. *DosturKomwar*, Vol. 23. RSAB.
- ²⁷. *Mankutual*, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-91
- ²⁸. *Ain-i-Akbari*, *op. cit.*, p. 682.
29. Robert Hardgrave and Stephen M Slavek, *Instruments and Music Culture in Eighteenth Century India: The SolvynsPotraits*, *South Asian Music*, Vol. 20 No. 1. University of Texas Press. 1988-1989. pp. 1-92
30. *BaburNama*, English tr., A. S. Beveridge, *BaburNama: Memories of Babur*, Oriental Books, New Delhi, 1922pp. 289-293.
- ³¹. *Aina-i-Akbari*, *op. cit.*
- ³². *Mankutuhul*, p. 122-123.
- ³³. *Ain-i-Akbari*, *op. cit.*
- ³⁴. *Ibid*, p. 128-129.
- ³⁶. *JamaKharchGunijanKhana*, *op. cit.*
- ³⁷. *Ibid*, p. 128-129.
- ³⁸. *JamaKharchGunijanKhana*, *op. cit.*
39. *Ain-i-Akbari*, *op.cit.*
- ⁴⁰. *JamaKharchGunijanKhana*, *op. cit.*
- ⁴¹. Razm plate. 72. (Jaipur). Cf., S P Verma, *Art and Material Culture in the Paintings of Akbar's Court*, Vikas Publishing House, 1978. p. 66.
- ⁴². *SolvynsPotraits*, *op. cit.*
- ⁴³. *JamaKharchGunijanKhana*, *op.cit.*
44. *SolvynsPotraits*, *op.cit.*
- ⁴⁵. *Mankutuhul*, *op. cit.*, p. 126-127.
- ⁴⁶. *Babur, Babarnama*, *op. cit.*
- ⁴⁷. *Mankutuhul*, *op. cit.*, pp. xxiii, xxxvii.
48. *SolvynsPotraits*, *op. cit.*
49. *seh-* means three in Persian,
50. *Solvyns Portraits*, *op. cit.*
- ⁵¹. *Ibid.*
- ⁵². *Ain-i-Akbari*, *op. cit.*
- ⁵³. *SolvynsPortraits*, *op..cit.*
54. *The Works of Sir William Jones*, Vol. IV, London, 1807. pp. 15-16.
55. *Cultural heritage of India*, p. 98.
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