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The Operations of the Imperial Mughal Library

Abstract: To complement the extensive literary information about the imperial Mughal library documentary evidence can be gleaned from surviving manuscripts. Dozens of notes written by emperors and princes, hundreds of inspection notes and valuations recorded by their librarians, and most recently thousands of seal impressions by Mughal officials make for a fuller picture of the actual workings of the Mughal library. This includes a practically uninterrupted chain of chief librarians and the roster of librarians active during the reign of emperors from Akbar to ‘Alamgir.

The imperial Mughal library was remarkable both as a physical repository of accumulated knowledge and as an institution of meticulous record-keeping. Mughal chronicles have provided considerable information about the library’s scope and composition. An inventory completed at the time of Emperor Akbar’s death in 1605 quantified its holdings as 24,000 volumes – far larger than almost any contemporary library in the world – with a cumulative valuation of 6,500,000 rupees.¹ The library’s vast size naturally led Abu’l Fazl, Akbar’s court chronicler, to boast of its comprehensiveness, and by extension, the emperor’s encyclopedic acquaintance with all human knowledge. Abu’l Fazl describes the library as divided into parts, some within the harem, and others outside its quarters (*Birun*), with each section further subdivided according to value, language, and prestige of the discipline it encompasses, such as poetical and prose literary texts, sciences, law, and Sufism.² Importantly, Abu’l Fazl remarks that the inspection of books followed the same order. Because the emperor was acknowledged to be illiterate – a quality extolled as evidence that his superior understanding was not acquired from men but was an innate gift from God – the chronicler also pointedly explains that Akbar listened repeatedly to books read aloud to him, and that he made marks with his own pen where the daily reading ceased.³ Abu’l Fazl then provides an extensive list of classic texts of Persian literature, the most esteemed category of

1 Smith 1917, 424 states that these numbers were copied from Mughal records by Sebastian Manrique; the amount is equivalent in 2017 values to £23,890,674 or € 21,023,793.

2 Abu’l Fazl 1977, vol. 1, 109–110.

3 Abu’l Fazl 1977, vol. 1, 110. Although I have looked for such marks for more than three decades, I have never found anything that meets this description.

knowledge, and lauds the emperor's commissioning of a new, more immediately intelligible version of the *Kalila wa Dimna*, a didactic book of animal fables, entitled *'Iyar-i danish*.⁴ He then proceeds to mention historical texts, including the newly composed *Tarikh-i alfi* (History of the Millennium), and numerous translations of Hindu literature written in Sanskrit, including the *Haribans* (*Harivamsa*), or genealogy of Krishna.⁵ He singles out for further discussion the Hindu epics of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, translated in the 1580s. Elsewhere, we are informed that the highest-quality books were reserved for royalty and were stored separately.⁶ In short, this official account of the imperial Mughal library, which was written in the mid-1590s, describes the structural foundation of an institution that was to grow larger and vastly more bureaucratic over the course of the seventeenth century.

The Mughals wrote extensively on their manuscripts, rivalled in this activity perhaps only by the Chinese. The Mughal practice of marking ownership with a combination of inspection notes and seal impressions on their flyleaves started slowly and modestly, with extremely rare examples of impressions of the seals of the first and second emperors of the dynasty, Babur (1483–1530, r. 1526–1530) and Humayun (r. 1530–1540 and 1555–1556). Both their seals appear without accompanying contemporary notes at the top of the flyleaf of a famous illustrated manuscript of the *Shahnama* made for Muhammad Juki, a descendant of the Mughals' ancestor Timur, in Herat about 1444 (Fig. 1).⁷ Around the seals are terse later inscriptions that read *khassa* (royal) and *awwal duwum* (first class, second grade) along with a note of verification – *sah* (correct) – below that. Below them is a large rectangular field painted over with gold, evidently intended to obscure whatever notations happened to occupy that space and to furnish a pristine ground for impressions of the seals of Emperors Jahangir (r. 1605–1627, the circular seal in top centre), Shahjahan (r. 1627–1658), and 'Alamgir (r. 1658–1707, the distinctive tear-drop-shaped seals to the right and below). The round seal of Akbar (r. 1556–1605), also very rare, is conspicuously absent. The large inscription, written by Shahjahan himself, offers a formulaic notice of the manuscript's official entry into his library on the date of his auspicious accession (fifth of the month of *Bahman Ilahi*, corresponding to the eighth of the month of *Jumada* II 1037 AH/14 February 1628 CE), along with his own patrimony back to his grandfather, Akbar, but no

⁴ Abu'l Fazl 1977, vol. 1, 110–112.

⁵ Abu'l Fazl 1977, vol. 1, 110–113.

⁶ Abu'l Fazl 1977, vol. 1, 110.

⁷ See Brend 2010, frontispiece and 191–192. The legends and designs of the seals of Babur and Humayun are discussed and transcribed in Brend 2010, 149 and 192.



Fig. 1: London, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, MS 239, fol. 3a, *Shahnama*; Herat, c. 1444. © Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

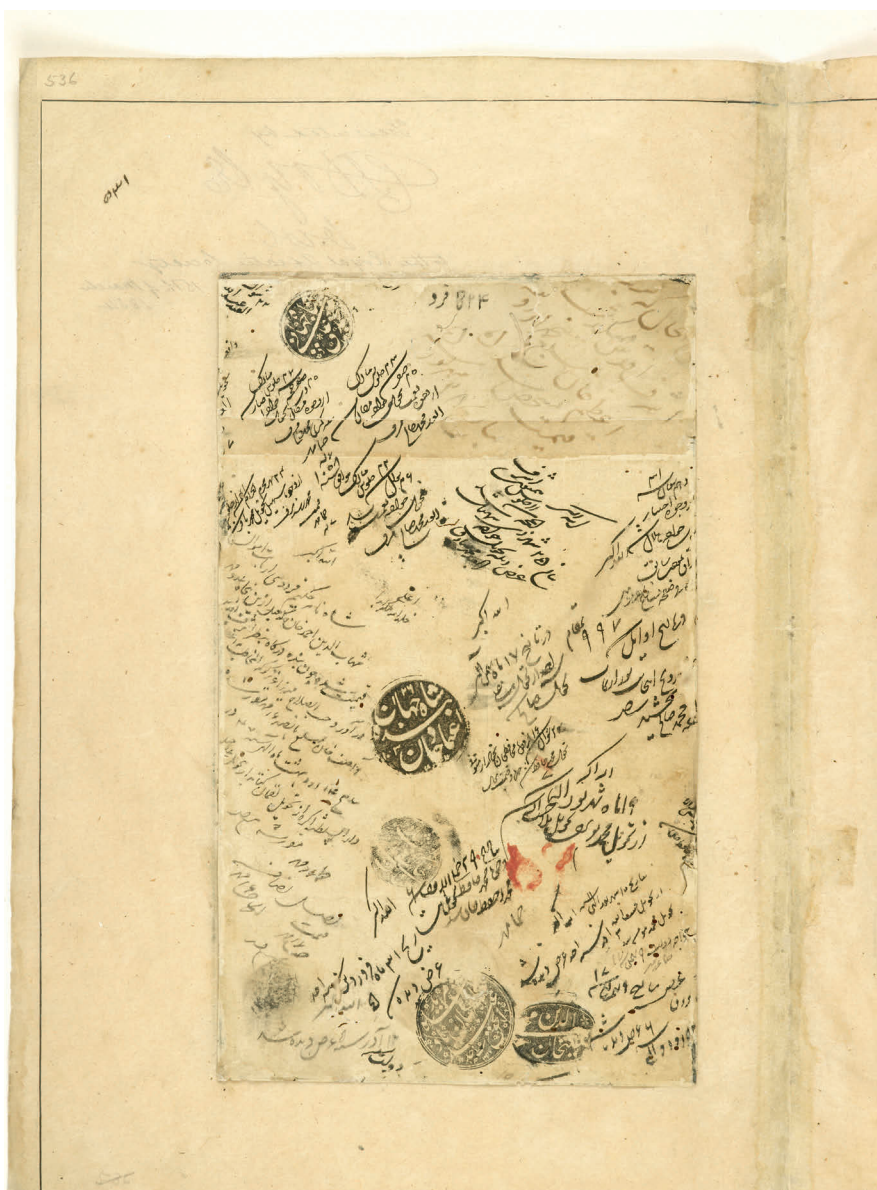


Fig. 2: London, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, MS 239, fol. 536b, *Shahnama*; Herat, c. 1444. © Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

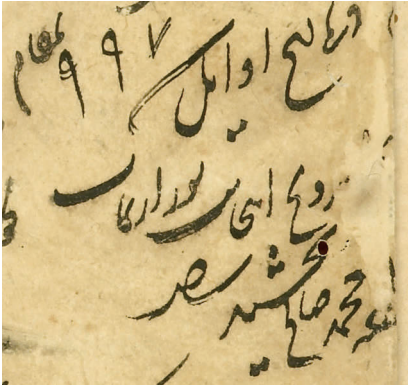


Fig. 3: Detail of Fig. 2.

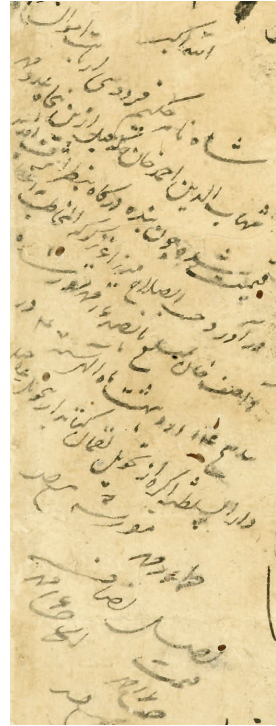


Fig. 4: Detail of Fig. 2.

further. By substance and position at the head of the manuscript, then, this is an unusually complete proclamation of Mughal ancestral ownership from as early as about 1506, asserted by a series of successive emperors.⁸

Surprisingly, however, the chain of Mughal ownership was interrupted from the mid sixteenth century until 1602, as attested by two of the many inspection notes on the final folio (Fig. 2).⁹ One note is dated to the beginning of 997 AH/1588 CE, when the book was apparently passed from the estate of one Shihab al-Din Ahmad Khan (Fig. 3), and the second on 14 *Urdibihisht* regnal year (RY) 47/May 1602 CE, when the valuation from the original 50 *mohurs* (or 500 rupees) was recorded rising dramatically to 500 *mohurs* (equal to 5,000 rupees), making this first-class book one of the most expensive in the whole of the Mughal

⁸ Brend 2010, 148–149, makes the case that Babur acquired the manuscript in Herat in 1506.

⁹ See the decipherment and explication of fol. 536a by A.H. Morton in Brend 2010, 163–175, including a reproduction of the folio with an annotated key.

library at any date (Fig. 4).¹⁰ The remaining twenty-three notes are written in haphazard chronological order on the folio and are interspersed with tangentially related seals. They document the sporadic inspection of the manuscript by individual librarians on dates specified in two different calendars (Islamic and Iranian), reiterate the manuscript's increased valuation, or record the transfer of custody from one librarian to another at irregular intervals up to 1698. Nowhere is basic descriptive information – the name of the text or the calligrapher, the number of folios, and strikingly, the presence of fine paintings and illuminations – even mentioned.

This splendid manuscript introduces the topic discussed in this essay: the human dimension of the imperial Mughal library. Scattered references in various Mughal histories establish the titles and basic duties of the principal library positions under four emperors from Akbar to 'Alamgir, whose combined reigns covered the century and a half from 1556 to 1707. They are the *nazim* or *mu'tamad*, the library's general manager and chief librarian, a nobleman who dealt with finances and personnel, and the *darogha*, the deputy librarian who oversaw the purchase and cataloguing of material. Beneath him were a variety of assistants who carried out the actual inventory and physical inspection of books. These same sources name some learned men associated with the library from the reigns of Akbar to Shahjahan, and suggest that three of them – Mulla Bilal, Shaykh Fayzi, and Maktub Khan – held the position of *nazim* under Akbar and Jahangir, respectively.

As an art historian, I have always worked primarily with actual documents rather than literary texts. More than twenty-nine years ago I began a systematic investigation into the Mughal library, with the aim of seeking a fuller understanding of the commission, circulation, and reception of illustrated manuscripts. I became engrossed in deciphering the many thousands of notes like these, which are written in a difficult clerical script with challenging orthographic conventions and abbreviations. Some of these inspection notes confirmed that portions of the library were transported about the empire by indicating that the inspection of a particular book had been carried out in such places as Agra, Lahore, Ajmer, and Srinagar.¹¹ Others recorded monetary valuations ranging from a high of 20,000 rupees to a low of one rupee, and qualitative categories, calibrated from first to fifth class, with some further subdivisions within the top two categories.¹² But

¹⁰ See Morton in Brend 2010, 167, nos 6–7.

¹¹ See Seyller 1997, 252 for evidence that books were inspected at these Mughal capitals or prominent summering locales.

¹² See Seyller 1997, 274–275 for a chart of valuations and qualitative categories.

these inspection notes most commonly yielded the names of many dozens of low-level librarians, sometimes designated as *tahwildars* (custodians), and the regnal years during which they worked. Other, more specific functions within the library were indicated for a few individuals. For example, Khwaja Dawlat is described as the inspector of the library of the royal harem (*tahwildar-i kitabkhana-yi mahall-i sharif*).¹³ ‘Ambar held the title of custodian of the external library (*tahwildar-i birun*), and Mu’min and Asad Beg were distinguished as superintendents of gifts (*sahibjami’ peshkash*).¹⁴

Eighteen years ago, I began serious work on the second phase of my study of the Mughal library, this time directing my attention to the identification of the owners of thousands of seals found on the same books and occasionally on the reverse of independent paintings. Now, with the bulk of that investigation completed and the perspective gained from time spent on other kinds of projects, I wondered how these three sources might shed light on one another. In particular, I have been keen to understand the function of these seals, which appear frequently and often seem to exist in parallel to the many inspection notes I have logged.



Fig. 5: London, British Library, Or. 14139, fol. 117b (lower centre); detail of *Diwan* of Hafiz, made at Herat or Mashhad, c. 1470; seal of Fathullah, son of Abu'l Fath dated 1006 AH/1597–1598 CE. © British Library.

¹³ Seyller 1997, 248, n. 15.

¹⁴ Seyller 1997, 248 and n. 17.



Fig. 6: Patna, Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Persian cat. 2, no. 237, HL 470, fol. 35a; *Diwan* of Mirza Kamran, copied by Mahmud ibn Ishaq al-Shihabi of Herat, c. 1550–1555 CE; note with the name of the librarian Shaykh Fayzi dated 990 AH/1583 CE. © Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library.

The list in the Appendix charts that line of inquiry, demonstrating the rate of coincidence of librarians' names from various sources during the earliest period of Mughal flyleaf notes, that is, the 1580s and 1590s. One can see from the highlighted names that the overlap between literary sources and inspection notes is more limited than one might expect – less than half – and that the overlap of names drawn from literary sources and seals is still more meagre. This reflects a library system that was still being worked out; both inspection notes and seal impressions were far less plentiful and regular than they would soon become.



Fig. 7: *Fawa'id al-habib* and *Zinjar al-hukama*, fol. 1a, Egypt, c. 1400 CE; present location unknown; two different seals of Abu'l Fayz, the lower one dated 992 AH/1584–85 CE; photograph after Christie's 14 October 2003, lot 25.

Two names that do occur in both contemporary histories and seals are Fathullah and Abu'l Fayz. The former is known from twelve impressions of a seal dated 1006 AH/1597–1598 CE, which simply mentions Fathullah's patrimony and not any expression of self-abasement or allegiance to the emperor; these features will become customary in later decades (Fig. 5). A more telling case is that of Abu'l Fayz, better known as Fayzi. He was the elder brother of the chronicler Abu'l Fazl, the poet-laureate, a tutor to princes, a prolific author, and honoured as one of the nine jewels of Akbar's court. In essence, he was exactly the kind of esteemed per-



Fig. 8: *Nal wa Daman*, fol. 146, Allahabad, c. 1603; present location unknown; *Fayzi Presents the Nal wa Daman to Emperor Akbar*; attributed to Nanha and 'Abd al-Salim.

sonage typically placed in charge of the library. This is what makes his mention in a routine inspection note – even a single one – so much of an aberration to the pattern that developed over time in which head librarians did not get involved in routine operations (Fig. 6).¹⁵ Two different contemporaneous seals of his are impressed, one above another, on another manuscript (Fig. 7). The change in the design and date of an individual's seal is unusual for this period.

Two other points about Fayzi are noteworthy. One is that upon his death in October 1595, he left his personal library of 4,600 volumes to the imperial library. This is the earliest and most prolific example I know of an author or librarian presenting his work or collection to the Mughal library. The second is that Fayzi was also later accorded the privilege of being portrayed in the opening illustration of a manuscript of *Nal wa Daman*, an Indian romance he had translated from Sanskrit, shown as he presents his work to Akbar (Fig. 8). To my knowledge, Abu'l Fazl and Fayzi are the only historians and poets to be portrayed in contemporary Mughal painting.



Fig. 9: Houston, TX, The Art and History Trust Collection, no accession number, fol. 79a, *Gulistan* of Sa'di, completed by Sultan 'Ali al-Mashhadi at Herat in *Muharram* 891 AH/January 1486 CE; seal of Maktub Khan dated 1026 AH/1617 CE. © Art and History Trust Collection.

The most prominent librarian of Jahangir's reign was Maktub Khan, whom Jahangir mentions in his memoirs as the author of a famous chronogram of his accession date and as the director of both the library and picture gallery.¹⁶ His

¹⁵ The note appears in the lower centre of the folio. It reads 'Transferred to Shaykh Fayzi from Mir Muhammad Taqi and inspected on the date of 27 *Zi'l-Hijja* 990 [12 January 1583]'. A note just above this indicates that the manuscript had entered the library on 15 September 1582.

¹⁶ Thackston 1999, 67, 269.



Fig. 10: London, British Library, India Office Collection Pers. 383, fol. 1a, *Layla wa Majnun*, completed by Sultan 'Ali al-Mashhadi on 1 Safar 912 AH/23 June 1506 CE. © British Library.



Fig. 11: London, British Library, India Office Collection Pers. 383, fol. 1a (detail of the upper portion), *Layla wa Majnun*, seals of 'Abd al-Rashid Daylami (right), I'timad Khan (centre), and 'Inayat Khan (left). © British Library.

full name seems to be Muhammad Mu'in, for a note recording the transfer of the custody of a book in year one of Jahangir's reign (1606) mentions that name along with the title 'the chief of the library' (*sahibjami-yi kitabkhana*).¹⁷ His seal, dated 12 RY – the inclusion of a regnal year in a seal's legend was an overt expression of loyalty introduced under Jahangir – and 1026 AH/1617 CE appears on nine manuscripts, including a few of the highest quality and valuation (Fig. 9).

The reign of Emperor Shahjahan (1627–1658) saw remarkably frequent turn-over in the hierarchy of the imperial library. We can ascertain this by occasional literary references, but more definitively by the sheer number of different Shahjahan-period seals impressed on manuscripts – often, but not always the same manuscripts. Biographical sketches of four librarians will bring out some of the implications of these seals.

The first librarian of this select group is 'Abd al-Rashid Daylami, also known as Rashida, the name under which he is mentioned in *The History of Shahjahan* as a calligrapher and chief librarian. Predictably, he came from a line of distinguished calligraphers. When his uncle, the famous calligrapher 'Imad al-Hasani of Qazwin, was assassinated in Iran in 1615, Rashida fled to India and joined the service of Prince Shahjahan in 1033 AH/1623–1624 CE, who was embroiled in a bitter feud with his father, Emperor Jahangir. 'Abd al-Rashid's own accomplishment and early loyalty to Shahjahan paid off ten years after the prince's accession, for he was apparently appointed *darogha* of the imperial library in

¹⁷ *Diwan* of Amir Hasan Dihlawi, Walters Art Museum W.650, fol. 187b (visible only under infra-red light). For a full translation of the notes, see Seyller 1997, 280–281.

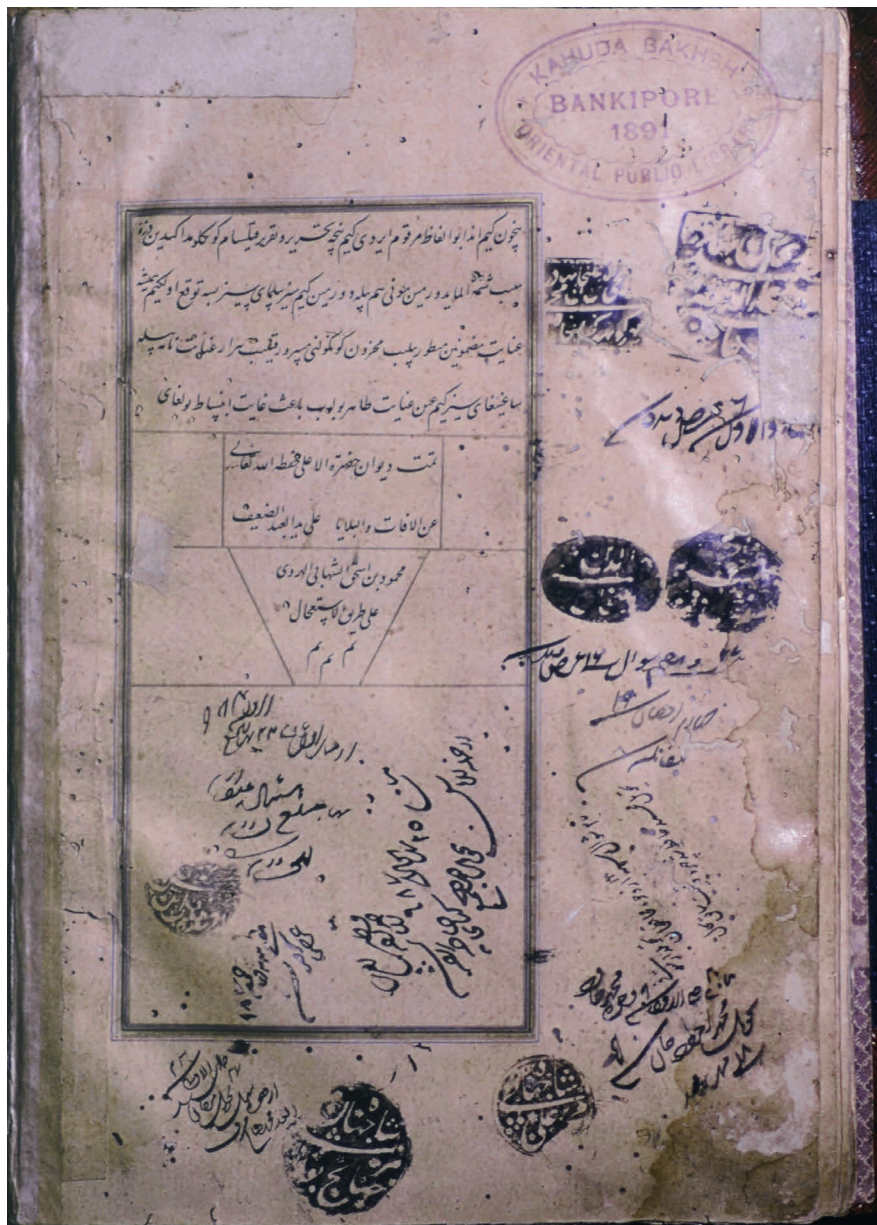


Fig. 12: Patna, Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Persian cat. 2, no. 237, HL 470, fol. 34b, *Diwan* of Mirza Kamran. © Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library.

1048 AH/1638–1639 CE. This new status was established by his seal, which proclaims him as a servant of Shahjahan and is dated RY 12/1048 AH/1638–1639 CE (Figs 10–11). More important, his seal appears on thirty-nine manuscripts as well as on the reverse of three paintings – both an exceptionally high rate of occurrence. Literary sources indicate that ‘Abd al-Rashid was relieved of his duties as *darogha* in 1056 AH/1646–1647 CE, ostensibly for reasons of health, though he lived for another twenty-five years.

‘Abd al-Rashid Daylami was succeeded as chief librarian by Mir Salih in 1056 AH/1646 CE, the year of his newly designed seal, which appears on twenty manuscripts and the reverse of one painting (Fig. 12).¹⁸ The professional background of Mir Salih (his full name was Mir Muhammad Salih Kamboh) was equally illustrious, for he was the son of the renowned Mughal calligrapher Mir ‘Abdullah *Mushkin Qalam*. Writing under the pen-name Kashifi, Mir Salih became a celebrated poet and chronicler of Shahjahan, completing the *Amal-i Salih* or *Shahjahan-nama* in 1659–1660. In short, one could hardly hope for stronger political connections to the emperor. Nonetheless, six years later, that is, at the end of 1062 AH/1651–1652 CE, he was replaced as head librarian by I‘timad Khan, the title bestowed upon Muhammad Ashraf, eldest son of Islam Khan, who had been paymaster of the army. Thus far I have documented his seal, dated RY 26/1063 AH/1652–1653 CE, on forty-one manuscripts and five paintings.¹⁹

According to the *Shahjahan-nama*, a contemporary history of the reign, I‘timad Khan was supplanted as superintendent of the library in 1068 (December 1657) by ‘Inayat Khan, the title given to Muhammad Tahir, son of Zafar Khan. I‘timad Khan was not demoted; rather, according to historical sources, he was appointed to the position of *diwan* (minister) in 1065 AH/1654–1655 CE. His replacement, ‘Inayat Khan, whose full name is Mirza Muhammad Tahir Ashena, was also involved in writing the *Shahjahan-nama*. His tenure as chief librarian lasted less than a year because Shahjahan fell seriously ill in 1658, and was effectively deposed by his son Awrangzeb (later ‘Alamgir) after the fierce War of Succession. During his short tenure, ‘Inayat Khan impressed his seal on fifty manuscripts – the most recorded by any librarian to this point – and five paintings.²⁰ It is no surprise that a man so intimately connected with Shahjahan would be removed immediately as head librarian under the new and antagonistic regime of ‘Alamgir. He died in exile in Kashmir twelve years later.

¹⁸ The seal of Mir Salih, servant of Shahjahan, appears at the bottom centre of Fig. 14.

¹⁹ For the seal of I‘timad Khan, see Figs 10–11.

²⁰ For the seal of ‘Inayat Khan, see Figs 12–13.



Fig. 13: Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Per 257, fols 2b–3a, *Diwan* of Shahi, copied by 'Imad al-Husayni, Bukhara, mid 16th c. © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library.

These short biographical sketches draw attention to the personal and political aspects of those at the highest echelon of the library administration. But as I began to work up similar biographies for the individuals named in my copious files on the inspection notes and seals on Mughal manuscripts, this question crossed my mind. If these are the seals of the head librarians, what should we make of those of the other nobles that appear with similar frequency on these same manuscripts, especially during the same years? There are, for example, many seals of Ahmad Shahid dated 1054 AH/1644–1645 CE (thirty-eight manuscripts, three paintings), *Ya Karim* dated 1058 AH/1648–1649 CE (twenty-one examples), Muhammad Husayn dated 1061 AH/1650–1651 CE (twelve manuscripts), and Muhammad ‘Ali Shahjahani dated 1062 AH/1651–1652 CE (eleven manuscripts). Who were these men? Their identities are difficult to determine, for some of the names are either very commonplace, abbreviated versions of proper historical names, or merely allusive. *Ya Karim*, for example, is a simple invocation to the Merciful God, but it was almost certainly used by a man whose name included the word *Karim*. And if they were not the chief librarian, what function did they have in the library that obliged them to assert by proxy continued Mughal ownership of these manuscripts? The answer to the latter question will require us to develop a still more nuanced picture of the imperial library, with different high-level librarians placed in charge of books with particular subject matters and qualitative levels. I also suspect that we will discover that even so bureaucratic a system as has been documented to date had its share of intrigues and messy personnel situations, much as the administrations of our universities and museums suffer from time to time.

A final example demonstrates both the usefulness and limitations of the evidence of seals as well as the movement of books from Bukhara in Central Asia to Mughal India. Most of these books seem to have arrived in India around 1600, apparently as a result of unsettled political conditions in Bukhara. A copy of the *Diwan* of Shahi is one such Mughal manuscript of Bukharan origin (Fig. 13). Written at Bukhara by an eminent calligrapher, Mir ‘Imad al-Husayni, it was illuminated and illustrated with a double-page frontispiece in the middle of the sixteenth century. The manuscript has an unusually comprehensive record of seals and notes. Some notes are distinguished, such as an accession-year inscription by Jahangir; others are less so, such as this curious one that reads ‘Nawab Khan purchased a black horse through the kindness of the Buluch living in the village of Nukhud from Muhammad ‘Ali Khan on the date of 23 *Ramadan* 1177 (26 March 1764)’. What interests us here is the implication of the earliest seal, the seal of Akbar’s mother, Hamida Banu Begum, which is dated 968 AH/1560–1561 CE: ‘When one’s seal bears the sign of love (Hamida Banu Begum) her stamp shall become a reflection of good fortune’. The square seal is one of two types used by Hamida Banu Begum on a total

of twelve known manuscripts (Fig. 14). The other seal is quite different in shape (twelve-lobed) and ten years earlier in date (957 AH/1550–1551 CE) (Fig. 15).



Fig. 14: New Delhi, National Museum of India, 48.6/1, fol. 1a, *Anthology*, seal of Hamida Banu Begum 968 AH/1560–1561 CE. © photo by the author.



Fig. 15: Doha, Museum of Islamic Art, *Rashahat 'ayn al-hayat*, fol. 1a, seal of Hamida Banu Begum, dated 957 AH/1550–1551 CE. © Museum of Islamic Art, Doha.

If we follow the normal logic that dated seals are virtually contemporaneous with their use, the presence of a seal dated 968 AH/1560–1561 CE should indicate that the manuscript entered Hamida Banu Begum's possession about that time, which would mean that this *Diwan* of Shahi reached Mughal India just after it was made, or almost forty years before most of the other Bukharan manuscripts. This is possible but anomalous, and invites further research on the extent of friendly contact between these two courts in the mid sixteenth century. There is, of course, another explanation: that her seal was well out of date, perhaps even some thirty-five years or so. This is not unimaginable. Her earlier seal (957 AH/1550–1551 CE), for example, is seen on a manuscript of the *Diwan* of Haydar Kaluj written in 967 AH/1559–1560 CE, and thus was already ten years out of date when the manuscript was produced (Fig. 16).²¹

Keeping in mind, then, the notion that dates on seals are not absolutely reliable historical markers, we should consider the likelihood that royal seals changed relatively infrequently, and are therefore the least reliable indicators of the dates

²¹ For the two annotated flyleaves of a Mughal *Ramayana* manuscript that once belonged to Hamida Banu Begum and is impressed with the seals of many prominent Mughal librarians, see Seyller, Sardar and Truschke 2020, 174–177. A comprehensive inventory of the queen mother's library appears in Seyller, Sardar and Truschke 2020, 178–179 and 189.



Fig. 16: Patna, Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library no. 451, fol. 1a, *Diwan* of Haydar Kaluj, copied in 967 AH/1559–1560 CE. © Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library.

of actual transactions. Some non-royal individuals did obtain new seals frequently – sometimes as often as four times within a decade – but most did so only when they received a new title or wished to express their loyalty to a new master. In the best-documented situation, that is, the seventeenth-century Mughal court, seals are used most effectively as documentary evidence in conjunction with literary sources and inspection notes, the three amplifying each other so well that we can reconstruct the custody and use of a number of manuscripts practically every five years for the better part of a century. Considered together, these sources enable us to recreate quite fully the operations of the imperial Mughal library, an institution whose exceptional size and sophistication befit one of the world's great empires.

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Appendix: Librarians of Akbar's Reign (1556–1605)

Librarians named in literary sources

‘Abd al-Ghaffur

Shaykh Abu'l Fayz, a.k.a. *Fayzi*

Mulla Bilal

Fathullah, son of Abu'l-Fath

Ghiyath Allah of Shiraz

Hakim ‘Ali

‘Inayatullah

Muhammad Taqi

Mulla Pir Muhammad Khan

Librarians named in extant manuscripts

‘Abd al-Rahim

RY 45

Mulla ‘Ali

RY 39, 40, 41

‘Ambar

RY 39, 40, 41

Bahadur Chela

RY 42 at Srinagar

Shaykh Fayzi

27 *Zi'l-Hijja* 990 AH [22 January 1583 CE]

Hajji Fazlullah

988 AH [1581 CE], RY 46 [1601 CE]

Hakim ‘Ali

RY 47, 49

Habibullah

RY 47

‘Inayatullah

RY 21, 31, 33 [998 AH/1590 CE], 39 [1002 AH/1594CE], 41, 42, 43 [1598 CE]

Luqman

RY 40, 47

Muhammad ‘Ali

RY 39 [1002 AH/1594 CE], 49

Muhammad Baqir

RY 49

Muhammad Husayn

1002 AH [1594 CE]

Muhammad Mansur

997 AH [1589 CE]

Muhammad Nur

RY 40

Muhammad Rashid

RY 41

Muhammad Sadiq

RY 39, 40, 50

Muhammad Taqi

27 *Zi'l-Hijja* 990 AH [22 January 1583 CE]

Muhammad Yusuf

RY 47

Salih

RY 32 [996 AH/1588 CE], 33 [998 AH/1590 CE]

Librarians named in seals

Abu'l Fayz (a.k.a. *Fayzi*)

Fathullah

