

**An Assessment of the Intricacies Surrounding the Visibility of Royal Mughal**

**Women in Visual and Written Sources During Akbar's Reign**

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## **Introduction**

The royal women of the Timurid-Mughal Dynasty played a monumental role in consolidating the success and prestige of the Mughal Empire in South Asia.<sup>1</sup> Their contributions in political, economic, and religious spheres propelled the empire's strength, thus establishing their importance to the prosperity of the ruler.<sup>2</sup> Their impact during the Mughal era, specifically during Akbar's rule, however, is not thoroughly researched, with claims that do not meet academic standards being very prevalent. For instance, historian Ruby Lal pursues the narrative of a lack of freedom among royal Mughal women in Akbar's period due to the establishment of a fixed *harem*, a sacred and forbidden sphere where women lived, veiled, and separated from the courts of the emperor.<sup>3</sup> She primarily bases her argument on the description and representation of women in the *Ain-i Akbari*, an idealized court document written by Akbar's court historian Abul Fazl, to assume the invisibility of royal women in the empire which she associates to the changes that occurred to the *harem* as the Mughal court, in her study moved from a peripatetic model to a fixed one in Akbar's reign.<sup>4</sup> This interpretation is refuted by famous documentations of royal women thriving in the empire, notably Begum Gulbadan, Hamida Banu Begum, Mariam-uz-Zamani, and Nur Jahan, all women who were present before, during, and after Akbar's reign.<sup>5</sup> Their examples highlight the multifaceted nature of the *harem* and provide insight into the extent of its impact on royal women's presence in the empire.

Evidence shows royal women have thrived in the *harem* working around its limitations to further their own presence in the empire.<sup>6</sup> Within the institution, there are political, diplomatic, and economic responsibilities of the inhabitants that directly affect courtly matters, making *harem* a vital establishment to the success of the empire. Furthermore, the peripatetic nature of Akbar's reign challenges the misinterpretation of the *harem*, as misinterpreted by Lal, to show the idealized

concept of the institution to seclude and restrict women from the outside sphere.<sup>7</sup> This concept is disputed by the documentation of women's presence in various spheres of empire in textual and visual sources, establishing their influence and power well since the start of the Timurid-Mughal empire.

In this research paper, I will discuss the visibility of royal Mughal women during Akbar's reign, firstly, by evaluating their representation in Abul Fazl's courtly sources, the *Ain-i Akbari* and *Akbarnama*, highlighting the importance of purpose in comprehending a text.<sup>8</sup> Secondly, I will examine the depiction of women in fictional and non-fictional illustrations to understand socio-cultural attitudes on women's presence, and these sources' effectiveness in supplementing written texts. Lastly, I will evaluate the impact conventions of naming have on women's documentation in traditional courtly sources by examining foreign primary sources. Ultimately, I aim to demonstrate the considerable visibility of royal women during Akbar's reign in relation to the conception of *harem*.

### **Historiographical Evaluation**

Research on women and their significance in relation to the *harem* is not thoroughly investigated and offers contradicting arguments, as outlined below by evaluating Historian Ruby Lal's argument with primary sources and secondary sources. Lal assumes invisibility of royal Mughal women in the *harem* through her reliance on *Ain-i Akbari's* depiction of women without examining the cultural connotations behind such decisions.<sup>9</sup> This narrative is disputed by the constant presence of women in court in positions of authority and power, and their documentation in different genres of sources, disputing her misinterpretation of Fazl's idealized *harem* as a structured and regulated establishment.<sup>10</sup>

*Domesticity and Power in the Early Mughal World* by Ruby Lal discusses the decrease in autonomy of royal Mughal women, through her interpretation of the *Ain-i Akbari's* idealized version of the *harem* for the reality.<sup>11</sup> She places immense power on Akbar's authority to drastically change long standing cultural norms without evidence to corroborate that. She implies the *harem* is a flexible idea that is easily changed with every reign, without crediting key agencies responsible in shaping its slow transition over the course of the dynasty. Her use of Fazl's *Ain-i Akbari* should be re-evaluated as the work proposes an ideal version of the empire, describing Fazl's vision of how it *should* work, including the royal household and *harem*.<sup>12</sup> This distinction shines light on the complexities of documenting history, and the importance of understanding the genre and audience to effectively interpret a primary source.

This understanding is supported by historian Lisa Balabanlilar, who argues for the long-standing autonomy of royal women and attributes it to ingrained traditional values of the Timurid-Mughal rule.<sup>13</sup> While she does offer a fresh perspective on the flexibility of the *harem* in regulating women's contact with the outside world, she does not account for the influences of royal women from non-Mughal backgrounds, such as Rajput wives, had on such an institution.

Lastly, historian Ellison Findly provides critical evidence and discussion of the key involvement of royal women in the trade sector.<sup>14</sup> She uses primary accounts of Europeans recording trade, that extensively document women's propagation of this sector.<sup>15</sup> A key perspective of her work is the inclusion of Mariam-uz-zamani and Nur Jahan, mother, and wife of Emperor Jahangir respectively, from a non-traditional Timurid-Mughal background. This alludes to involvement of multicultural influences in shaping royal women's visibility in the empire.<sup>16</sup>

These sources aid in better understanding the influences and variables in shaping royal women's agency in the empire, while understanding the reality of the institution of *harem*.

## The Idealization and Reality of Royal Women in Primary Sources

Lal's interpretation of women's representation in Abul Fazl's *Ain-i Akbari* highlights the importance of understanding the purpose and audience of Fazl's text to better understand his position in documenting history, and in this case, women. The *Ain-i Akbari* is an idealized text with the aim of describing how the empire *should* work, not necessarily how it *does* work, thus changing the meaning behind his organization of royal women's presence in the work.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, the *Akbarnama* is a chronicle of Akbar's life, with the aim to document significant milestones that enhance the emperor's authority, including events and agents(women) that help achieve that goal.<sup>18</sup> Thus, in *Ain-i Akbari*, Fazl includes royal women in a compartmentalized manner, involving them in spheres that directly pertain to them.<sup>19</sup> In the *Akbarnama*, Fazl repurposes women's voices to enhance Akbar's propaganda by displaying their visibility and showing them with agency in the empire. Identifying the purpose behind his choices in such representation of women, exposes the contrast between the idealized version of the *harem* and its reality.

In the *Ain-i Akbari* Abul Fazl conceives a structure to the *harem*, introducing the rules and regulations of the organization in relation to other spheres of the empire, effectively creating a perspective of seclusion from the organized nature of the system, and in turn, the women.<sup>20</sup> In the work, the physical layout of the *harem* is described as, "a large enclosure with fine buildings inside where he (Akbar) reposes. Though there are five thousand women, he has given to each a separate apartment."<sup>21</sup> Fazl states, "He has also divided them into sections, and keeps them attentive to their duties...Thus as in the imperial offices, everything is here also in proper order."<sup>22</sup> He details the security of the quarters as, "the inside of the *harem* is guarded by sober and active women" and women who wish to stay within or leave the *harem* request permission to do so.<sup>23</sup> The regulated

nature of the *harem* with distinct rules to establish organization and order, creates a sense of seclusion- to protect the Emperor and royal family, but also admits for women did move about. Indeed, Fazl goes on to discuss various public events in which the women participated alongside married women. This is further supported when, “His Majesty ordered that the stalls of the fancy bazars which are held on New Year’s Day, should, for a stated time, be given up for the enjoyment of the Begums and the women of the *harem* and also for any other married ladies.”<sup>24</sup> With the consolidation of Mughal power in Akbar’s reign, a reason for his success can be attributed to his reliance on order and structure to create a reliable framework for the empire for future rules, which includes the royal *harem* as well.<sup>25</sup> Keeping in mind the genre of the work and the audience, Fazl’s idealization of the *harem* plays into this theme of order, which hints to the narrative of seclusion from aspects of the empire.

In the *Akbarnama*, Fazl’s inclusion of women in a way that enhances the emperor’s divinity and power, contrasts his idealized secluded narrative of the *harem*, exhibiting the women’s importance and presence outside the establishment. The birth of Akbar, an event that took place in the *harem* is extensively detailed for many pages.<sup>26</sup> Fazl states, “...it has been learned from a truthful and trustworthy person that during the time H.H Maryam-Makani was pregnant...a strange light shone from her forehead.”<sup>27</sup> His mention of a “trustworthy source” indicates his correspondence with residents of the *harem*, sharing the critical information of the flexible nature of the establishment in allowing Fazl to familiarly communicate with them.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, his inclusion of extremely specific events such as Akbar’s mother’s craving for “bittersweet beverages and sweet and sour fruits” indicates his reliance on residents and close confidants of the *harem* to record history, breaking his idealized secluded concept of the institution, as clearly these women were interviewed in preparation for writing the dynastic history.<sup>29</sup> Lastly, the intimate account of

the emperor's wet nurse's reaction of the news, "I felt strange and experienced such great astonishment that all the limbs of my body trembled in ecstasy and joy." establishes the uncommonness of displaying intimate moments and reactions in a public medium, exposing the fluid nature of regulations surrounding the seclusion of *harem* in the empire.<sup>30</sup> This offers a more realistic perspective of the workings of the *harem* compared to the idealized version, making affairs of royal women, visible to the empire. This choice reveals the importance of their presence and story in understanding the success of Akbar's reign, effectively highlighting their very visible influence in the empire. Further, for all the talk about protecting the chastity and honor of royal women, to uphold the narrative of Akbar's quasi-divine origins, and a miraculous birth, women's most intimate connections with Akbar-birth, nursing, are described in detail for public consumption. Thus, Fazl appears to be inconsistent in following his own carefully constructed etiquette described in the *Ain-i Akbari*.

Finally, conventions of naming royal women in courtly sources such as the *Akbarnama* reveal that a factor of their visibility and representation is due to rules about their documentation rather than their complete excision from Mughal historical chronicles. This is established by the contrast in the description of Akbar's and Jahangir's births in the *Akbarnama*, showing the impact naming conventions have on documenting the visible importance and influence of royal women in the empire.<sup>31</sup> For Akbar's birth, multiple pages in the *Akbarnama* are dedicated to praising his mother, Hamida Banu Begum.<sup>32</sup> In the midst of praise, Fazl not only mentions her by her given title but by her given name as seen by, " ...she through whom the dawn of fortune and felicity is revealed, she who sits behind curtains in heavenly pavilions H.H. *Maryam-Makani*, chastity of the world and religion, Hamida Banu Begum..."<sup>33</sup> This disregard of his previously established rule of refrain from addressing Akbar's mother by name as opposed to her honorific title, "Mary, dwelling

in Paradise, i.e. *Maryam-Makani*” due to its disrespect, demonstrates that to a certain extent, their influence and contributions in the empire relies on such direct acknowledgement.<sup>34</sup> This is further supported by the contrast in the documentation of Prince Salim’s birth, where his mother, *Mariam-uz-zamani* (the Mary of the age) is not mentioned by title or name, such as when the emperor, “decided that the expectant mother should go to Fatehpur...to be near the shaikh.”<sup>35</sup> The choice to not mention important women by name in situations that directly pertain to them, such as Prince Salim’s mother during his birth, reveals their roles and influence are evident in an indirect manner, and this perceived invisibility comes from naming conventions due to social and cultural gender norms.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, this formal naming pattern also suggests its purpose to amplify Akbar’s claim to divinity and intensity his holy appearance, which is done so by giving critical women around him, such as his mother and wife, the name “Mary”. In certain cases, this inadvertently allows women to be included and directly acknowledged, giving an insight of their lives within the organized framework of the empire.

Thus, the royal Mughal women’s assumed narrative of invisibility, as argued by Lal, is perpetuated by their misinterpretation of representation in Abul Fazal’s *Ain-i Akbari* and *Akbarnama*, two distinct works with distinct goals. By determining the purpose of the text and audience, Fazl’s distinctive representations of women’s lives in an idealized piece written to explain the administrative structure of the empire are evident, which also enhanced the authority claimed by Akbar, (*Ain-i Akbari*)<sup>37</sup> versus a documentary historical chronicle which narrates the important events in each regal year (*Akbarnama*)<sup>38</sup>. A scholar would have to be attuned to the ways in which events involving royal women would be narrated and the conventions ascribed to their role in order to fully understand their agency in Akbar’s reign.

### **Visibility of Women in Illustrations and Paintings**

While written primary texts are key sources that document royal women's significance in the empire through their lives within the *harem*, Miniature paintings from Akbar's court provide a crucial perspective on the role of women in his reign. They can be found to depict both actual events and also illustrating literary works which point to shared cultural values regarding gendered roles. This gives an insight into the royal women's possible influence on shaping the larger Mughal society while living in the confines of the *harem*. The fictional and two non-fictional illustrations discussed are the *Hamzanama*<sup>39</sup>, and the *Akbarnama* paintings, *Hamid Bhakari Punished by Akbar*, now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art<sup>40</sup> and *Maham Anaga and Akbar at Adham Khan's wedding*, a painting now in the Victoria and Albert Collection<sup>41</sup>, respectively. Hence, examining the fictional illustration, the *Hamzanama*, provides a socio-cultural perspective on women's role in the society, while paintings from the *Akbarnama* amplify the visibility of women, supporting and enhancing their documentation in the written text. In doing so, both these fictional and non-fictional works establish the exposure of women to the public gate and acknowledge their role in the *harem* contributing to the success of the empire.

The *Hamzanama* illustrations display women in non-conventional roles outside of their domestic sphere, revealing both, the Mughal society's, and Akbar's acceptance of such depictions of women, alluding to their employing visible positions of power and influence in the empire. The *Hamzanama* is a Persian fictional tale of the adventures of Hamza, the prophet's uncle, fighting kings, demons, and monsters alongside his supporters, that was famously commissioned into an illustrated manuscript by Emperor Akbar.<sup>42</sup> What is unique about this piece is the depiction of women as his spies or accomplices, a contradiction to the hidden and secluded narrative idealized in the *Ain-i Akbari*.<sup>43</sup> The first painting illustrates how Hamza requires the help of a female servant, Mahiya, to rescue a kidnapped prince, and when he gets himself captured, is saved by Mahiya

killing the guards present.<sup>44</sup> The second image shows Mahiya beheading a guard, a gruesome illustration usually reserved for men.<sup>45</sup> These storylines and their images showing women in unconventional roles, allude to more fluid gender norms and social acceptance of seeing them in power. This new perspective is not common in non-fictional works, thus bringing to question the attitudes surrounding women and their restriction to their traditional roles during that era. The decision to have a woman not only assist Hamza but save his life could point to the already visibility of women in different spheres in society during that time. Akbar's interest in the tale and its general success could hint to the commonality of women in positions of leadership, especially noble women in the empire, explaining the social acceptance of such a storyline.<sup>46</sup> Additionally, while such illustrations may still be part of a patriarchal culture, therein women are shown to be agentive and slightly dangerous, so they still need to be carefully managed by men, it does not deny that women have abilities and agency.

As this tale was recounted orally through generations, we can assume it went through changes and modifications, making the surviving nature of Mahiya's storyline important.<sup>47</sup> Likewise, the decision to include the storyline and the gruesome illustration in a court commissioned work hints that such themes did not stray far from the reality during that time. Hence, fictional works are key sources as they are manifestations of societal, cultural, and religious values specific to a location at a specific time that contrast social attitudes and carefully curated narratives presented in courtly sources. Further, they also point to a range of ways about depicting female agency, even non-elite female agency in contemporary cultural works of this time.

Abul Fazl's representation of women in the *Akbarnama* is enhanced by their depiction in paintings, which account for limitations of naming conventions of royal women, and establish new presence of women, acting as a supplement to the written work. The *Hamid Bhakari Punished by*

*Akbar* painting on a well-documented event in the written work, introduces the presence of a woman not mentioned in the text, confirming the visibility of royal women outside of written sources. Figure 1 depicts Akbar's five-day hunting session, with him being in the center of the image surrounded by various animals and subjects.<sup>48</sup> What is unique about the picture is the inclusion of a woman from the tents in the right corner, peeking her head out to see the spectacle. Her involvement in an unconventional activity intended to showcase the emperor's strength and power highlights her significance to the situation.<sup>49</sup> In the written account of the hunt, "After H.I.M, had hunted for five consecutive days, a sign was made for the great *amirs* and intimate members of the retinue..." the women is never mentioned, only alluded to as a part of the "intimate retinue".<sup>50</sup> This not only shows the influence of rules pertaining to documenting noble women for two separate mediums, but more importantly, how this painting serves as a supplement to what was not mentioned in the written work. It indicates that women were consistently present in accounts all throughout this reign, and often times, their mere documentation hints at their lack of seclusion and the larger social acceptance of their presence in non-conventional spheres, confirming their influential visibility in the empire, sometimes directly in its own documenting practices.

On the other hand, the Maham Anaga and Akbar at Adham Khan's wedding painting offers a new insight to the inclusion of women in court sources, or lack thereof, showing how conventions of documenting royal versus non-royal women are translated from a written medium to a visual one. Figure 2 depicts Akbar's court in session at the ceremonies involving his foster brother Adham Khan's wedding, most notably presenting his wet nurse, Maham Anaga, sitting next to the emperor in public, unveiled, in the presence of many men.<sup>51</sup> Her proximity and placement by the emperor on the elevated platform compared to the rest of the court suggests her immense influence and

importance in the empire. When this event is referenced in the *Akbarnama*, "...the imperial kindness that embraced the chaste Mahim Anaga and her children turned its attention to the marriage of Adham Khan..." Mahim Anaga is directly named, showing how the rules surrounding women's acknowledgement differs between royal and non-royal women.<sup>52</sup> This is further established by the commission of this painting that displays the presence of a Maham Anaga, an important but non-royal woman. Additionally, this painting, "Mahim Anaga summoned him and shared the secret with him" in contrast to "Since H.H Maryam-Makani was in Delhi, the emperor went in that direction...", it shows how while Mahim Anaga was named, Hamida Banu Begum, Akbar's mother was referenced using her title.<sup>53</sup> This exhibits the culture of showing respect to important royal women manifested in the use of titles in place of their names or their minimal acknowledgment in events so to preserve their sacred aura.

Visual mediums have shown the immense visibility of women during Akbar's reign, presenting a discussion on the social and cultural values surrounding their influence during that time. They act as a tool that both support and extend written accounts of events, highlighting the impact of rules in documenting royal and non-royal women, visually and textually. Lastly, court commissioned paintings provide a new angle to the discussion of royal women's presence in that they are expensive to produce, showing their inclusion of women by Akbar, albeit to push forward his own propaganda, is a purposeful choice. This establishes the emperor, and in turn, the empire's, acknowledgement of their significance, celebrating them through a public medium. They reinforce the large presence of women in positions of leadership and visibility, offering a new outlook on the workings of the *harem* and the agency women have being a part of the institution.

### **The Assessment of the Representation of Women in Foreign Courtly Sources**

Like Fazl, court historians' rules about the documentation of women in written sources carry the responsibility to cater to the idealized image of the empire curating one perspective of history. Foreign accounts and sources, however, tend to a different audience, providing new information on the autonomy of women in developing their personal pursuits in the Timurid-Mughal realm. The accounts of royal women such as *Mariam-uz-zamani*, and their contributions to the empire provide a new assessment of their lives in relation to the institution of *harem*.<sup>54</sup> Foreign primary sources such as Sir Thomas Roe's accounts of Mughal women in trade, escape the rules and regulations specific to empire's documentation of women, and challenge the assumed lack of freedom surrounding the *harem*, thus demonstrating their power both in front and behind the "veiled" institution.<sup>55</sup>

As outlined by historian Ellison Findley, *Mariam-uz-zamani* was Emperor Jahangir's mother who, during his reign from 1605-1627 who was one of the wealthiest Mughal women and became a famous figure in the commercial sector.<sup>56</sup> While her trading success is documented during Jahangir's reign, the large scale and structured nature of this business suggests women had been developing these investments for a long time, from the period of Akbar.<sup>57</sup>

In the article "The capture of *Maryam-uz-Zamani's* Ship: Mughal Women and European Traders" Findley discusses the attack and capture of the *Mariam-uz zamani's* ship by the Portuguese in 1613, offering key insight into the heavy involvement of noble Mughal women in trade.<sup>58</sup> She notes the immense wealth acquired by these women from commercial involvement, stating it led them to participate in endeavors such as "building gardens, wells, and mosques."<sup>59</sup> This suggests the wide acceptance and encouragement of such activities, putting them in immense positions of power not acknowledged by Fazl, likely because they were happening in arenas outside of court, and also had less direct connection to Akbar's empire making, the chief focus of

Fazl. However, Findly's work suggests that royal women were involved in expanding their own power and influence as well. This involvement was on such a large scale that "it necessitated a staff of financial advisors "mirroring in miniature the emperor's own finance ministry" as stated by Findley, providing a comparison so serious, it questions the lack of mention in courtly sources.<sup>60</sup> Noble women like *Mariam-uz-zamani* managed to expand their network while in the confines of the *harem*, an institution known for its alleged separation from the outside world, as documented by Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador to the Mughal Empire.<sup>61</sup> His records show these women extensively traded while within their *harem* by "sending their servants as agents to dicker with the Europeans at court" to overcome the restriction by "their institution of seclusion (*parda*)."<sup>62</sup> This vital account introduces royal women's leadership in different endeavors in the empire, illustrating how they exercised their influence behind the veils of the *harem*. This points to the freedom and social acceptance their activities by the empire, confirming the idealized narrative of the *harem*. Thus, Roe's accounts provide information uncommon in traditional Mughal sources suggesting rules about documentation influence the kind of history written, made to appease the audience it is written for.<sup>63</sup>

These accounts by foreign travelers and ambassadors are critical in offering new historical information previously not recorded in sources from the native location, giving key insights on the culture behind documentation of royal women during the Mughal period. With the prominent influence of noblewomen like Nur Jahan in various facets of the empire, foreign accounts provide critical information that suggest the influence of royal women has always been big since the start of Mughal empire, paving the way for positions of leadership and impact for future reigns.<sup>64</sup> This source adds a new layer of multidimensionality to the *harem* in its separation

and seclusion from the outside world, where women are seen having not only contact with it, but an immense presence in while being hidden behind the institution's veils.

## **Conclusion**

Conceptually, the institution of *harem* included separate apartments for the five thousand women present, but for Fazl, ideally it was the separation of public and private domains, secluding women from the outside world and reserving them for traditional spheres.<sup>65</sup> While this idealized version can be assumed by misinterpreting his representation of women in the *Ain-i Akbari*, as done by Ruby Lal, Fazl himself gives us several examples of women's agency and influence beyond it. This not only outlines the importance of understanding the purpose and audience of his text to gain insight about his choices, but also the starkly contrasted reality of the *harem*. As historian Lisa Balabanlilar argued, the involvement of women has always been considerable since the start of the empire, a history ingrained in the identity of Timurid-Mughal culture that has manifested and thrived during and post Akbar's reign.<sup>66</sup>

Through my evaluation of Fazl's representation of women in the *Ain-i Akbari* and *Akbarnama*, I gained an understanding of the role purpose of the text plays in interpreting Fazl's intent. This was supported and enhanced by the examination of illustrations and foreign primary sources, which offered unique perspectives not found in Fazl's works.

In conclusion, research on royal Mughal women is lacking, especially during Akbar's reign, resulting in the misrepresentation of their accomplishments in the empire and the misconstrued reality of the *harem*, as done by Lal. By evaluating different genres of primary sources for their purpose and relationship to each other, we can further expand on the influence of

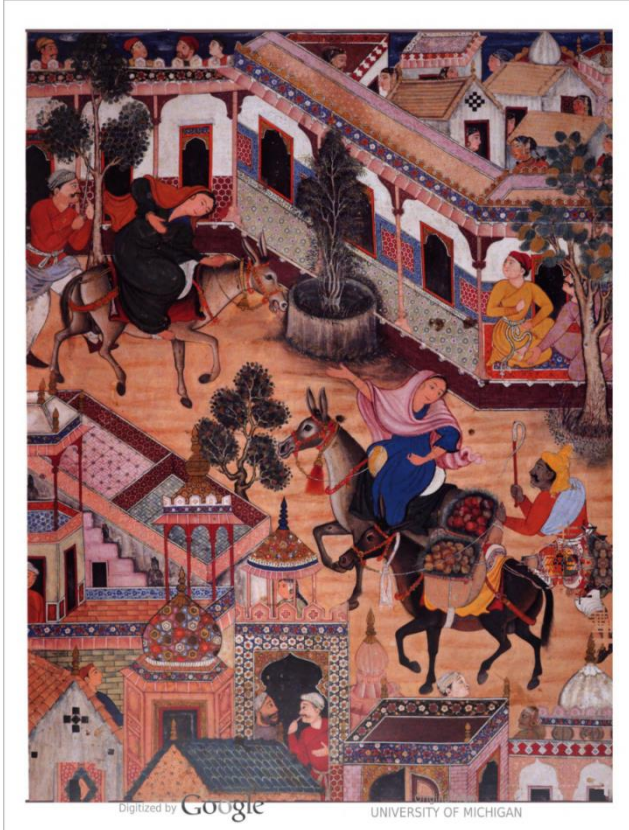
these women and understand the multifaceted nature of the *harem*, an institution, and its inhabitants crucial to the success of the Mughal Empire.

### **Acknowledgements**

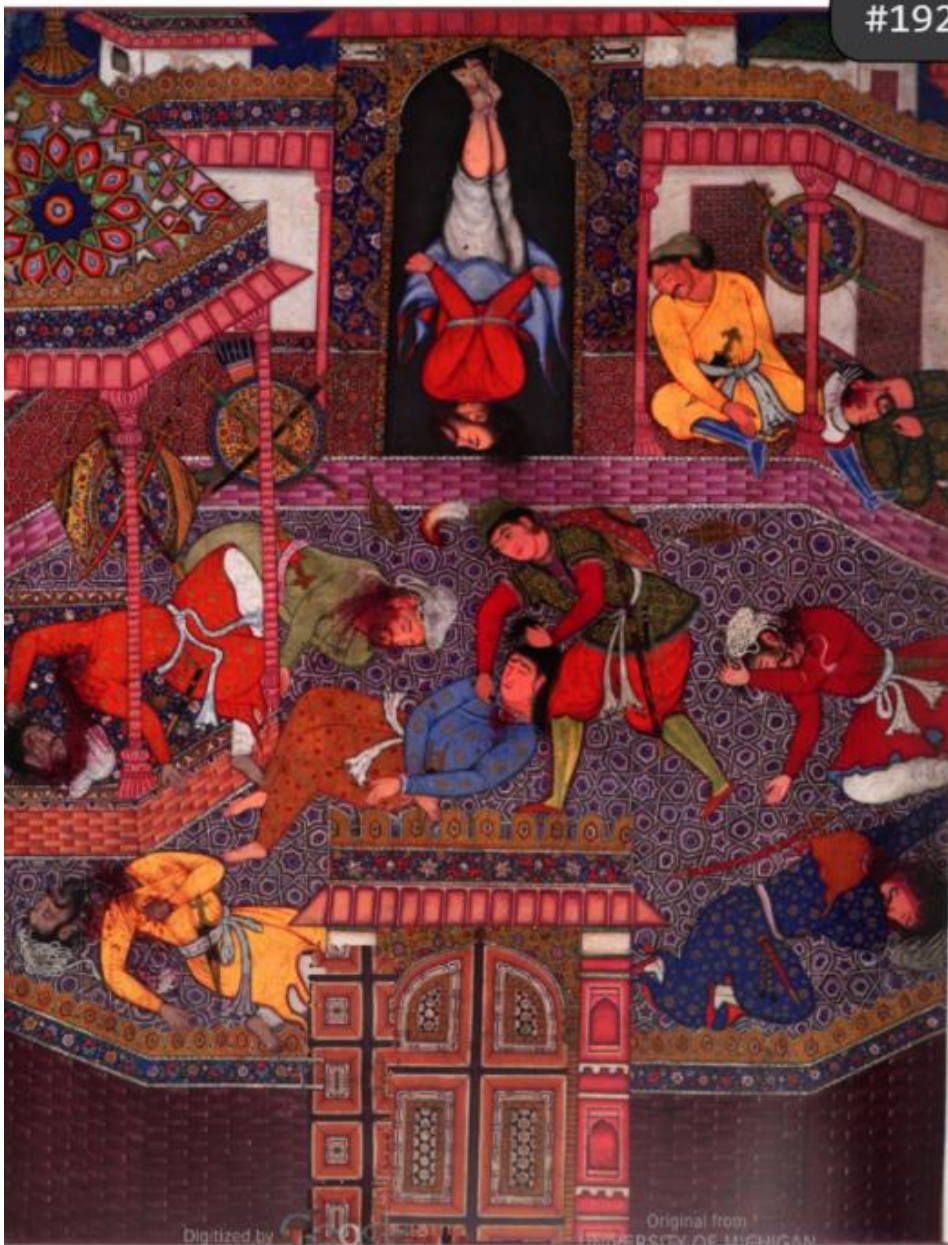
I would like to thank Professor Dhavan for the guidance and feedback on this paper and Arghya Kannadaguli for the editing feedback.

**Figures and Illustrations**

Hamzanama Illustrations Painting 1<sup>67</sup>:



Hamzanama Painting 2<sup>68</sup>:



**Figures and Illustrations**

Figure 1<sup>69</sup>:

*Hamid Bhakari Punished by Akbar*

Khan's wedding

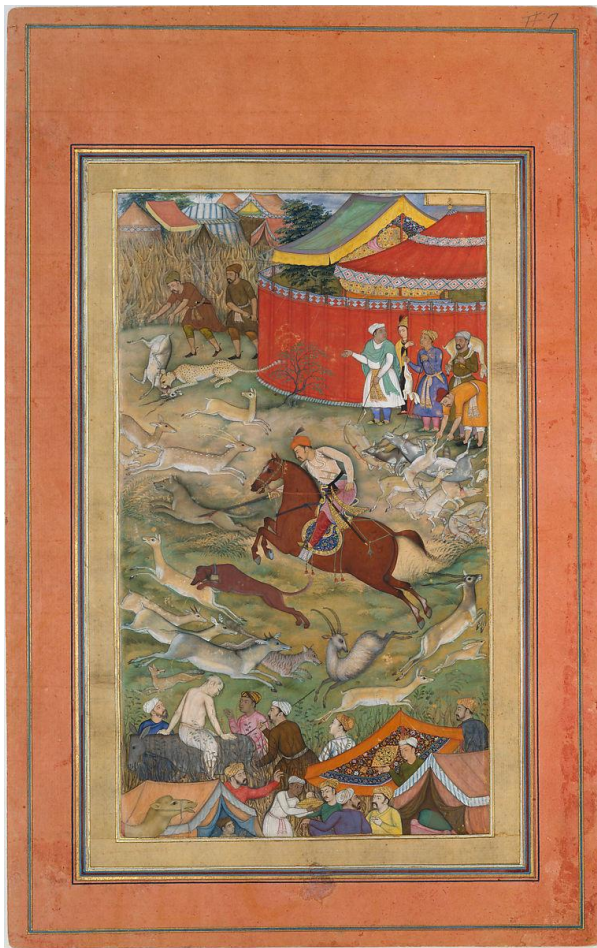


Figure 2<sup>70</sup>: Maham Anaga and Akbar at Adham



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<sup>2</sup> Balabanlilar, 145.

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- <sup>4</sup> Lal, 176.
- <sup>5</sup> Balabanlilar, 135-136.
- <sup>6</sup> Balabanlilar, 136.
- <sup>7</sup> Balabanlilar, 136.
- <sup>8</sup> Abū Al-Faḥl Ibn Mubārak, *Ain-i Akbari*, Translated by H. Blochmann, Bibliotheca Indica ; (Work No. 61. Lahore: Qausain, 1975), <https://alliance-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/kjtuig/CP99129934900001452>; W. M. Thackston and Abū Al-Faḥl Ibn Mubārak, *The History of Akbar*, (Murty Classical Library of Indi ; 2. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015), Vols. 1-5, <https://alliance-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/kjtuig/CP71259703510001451>
- <sup>9</sup> Lal, 176.
- <sup>10</sup> Balabanlilar, 135-136.
- <sup>11</sup> Lal, 188.
- <sup>12</sup> Balabanlilar, 135.
- <sup>13</sup> Balabanlilar, 146.
- <sup>14</sup> Ellison B. Findly, "The Capture of Maryam-uz-Zamānī's Ship: Mughal Women and European Traders," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108, no. 2 (1988): 227-38, [https://alliance-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/lvbsh/TN\\_cdi\\_proquest\\_journals\\_1296225206](https://alliance-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/lvbsh/TN_cdi_proquest_journals_1296225206).
- <sup>15</sup> Findly, 231-232.
- <sup>16</sup> Findly, 232.
- <sup>17</sup> Balabanlilar, 135.
- <sup>18</sup> Thackston and Al-Faḥl, *The History of Akbar*, vol. 1-6, ix-x.
- <sup>19</sup> Al-Faḥl, *Ain-i Akbari*, 45-46.
- <sup>20</sup> Al-Faḥl, *Ain-i Akbari*, 45-46.
- <sup>21</sup> Al-Faḥl, *Ain-i Akbari*, 46.
- <sup>22</sup> Al-Faḥl, *Ain-i Akbari*, 46.
- <sup>23</sup> Al-Faḥl, *Ain-i Akbari*, 46.
- <sup>24</sup> Al-Faḥl, *Ain-i Akbari*, 213.
- <sup>25</sup> Al-Faḥl, *Ain-i Akbari*, 45-46.
- <sup>26</sup> Thackston and Al-Faḥl, *The History of Akbar*, vol. 1, 39-161.
- <sup>27</sup> Thackston and Al-Faḥl, *The History of Akbar*, vol. 1, 49.
- <sup>28</sup> Thackston and Al-Faḥl, *The History of Akbar*, vol. 1, 49.
- <sup>29</sup> Thackston and Al-Faḥl, *The History of Akbar*, vol. 1, 49.
- <sup>30</sup> Thackston and Al-Faḥl, *The History of Akbar*, vol. 1, 51.
- <sup>31</sup> Thackston and Al-Faḥl, *The History of Akbar*, vol. 1, 39-161; Thackston and Al-Faḥl, *The History of Akbar*, vol. 4, 429-439.
- <sup>32</sup> Thackston and Al-Faḥl, *The History of Akbar*, vol. 1, 61-63.
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- <sup>37</sup> Balabanlilar, 135
- <sup>38</sup> Thackston and Al-Faḥl, *The History of Akbar*, vol. 1-6, ix-x.

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<sup>41</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum, “Baqi Muhammed Khan,” <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O9290/baqi-muhammed-khan-painting-lal/>, (Accessed March 10, 2021).

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<sup>43</sup> Al-Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, 45-46.

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<sup>45</sup> William, Thackston, and Freer Gallery of Art, *The Adventures of Hamza*, 188.

<sup>46</sup> William, Thackston, and Freer Gallery of Art, *The Adventures of Hamza*, 12.

<sup>47</sup> William, Thackston, and Freer Gallery of Art, *The Adventures of Hamza*, 183.

<sup>48</sup> Abul Fazl, “*Hamid Bhakari Punished by Akbar.*”

<sup>49</sup> Thackston and Al-Fazl, *The History of Akbar*, vol. 4, 241.

<sup>50</sup> Thackston and Al-Fazl, *The History of Akbar*, vol. 4, 241-243.

<sup>51</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum, “*Baqi Muhammed Khan.*”

<sup>52</sup> Thackston and Al-Fazl, *The History of Akbar*, vol. 3, 259.

<sup>53</sup> Thackston and Al-Fazl, *The History of Akbar*, vol. 3, 289.

<sup>54</sup> Findly, 227.

<sup>55</sup> Findly, 232.

<sup>56</sup> Findly, 227.

<sup>57</sup> Findly, 231.

<sup>58</sup> Findly, 227.

<sup>59</sup> Findly, 232.

<sup>60</sup> Findly, 231, Thackston and Al-Fazl, *The History of Akbar*, vols.1-6.

<sup>61</sup> Findly, 231-232.

<sup>62</sup> Findly, 232-233.

<sup>63</sup> Findly, 232.

<sup>64</sup> Findly, 232.

<sup>65</sup> Al-Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, 45.

<sup>66</sup> Balabanlilar, 146.

<sup>67</sup> William, Thackston, and Freer Gallery of Art, *The Adventures of Hamza*, 187.

<sup>68</sup> William, Thackston, and Freer Gallery of Art, *The Adventures of Hamza*, 188.

<sup>69</sup> Abul Fazl, “*Hamid Bhakari Punished by Akbar.*”

<sup>70</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum, “*Baqi Muhammed Khan.*”