



ABDUR RAHIM KHAN-I-KHANAN



CELEBRATING
STATESMAN
COURTIER
SOLDIER
POET
LINGUIST
HUMANITARIAN
PATRON

FESTIVAL OF LECTURES EXHIBITION & MUSIC 10 MARCH - 12 MARCH

MARCH 10, FRIDAY

INAUGURATION 7:00 pm
by Shri M.J. Akbar
Hon'ble Minister of State for Foreign Affairs
Government of India

CONCERT 7:15 pm
Folk rendition of Rahim's Dohas by
REHMAT KHAN LANGA & GROUP
and its urdu translations rendered by
MOHAMMED AHMED WARSI & GROUP
at Stein Auditorium

MARCH 11, SATURDAY

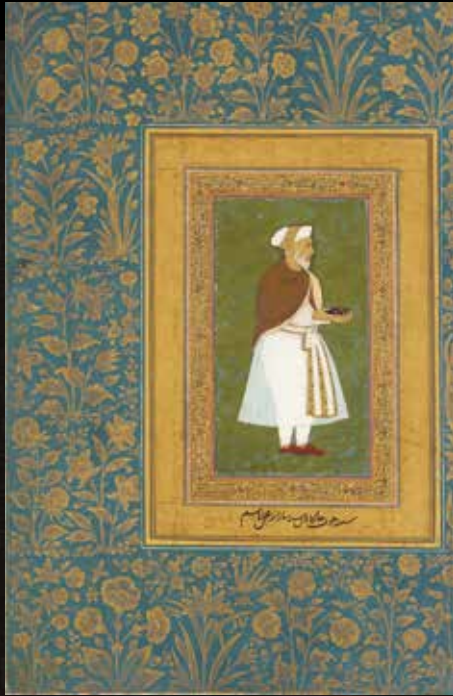
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
9:30 am - 3:30 pm
at Gulmohar Hall

THE RAHIM MUSICAL NARRATIVE 7:15 pm
ANKIT CHADHA,
DEV NARAYAN SAROLIA,
HARPREET & NETAI DAS
at Stein Auditorium

MARCH 12, SUNDAY

CONCERT 7:15 pm
Five Elements
PANDIT RAJAN SAJAN MISHRA
PANDIT RITESH RAJNISH MISHRA
& SWARANSH MISHRA
at Stein Auditorium

*The EXHIBITION will be on display till 15 of April 2017



Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan (1556-1627), was the son of Bairam Khan-i-Khanan, the regent of Mughal Empire from 1556-1560. Upon his birth, Maulana Fariduddin Dehlavi, the learned associate of Bairam Khan composed the line (of chronogram) yielding the year of his birth: "The pearl from the river of good fortune has come forth".

With time, many aspects of his genius and his compassion have been lost to us. Popular memory recollects Rahim for just a few of his dohas, which are taught in schools. Even the Hindi literature enthusiasts mostly know him for his dohas.

Raised in the pluralistic environment of Emperor Akbar's court, 'Abdur Rahim acquired proficiency in Persian, Arabic and Turki. He developed a refined taste and sensibility for poetry in different languages. He eventually turned out to be a versatile poet, prolific writer, consummate scholar and an able administrator.

Of his works, only Baburnama is extant. It was translated from Chagatay Turki to Persian. His mother tongue was Hindavi, and it was his Hindavi verses, which gained popularity among the elites and populace since their composition in sixteenth century and gave him his legend.

Equally important was his patronage. His library was a rich store of learning, open to scholars. Some precious books that once belonged to his collection are found in some prestigious collections across the world. Khan-i-Khanan is also credited with the construction of beautiful buildings, canals, tanks, pleasure gardens in Agra, Lahore, Delhi, and Burhanpur. The most important monument constructed by him is his wife's tomb in Nizamuddin, Delhi, which later also served as his tomb and a source of inspiration for the architecture of Taj Mahal at Agra.

Celebrating Rahim, a festival of lectures exhibition & music presents the many facets of the legendary figure for the first time with contributions by the experts on Rahim from India and abroad.

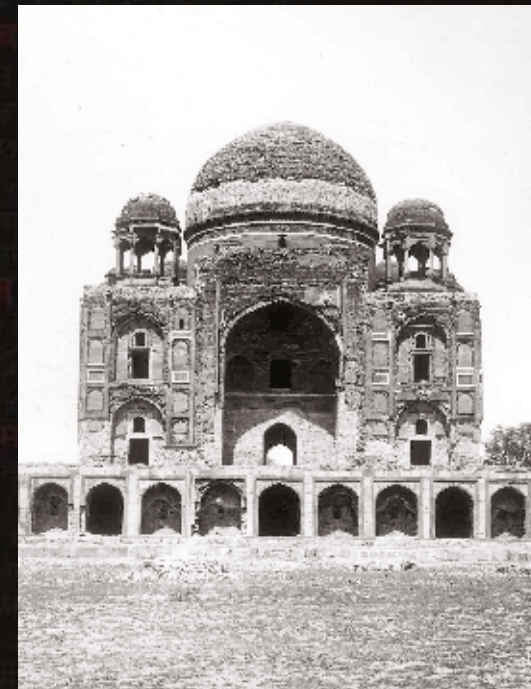
The Festival illuminates the multi-faceted life, patronage, and literature of 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, one of the Nine Gems in the court of Emperor Akbar.

The Exhibition sheds light on him and his contributions to literature, arts, and architecture in the pluralistic cultural landscape of Early Mughal India. The concerts and performances present a selection of his *Verses in Music* composed for the first time in classical, traditional and contemporary genre.

PROJECT BACKGROUND

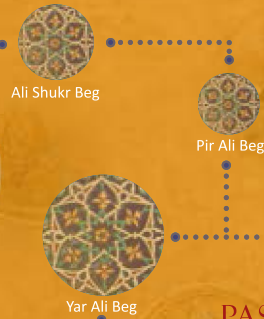
Conservation of 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana's tomb and legacy is one of the key projects of Nizamuddin Urban Renewal Initiative implemented by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) in partnership with Archaeological Survey of India and Interglobe Foundation. Celebrating Rahim is its cultural revival component.

Since 2007, the Nizamuddin Urban Renewal Initiative has been undertaking this project which is aimed at the regeneration of Nizamuddin Areas as a model historic city centre. The project being undertaken in the non-profit public private partnership has three broad components: **Heritage Conservation** of over fifty historical monuments, **Improving the Quality of Life** for the residents of Nizamuddin Basti through socio-economic and urban improvement initiatives, and **Environment Development** of historic urban landscapes. The project also links the cultural and the social elements of the society with its built heritage and history in an integrated urban renewal program.



HIS FAMILY & THE MUGHALS

QARA QOYUNLU TRIBE



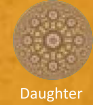
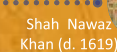
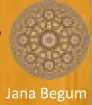
Through intricate links of loyalty, mentorships, and marriages, the family of Abdur Rahim was laced together with the Mughals over several generations.

PASHA BEGUM'S grandnephew—Bairam Beg (later titled Khan)—joined the service of Babur and tutored his son Humayun. Over time, Babur's descendants were tutored by Bairam and his son—Abdur Rahim.

ABDUR RAHIM'S

childhood was marred by the fall of his father's career and assassination soon after. However, the young boy was brought to the court and under the mentorship of Akbar, he was trained by the best scholars and calligraphers. His marriage to Mah Banu, daughter of Akbar's foster mother, Jiji Anga, smoothed the rivalry between the two leading families of Bairam Khan and Shamsuddin Atgah Khan.

Imbibing the best of a pluralistic and aristocratic culture, Khan-i-Khanan is remembered as a voracious reader, the knower of many languages, a gifted poet and an indulgent patron of several others.



Descendants of **AMIR TIMUR** (d. 1405)



In the aftermath of Amir Timur's death, several Turkish tribes surfaced to power across central Asia. Ali Shukr Beg from the Baharlu clan was a prominent member of Qara Qoyunlu tribe. His descendants served many rulers across Central Asia including Timur's descendants.

Descendants of **CHENGHIZ KHAN** (d. 1227)



JAMIL KHAN MEWATI

ABDUR RAHIM'S family came into the service of the Mughals (Babur) sometime after 1505 AD. At the age of sixteen, Bairam was associated with Babur and then Prince Humayun. Later the alliances grew between the two families with several intermarriages. It is vital to have an overall understanding of this to place Abdur Rahim, his family, and his ancestry in the context of Mughal history, even before Babur's conquest of India. The direct associations over four generations—Babur to Shah Jahan—and previously with the Timurid princes locate Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan in the inner circle of the Mughal royal family. Moreover, their loyalty and the bravery, along with their well-groomed etiquettes and highly educated background made them perfect companions and tutors of the Mughal princes. Bairam became the regent of Akbar when he ascended the throne at the age of thirteen.

ATGAH KHAN
Foster Father of Akbar



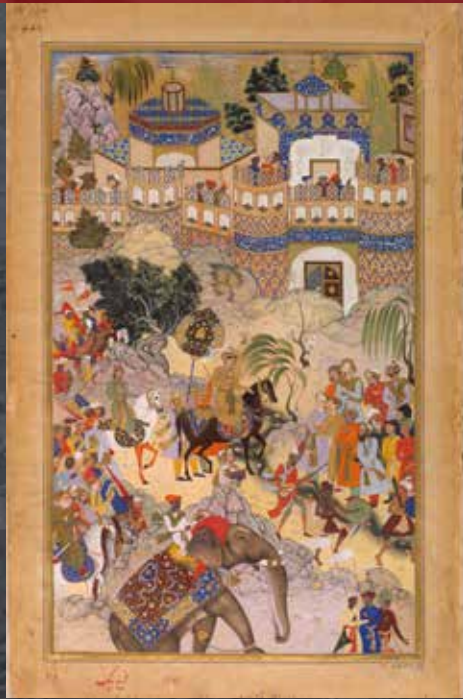
Mah Banu (d. 1598)
Foster sister of Akbar



LEGEND

- Services
- Marriages
- Descendants
- Foster Family

HIS CAMPAIGNS & SUBADARI



Akbar's triumphant entry into Surat (1572), Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Khan-i-Khanan's imperial career coincided with the territorial expansion of the Mughal state. He led the Mughal army in Gujarat (1584), Sindh (1590), Mewar (1578) and Deccan (1595-1622). He also quelled rebellions at Ranthambhor (1582) and Kannauj (1611).

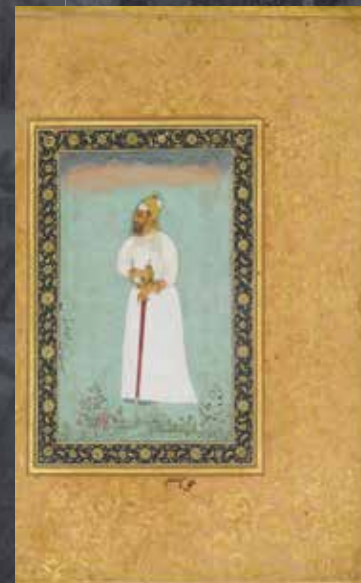
He also served as the governor of Gujarat (1575, 1584), Ajmer (1578) and Khandesh (1608, 1617). Interestingly, during his governorship, he gave audience to European travelers and merchants several times to settle trade disputes.



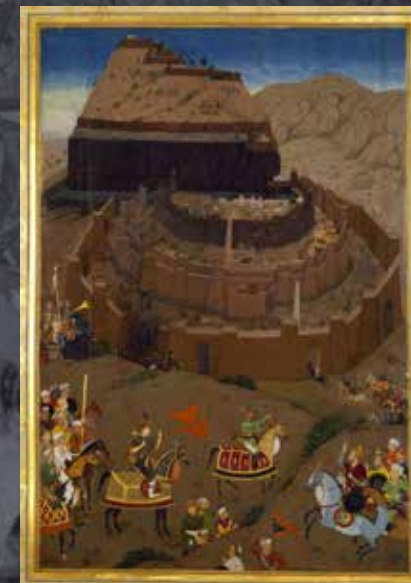
(Above and right) Battle of Sarnal in Gujarat, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Humayun fights Bahadur Shah in Gujarat, 1535, LACMA.



Portrait of Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur, folio from the Shah Jahan Album, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



The Siege of Daulatabad (April-June 1633) 1656-57, folio from Windsor Castle: *Padshahnama*, Royal Collection Trust.

GUJARAT CAMPAIGN

A prosperous maritime kingdom under the Muzaffarid dynasty, Gujarat had been briefly captured by Humayun in 1535.

In 1572, sixteen year old Abdur Rahim accompanied emperor Akbar on the Gujarat campaign.

On the way, he was granted the *jagir* of Patan, where his father had been killed. Despite a victory, the forces had to return to Gujarat and Abdur Rahim participated at the battle of Sarnal.

In 1584, aided by experience he returned to successfully quell the rebellion by former Sultan Muzaffar III, defeating the latter at the battle of Sarkhej near Ahmedabad.

DECCAN CAMPAIGN

Khan-i-Khanan was chosen for the campaign against Deccan sultanates in 1593. In this unpredictable campaign, the combined efforts of Bijapur and Ahmednagar sultanates swiftly turned gains into losses. Yet, in 1600, the Ahmednagar army under Chand Bibi surrendered to Khan-i-Khanan and prince Daniyal. Despite suspicion for treason, Khan-i-Khanan and his sons regained lost territories of Balaghat and sent a huge tribute to the emperor.



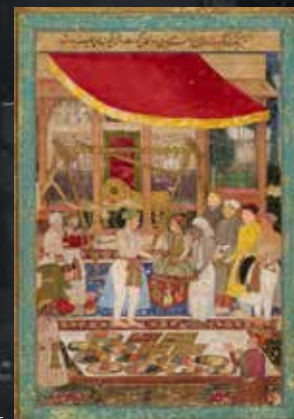
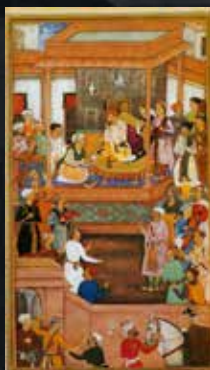
Jahangir receives Prince Khurram on his return from the Deccan (10 October 1617) 1656-57, folio from Windsor Castle: *Padshahnama*, Royal Collection Trust.

SINDH CAMPAIGN

Khan-i-Khanan subdued the Tarkhan ruler of Sindh—Mirza Jani Beg. In 1592, victory came after a twenty month siege in riverine terrain. Khan-i-Khanan signed a treaty with Mirza Jani Beg's daughter.

IN THE COURTS OF EMPERORS

Tales of emperor Akbar's court and his "nine gems" or *navratnas* are fondly recounted to this day. His court was a thriving cosmopolis where Sanskrit texts were translated to Persian and Braj Bhasha poetry was eagerly patronized. Khan-i-Khanan served at important positions in the court including being tutor or *ataliq* to prince Salim, the future emperor Jahangir.



1. Portrait of Raja Man Singh of Amber, a member of the circle the emperor called the Navratnas, or "nine jewels," Metropolitan Museum, New York.
2. Abul Fazl presenting the second volume of *Akbarnama* to emperor Akbar, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
3. Hindu and Muslim Scholars Translate the Mahabharata from Sanskrit into Persian in Akbar's translation bureau, Free Library, Philadelphia.

4. Disguised Akbar with court singer Tansen visits Swami Haridas, National Museum, New Delhi.
5. A portrait of Raja Birbal, British Library, London.
6. Dagger, Mughal dynasty, late 17th century, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

7. Jahangir weighing prince Khurram against gold and silver, watched by the courtiers, including Khan-i-Khanan and Mahabat Khan, British Museum, London.
8. Akbar, Todar Mal, Tansen, AbulFazl, Faizi and Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan in a court scene (sixteenth century AD). Panel No. 45, Outer Gallery of Parliament House. Image courtesy: Harper Collins.

COURT INTRIGUES

Despite his stature, like his father, Khan-i-Khanan also had a turbulent career. The slow progress of the Deccan campaign coupled with his difficult relationship with prince Murad and other nobles, led to rumours about his treachery.

However, Jahangir soon realized that the campaign was indeed very tough and reinstated Khan-i-Khanan in the Deccan.

Later, Khan-i-Khanan supported the rebellion of prince Khurram against Jahangir and lost all favour with the emperor. In 1625, the ailing Jahangir recalled his old tutor to the court and reinstated him as Khan-i-Khanan.

Khan-i-Khanan writes:

By the help of God, the kindness of Jahangir

Has twice given me life and twice the Khan-i-Khanan.
Massir-ul-Umara. Vol. I (translated by H. Beveridge)

Ramayana

1587-1605

Khan-i-Khanan commissioned a Persian translation of the *Ramayana*. It followed a translation commissioned by emperor Akbar. Work began in 1587 and was completed around 1605. The beautifully illustrated manuscript was prepared by several artists, some of whom had worked in emperor Akbar's atelier too. The manuscript contains not just a note by Khan-i-Khanan but also by emperors Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, attesting to its arrival in the imperial library eventually. It is preserved in the Freer Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

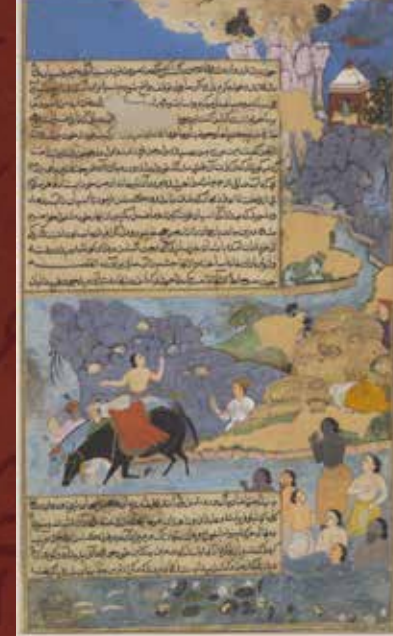


Shahnama

Passed down from emperor Jahangir's library, this manuscript crossed several hands before it was refurbished at Khan-i-Khanan's atelier.

Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan

was a passionate patron of arts and lover of books. His atelier followed the trends of the imperial atelier or *karkhana*. The manuscripts chosen by him, like *Ragamala* and *Timurnama*, indicate his interest in both Indian literature and Persian classics. The atelier also restored damaged books. Besides this, Khan-i-Khanan also supported hundreds of Persian poets and musicians who came from as far as Isfahan, Mashhad and Nishapur in Persia. Hindavi poets like Gang Kavi, Prasiddh, and even Keshavdas also lavished praises on his role as a patron.



A Persian translation of the *Mahabharata*, was produced in Khan-i-Khanan's atelier following an imperial copy of the *Razmnama*. Work started in 1616-1617.

It contains a number of illustrations especially from the *Ashvamedhika Parva*. There is a certain stylistic homogeneity to the works. The illustrations have the largest dimensions among those produced in the atelier. The folios are now dispersed all over the world.

Khamasa

This is a copy of Amir Khusrau's (d. 1325) *Khamasa*, an imitation of the *Khamasa* of the poet Nizami (d. 1209). Several dispersed folios were painstakingly accumulated over a decade from different sources. The repair of the final manuscript was completed by Khan-i-Khanan in 1617.



Razmnama
1616-1617

HIS LIBRARY

Despite constant movement through his career, Khan-i-Khanan maintained a rich library. His biography, Maasir-i-Rahimi mentions the existence of a library in Gujarat, Malwa and Burhanpur.

Works of various genres—Persian poetry, medicinal treatises, books on dream interpretation, Quranic commentaries and other religious texts—were housed in the library. Notes by Khan-i-Khanan in the books reveal that he took a personal interest in the collection. Similarly the biography states that library officials were poets themselves and often Khan-i-Khanan personally corrected their compositions.

RELIGIOUS BOOKS



Mojalis-us-Ushshaq: A Sufi treatise and collection of autobiographies. The flyleaf contains a note and seal of Khan-i-Khanan.



Copy of *Al-Kashaf 'an Haqiqat al-Tanzil*: A religious text by Zamakhshari. It contains a note documenting the entry into library in 1584.



Bahr-i-Mawwaj: A 15th century commentary on the Quran by Wali Shihab Shams Umar Daulatabadi Zawali Dehlavi (d. 1455). Seal and a note mention that the manuscript was acquired after the victory over a Sufi Shaikh. A cropped note gives the name of Abdur Rahim and a reference to its acquisition in Gujarat.

Copy of *Munajat-i-Khwaja Abdullah Ansari*: This was copied by the renowned calligrapher Mir Ali of Herat.

Tabir Ruya: A text on dream-interpretation by Abu Raihan Andalusi. The note by Abdur Rahim is dated to 1589 indicating that the manuscript had been gifted to Bairam Khan by Akbar.

Commentary on the *Kulliyat* of al-Qanun, a medical treatise of Ibn Sina. The flyleaf inscription in Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan's hand is dated to 1585 after the conquest of Gujarat.

POETIC WORKS



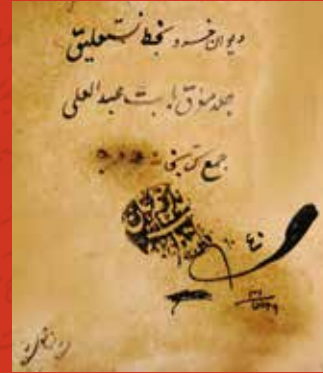
Copy of *Bustan* is written in the beautiful calligraphic hand of Shah Sawar. It was produced in the court of Malwa Khiljis and was later presented as a tribute by Chand Bibi of Ahmednagar to Khan-i-Khanan.

Sharh-i-Qasida-i-Burdah: Commentary in Persian on Arabic qasidas composed by Sharfauddin Abu Abdullah Muhammad. It contains Abdur Rahim's name and seal dated 1583.



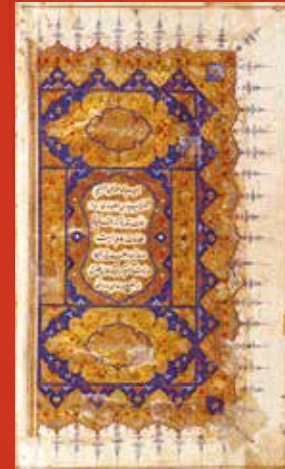
Copy of *Shish Risala-i-Sadi*: From the imperial library of Udaipur it came to Abdur Rahim and eventually moved into the Mughal imperial library.

Copy of *Divan-i-Amir Khurrau*: The manuscript contains a note and seal of Khan-i-Khanan.



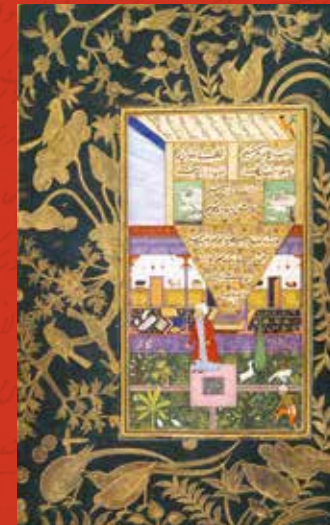
Illustrated copy of *Yusuf-va-Zulaykha* was presented to Jahangir on behalf of Abdur Rahim at Agra in March, 1610. Jahangir specifies the cost at 1000 gold muhrs.

Qalam-i-Turki: A compendium of Turkish poetry written by Babur in his own hand as per Shah Jahan's note. It also contains notes by Bairam Khan.



Kulliyat-i-Sadi: A beautifully illuminated and illustrated copy, contains notes by Khan-i-Khanan, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

Copy of *Parj Ganj* of Maulana Abdul Rahman Jami (d. 1490). The flyleaf note by Jahangir attests that the manuscript belonged to Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan and before it entered the imperial library in 1624-25. The cost amounted to 1000 *ashrafis*.



1. Mah Banu's tomb, Delhi (d. 1598)

Located close to the shrine of Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya, this double-domed garden- tomb is closely patterned on Mughal emperor Humayun's tomb. Although later it became Khan-i-Khanan's resting place, it was the first monument built for a Mughal lady.

2. Darab Khan's tomb, Delhi (d. 1624-25)

No longer extant, this irregular-octagonal structure stood to south of Humayun's tomb and east of Arab Serai in Nizamuddin East and would have had a dome earlier.

3 & 4. Shah Nawaz Khan's tomb, Burhanpur

(d. 1619). Reminiscent of Faruqi architecture in Khandesh, the rectangular tomb has a triple arched opening in the middle of each side. It rises gradually to a dome which also has pillars on each side.



For the city of Burhanpur, Khan-i-Khanan, in the 17th century, built an elaborate underground Qannat network to ensure water supply at all times. He employed Iranian architects like Tabkutul Arz, Muhammad Ali Khurasani and Ustad Baroli. They introduced sophisticated designs especially for public works.

Khan-i-Khanan is credited with the construction of public gardens with beautiful walk-ways, fruit-trees and rare flowers in Ahmedabad, Surat, Burhanpur and Lahore.

In 1618 Jahangir visited the Fateh Bagh constructed to commemorate the victory at Sarkhej, Gujarat in 1584:

"In the garden the Khan-i-Khanan made on the site of the battle next to the Sabarmati River, he built a beautiful building with a terrace worthy of the building overlooking the river... I rather liked it. I can tell you that in all of Gujarat there is nothing like this garden." (Jahangirnama; translated by Wheeler M. Thackston)

Akbar's, before the Lal Bagh garden in Burhanpur:

"The pond in Lal Bagh contains full of lots of different colours. It is a flower which is called by Indians milder; but it does not resemble it in colour and smell. The white type of it is like morning in smell but it is twenty times as big as that in size... In Khandesh this kind of flower had never been seen before..." (Translated by C. R. Ross)



"This garden which, no doubt, is the most delightful of any in the Indies is also the most considerable of any in the whole country, not only in respect of the victory which the Moghul gained in that place over the last King of Gujarat... but also in respect of its magnificent structures and the noble fruits..." (John Albert de Mandeville, October 1638)



GARDENS

MOSQUES

5. In 1626-27, Khan-i-Khanan rebuilt a burnt down mosque at Burhanpur by adding an eighteen pillared structure. It has gold finials on the minarets and a beautiful gateway. It is now known as the Tana Gujri Mosque.

6. On his instruction, Arif Naumani, a Sufi from Burhanpur undertook the repair of the Jama Masjid. He added stone carvings to the original structure of the erstwhile Faruqi ruler Raja Ali Khan.



Gravestones of Hamam, Burhanpur. Source: Fida Khatun, Mughal Architecture.



HAMAM

Rahim's public works included building of Hamams. A surviving hamam built in 1606-7 in Burhanpur is in ruins today but it's original grandeur can be discerned.

The Radhavallabh temple at Vrindavan was constructed by Sundardas Bhatnagar, Khan-i-Khanan's *divan* or finance officer. The saintly biography, *Rasik Ananyamal*, relates that Sunderdas was accused of siphoning funds for the temple. On finding out, Khan-i-Khanan himself made lavish donations to the temple.



जहाँ ने कदी तु मेरा होई जोषा काम न कीवै कोई॥
जोषे काम न मोहि बड़ाई जो चाहो सो लेहु मैराई॥

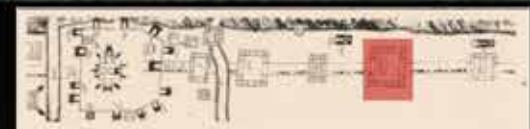
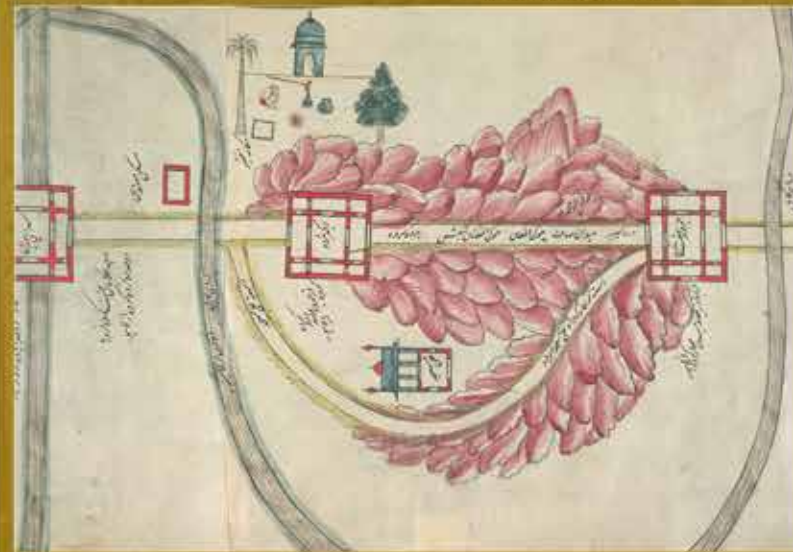
Khan-i-Khanan constructed beautiful buildings for public utility.

In Lahore and Burhanpur, he sponsored caravan-serais for the comfortable stay of the travellers. Nihavandi states that the travelers put up in the serais, enjoyed food and comfort free of any charge.

SERAIS



Mughal Serai, Burhanpur, AITL Archive.



The scroll marks Sarai Khan-i-Khanan (no longer extant) to the south of Lahore Fort. The drawing above shows a detail from the same scroll. India Office Collection, British Library.

‘Abdur Rahim inherited a flair for poetic compositions from his father, Bairam Khan who composed poetry in Turki. A childhood spent in the pluralistic milieu of Akbar’s court instilled interest in him towards Sanskrit and Hindavi *bhakti* (devotional) and *shringar* (love) literature. Rahim emerges as a remarkably vivid poet—displaying his penchant for moral advice, pithy observations and appreciation of love based poetry centred on Krishna. Deriving from the *riti* poetry, of the court, Rahim’s works can be seen as a typical example of toning down *bhakti* rhetoric into a less religious context.

He wrote in many metres and genres. The most popular among them were *dohas* and *barvais*. It is popularly believed that his barvai verses inspired Tulsidas to compose his Barvai Ramayan.

Barvai is a remarkably brief couplet with 19 *matras* in each line. The first quarter contains 12 *matras* while the second contains 7. Rahim has two works in *barvai* metre to his credit.

शुक्लाभिसारिका

सेत कुसुम कै हरवा भूषन सेत ।
चली रैन उँजिरिया पिय के हेत ॥

*With a garland of white blossoms,
adorned in white,
she went to her lover in the moonlit night.*
(Translation by Rupert Snell)



Abhisarika Heroine rushing to her lover Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

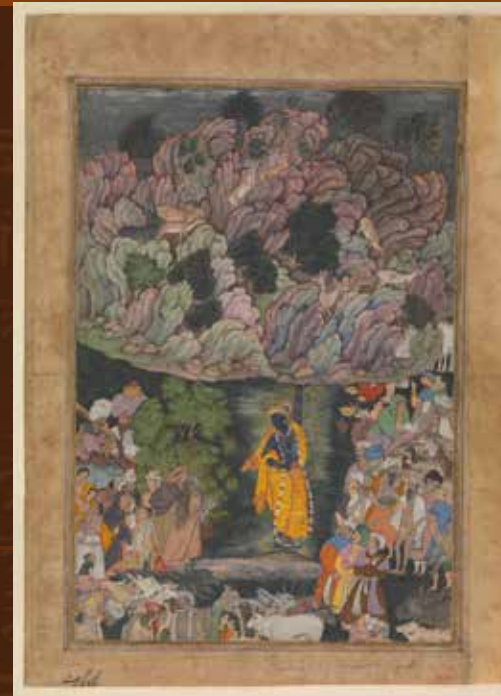
In *Barvai* there are almost 105 verses experimenting in *Barahmasa* (twelve months) mixed with Krishnaite poetic themes.

It depicts the *gopis* (milkmaids) pining for Krishna since he has not returned for the monsoons and has sent his message through Uddhav (Krinshna’s friend). Most of the compositions showcase pain and longing.



Vasakasajja-Nayika National Museum New Delhi.

कवित कह्यो दोहा कह्यो तुलै न छप्पय छंद ।
बिरग्यो यैह विचार कै यह बरवै रस कंद ॥



Krishna Holds Up Mount Govardhan to Shelter the Villagers of Braj, Folio from a Harivamsa (The Legend of Hari (Krishna)) The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Barvai Nayika Bhed: This is a versified catalogue, with its roots in Sanskrit drama traditions. It demonstrates the emotional and physical states of a variety of heroines (*nayikas*). It comprises of about 119 couplets with an Avadhi touch, varying from the erotic to the humorous. Rahim’s heroines range from the *mugdha* or innocent, *madhya* or middling and *praudha* or mature, in terms of romantic experience. Each of the couplets carefully describes the heroines in a variety of roles—as a wife, lover, mistress or courtesan. They depict the heroines in different situations—seeking the lover out of desire, being cross with him for having spent the night elsewhere, or repenting after quarrel, among many others.

सावन आवन कहिगे, स्याम सुजान ।
अजहुँ न आये सजनी, तरपत प्रान ॥

Dear Shyam left saying he would come, when Savan comes But still he tends not, friend, my writhing soul.
(Translation: Rupert Snell)



Lime, from Vag'i-at-i Baburi the Memoirs of Babur, The British Library

तरुवर फल नहि खात है, सरवर पियहि न पान ।
कहि रहीम पर काज हित, संपति सँचहि सुजान ॥

*A tree doesn't eat its fruit, the lake doesn't drink its water;
Says Rahim, good peoples' wealth is for others' benefit.*
(Translation by Mehr Afshan Farooqi and Richard Cohen)

ओछो काम बड़े करै, सो न बड़ाई होय ।

ज्यों रहीम हनुमंत को, गिरधर कहै न कोय ॥

*The great receive no praise for trifling deeds;
Rahim, no one calls Hanuman "Giridhar".*
(Translation by Rupert Snell)



Hanuman returns the mountain with the four healing plants to the Himalayas, The Freer Ramayana Smithsonian Institution.

यके बैठ दुखरिया, मीजहु पाय ।
पिय तन पेखी गरमिया, बिजन डोलाय ॥

Dohas are rhyming couplets set to a metre. The first half of each line of the couplet or *paad* comprises of 11 metres, while the second half comprises of 13 metres. Filled with references to Hindu mythology and Persianate courtly customs, Rahim's *dohas* are remarkable for their insightful observations on worldly matters and ethical conduct. Rahim was not the only poet to compose *dohas*; Kabir is celebrated for his *dohas*, and Tulsidas for his *Ramcharitmanas* which also contains *dohas*. Rahim is attributed with approximately 300 *dohas*.

Rajasthani Gypsy Girl, Mukesh Shrivastava, otheby's.com

A chakor in a 17th century Persian encyclopedia, Farahnamah, John Hay Whitney Medical Library, Yale University.



Nagarshobha In doha verses it describes the characteristics of city-women from different castes and communities like the *chippin* (printer's wife), *chiterin* (woman artist), *kasain* (butcher's wife).

और बनज ब्योपार को, भाव बिचारै कौन।
लोइन लोने होत हैं, देखत वाको लौन॥

The banjaarin or gypsy girl is arresting:
Who can think about business transactions?
My eyes are absorbed by her beauty.
(Translation: Allison Busch)



How does it avail to be in the good books of the great when God himself does not wish to grant happiness.
The lotus cherishes a special bond with the Sun and yet it is blighted by the frost.
The moon dips itself in the Ocean of Milk, and lives on the forehead of Shiva but nothing can erase its dark spots.
The chakor bird is so loving, and a friend of the Moon but its fate still is to swallow hot embers.
(Translation: Harish Trivedi)

Ghanakshari (phutkar)
बड़ेन सों जान पहिचान कै रहीम काह
जो पै करतार ही न सुख देनहार है
सीत—हर सूरज सों नेह कियो याही हेत
ताऊ पै कमल जारि डारत तुषार है
नीरनिधि माँहि धस्यो शंकर के सीस बस्यो
तऊ न कलंक नस्यो ससि में सदा रहे
बड़ो शीशिवार है चकोर दरबार है
कलानिधि सो यार तऊ चाखत अंगार है

Phutkar Several verses in *kavitt*, *saviyya*, *ghanakshari* metre, appreciating Krishna in excellent Braj Bhasha have been attributed to Rahim. They have been found comparable to that of Surdas.

हियरा भरै तबाखिनी, हाथ न लावन देत।
सुरवा नेक चखाइ कै, हड़ी झारि सब देत॥

The tabakhini (cook) does not permit one to eat to their heart's content; She just offers a taste from the ladle, and pushes away the pot.
(Translation: Mehr Afshan Farooqi & Richard Cohen)



A Lady Prepares a Meal, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

142 *dohas* composed in the *shringar ras* depicts seventy different kinds of heroines in the city in Nagarshobha.

Gangashtakam

Verses in veneration of Ganga.

अच्युत चरन तरंगिनि, शिव सिर मालति माल।
हरि न बनायो सुरसरी, कीजो इंदव भाल॥



Morakutti Krishna Lila, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution

छबि आवन मोहनलाल की
काछनि काछे कलित मुरलि कर पीत पिछौरी साल की
बंक तिलक केसर को कीने दुति मानो बिधु बाल की
बिसरत नाहि सखि मो मन ते चितवनि नयन बिसाल की
नीकी हँसनि अधर सधरनि की छबि छीनी सुमन गुलाल की
जल सों डारि दियो पुरइन पर डोलनि मुकता माल की
आप मोल बिन मोलनि डोलनि बोलनि मदनगोपाल की
यह सरूप निरखै सोइ जानै इस रहीम के हाल की

Oh that image of the enchanting Krishna!
His waist-band tied, a flute in his hand, the yellow silk cloth adorns him.
On his forehead a tilak of saffron-paste, in splendour he is like the new moon.
O my friend, I cannot forget the glance his large eyes cast on me.
His charming laughter, sweet lips soft as a flower, in colour like gulal,
His lustrous pearl necklace swaying like water drops rolling on a lotus leaf.
Priceless are the gestures and speech of that Kama-like Cowherd.
Only they who have seen that beauteous form can know what a state Rahim is in.
(Translation: Harish Trivedi)

Madanashtaka

A composition of eight verses of love poetry in "macaronic" or multi-lingual lines. These are composed in the *Malini* metre and so far four versions of the same with variations have been found.

Soratha

An inverted *doha*; here the first *paad* comprises of 13 metres, the second is composed of 11 metres. Rahim is also known for *Sorathas* based on love themes, called *Shringar Soratha*.

HIS PERSIAN VERSES

Babur supervising construction of reservoir at Istabul near Kabul,
National Museum, New Delhi.

From an early age 'Abdur Rahim showed signs of literary bent of mind. He acquired proficiency in different languages such as Arabic, Persian, Turki, Sanskrit as well as Hindavi which was his mother tongue. He also developed a refined taste and sensibility for poetry in different languages.



His biographer, Nihavandi asserts there was no *divan* or compilation of Khan-i-Khanan's Persian couplets since he composed spontaneously. He records that while Khan-i-Khanan was influenced by Sheikh Sa'di, he could also experiment with the new free flowing styles of composition.

شمار شوق نه دانسته ام که تا چند است
جز این قدر که دلم سخت آرزو مند است

*I don't know how to measure desire;
Except that my heart aches with craving*

مرا فروخت محبت ولی نه دانستم
که مشتری چه کس است و بهای من چند است

*I am sold to love, but I don't know
Who is the buyer and what is the price?*

(Translation: Mehr Afshan Farooqi and Richard Cohen)

Khan-i-Khanan's court was a haven for Iranian poets. He participated in *mushairas* in his *dar-ul-ilm*, where poets met and composed *ghazals*. His own compositions in Persian—whether his *rubai*, *ghazals* are praised for their simplicity and smoothness. He translated Babur's memoirs from turkish to persian.



Dream Garden of Persian Poets, Bodleian Library,
University of Oxford.

बुझि बुझि के मुलगाँहि

1. *Bujhi Bujhi ke Sulagahi*
Sung by Dev Narayan Sarolia
Translation: Harish Trivedi

यह न रहीम सराहिये, देन लेन की प्रीति।
प्रांनन बाजी राखिये, हारि होय के जीति।।
*What good is this petty love of exchanging little gifts?
Wager your life on love, and see if you lose or win.*

मीन कटि जल छोड़िये, खाये अधिक पियास।
रहीमन प्रीति सराहिये, मूखे मीत के आस।।
*When the fish is cut up it's washed in water, eat it and you thirst for water.
How great is the fish's love for its mate, that even when dead it yearns for water.*

जे सुलगे ते बुझि गए, बुझे ते सुलगे नाहिं।
रहीमन दाहे प्रेम के, बुझि बुझि के सुलगाहिं।।
*Some burn and then go out, and some never burn at all.
But those who burn with love go out and then flare again.*

रहीमन खोजे ऊख में जहाँ रसन की खानि।
जहाँ गोंद रहें रस नहीं, यही प्रीति में हानि।।
*A sugar-cane is full of juice all over.
Except where there's a knot — and that's how love is.*

प्रेम पंथ ऐसी कठिन, सब कोउ निबहत नाहिं।
रहीमन मैन-तुरंग चढ़ि, चलिगे पावक गाहिं।।
*The path of love is arduous, not everyone makes it to the end.
You mount a horse made of wax and ride through a blazing fire.*

3. *Pat Chahe Tan*...
Composed and Sung by Harpreet
Translation: Harish Trivedi

पट चाहे तन पेट चाहत छदन मन
चाहत है मन, जेही समदा सराहिबी।
तेरोछे काहय के रहीम कहे दीनबु
आपनी बिपति जाय काके दुवार काहिबी।।
पेट भर खायो चाहे, उमम बनायो चाहे,
कुनू जियायो चाहे कटि मून लाहिबी।
जीविका हमारी जो पै औरन के कर खारे,
ब्रज के बिलारी तो तिलारी कहीं साहिबी।।
*My body wants clothes, my stomach wants food,
the heart wants wealth that'll be the arm of oil.
I was generous to all for you were generous to me,
so to whom shall I go now and cry in my need?
I want to eat my fill, I want to lead a good life
I want to feed my household and to give gifts.
But if my fortune depends on the grace of others,
O Brij-bharti Krishna, what kind of a Lord are you?*

बनेन सो जान पहिचान के रहीम काह,
जो पै कस्तार ही न सुख देनाहर है।
सौत-हर सूरज सो नेह कियो याही हेत,
ताक पै कमल जारि डारत तुषार है।।
नीरनिधि माँहि वखो खरन के सीस बरयो,
तक न कलंक नखो ससि में सदा रहे।
बड़ो शेरिबार है, वकोर दखार है,
कलानिधि सो यार तक चाखत अंगार है।।
बड़ो शेरिबार है, वकोर दखार है,
कलानिधि सो यार तक चाखत अंगार है।।

कहियो पथिक
1. *Kahiyo Pathik*...
Composed by Pandit Rajan Sajan Mishra
Sung by Pandit Ritesh Rajnish Mishra

कहियो पथिक सँदेखा, गहि के पाय।
मोहन तुम बिन तकबुड, रूखी न जाय।।
*O traveller, grasp his feet and make his path:
"Without you, Mohan, I can't survive at all".*
Translation: Rupert Snel

जब ते बिकुरे मोहन, मूख न पास।
अरे शेरि बोट आबत, बहे उरसा।।
*Shree Mohan went away I've no longer or friend,
time and time over great signs arise within my heart.*
Translation: Rupert Snel

उन बिन कौन निवारे, शिर की खब।
ऊखे पुगु कहियो, पानि बरझार।।
*Who else but Krishna can redeem our love.
Plead with him, Lakhna, please, on our behalf.*
Translation: Harsh Trivedi

सावन आवन कहिये, स्याम सुजान।
अजहुं न आये सजनी, लफत प्रान।।
*Dear Shyam left saying he would come, when Savan comes
but still he temes not, friend, my wishful and.*
Translation: Rupert Snel

पीन पीव कहे चालक, सत अखत।।
करत बिरहिनी शिय के, हिय उकषत।।
*"Sweet, sweet!" — the wretched cuckoo's midnight call
assails the lovelorn woman's grieving heart.*
Translation: Rupert Snel

मज मन राम सिपागी, रसकुल ईश।
मैरानु कुल दान, मेरिगोषी।।
*O my mind, praise Rama, state's husband, ruler's friend,
friend of the poor, grief's victor, lord of Kausambi*
Translation: Rupert Snel

VERSEs IN MUSIC

Verses of Rahim—unlike Surdas, Kabir, Tulsidas, or the Sufis—never got sung among the populace nor in the courts. The reasons can only be speculated: One, as the musicians expressed, they were not written to music, though his verses were in strict metres as of the others. In the process of putting his *Verses in Music*, we learnt that certain words of Rahim had to be replaced to create melodies. Two, they may have remained totally within a small circle of the imperial courts. They are not even recorded in his extended biography by Nihavandi where his and his patron poets’ Persian verses are generously documented. Lastly, as in the tradition of poetry presentation, where poets recite their poems in *laih/tarannum* (rhythm), his Hindavi verses were not written for listening. *Verses in Music* is a collection of his poems to be sung for the first time for listenening pleasure.

धन दारा
2. *Dhan Dara Sutan su*...
Composed and sung by Rehmat Khan Langa and group
Translation: Harish Trivedi

धन दारा अरु सुजन सो, लगो रहे निज चित।
नहि रहीम कोउ लख्यो, यादें दिन को भित।।
*Wife and sons and wealth are ever close to one's heart.
But no one spares a thought for God, one's friend in the end.*

समय दसा कुल देखि कै, सने करता सनमान।
रहीमन दीन अनाथ को, तुम बिन को मगवान।।
*Everyone honours a man of lineage, state and station.
No one takes notice of the poor and the meek except for God.*

जो रहीम मन हाथ है, तो तन कहुं बिन जाँहि।
जल में जो छाया परे, काया भीजति नाहिं।।
*May the body room here and there if the mind is in one's hands.
Reflection cast in water will not wet body nor soul.*

जाल परे जल जात बहि, तजि मीनन को मोह।
रहीमन मछरी नीर को, तक न छँड़व छोह।।
*When a net is cast, water runs out, leaving the fish behind.
But the fish don't let go of water until the end when they die.*

शेखे बादर रँवार के, ज्यों रहीम घब्रत।
घनी पुरुष निर्भन नये, करे पाछिली बात।।
*Fuffy clouds in an autumn sky
may rumble all they like,
Like the once-rich poor
boasting of their lost wealth.*

धबि आवन
मोहनलाल की
4. *Chabi Awan Mohan Lal*...
Composed and Sung by Pandit Rajan Sajan Mishra
Translation: Harish Trivedi

छबि आवन मोहनलाल की।
काछनि काठे कलित मुरखि कर पीत पिछौरी साल की।।
बंक हिलक केसर को कीने दुति मागो पिय बाल की।
बिसरत नाहिं सखि मो मान ते चितवनि नयन बिसाल की।।
नीकी हँसनि अवर समरनि की छबि छीनी सुमन गुलाल की।
जल सो डारि दियो पुरखन पर डोलनि मुक्ता माल की।।
आप मोल बिन मोलनि डोलनि मोलनि मदनगोपाल की।
यह सफ़स निरखे खोजे जानै इस रहीम के हाल की।।

*Oh that image of the enchanting Krishna!
His waist-band tied, a flute in his hand,
the yellow silk cloth adorns him.
On his forehead a tilak of saffron-paste,
in splendour he is like the new moon.
O my friend, I cannot forget the glance
his large eyes cast on me.
His charming laughter, sweet lips
soft as a flower, in colour like gulet,
His lustrous pearl necklace swaying
like water drops rolling on a lotus leaf,
Priceless are the gestures and speech
of that Kama-like Cowherd.
Only they who have seen that beauteous form
can know what a state Rahim is in.*

अन्तर दाव
लगी रहै
Antar Daav Lagi Rahe...
Composed and Sung by Pandit Rajan Sajan Mishra

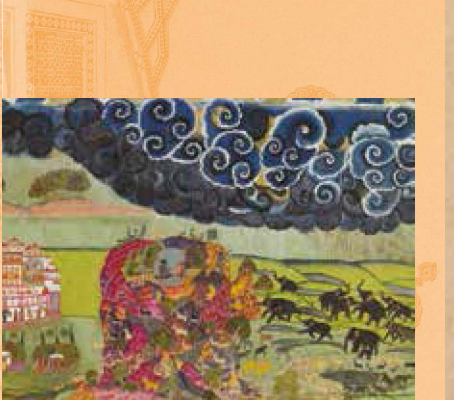
अन्तर दाव लगी रहे, घुओं न प्रगटे सोइ।
कै जिय आपन जानहीं, कै ज़िहि बीती होइ।।
*It's the fire that keeps burning on the inside, the one without smoe.
Only he understands, who has experienced it.*
Translation: Allison Busch

अब रहीम चूप करि सल्लसमुझि तिनन कार फेर।
जब बिन गौके आइ है बगत न लगी है देर।।
*When good fortune deserts you, keep calm and just lie low.
The good days will be here again in no time at all.*
Translation: Harish Trivedi

कमल-दल
नैननि की
7. *Kamal Dal Nainani ki*...
Composed and sung by Svaranah Mishra
Translation: Harish Trivedi

कमल-दल नैननि की उन्गुनि।
बिसरत नाहिं सखी मो मन ते मंद मंद मुसकानि।।
यह दसननि दुति चपला ह्यो मूढ चपल चमकानि।
बसुंधा की बसकरी म्हरता सुधा-पणी बराननि।
यहीं रहे चित उर बिसाल को मुकुहमाल धराननि।
नूतन-समय पीतांबर हू की फहरि फहरि फहरानि।।
अनुदिन श्री मृन्दावन ब्रज ते आवन आवन जानि।
अब रहीम चित ते न टरते है सकल स्याम की बानि।।

*His eyes are like lotus petals.
My dear friend, how can I forget that softly smiling face,
his teeth flashing brighter than lightning on his tremulous lips.
His sctor-sweet talk sweeter than all the delights of earth.
Oh the thought of that pearl necklace swaying on his broad chest.
And his yellow silk garment fluttering and fluttering as he danced.
Each day I pray he'll come back soon to Brindavan and me.
Rahim: That whole stance of Krishna stays fixed in my heart.*



शेखे बादर रँवार के, ज्यों रहीम घब्रत।
घनी पुरुष निर्भन नये, करे पाछिली बात।।
*Fuffy clouds in an autumn sky
may rumble all they like,
Like the once-rich poor
boasting of their lost wealth.*

धबि आवन
मोहनलाल की

Devnarayan Sarolia is a veteran exponent of the Malvi tradition of Kabir's poetry. He has been performing across the world along with the eminent folk singer Prahlad Singh Tipaniya for the last 18 years. Based in Madhya Pradesh, Devnarayan is a self-taught violinist besides having a golden rustic voice.

Netai Chandra Das is a percussionist from the Birbhum district of West Bengal. A seasoned player of the sreekhol and duggi, he has accompanied leading *Baul* singers of the country and has been performing in the country and abroad.

Ankit Chadha, a writer, researcher and story-teller, specializes in weaving research-based narratives for *Dastangoi*—the centuries-old traditional art of storytelling. His writing varies from biographical accounts of personalities like Kabir and Dara Shikoh to modern folk tales on corporate culture and the Internet. He has been invited to speak on the *Dastan* narrative tradition at prestigious universities across the world including Princeton, Harvard, NYU, IIT-Bombay and Jadavpur University. Ankit also works for young audiences, and has performed the Urdu

adaptations of children's classics including Alice and The Little Prince. He is the author of the award-winning book for children, "My Gandhi Story" and the recently released "Amir Khusrav - The Man in Riddles"

Harpreet is an independent musician, who composes his own songs and the writings of various poets. He is trying to bring back the languages to the current generation in a more contemporary way. Having performed at some of the country's most prestigious festivals, his selection of poetry in his music is what sets him apart. Harpreet has also collaborated with various theatre directors like, Dadi Pudumjee, Ashwat Bhatt, Purva Nareesh and Deepak Dharmija. He has also composed and sung promotional songs for the films "Titli", and "Moh Maya Money".

Mohammad Ahmed Warsi Nasir from Rampur, Uttar Pradesh, is acclaimed to be one of the leading *khanaqahi* gawwals in the country today. His grandfather Ustad Abdullaah Khanshib and his brothers were employed at the Rampur court under the patronage of Nawab Hamid Ali Khan. He was initiated into

अन्तर दाव
लगी रहै
Antar Daav Lagi Rahe...
Composed and Sung by Pandit Rajan Sajan Mishra & Pandit Ritesh Rajnish Mishra

अन्तर दाव लगी रहे, घुओं न प्रगटे सोइ।
कै जिय आपन जानहीं, कै ज़िहि बीती होइ।।
*It's the fire that keeps burning on the inside, the one without smoe.
Only he understands, who has experienced it.*
Translation: Allison Busch

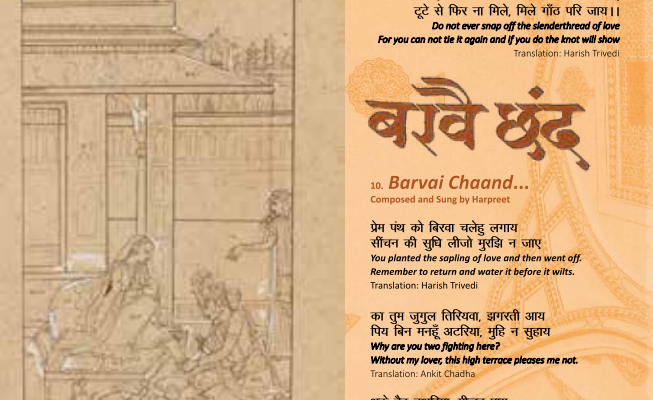
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*When good fortune deserts you, keep calm and just lie low.
The good days will be here again in no time at all.*
Translation: Harish Trivedi

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बसुंधा की बसकरी म्हरता सुधा-पणी बराननि।
यहीं रहे चित उर बिसाल को मुकुहमाल धराननि।
नूतन-समय पीतांबर हू की फहरि फहरि फहरानि।।
अनुदिन श्री मृन्दावन ब्रज ते आवन आवन जानि।
अब रहीम चित ते न टरते है सकल स्याम की बानि।।

शेखे बादर रँवार के, ज्यों रहीम घब्रत।
घनी पुरुष निर्भन नये, करे पाछिली बात।।
*Fuffy clouds in an autumn sky
may rumble all they like,
Like the once-rich poor
boasting of their lost wealth.*

धबि आवन
मोहनलाल की



शेखे बादर रँवार के, ज्यों रहीम घब्रत।
घनी पुरुष निर्भन नये, करे पाछिली बात।।
*Fuffy clouds in an autumn sky
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धबि आवन
मोहनलाल की

Devnarayan Sarolia is a veteran exponent of the Malvi tradition of Kabir's poetry. He has been performing across the world along with the eminent folk singer Prahlad Singh Tipaniya for the last 18 years. Based in Madhya Pradesh, Devnarayan is a self-taught violinist besides having a golden rustic voice.

Netai Chandra Das is a percussionist from the Birbhum district of West Bengal. A seasoned player of the sreekhol and duggi, he has accompanied leading *Baul* singers of the country and has been performing in the country and abroad.

Ankit Chadha, a writer, researcher and story-teller, specializes in weaving research-based narratives for *Dastangoi*—the centuries-old traditional art of storytelling. His writing varies from biographical accounts of personalities like Kabir and Dara Shikoh to modern folk tales on corporate culture and the Internet. He has been invited to speak on the *Dastan* narrative tradition at prestigious universities across the world including Princeton, Harvard, NYU, IIT-Bombay and Jadavpur University. Ankit also works for young audiences, and has performed the Urdu

adaptations of children's classics including Alice and The Little Prince. He is the author of the award-winning book for children, "My Gandhi Story" and the recently released "Amir Khusrav - The Man in Riddles"

Harpreet is an independent musician, who composes his own songs and the writings of various poets. He is trying to bring back the languages to the current generation in a more contemporary way. Having performed at some of the country's most prestigious festivals, his selection of poetry in his music is what sets him apart. Harpreet has also collaborated with various theatre directors like, Dadi Pudumjee, Ashwat Bhatt, Purva Nareesh and Deepak Dharmija. He has also composed and sung promotional songs for the films "Titli", and "Moh Maya Money".

Mohammad Ahmed Warsi Nasir from Rampur, Uttar Pradesh, is acclaimed to be one of the leading *khanaqahi* gawwals in the country today. His grandfather Ustad Abdullaah Khanshib and his brothers were employed at the Rampur court under the patronage of Nawab Hamid Ali Khan. He was initiated into

3. *Dohas*...
Composed and Sung by Pandit Rajan Sajan Mishra & Pandit Ritesh Rajnish Mishra

रुते सुजन मनाहर, जो दूटे सौ बार।
रहीमन फिरि मोहरि, दूटे मुक्ताहार।।
*If a good friend breaks off, go pleased with him again and again.
If a necklace of pearls breaks, don't we thread it again and again*
Translation: Harish Trivedi

समय पंथ फल होता है, समय पंथ ड़रि जाय।
रसत रहे नहीं एक सी, का रहीम पछिताय।।
*At the right time, the tree bears fruit; another time, its leaves fall;
Rahim says, life is not always the same—why have regrets?*
Translation: Mehr Afshan Farooqi and Richard Cohen

बिगरी बात बने नहीं, लाख करी कान कोय।
रहीमन फाटे दूध को, मखे न मगन होय।।
*When things happen to go wrong, no way can they be mended.
Churn soaked milk all you like, it still will not yield butter*
Translation: Harish Trivedi

रहीमन बिपदाह भरी, जो बोरे दिन होय।
हित अनहित वा ज़मात में, जानि पतर सब कोय।।
*Do not ever snap off the slenderthread of love
Rahim says, life is not always the same—why have regrets?*
Translation: Mehr Afshan Farooqi and Richard Cohen

दोनों रहीमन एक से, जौ लौ बोलत नाहिं।
जान परत है काक पिक, ऋतु बसंत के मौंहि।।
*The two look quite alike so long as they don't make a sound.
But once Spring arrives, a leaf's a leaf and a crow a crow.*
Translation: Harish Trivedi

रहीमन चागा प्रेम का मत् तोखे छिटकाय।
दूटे से फिर न मिले, मिले गोंद पर जाय।।
*Do not ever snap off the slenderthread of love
For you can not tie it again and if you do the knot will show*
Translation: Harish Trivedi

बरवै छंद
10. *Barvai Chaand*...
Composed and Sung by Harpreet

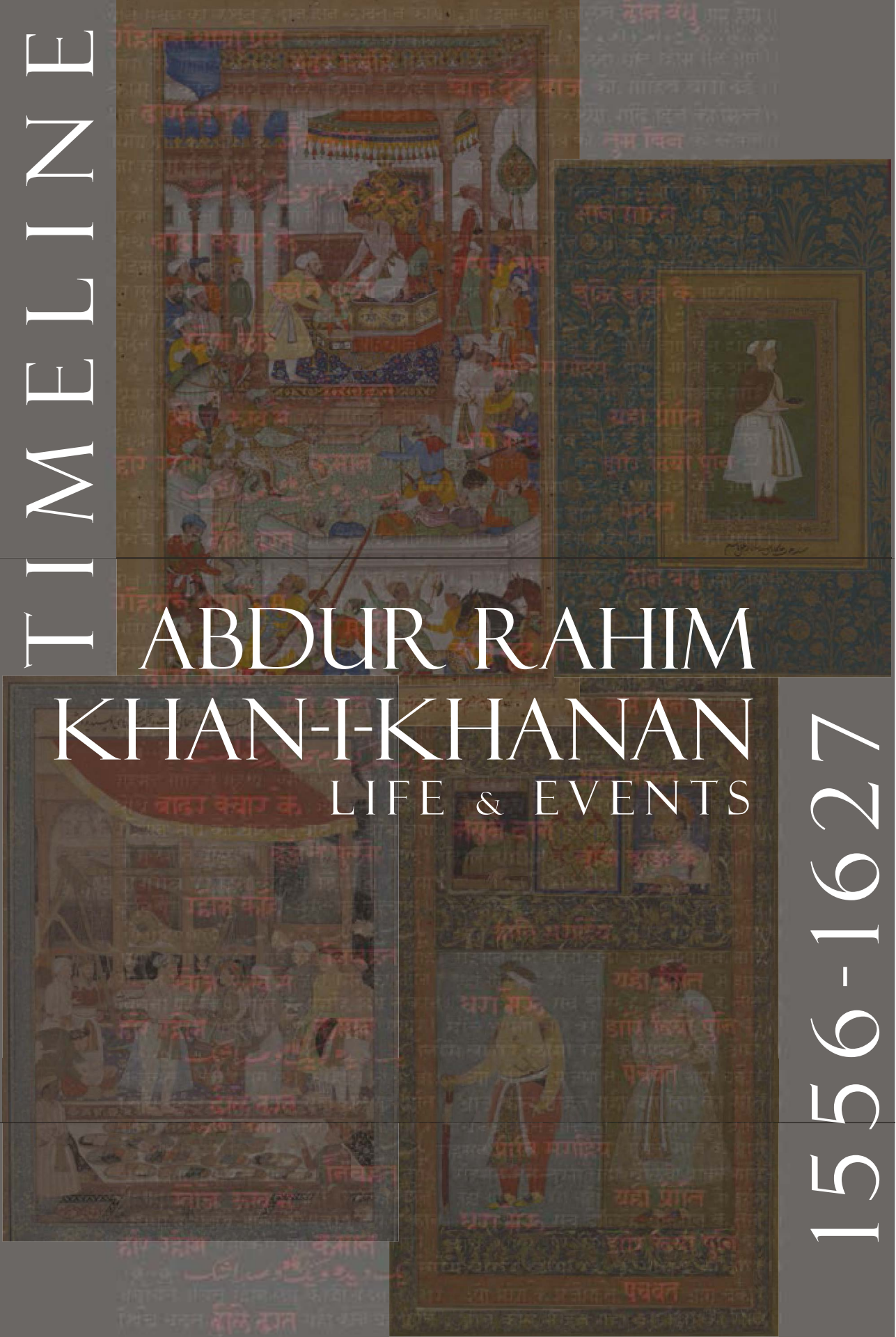
प्रेम पंथ को बिरा चलेहूँ लगाय।
सीपन की छुपि लीखो मुखि न जाए।
*You planned the sapling of love and then went off.
Remember to return and water it before it withs.*
Translation: Harish Trivedi

का तुम जुगुल तिरिया, ड़मरती आय
पिय बिन मनुहँ अटरिया, मुहि न सुहाय
*Why are you two fighting here?
Without my lover, this high terrace pleases me not.*
Translation: Ankit Chadha

थके बैठ दुखरिया, मीझलू पाय
पिया तन पेषि गरमिया, बिजन खोलाय
*Tired he flopped down, she massaged his feet.
He was hot and perspiring, and she began to fan him.*
Translation: Harish Trivedi.

Pandit Ritesh Rajnish Mishra have harnessed the rich legacy of the Indian *ragas* that they have inherited. They have been skillfully rendering *khayal*, *tappa*, *tarana*, *bhajan* and other classical forms. They have performed at many concerts the world over and have been recipients of many awards including Yuva Ratna award and Sangeet Samridhi Samman.

Swaranah Mishra comes as the sixth generation with a lineage of 350 years of classical music belonging to the Benaras *Gharana*. He has been blessed with the able guidance of his father and uncle Padma Bhushan Pt. Rajan-Sajan Mishra, maternal grandfather Padma Vibhushan Pt. Biraj Maharaj ji and grandfather Pt. Hanuman Prasad Mishra ji to explore the world of composing, singing and writing.



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ABDUR RAHIM

KHAN-I-KHANAN

LIFE & EVENTS

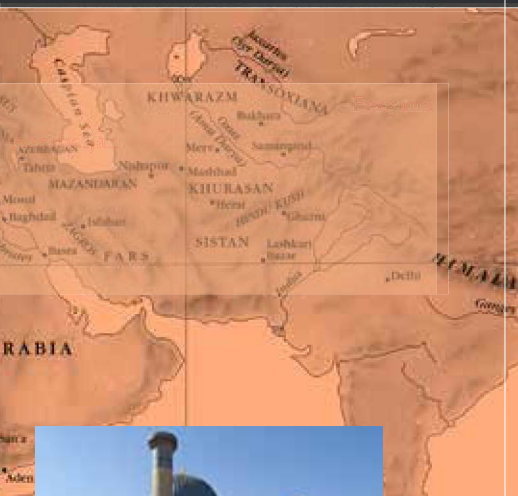
1556-1627

1405

Death of Amir Timur,
forefathers of the Mughals

Succession struggles in
Central Asia

AZERBAIJAN
NORTH WESTERN IRAN



Ca. 1430-1440

Rise of the Qara Qoyunlu
tribe under Jahan Shah,
Timurid Mirza Shahrugh's
governor of Azerbaijan



1473

Ali Shukr Beg, of Baharlu
clan of the Qara Qoyunlu
tribe establishes hold over
Hamadan, Dinwar and
Kurdistan.

FERGANA
KABUL
HINDUSTAN



1512

Saif Ali Beg's son- Bairam Ali Beg
enters the service of Babur.

1526

Babur conquers Hindustan at
the first battle of Panipat against
the Lodi Sultans.

HUMAYUN

1530: Humayun
succeeds emperor Babur
to the throne

PERSIA
KABUL
QANDAHAR
SINDH



1547

Humayun recovers
Qandahar
Bairam appointed
governor there

1554

Battle of Machiwara;
Humayun defeats Surs
with Bairam's help,
takes over Hindustan

AKBAR

1556: Humayun dies at
Delhi

Akbar becomes emperor with
Bairam Khan as his regent.

HINDUSTAN



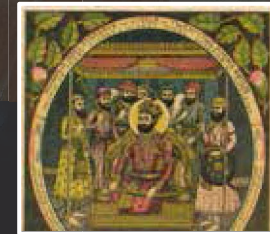
1556

Second Battle of Panipat; Akbar
defeats Hemu—the general of Adil
Shah Suri.

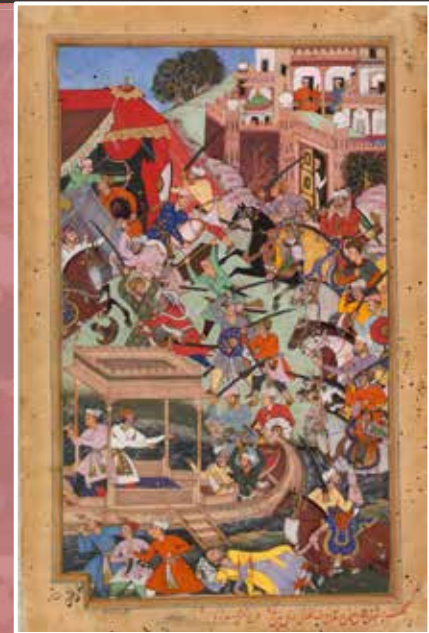
The same year, **Abdur Rahim** is
born to Bairam and Raj Gusain, the
daughter of Jamal Khan Mewati.

1561

Death of
Bairam Khan



TABARHIND
GUJARAT



1559-1560

Bairam marries Salima Sultana the
daughter of Humayun's sister.

He revolts at Tabarhind, surrenders, and
proceeds for Hajj.

At Patan he is assassinated by an Afghan.

1. Map depicting the territories of the Qara Qoyunlu and Timurids in Central Asia.
2. Courtyard of Amir Timur's tomb, Samarkand.
3. Mausoleum of Qara Qoyunlu amir- Pir Hassan, Argavand.
4. Babur crossing the river Saun in Hindustan, *Baburnama*, National Museum, New Delhi.
5. Shah Tahmasp I and Humayun celebrating *Navroz* festival, Chahli Setoun palace, Isfahan, Iran.
6. The death of Sultan Ibrahim at the battle of Panipat, *Baburnama*, Walters Arts Museum, Baltimore.

7. 1910s portrayal of Hemu Vikramaditya
8. Humayun and his brothers in a landscape. From the Jahangir album Preussischer Kultur Besitz, Berlin
9. The Submission of Bairam Khan from *Akbarnama*, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC
10. Assassination of Bairam Khan at Patan, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

1561

Four year old Abdur Rahim is presented at emperor Akbar's court.

He is escorted with his mother from Patan to Agra by the aides of Bairam Khan.

GUJARAT AGRA



11

1561-1572

Abdur Rahim is educated at the court of Akbar. He is entitled Mirza Khan and married to Mah Banu, the daughter of Jiji Anga, foster mother of Akbar.

11. Widow of Bairam Khan and her infant son Abdur Rahim being escorted to Ahmedabad in 1561, following the assassination of Bairam Khan, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

12. A prince with a tutor, Harvard Art Museums.

13. Akbar leads the siege of Chittor fort, Mewar, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

1572

Akbar's conquest of Gujarat.

Abdur Rahim accompanies the emperor and is given the *jagir* of Patan.

Akbar defeats rebel forces at the battle of Sarnal

GUJARAT MEWAR

1575

Abdur Rahim is appointed *subadar* or governor of Gujarat

1576

Akbar makes a pilgrimage to the shrine of Sheikh Muinuddin Chishti at Ajmer and Mirza Khan is summoned from Gujarat, leaving the affairs to other administrators. He marches against the Rana of Goganda.

However, in his absence the Timurid Mirzas who had fled to Deccan return to stir up rebellion. Raja Todarmal and Itimad Khan Gujarati (had an erstwhile noble of the Muzaffarid Sultan) are appointed to quell it and Vazir Khan is replaced by Shihabuddin Khan who had been the *hakim* of Malwa, took over the governorship of Gujarat.

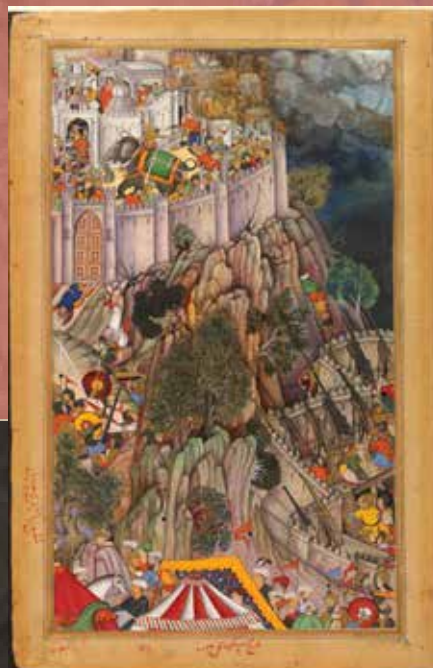
1578

Abdur Rahim is appointed in charge of the Mewar campaign and given the *suba* at Ajmer.

Rana Amar Singh of Goganda captures his family but returns them safely.



12



13

1581

Abdur Rahim is appointed *Mir* Arz, in charge of petitions at the court.

Abdur Rahim quells rebellion at Ranthambore.

RANTHAMBORE

1582

Mirza Khan is appointed the *atāliq* or tutor to prince Salim. To honour the appointment a grand feast was organised and emperor is said to have graced it. On the occasion, Mirza Khan was bestowed with royal insignia like a drum, banners and the *charqab* robe.

1583

Abdur Rahim is appointed to quell the massive rebellion in Gujarat stirred by Sultan Muzaffar III of Gujarat.

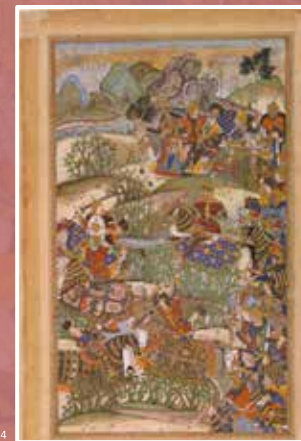
1584

Abdur Rahim defeats Gujarat Sultan at the Battle of Sarkhej.

Sultan Muzaffar is pursued by Abdur Rahim to Cambay and interiors of Gujarat.

Abdur Rahim is entitled "*Khan-i-Khanan*" with a personal rank of 5000.

Khan-i-Khanan constructs Fateh Bagh, in order to commemorate the victory over Gujarat.



14



16

1585

Mirza Iraj is born to Abdur Rahim and Mah Banu.

1586

Darab Khan is born to Abdur Rahim and Mah Banu.

GUJARAT



15

1587

An illustrated translation of *Ramayana* into Persian is commissioned by Khan-i-Khanan based on an imperial copy.

14. Battle of Sarnal, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

15. Rama and Lakshmana Confront the Demons Maricha and Subahu, Ramayana, Freer Gallery of Art.

16. An imaginary gathering of sufi saints, Rampur Raza Library, Courtesy: IGNCA, New Delhi

1589

Abdur Rahim is appointed *Vakil al-Sultanat* at the Lahore court.

A translation of *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* into Persian is presented by Abdur Rahim to the emperor while on a visit to Kashmir.

LAHORE KASHMIR SINDH

SINDH

DECCAN

1598

Abul Fazl replaces Abdur Rahim who is recalled to court from Deccan.

Mah Banu, his wife, and the sister of Mirza Aziz Kokaltash dies at Ambala

1600

Seige of Ahmednagar, Chand Bibi surrenders and sends tribute.

Mirza Rahmandad is born to the second wife of Khan-i-Khanan.

1605

Emperor Akbar dies. Jahangir comes to the throne.



17

1590

Abdur Rahim is appointed to the Qandahar campaign. He heads towards Sindh instead.

1592

Mirza Jani Beg finally surrenders and signs a treaty, marries his daughter to Mirza Iraj, son of Abdur Rahim



19

1593

Khan-i-Khanan pays homage at emperor Akbar's court with Jani Beg Tarkhan.



18

1594-95

Khan-i-Khanan visits the ascetic Shaikh Abdul Ghani Badaoni, a disciple of Shaikh Abdul Azizi of Delhi and ascetic who stayed in the Masjid of Khan-i-Jahan. On asking for advice, he was told, "Deem the following of the holy law of Muhammad to be of the first importance."

Later, when Khan-i-Khanan captures Asirgarh and Burhanpur in Deccan, he gets the Haji Sultan's sentence reversed and appointed Karori of Thanesar and Kanauj.

1593

Khan-i-Khanan receives *jagir* of Bhilsa near Ujjain. He is appointed to assist prince Murad, stationed at Broach in the Deccan campaign. The Sultan of Khandesh accepts Mughal supremacy. The attack on Ahmednagar is not a big success because of the friction between prince Murad and Khan-i-Khanan as well as the combined forces of Ahmednagar and Bijapur which was led by Chand Bibi.

1597

Death of Raja Ali Khan at the battle of Ashti against the combined forces of Suhail Khan of Ahmednagar and Bijapur. This death is initially confused by the enemies as the death of Khan-i-Khanan. Mughals suffer major losses against Ahmednagar and Bijapur.



20



21



22



23



24

1599

Abdur Rahim regains his position in Deccan.

Prince Daniyal replaces Murad and after successful campaigns, marries Abdur Rahim's daughter—Jana Begum.

Emperor Akbar arrives to personally supervise the campaign.

1601-1602

Emperor Akbar returns to Agra after assigning Nasik to Abul Fazl and Ahmednagar to Khan-i-Khanan.

1603-04

Restoration of the *Khamsa-i-Khusrau* begins in the atelier of Khan-i-Khanan.

17. Babur hunting Rhinoceros near Peshawar, National Museum, New Delhi.

18. Town of Sehwan (Sindh) in Pakistan, Victoria and Albert Museum.

19. Detail of album leaf with portrait; bust of Akbar and Jahangir, British Museum, London

20. Map of Deccan Sultanate

21. Chand Bibi, hunting cheetahs with two court ladies, Victoria and Albert Museum.

22. Folio from the *Khamsa-i-Khusrau*, refurbished at Khan-i-Khanan's atelier, State Library, Berlin.

23. The mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandra, shown both in plan and in elevation.

24. Portrait of prince Daniyal, Metropolitan Museum.

1605

Jahangir comes to the throne

BURHANPUR AGRA



25

1606-07

Khan-i-Khanan constructs a public hamam at Burhanpur.

1607-08

Again, Abdur Rahim returns to court with lavish offerings leaving his son Mirza Iraj (later titled Shah Nawaz Khan) in charge of Deccan affairs. Abdur Rahim sponsors the Jahangiri *hamam* at Burhanpur.

1608

Abdur Rahim pledges to settle the Deccan campaign on the condition that he receives 12,000 cavalry.

He receives absolute control over Berar and Khandesh but requests more reinforcements.

1609

Abdur Rahim meets the representative of English East India Company, William Hawkins at Burhanpur, regarding a skirmish with Muqarrab Khan, customs officer at Surat.

Khanakhanacharitam, a work in Sanskrit praising Abdur Rahim is presented by Rudrakavi from Pratap Shah's court at Baglana.

Mughals face major losses under Prince Parvez.

1605-07

Abdur Rahim returns from Daulatabad in Ahmednagar to Burhanpur in Khandesh. He is recalled several times to the court due to reports of conspiracy with Deccan Sultans. Jahangir's second son—Prince Parvez—is also assigned to Deccan but the situation does not change.

1610

Abdur Rahim sends a copy of Maulana Jami's *Yusuf-va-Zulaykha* to emperor Jahangir.



27

1610

Abdur Rahim sends a copy of *Yusuf-va-Zulaykha* of Jami to Jahangir.

Abdur Rahim is summoned to the court by Jahangir, escorted by Mahabat Khan and treated coldly at court based on the accusatory reports of Khan Jahan Lodi and others.

He commissions a set of *Ragamala* paintings. Most of the paintings were by the artist Fazl.



26

Khan Jahan Lodi was a leading noble and guardian of prince Khusrav, Jahangir's eldest son. In 1631, during the reign of Prince Khurram entitled Shah Jahan, Khan Jahan rebelled in 1631. He and his sons were pursued and killed by the imperial forces

1611

Abdur Rahim is recalled to court, and given the *jagirs* of Kannauj and Kalpi to subdue rebellions there.

Mirza Iraj is titled Shah Nawaz Khan.

KANNAUJ KALPI



Ragamala paintings are a series of beautiful illustrations depicting different musical modes or *ragas* and *raginis*.

29

1612

Emperor Jahangir realises that the accusations against Abdur Rahim were false and reinstates him at Burhanpur.

His sons are also promoted.



28

The English East India Company was established in 1600. For more than a decade, representatives of the Company persisted at the court of Jahangir in order to gain license to trade and establish factories. The image from the 1790-1800 shows the back view of a factory in Asia.

25. Mughal Emperor, Jahangir, being served food and drink by his two sons Khusrav and Parvez in a garden, British Museum, London.
26. Death of Khan Jahan Lodi at the siege of Daulatabad. Page from Windsor Castle *Padshahnama*, Royal Collection Trust.
27. Maulana Jami's (d.1492) *Yusuf-va-Zulaykha*, "Picnic in a Tree House", David Collection, Copenhagen.
28. British East India Company Factory in Asia, British Library, London.
29. Devakali Ragini, Folio from Abdur Rahim's *Ragamala*, Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

1613

Jahangir presents a robe of honour to Abdur Rahim.

The Braj poet, Keshavdas composes *Jahangirjasachandrika*, eulogises Abdur Rahim and his son Shah Nawaz Khan in the text.

Nihavandi describes his coming to Khan-i-Khanan's court:
"In a volatile Iraq, this desire consumes me.
That I'm not one of the poets in the assembly (bazzm) of the Khankhanan."
(Translation: Sunil Sharma)

AGRA
BURHANPUR

در عراق پر نفاق این آرزو میسوزدم
کز سخن سنجان بزم خان خانان نیستم

Emperor Jahangir deploys prince Khurram to Deccan.

Abdur Rahim commissions a copy of the *Razmnama* or the Persian translation of the Mahabharata.

Mulla Abdul Baqi Nihavandi completes the voluminous biography of Abdur Rahim, *Maasir-i-Rahimi*.

BURHANPUR
BERAR
AHMEDNAGAR

1616

1618

Abdur Rahim pays homage to emperor Jahangir passing through Burhanpur.

He is awarded the unprecedented rank of 7000, so far reserved for members of the royal family.
Shah Nawaz Khan's rank is increased to 5000.

Abdur Rahim builds the caravanserai at Burhanpur.

BURHANPUR

1620

Malik Ambar, prime minister of Ahmednagar Sultanate, goes back on the treaty.
He attacks Balapur where Abdur Rahim's son, Rahmandad, is killed.

BALAPUR

Shah Jahan visited Burhanpur as a prince in 1617. Here, he is seen at Burhanpur again in 1630, hunting a lion which was reserved only to be hunted by the emperor.



30



31 Robes of honour folded neatly and arranged on trays at prince Khurram's weighing ceremony, to be distributed to the nobles.



32



33



34



35

Ca. 1616-17

Rework on an imperial copy of the *Shahnama* also begins in Khan-i-Khanan's atelier.



36

1614

Shah Nawaz defeats Malik Ambar, prime minister of Ahmednagar, receives title of *farzand* and rank of 3000.

1614-15

Abdur Rahim builds the underground *qanat* system and a residential building at Burhanpur.

1615

Abdur Rahim and his son Shah Nawaz Khan send a huge tribute worth several lakhs to emperor Jahangir.

1616-17

Prince Khurram, (future emperor Shah Jahan) arrives at Burhanpur to settle affairs of the Deccan. Ahmednagar Fort is surrendered to the Mughals.

Abdur Rahim is appointed *subadar* of Berar, Khandesh and Ahmednagar; Shah Nawaz Khan receives charge of Balaghat.

On his return, Jahangir receives Khurram with much pleasure at his court at Mandu.

Khurram marries the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan.

1619

Shah Nawaz Khan dies from drinking too much alcohol.
His younger brother—Darab Khan—receives rank of 5000 and the command of *subas* of Berar and Ahmednagar.

Abdur Rahim builds Shah Nawaz's tomb at Burhanpur.

30. Shah-Jahan hunting lions at Burhanpur (July 1630) 1656-57, Page from Windsor Castle *Padshahnama*, Royal Collection Trust.

31. Jahangir weighing prince Khurram against gold and silver, watched by the court, from *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, British Museum.

32. Jahangir receives Prince Khurram on his return from the Deccan (10 October 1617) 1656-57, Page from Windsor *Padshahnama*, Royal Collection Trust.

33. Inscription at Serai sponsored by Abdur Rahim, Burhanpur, AKTC Archive.

34. *Muqarnas* at Shah Nawaz Khan's tomb, Burhanpur.

35. Rustam defeating Puladvand, *Shahnamah* 'Book of kings', Refurbished ca. 1616 in the studio of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, British Library, London.

36. Jahangir Shooting the Head of Malik Ambar, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington D.C.

1622

Rebellion of Khurram
Khurram rebels after Persian ruler Ismail Shah Safavi attacks Qandahar.
Abdur Rahim and many other nobles support Khurram and head towards Fatehpur.

FATEHPUR
DECCAN

सुरतिय नरतिय नागतिय, सब चाहत अस होय ।
गोद लिए हुलसी फिरै, तुलसी सो सुत होय ॥

A popular anecdote relates that the celebrated poet Tulsidas sent a poor Brahmin to Rahim with the first line. Rahim beautifully completed the couplet and gifted the Brahmin lavishly

1624

Khurram makes way to Bengal and appoints Darab his *subadar* but Darab Khan refuses. Soon, he is killed by Mahabat Khan while Khurram returns to the Deccan.

BENGAL

1626

Mahabat Khan's coup

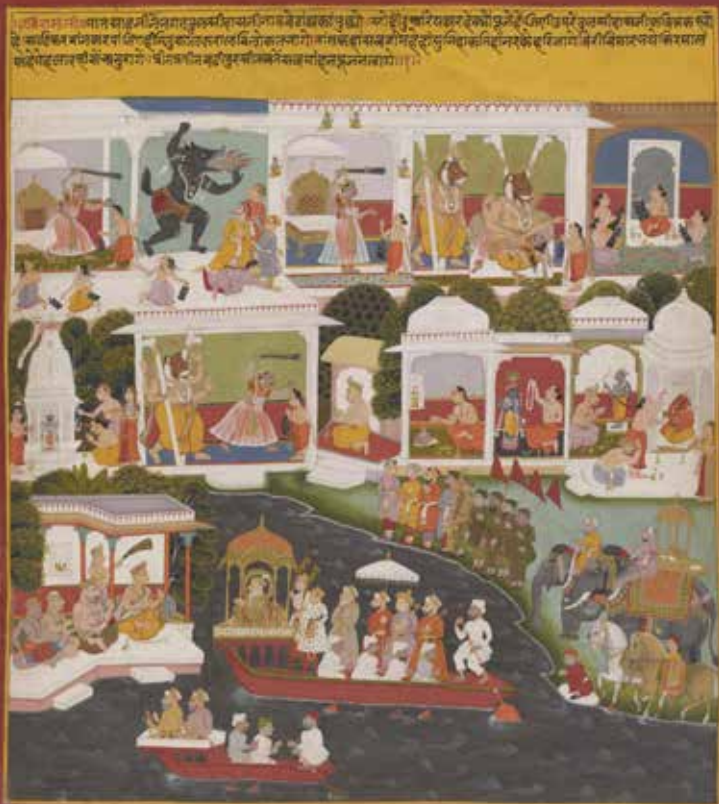
Abdur Rahim is appointed by Nur Jahan to quell the coup of Mahabat Khan.

Abdur Rahim's mosque at Burhanpur is completed.

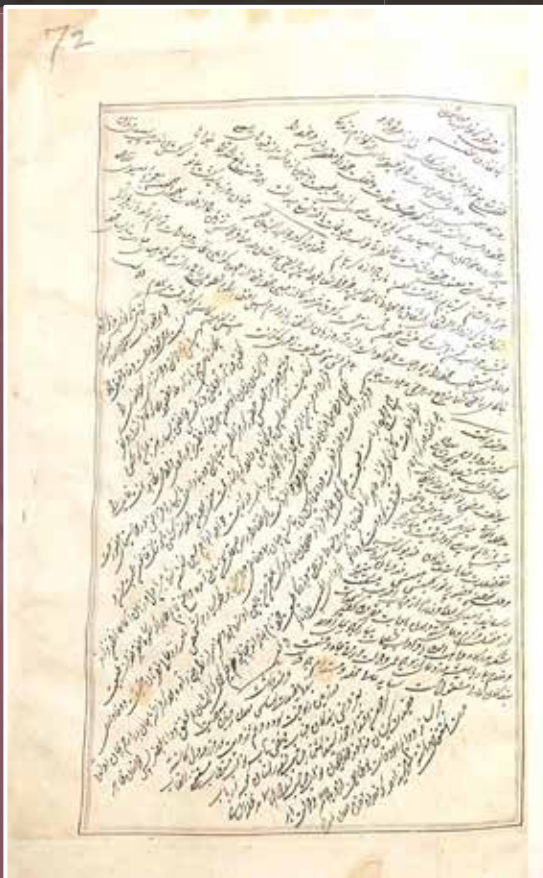
LAHORE
DELHI

1627

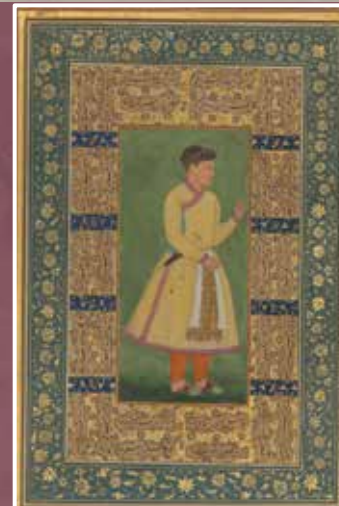
Abdur Rahim dies on his way to Delhi from Lahore.



37



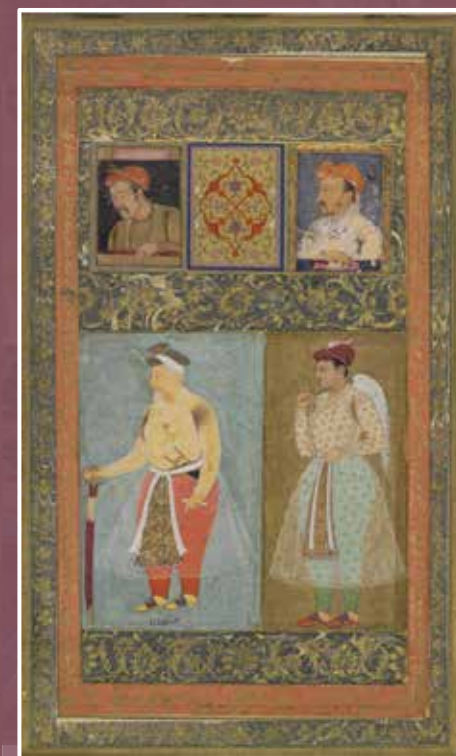
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41

1623

Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan are appointed to quell the rebellion.

Mahabat Khan pursues Abdur Rahim and Khurram across the river Narmada. However, Khurram intercepts letters being exchanged between Abdur Rahim and Mahabat Khan and Abdur Rahim loses favour with Khurram. His sons are imprisoned by prince Parvez.

Death of poet Tulsidas. Popularly it is believed that Tulsidas and Rahim corresponded and exchanged couplets.

1625

An ailing Jahangir recalls Abdur Rahim to Lahore. His title of Khan-i-Khanan is restored.

37. An emperor visits the poet Tulsidas, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington D.C.

38. A copy of letter exchanged between Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan and Mahabat Khan, India Office Collection, British Library, London.

Courtesy: Chander Shekhar.

39. Jahangir and Prince Khurram Entertained by Nur Jahan, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

40. Portrait of Zamana Beg, Mahabat Khan, Folio from the Shah Jahan Album, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

41. Album leaf with Portraits: A bust of Akbar at the Audience window, a bust portrait of Jahangir; a standing portrait of Abd al-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan and person with a fly whisk, British Museum, London.

1627

Emperor Jahangir dies in Lahore.

