COURT, EPIC, SPIRIT

Indian Art 15th–19th century

FRANCESCA GALLOWAY LUHRING AUGUSTINE

Contents

Foreword

Court, Epic, Spirit: Indian Art 15th – 19th century, the first collaboration between Luhring Augustine and Francesca Galloway, has offered us a wonderful opportunity to present Indian art of the highest quality. We welcomed the chance to work with Roland and Lawrence and their team, and this has prompted us to look at our area of expertise with fresh eyes. Our hope with this catalogue is to showcase Indian painting and textiles in such a way that they can be fully appreciated by museums and connoisseurs and those totally new to the field. For me, these artworks are unparalleled in their inventiveness, in the way they stimulate the imagination and allow the viewer to enter a different realm. We wanted to ground our selection of works in a wider (and more multi-disciplinary) context, and to give a platform to more voices and perspectives.

Our exhibition title refers to three key lenses through which to view the multi-faceted arts of India: court, epic, spirit. There are artworks depicting and enabling acts of revery, and some imbued with their own spiritual power, as well as works made for the luxurious and rarefied world of the court. Indian painting is primarily a storytelling medium, created to illustrate epic texts, and we are excited to be publishing Ranjit Hoskote's compelling and wide-reaching essay 'The Epic is Never Over'. We have assembled twelve paintings from the same North Deccan *Ragamala* series (cats. 13 a-n), which has allowed us to examine this series in greater depth than is usually possible, and to perhaps identify the patron. Yet, further study remains. Richard Williams has lent us his expertise and has written an absorbing piece on the relationship between sound, text and image within the complex form of *Ragamala*.

We would like to thank Daniel Walker for his illuminating essay on a rare and important Mughal velvet floorspread (cat. 6). John Seyller has been very generous with his time, and his encyclopaedic knowledge of this field. Many thanks also are due to Phyllis Granoff for her patience and expertise, to Katherine Butler Schofield, Nick Barnard, Will Kwiatkowski, and as always to Misha Anikst for his design and total commitment. This publication has been a collaboration between Christine Ramphal, Danielle Beilby, Mary Galloway and myself.

J. P. Losty has contributed instrumental research and writing on almost all the paintings, in particular, insightful analysis of the *Hamzanama* (cat. 1) and on the two Mughal portraits by Hunhar II (cats. 9 & 10). We would like to dedicate this catalogue to him, as our friend and long-term esteemed collaborator. He will be greatly missed.

Francesca Galloway

A tribute to J. P. Losty (1945–2021)
Malini Roy

More than twenty years ago, I randomly stumbled across J.P. Losty's publication *Calcutta: City of Palaces* (1990) at the Oxford bookstore (Park Street, Calcutta). I immediately purchased and sat down to read it while my parents went off sari shopping in the neighbourhood. Never did I imagine that I would meet the author later that year and that the next twenty years of my life would be so highly influenced by the rather elusive Jerry.

I first met Jerry in the Print Room at the British Library in 2002. Our tutor brought our small group of postgraduate students to meet Jerry and be introduced to Mughal paintings and manuscripts. Jerry showed us Abu'l Hasan's *Squirrel in a Plane Tree*. Jerry's innate ability, through his writing or speaking about such paintings, made the esoteric nature of the subject immediately accessible. A few months after this visit, I ended up as the Summer Vacation Worker for the Print Room, and had the once in a lifetime opportunity to explore the wider collection with the guidance of Jerry, John Falconer (the 19th century photo historian and curator) and Helen George (Print Room Supervisor). Jerry kindly spent time with me to understand my personal interest in Indian art and help me navigate the muddy waters of 18th century later Mughal painting. Jerry also introduced me to the artist Mihr Chand, who would become the topic of my doctoral thesis.

Over the next two decades, Jerry would become my external advisor for my doctorate, a mentor, a co-author and a friend, accompanying me to auction houses, dealers and museums to look at paintings. When I joined the British Library as a curator in 2008, Jerry had a desk next to mine and would often come in to talk about paintings. Even today, the desk next to mine is reserved for Jerry, positioned so that he could hear me through his 'good' ear. Between us is a shelf of reference books, mainly Jerry's own publications, for our use and discussions on paintings. Whenever Jerry would come in, we ended up pouring over new books, gossiping about paintings and trying to determine the painterly styles of several of our favourite 18th century artists.

Jerry has left us an incredible legacy at the British Library, from shaping the collection with his ambitious programme of acquisitions over a 35-year career, arranging our internal storage of the paintings in such a detailed fashion (by style and then in chronological order), and also leaving copious details in the catalogue records. Since retirement, Jerry's impressive range of publications – more than 26 books – has opened our eyes to fresh approaches to Indian painting. His ability to write accessible articles, whether for the British Library's Asia and Africa Blog, or his catalogues for Francesca Galloway, really demonstrates his dedication to the field and ensures that his information is as helpful to the academic scholar as for a general audience.

Jerry clearly left us well too soon and we will all undoubtedly miss him and his unfaltering generosity.

1

Amir Hamza clings to the Rukh's legs to carry him home across the sea
Folio from the *Dastan-i Amir Hamza* (*Hamzanama* or 'Story of Hamza') commissioned by the Emperor Akbar

Imperial Mughal, attributed to Dasvant, c. 1565
Opaque pigments and gold on cotton with paper support for the text
Folio 70.7 × 53 cm; Painting 63.5 × 53 cm

The Epic is Never Over

Ranjit Hoskote

'Fingerprints on the sheets of the *Hamza Nama* illustrations indicate that the paintings were used as visual aids for story-telling sessions.'
Jutta Jain-Neubauer[1]

Story

Consider this tender, moving detail and its attendant ironies: the faded prints of a long-vanished pair of hands mark – or mar, depending on your perspective – the margins of an exquisite Mughal painting. Highly prized as an art work, this painting is now the anxious object of the collector's desire and the conservator's attention, set beyond the reach of ordinary human hands. What the fingerprints carry is the memory of a time when South Asian storytellers, trained in a centuries-old tradition, used painted panels or scrolls to amplify their narration of stories drawn from myth and legend. Look closely at any painting from the *Hamza Nama* – a cycle of phantasmagoric adventure stories woven around the swashbuckling figure of Amir Hamza – and you realise that it will yield up its full meaning only when animated by a storyteller's voice.

Take, for instance, an exquisite page from a *Hamza Nama* folio (cat. 1) attributed to Dasvant (c. 1565), commissioned by the emperor Akbar, which shows Hamza hanging on to the legs of the giant Rukh as it wings its way across the sea. This jewelled, marbled image calls out to be named and described by a *dāstāngo*, skilled in the art of celebrating the perennial themes of *razm* (war), *bazm* (conversation), *tilism* (magic), *husn o ishq* (beauty and love), and *ayyāri* (the trickster's shapeshifting). As we dwell on the *Hamza Nama* image, the *dāstāngo*'s persuasive, versatile voice invites us into the enchanted domain of Indo-Persian folklore with the simple Urdu words: '*To huā yun, hāzreen!*' So this is how it played out, dear listeners!

The storyteller spins out his evocation of heroic feats and romantic interludes, he segues from one tone, register and language to another, speaking in Farsi, Urdu, and Hindavi. Each shift is accompanied by a shuffle in the sequence of paintings he holds up to delight and amaze us. In the flickering lamplight, we join his enraptured 16th- or 17th-century audience in savouring the pleasures of the *dāstān*, the never-ending story that proceeds by detours and relays from one nested tale to the next, immersing us in a visceral experience that is multi-sensory and even proto-cinematic in its intensity.[2]

Time

Central to the unfolding and exhilarating implausibilities of the *dāstān* was a kaleidoscopic experience of time. Leaping from one historical period or imaginary locale to another in the space of a sentence, the Mughal storyteller and his audience could become at will the contemporaries of the ageless Guardian of the Waters, Khwaja Khidr; or the legendary Turanian emperor Afrasiab; or the Prophet Muhammad. Before the world was unified by the processes of modernity and our sense of time was flattened and rendered uniform – first by industrial schedules of production and more recently by 24-hour cycles of work and play – humankind shuttled across a scale of temporalities. Agrarian and horticultural cycles of time defined the alternation of sowing and harvest, fertile and fallow phases, for farmers and gardeners. They also calibrated the calendar for people of all classes, who were periodically unified as a society by seasonal festivities. The *dāstān* traverses the seasons, as well as other thresholds that disrupt the linear flow of time: trance, when one steps outside one's psychic borders; prayer and ritual, when one enters a condition of potential transformation.

Importantly, the traversals of time and space that distinguish cycles like the *Hamza Nama* bear witness to the Indo-Persian world's fascination with the strange, the mysterious, and the fantastic – *ajaib o ghraib* – which inspired its scientific compendia, atlases, and encyclopaedias. In this intellectual adventure, the imaginative power of *tilism* or magic entered into a dynamic interplay with the equally compelling pursuit of *ilm* (knowledge). Both *tilism* and *ilm* were based on the centrality of wonder, in a transregional culture whose scientists were verifiably mapping the physical environment even while its artists and writers were embarking on psychonautic voyages. To wonder is to question the given, to be impelled by curiosity, to extend oneself through empathy, to refine and continuously re-fashion a cosmopolitan sensibility that embraces both the familiar and the strange.

Recognising this, the scholar Hamid Dabashi writes in his impassioned Introduction to Musharraf Ali Farooqi's 2008 translation of the Urdu Hamza cycle: 'To pick up and read *The Adventures of Amir Hamza* is to begin navigating the hilly pastures and the fertile valleys of successive generations of a collective imagination that has made it sing and dance… and thus to be a witness to the most magnificent moments of a cosmopolitan culture… when it is formally beautiful, imaginatively playful, politically defiant, creatively unbound, figuratively emancipatory.'[3]

Epic

We turn now to the jewelled folios of the *Ramayana* series that were produced by some of history's most scintillating painters, between the late 17th and early 19th centuries, in the little kingdoms of the Punjab hills, the Pahari region: among them Kulu, Mankot, Mandi, Guler, Basohli, Kangra, Chamba, Nurpur, and Garhwal. In a painting by a Mankot artist, from a vertical *Bhagavata Purana* series, c. 1720 (cat. 15), the figures glide across the painted frame into the glowing red quadrilateral, a colour field that serves both as ground and backdrop. Far above it, pressed against the top edge of the composition by the high horizon, the night sky forms a plangent blue band. The figures come from myth but are based palpably on contemporary Pahari individuals, in appearance, costume, gesture. Consider, now, the battle scenes and the scenes of royal meetings in the 'Shangri' *Ramayana*, c. 1690-1710 (cats. 16–18) – so called because this album, with paintings by diverse hands, once belonged to Raja Raghubir Singh of Shangri, a fiefdom of the kingdom of Kulu. As Rama's monkey soldiers, the *Vanara*s, and Ravana's demon warriors, the *Rakshasa*s, engage in pitched hand-to-hand combat, our eyes feast on the elegance of the pattern that threads itself through the chaos: the rival forces collide as two sine waves, breaking up on impact; the multiplicity of duels is adroitly choreographed. The details of weaponry and equipment – maces, swords, saddle girths – all belong to the vocabulary of war as the artists knew it from their own ethos, shaped by variegated Mughal, Rajput and Persian energies.

Simultaneously stylised and lifelike, such paintings refute the conventional notion that the Indian epics belong to a fixed domain of myth, and are invoked only through formulaic repetition. This view emerged from colonial, Eurocentric scholarship that based its understanding of the epic as a fossil form on the legacy of the Greek epics, which were a legacy from a vanished universe of belief. It was also ideologically expeditious for the colonial ascendancy to present the Indian epics as evidence of a changeless India whose passive denizens, sapped by the tropical heat, could achieve little more than the endless re-consecration of the past; they were therefore unsuited to exploit the resources in which their country was abundant, which was a task properly left to colonial enterprise.

Any empirical encounter with the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* – in the vibrancy of their multiple versions, elegantly classical or robustly folk; in the variety of their recounting, through storytelling, chanting, painting, or performance, or some combination of these media – shows us that the Indian epic is never timeless or closed. It is always in an open state of enactment, osmotic to the present of narration and performance, constantly mutating. It does not reaffirm itself centripetally but renews itself centrifugally, expanding to absorb the realities of its narrators and their present. Instructively, the linguist and cultural anthropologist A K Ramanujan preferred the term 'tellings' to 'versions' or 'variants' in his study of the *Ramayana*'s diverse incarnations; 'tellings' emphasises the creative autonomy of each *Ramayana* narrative, arising from its specific milieu, while the latter terms suggest the presence of an *Ur*-text or lost original, of which all later narratives are shadows.[4]

Indeed, in the literary historian Sheldon Pollock's memorable phrase, from which the title of the present essay is derived, 'the epic in South Asia was never believed to be *over* at all: it continued to be rethought and rewritten for centuries and even today has lost little of its vitality'.[5] In his study of the Sanskrit cosmopolis, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, Pollock demonstrates, brilliantly, the inadequacy of judging the Indian epic from the standpoint of a history of literary genres premised on the primacy of the modern novel, a view pre-eminently identified with the work of Bakhtin, Lukacs and Gellner. In this view, the novel is best suited to a world where no consensual values prevail, the subjectivity is divided among choices, and literary production offers testimony to contending moral and political claims and heterogenous registers of speech; the epic, meanwhile, is airily consigned to some imagined 'pre-modern' world where life proceeded in conformity with consensual values in civilisations that were integrated, with no divorce between consciousness and material circumstances. If the

Cat. 15

Cat. 16

Cat. 17

Cat. 18

Sanskrit epic – and its vernacular 'tellings' – 'can be said to be about any one thing, it is about the contested nature of social and political values', Pollock writes; he shows that it is precisely 'the undecidability of conflicting moral claims' that lies at the heart of the Indian epic tradition, the awareness that its narratives are proposed 'not as social fullness but as social abyss, of power not as perfected but as unperfectable'.[6]

The painters of the Mankot *Bhagavata Purana* (cat. 15) and the largely Bahu or Kulu 'Shangri' *Ramayana* (cats. 16–18) were intimately aware of this pivotal insight; they saw that their protagonists' lives were as precarious as their own. Their Krishna is both playful lover and crafty strategist; their Rama is caught between human vulnerability and regal invincibility; their Ravana is both villain who has transgressed customary proprieties and noble antagonist defending his people against humiliation; their *Vanara*s and *Rakshasa*s exert equal claims on our attention.[7]

Confluence

The epic, as it actually played out in the arts of India before the advent of a modernity that has tended to embalm it in commentary, frame and vitrine, was constantly replenished by the sensibilities of artists and patrons who were intensely responsive to the plural cultural energies of their historical moment – whether in the Mughal ateliers, the Rajput studios, the Pahari courts, or the sophisticated Adilshahi court in Bijapur. Patrons compared notes, built collections; itinerant artists, whether seeking patronage in distant lands or accompanying diplomatic delegations, broadened their horizons.

The first millennium CE, often portrayed as a time of unremitting conflict and suffering by nativist ideologues, was a time of rich cultural confluence in South Asia: unpredictable synergies took place, unlikely apprenticeships were inaugurated, experiments and inventions were crafted through acts of translation. As the Persianate love of *ajaib* or wonder met the Indian devotion to the *adbhuta* or miraculous, superbly hybrid styles emerged, which bridged the transcendent and the topical, allegory with reportage.[8]

The *Rakshasa*s of the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* are descended from the *div*s or demons of the Silk Road's Siyahi Qalam painters; the costumes of the *Bhagavata Purana* paintings are taken directly from courtly and demotic practice in the Mughal-Rajput magisterium. The *Hamza Nama*'s clouds float in from the hallucinatory celestial visions of Tibetan *tanghka*s. The pressure of narrative momentum encouraged an alternation of synoptic narratives packed with action and frames inflected with a delicate intimacy.

The transcultural excitement of these centuries is communicated, for example, in art historian J. P. Losty's discussion of the extraordinary illustrated manuscript of Valmiki's *Ramayana* commissioned by Rana Jagat Singh I of Mewar (r. 1628–1652) and painted by several artists in three major styles. Losty writes of how the court artist Sahib Din evolved a lively hybrid approach to his work. He liberated himself from the 'unremitting horizontality' of the Mewar style and infused his work with surprising idioms of vision that reflected his exposure to the Mughal imperial ateliers, eventually making 'brilliant use of aerial perspective', which enabled him to achieve 'the ambitious scale of his compositions, which far exceed in their complexity anything that was being produced in other Rajput studios at the time.'[9]

Cat. 4

Further in the essay, Losty writes of how Sahib Din shows the giant Kumbhakarna being roused from sleep by various figures: soldiers, musicians and animals: 'Perhaps no further proof of Sahib Din's Mughal training need be offered than the Persian musical instrument which one of the women is playing.'[10] Let us dwell on the trace, the clue that speaks to us of these expansions of consciousness and imagination. In the elegant Bijapur miniature, 'A musician holding a *vina*', c. 1600–1605 (cat. 4), we enter the universe of Ibrahim Adilshah II (r. 1580–1627), a Muslim ruler who described himself as 'the son of the goddess Saraswati, patron deity of learning and the arts', who read both Sanskrit and Persian, and who was the author of the celebrated treatise on aesthetic experience, the *Kitab-e Navras*. The Bijapur musician wanders across a wondrous landscape where transcendence could be achieved through art as much as through religion.[11]

If being modern implies the commitment to 'making it new', in Ezra Pound's phrase, these images from the South Asia of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries demonstrate that – far from being pre-modern – their authors, and those who supported them, were impelled by a vigorous sense of the human adventure as it opened up beyond the reach of canonical constraints. When we look at these images, we are looking at a trajectory of the modern that South Asia had embarked on, before and alongside the European project of the Enlightenment.

1 Jutta Jain-Neubauer, 'The Pictorialisation of a Narrative: The Siege of Lanka Series', in Roy C. Craven Jr ed. *Ramayana Pahari Paintings* (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1990), pp. 67-74. See p. 68.
2 For a detailed account of this tradition, see Ghalib Lakhnavi and Abdullah Bilgrami, *The Adventures of Amir Hamza* (trans. Musharraf Ali Farooqi, with an Introduction by Hamid Dabashi. New Delhi: Random House India, 2008).
3 *Ibid*., p. xviii.
4 See A K Ramanujan, 'Three Hundred Ramayanas: Five Examples and Three Thoughts on Translation', in Paula Richman ed., *Many Ramayanas: The Diversity of a Narrative Tradition in South Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 22-48.
5 Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), p. 554.
6 *Ibid*., p. 554.
7 For a sensitive and subtle account of the moral complexities of the *Ramayana*, see Arshia Sattar, *Lost Loves: Exploring Rama's Anguish* (London: Penguin, 2011).
8 For a fine account of wonder as the common ground of affinity that served as a basis for the Mughal choice of *Mahabharata* tellings to be translated from Sanskrit into Persian, in the reign of Akbar, see Audrey Truschke, *Culture of Encounters: Sanskrit at the Mughal Court* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).
9 See J. P. Losty, 'Sahib Din's Book of Battles: Rana Jagat Singh's *Yuddhakanda*', in Vidya Dehejia ed., *The Legend of Rama: Artistic Visions* (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1994), pp. 101-116.
10 *Ibid*., p. 107.
11 For an account of the transcultural artistic achievements of Adilshahi Bijapur, see Katherine Butler Schofield, 'Music, Art and Power in Adil Shahi Bijapur, c. 1570-1630', in Kavita Singh ed., *Scent upon a Southern Breeze: The Synaesthetic Arts of the Deccan* (Bombay: Marg Publications, 2018), pp. 68-87.

2

Battle between the Iranians and the Turanians
Folio from the 'Jainesque' *Shahnama*

Sultanate India, c. 1450
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 31.8 × 25.6 cm; Painting 13.7 × 20.5 cm

3

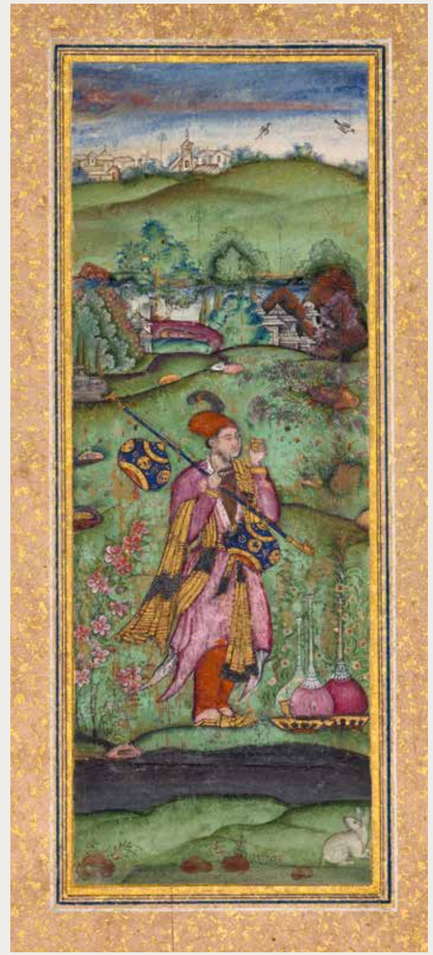
Battle between Khwaja Qazi and Aba-bikr at Uzgend in 1493–4
Folio from the first *Baburnama*, made for the Emperor Akbar

Imperial Mughal, c. 1589
Opaque pigments on paper with gold pigment
Folio 26.5×15.5 cm; Painting 24.9×13.5 cm

4

A musician holding a *vina*

Deccan, Bijapur, attributed to Farrukh Husain,
1600-05, with additions by an artist in his circle
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 27.7×17.6 cm; Painting 11.5×4.5 cm



5

An important double-sided folio from the *Aparokshasiddhanta* of Maharaja Jasvan Singh of Jodhpur, with identifying colophon and date

Mughal style at Aurangabad, dated VS 1726 (AD 1669)
Opaque pigments and gold on paper

Recto (opposite)
Iris on a gold ground

Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 31×18.5 cm; Painting 20.3×11.5 cm

Verso (p. 24)
Sanskrit colophon in red Devanagari script identifying the manuscript as the *Aparokshasiddhanta* above chrysanthemums

Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Painting 11×11.5 cm

हाराजाधिराजमहाराजाश्रीश्रीश्रीश्र
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पंचम्यांतिथौश्रीसोमवासरेइदंपु
स्तकंलिषितंव्यासमाधवजीश्रवरंगा
दमथो॥ ॥शुभमस्तुः॥ ॥छ॥ ॥छ॥

6

Floorspread with medallion pattern

Mughal, Gujarat, second half of the 17th centur y
Silk velvet, solid pile and pile-warp substitution
303 × 181 cm

7

A double-sided Mughal album page from the Mewar Royal Collection

Recto
A man with a parasitic twin growing from his abdomen

Mughal, c. 1680
Opaque pigments on paper
Laid down within a wide red border on a plain buff album page
Folio 43.5 × 28.5 cm; Painting 18 × 10 cm

Verso
Two studies of birds, a parrot and two thrushes

Mughal, c. 1680
Opaque pigments and gold on paper, laid down one above the other within salmon inner borders on a plain buff surround
Folio 43.5 × 28.5 cm; Painting 18 × 10 cm

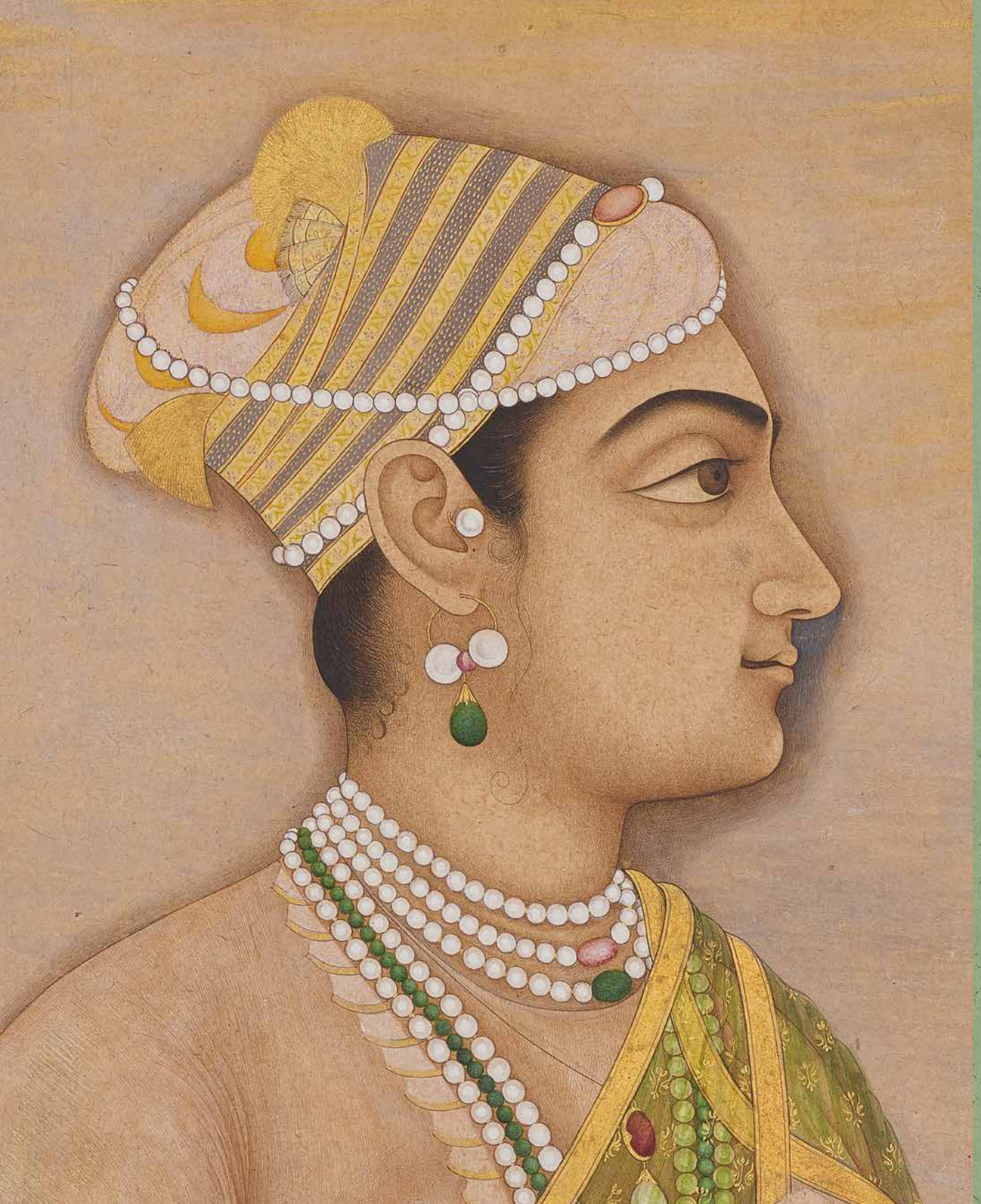
8

Bust portrait of a prince, probably Muhammad Sultan, the son of Aurangzeb

Imperial Mughal, probably by Hunhar, c. 1670
Opaque pigments with gold on paper
Folio 31.6 × 23.5 cm; Painting 22 × 14.4 cm

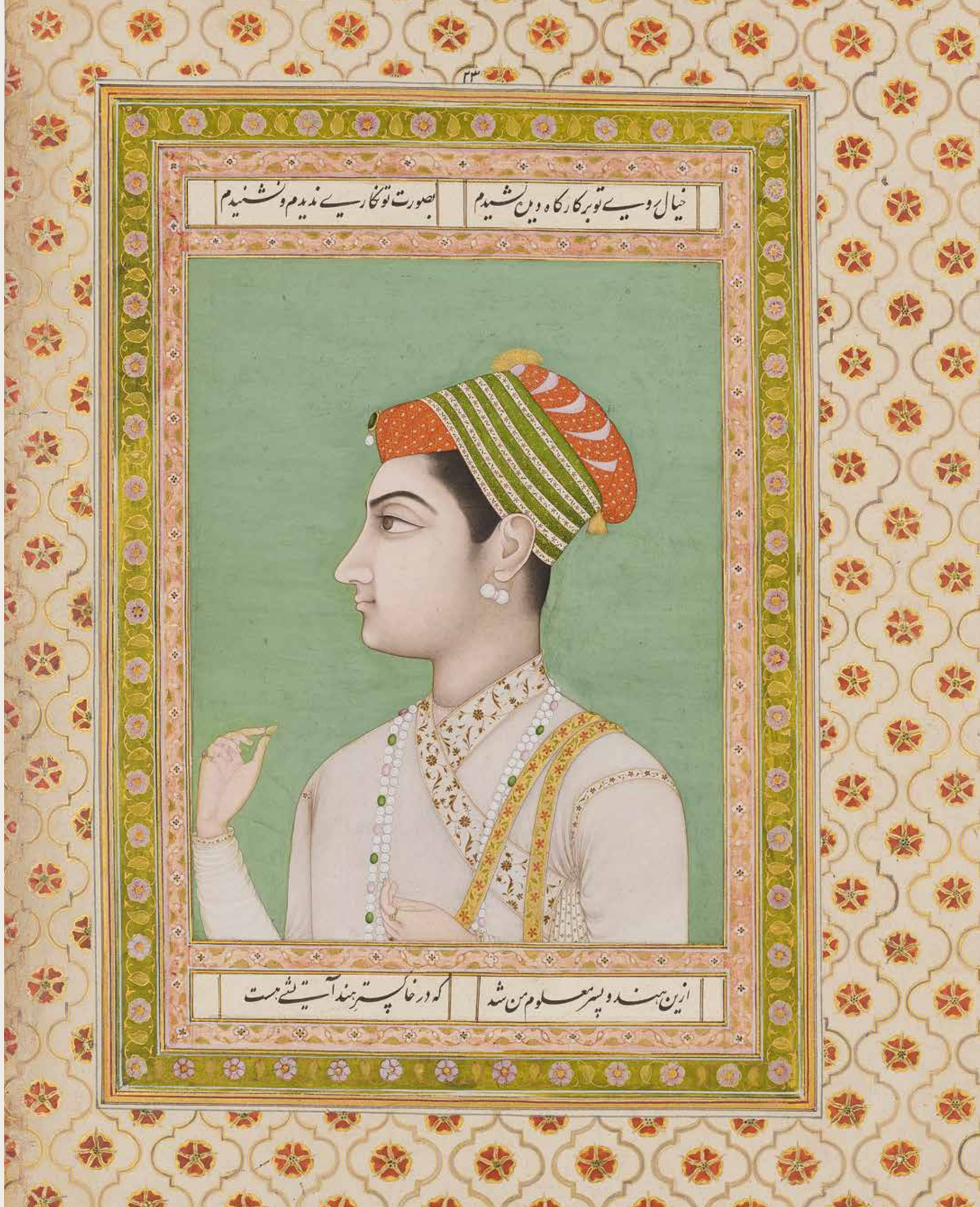
9 **Bust portrait of a lady wearing a man's turban**

Imperial Mughal, by Hunhar II, c. 1735–40
Tinted drawing with colours and gold laid down on card
Album page 47.5 × 31 cm; with inner borders 29 × 21 cm;
Portrait 20 × 15.5 cm



10 **Bust portrait of an idealised youth**

Imperial Mughal, by Hunhar II, c. 1735–40
Opaque pigments and gold on paper laid down on card
Album page 47.5 × 31.5 cm; with borders 30 × 21 cm;
Portrait 20 × 15.5 cm



11

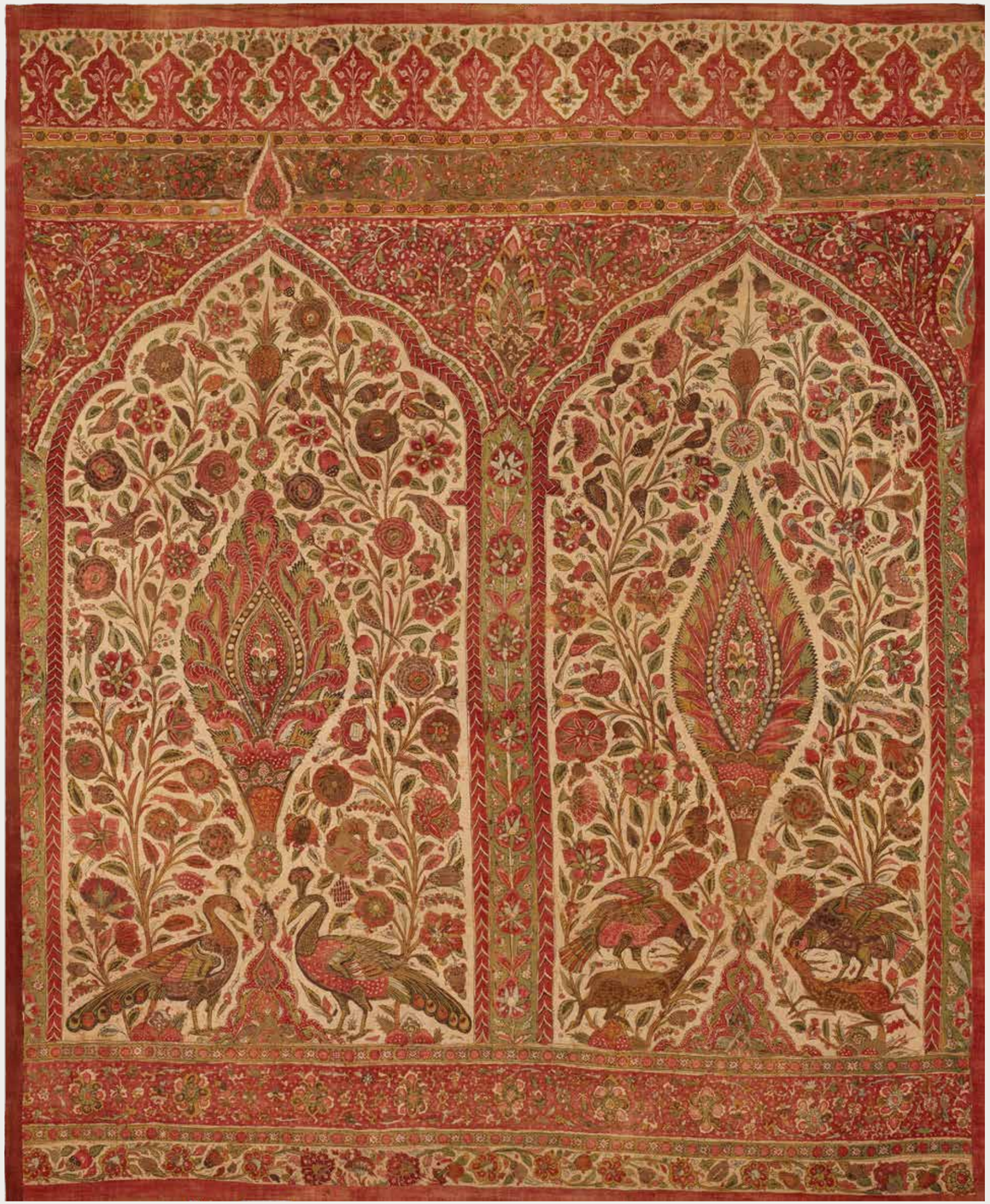
A prince receiving water at a well

Imperial Mughal, ascribed to Kalyan Das
(also known as Chitarman), c. 1720–30
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 25.5 × 33 cm

12

A painted cotton two-niche *Qanat* panel

Golconda region of the Coromandel Coast,
mid-17th century
Mordant-painted and -dyed and resist-dyed
plain-weave cotton
Textile 234×191 cm; Stretcher 245×204.5 cm



13a *Chandrabimba raga*, second son of *Hindola raga*

From a dispersed *Ragamala* series, north Deccan, 1630–50
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 33.3 × 27.2 cm; Painting 29 × 22.5 cm

Sound, Text, and Image: Picturing Music through *Ragamala*

Richard David Williams

What does sound look like? In pre-colonial north India, music scholars, poets, and painters developed images and descriptions for the musical entities known as *raga*s, and strung them together in a series or 'garland' (*mala*). While it is not clear precisely when listeners began to conceive of music this way, by the 1500s, *ragamala* poetry and paintings were well established, and proved to be extremely popular until the nineteenth century.

Indian art musicians compose and improvise on the basis of *raga*, which is often translated as 'mode': a *raga* provides a defined set of notes, and the conventional sequences they should follow, so it shares aspects of a scale and a tune, but does not quite correlate with either. *Raga* was first theorised by music scholars writing in Sanskrit from around the eighth century, and over time it was explored in terms of dominant notes, melodic patterns, and signature motifs. Beyond these technical properties, each *raga* also carried emotional and aesthetic meanings: *raga*s have names, and over the centuries have been assigned genders, seasons, times of day, feelings and moods, colours and deities.

From the mid-fourteenth century, music treatises started to describe how to visualise *raga*s, beginning with the *Sangitopanisat-saroddharah*. The technique in this work closely followed a method of mental imaging used in meditation and tantric ritual known as *dhyana*. These early *raga* visualisations were similar to the iconographies of deities, detailing the number of heads and limbs of the *raga*'s body, its complexion, the colour of its clothing, and the animal it took as its vehicle:

> Vasanta has six faces and ten hands, and is of the colour of coral. He carries cymbals, a conch, a skull-tipped staff, a fruit, a *cakra* wheel, and a lotus in his hands. Two hands hold a *vina*, and two grant beneficence and fearlessness with their gestures. He has a cuckoo as his vehicle, and he is sung in the months of *caitra* and *vaishaka*.[1]

From this period onwards, the different *ragas* were arranged into clusters or families, typically involving six principal *raga*s and their associated *ragini*s, who could be called their wives and children. Over time, the imagery evolved and became less godlike, as poets and painters increasingly turned their attention to depictions of human lovers, warriors, and sages instead.

Different systems emerged, each with its own sets of families and iconographies, so *raga*s could assume quite different forms. The folios in this collection are based on a system developed in 1570 by Ksemakarna, a musicologist working for King Ramcand of Rewa in central India. Ksemakarna's *ragamala* sequence is especially elaborate, covering 84 musical entities, arranged into family units of 6 *rāga*s, their 5 wives, and 8 sons. While this system was taken up by upcountry painters based in the Pahari courts from the end of the seventeenth century onwards, the images in this collection suggest the *ragamala* was also circulating between the northern Deccan and Rajput courts.

While this kind of visualisation was originally explored in highly technical studies on music, verses from these esoteric works were copied and illustrated in courtly

Cat. 13b detail

paintings and became a very popular subject in artists' workshops. In the examples in this collection, the *dhyana* verse appears above the image: painters did not always follow these prescriptive verses to the letter, and schools of artists developed their own interpretative stance to each *raga*. The viewer of the painting could read the verse, imagine the vignette in their own mind, and then nuance that image by examining the painting. Looking at these paintings today, the silent partner in this exercise is the music itself, but in the courtly context these visualisations would stimulate conversations about the emotional and symbolic textures of musical sound. Courtly patrons and music lovers commissioned *ragamala* poems both as books and painted images, and often decorated their music rooms with wall paintings of *raga*s as well. To be taken seriously as a connoisseur, learning the different iconographies, timings, and emotional layers of each *raga* was a must.

Poets and painters devised multiple methods for describing the layered meanings of a *raga*. The musicological approach was to dissect the *raga*'s formal, scalar properties: which notes to perform and emphasise, and which time of day and season to play or sing. In Ksemakarna's *ragamala*, the *raga*s are also associated with other sounds in nature: for example, *raga* Vangala (cat. 13b) is associated with the sounds of beans being ground down with a stone. However, the visual route was to focus on the *dhyana*: above the image of Vangala, the Sanskrit inscription tells us that the *raga* embodied a learned man, reciting the Vedic scriptures in a white garment, with a rosary and cup, who takes pleasure in conversation, dance, and song.[2] Artists might go one step further,

expanding on the prescribed image, exploring the emotional mood of the *raga*, and elaborating on the details to create a particularly poignant image. In this instance, the artists who worked on Vangala did not incorporate the wiseman's love of dance and song (or the sound of beans!): instead, he is dressed as an ascetic, adorned with sectarian markings upon his brow and a tiger-skin stretched out beneath his meditating body. His fair body is entwined with a rosary, and his telling fingertips suggests that sacred chant is emanating from his lips, the ephemeral sound of his utterances contrasting with the heavy solidity of the building before him.

Under the Mughal Empire (1526-1857), the visualisations of *raga* continued to be described in Sanskrit and Classical Hindi, but also in Persian, the predominant language of Mughal intellectuals. Scholars of music were especially intrigued by the power of the *ragas*, which they learned about from reading older treatises and discussions with hereditary lineages of musicians, who passed on the tales the *ragas*' supernatural properties that they had inherited from their forefathers.[3] This music makes an impression on us because a *raga* is aligned with the celestial bodies above and the elements and humours below: Megh (literally 'Cloud') could summon the rains or sooth its listeners, Dipak ('Flame') was highly combustible, and could start fires or fevers, while Kedar, when performed correctly, could even melt stones.

Ragamala gradually fell out of fashion over the nineteenth century, partly because the aesthetic worlds of the Mughal *ancien régime* were denounced as decadent and effeminate in colonial India, and partly because approaches to musical interpretation were changing. While many of the associations about particular *ragas* persist in the musical imagination, professional artists today prefer not to be constrained by the iconographic definitions of ancient texts: musicians hope to convey their own emotions and images when they perform, rather than having to follow a template set by *ragamala* paintings.

However, the historical popularity of *ragamala* attests to the depths and pleasures of this genre, as intellectuals, poets, and painters grappled with the meaning and emotional weight of music, and translated it across media, languages, and images.

1 Translation adapted from Allyn Miner, *The Sangitopanisat-saroddharah* (New Delhi: IGNCA and Motilal Banarsidass, 1998), p. 93.
2 Klaus Ebeling, *Ragamala Painting* (Basel: Ravi Kumar, 1973), p. 72.
3 Katherine Butler Schofield, (2010). 'Reviving the Golden Age again: 'Classicization', Hindustani music and the Mughals,' *Ethnomusicology* 54:3 (2010), pp. 484–517.

13b

Vangala raga*, first son of *Bhairava raga

From a dispersed *Ragamala* series, north Deccan, 1630–50
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 33.2 × 27 cm; Painting 28.9 × 22.2 cm

13c

Sorathi ragini*, second wife of *Megha raga

From a dispersed *Ragamala* series, north Deccan, 1630–50
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 33 × 26.8 cm; Painting 29 × 22.2 cm

13d

Page 55
Vinoda raga*, eighth son of *Hindola raga

From a dispersed *Ragamala* series, north Deccan, 1630–50
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 33.2 × 26.9 cm; Painting 29 × 22.3 cm

A *Ragamala* series from the north Deccan
Cats. 13a–13n

J.P. Losty

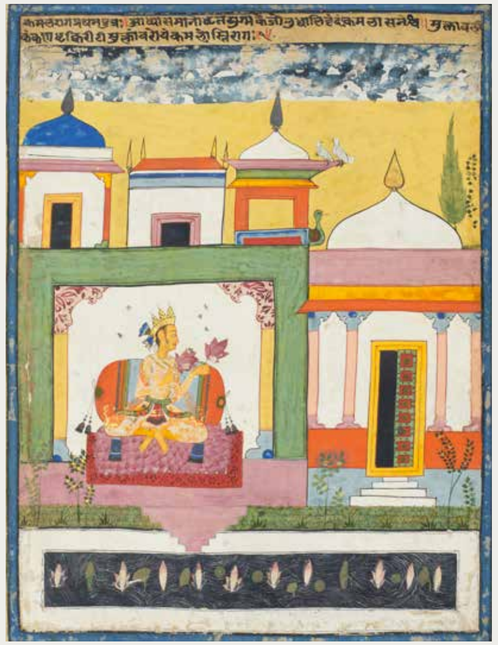
This important series of *Ragamala* paintings has only recently been the subject of research. It owes an obvious stylistic debt to the dispersed North Deccan *Ragamala* of the late 16th century (Zebrowski 1983, nos. 24–31 and Haidar and Sardar 2015, no. 13). Like that well-known series, it has a rectangular upright format with poorly written nagari inscription of the requisite *raga* verse above and a love of multicoloured textiles and similar tree stylizations. The provenance of our series in the northern Deccan in the first half of the 17th century seems certain, but the convulsed history of that region at that time in the struggles between the Mughals and the remnant of the Ahmadnagar state (see Eaton in Haidar and Sardar 2015, pp. 7–8, for a concise summary) makes assigning a precise provenance or date impossible. But since additionally the architecture found in Popular Mughal and early Rajasthani painting has entered into the style of our series, it would seem to have had a Hindu patron with links to the Rajput elements in the Mughal armies, who were initially based at Burhanpur for the assault on Ahmadnagar and then at Aurangabad for that on Bijapur. A patron based in this latter place seems the most plausible provenance at the moment, who would presumably be one of the Rajput commanders. It is possible that the predominant *raga* type, with small moustache and wispy beard, could be a representation of him.

The set immediately dazzles the viewer on account of its spectacular use of colour. This can be seen in the clothes worn by the participants and the textiles of the furnishings in their houses, which display a fascination with multi-coloured stripes especially in the *patkas* or waist sashes worn by both men and women. Men frequently wear two of these, one over the other, tied round the waist of their diaphanous pointed *jamas*. Women wear a skirt with *patka*, bodice and diaphanous *dupatta* over all as found elsewhere in northern Deccan paintings and in Rajasthan. Colour extends from such manufactures into the natural world as found applied to the piled-up rocks which dot the Deccan plateau and to the animals and birds that inhabit them. The action of the painting takes place against a bright monochrome ground with a band of sky across the top filled with jumbled up white clouds. Buildings whether viewed from outside or within conform to Popular Mughal and Rajasthani conventions introduced from the north.

The series uses the *Ragamala* system established by Kshemakarna, the court poet of Rewa in Bundelkhand, where he wrote his *Ragamala* in 1570. In his system each of the six *ragas* has (normally) five wives and eight sons. The Sanskrit verse in Devanagari at the top of each page is normally from Kshemakarna's *Ragamala* (though with some different verses) and describes the characteristics of the *raga* or *ragini*, with a brief line above the frame linking it with the family of the six main *ragas*. On the reverse of each page are sometimes added the name and family of the *raga* or *ragini* in Persian as well as a Devanagari numbering system. These numbers refer to the verse numbers of Kshemakarna's account of the visual iconography, running vv. 12–97 in his *Ragamala* (Ebeling 1973, pp. 72–78).

See Bibliography for Fogg, 1999, nos. 29–31 and Glynn et al 2011, no. 16 for other folios from this series.

Cat. 13e



Cat. 13f

Cat. 13g

Cat. 13h

Cat. 13i

Cat. 13j

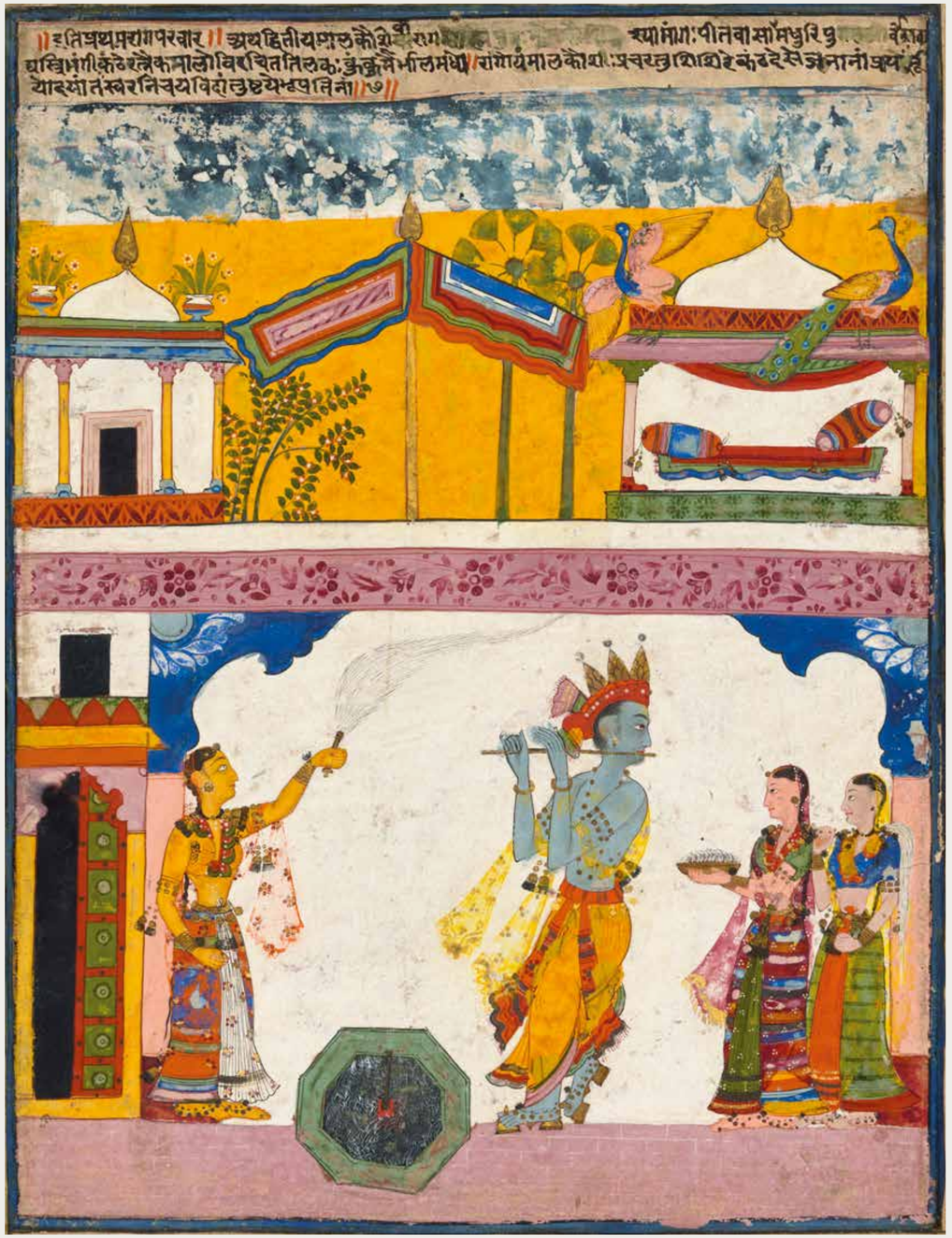
Cat. 13k

Cat. 13l

13m

Mewada?* raga, second son of *Malkos raga

From a dispersed *Ragamala* series, north Deccan, 1630–50
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 33.2 × 27 cm; Painting 28.8 × 22 cm



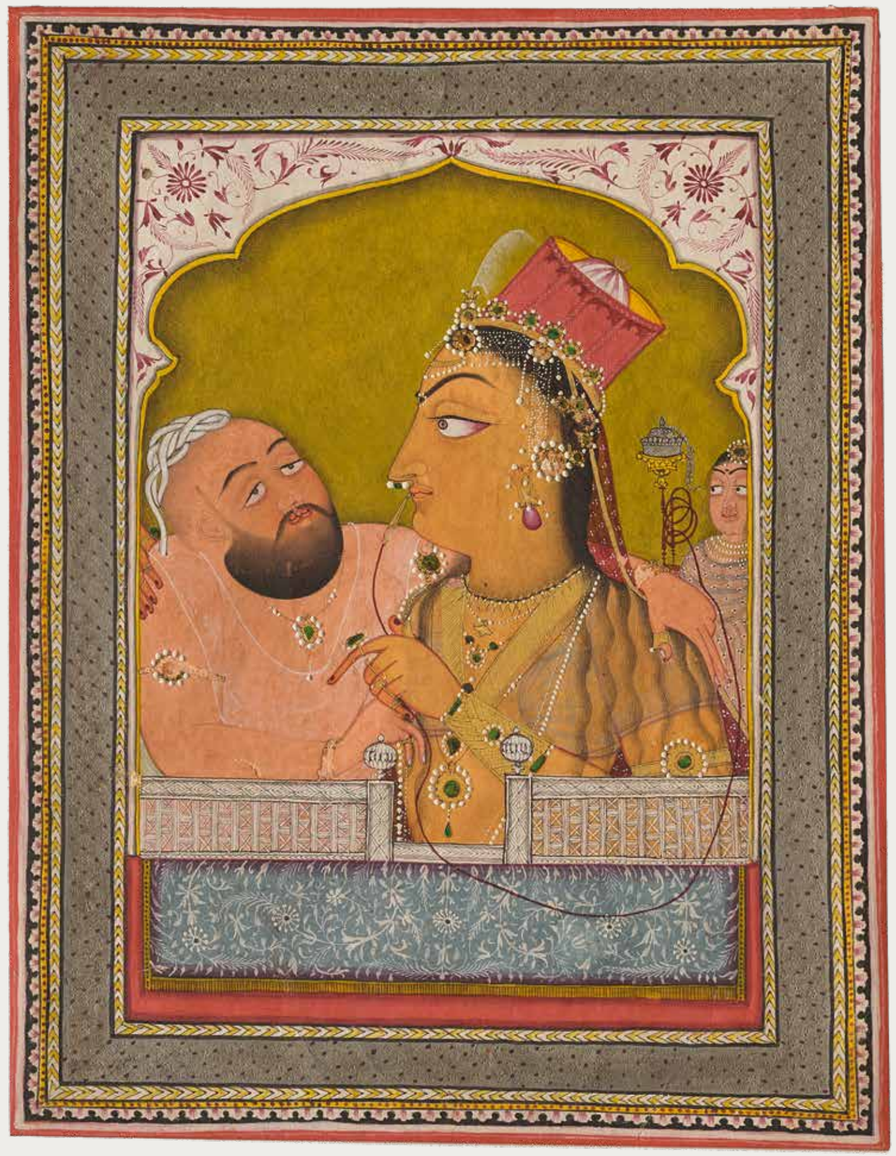
131

Madhu raga*, third son of *Bhairava raga

From a dispersed *Ragamala* series, north Deccan, 1630–50
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 33 × 27 cm; Painting 28.9 × 22.1 cm

14 **A lady with an admirer at the balcony**

Jammu, 1720–50
Opaque pigments with gold and beetle wings on paper
Folio 15.9×12.1 cm



15

Krishna's wives honour the sage Narada and Krishna carries his *vina* for him on his arrival in Dwarka
Folio from a dispersed 'Vertical' *Bhagavata Purana* series

By a Mankot artist, c. 1720
Opaque pigments and gold on paper; with yellow border with black and white inner rules
Folio 28.4×21 cm

Five paintings depicting scenes from the *Ramayana*
Cats. 16–20

The *Ramayana* is one of the two major ancient Hindu epics, the other being the *Mahabharata*. This pivotal epic is about the life of prince Rama, an avatar of the god Vishnu, and tells of his fourteen-year exile. Forced into the wilderness by his father King Dasharatha, on his stepmother's request, he is accompanied by his wife Sita and brother Lakshmana on this journey.

Events take a dramatic turn when his beloved Sita is abducted by the demon Ravana and brought to Lanka. Rama and Lakshmana, however, have great allies in Hanuman and his monkey army who help them free Sita. Rama together with Lakshmana and Sita are eventually able to return to Ayodhya where he is finally crowned king (cat.20).

The *Ramayana* has long been interpreted by artists on the Indian Subcontinent, as well as more widely in Southeast Asia (see discussion by Ranjit Hoskote in 'The Wandering Ram', Open Magazine, 31st May 2019).

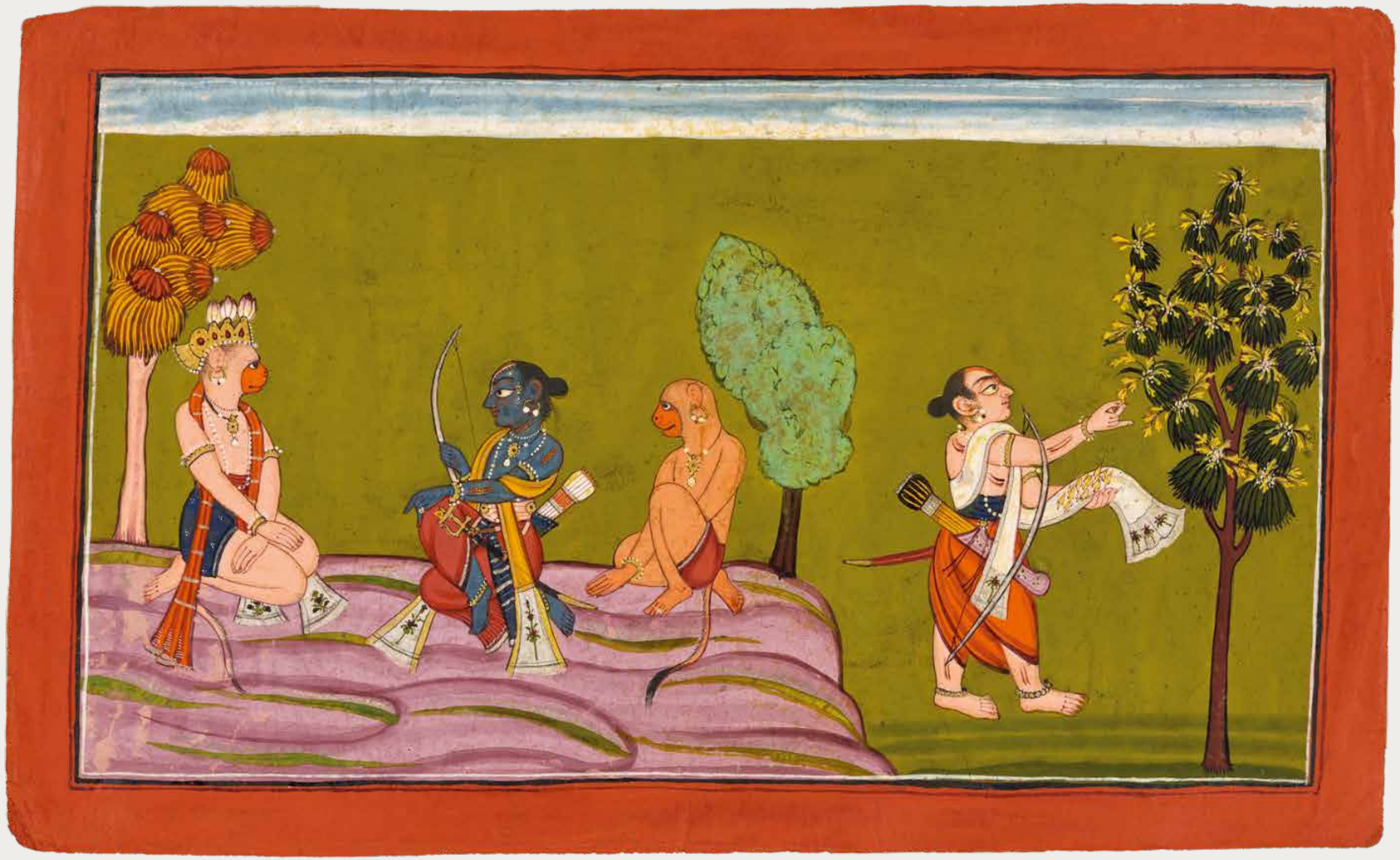
Our five paintings (cats. 16 – 20) show different scenes from this great tale. Three come from the so-called 'Shangri' *Ramayana* (cats. 16, 17 & 18). This series is considered to be one of the outstanding early Pahari illustrated manuscripts, and yet is also one of the most puzzling. W.G. Archer was the first to describe this series in total in 1973, calling them the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* because of their find-spot. In 1960 they were all with the Shangri branch of the Kulu royal family. Archer divided the series into four parts (styles I to IV) on the basis of style and date. Our three paintings can be ascribed to style III. More recent research attributes all styles to Bahu patronage in Jammu, rather than Kulu (see Goswamy and Fischer 1992, pp. 76-81; Britschgi and Fischer 2008, pp. 12–14 and McInerney 2016, cat. 42). Pages from the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* are in public and private collections, including the National Museum, New Delhi, the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, the British Museum, London, and the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Cat. 19 , depicting the death of the demons Mahodara, Devantaka and Trisiras, is from an altogether different *Ramayana* series. It is from the second part of the so-called 'Second Guler' *Ramayana* painted in Guler between 1790–1810. This series is widely dispersed and published (see Britschgi and Fischer 2008, nos. 54 [a drawing], 56, 58, 78; Goswamy and Fischer 'First generation' 2011, figs. 14–15; and Valmiki 2011, vols. IV–VI, passim).

16

Lakshmana gathers elephant-flowers to make a garland
From Book IV of the 'Shangri' *Ramayana*, Style III

Bahu (Jammu) or Kulu, c. 1700–10
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 21.5 × 35 cm; Painting 18 × 31.3 cm



17

Lakshmana places the garland round Sugriva's neck
From Book IV of the 'Shangri' ***Ramayana*****, Style III**

Bahu (Jammu) or Kulu, c. 1700–10
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 21.4×35 cm; Painting 18.2×31.6 cm

18

Battle between monkeys and demons
From Book VI of the 'Shangri' *Ramayana*, Style III

Bahu (Jammu) or Kulu, c. 1700–10
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 22.2 × 32.1 cm; Painting 19.4 × 29.2 cm

19

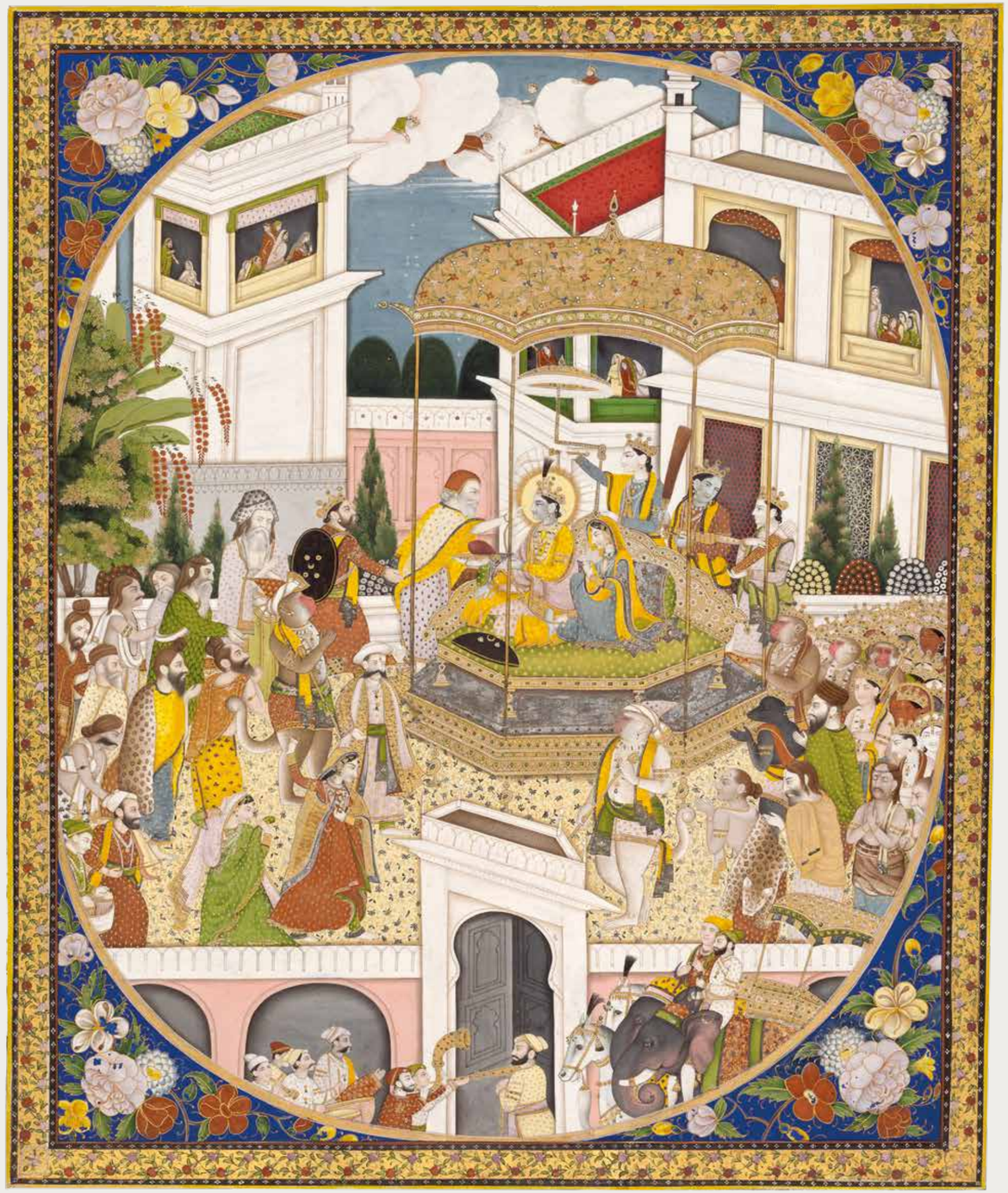
The death of the demons Mahodara, Devantaka and Trisiras
From Book VI of the 'Second Guler' ***Ramayana***
(second part)

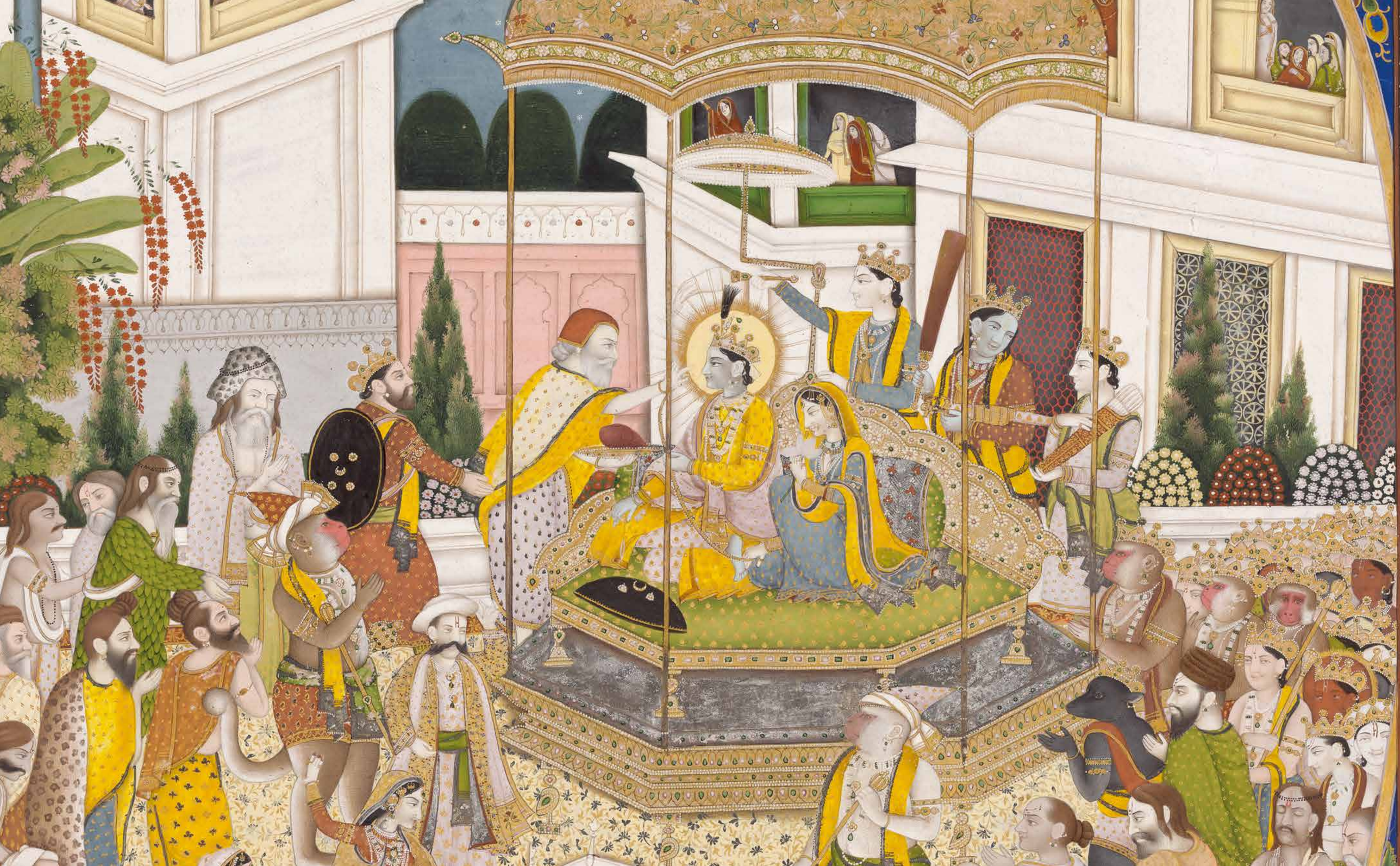
By a Guler artist, c. 1790
Opaque pigments with gold and silver on paper, within a blue margin with gold and silver floral arabesque and a pink outer border with a red rule
Folio 24.9×35.3 cm; Painting 20×30.2 cm

20

The Coronation of Rama, based on the description in the *Yuddhakanda* of the *Ramayana*, ch. 130

Mandi, c. 1840
Opaque pigments, with gold and silver on paper; within a gold oval border with white rules. Spandrels decorated with large flowers against a blue ground. Outer gilt border with a European style scrolling floral design with peonies. Black and yellow rules.
Folio 51.2×41.5 cm; Painting 45×37 cm





21

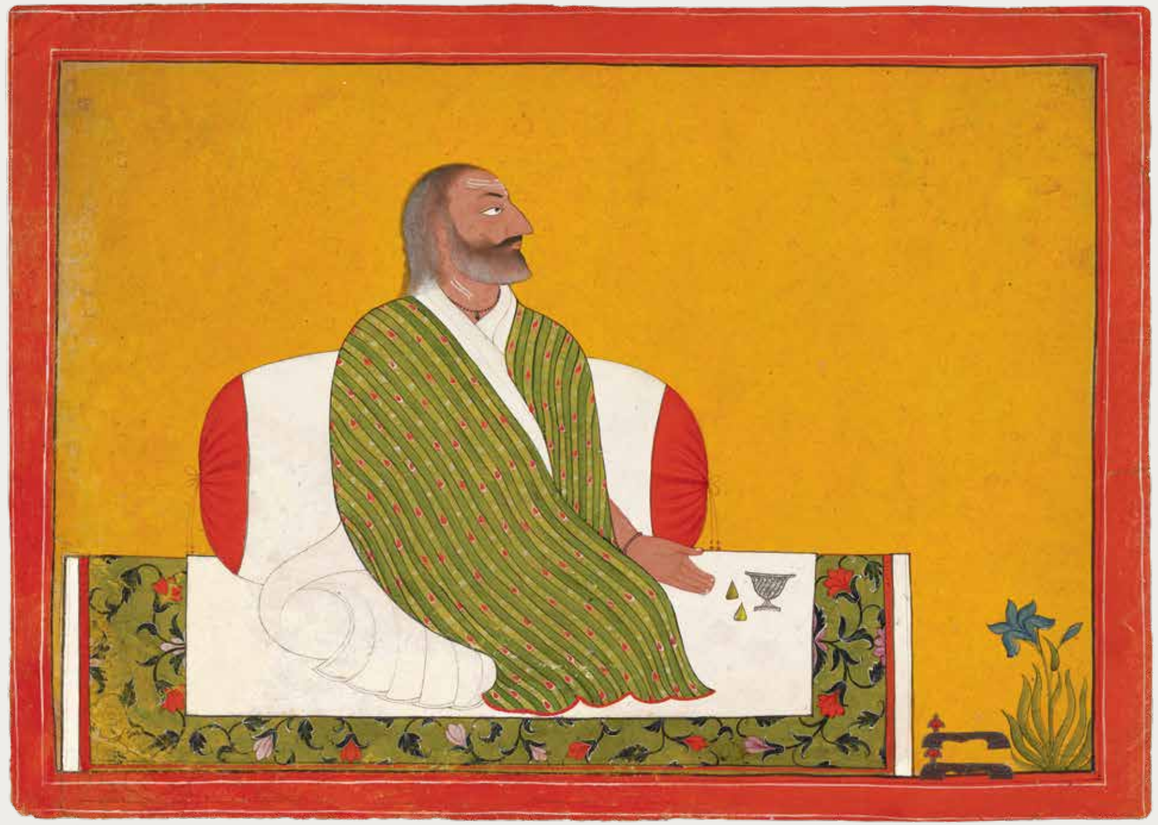
Vipralabdha nayika* destroying her ornaments, from Keshav Das' *Rasikapriya

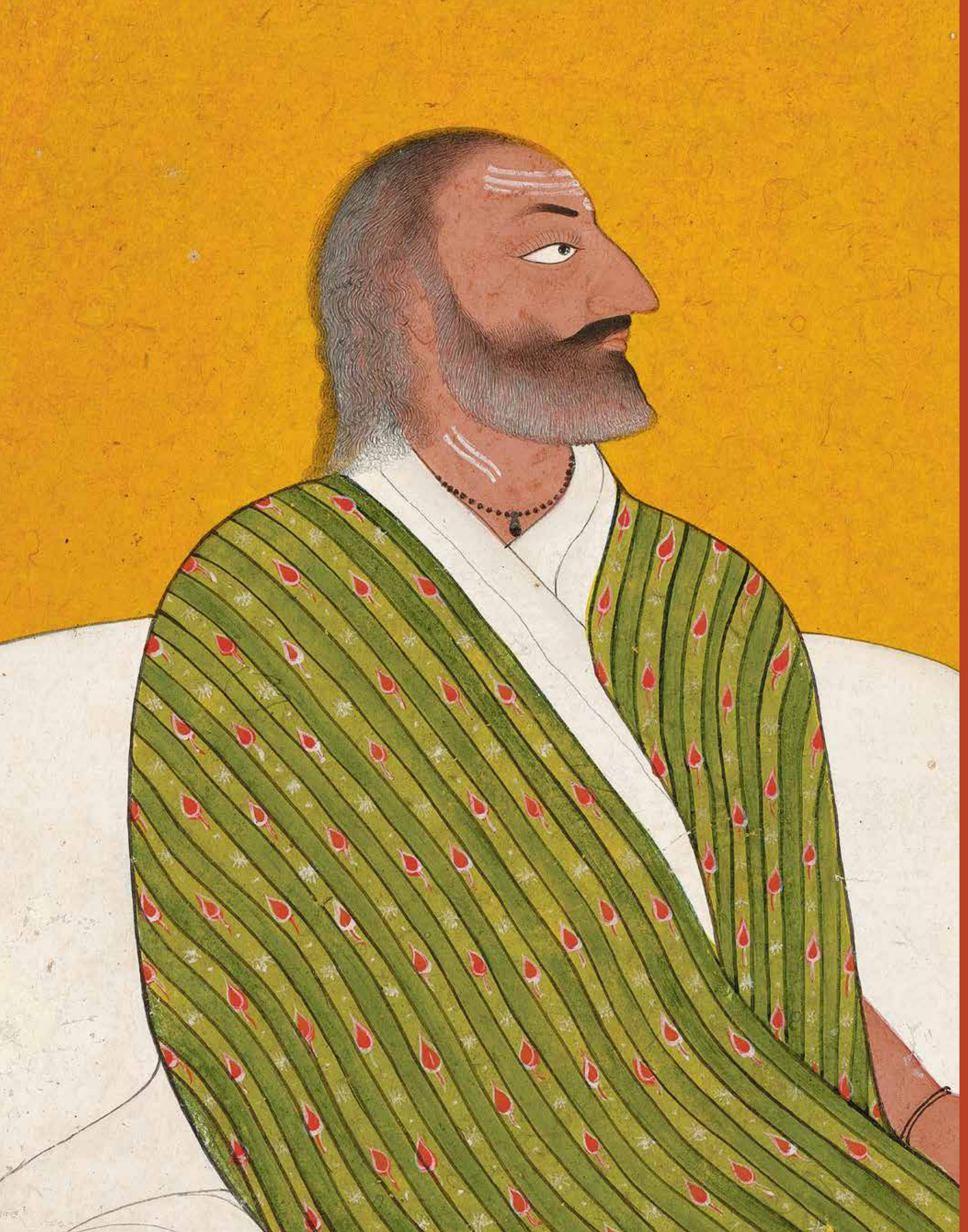
Nurpur, c. 1760, attributed to Har Jaimal
Opaque pigments and gold on paper, within a red border with white rules
Folio 27.2 × 20.2 cm; Painting 22.8 × 14.7 cm

22

A man of commanding presence

Attributed to the Master at the Court of Mankot,
c. 1700–1730
Opaque pigments on paper; red border with black inner rule and white inner and outer rules
Folio 20.3 × 28.4; Painting 17.8 × 25.8 cm





23 **Raja Dalip Singh of Guler performing *puja***

Guler, c. 1740, school of Pandit Seu
Opaque pigments and gold on paper, within a dark blue border
Folio 27×19.6 cm; Painting 24.2×16.2 cm

24

***Pichhvai* of *Dana Lila* (the demanding of toll)**

Deccan, possibly Hyderabad, mid-19th century
Cotton; with stencilled and painted design, gold and silver applied with an adhesive and painted pigments, including copper acetate arsenite ('emerald green')
Textile 256.5 × 239.5 cm; Stretcher 257 × 244 cm

25 **Portrait of Anand Singh, first Raja of Idar**

Jodhpur artist at Idar, c. 1730
Opaque pigments with gold on paper
Folio 27×18.3 cm; Painting 23×14.6 cm

26

A prince, an ascetic and drug-addled *sadhus*

Sawar, attributed to Pemji, c. 1790
Opaque pigments on paper
Folio 27 × 36 cm

बासदी

27 **Admittance to a Jain Paradise**

Marwar, 1750–1775
Opaque pigments on cotton
75×53 cm

Cat. 2 detail

1 Amir Hamza clings to the Rukh's legs to carry him home across the sea
Folio from the *Dastan-i Amir Hamza* (*Hamzanama* or 'Story of Hamza') commissioned by the Emperor Akbar

Imperial Mughal, attributed to Dasvant, c. 1565
Opaque pigments and gold on cotton with paper support for the text
Folio 70.7 × 53 cm
Painting 63.5 × 53 cm

Provenance
Private collection, France

Few connoisseurs of Indian art would dispute that the immense early Mughal manuscript of the *Hamzanama* ('Story of Hamza') is one of the major achievements of Indian artists. Whether on account of its length or its monumental size but especially on account of its artistic achievement, it dwarfs all other Indian manuscripts. Within its surviving pages we can witness the process by which the disparate artistic styles which made up the early Mughal studio were welded into one coherent form. This hitherto unknown and magnificent page adds significantly to our knowledge of the manuscript because, contrary to most of the extant folios which are quite crowded in composition, our painting has a simple but very powerful image of a huge phoenix-like bird to which our hero clings for dear life. His lithe body is still Safavid in manner, with elongated, supple torso, recalling the work of 'Abd al-Samad who, together with Mir Sayyid 'Ali, were the originators of Mughal painting and supervised the entire production of the *Hamzanama*. 'Abd al-Samad was also tutor to the brilliant Dasvant, considered one of the most intense and original of the early Mughal painters.

The *Hamzanama* ('Story of Hamza'), to give it its usual abbreviated title, is a rambling series of tales dealing with the mythical adventures of Amir Hamza, the uncle of the Prophet, in mostly infidel lands, and the disparate structures in the Persian manuscript tradition reveal its oral origins. It was obviously known in India, since one of the few surviving Sultanate illustrated manuscripts from the 15th century, now in Berlin, is of this text. Its tales of adventure and derring-do obviously appealed to the young Akbar (b. 1542, reg. 1556–1605), since it was the first major manuscript produced in the early Mughal studio. We are informed from various sources that it consisted originally of 1400 paintings and was divided into fourteen (or twelve) volumes, and that it took fifteen (or more) years to complete.[1] None of the sources gives a precise date but the general consensus had been that it was in production from 1562 to 1577 under the charge first of Mir Sayyid 'Ali, supervising the work of thirty artists, and then of 'Abd al-Samad. These were two of the Safavid artists who accompanied Humayun back to India in 1555. The discovery of what might be a date on one of the manuscript's paintings has suggested an alternative dating of 1557/8–1572/3.[2]

The physical appearance of the manuscript is virtually unprecedented in Islamic painting.[3] Its extent, however, as well as the alternation on most of the surviving pages of the painting occupying the full recto and the text confined to the verso suggests influence from earlier Indian painting cycles.[4] The paintings are painted on cotton and where still extant the text is written on paper, normally a full sheet adhered to the back of the cotton, but here on strips stuck to the bottom of the cotton or (on other examples) at the top as well.[5] Only about 150 pages are now known, widely dispersed, apart from 61 paintings in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, and 21 in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Dr John Seyller has identified the subject of this painting: 'Finding himself in an alien land far from home, the kingdom ruled by Tulu Gao-Pa, Amir Hamza devises a plan to avail himself of a supernatural means of transport back home. He hides in the nest of a rukh, a gigantic phoenix-like bird that is the enemy of Hamza's new ally, and clings to the creature's legs as it crosses the great sea. The rukh tries to shake off its unwanted human cargo, pecking relentlessly at Hamza's hands until he can no longer hold on.'

Various factors suggest that this painting is from early in the series. Firstly it has three lines of text written on the recto, something that is found only in the early books numbered 1–5 of the manuscript. In the later books the painting occupies the full page and the text is on the verso. Secondly Hamza is still young and beardless. No other painting illustrating this particular episode has so far come to light.

Even among the paintings of a manuscript famous for its magnificent portrayals of giants, dragons, leviathans and other monsters, our page stands out for its glorious depiction of the mythical Rukh and the stark predicament of our hero. All else is secondary, just the sky with its multi-coloured clouds and the angry sea below, while the artist hones in on the central conception of the scene, the bird's monstrous beak pecking at the hero's desperately clinging hands. The Rukh, a giant mythical bird from the Persian imagination, which carried off elephants for its food, is here depicted like a giant eagle with some of its feathers arranged on its body rather like scales. Its wings beat to carry it aloft as it reaches down its dragon-like head to peck angrily at the hand of the audacious man who is hanging on to its legs. Its claws and beak are little miracles of malevolence, while the delicate depiction of the feathers of its lower body is an early forerunner of the interest Mughal artists took in the lifelike portrayal of birds. Magnificently coloured Chinese ribbon-clouds twist and curl round the bird and its unwanted passenger, echoing the glorious colours of the Rukh itself and its streaming feathers. The loss of the pigment over most of Hamza's lithe and twisting body allows the beautiful underdrawing to stand out. We can feel the strain in his arms as he looks up appealingly but in vain at the angry bird. His gown flies out in rippling folds as he cycles his legs perhaps to gain some purchase on the bird's body. But he has to give up and eventually falls into the sea.

Most of the artists of the early paintings in the *Hamzanama* design their subjects sticking to the conventions of Persian paintings, of a bird's-eye view whether with an architectural or landscape background. Only the very greatest of the artists involved totally remove such props from their compositions and attempt something so ambitious as our painting, where the eye focusses on the subject alone without any background other than the sky. This virtually precludes all the known early Akbari artists apart from Dasvant – his younger equally talented colleague Basavan seems to come more to the fore in the later paintings of the series. The new interest in modelling of textiles (here in the folds of Hamza's *jama* as it flutters in the wind) is found elsewhere in works attributed to Dasvant by John Seyller, such as the figure of Mallik Qasim swimming with his *jama* rippling out in the water.[6] Other work attributed to him by Seyller concentrating on large and monstrous creations includes *divs* and dragons also occupying

1 The sources differ about the precise number of paintings, the number of volumes and about the time it took to complete. Chandra 1976, pp. 62–68, and Seyller et al. 2002, pp. 32–37, review the sources most thoroughly.
2 Seyller 1993 and 2002, pp. 38–40. Rejected by Melikian-Chirvani in Das, ed., 1998, p. 50, fn 7, followed by Stronge 2002, p. 177, n 25.
3 The *Falnama* or Book of Omens done for Shah Tahmasp ca. 1550–1555 is a possible precedent in size, but contains only thirty known folios.
4 The dispersed Early Rajput book X of *Bhagavata Purana* had at least 360 paintings similarly arranged.
5 Antoinette Owen, in Seyller et al. 2002, pp. 280-84, has identified intermediate layers of paper and fabric between the two visible sheets.
6 In a page now in Vienna. See Seyller et al. 2002, no. 42.
7 *Ibid*., nos. 25 and 86.
8 *Ibid*., nos. 27, 30, 31, 36, 42 for example.

2 Battle between the Iranians and the Turanians
Folio from the 'Jainesque' *Shahnama*

Sultanate India, c. 1450
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 31.8 × 25.6 cm
Painting 13.7 × 20.5 cm
Inscribed in red in Persian on the lower, left-hand margin: *amadan-i human bi-didan-i sipah-i iran* ('Human comes to look at the Iranian army')

The manuscript of the Persian epic *Shahnama* from which this page comes first appeared on the market in the 1980s with about 350 folios and 66 miniatures (published Goswamy 1988). The text is written in four ruled columns per side, with occasional headpieces, with miniatures occupying horizontal compartments across the lines of text as in 14th century Persian *Shahnama* manuscripts. The text was incomplete, extending only up to the time of Gushtasp. The manuscript was dispersed in 1989, at which time the Rietberg Museum acquired 20 painted folios as well as a folio with late 17th century seal impressions, while other various museums and private collectors acquired individual painted folios. Four more are in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin; two are in the Musée Guimet, Paris; two in the David Collection, Copenhagen; one in the Cleveland Museum of Art; one in the Freer and Sackler Gallery, Washington DC; another in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco (Masselos et al. 1997, no. 165); and others in private collections.

The importance of the manuscript rests in its unique treatment of a Persian classic text illustrated by an artist steeped in the Jain and Hindu Western Indian traditions, used for illustrating Jain texts such as the *Kalpasutra* and the *Kalakacarya Katha* in particular. In the latter, the Jain monk hero has to deal with the Sahis or Scythian invaders of India, for whom a particular iconography was devised. Jain figures are normally in three-quarter profile with projecting further eye, and the men are minimally clad apart from monks, but Sahis are shown almost full face without the projecting eye and with bearded spadelike heads, particular crowns and turbans, and a Persian type of costume of a long, split-sided gown and a cloud-collar. This is the type of figure found throughout this *Shahnama* manuscript for the great kings and princes of the epic. Other figures at court wear *jamas* tied to the left. Lesser warriors depicted in the battle scenes wearing chain-mail suits are not so obviously from the same tradition, but for the faces confined within their helmets. In some miniatures in the manuscript the artist forgets for a moment in what tradition he is painting and gives one character a projecting eye, a feature found in some other Sultanate manuscripts of the period. The depiction of rocks, trees and other items conform to this same tradition of being modelled on their treatment in the same Jain manuscripts. Throughout the paintings the artist has given free rein to his brilliant colours and fantastic details of textiles whether as part of garments or horse caparisons. The colours glow against the soft red background. Although obviously not a court production, the whole manuscript reveals a spirit of freshness and vitality as the artist innovates to bring life to this alien (to him) cultural tradition. This particular Sultanate style begins with him and its only real successors are the *Chandayan* and *Hamzanama* manuscripts now in Berlin from the third quarter of the 15th century.

The text at this point is a speech that the hero Rustam delivers to the Iranian army on arriving at their camp by Mount Hamavan. Rustam had come to rescue the Iranian army after they had suffered numerous losses at the hands of an alliance of the Turanians, the Emperor of China and a feared warrior named Kamus of Kashan. For an English translation of this speech see *The Shâhnáma of Firdausî*, translated into English by Arthur George Warner and Edmond Warner, Volume III, London, 1908, pp. 172–173. In Firdawsi's narrative, the Turanian champion Human, on the morning before renewed fighting, goes to spy on the Iranian army. For a translation of this episode, see *ibid*., p. 174.

For detailed discussion of this whole Sultanate period and its manuscripts, see Khandalavala and Chandra 1969, supplemented by Losty 1982, ch. 2. Brac de la Perriere 2008 is a more up to date summary of the Sultanate period dealing with this *Shahnama* manuscript and other new material. The actual place of production of all these manuscripts is still a matter of scholarly debate, but Gujarat or Mandu seem the most likely for this manuscript.

most of the page. [7] Our artist seems to have concentrated his attention on the two figures and the swirling clouds leaving the sea at the base of the picture to be finished by another artist in line with the workshop practice of Akbar's studio. The depiction of turbulent water with unbroken white lines marking the crests of waves and parallel lines defining the volume of the waves is somewhat staid compared to the swirling rhythms of water and cascades of foam as normally depicted in paintings attributed to Dasvant or Basavan, but these of course are all somewhat later in date compared with our painting.[8]

In Abu'l Fazl's account of the painters of Akbar's studio, Dasvant is mentioned with great enthusiasm immediately after the ritual encomiums of the two Persian masters Mir Sayyid 'Ali and 'Abd al-Samad. His ascribed major work is in the *Razmnama* manuscript in the Jaipur royal collection dating from 1582–86, while one of his paintings is found in the *Tarikh-i Khandan-I Tiruyyiya* of 1584 in the Khuda Bakhsh Library in Patna. 1584 is the year that he committed suicide 'when the balance of his mind was disturbed'.

Condition and provenance of the extant folios from the *Hamzanama*

Almost all the folios from the *Hamzanama* have suffered some degree of paint loss, including ours, and many have 19th and early 20th century repainting which ours luckily does not have. The 21 paintings now in the Victoria & Albert Museum are in generally poor condition, having been acquired in India in the 19th century, from Srinigar in Kashmir. The 61 folios now in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Vienna were acquired in 1873 at the World Fair in Vienna, from Iranian sources. These are also in poor condition, some with obliterated faces and retouching and paint loss (Seyller, 2002, pp. 282–283).

3 Battle between Khwaja Qazi and Aba-bikr at Uzgend in 1493–4
Folio from the first *Baburnama*, made for the Emperor Akbar

Imperial Mughal, c. 1589
Opaque pigments on paper with gold pigment
Folio 26.5 × 15.5 cm
Painting 24.9 × 13.5 cm
Manuscript leaf numbered 9 at bottom, verso with a page of 13 lines in Persian text in *nasta'liq* within margin rules in gold and colours.

Provenance
Sotheby's, 7th April 1975 (lot 97)
Hagop Kevorkian, New York (1872–1962)
Luzac & Co, London, 1913

Babur, the founder of the Mughal empire and Akbar's paternal grandfather, wrote his diary in the language of his native Turkestan, Chaghatai Turki, recording the events of his life until shortly before his death in 1530. These memoirs are important because although the diary was written for his own enjoyment and that of his family, our knowledge of the Mughal emperor Babur (r.1526–1530) and the beginning of the Mughal empire derives from this manuscript. In addition to being a rich source of historical information, the '*Baburnama*' is acknowledged as being one of the most lively and freely descriptive memoirs of any oriental ruler. Babur's grandson Akbar (Mughal emperor 1556–1605) had the work translated from Turki into Persian by Abd al-Rahim Khan Khanan, who presented his translation in 1589.

This leaf is from the first illustrated version made for the Emperor Akbar who would have chosen the events to be illustrated since he was keenly interested in paintings as well as the life and legends of his ancestor. Three later copies of the *Baburnama* were made – see [1] and [2].

The miniature illustrates an event from the early part of Babur's memoirs while he was still a youth in his home area of Farghana where local chiefs were struggling with one another for land and authority. The incident illustrated is recounted with a certain hind-sight in the light of Babur's subsequent victories and success:

> For some years, Aba-bikr Kashgari Dughlat, bowing the head to no-one, had been supreme in Kashgar Khutan. He now, moved like the rest by desire for my country, came to the neighbourhood of Auzkint [Uzgend], built a fort and began to lay waste the land. Khwaja Qazi and several begs were appointed to drive him out. When they came near, he saw himself no match for such a force, made the Khwaja his mediator and, by a hundred wiles and tricks, got himself safely free. (Beveridge, p. 32)

The illustration represents the forces of Babur's ally, Khwaja Qazi, as well equipped and superior, while those of Aba-bikr within the fort are relatively meagre. The figure at top left, dressed in blue and loading a gun, is probably Aba-bikr himself. The central figure of the attacking cavalry, in green and holding a shield, must be Khwaja Qazi.

The Persian number 9 at the foot of the miniature indicates the number of the illustrations as it fell within the original volume, a succession reconstructed by Smart (1977). In most cases the miniatures of this manuscript had the names of the artist inscribed in the lower margin in red, though in this case the artist ascription is absent. The reason may be that the vertical measurement of the miniature is larger than usual, leaving minimal space for such an inscription, or otherwise putting it at risk if the margins were trimmed. The ascriptions that survive on the miniatures indicate that many of the greatest artists of Akbar's atelier, including Basawan were employed on the manuscript's illustration.

The manuscript was dispersed in London from 1913, through the agency of the booksellers Luzac, since when separate leaves and mounted illustrations have appeared from time to time on the market. This leaf was among those formerly in the collection of Hagop Kevorkian (his sale at Sotheby's, London, 7 April, 1975, lot 97). Other leaves are in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, and the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

[1] The other, later illustrated copies of the *Baburnama* are, in chronological order:

1. A copy dated 1590-3 in the British Library (Or.3714)
2. A copy known only as illustrations, of which approximately a quarter are missing, now divided between the State Museum of Eastern Cultures in Moscow (published by Tyulayev 1960) and the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, is dated around 1595
3. A copy dated 1597–8 in the National Museum of India in New Delhi.

[2] According to Smart 1978, 'The spontaneity, simplicity and forthright vigour of the paintings from the first manuscript are far more in keeping with the text than are the more complex ornate paintings of the manuscripts that followed'. She also believes that about fifty artists from Akbar's court were involved in this project facilitating its completion within a year.

[*below taken from an addendum by John Seyller, 19th July 2021*]
This painting can be attributed to Tharapal (sometimes written in Persian as Tarapal and transliterated as Thripal or Tirpal), a previously unstudied mid-range artist known from seven ascribed paintings in four other imperial manuscripts produced from the mid 1580s to the mid 1590s. Two works appear in the 1584–86 Jaipur *Razmnama* (A.G. 1836, 1845), two each in the British Library *Baburnama* and the 1596 *Chingiznama* in the Gulistan Library, Tehran, and one in the *'Iyar -i Danish* in the Chester Beatty Library (Ms. 4, no. 68). In two cases, Tharapal's work was enhanced by corrections or portraits supplied by Sanvala, a more senior artist.

John Seyller's full report on this artist and attribution is available on request.

4 A musician holding a *vina*

Deccan, Bijapur, attributed to Farrukh Husain, 1600–05, with additions by an artist in his circle
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 27.7 × 17.6 cm
Painting 11.5 × 4.5 cm

Provenance
Private collection, France

The young musician stands in a landscape holding a *vina* over his shoulder. His violet *chakdar jama* and sumptuous brocade *dupatta*, long enough to be draped round his body as well as his shoulders, sway slightly in the Deccani breeze. His *vina* with its gourds decorated in blue and gold is in his right hand while his left holds a little wine cup. Three tall glass flasks filled with differently coloured juices stand at his feet on dishes of gold, while sprays of flowers rise on either side. A little stream flows along the bottom of the painting with a rabbit crouched on the near side. The densely painted landscape is bisected by a line of trees interspersed with buildings, while further back some white buildings stand on the true horizon. The trees and buildings fade in density of colour as they recede indicating that the artist already had some knowledge of aerial perspective.

The young musician with his large hooked nose is sufficiently well dressed to make a comparison meaningful with portraits of the young and deeply musical Ibrahim 'Adil Shah of Bijapur (b. 1571, r. 1580–1627) (Haidar and Sardar 2015, nos. 27–28). The Sultan came to the throne at the age of nine and started growing a beard in the early 1590s. He normally wears a long *jama* down to his ankles, even when he is playing an instrument, as in the portrait in Prague of him seated playing the tambur (*ibid*., no. 33), as against the four-pointed *chakdar jama* worn by our musician. Although more often seen in Mughal painting, this garment is also still seen in the Deccan, as worn especially by young pages in Ahmadnagar paintings in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the British Library (*ibid*., nos. 14 and 17).

But what mitigates against our portrait being one of Ibrahim himself is its style, which is at least a decade later than these early portraits and seems linked especially to that of Farrukh Husain. Farrukh Beg after he arrived in India from Iran worked first at the Mughal court. After his contributions to the *Akbarnama* of 1590–95 he made his way to the Deccan, specifically to the court of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah in Bijapur, where he was known as Farrukh Husain. Some of the hallmarks of his style in the Deccan are his habit of recording shaded areas on the head by darkening the areas just beneath the chin (*ibid*., nos. 31 and 32; Beach 2011, fig. 8) and sometimes as in the latter example beyond the nose as well, both seen in our painting. Also comparable are his dense colouration in general, and his small, well modelled heads. Particularly relevant is his painting in Jaipur (Haidar 2011, fig. 13, p 35) of Sarasvati holding a *vina* similar to our musician's and also showing the same dense shading beneath the chin and the small, well modelled heads on the goddess and her attendants. Farrukh Husain made several portraits of young men standing by tall flowering plants, including a falconer in the Gulshan Album and a young page in the Minto Album (Beach 2011, figs. 6 and 11), both apparently from before and after his Bijapur period but similar in composition to our standing *vina* player. Although published as being from his Mughal period, both have the same gentle Deccani breeze stirring their garments, while the latter also exhibits the same facial shading.

Our artist's handling of the landscape is very close to a painting attributed to Farrukh Beg (Farrukh Husain), 'Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II riding an elephant' attr.to Farrukh Husain at Bijapur c. 1600 (Haidar & Sardar, 2015 cat. 31). This type of landscape echoes that seen in other works from Bijapur such as the first campaign of paintings in the manuscript of the *Pemnem* in the British Library (Hutton 2011, pls. 8, 10, 11), where screens of small varicoloured trees interspersed with white buildings often decorate the horizon.

Our painting consists of two sections. The central part, measuring 6.8 × 4.1 cm, we attribute to Farrukh Husain. It has been extended (top, right and bottom) shortly afterwards by an artist in the circle of Farrukh Husain. The style is very similar but the hand is different.

5 An important double-sided folio from the *Aparokshasiddhanta* of Maharaja Jasvan Singh of Jodhpur, with identifying colophon and date

Mughal style at Aurangabad, dated vs 1726 (AD 1669)
Opaque pigments and gold on paper

Recto
Iris on a gold ground

Folio 31 × 18.5 cm
Painting 20.3 × 11.5 cm

An extremely refined painting of a stylized iris plant with a butterfly and another insect hovering either side of the main flower, on a gold ground; within ruled borders and margins decorated with a gold trellis incorporating the 'chintamani' motif on a buff ground. The reverse of this folio illustrates another flower, a stylised chrysanthemum with stems in graceful arabesques on a gold ground.

Above the chrysanthemum is a Sanskrit colophon in red Devanagari script identifying the manuscript as the *Aparokshasiddhanta*, a work on Vedanta, one of the six systems of Indian philosophy, composed by Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur (b. 1626, r. 1638–78). The manuscript was written by the scribe Vyas Madhava and completed in Aurangabad, the Mughal headquarters in the Deccan, on the 5th of the bright half of the month of Kartik in the year Vikram Samvat 1726, which corresponds to Tuesday 19th October 1669.

Maharaja Jaswant Singh, one of the most important Rajput chiefs, served in the Deccan early in the reign of the emperor Aurangzeb (1658–1707) between 1662 and 1664, under Shayista Khan. He again went back in 1667 to August 1670 with Prince Mu'azzam, who was then Viceroy. In 1670 he left for Ahmedabad having been appointed Subahdar of Gujarat. Shanawaz Khan gives a very abbreviated account of his later life, perhaps because he fell out of favour with Aurangzeb, but does record that in the 10th year of Aurangzeb he was again sent to the Deccan with Prince Mu'azzam (1911–52, vol. I, p. 755).

Jahangir (r.1605–27) introduced the fashion in Mughal painting for studies of single flowering plants, some of which were originally adapted from European herbals. The artist of this manuscript was probably influenced by the famous series of flowering plants in the Dara Shikoh Album, now in the British Library (Falk and Archer 1981, no. 68, pp. 396–99). These mostly stylised and fanciful plants with hovering insects and stems often in arabesques were painted in Burhanpur, the earlier Mughal headquarters in the Deccan, around 1630–32 for Dara Shikoh, the oldest and favourite son of Shah Jahan (Losty and Roy 2012, pp. 124–37).

Verso
Sanskrit colophon in red Devanagari script identifying the manuscript as the *Aparokshasiddhanta* above chrysanthemums

Painting 11 × 11.5 cm

Provenance
Private collection, Japan

The use of an opulent gold background, vivid colours and highly stylized designs are features of Deccani painting. The way the flower has here been portrayed links the painting to floral decoration, particularly in textile design, as seen in contemporary painted cottons, embroideries, velvets and carpets. Terence McInerney points out the relevance of similar floral decorations to be seen on the Bibi ka Maqbara in Aurangabad in Haidar and Sardar 2015, p. 293, and fig. 81.

Two folios from this dispersed manuscript are in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (see Leach 1998, no. 67). Neither of the Khalili folios has a text but rather has the same flower (a stylised hibiscus and another iris) on each side, although not in mirror reverse. Our folio is identical to the published Khalili iris, save that the two insects are on the opposite sides of the flower. Other folios are in private collections in London and Switzerland (Haidar and Sardar 2015, no. 169).

6 Floorspread with medallion pattern

Mughal, Gujarat, second half of the 17th century
Silk velvet, solid pile and pile-warp substitution
303 × 181 cm

Provenance
Private collection, Kyoto (acquired from Gallery Ueda around 1990)
Gallery Ueda, Tokyo around 1985
Martin & Ullman (Artweave), New York (prior to 1985)

The tremendous wealth, power, and sense of style of the Mughal court in northern India in the late 16th and 17th centuries was demonstrated emphatically through the array of splendid and precious textiles that decorated both royal architectural spaces and the people gathered within them. This held true not only for monumental palaces, fixed in place, but also camp cities, portable replicas of palace complexes, set up on the move for frequent military or hunting campaigns. Numerous paintings show receptions at court fully outfitted with textiles including garments, robes of honour, hangings, awnings, tent panels, floor coverings, bolsters and cushions, even envelopes or covers for letters or diplomatic correspondence.[1] Evidence in the paintings is confirmed by observations made by visitors, court officials, even the rulers themselves.

This sumptuous floorspread is made of velvet, the most valuable and admired of all Indian textiles. Velvets were expensive because production was labour intensive and materials were costly, especially when gold or silver thread was involved. Silk was the favoured fibre. They were impressive because of the glint and shimmer of their materials. A looped pile was added to the structural warp and weft, and that pile could be cut, left uncut in loops, or voided (left uncut and unseen within the structural elements), depending upon the desired effect. Textiles had been woven in India for centuries, but Akbar's friend and advisor, Abu'l Fazl, wrote in about 1590 that Akbar had established imperial workshops for textiles in the cities of Lahore, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, and Ahmedabad. Many types of textiles previously available only as imports were now made in the royal workshops.[2] By 1612, during the reign of emperor Akbar's son Jahangir (r. 1605–1627), Ahmedabad was famous for luxury textiles including velvets.[3]

The patterns and motifs of the floorspread draw from both Persian and Indian traditions, as did Mughal art in general. The field pattern of the floorspread features a central medallion with 'flaming' edges and very limited portions of similar medallions in the corners of the field. The medallion placement and field pattern of symmetrically arranged scrolling vines embellished with blossoms and curled leaves derive from Persian models created especially for bindings and illumination in the court workshops in Iran.[4] Persian was the high culture and language of the Mughal court, and some Persian artists, especially ones who worked on manuscripts (painters, illuminators, calligraphers) and weavers of carpets and textiles transferred to the workshops of emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605) at a time when royal patronage in Iran was waning. There is also technical evidence of Persian influence, for the floorspread makes use of the velvet technique called pile-warp substitution that was developed in earlier times and utilized otherwise only in Iran. In this technique, extra colours, carried out of sight on the back of the textile, can be substituted as pile, thus augmenting the usual range of colours.[5]

In all other respects, the elegant floorspread speaks to us in an Indian language. Its Indianness is expressed through individual floral elements, its naturalistic style, and the palette of colours, especially the green. Inside the large main medallion and radiating from the smaller 8-lobed central medallion are a series of flowering plants shown in profile. These reflect the flower style influenced by European herbals and given particular favour from about 1630 on under emperors Shah Jahan (r. 1628–1658) and Aurangzeb (r. 1658–1707) in the 17th century.[6] Prior to the adoption of the flower style, the Indian component of the Mughal blend drew on local traditions, especially Rajput ones. The Indian flower style, despite its popularity, never fully displaced the Persian style, with the result that the two main decorative programs present in Mughal art of the 17th century both continued to appear simultaneously and, sometimes, as in the case of this velvet, in the same object.[7] The stylized representations of the floral elements, which originated in extremely naturalistic painted versions, are consistent with the style of art produced during the later years of the emperor Aurangzeb.

Closely related to this floorspread are four other floorspreads that form a distinct group.[8] Similarities extend to designs that include a central lobed medallion and corner medallions with 'flaming' edges, similar colouring (usually five colours with red ground), and piecing of end borders. All are velvets with pile-warp substitution. The piece discussed here is the largest of the five floorspreads. There is a different spirit to this piece, which has looser, more energetic, spidery drawing. The group of four is generally attributed to Gujarat and dated to the second half of the 17th century. We follow this attribution but propose that the looser drawing and greater stylization indicate a different weaving centre (probably still in Gujarat) or slightly later execution for this piece.

1 See Beach and Koch, *Padshahnama*, p. 41, for example.
2 Abu'l Fazl, Ain-I Akbari, vol. 1, pp. 93–94.
3 Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 206.
4 See Beach and Koch, *Padshahnama*, sp. 57. In the foreground lies a Persian-style carpet featuring a variant of the multiple medallion pattern with field decoration consisting of scrolling vines with blossoms and leaves.
5 See technical explanations by Bernsted in Folsach and Bernsted, *Woven Treasures*, pp. 65ff; and Sonday in Bier, ed., *Woven for the Soul*, pp. 79ff.
6 See Beach and Koch, *Padshahnama*, p. 41, for wall painting in the Mughal flower style on the wall behind the emperor.
7 See Beach and Koch, *Padshahnama*, p. 70, in which the nearer of the two elephants leading the procession bears a textile, possibly a carpet, decorated in the Persian style, while the rider holding the standard wears a jacket decorated in the flower style.
8 Cleveland Museum of Art, no. 2001.35, publ. Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, p. 423;

Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 41.190.256, publ. Walker, 'Mughal Silks,' p. 54; Christie's S. Kensington, 13 June 1989, lot 26 (present whereabouts unknown); and Chenciner Collection, publ. Victoria & Albert Museum, *Indian Heritage*, cat. no. 222.

9 Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, p. 424.

The piecing of these floorspreads raises some interesting issues. Our example was made in nine pieces: field, two side borders, two end borders, and four small pieces sewn in at the extreme corners of the borders. The Cleveland piece and one other were made in thirteen pieces: field, two side borders, and five pieces in each end border. These, and the Met. piece, have the same arrangement whereby the field was woven without any borders at all, then full length side borders were added and then end borders, with all inner guard bands meeting on the diagonal. What is the point of this piecing? One possibility is to maintain maximum flexibility in sizing by working from a stockpile of pieces that could be combined to yield a specified size, particularly length. Although no 17th century European or other foreign connection is known for the five floorspreads discussed here, perhaps this assembly arrangement was conceived to expedite professional production and possibly private orders.[9]

Daniel Walker

7 A double-sided Mughal album page from the Mewar Royal Collection

Recto

A man with a parasitic twin growing from his abdomen

Mughal, c. 1680
Opaque pigments on paper
Laid down within a wide red border on a plain buff album page
Folio 43.5 × 28.5 cm
Painting 18 × 10 cm
Inscribed below in Rajasthani: *admi eka tho jani ra pet mam hai bhava dola takato tho* (this is somewhat obscure but seems to be saying the man is like a woman in that he is carrying another being in his belly, held up with a swing)
Inscribed above with a more modern nagari inscription partially cut off : *dodya tha kur* ... and transliterated *dodya tha koorlari ? eka ?* and with Mewar royal collection inventory numbering 20/85 (miscellaneous portraits) and a valuation of 10 rupees, at which time the number *40* seems to have been added to the top left of the drawing itself.

1 (British Library, N. Tab 2025/26, nos. 11–12)
2 BL N.Tab.2026/25, tracts 4
3 (British Library, N. Tab 2025/26, nos. 11–12)
4 Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James II, entry 1686, 1425, page 359, 5 February 1687. https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/jas2/1686–7/pp353–376.

This unusual subject shows a young man with a parasitic twin growing from his stomach. His gown is split open to show the twin while he is wearing a strap round his neck to help bear the weight. The portrait is of great simplicity and like others in this album (for instance, of the grossly obese Farrukh Fal) seems to show the compiler's interest in 'unnatural phenomena'.

The subject of our portrait may be a man known as 'Shackshoon', who, aged about 21, was brought to England in the 1680s on the ship the *Charles II* by one Sir Thomas Grantham (Keay 1993, p. 140). He was accompanied by his brother, termed a Muslim 'Priest'[1] in one tract, both of them coming from the 'Emperor of Mogol's country' from Surat, and he was apparently presented at the English court before Their Majesties and the nobility.[2] It was known that the King was keen on 'curiosities' (Keay 1993, p. 140). The source of the painting's inscription, claiming the man is a member of the Dodiya clan (a Rajput clan originally apparently from around Multan who settled in Gujarat and later in Mewar in the 14th/15th centuries), probably added at the same time as the Mewar inventory note, is unclear.

Various references to 'Shackshoon' are found in the East India Company records and semi-official publications from London in the 1680s. Grantham brought him and his brother to England apparently just for six months, but then attempted to keep them both as slaves. He was showing them as 'freaks' to a paying public, as another source details:

> In Bartholomew Fair, at the Corner of Hosier-lane, and near Mr. Parkers Booth; There is to be seen
> A Prodigious Monster lately brought over by Sir Thomas Grantham, from the great Moguls Countrey, being a Man with one Head and two distinct Bodies, both Masculine; there is also with him his Brother who is a Priest of the Mahometan Religion. Price Six pence, and One Shilling the best Places. [3]

Shackshoon and his brother attempted to contest this treatment, and there was a court case in February 1687:

> On Thursday at the Common Pleas was a trial between the monster (a man that hath a child growing out of his side) and Sir Thomas Grantham upon a writ *de homine replegiando*. Sir Thomas had contracted with him to come over from the Indies for six months and then to return, but has kept him like a slave longer and got a great deal of money by showing him; so he prays to be relieved according to law. The judges (it being a novel case, though the man has been christened since he came here) will consult all their brethren about it and have since ordered him to be bailed.[4]

His conversion to Christianity may have been an intelligent strategy in the attempt to regain his freedom through the English court system. Other tracts imply that he was being helped through his baptism by another individual to escape from Grantham, who then was suing them for the return of his 'property' (Stroud 1856, p. 153). The brothers however appear to have absconded according to a later advertisement asking for a reward for notice of them in the London Gazette April 9–12 1688.

The results of the court case, or what happened to the two brothers, are not clear, but the question of whether, legally, conversion to Christianity could grant a slave automatic freedom would have had huge consequences in the colonies at the time and subsequently, so it must have been a significant case (*ibid*.).

Verso

Two studies of birds, a parrot and two thrushes

Mughal, c. 1670–80
Opaque pigments and gold on paper, laid down one above the other within salmon inner borders on a plain buff surround
Painting 18 × 10 cm

Provenance
Private collection, London
Colnaghi, London, 1978 (cat. 28)
Hagop Kevorkian, New York
Collection of Colonel John Murray, sold at Sotheby's, London, 15th June 1959 (lot. 117)
Mewar Royal collection

Several folios from this royal Mewar provenance have come to light, of varying quality. The album format is of great simplicity, mostly of plain buff paper with wide coloured inner borders. They bear the seal impression, dated 1685–6, of Suhrab Khan Khanazad Badshah 'Alamgir, an officer who was a *khanazad* or one born in the hereditary service of the Emperor 'Alamgir I or Aurangzeb. He was one of two royal librarians who were in charge of paintings at various times during 'Alamgir's reign. The late date of the seal impression and the number of Deccani paintings that also bear his seal (usually dating to the 1650s–60s) suggest that Suhrab Khan took custody of several paintings seized during the Mughal campaigns at Bijapur and Golkonda. The album pages also have Rajasthani and/or Persian inscriptions added in Udaipur when the album passed into the royal library and like most Mewar pictures have Mewar inventory inscriptions.

The Rajputs of Mewar had compiled a large collection of Mughal pictures, which they kept and inventoried along with miniatures produced in Mewar itself and other Rajasthani states (Leach 1998, p. 136). The album pages are usually quite plain with inscriptions in gold Devanagari script.

Other folios from this album, with the seal of Suhrab Kahn, are in the Philadelphia Museum of Art with an Akbari subject on one side and a European engraving on the other (see Cameron 2015, pl. 48), the Khalili Collection (Leach 1998, p. 137), the Aga Khan Museum (Canby 1998, no. 117), the David Collection (inv. 25/2019), the National Museum New Delhi (Ramaswami & Singh 2015, pp. 72–3), and elsewhere. Two folios, one of Farrukh Fal and attendant and another with a portrait of the Sufi Mystic Shah Dawla and a calligraphic panel signed by Mir 'Ali al-Haravi are presently with us.

With thanks to John Seyller for his help with provenance information and for identifying the dated seal of Suhrab Khan, and other paintings that carry it.

8. Bust portrait of a prince, probably Muhammad Sultan, the son of Aurangzeb

Imperial Mughal, probably by Hunhar, c. 1670
Opaque pigments with gold on paper
Folio 31.6 × 23.5 cm
Painting 22 × 14.4 cm
Laid down in an album page with calligraphy on the reverse

Provenance
Otto Sohn-Rethel (1877–1949), acquired before 1931

Published
Kühnel 1931, pp. 385–89, fig. 6

This fine bust portrait is of a Mughal prince or nobleman wearing a plain orange *jama* and a green brocade turban secured with a gold brocade band. He appears to be in his thirties and wears a severe, determined expression as he gazes fixedly off to the right out of the viewer's sight. Our portrait bears a sufficient resemblance to Aurangzeb as well as an undeniably princely air to be considered to be one of his sons. Comparisons can be made with portraits of Aurangzeb in the very similar long head and nose, strong chin and determined air. For examples see the durbar portrait of Aurangzeb formerly in the S C Welch collection from around 1660 (Beach 1978, no. 67), and Aurangzeb caught in a shaft of light in the Freer Gallery (Beach 2012, no. 22G), when the emperor was just over 40 years old (although John Seyller identifies the subject as being Muhammad Sultan's younger brother, the Prince Mu'azzam). The latter painting has been attributed to Hunhar, who is probably the artist of our painting. A portrait specialist from the later decades of Shah Jahan, he certainly survived in the studio for the first decade or so of Aurangzeb's reign. His work is rare, but a group of seven standing male portraits in the British Museum from one album are attributed to him. A firmly ascribed portrait of Rustam Khan is in the Chester Beatty Library (Leach 1995, no. 3.49).

The only possible candidate for our subject among the sons of Aurangzeb is the eldest, Mirza Muhammad Sultan (1639–76). Prince Muhammad Sultan supported his father-in-law Shah Shuja' in the 1657–59 war of succession and was imprisoned by his father 1660–72. Briefly released, he was able to marry again in Delhi before being imprisoned again in Salimgarh where he died in 1676. There seem to be no surviving portraits of this unfortunate prince. As noted in correspondence with John Seyller, who supports the attribution to Hunhar and the identification of Muhammad Sultan, Sarkar 1916 (vol. 3, pp. 44–45) contains an extraordinary paragraph detailing how Aurangzeb periodically dispatched an artist to make pictures of the disgraced prince in prison so that he could see how he was faring. Since Muhammad Sultan was indeed imprisoned in 1670, it is possible that this is one of those 'jailhouse portraits', which would explain why the prince has relatively plain clothes, no jewellery, and a relatively saturnine expression.

The features of his face are finely modelled with smooth brush strokes overlaid with a network of fine darker strokes to produce the necessary modelled contours, but his hair, beard and moustache are composed of individual brush strokes for each hair. The relative sparseness of hair along his jawline therefore is obviously intended. Noteworthy are the fine creases emanating from the corner of his eye, the way that his eyebrows join across his brow, the deep fold in the skin below his cheek which hides the end of his moustache and the way the drooping hairs of his moustache cover his lips when seen from the side. All this suggests a perfectionist approach to portraiture.

For a bust portrait, a format that in Mughal painting is based ultimately on the portrait miniature type introduced to the Mughal court by Sir Thomas Roe in 1614, this is an unusually large size and indeed foreshadows much larger bust portraits

that were done later in the 17th century and 18th century (e.g., Falk and Archer 1982, no. 126; Hurel 2010, no. 127), see also cats. 9 & 10. Green or eau-de-nil was the favoured ground colour of almost all earlier Mughal portraits, but blue begins to appear more frequently as a background colour at the beginning of the reign of Aurangzeb. The simplicity of the unadorned orange *jama* contrasts with the refinement of the facial features creating a most memorable and interesting portrait. Simplicity is a virtue that was cultivated at the court of Aurangzeb throughout his reign and certainly in painting before he ceased to patronise it. In the painting in the Freer Gallery attributed to Hunhar of the emperor Aurangzeb caught in a shaft of light (Beach 2012, no. 22G) mentioned above, the emperor is completely unadorned with the jewels that were so conspicuous a feature of Shah Jahan's portraiture.

On the reverse is a specimen of Persian calligraphy, unsigned:

It's good that I should quote from the men of religion,
Whether on a Friday or Saturday,
For the *awliya'* are the deputies of God,
They are always aware of [His] work.

Awliya' is frequently translated as 'saints', but this has rather Christian connotations. 'Friends of God' and 'supporters' are also often used.

9 & 10 A Context for two important Bust Portraits by Hunhar II from the Swinton Collection

These two paintings were brought back from India to Scotland by Captain Archibald Swinton (1731–1804) in 1765. Swinton trained originally as a surgeon in Edinburgh and joined the East India Company's medical service. He reached Madras in 1752 and took part under Robert Clive in the campaigns being waged between the French and English Companies for supremacy in the south. In 1759 he transferred from being a surgeon to an army life as an officer in the Company's Bengal army. His knowledge of Persian made him a trusted interpreter for the British under Carnac and Clive in the momentous events that led to the East India Company's transformation from a mercantile concern to a political one, when it took control of eastern India in 1765. Thereafter, having been severely wounded in several of the battles, he left India that same year. 'Captain Swinton, bringing with him the Munshy (and including in his baggage the large Indian jars, the Indian pictures, Chinese pictures painted on glass, numberless ivory, silver and crystal handled arms, jewels, Persian books, etc. etc.), sailed from India …' (Swinton and Campbell 1908, p. 106). The Persian books would have included the manuscripts and albums that subsequently found their way to Berlin (see below), but by 'Indian pictures' is meant the group of framed pictures that hung in the Swinton home in Scotland, including our two paintings. See Losty 2017 for the historically important Mughal and Murshidabad paintings from the set, some of which are now with the National Museums of Scotland and were exhibited in 2014–15.

Eight of Swinton's albums of Indian paintings and some of the 120 lots of Arabic and Persian manuscripts were sold at Christie's in 1810 to William Beckford and eventually went with Beckford's daughter to Hamilton Palace, from which they were acquired in 1882 for the Prussian royal collections. They were disentangled by Lucian Harris from the Polier albums, which also went from Beckford's collection to Hamilton Palace and then to Berlin (Harris 2001). Harris also records that according to Swinton's own notes on the albums, some of the paintings were removed for framing in 1782 (*ibid.*, p. 365). However the eight Swinton albums now in Berlin (divided between the Museums für Islamische Kunst and für Asiatische Kunst) are somewhat smaller in size than our album pages, so they would seem to come from a different source.

Mughal bust portraits, or head and shoulders portraits, owe their origin to the introduction of European portrait miniatures into the Mughal court in the early 17th century, initiating a format that was immediately picked up by Mughal and later Deccani artists. In the beginning they were normally portraits of the imperial family, who were depicted as if appearing behind a *jharokha* window for a public *darshan*, as the emperor used to appear daily at a balcony in the Agra and Delhi forts. The balcony was represented by a cloth- or carpet-covered panel running across the bottom of the painting. See Losty 2013 for an exploration of this theme. Portraits of royal women were also made in this style, and likewise, later in the century, of non-royal men as well, although in the latter case without the balconies.

All these bust portraits were necessarily small, in imitation of their origin, but it was not until the middle of the 17th century that we find any such bust portraits on a larger scale. One of the earliest and most important is a bust portrait of Prince Aurangzeb at the *jharokha* painted probably in Aurangabad during his second vice-royalty of the Deccan 1653–57 (Topsfield 2012, no. 17; Haidar and Sardar 2015, no. 166). This is a large painting for the type, being 37.3 by 27.2 cm, and would appear to be on cloth. Thereafter they enter the mainstream of Mughal portrait formats, (see cat. 8) although they were never very common (e.g. Falk and Archer 1981, no. 126; Goswamy and Bhatia 1999, nos. 59–61; Hurel 2010–11, no. 85). So our two paintings are fairly rare examples of this format, and their importance is enhanced by the magnificent album pages in which they were mounted facing each other in the same album, framed by beautiful pink and green gold-decorated margins and with repeated patterns of rosettes within interlacing square and oval lozenges in the outer border. The subtlety of colouring matches that in the portraits, suggesting that these might have been made to go together. There is a partly erased 18th century seal impression of Bayram Khan Husayni on the back of each. This could be the same Bayram Khan, whose seal under his full name of Bayram Khan Mir-i Miran Bahadur and the date 1168/1754/55 appears on the back of several of the paintings in one of the Swinton albums in Berlin, which also has fine Mughal and Deccani paintings (I. 4591, see Harris 2001, p. 366). This Bayram Khan, if it is the same man, has been identified by Lucian Harris as Commandant of Shah 'Alam's artillery, and took part in the assault on Chunar and Allahabad forts in 1765. Another possibility suggested by Will Kwiatkowski is that this was the Bayram Khan appointed Mir Bakhshi (Paymaster General) by Ghaseti Begum, the daughter of Alivardi Khan, who on the death of her father opposed the accession of her nephew Siraj al-Daula. For this event and Bayram Khan's involvement, see *Riyazu-s-salatin: a history of Bengal* by Ghulam Husain Salim. Translated from the Original Persian by Maulavi Abdu Salam, M.A., Calcutta, 1902, p. 363.

There is also on both versos an inscription in Persian attributing the paintings to the Mughal artist Hunhar II, which despite their apparently rather different styles there is no good reason to doubt. Hunhar's attributions on the backs of several other portraits are in a very similar mode. Hunhar was very much alive in the 1760s and may even have met Swinton in Patna or Allahabad, as indeed may Bayram Khan.

9 Bust portrait of a lady wearing a man's turban

Imperial Mughal, by Hunhar II, c. 1735–40
Tinted drawing with colours and gold laid down on card
Album page 47.5 × 31 cm; with inner borders 29 × 21 cm; Portrait 20 × 15.5 cm
Inscribed above and below with Persian verses in nasta'liq script.
Above a couplet from a Persian poem attributed to Mulla Daraki Qummi (d. 1063/1652–3), who was active in Iran and the Deccan:
'Alive in the world of creating images is that same painter,
The sleep of carelessness has carried off all, just one person is awake.'
Beneath the painting is a couplet from a Persian poem:
'Painter, lift your hand from drawing his eyebrow,
For you are not capable of drawing his bow.'
As in English, the same metaphor is used in Persian for drawing an image and drawing a bow
On the verso: 'amal-i Hunhar ('the work of Hunhar')
Also a worn seal impression of Bayram Khan Husayni. This seal impression is found on six pages from the Swinton Album in the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, I 4589, including f. 12. On those pages, the seal impression is found each time along with another seal belonging to Bayram Khan, which reads:
'Bayram Khan Bahadur Mir Miran. 1168 (1754–5). (Regnal) year 1 (of 'Alamgir I).'

Provenance
Archibald Swinton (1731–1804) collection

This painting was described by Archibald Swinton in notes kept at the family home, and he also translated the inscriptions:

'This portrait is altogether as like to the life as a person asleep can be to himself awake.
Painter withhold thy hand from his eyebrow for thou art not able to draw the bow.'

Although Swinton accepts the verse's proposition that this is a portrait of a youth, the body is that of a woman who has adopted a male turban. Her femininity is also suggested by the earrings and by the scarcely visible but beautifully rendered stray lock of hair that has escaped from the turban and falls down in front of her ear before ending in a curl below her jaw. A few curls likewise sit on her neck having escaped being swept up with the rest of her hair to sit under her turban. The face however is remarkably masculine and no colour has been applied to the lips or fingernails. The soft shading and modelling of the face almost suggests the 17th century, but the line is harder indicating that the painting must be from the 18th century.

Cross-dressing of this kind was one of the areas of play that probably happened in enclosed *zenanas* throughout India, but it also seems to have appealed, especially in the 18th century, to the male patrons of the artists who painted cross-dressed women in erotic play with other women. There are many paintings from Nur Jahan dressed in male costume onwards (in the Rampur Library, Schmitz and Desai 2006, pl. 101), both Mughal and Rajput, that show women adopting turbans and some other items of clothing normally worn by men, and sometimes in fairly intimate contact with each other (e.g. in the Cincinnati Art Museum, Smart and Walker 1985, no. 17; and in the Tapi collection, Losty 2020, no. 34).

Despite the male turban, she seems to be wearing a diaphanous, almost transparent, *peshwaj* with ruffles at the breast, with softly shaded modelling of the flesh beneath it. The *peshwaj* is suggested with a multitude of long thin lines of light brown brushwork, deepened in tone under the armpits and elsewhere to indicate shadowed areas. The rendering of the textiles of the turban and *dupatta* is a minor miracle: subtle shades of lilac, violet and green are decorated with sometimes scarcely visible beautiful gold designs, and the gold bands of the turban and edging of the *dupatta* with intricate and beautiful patterns. Ropes of matching pearls adorn the turban and more are around her neck and hanging down over her *peshwaj*, along with a rope of jade or malachite beads. A pendant consisting of a gold mounted spinel or ruby with a suspended pearl hangs from a cord round her neck – the artist even indicates the cord's slight shadow where it is raised up a little. Where the *dupatta* passes over the pearls of the necklace and pendant, they are rendered in subtle shades of green. In her one visible hand she holds a small white rose.

10 Bust portrait of an idealised youth

Imperial Mughal, by Hunhar II,
c. 1735–40
Opaque pigments and gold on paper laid down on card
Album page 47.5 × 31.5 cm; with borders 30 × 21 cm; Portrait 20 × 15.5 cm
Above the painting, is inscribed a couplet from a *ghazal* of Hafiz:
'I drew the image of your face on the workshop of my eye,
I saw nor heard no idol in your form.'
Below the painting is a couplet from an unidentified Persian poem:
'From this Hindu boy it became clear to me
That there is a fire in this Indian soil …'
On the verso: *'amal-i* Hunhar ('the work of Hunhar')
Also a worn seal impression of Bayram Khan Husayni. This seal impression is found on six pages from the Swinton Album in the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, I 4589, including f. 12. On those pages, the seal impression is found each time along with another seal belonging to Bayram Khan, which reads: 'Bayram Khan Bahadur Mir Miran. 1168 (1754–5AD). (Regnal) year 1 (of 'Alamgir I).'

Provenance
Archibald Swinton (1731–1804) collection

The youth from the fastenings of his *jama* under the left armpit appears to be a Hindu, which is also suggested by the verse. His turban cloth is orange, with little white flowers arranged in a diaper pattern separated by dotted blobs of gold, while the turban band is in green and white stripes, the green with little gold flowers in a field of dots, the white decorated with a meander of coloured flowers and gold. His *jama* is of white with a border of an arabesque of brown flowers and leaves outlined in gold, repeated at the cuffs and over the seams attaching the sleeves to the gown. A rope of pearls is around his neck along with another one of pearls intermixed with emeralds and spinels.
Unusually for men in the 18th century, he wears a thin strip of yellow cloth adorned with a meander of flowers and leaves wound round his torso, something of a throwback to the shawls worn in this manner in the Deccan in the mid-17th century, especially in Bijapur. He holds up in his right hand, delicately poised between thumb and index finger, a small ovoid shaped object, while his upturned left hand placed before his chest holds a similar object. Small jewelled rings are on three of the fingers of his rather small hands. There is no trace of a moustache and only the faintest beginnings of sideburns, suggesting that the youth is in fact a young teenager.

Both works are ascribed on the verso to the same artist, Hunhar, whose given name was Puran Nath. Hunhar II (fl. c. 1730–80) was one of the leading artists of the last two decades of the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719–48), and in the reigns of his successors, in the late 1740s and 1750s. We are beginning to become aware of the familial relations within the Mughal studio at this time. Puran Nath was the brother of another important artist of Muhammad Shah's court, Nidhamal (Seyller and Seitz 2010, no. 21). He was a *khanazad* or 'house-born' meaning that the father was almost certainly another artist, but his name has not yet surfaced in an inscription.

Hunhar's works painted in Delhi are now very rare, and seem to have been mostly portraits or female studies. These include the double portrait of the enthroned Mughal emperors Bahadur Shah and his grandson Muhammad Shah in the Royal Library in Windsor Castle from about 1730 (Roy 2012, figs. 2a–b; Hannam 2018, no. 39), and a study of a standing woman holding a lotus in the Johnson collection in the British Library from around 1740 (Falk and Archer 1981, no. 177, unillustrated). Hunhar left Delhi about 1758, probably with the Mughal prince 'Ali Gauhar, the heir apparent (later Shah 'Alam II), who sought the help of the eastern powers in aiding his beleaguered father 'Alamgir II in Delhi. Once in the east Puran Nath's paintings became more ambitious in scale, such as his signed painting dated 1759 in the Victoria & Albert Museum of Nawab Mir Jafar of Murshidabad and his son Miran riding with their troops (Losty 2017 'Swinton', fig. 34). Shortly thereafter he moved to Awadh, either to Lucknow, or, with the ending of hostilities in the east in 1765, to Faizabad, where Nawab Shuja' al-Daula had established his new capital. In the more ambitious paintings in his new home, his style became more established, fresh and clear with increasing importance given to the rendition of space within the painting. A key and ambitious painting that displays his increasing command of space is his *Madhumadhavi ragini*, with women on a terrace in a garden rich in trees (ex-Binney collection, Binney 1973, no. 97; Losty 2020, no. 14), while another from this early period in Awadh, now also in the Victoria & Albert Museum, shows yogis and yoginis in a palace garden practising asceticisms, while the palace women carry on with their enclosed lives (Michell and Leach 1982, no. 295). This clarity never deserted him, even when producing the more mundane isolated standing portraits, typified by those acquired by Richard Johnson around 1780 in Lucknow.

Although both our portraits seem very different in technique, there is nonetheless an underlying similarity of approach. When comparing the details of the facial profile, there are remarkable similarities in the rendering of the eyes, eyebrows, nose, lips, jaw and ear, a similarity that is even more apparent under high magnification. The techniques used in both paintings, however, seem at first sight to be very different. The youth has barely visible stippling in tiny brush strokes for representing shadowed areas beneath the jaw, while the *jama* is rendered with scarcely discernible white brushstrokes. His hands and fingers are subtly and beautifully presented and modelled. This contrasts with the 'female' portrait which takes a generally softer approach to the face, with soft cross hatching to suggest shadowed areas. However, this soft technique was also sometimes adopted by the great artist Kalyan Das, known as Chitarman II, whose inscribed work is more or less contemporary with the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719–48). See McInerney 2011 for a summary of his definite and attributed work, but his inscribed and accessible work is very rare. Three of his lesser-known works are however essential in the evaluation of his style. Three key drawings ascribed to him are in the Johnson collection in the British Library. One is a partly coloured drawing of one of the powerful Sayyid brothers, Najm al-Din 'Ali Khan, from 1719–20, where the inscription reads that it is 'the work of Kalyan Das known as Chitarman' (Losty and Roy 2012, fig. 105). This is the key document linking the two names, which are generally inscribed separately on paintings. The other key document for our purposes is a bust portrait of a lady holding a rose ascribed to Kalyan Das (*ibid*., fig. 125), a tinted drawing making use of the same soft technique as in our 'female' drawing, and applying subtle stippling to suggest shadowed areas, and with very similar rendering of ear, eyebrow and eye to what is visible in our portrait.

What seems to be happening is that the young Hunhar in the 'female' portrait is paying homage to the master Chitarman, echoing his style in one of his modes. He followed this up still in his Delhi period with a less ambitious portrait in the same soft style in his painting of a young woman with a lotus from around 1740, also now in the Johnson collection (J.11, 14, Falk and Archer 1981, no. 177, unillustrated). She stands amidst a green landscape ground, wearing lilac *paijama*, a diaphanous *peshwaj* with gold embroidery, a gold *patka* and a diaphanous *dupatta*, and holds the long stem of a lotus. Her face is softly and beautifully modelled in the manner of our 'female' portrait.

With regard to the portrait of the youth, again the technique is remarkably brilliant, but in a much harder and colder style than in the companion painting opposite, more so than in the two imperial portraits in the Windsor Castle library referred to above. Here he is either trying to establish his own style, or else paying homage to another master in the studio, Govardhan II, whose own style is remarkably hard and brilliant (e.g. *A night ceremony*, Falk and Archer 1981, no. 168, and the miniatures in the manuscript *Karnama-i 'Ishq*, Losty and Roy 2012, figs. 138–45, both in the British Library; and *Entertainment of Royal Ladies*, Cincinnati Art Museum, Smart and Walker 1985, no. 17).

Hunhar's rendition of women later returned to be quite close to that of Chitarman when he reached Awadh, as in his *Madhumadhavi ragini* and in his yogis and yoginis in a palace garden referred to above. That is to say, they became stately, with long, high-waisted full skirts, relatively short in stature, with rather large square heads, and the upper body leaning back slightly. These kinds of portrayals are very similar to the attendant women found in one of Chitarman's key works from the 1730s, *Muhammad Shah making love* in the British Library (McInerney 2011, fig. 9). In Awadh, by then possibly quite elderly, his career seems to have petered to a close, making the single portraits of the type referred to above in the Johnson collection.
J.P. Losty

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11 A prince receiving water at a well

Imperial Mughal, ascribed to Kalyan Das (also known as Chitarman), c. 1720–30
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
25.5 x 33 cm
Inscribed: *'amal-i Kalyan das*

Provenance
Private collection, Switzerland
Christie's London, 12th October 1978, lot 153

Published
McInerney in Beach, Fischer & Goswamy 2011, pp. 547-62
Galloway 2000, cat. 30

A prince pauses at a well, by a mango tree, where country girls are drawing water. One girl, restrained by a worried older woman, offers the prince water, which she pours over his hand while her companions look on.

The colour scheme of this painting is unusual and highly evocative. It captures that moment of eerie light that permeates a landscape just before an impending storm.

The early years of the 18th century saw a revival of imperial court patronage, after several decades of neglect under the Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707). Bhavani Das, followed by his son, Dalchand, became the major court artists for Aurangzeb's son, Bahadur Shah (1707-12). However, by 1719, Bhavani Das had moved to the Rajasthani court of Kishangarh, whilst his son Dalchand continued to work in Delhi for a short while before moving to Kishangarh and then to Jodhpur.

It was during the long reign of Muhammad Shah (1719–48), however, that Mughal painting witnessed a profound renaissance and produced a number of important court artists, the most pre-eminent and perhaps the most highly influential being Kalyan Das, also known as Chitarman II. He became the emperor's chief painter and the leading light of the imperial painting atelier. His unique colour palette is indicative of his trademark style, and he also established a sense of spatial recession. According to McInerney, in his essay on Chitarman II/Kalyan Das (2011, pp. 547–62), approximately eight works are inscribed by Kalyan Das, including ours, and a further nineteen works are attributed to him.

Pigment analysis is available on request.

12 A painted cotton two-niche *Qanat* panel

Golconda region of the Coromandel Coast, mid-17th century
Mordant-painted and -dyed and resist-dyed plain-weave cotton
Textile 234 × 191 cm
Stretcher 245 × 204.5 cm

Provenance
Private collection, Europe
Martin & Ullman (Artweave), New York
Nasli Heeramaneck (1902–1971)

This rare tent panel is part of a series of niches which would have been joined together to form a *qanat* or screen to line the interior of what must have been a lavish royal tent. It depicts a pair of cusped arches separated by floral borders. Both arches are filled with floral and faunal motives and each has a slightly differing elaborate ogival medallion with a leaf design in the centre. The left-hand arch depicts two confronting peacocks and the right-hand arch depicts two birds of prey attacking deer.

Another *qanat* of identical design in the Calico Museum of Textiles in Ahmedabad (possibly Acc. No. SF-367?) (Patel 1998, front cover and p. 17), shares related design motifs and quality of execution with another *qanat* in the Victoria & Albert Museum (IS.19-1989) and possibly a five niche *qanat* (48.7/29) and a tent roof panel both in the National Museum New Delhi (acc. no.48.7/64), Haidar & Sardar 2015, cat.165 & fig.80, p. 276, and Jain, 2016, cat.15, figs. 5 & 9. In all likelihood, our *qanat* belongs to the same tent as the ones in this group (see Ramaswami & Singh 2017, p. 132–33). Some have royal South Indian heraldic motifs. Our panel has not been examined for inventory inscriptions of the Amber *toshkhana* but is part of a large group of tentage which Jain believes would have originated in the Jaipur palace storerooms (Jain 2016, cat.15, note 7).

Rosemary Crill discusses the use of tents in *The Fabric of India*. She writes that the use of elaborate decorative tents is a practice that goes back to at least the Sultanate period in the thirteenth century and was further developed by the Mughal rulers, who saw the tent as part of their Central Asian heritage (Crill 2015, p. 175). Mughal and Rajput miniatures bear witness to the importance of the tent as part of royal life. For the Mughals it was a necessity to travel the great expanse of the Mughal empire and therefore the emperors and their entourage spent more time on the move than in their royal capitals. These royal camps were vast, and, according to Akbar's chronicler Abu'l-Fazl, these moveable palaces were duplicated so that one suite of tentage could be sent ahead on a day's march (approximately 10 km) in readiness for the next camp. According to Crill, the suite of tents used by a ruler was as much his seat of power as a solid building would be, and, mirroring a palace complex, it would be surrounded by the tents and enclosures of lesser nobles (*ibid*, p. 175).

India was the greatest producer and exporter of 'painted cottons' the world had ever known and the fabrics of India penetrated almost every market in the world (Irwin & Brett 1970, p. 1 and ed. Fee 2019, p. 11). In the 17th century magnificent 'painted cottons', known as 'kalamkari' in India and Iran and 'chintz' in the West, were produced along the Golconda region of the Coromandel coast for both local Muslim and Hindu rulers. The Golconda rulers are thought to have been the patrons of the highest quality painted textiles, many with Persian influenced designs, since Golconda was culturally and diplomatically close to the Safavid rulers of Iran (Crill p. 39 in ed. Fee 2019). Very few of these extraordinary chintzes have survived, particularly from the first half of 17th century, due to India's inclement climate, the fragility of the material and the tumultuous history of the subcontinent. What has survived was kept for centuries in Rajput royal storerooms, such as the Amber *toshkhana*, later the Jaipur palace storerooms. Many of these textiles were dispersed in the 1920s–1940s primarily through Imre Schwaiger and Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck.

13a-n
Fourteen folios from a dispersed *Ragamala* series, north Deccan, 1630–50
Opaque pigments and gold on paper

13a *Chandrabimba raga*, second son of *Hindola raga*

Folio 33.3 × 27.2 cm
Painting 29 22.5 cm
With a descriptive Sanskrit verse in nagari script above and numbered 44/45 on the verso with modern inscriptions

Kshemakarna describes the *raga* as a man dressed in lotus leaves holding a *thaka* and wearing a floral necklace. The artist follows this exactly, as the man wears a *jama* made of lotus leaves, holds a large lotus in one hand and with the other holds a drumstick with which he beats his *thaka*, a pair of small drums joined at the base. A bed is prepared in the upper chamber of the house he has just left presumably to welcome his *ragini*.

13b *Vangala raga*, first son of *Bhairava raga*

Folio 33.2 × 27 cm
Painting 28.9 × 22.2 cm
With a descriptive Sanskrit verse in nagari script above. Numbered 15 on the verso with Persian title and modern inscriptions.

A man dressed in ascetic's costume is seated on a tiger skin telling his beads under a tree and outside a two-storeyed pavilion. Kshemakarna describes the *raga* as a knowledgeable man always reciting the Vedas and wearing a white garment and carrying a rosary and drinking vessel. He is supposed to be talkative and enjoys dance and song.

13c *Sorathi ragini*, second wife of *Megha raga*

Folio 33 × 26.8 cm
Painting 29 × 22.2 cm
With a descriptive Sanskrit verse in nagari script above and on the verso 83/84 and a Persian title and modern inscriptions

Kshemakarna describes *Sorathi* as a beautiful and colourfully adorned woman talking sweetly. Here she sits outside her house by a stream amidst colourful rocky outcrops talking to her companion cooling her with a fan.

13d *Vinoda raga*, eighth son of *Hindola raga*

Folio 33.2 × 26.9 cm
Painting 29 × 22.3 cm
With a descriptive Sanskrit verse in nagari script above and numbered 49/50 on the verso and *iti hindola parivar* ('so ends the dependents of *Hindola*') and with modern inscriptions

Kshemakarna describes the *raga* as a crowned man dressed in white and with a crescent moon on his brow, amusing himself with betel and with friends. The artist interprets the white gown as a diaphanous *jama* worn by the *raga* who holds a betel chew in each hand. The crown of course denotes a prince, who accordingly has an attendant waving a chowrie, while the friend is another man carrying a beautifully painted *vina*, to whom he offers betel. The encounter takes place in a wood between trees adorned with snakes and with wild animals at their feet including a tiger, a miniature dragon and an antelope.

13e ***Vibhasa raga*, fifth son of *Hindola raga***

Folio 33.2 × 27 cm
Painting 29.3 × 22 cm
With a descriptive Sanskrit verse in nagari script above and numbered 47/48 on the verso with modern inscriptions

Kshemakarna describes *Vibhasa* as a man in a chequered garment teaching a hand-held parrot to talk, followed here by the artist exactly. He is standing outside his house under a tree holding the parrot in one hand and a book in the other.

13f ***Kamala raga*, first son of *Dipaka raga***

Folio 33.2 × 26.7 cm
Painting 29 × 22 cm
With a descriptive Sanskrit verse in nagari script above and 57/58 on the verso with modern inscriptions

Kshemakarna describes *Kamala* as a young man standing in a swarm of bees and holding a double lotus. Our young man is seated in state in a pavilion by a lotus pool, holding a full-blown lotus (*kamala*) in each hand and with bees flying around his head. The lotus pool below is adorned with a line of lotuses about to open.

13g ***Bhairavi ragini*, second wife of *Bhairava raga***

Folio 33.2 × 27 cm
Painting 29 × 22 cm
With a descriptive Sanskrit verse in nagari script above. Only Persian title and modern inscriptions on the verso.

The *ragini* is seated on the bank of a river playing the clappers while three young men dance and sing before her.
Kshemakarna describes the *ragini* as a bejewelled woman glowing like gold dancing while being sung to.

This is one of the most brightly coloured and variegated of the known pages. The entranced listeners include the fish and the birds in the river as well as the multi-coloured elephants on its other side dancing among the rocks.

13h ***Hemala raga*, eighth son of *Dipak raga***

Folio 33.1 × 27 cm
Painting 29 × 22.5 cm
With a descriptive Sanskrit verse in nagari script above on an the verso 64/65 and *iti dipakasya ragaparivara* ('finished the account of the *ragas* of Dipaka') and modern inscriptions

Kshemakarna describes *Hemala* as a betel-chewing man, laughing in the company of friends.

The verse additionally describes the delights of the garden. Our prince is sitting in his garden enjoying himself with his beloved and female attendants beside a pool and flower beds.

13i ***Ramakari ragini*, fifth wife of *Shri raga***

Folio 33.1 × 27 cm
Painting 29 × 22.2 cm
With a descriptive Sanskrit verse in nagari script above and on the verso?

Kshemakarna describes *Ramakiri* as a lovesick woman, adorned beautifully. Here she sits in her palace and muses sadly on her straying beloved with a friend unable to console her. Her person and her multi-coloured garments are exquisitely depicted.

13j ***Varddhana raga*, sixth son of *Hindola raga***

Folio 33.3 × 27 cm
Painting 29 × 22.5 cm
With a descriptive Sanskrit verse in nagari script above and on the verso?

Kshemakarna describes *Vibhasa* as a man in a white garment with a sword amusing himself with two girls under a tree. The king here has his sword and wears a crown and has a chowrie-bearer behind him, but converses with another man holding a lotus, across a hexagonal pool with lotuses and six *hamsa* birds. The second verse of the inscription has been obscured but refers to the pool with its *hamsa* birds.

13k ***Champaka raga*, seventh son of *Dipaka raga***

Folio 33.4 × 26.7 cm
Painting 29 × 22 cm
With a descriptive Sanskrit verse in nagari script above and on the verso 63/64 and modern inscriptions

Kshemakarna describes *Champaka* as a man under trees wearing a white and yellow garment and crown and with lotuses in his hands. Our man has all these and stands under a *champaka* tree outside a pavilion.

13l ***Bhramara raga*, fifth son of *Malkos raga***

Folio 33.5 × 27.2 cm
Painting 29.3 × 22 cm
With a descriptive Sanskrit verse in nagari script above and on the verso 33/34 and modern inscriptions

Kshemakarna describes the *raga* as a man with a crown and garland, in a colourful garment, enjoying himself in a forest of plantain and *champaka* trees. The artist follows this exactly.

13m ***Mewada? raga*, second son of *Malkos raga***

Folio 33.2 × 27 cm
Painting 28.8 × 22 cm
With a descriptive Sanskrit verse in nagari script above and numbered 22/23 on the verso with Persian title, *atha Malakausika* ('now *Malkos raga*') with modern inscriptions

Kshemakarna describes the *ragaputra Mewada*, the second son of *Malkos*, as a man with spear or lance, crown and red garment, his skin anointed white.

Instead, our artist has depicted a man dark in colour with a yellow garment and playing a flute, rather like Krishna, which is how *Malkos* itself is described in Kshemakarna's work. This confusion seems to be reflected in the inscriptions, with the name of the *ragaputra* erased and *Malkos* itself named on the verso. The scene is set in a chamber with ladies bringing offerings to him and waving a chowrie over him.

13n ***Madhu raga*, third son of *Bhairava raga***

Folio 33 × 27 cm
Painting 28.9 × 22.1 cm
With a descriptive Sanskrit verse in nagari script above. Numbered 16/17 on the verso with Persian title and modern inscriptions.

A young man wearing court costume is seated beneath a tree with a sword across his knees conversing with two other men. Kshemakarna describes the *raga* as an extremely handsome man with fair skin and red garment, knowledgeable and artful, and full of sweet sounds (i.e. musical).

14 A lady with an admirer at the balcony

Jammu, 1720–50
Opaque pigments with gold and beetle wings on paper
Folio 15.9 × 12.1 cm

Provenance
Abdur Rahman Chughtai (1894–1975) collection

A lady, apparently intended for a princess from her attire and jewels, is calmly smoking from a hookah held by her attendant in the background, while she embraces an ardent admirer with her right arm round his shoulders. Her neatly bearded lover has in his turn his left arm round her shoulders while his right hand fondles her breast. The lady is about to place in her mouth the mouthpiece of a hookah, which is held by a wide-eyed female attendant behind her. So calm is her gaze and unruffled her demeanour that she seems uninvolved. Not so her lover, who gazes at her ardently from slightly behind and below as if he had crept up on her, and so is depicted in three-quarter viewpoint. His slanting eyes and dishevelled stringy turban give the impression of his total devotion to her. She is depicted as in a *jharokha* portrait of an emperor or raja, calmly static and in profile, so that her admirer seems something of an intruder. They appear beneath a cusped arch with painted spandrels and behind a stone parapet. Her jewels are mostly emeralds depicted by beetle-wing cases.

The painting is in a style that would once have been thought to be from Kulu about 1720–50 – see Archer 1973, Kulu 18, 22–23. Note the lady's long nose, heavy jowls, high arched eyebrow and large curving eye, as well as her headdress and jewellery type. However more recent work has relocated many related paintings westwards to the other end of the Punjab Hills, and to Bahu or its related court of Jammu – see Cummins 2004, pl. 98, Kossak 2014, McInerney 2016, nos. 64–65. An additional complication with our painting is the heavy use of beetle-wing cases for jewellery, a conceit which had earlier been confined to the nearby court style of Basohli, but if we are follow Goswamy and Fischer (1992, pp. 240–65) in assigning Manaku as a painter from Guler, whose series of the *Gitagovinda* from 1730 is likewise full of such beetle-wing cases, then this conceit must have spread to other studios.

At first restricted to members of the imperial Mughal family, replicating their appearance at the *jharokha* (balcony window) at the Agra and Delhi palaces, portraits at *jharokha* had by the later 17th century become more and more a symbol of status among both the Mughal and Rajput elite. In the 18th century they become a relative commonplace of portraiture, even in the Punjab Hills. For a fine double portrait of Raja Anand Dev of Bahu with the young Raja Bhupal Dev of Jasrota from the late 17th century, see Archer 1973, Jammu 4ii, and for one supposedly of the Basohli Rani of Govardhan Chand of Guler, see Archer 1973, Guler 26. Nor was the genre confined to portraiture, since images of Radha and Krishna at the *jharokha* are also found from this region (Mason 2001, no. 35; Archer 1973, Chamba 28).

15 Krishna's wives honour the sage Narada and Krishna carries his *vina* for him on his arrival in Dwarka
Folio from a dispersed 'Vertical' *Bhagavata Purana* series

By a Mankot artist, c. 1720
Opaque pigments and gold on paper; with yellow border with black and white inner rules
28.4 × 21 cm

Provenance
Private collection, Germany

Published
Habighorst, L., Reichart, P.A. and Sharma, V., 2007, cat. 12

In ch. 69 of Book X of the *Bhagavata Purana*, Narada has journeyed from heaven to see for himself how Krishna can satisfy his innumerable wives. He is treated with the utmost respect by Krishna, who then allows Narada to see him perform his marital duties with each of his wives simultaneously through his power of *maya* or illusion.

The series from which this page comes is known as the 'Vertical' *Bhagavata Purana* from Mankot and is slightly later than the 'Horizontal' *Bhagavata Purana* with its large landscape-shaped pages painted a decade or two earlier and by the same artist, endowed with confident, 'swaggering elation' as Archer put it (Archer 1973, vol. 1, pp. 376–77). That series was reimagined a decade or so later by the same artist and his workshop, in a vertical format as here. The same compositions were reused, but simplified to fit into the new format and thereby tightened, sometimes to considerable benefit, resulting in 'simply stated, starkly powerful vertical compositions' (Ehnbom 1985, p. 204).

The series originally belonged to the Lambagraon family of Kangra, unlike the earlier series which came directly from Mankot.

According to Darielle Mason, at least seventeen paintings from the 'Vertical' *Bhagavata Purana* are known (with another nine if the Dashavatara pages are taken as part of the set) (Mason 2001, cat. 32 note 2, p. 94). Now widely dispersed, most of the pages but not all have a numbering system in the lower left and an inscription in white Takri across the top. For important pages from the series, see Randhawa 1959, pls. 8–11; Archer 1973, Mankot 36, i–iii, with a list of the then published pages; Ehnbom 1985, nos. 99–101; Goswamy and Fischer 1992, no. 47; Goswamy and Bhatia 1999, nos. 169–173; Goswamy and Fischer 2011 'Mankot', figs. 3–5; McInerney 2016, nos. 51–52; Losty 2017, no. 2; and Goswamy and Fischer 2017, no. 6. Although all seem the same size there are slight differences in the inner margins, while McInerney's no. 52 and our painting have a yellow outer border.

16 Lakshmana gathers elephant-flowers to make a garland
From Book IV of the 'Shangri' *Ramayana*, Style III

Bahu (Jammu) or Kulu, c. 1700–10
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 21.5 × 35 cm
Painting 18 × 31.3 cm
Inscribed in verso in Devanagari *41 Kiskindha*

Provenance
Private collection, Germany
Acquired from the Royal Library of Mandi in 1969

A folio from Book 4, the *Kishkindhakanda* (Book of Kishkindha) of the *Ramayana,* canto 12. Rama has been building up Sugriva's confidence to go and fight his brother Bali, and asks Lakshmana to pluck *gajapushpi* flowers to make a garland for Sugriva to wear to distinguish him from his brother.

Style III of this dispersed series including these wonderfully humanized portraits of the monkeys is found mostly in the Book of Kishkindha and Book of Battles. For discussion as to the disputed origin of the series, see among others Archer, pp. 325–29; Goswamy and Fischer, pp. 76–91; and Britschgi and Fischer, pp. 12–14.

17 Lakshmana places the garland round Sugriva's neck
From Book IV of the 'Shangri' *Ramayana*, Style III

Bahu (Jammu) or Kulu, c. 1700–10
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 21.4 × 35 cm
Painting 18.2 × 31.6 cm
Inscribed in verso in Devanagari *43 Kiskindha*

Provenance
Private collection, Germany
Acquired from the Royal Library of Mandi in 1969

A folio from Book 4, the *Kishkindhakanda* (Book of Kishkindha) of the *Ramayana,* canto 12. Lakshmana now places his garland of *gajapushpi* flowers round Sugriva's neck to distinguish him from his brother Bali in their fight.

18 Battle between monkeys and demons
From Book VI of the 'Shangri' *Ramayana*, Style III

Bahu (Jammu) or Kulu, c. 1700–10
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio 22.2 × 32.1 cm
Painting 19.4 × 29.2 cm
Inscribed on the verso in nagari: *23 ?Lanka* and *23* in Arabic numerals

Provenance
Private collection, Germany
Acquired from the Royal Library of Mandi in 1969

In this page from the *Yuddhakanda* or *Lankakanda* (Book of Battles or Lanka) of the *Ramayana*, one of the demon chiefs has come out in his battle chariot and surrounded by other demons prepares to offer battle. The monkeys wielding rocks and trees have attacked, and using rocks and fists are overcoming the demons. One of the monkeys has smashed his rock down on the head of an animal-headed demon that has fallen from his chariot and is visible at the bottom of the page in continuous narration. The demon champion could be one of several slain by a monkey chief with a rock, for instance Dhumraksa is so slain by Hanuman and Prahasta by the monkey general Nila, both quite early on in this book as suggested by the figure 23 on the verso. Other monkeys here wield their rocks or trees or weapons with great force and determination as great quantities of blood are spilt in this exuberant picture.

19 The death of the demons Mahodara, Devantaka and Trisiras From Book VI of the 'Second Guler' *Ramayana* (second part)

By a Guler artist, c. 1790
Opaque pigments with gold and silver on paper, within a blue margin with gold and silver floral arabesque and a pink outer border with a red rule
Folio 24.9 × 35.3 cm
Painting 20 × 30.2 cm

Provenance
Ludwig Habighorst collection

Published
Valmiki 2011, vol. VI, p. 173
Sharma 2010, p.73

Rama and Lakshmana watch as their monkey and bear allies launch an assault on the demons' army on a grassy slope beneath the walls of Lanka. In chapter 70 of the *Yuddhakanda*, several of the leaders of the demons are killed (Valmiki 1962–70, vol. III, pp. 197–201). In this energetically depicted battle scene, the white Angada, Bali's son, has hurled a mighty tree at Devantaka, and then rushed upon the elephant of Mahodara striking it down with the palm of his hand, and tearing off one of its tusks, starts to wield it as a weapon. The dark Nila is hurling a mountain peak into the fray and with it finally kills Mahodara. Hanuman, in the pointed cap, having first of all finished off Devantaka and then being attacked by the three-headed Trisiras, decapitates all three of his heads at once. The other monkey leaders and Jambavan the bear king bring further rocks and trees to the fray. The scene is one of frantic activity but concisely and beautifully painted.

This 'Second Guler' *Ramayana* (the first being that of Pandit Seu 1720–30) was begun by artists from Guler 1770–75 just after the other two great manuscripts of the *Gitagovinda* and the *Bhagavata Purana*. These three great series are widely attributed to various of the sons of Manaku and Nainsukh at this time.

The *Ramayana* was prepared in two campaigns. A second campaign involved Books V and VI, the *Sundara-* and *Yuddhakandas*, which were completed somewhat later, apparently over a longer period 1790–1810. The later part is of the same size as the earlier one but instead of a plain blue inner border, it is decorated with floral scrolls as here. A page in the Mittal Museum in Hyderabad as well as several others in other collections by the artist of that page suggest that work continued for some time after 1800, as demonstrated there in the rather loose manner in which the landscape is painted (Seyller and Mittal 2014, no. 99). Where human faces are visible (as here those of Rama and Laksmana), they are depicted still with the rather angular profile of Guler and the sharp noses which seem derived ultimately from Nainsukh. This suggests that this second part of the series was also possibly prepared at Guler in the last years of Raja Bhup Singh's independence of the Sikhs, but perhaps finished off in Kangra.

The series is widely dispersed. For other leaves from this second part of the series, for which some drawings are also known, see Britschgi and Fischer 2008, nos. 54 (a drawing), 56, 58, 78; Goswamy and Fischer 'First generation' 2011, figs. 14–15; and Valmiki 2011, vols. IV–VI, passim.

20 The Coronation of Rama, based on the description in the *Yuddhakanda* of the *Ramayana*, ch. 130

Mandi c. 1840
Opaque pigments, with gold and silver; within a gold oval border with white rules. Spandrels decorated with large flowers against a blue ground. Outer gilt border with a European style scrolling floral design with peonies. Black and yellow rules.
Folio 51.2 × 41.5 cm
Painting 45 × 37 cm

One of the largest and most elaborate later Pahari paintings to have survived, this is a majestic and beautifully painted picture of the Coronation of Rama. On a golden throne beneath a golden canopy, Rama with Sita beside him is being anointed with the milk of a coconut by Vasishtha, the family priest. Rama holds his bow and a single arrow and Sita holds a lotus. Rama is crowned and nimbate, indicating his royal and divine status as the seventh incarnation of Vishnu. His three brothers stand behind the throne – Lakshmana waves the *chauri* over him, Bharata holds a *morchal* and his sword, while Shatrughna holds his quiver full of arrows. Hanuman stands holding his mace in respectful adoration before Rama, with Vibhishana beside him. On the right are Sugriva and the other monkey leaders and Jambavan, with divine beings, while on the left are other sages. Musicians and dancers perform before the throne.

Divine beings look down upon the couple from billowing white clouds and women from the upper storeys of the palace. Outside the gates of the palace wait the elephants and horses of royal participants in the festivities, while trumpets blare and drums thunder in celebration. Of particular note here are the long luxuriant moustaches worn by the male dancer and a sage on the extreme left, as worn most famously by Nawab Shuja al-Daula of Awadh (1757–75). This style of moustache enjoyed something of a revival among Pahari artists in the middle years of the 19th century, as worn by Arjuna in Chaitu's *Rape of the Yadava Women* (Archer 1973, Garhwal 35) and various princes and musicians in Ghathu Ram's *Dancing girl and musicians* (Archer 1973, Guler 79). This mid-century date is further indicated by the introduction of European elements into the floral decoration of the spandrels and frame.

This monumental work was executed with exquisite detail. Note in particular the fine fur of the monkeys and the shading in the foliage and the ascetic's garb of forest leaves. The use of colour is intentionally restrained, the subdued palette consisting of varying hues of brown, cream, green and a limited use of gold. The only strong colours are bright saffron yellow – a costly paint derived from cows fed on mangos – and the cobalt blue ground from lapis lazuli used in the decoration of the spandrels. The artist's mature use of colour allows the painting to be offset by a more striking border without the painting becoming too ornate.

The painting is in the manner of a formal state portrait. Such hieratic scenes of adoration were popular in the Pahari region, but more usually with Shiva and Parvati as the subjects. The present painting, in which the divine couple is replaced by the coronation of Rama and Sita, is much rarer. For a smaller scale example of the coronation of Rama also from Mandi, now in the V&A Museum, see Archer 1973, Mandi no. 62. For an early scene of the enthronement of Rama in the Rietberg Museum, Zurich, see Britschgi and Fischer 2008, cat. 85, pp. 206–7 & Valmiki 2011, vol. VI, pp. 318–19.

21 *Vipralabdha nayika* destroying her ornaments, from Keshav Das' *Rasikapriya*

Nurpur, c. 1760, attributed to Har Jaimal
Opaque pigments and gold on paper, within a red border with white rules
Folio 27.2 × 20.2 cm
Painting 22.8 × 14.7 cm
Inscribed above in Devanagari *nayaka vipralabdha*

Provenance
Ludwig Habighorst collection

Published
Sharma 2010, p. 60
Habighorst 2011, fig. 17

Exhibited
Hamburg, 2013
Zurich, 2016

The *vipralabdha nayika* (the disappointed heroine) is one of the eight varieties of *nayika* described in Keshav Das's *Rasikapriya* (ch. 7, v. 23). She has fixed an assignation with her lover, and she has prepared a bed of leaves for them to make love, but he fails to turn up by morning. Her confidante later describes her feelings to Krishna:

> Flowers are like arrows, fragrance becomes ill odour, pleasant bowers like fiery furnaces,
> Gardens are like the wild woods, Ah Keshava, the moon rays burn her body as though with fever,
> Love like a tiger holds her heart, no watch of the night brings any gladness,
> Songs have the sound of abuse, pān has the taste of poison, every jewel burns like a firebrand.
> (translation M.S. Randhawa 1962, p. 47)

Although the sun is rising over the distant rounded hills, turning the village huts golden in its rays and the band of clouds in the sky is streaked with red, beneath the high hill and trees that have secluded the heroine during the night it is still in shade. The *nayika* is discarding the jewellery that burns her. She is pulling at her armband for it to join the other one and the rest of her jewellery on the bed of leaves on which she is standing. She seems to have been interrupted by the family of deer in the grove beside her, and she has turned her head round to look at them, more in sorrowful contemplation than anger. Sprays of white blossom shoot upwards from behind the dark trees on either side of her, perhaps hinting at future happy trysts.

The palette is typical of Nurpur: its dark tonalities of pinky-brown, sage green, indigo blue and mauve, here set off by orange. The pinky-brown hillside is very distinctive. The painting is very much in the style of the mysterious artist Har Jaimal whom Archer placed in Nurpur around 1760 (Archer 1973, Nurpur 32–33, 35), in line with other comparable Nurpur paintings, e.g. the 'Lady with the Pitcher' in the British Museum (Ahluwalia 2008, fig. 82), again with this distinctive pinky-brown hillside, intersecting arcs of hills and a violently coloured sky. The artist has signed only one painting formerly in the Archer collection (Archer 1976, no. 73), in which we can see the same type of elongated feminine beauty and distant landscape of intersecting hills, and strongly coloured sky.

For reasons which are far from clear, various recent sale catalogues have moved Har Jaimal to the early 19th century, at a time when like all other artistic centres in the western hills the Nurpur style should have been influenced by the changes in Guler and Kangra painting. Clearly another slightly later *Vipralabdha nayika* from c. 1770, formerly in the Archer collection (*ibid.*, no. 75), has been influenced by the changes to the female form in Guler. But there is no sign of such change in Har Jaimal's work. The *nayika* is still heavily indebted to Golu's females from c. 1715 and perhaps Manaku's work in the 1730 *Gitagovinda*, and the landscape is still old-fashioned in its interconnecting hills without any of the naturalistic elements of Guler and Kangra landscape painting.

22 A man of commanding presence

Attributed to the Master at the Court of Mankot, c. 1700–1730
Opaque pigments on paper; red border with black inner rule and white inner and outer rules
Folio 20.3 × 28.4 cm
Painting 17.8 × 25.8 cm

Provenance
Private collection, USA

In this fine and unusual portrait of an unknown man of commanding presence, he is depicted with bare head, wearing a large green striped Kashmir shawl draped over most of his body that covers his white cotton gown. He is seated cross-legged on a white cotton mat over a Mughal style scrolling floral carpet in green and leans against a large red bolster with delicate ties at the end, with the central section in white. He wears a Shaiva horizontal *tilak*-mark on his forehead and chap marks on the body, indicating that he is a devotee of Shiva, unlike many of the royal figures in paintings from the Mankot workshop who were Vaishnavas. Two *paan* are placed on the white mat next to a small silver beaker. His wooden clogs are placed neatly at the edge of the carpet, next to a single blue flowering iris plant. Similar flowering plants can also be found on a Mankot portrait from the same atelier of Raja Mahipat Dev of Mankot, now in the Sidhu collection (Glynn 2004, fig. 9), based ultimately of course on Mughal exemplars such as in the Dara Shikoh Album from the 1630s (Losty and Roy 2012, figs. 84–85).

The Mankot Rajas in the later 17th and early 18th centuries were keen on portraits, of themselves and of the neighbouring princes, and they had a master artist and brilliant portraitist at their disposal, who is known today as the Master at the Court of Mankot, possibly named Meju. Meju is the name written on a portrait referring to the sitter or possibly the artist of one of his portraits (Goswamy and Fischer 1992, pp. 96–122, and 2011 'Mankot'). This master and his workshop produced splendid portraits not only of princes but of more ordinary men also, and members of the court at Mankot. These portraits of often single characters – Rajas and of others less exalted – are among the greatest portraits in Pahari art and show a masterful insight into characters.

A portrait of Gosain Hari Ramji from around 1720–30 in the Kronos collection (McInerney 2016, no. 56) is a case in point in how this artist's sitters often fill the picture space with their powerful personalities. Our sitter is to date unidentified, but his forceful presence is suggested by the poise of his head, his aquiline profile and his penetrating gaze. His head is bare and his hair and beard are most artfully streaked with white suggesting he has to be at least in his 50s. Other than a small string of beads round his neck he wears no ornaments at all. This stripped-down appearance might of course suggest he is preparing for prayer or worship, but such subjects in Mankot painting normally show the object of the sitter's devotions as well (e.g. Archer 1973, Mankot 40–41).

The green shawl wrapped around the sitter's person is the dominant feature and centre of a composition of almost geometrical severity, forming as it were an inverted T-shape with the green carpet. It also almost obscures the fact that the sitter is sitting cross

legged and has his body facing the viewer, as can be seen in the lovely curves forming the folds of the white *jama* over his right knee. This in turn is balanced by the one hand, the left one, protruding from under the shawl and reaching for the *paan*. The white theme continues into the centre of the red bolster behind the sitter. The background is a solid mustard yellow. These colours – green, red, white – also dominate the portrait of Gosaim Hari Ramji who is depicted against a solid *peori* yellow background.

The Master at the Court of Mankot was also responsible in the first two decades of the 18th century for two series of paintings of the *Bhagavata Purana* (Goswamy and Fischer 1992 nos. 42–51) endowed with confident, 'swaggering elation', the earlier in the traditional *pothi* format of large landscape shaped pages, while the later one is in a vertical format (see cat. 14). The same compositions were reused, but simplified to fit into the new format and thereby tightened, sometimes to considerable benefit.

23 Raja Dalip Singh of Guler performing *puja*

Guler, c. 1740, school of Pandit Seu
Opaque pigments and gold on paper, within a dark blue border
Folio 27 × 19.6 cm
Painting 24.2 × 16.2 cm
Inscribed on the verso in nagari: *Raja Guler ka Dalip Chand*

Provenance
Ludwig Habighorst collection

Published
Sharma 2010, p. 41
Dehejia and Sharma 2011, p. 11
Habighorst 2011, fig. 72

Raja Dalip Singh of Guler (r. 1694–1741) is seen performing *puja* before a golden image of the crawling baby Krishna, Balakrishna. He is dressed simply in a pale yellow *jama* and a white *dupatta* with brocade ends draped around his torso and with a red cap with earflaps on his head. He stares rigidly ahead of him even while he tells his beads, which are hidden in an orange cloth bag over his right hand, from which his index figure protrudes. His left hand resting lightly on his knee holds a little flower, which he must be going to add to the heap of flowers that almost covers the image of Krishna placed on its golden pedestal. Other implements needed for *puja* mostly made of gold surround the pedestal and the little *takht* on which it stands – bowls, a ribbed lota, a bell with a Garuda finial, a burning incense stick in a peacock holder, a conch shell, a leaf, a tray with little containers of ghee etc., and leaf trays containing flowers. The raja is sitting on a white cloth on a green sward bounded by a *jali* parapet under a beautifully depicted tree, with a plain hill beyond coloured gold and a blue sky streaked with red at the horizon.

This classic example of the early Guler portrait style was developed by Pandit Seu, the father of Manaku and Nainsukh, the family of Pahari artists who are credited with changing the direction of Pahari painting towards a more naturalistic style with softer tonalities influenced by Mughal painting of the Muhammad Shah period. No ascribed works by Pandit Seu are known, but some of the portraits credited to him by Goswamy and Fischer (1992, nos 91–94) show a concern for realistic facial portraiture, with beautifully modelled eyes and skin appropriately wrinkled to show the age of the sitter. On the other hand, a double portrait of Raja Dalip Singh and his heir Govardhan Chand on an elephant in the Government Museum, Chandigarh, which they also attribute to Pandit Seu (*ibid*., no. 95), is more stylised in conception, being part of a Succession Series showing Guler rulers and their heirs on elephant back, and its portrait style is much more akin to that of our painting. A portrait of an earlier Guler ruler, Raja Raj Singh (r. c. 1685–95), in the Mittal Museum in Hyderabad (Seyller and Mittal 2014, no. 65), also attributed to Pandit Seu, has similarly smooth features, and in that one the outline of the golden hillside is subsumed in fiery red streaky clouds. A remnant of this last feature is found in the red tinge of the sky in our painting. Such skies are found in Mughal portraits of the Farrukhsiyyar period (1713–19), yet another indication of the influence of Mughal painting on Pahari styles. Another similar portrait of Raja Dalip Singh of Guler performing *puja* is in the Guler Darbar Collection, published in Khandalava 1956, no. 102, and in Randhawa 1953, fig. C.

24 *Pichhvai* of *Dana Lila* (the demanding of toll)

Deccan, possibly Hyderabad, mid-19th century
Cotton; with stencilled and painted design, gold and silver applied with an adhesive and painted pigments, including copper acetate arsenite ('emerald green')
Textile 256.5 × 239.5 cm
Stretcher 257 × 244 cm

Provenance
Private collection, USA

Krishna tips curds from a pot carried by a *gopi* as she and her four companions take their produce to market. This incident takes place against a background of mango trees either side of a kadamba tree, while in the sky amongst the thunderous clouds and lighting, divinities drop flowers from their aerial chariots. Below, a row of golden cows with a cowherd at either end above the river Jumna filled with fish moving around lotuses. The artist's rendering of the elegant, sinuous bearing of the *gopi* figures, their luscious costume and engagement with Krishna, makes this painting on cloth a masterpiece of textile art.

The festival of *Dana Lila* is celebrated during the dark half of the moon in August – September and has its origins in bhakti poetry where Krishna demanded milk from the *gopis*' laden pots as a toll for safe passage home. The Vraj legend occurred in a valley in Mount Govardhan known as Dan Ghati.

Pichhvai are among the most beautiful and well known of India's temple cloths. An essential part of Pushti marg worship, they are painted cotton backdrops created for the celebrated shrine of Krishna as Shrinathji, worshipped by a specific Hindu sect founded by the Saint Vallabhacharya (1478–1532). Vallabhacharya initiated a form of devotional Hindu worship which centres on the youthful Krishna – Shrinathji – as the most complete incarnation of Vishnu. The sect's doctrine teaches that through *bhakti* (loving adoration of Krishna), sharing in Krishna *lila* (playfulness), and receiving *pushti* (grace), the devotee can achieve ultimate spiritual bliss. The sect is thus called Pushti marg (towards the goal of Pushti) and the devotee a Pushti margi (Nanda 2009, p. 15).

Pichhvai were made in Gujarat and Rajasthan but a small group of golden *pichhvai* are thought to have been made in the Deccan, where followers of Pushti marg had emigrated in the early 18th century (Shah 2015, pp. 42–53). These *pichhvai* are often referred to as Black or Red *pichhvai* because of their indigo-blue or red ground. They are usually made by stencilling images onto the cloth and then applying gold (and silver) foil with an adhesive. Certain elements are painted. They can be extremely beautiful and exude an opulence that reveals the affluence of their devotee patron. This type of *pichhvai* is rare. The last example we handled was in 1994, the *pichhvai* now in a Japanese museum collection. Other examples were sold to museums and private collectors in the States in the 1960s, in particular the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Goelet donations of a black ground *pichhvai* in 1966 & a red ground *pichhvai*, often illustrated, in 1967), the Honolulu Academy of Arts, the Thomas and Margo Pritzker collection in Chicago and the Banoo and Jeevak Parpia collection (originally Heeramaneck) in Ithaca, New York. Our *pichhvai* was acquired in the mid-1960s and has since remained in a private collection in the USA. The finest *pichhvai* of this group are in the Calico Museum of Textiles in Ahmedabad, India.

We have dated our example to the middle of the 19th century based on an analysis of pigments (report available) which identifies the presence of 'emerald green' (copper acetate arsenite) which was invented in 1814 in Europe and became widely used by the 1820s. Interestingly, pigment analysis of the famous Deccani red ground *pichhvai* in the Boston Museum of Fine Art (gift of John Goelet 67.837) traditionally dated to the late 18th century, also identifies the presence of copper acetate arsenite, thereby suggesting that it may have a contemporaneous date with our *pichhvai*, and that its traditional dating could be revised. This pigment fell out of fashion by the end of the 19th century due to the invention of similar but cheaper substitutes. By 1840, a community of around ten families of Pushti marg devotees had settled in Hyderabad, Deccan. This community of Gujarati merchants and bankers may have commissioned *pichhvais* for their personal shrines and for temples they patronised (Shah 2015, p. 45).

25 Portrait of Anand Singh, first Raja of Idar

Jodhpur artist at Idar, c. 1730
Opaque pigments with gold on paper; with plain paper borders
Folio 27 × 18.3 cm
Painting 23 × 14.6 cm
Verso inscribed in Rajasthani, the first two lines obliterated: ... *Sri rajavi sri anand singhji ri surat chhe raja than garh idar ra dhani* ('this is a portrait of Raja Anand Singh –the hamlet of Idar [he made] a fort, a royal place'). A later and intact inscription has an alternative reading at the end ... *raja than idar garh ra dhani* (' ... from the fort of Idar'), with a modern misreading as Indargarh. A modern date of 1726AD does not seem to have an original Devanagari version.

Provenance
Milo Cleveland Beach collection
Ray E. Lewis, San Francisco, 1960s

Clad in a rich red *jama*, blue *patka* and a high Marwari turban of brocade, our subject stands facing right holding a rose. Pink slippers and sword scabbard and a dagger complete his outfit, along of course with pearl necklaces. Above two Rajasthani *peris* or angels are cascading more pearls onto him. The background is solid green, apart from a few swirling clouds above the angels. Confusion over the place name in the inscription has led to misidentification of the style and place of origin as Indargarh, a town that was founded by Raja Indra Singh, a grandson of Rao Ratan of Bundi (d. 1607) and brother of Rao Chattarsal (d. 1631). The town with its imposing fort stands to the north-east of Bundi itself, close to Uniara. Its painting style in the 17th century was chartered by Joachim Bautze in a paper published in *Lalit Kala* in 1992, but less attention has been paid to its productions in the 18th century. Few such 18th century paintings have been published or are available online (e.g. Christie's New York, 25 October 2016, lot 19, a seated four-armed Vishnu, early 18th century, and various late 18th century paintings in the National Museum, New Delhi), but these all show considerable if much simplified Bundi influence.

In our painting however the Rathor turban and style of the painting clearly relates to Jodhpur. With his barbered sideburns, neatly curled moustache, large nose and double chin, as well as his turban style and necklaces, he greatly resembles portraits of Maharaja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur and his elder sons Abhai Singh and Bakhat Singh from the first half of the century (Crill 2000, figs. 29–72, passim). In fact the subject of our painting, Raja Anand Singh, was a younger son of Maharaja Ajit Singh. A painting in the Harvard Art Museums dated 1721 shows the Maharaja with five of his sons – Anand Singh is in the middle (*ibid*., fig. 34; Diamond et al. 2008, no. 8), a younger version of our portrait, but already with a face inclined to plumpness. Following Ajit Singh's murder in 1724 by his son Bakhat Singh with the apparent connivance of the elder son Abhai Singh, Anand Singh along with his younger brother Raj Singh rebelled and gained much support, including from Maharana Sangram Singh of Mewar, who in 1731 gave the two rebellious brothers the little state of Idar on the borders of Gujarat which had been in a state of anarchy for the previous sixty years without a ruling dynasty. This was the foundation of the Rathor state of Idar and it was indeed from the royal house of Idar that Maharaja Takhat Singh was adopted into the ruling house of Jodhpur in 1843.

Our painting is in a simplified style of Jodhpur from the first half of the 18th century. Anand Singh much resembles portraits of his father Ajit Singh (e.g. Diamond et al. 2008, no. 7, from c. 1715 in the Jodhpur palace museum). A portrait of Maharaja Bakhat Singh watching a dance performance in a garden, from around 1740–45 and in a private collection, even has similar *peris* or angels in the sky showering gifts (Crill 2000, fig. 71). The curling clouds are of a form seen in Marwar painting of the mid-century (*ibid*., figs. 55 and 64). It would seem that Anand Singh felt confident enough in his new kingdom to have himself painted being showered with jewels by angels from the sky prior to assuming a royal title. The artist seems to have been a lesser artist from Jodhpur working in a somewhat simplified version of the royal style. Anand Singh ruled until his death in 1753 and was succeeded by his son Maharaja Shivsinghji (1753–91).

26 A prince, an ascetic and drug-addled *sadhus*

Sawar, attributed to Pemji, c. 1790
Opaque pigments on paper
27 × 36 cm
Inscribed in Rajasthani with damaged names and titles on the recto and on the verso with *kaṃmā kī pānī* (possibly 'collection of beauty')

Provenance
Eskenazi, Milan, 1977

Published
Eskenazi 1977, cat. 8

The small state of Sawar near Ajmer had two periods of interest to Indian painting. A simple but vigorous style flourished there in the early 18th century producing portraits of rulers, men, horses and elephants. Almost a century later the eccentric artist Pemji produced a series of widely disparate studies in a more elaborate style (see Ellen Smart's account of the artist in Mason 2001, pp. 140–41). He specialised in group studies of parties (Welch 1973, no. 14) or stoned ascetics such as this one. It should however be stressed that this second attribution to Sawar is only provisional, since the relationship of the only ruler named in the inscriptions, Thakur Sagat Singh, to the royal house of Sawar during the reign of Thakur Udai Singh, (1752–1802) is not known.

In our painting an ash-clad Shaiva ascetic depicted larger than life is sitting outside his straw hut in a glade smoking from a *nargila* and being addressed by a young prince (named *Kunwarji Adar ?? Singhji),* accompanied by an armed guard (inscribed *v/balamo,* 'leading man', perhaps guard for the young prince in this context). The prince is holding a parrot of some sort and seems to be pointing to one of the two birdcages hanging from the tree behind him, while the guard holds a third such cage. Another courtly figure with smallpox scars on his face also points, but at the goings on in the area in front of the hut as does another ascetic sitting nearby. A guard armed with sword and axe sits with them, inscribed *jubano khubas,* perhaps a title rather than a name. The same guard inscribed in reverse *khubaso jubano* appears in another of Pemji's paintings of a hunting scene in San Diego (see below), as does the pox-marked figure who is inscribed there *cakta sarumo,* both being armed with muskets. What they are pointing at in our painting is a group of more than a dozen ascetics, the occupants of the hermitage, seemingly stoned out of their minds either smoking drugs or drinking *bhang,* arranged around a fire (so inscribed, *basadi*). These men are depicted with all Pemji's usual verve – attenuated and contorted limbs, seemingly impossible postures, loosened stringy turbans and dogs running amok among them begging for food and pulling at turbans and clothes. Pemji's fondness for strong geometric shapes is evident in the little vignettes at the bottom of the picture of bullocks working a water wheel and operating a pulley system for extracting water from a well. An addition here to his usual eccentric forms are the extraordinary rock formations in the background, on one of which is perched a small temple.

It is unfortunate that the inscriptions have been so rubbed that the name of the young prince is mostly obscured. He is not Kunwar Saman Singh, son of Thakur Sagat Singh, who appears as a rather plump young man in Pemji's paintings in the Bellak collection in Philadelphia (Mason 2001, pp. 140–41) and the Binney collection in San Diego (Okada 2002, fig. 15, p. 58–59). It is possible that the damaged part of the inscription can be read as Adar Singh, presumably Saman Singh's brother, who appears as a young boy along with Kunwar Saman Singh in both those paintings, here perhaps slightly older. Other very similar paintings by Pemji of intoxicated ascetics are in the Binney collection (*ibid.*) and the former Ehrenfeld collection (Ehnbom 1985, no. 57, and Galloway 2018, cat. 28).

27 Admittance to a Jain Paradise

Marwar, 1750–75
Opaque pigments and gold on cotton
75 × 53 cm
Inscribed on the reverse in Devanagari *śrīāryyājī śrīratnāmjī tatśiṣyāṇī sārājī … vārtham/the* (? The last word is problematical: '… for Saraji, the disciple of the nun Arya Shriratnamji') (with thanks to Phyllis Granoff and Nalini Balbir)

Provenance
K J Hewett (1919–1994) collection, England

The recently revealed inscription on the reverse of this painting on cloth makes it clear that the Jain nun Saraji, the disciple of Arya Shriratnamji, was involved as its commissioner in some capacity. It is of great interest that Jain nuns should have been involved in commissioning paintings.

Phyllis Granoff has kindly advised on the apparent subject of the painting, although the story that it is telling remains unclear, as is the question of whether it is a generic scene or a more specific narrative. It appears to be a deathbed scene and following from that, the depiction of the rebirth in heaven of the deceased. The various episodes are told within the vertical structure of a typical Rajput palace in Marwar or Mewar. A man, perhaps a king, lies dead or dying in the bottom register. After the man dies and before he is admitted to heaven, he has to recount his deeds. To the right he is depicted standing dressed in a white *dhoti* and telling his deeds to the recording secretary with the books in heaven. The deceased's good deeds are shown on either side such as worshipping in the temple. If the deeds meet with approval, then the dead man is admitted to heaven, where above a four-armed Indra holds court, while the scene above would seem to represent the man's heavenly reward.

Additionally, it might be added that the top register takes place back on earth and depicts a possible frame story, in which a king is perhaps telling his sons what will happen when they die and how they should stay focused on good behaviour. The two boyish figures depicted both on earth and in heaven perhaps represent witnesses to his actions before and after his decease.

The artist is using a representation of a towering Rajput palace surrounded by a fortified walled garden as a paradigm of a heavenly paradise. The palace is four stories high with older and darker structures internally below. The palace here, however, is not at all like the solid homogenous structure of the Jodhpur palace (e.g., Crill 2000, fig. 99). It most vividly recalls the palace at Udaipur which similarly rises from relatively plain walls in the first two storeys to more elaborate outward projections of balconies and upward thrusts of cupolas on the top storey, over both the main older structure and to the north where it is crowned by the Amar Vilas (Topsfield 2002, fig. 137 for example). The figures, however, are more reminiscent of Jodhpur painting, although under some Mewar influence. Crill (2000, figs. 30–31) draws attention to that influence on Jodhpur painting in the reign of Ajit Singh (reg. 1679–1724), who grew up in Mewar and married a Mewar princess in 1694 (*ibid.*, pp. 58- 59). Indeed, he would have known the new Amar Vilas as it was being built by Rana Amar Singh (1698–1710).

Princes in Mewar epics in eighteenth century painting wear a crown with a single central peak unlike here, where all the crowned figures have the three peaks of Jodhpur crowns in painting (Diamond et al. 2008, no. 28). The ladies with a lock brought forwards to dangle before their ears are seen in Jodhpur painting in the mid-century (e.g. Crill 2000, fig. 71). Tall trees arranged in rows with starry blossoms and herons dancing through them are likewise found at Nagaur and Jodhpur (Diamond et al. 2008, nos. 11, 16, 18, 23). The painting however is not in the Jodhpur court style of Abhai Singh (reg. 1724– 49), but would seem to come from elsewhere within Marwar where the style of the Ajit Singh period continued up until the mid-century.

A comparable but later example dated 1801 from Pali in Marwar is illustrated in Masselos 1997, no. 87, where it is called simply a Jain paradise. This has the same palace construction rising out of a garden and blossoming into multi-domed pavilions at the summit, inhabited by the same mix of divinities and humans. At the top the rolling white scrolls of clouds indicate a definite Marwar provenance.

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