calligraphic tradition and of schools of manuscript illumination. It is inconceivable that the 13th- and 14th-century rulers of Delhi, to whose capital flocked scholars and litterati from the rest of the Islamic world, would be willing to tolerate anything but the finest work. Illuminated manuscripts of these first two centuries of Islamic rule in India would then, at their finest, probably be indistinguishable from Iranian work. However, a solitary page from what appears to be a 14th-century Koran does indicate some independent development. Three lines of excellent large Khamsi script in black are surrounded on the three outer sides by inscriptions in red Kufic with knotted red and black motifs in the outer corners. This displays the dignity of the Il-khanid Korans combined with a massiveness altogether suited to the Tughluq dynasty at the height of its power in the mid-14th century. But when the centralized Muslim culture of India collapsed towards the end of the 14th century, being given its death-blow by Timur’s invasion of 1398, the independent states which emerged were able to develop their own cultures free both of Delhi and the outside Islamic world, and it is then that we first find radical developments in the book arts in the direction of an Indian identity of their own.

This first finds expression in the calligraphic arts. There developed in India a variety of Nasht called the Khamsi Behari, or Behari script, which employs long horizontal flourishes of the pen on the line, with comparatively short verticals, and has quite large intervals between words, giving an oddly hesitant look to this combination of flowing and scrawly rhythms. The meaning of the term Behari is obscure—attempts have recently been made to link it to the Arabic word for spring, but this fanciful explanation is inferior to one which explains this purely Indian phenomenon in Indian terms, i.e. the script of Bihar. Why it should have been developed, however, is unclear, for no great calligraphic centre flourished there, unless Jampur could also be included in Bihar in Persian terminology. However this may be, why Nasht should have developed in this way is obscure also; Behari is neither elegant nor monumental, and possibly arose out of Indian scribes’ first efforts at Nasht, a schoolroom script for provincials, which, when Timur’s invasion destroyed the unity of the Delhi Sultanate and Delhi’s metropolitan claims and contacts with the rest of the Islamic world, became elevated to the status of a Koranic script. The earliest known Koran in this script is dated 801/1399, from Gwalior (No.18), a provincial fortress in central India, and displays a great variety of ornamental motifs, taken both from Iranian and Indian sources. These shed little light on Tughluq illumination, although from the geometrical frontispiece it may be inferred that 14th-century Delhi had studios in which the Il-khanid type of illumination was practised, and that some of this work was known in the provinces. Likewise it would appear that in Delhi Kufic was used in the headings and inscriptive panels of Korans, and that this was known also in the provinces, but, like the geometrical frontispieces, knowledge of, and ability to use, these elements of illumination must have practically disappeared with the destruction of Delhi. They are found in no manuscript of the Koran from India after 1399. The scribe must have been a provincial calligrapher, perhaps a script that would not have been tolerated for royal Koran manuscripts in Delhi, and it is he who doubtless attempted the shaky Kufic of some of the inscriptive panels. Another, and far superior calligrapher, wrote

the other Kufic headings and probably also the fine Thuluth inscriptions on all the other illuminated pages. There was no shortage of fine calligraphers using Thuluth in 15th-century India (No.21). The basic structure of the illumination of the Gwalior Koran, in which central panels of the text beginning each of the 30 juz into which the Koran is divided, are surrounded by four panels of illuminations with prolongations of the upper and lower ones into the margin, with large projecting rasm between, is echoed in several other fairly crude Korans of the 15th century which all have some 30 illuminated double-pages, and use the Behari script. This group of Korans is usually of medium height, on very crude paper which the acidic green pigments have invariably eaten away, and generally does not have any marginal illuminations marking the passage of the verses. It is difficult to believe that they are of royal provenance, and they were probably made for patrons of no great social standing. The general style of the Gwalior Koran of 1536 may, however, have spread to Delhi in the early 15th century, which under the Sayyid and Lodí dynasties (1414–1526) remained a sad shadow of its former self for much of the century and incapable of supporting much artistic endeavour, far less than the other courts. This group of Korans then possibly represents the Delhi school of the period.

A Koran manuscript in Behari script in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, with a dated colophon gives us the key to the chronology of another group of these manuscripts. The date is slightly obscured, but probably reads 926/1520. The calligrapher has employed various devices which are typically Indian, including using the margins for subsidiary matter in a decorative manner. The illuminative content is again typical of several other Korans, consisting of five illuminated margins around the beginnings of key chapters of the text, of double frames, the inner of blue and crimson with gold tracery, the outer of a creeper, with alternating full and expanding lotuses, either in colours or in gold tracery over blue; of marginal medallions either pear-shaped with finials above and below, in blue or blue and crimson, with gold tracery, or circular with heavy use of orange with dark orange flower designs; and of chapter headings usually of gold script over blue or a pink criss-cross design, with orange in-fill designs at either end of the panel, and rudimentary palmettes almost disappearing behind the frame.

By and large this particular manuscript is crude, and suggests that it is at the end of a tradition rather than the beginning. Another Koran, undated, also in the Salar Jung Museum, is in the same tradition, but suggests because of its much higher quality and subtle differences a somewhat earlier date. The heavy use of crimson in the 1520 manuscript is paralleled by a similar development in illustrated Jain manuscripts of the period after 1500; crimson is a costly pigment, sparingly used in the 15th century, which suddenly became much more widely used in the 16th. This second Koran uses crimson much more sparingly. The arabesque and creeper designs are much bolder, freer and far more beautiful, the medallions much more inventive in their illuminative content, many of them being suggestive of the textile designs seen in Jain paintings of the 15th century. It is to the latter part of this century that it may be dated, along with a less ambitious Koran in the British Library (No.20). There are enough of such Korans surviving to suggest a definite school flourishing in the latter part of the 15th and first part of the 16th centuries. A terminus ante quem is provided by the absence of such
manuscripts from the Mughal period, with its renewed powerful influence from Iran in the book arts. Comparison with other manuscripts of the period around 1500, suggests that only Delhi itself and Jaunpur are possible provenances, to the former of which we have already assigned the crude school of Koranic illumination mentioned above. Jaunpur, however, on the evidence of a manuscript produced there in 1400 with a very individual illuminative content (No.19) may be considered a distinct possibility for this type of work. The developments of this school in the neighbourhood of Bihār may also explain the title Beharī given to the script.

Normal Middle Eastern Thuluth was a serpentine, strict script, used mostly for chapter-headings and inscriptions. In India there developed in the early 12th century a more dynamic variety, with tall slanting uprights and outward-sweeping sub-linear curves and flourishes, used for large one-volume Korans. Everything about the Koran known to have been in the library of Sultan Mahmaid Bigara of Gujarat in 1488 (No.21) points to a Gujarati origin (1425-75), since its illumination contains decorative motifs found in contemporary Gujarati illustrated manuscripts. An even more ambitious and better preserved manuscript in the Rampur State Library is in this same majestic Thuluth and has four illuminated double-pages with frames of rich floral and arabesque designs, as well as chapter-headings and marginal ornaments in the same style.

These three groups of Korans are the surviving evidence for independent schools of illumination which we have assigned to Delhi, Jaunpur and Ahmadabad. Nonetheless the different types of Koranic illumination may have been practised in other centres also, or have been more widespread. The rich kingdoms of Bengal, Malwa and the Deccan must have produced schools of Koran illumination, but at the moment we have no knowledge of them whatsoever.

Although the rulers of Delhi before 1400 were able to attract to their court scholars and poets from other parts of the Islamic world, there is no evidence that they were able to attract artists. Yet painters must have flourished in Delhi; the institutes of Firoz Shah Tughluq (1351-88) state that he had the wall paintings in the palace covered up, while the Chandaya of Maulana Da’id written in the same reign refers to palace wall-paintings with Hindu themes (No.46). Although there is not a single reference to manuscript illumination being practised at the Delhi court in the mid-14th century, there is now known a considerable number of illustrated Persian and Avadhi manuscripts from the period between 1400 and the advent of the Mughals. These manuscripts may be divided into three broad groups. The first, work in basic Iranian styles, is in two parts, the earlier being a controversial group of mid-15th-century manuscripts of the Persian classics, which are in a simplified or provincial Timurid idiom, with characteristics which are archaic or provincial but not necessarily Indian (Nos.22-3). This type of work, basically metropolitan Persian but executed in India, is better documented by the second part of this group, manuscripts securely linked to Mandu, Bengal and Golconda in the 16th century, in which the Indian characteristics are more pronounced (Nos.40-4, 47-9). A second group consists of a small number of manuscripts probably not connected with any Muslim court but produced for other patrons, in which are found archaic elements from the 14th-century Mamluk and Inju styles as well as medieval Indian characteristics. They date from the mid-15th century (Nos.33-4). The third group consists of two lovely 16th-century manuscripts of the Chandaya of Maulana Da’id, in which both Persian and Indian elements are thoroughly synthesized (Nos.45-6).

All aspects of Indian painting in the 15th and 16th centuries are hotly disputed, even the terminology. It is proposed here to use the term Sultane to refer to all the above groups collectively, with further subdivisions as necessary. The Delhi Sultanate is a convenient term coined by historians to differentiate the period c.1200 to 1526 from the old Indian states system which preceded it and the Mughal empire which followed it, and we propose to use the term here to mean all manuscripts and painting done by or for Muslims during this period.

The briefest outline of events in Iran is necessary here. Despite general Muslim disapproval of the art of painting, it flourished in the form of manuscript illumination in the various courts of Iran under royal patronage. The earliest styles have been lost, but were doubtless similar to Arab painting at Baghdad in the 11th century. The conquest of Iran by the Mongols in this same century brought considerable Chinese influence to bear, particularly at Tabriz in the first half of the 14th century, although, in the south, Shiraz, work continued in the old way. Most of this 14th-century work is based on a horizontal viewpoint without a landscape tradition. However, towards the end of the century, in the Jalayrid courts at Baghdad and Tabriz, and at the Shiraz court of the Muzaffarids, the normal viewpoint was lifted, thus affording to the painter a new world of landscape (now terminated by a high horizon) and new possibilities of spatial relationships between figures. The conquest by Timur at the end of the century did nothing to upset this development, and indeed under his descendants in the 15th century, the Timurids, Iranian painting reached its greatest heights.

Our first group of manuscripts with miniatures based on the Timurid style of Shiraz of the early 15th century, have been attributed by various scholars to 15th-century India, although none has a provenance. They are linked together by a generally simple appearance. They are usually in horizontal format across the page, or are in textcolumns on either side, towards the bottom of the page, both formats recalling 14th-century Persian painting. Other archaicisms and oddities have also been pointed out by Ettinghausen and Fraud, which, while mostly uncontroversial, do not actually point to India rather than to any other provincial court away from the Timurid courts of Iran; archaicisms and provincialisms also occur in 15th-century Iranian paintings, such as in the British Library’s Duniamir Shaihanname from Mazendaran or in the Central Asian styles. Nonetheless, there is a basic core of material which does suggest an Indian provenance, of which the Mo’hi Shaihanname (No.22) has perhaps the best claim, as stylistic arguments are in this instance backed up by other evidence.

However, it is difficult to reconcile the apparent existence of these Timurid styles in the first half of the 15th century with the facts of Indian history and with the proven examples of Indian Muslim painting produced at the same time and in the early 16th century (see below). The most important group of these Timurid manuscripts of suggested Indian provenance are dated during the period 1420-50. Delhi may be ruled out as a provenance, and there is no evidence of the provincial sultans patronizing artists until later in the century. However, the Sharafnama
produced in Bengal in 1531 (No.44), whose style is based on that of early 13th-century Shiraz and incorporates Mongol archaism, argues that Blemmye at least had a Timurid school and style.

The picture becomes much clearer by 1500. A group of manuscripts (Nos.40–3) is known from Mandu c.1490–1510, in which the direct influence of new Iranian styles is visible, i.e., those of the Turkman style of Shiraz, and of Herat. The Khalji Sultans of Malwa would seem to have imported artists and possibly manuscripts from Iran, and had the style copied by their own artists. Ghiyas ad-Din Khalji on coming to the throne in 1569 announced that henceforth his life would be one not of statecraft but of pleasure, and his biographer records with admiration his single-minded devotion to this principle.

Although he had hundreds of writers taught the various arts and sciences to amuse him, there is no mention of painting being one of them. However, the fact speaks for itself, for four illustrated manuscripts are associated with the Khalji rulers. The earliest, a lectionary by a Mandu author, is illustrated in the purest Turkman style of Shiraz (No.40), and the artist must have come to Mandu about 1490. While there, he would appear to have trained at least two Mandu artists in the Shiraz style, and their work, much more Indianized, is seen in the cookery-book, the Ni matnama (No.41), begun for Ghiyas ad-Din and completed under his successor Nasir ad-Din (1500–10). For the latter was illustrated about 1500–02 a Bistam of Sa’di (No.42) in the Herati manner with the artists, again at least two, copying from a Herat manuscript but with improvisations of their own. The last of the four manuscripts, dated in 1500 (No.43), is a copy of an Arabic automata manuscript, but gives some hints as to the origin of the early Deccani style. All these manuscripts indicate direct recent exposure to Iranian influence. A different situation obtained in Bengal where a Suhmanama (No.44) was illustrated in 1531. It is the sole surviving and end-product of a flourishing independent school, for the style of the manuscript is based on that of Shiraz a century previously, combined with some 14th-century archaism—the Mongol type of rocks for instance. The Golconda manuscripts will be discussed below.

In Indian painting the lifting of the viewpoint and the adoption of the high horizon occurred as the inevitable concomitant of attempting a fully realized picture on a scale larger than in earlier 14th-century schools. In India of course where the native tradition of painting recognized no necessity to open out in this manner, the adoption of the high viewpoint for paintings in Persian manuscripts can only be seen as an adoption of the latest foreign technique, with no structural necessity behind it forcing the move. Nonetheless, if we are to posit Indian artists as the painters of the Timurid-style group they managed the transition effortlessly. The older technique of the horizontal viewpoint is henceforth seen in Sultanate manuscripts only of marked crudity which have been termed 'bourgeois'. These form our second group, which is attributable to the period 1450–1550 and is of no immediately obvious ancestry, and certainly not from the Timurid Shirazi manuscripts. Their format of painting across the centre of a page of text is strongly suggestive of the 13th- and 14th-century schools of the Middle East and Iran, as is the viewpoint, from the horizontal plane as opposed to the high viewpoint of Timurid painting.

Although the dispersed Amir Khusraw manuscript, the Berlin Hamzanama (No.33) the vanished Sikan darwama and now the newly discovered Berlin Candidana (No.34), are usually regarded as the main manuscripts of this group, there is a marked difference in style between the first and the others. The former is based on some 14th-century Timurid, probably Mamluk, but exhibits little that is specifically Indian in style. An origin in Gujarat seems likely in view of the commercial links of the area. We are prevented from dating it very early in the 15th century, as we would be inclined to do on the evidence of style alone, by the use of a crude Nasta’liq hand in the accompanying text that must be assumed to be somewhat later than the reputed inventor of this script Mir ‘Ali, in the late 14th century. The other three by contrast are hardly removed from the context of Jaina painting.

Any discussion of manuscript illustration in the Sultanate period must involve Jaina and Hindu painting as well as that in Persian manuscripts, as developments in one influenced the others throughout this period. We must return now to discuss the development of paper manuscripts in western India and the developments of illumination made possible by the new material. Palm leaf was speedily abandoned as a writing material in western and northern India during the 13th century, but the format of the new paper manuscripts kept at first to the proportions of the palm leaf, before gradually increasing the height of the folio. No attempt was made however to abandon the pothi format. Western Indian palm-leaf manuscripts are either in two or three columns of text, depending on the width of the leaf and the number of necessary stringholes. The early paper manuscripts all invariably conform to the one-hole, two-column pattern, with margins ruled in red, and red roundels marking the spot where the hole would have been in the off-centre 'central' margin, both on obverse and reverse. The reverse also has an additional red roundel in each of the outer margins; these occur also in palm-leaf manuscripts and are the places where the foliation is marked. The margins are taken with the left margin, and the numeral one in the right. On paper manuscripts the letter system was abandoned, and the numeral notation usually written in the bottom right-hand corner underneath the red roundel. This basic type of decoration survives in Jaina manuscripts well into the 17th century.

The earliest surviving Jaina paper manuscript with paintings appears to date from the middle of the 14th century, and is the hagiographical work on the founders of Jainism, the Kalpasutra. In fact, the earliest illustrated manuscripts of this work in both palm-leaf and paper formats are contemporary, of the mid-14th century, and argue from their iconography that they represent the beginning of the tradition. A few isolated Jaina illustrated narratives are known from earlier centuries, but it is very probable that the Iranian tradition of narrative illustration was the catalyst which occasioned the very large number of illustrated versions of this text which have survived from the 14th- to 16th-century period. They were generally commissioned by pious laymen to donate to the temple library or bhangar of their spiritual teacher. The quality of the paintings varies tremendously. The earliest illustrated paper manuscripts are of high quality, but from 1450 on there are increasing stylistic exaggerations and rigidity. The human figure is more distorted, with exaggerated sharpness of features and protrusions at chest, bust and hips, and most disturbing of all, the further eye of figures in the variable three-quarter profile is fully drawn and protrudes into space. This protrusion is already observable in many Jaina paintings in the palm-leaf
period (Nos. 15, 16), and indeed it also occurs in incipient form in much earlier frescoes at Ajanta and Ellora. We are lacking, however, in the crucial documents of the earlier centuries which turn this occasional slight exaggeration into an invariable one fully realized.

Various attempts have been made to explain this phenomenon in religious and metaphysical terms, but it is more satisfactory to regard it as a technical problem that was not solved until the 15th century. What we are witnessing is a stage on the road between the early habit of having all faces in three-quarter profile and the later one of having them all in strict profile. Why Indian artists should have gone along this road is at present an unanswerable question; but what is obvious is that they had technical difficulties in so doing. In the early period, the head is only slightly to one side, and the further eye ends just round the corner, with eyelashes protruding into space. By the 15th century in western India and somewhat later in the east, the head has shifted round somewhat further, the earlier occasional tendency to finish off the corner of the eye in space has gained the mastery and invariably half of it now protrudes (No. 16). In the course of the 17th century, the head has shifted round still further, so that in some manuscripts people are really in profile with practically the entire further eye protruding (Nos. 28-9). By the end of the century it was generally realized that this protruding eye was dispensible and there are several examples of illustrated manuscripts where the eye was first painted in, and then washed over with the background colour (No. 35). From this time on it is only deliberately archaic, conservative Jain paintings which keep this protruding eye; in progressive Jain painting and in Hindu painting people are in strict profile. They are not necessarily so of course in Sultanate painting or in the Akbar and early Jahangir periods; but by 1610-15 most people in any school are in strict profile and remain so until European influences intruded at the end of the 18th century.

Another distinction between the palm-leaf and paper illustrated Jain manuscripts is the abandonment in the latter, at least in the mass-produced varieties, of any attempt at modelling with colours—all is now flat planes of colour, contained within a sometimes brilliant but always brittle line. Paper is seen as a surface to be decorated with colours in patterns, yielding in the best examples a brilliant jewel-like surface. The number of pigments used has increased—colly ty pigments such as ultramarine, crimson, gold and silver are used in increasing quantities. The iconography of the Kalpasutra becomes completely rigid by about 1400, and from this century and the next have survived large numbers of illustrated manuscripts of this text, practically identical in their subject-matter and colouring, based on originals of about 1400 (No. 24). In these, against first a red background and later in the century one of ultramarine, figures are all in gold with details picked out in other colours. The carelessness and roughness of all these stereotyped manuscripts are evidence of flourishing centres for their mass production at the great Jain centres of Pattan and Ahmadabad, superficially rich in appearance but in reality costing much less than the much rarer and far more beautiful manuscripts individually created by professional artists for discerning patrons. Examples of the latter are found from a much wider area, produced at Mandu (No. 28), Idrar, Jaunpur as well as Gujarat (No. 30), but none is later than the very early 16th century, whereas the mass-produced type continues in production until a much later date.

There are very few Jain manuscripts which give us much information about their artists. Most colophons in which a scribe is named indicate that the writing was done by a Jain monk. He may also have been the artist who printed the illustrations—the word libhatis, meaning 'written', can by extension also mean 'painted'. However, many of the colophonless Jain manuscripts have little notices by the side of the illustrations with the subject of the miniatures. These are notes by the scribe to inform the illustrator of the subject to be painted in the blank space which has been left. Clearly scribe and illustrator must have been discussing in these instances, but almost certainly the illustrator was another monk. Other colophons however can be read to indicate that the scribe and the illustrator are identical, for example in the famous Kalpasutra from Jaunpur dated 1405, which was written and illustrated by a member of the Hindu caste of kīyasthas (professional scribes) from Bengal. Such a person was responsible for illustrating the Mahāvibhāsā from Pālam of 1540. It is remarkable that in the small group of half-a-dozen Jain manuscripts which mark stylistic advances between 1400 and 1540, the only two which have colophons naming scribes and artists both name Hindu kīyasthas. A Buddhist manuscript from Bihār dated 1446 (No. 31) with illustrated covers has a Hindu kīyastha as scribe and probably artist. And the most important dated Hindu manuscript in a progressive style in this period, the Aranyāvahapravās (1516 (No. 38), is likewise painted by a Hindu kīyastha from Bengal stock. The conclusion from the limited evidence available would seem to point to Hindu kīyastha artists being responsible for many of these stylistic advances. Yet if we look for other Hindu manuscripts of the period, we find only one or two dated or securely datable manuscripts of the 15th century from Gujarāt, in style close to the Jain, and a few documents from eastern India, to indicate the work which they were doing for Hindu patrons. That no high-quality Hindu manuscripts apart from the 1516 manuscript should have survived from this period to parallel the Jain manuscripts is difficult to believe. Yet there is an abundance of first-rate undated Hindu material. To this problem we shall return.

The gradual change in the human profile throughout the 15th century has already been noted; it is accompanied by other innovations. The style as we find it about 1400 is already hidebound—there exist a series of almost identical manuscripts of good quality from the early 15th century. There have survived a very few manuscripts which show the loosening of these traditional chains—the 1430 Kalpasutra from Mandu (No. 38), and the 1465 one from Jaunpur for example—in which, visibly, first-rank artists apply their own intelligence to solve stylistic and technical problems. The Mandu artist, who is unnamed, had probably never painted a Kalpasutra before, as he makes numerous mistakes in the iconography. He had, however, seen examples of Iranian painting. The movement is towards a style still linear but in which the artist can design his own paintings as he chooses without falling back on time-worn clichés. Significantly both these superb manuscripts come from outside the Jaina stronghold of Gujarāt. From there comes another stylistic innovation towards the close of the 15th century, the direct incorporation of motifs from Iranian painting. Its significance will be discussed below. There is an absence of any progressive Jain manuscript of the Kalpasutra after about 1500 which suggests that professional artists went on to other things thereafter. Monks' paintings on the other hand were
not concerned about the latest stylistic innovations, but continued right up to the 17th century with the traditional iconic representations.

Up until the 17th century, Jaina manuscripts show little development. They continue the good calligraphic hand found in the palm-leaf manuscripts with little significant variation other than a gradual increase in size and coarsening. In the 16th century there is a tendency for the red roundels to become diamonds, often with blue scroll-work around them. Blue scroll-work is also applied to the margins of the first few folios at this period; the more these extra decorations are in evidence, the later must be the manuscript. There is a surprising absence of binding boards; none has survived from before the 18th century. It is possible, however, that the decorative patterns imitating the medallions of leather bindings, or possibly ex-libris medallions, found on the first and last folios of many manuscripts of this period may indicate that no other covering was thought necessary. This pattern of a large central medallion with four surrounding smaller ones is seen on both Jaina manuscripts (No.26, 39) and on the opening folios of some Korans in Bihārī script (No.20). It was discovered in the 15th century that it was possible to do far more to paper than was possible with palm leaves. Thus paper could be dyed various colours—red and dark blue were the two colours used—and the text could be written in gold or silver ink (Nos.25, 28, 30). This technique may be a reflection of an earlier tradition known in Nepal in the 12th century (No.11). Miniatures could also be included in this sort of manuscript; and all the margins could have their own decorations, either ornamental or figurative. The 15th-century male, for example, is not yet known in the whole manuscript. It was even possible to use an entire page for a single painting on a large scale, which first occurs in a manuscript dated 1443. And in a few gloriously extravagant Gujarati manuscripts towards the end of the 15th century, every square millimetre of every page is covered with pigment (No.30).

Direct Iranian influence on Jaina painting is obvious only in two instances. One of the characters in a popular Jaina story, the Kāla-kācārya-vahāthā, the Sāhi (king) of the Saka tribes who lived originally beyond the Indus and invaded western India about the beginning of the Christian era, was traditionally depicted as a figure derived from Middle Eastern art. The precise source has not yet been pinpointed but is usually ascribed to 13th-century Iranian ceramics. It is noticeable, however, that many of his followers often wear Mongol hats, so that influence from painting in early 14th-century Tabriz may also be possible. The king is depicted in Jaina painting wearing a long qlīna, with a heavily embroidered collar, and long boots. He and his followers are always in full or three-quarter profile but the further eye never protrudes (Nos.25, 20). Ceramics with this sort of figure must have been imported into Gujarat in considerable quantities for it to be used in painting and to be recognizable as a foreign type. The image remains constant throughout the period of the production of these manuscripts (c.1570-1600), untouched for the most part by later Iranian influence. This latter is most apparent in a small number of richly illuminated manuscripts produced in Gujarat towards the end of the 15th century, in which Persianate figures are included in the marginal decorations. The Kulpaśītra now in the Devasenaopāḍa Bhāndār (No.30) is the most famous example of this style, in which horsemen apparently derived from Turkmān painting are found in great abundance. These direct influences are of only secondary interest and importance in that they had no visible effect on the basic conceptions of Jaina painting which remained set in its mould until the mid-16th century and only relaxed after coming under the influence of a new Hindu style. They are of significance though in that they demonstrate that in the 15th century, Persian manuscripts were being imported into India, presumably to the courts of the independent Sultans. But that they had a wider influence than simply on court artists is proved by the 1439 Kulpaśītra from Mandu (No.28), which already incorporates a high round horizon even though not using it as an Iranian artist would. The flow of Persian manuscripts into Mandu must have been in existence long before the Khiljis at the end of the 15th century when it first can be proved by documentary evidence.

We have referred above to some of the Sultanate manuscripts of the ‘bourgeois’ type being scarcely removed from the context of Jaina painting. In the figurative style of the Ḥamzanāma (No.33), for example, the male, usually seen in three-quarter profile, without the projecting eye, is based directly on the realization of the Sāhi King seen in Jaina manuscripts, with long oval eyes, pupils to one side, heavy hooked eyebrows, moustache and pointed beard, and dressed in a jāma (gown); the main female type, apart from her long tight dress, is the female Jaina type but seen in the same three-quarter profile as the male, and she wears her hair in a long braid down her back, while her ʿōfni (wimple) stands stiffly in wings. There is no model for this type in Iranian painting, and she must be an individual artist’s creation based on the male Sāhi type. The conclusion is obvious that the artist was trained originally in the Jaina tradition, and, given the task of illustrating a text needing Iranian-type figures, he turned for his models to the only source known to him, the Sāhi King in manuscripts of the Kālāka story. He can never have seen an illustrated Iranian manuscript. This, of course, is treating this manuscript as the earliest example of its type; the development from the Sāhi figure may have happened earlier. The Ḥamzanāma is a later manuscript using the same style. In addition to this female type, the Ḥamzanāma has another, usually of dancing girls, always in profile, who have large almond eyes and heavy eyebrows, and huge round earrings; these are the dancing girls of such Jaina manuscripts as the Jaunpur Kulpaśītra of 1469 minus the projecting eye, which in the Jaunpur manuscript is structurally obtuse. There is no known Iranian model for these figures. All of them without exception display the characteristic Jaina distortion of the chest underneath one arm pit. The Ḥamzanāma probably dates from about 1450. The contemporary Candayama (No.34) is in a primitive style not far removed from a Jaina original. The projecting further eye is still used, the distortion of the chest is still apparent, but, divorced from the familiar iconography of Jaina stories, the artist has been free to experiment in composition. The women are still the Jaina type, apart from the representation of the bosom, and the men with square heads and crowns are based on the Sāhi King in the Kālāka illustrations, although less obviously so than in the Ḥamzanāma.

The only parallel Jaina manuscripts in which similar freedom is noticeable are certain Digambara 15th-century manuscripts from Delhi and Gwalior, and it is possible that other developments of this sort were occurring in this area of northern India, which horsemen apparently derived from Turkmān painting are given to this type of illustration for Persian and Avadhi texts. We are inclined to ascribe the Ḥamzanāma to Delhi and possibly the Candayama also.
We have so far discussed 'Jaina' painting without going into the vexed question of terminology. The style of a typically Jaina manuscript with its projecting eye, bodily distortions, and flat colour planes is also that used for certain Hindu manuscripts of the 15th century, and indeed in two instances for Buddhist ones (No. 37), so that this purely sectarian nomenclature is inaccurate. Nor are other proposed solutions to this problem any better. We propose to keep to the quite erroneous sectarian nomenclature, bearing firmly in mind that 'Jaina' painting was quite frequently the work of Hindus.

In turning to the illustrated manuscripts produced by the Hindus in these early centuries of Muslim rule over northern India, we enter into an area of scholarly controversy in which facts are few and opinions multifarious. We have seen that no illustrated Hindu manuscripts on palm leaves survived the fury of the first onslaught of the Muslims, but that the existence of such manuscripts in Nepal argues that they must have been produced in India also. However, there is no sign of any before the middle of the 15th century. We must suppose that just as it was only Buddhist manuscripts which survived the wreck of the Pāla university libraries through being taken to Nepal, so it was only Jaina illustrated manuscripts which were preserved in the temple libraries of Gujarāt and Rajasthān. It was after all only Jainas who would present illustrated copies of their sacred texts to the bhūnḍār; the other manuscripts preserved thereby were of the Jaina sacred texts, religion and philosophy. Non-Jaina material seems to have been preserved if accepted as part of a scholar's library. Although some Hindu temples did have libraries, none seem to have survived in the crucial areas of northern India where we would expect illustrated paper manuscripts to have been produced.

The earliest such manuscript to have survived is in fact a Buddhist manuscript (No. 37) but written by a Hindu at Arrah in Bihar in 1446, and with wooden painted covers probably by the scribe, in a style which has adapted the Pāla idiom to the angularities and distortions of the medieval school. After this comes a long cotton scroll manuscript of the Vasantavilāsa, a Gujarāti poem on the amours of Krishna with the gopis which is now in the Freer Gallery of Art. Dated 1451 from Ahmadābad, its style is indistinguishable from contemporary Jaina manuscripts. The next important examples are two pairs of book covers, one from Bihar dated 1491 (No. 35) in which the characters are in strict profile and the other from Bengal dated 1499 (No. 32), the latter in an angular, eastern idiom which need not concern us here other than to note its difference from the western and northern styles. Then there is a manuscript of the Forest-Book of the Mahābhārata dated 1516 (No. 38), and an undated copy of Qutbān's Avadhī romance Mṛgavati in the Benares Bharat Kala Bhavan, written in the Kaithi character very probably in Jaunpur or Bihar. These are in a style considerably removed from the Vasantavilāsa, in which the further projecting eye has disappeared and all the figures are shown in strict profile, while a more naturalistic view is taken of birds, animals, landscapes, etc. without the distortions and exaggerations to which the Jaina style is subject. The 1491 Bihar covers are also showing elements of this style, and lead logically on to the Mṛgavati from the same area, which we would date about 1530. The crucial question about which opinions differ is whether these are forerunners of a much more important group of undated manuscripts (the Caurāpadācārika in the

N.C. Mehta Collection in Ahmadabad, the Candraśīva divided between the Lahore and Chandigarh Museums, the dispersed Bhagavata Purāṇa (No. 36), the Gītāgovinda in the Bombay Museum (No. 37), and the Rāmāmdū in the J.P. Gourda Collection, Bombay), or whether they are 'bougeois', cruder, provincial derivatives from a style already in existence by 1500. This Caurāpadācārika group of manuscripts can only have developed stylistically after it had been found possible to turn the human head around into strict profile and drop the further projecting eye. It has been assumed that this occurred at the end of the 15th century, for there are two manuscripts, the 1491 Bihar covers (No. 35) and the now vanished but fully published undated Sikandarānāma of c.1475-1500, in which the projecting eye was first painted in and then covered over with a wash of the background colour. It has been argued that the progression then leads logically to the 1516 Mahābhārata (No. 38) and the 1540 Mahāpurāṇa and, if one believes this last to be the forerunner of the true Caurāpadācārika group, on to this important group last of all, to be dated 1525-75, which dating is reinforced by the presence of a crucial garment, the four-pointed jāma, in Mughal manuscripts as well as in the major ones of the Caurāpadācārika group.

There are however several important problems and pieces of evidence of which this argument takes no note. In an Indian context it is rarely the case that comparatively crude manuscripts, like the 1516 Mahābhārata which is dated from a village near Agra in the dominions of Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517), and its successor Jaina manuscript, the Mahāpurāṇa dated 1540 from Palam (probably a village near Delhi), are the forerunners of an advanced courtly style, rather than provincial derivatives from it. By assuming a non-royal provenance for the masterpieces of the Caurāpadācārika group, a precise location can be avoided other than the vague reference to a Delhi-Jaunpur belt, the latter city argued for on the basis that since one of the manuscripts in the group, the Candraśīva, is in Avadhī Hindi, it can only have been copied in an area where this language is spoken. There are, moreover, elements of the Caurāpadācārika style apparent in the c.1450 Berlin Hamzanāma, the 1491 Bihar covers and the c.1500 Nīlatānāma, while the Mandu and Jaunpur Jaina manuscripts between 1430 and 1465 are on the point of giving birth to major stylistic developments. The Hindu artist of the Jaunpur manuscript has indeed modified his own style to accommodate Jaina traditions like the projecting eye. And the argument for late a date as the early Akbar period for the major examples of the style, on the grounds that both the latter and the earliest examples of Mughal painting show the four-pointed gown, which is to be seen in no earlier dated manuscripts, ignores all the references to this particular costume in Mughal sources as a garment peculiar to the Hindus.

Now it seems to us that starting from a viewpoint without preconceived ideas on the dating of the group it is perfectly possible to arrive at very different conclusions. Starting from the major manuscripts themselves, they are of such superb quality that it is difficult to conceive of their being other than of royal provenance. We know from the Aranyaka-parvan the taste of a wealthy Hindu patron and the result—an excellent manuscript, but as a work of art in a totally different class, with indifferent composition and a weak line. One is impressed with the major manuscripts on the other hand by their absolute sureness and confidence of line and colour, and by their ability to convey not merely the story they
are illustrating, but the mood as well. First-class work of this sort in an Indian context can only be of royal provenance. Looked at from the point of view of the present context, there is a strong likelihood that these manuscripts, particularly the *Gita Govinda* (No. 37), and the *Ragamala* from Chauond in Mewar dated 1605, in compositional techniques, landscape and particularly the method of dividing the sky into light and dark halves that is unique to Mewar. But on the other hand the Chauond *Ragamala* is so much less sure in technique that this argues for a considerable distance between the two. Groetz has rightly pointed out how all Mewar art and architecture from the first half of the 17th century is decidedly old-fashioned, being about 50 years out of date, and often harkening back to the days of her greatness under Ranas Kumibha (1433-68) and Sanga (1505-28). It is not surprising then to find this close resemblance and to see in the Chauond *Ragamala* an archaistic revival of a much earlier style.

Looking at the *Caurapancasika* group from another angle, we find that its simple compositional structures of a group of figures beside-or in a pavilion at one side of the painting, with plain ground and a dark, light sky above, finds earliest expression in the two much-mentioned *Kalpasutras* of 1459 and 1465. Moreover, the profile of the women in the latter manuscript, as has often been pointed out, is, with the removal of the further eye, precisely the profile of Champavati in the *Caurapancasika*; a square face, a huge, backward sweeping eye, a large triangular nose, with nostrils carefully delineated, and a sharp protruding chin which curves softly down into the neck. Some of the ladies in this 1465 manuscript, moreover, wear the potli hanging in front of their skirt with a projecting point, and the ehrni or wimple standing stiffly out in a wing, the garment of the ladies in the *Caurapancasika* group. Now we know that the maker of the 1459 manuscript was a Hindu *kalpasutra* manuscript written in Devanagari, and the *Kalpasutra* manuscript was in Devanagari, and the *Kalpasutra* manuscript was in Devanagari, and the *Kalpasutra* manuscript was in Devanagari. Venidisa, who presumably earned his living illustrating Hindu as well as Jain manuscripts. We also know from two other manuscripts from eastern India, the *Kulacabhatramitra* from Anah of 1446 (No. 31) and a crude *Kumarayuuha* from Indore of 1455, that the projecting further eye was still usually there in the mid-1450s, but was considered a probable provenance by Skelton, while the *Kalpasutra* covers of 1491 (No. 32) and the *Vigajapura* covers of 1490 (No. 32) that it had disappeared by the end of the century. The whole of this area was under the control of the Sultans of Jaunpur and Bengal, with the exception of Mithila, so that we would not expect the latest developments in Hindu painting to originate there. But the artists were highly aware of the latest artistic developments from elsewhere and introduced them where they could into the traditionally conservative format of a *Kalpasutra* in 1462 for example— and abandoned the further projecting eye some time in the 1470s and 1480s. And it is precisely in the area of eastern India that the Muslim rule, Mithila (Bihar north of the Ganges), that the artist comes nearest to the *Caurapancasika* style proper in 1491 (No. 35). If these developments in Hindu and Jain painting occur in the Muslim-ruled areas of eastern India by the 1460s-80s, we are surely justified in assuming that they had occurred in Hindu-ruled areas somewhat before this. And for northern India, the only major Hindu kingdoms at this time were Mewar and Orissa, while numerous other states maintained a precarious independence in other parts of Rajasthan, in Bundelkhand and Gujerat, and in the Punjab Hills. It is for these reasons that we accept the very early dating of the

controversial manuscript in the Simla Museum, a manuscript of the *Devimahatmya* dated in a chronogram *Sikha Varasagavarasanda, i.e. in the* 13th year of the King, 1351/1352-42, which was the same year the *Ragamala* from Chauond was produced in its current form, probably in the Punjab Hills. The paintings are in the margins around a central text panel, and in a style which is a somewhat more desicated version of the main *Caurapancasika* style, in which the females, although in the latter style’s costume, have obvious affinities with the females of Jain manuscripts, particularly in posture, with one leg extended and the other bent, for example, and is arguably a stage in the development of the style between its ‘Jaina’ origins and its climax.

It need hardly be said at this stage that we are lacking the crucial documents which would fix the development of the *Caurapancasika* style to a time and place. But indeed it is doubtful if such was the way it developed. Far more likely is it that the development took place in different parts of northern India in the early decades of the 15th century, and that it reached its peak of expressiveness shortly afterwards with the *Caurapancasika* and Lahore- Chandigarh *Candavaya* manuscripts, both of which come from the same school and in the same time, which we would judge to be 1450-75. Both these manuscripts maintain in their facial profiles precisely the same elements as occur in the Jauipur *Kalpasutra*, and have a wiry strength in their line that suggests rather than actually contains the distortions to the human figure found in earlier manuscripts. The line has been smoothed out in the dispersed *Bhagavata Purana* (No. 36), which we would date about 1500, while in the *Gita Govinda* (No. 37) there are significant new developments in the facial characteristics that would make a date nearer 1525 seem probable. In the minor manuscripts of the group, the Vijayendra *Suri Ragamala*, the 1526 *Mabhibharta* (No. 38) and the 1540 *Mabhipurana*, the line is less angular, but sharper and rather nervous. Dated *Jaina* manuscripts (No.39) of the later 16th century continue the latter tradition. As to the provenance of the major manuscripts of the group, although it seems likely that the *Gita Govinda* was done in Mewar, it is not inevitable that all were done there. Gwalior under Man Singh Tomar has long been considered a probable provenance by Skelton, while the Punjab Hills, other areas of Rajasthan and Bundelkhand, even Orissa, are all possibilities.

It is undeniable that Iranian painting introduced some new compositional structures to Hindu artists, yet what they took from it was seldom what could be adapted to suit their purpose. Faced with a high horizon, the Indian artist rejected it out of hand as a means of expanding the compositional depth of his paintings, preferring to keep firmly to his traditional horizontal viewpoint with a monochrome ground, on to which he grafted a horizon and a sky. Where it was necessary to show foreground and middleground action, he preferred to divide up his composition into separate registers. Nor did he greatly care for the careful balance in a Persian manuscript between text and painting. In the palm-leaf period he was forced to use only a small area for his paintings with text beside it, and this remained so in the earlier Jaina paper manuscripts. Hindu artists and patrons grasped the possibilities before a larger surface gave rise to, and quickly established a tradition of illustrated manuscripts, foreign to the Indian bibliographic tradition, which are more picture-books with accompanying text than true illustrated manuscripts. This is true whether the manuscripts are Hindu, for which the
pūthī format was retained, or Muslim, such as the Avadhi Hindi Candiyāna (Nos. 34, 45–6) for which an upright vertical format was preferred, as more in keeping with Muslim bibliographic traditions. For all five surviving Sultanate-period manuscripts of this text are composed mostly of vertical full-page paintings with the text in the Arabic script written on the reverse, and this is true also for the Lahore–Chandigarh pages obviously done for a Hindu patron. For the Caurapāntīcākha and Gīgitā Rudra, a single verse is inscribed at the top, and the intention was to illustrate each verse of the text in this way. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa has only a label for the painting at the top, and the main text on the verso. We do not know for certain why this type of manuscript was produced, and it is difficult to think of possible antecedents for it; but in view of three of these manuscripts being in Sanskrit, with which the 16th and 17th century patrons might not necessarily be too familiar, it could be argued that linguistic incomprehension might be a contributing factor. Avadhi Hindi might also not be readily familiar elsewhere in northern India, especially in the Arabic script. Since the Candiyāna was dedicated to the Vizier of Firuz Shah Tughluq in Delhi, it is probable that the original presentation manuscript of 1389 was also in this format. No doubt they were meant to be looked at in private with wives in a harem, who might not be able to read. We know from Abu’l Fazl’s account of the Mughal library that the finest illustrated books were kept within the zenana. However, the existence of such a format in the second half of the 15th century and perhaps two of the surviving early Candiyāna manuscripts (the Berlin manuscript, No. 34, and the fragments in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares) argues that it was not an isolated phenomenon, and that other manuscripts might also be in this format; this indirectly provides evidence of at least the potential existence of manuscripts of the Caurapāntīcākha group in the 15th century.

We are now at last in a position to examine our third group of Sultanate manuscripts, a pair of manuscripts of the Candiyāna (Nos. 45, 46). They are the most beautiful surviving Sultanate manuscripts, and are products of a sophisticated Muslim court, in which earlier influences from Iranian, Sultanate, Hindu and Jain painting have all been assimilated, elements from each having been taken and used as required. The high round horizon is present in both but the viewpoint remains the horizontal, and middleground elements are usually placed on a different register. So the horizon and the ground and the sky above are sometimes realistically depicted, but more often used as elements in decoration, being coloured and decorated with gorgeous arabesques. Of the two, the Bombay manuscript (No. 45) is the more beautiful and decorative, while the Manchester manuscript (No. 46) more successfully integrates its various elements. Both, however, are sufficiently related to come from the same school with perhaps a quarter-century interval between them. It is clear that the wide variety of styles in which this text is illustrated, ranging from primitive, almost Jain, paintings (No. 34) to products of sophisticated Muslim courts (the Ryland and Bombay manuscripts Nos. 45–6), and of a Hindu court (the Lahore–Chandigarh pages), renders untenable the argument that because the story of Laurak and Chandali is an eastern story and in an eastern Hindi dialect (Avadhi), the manuscripts of the text must come from the eastern region where Avadhi was spoken. The only court in the region was at Jaunpur, and it is not possible that so many artistic styles could have been practised at the court, or in the city around it. The original text as we have seen was dedicated to the Vizier of the Sultan of Delhi, and we have argued that the format for illustrating this particular text was devised specifically to overcome the problem of linguistic incomprehensibility.

The Bombay Candiyāna is linked closely to the Niṣmatānīna from Mandu in colouring, certain human types, details of landscape, etc., and it is not difficult to think of the Candiyāna as from Mandu, c. 1550–30. A terminus ante quem is provided by the presence of so many characteristics of this style in the Tījānīna manuscript produced in Akbar’s studio c. 1550. The Manchester Candiyāna has moved on another quarter-century from the Bombay manuscript, and is possibly from Mandu closer to its final fall before the Mughals in 1562. We have in Mandu at this time precisely the right type of sophisticated court ritual under Bāz Bahādur (1555–61) and his mistress Rūpmatī, a final brief flowering of an independent Mandu culture before its extinction by the armies of Akbar in 1561–2. The Bombay Candiyāna style had time to spread from Mandu, and hence is widely represented in the Tījānīna. Not so the Manchester manuscript, which is the last effort of a Sultanate court before being overwhelmed by the Mughal armies and by Mughal culture.

The three kingdoms of the Deccan remained independent of Mughal rule, in the case of Ahmadnagar until 1600 and of Bijapur and Golconda until 1686–7. No independent Sultanate school has yet been proved to have existed for any of these or the first independent sultanates in the south after 1400, although it is inconceivable that such rich and flamboyant realms did not support studios; it is possible that some of the present unattributable Sultanate manuscripts may yet turn out to be from the Deccan, while we have noted above the possible influence from Mandu on later Deccani painting. However the earliest documented manuscripts from the Deccani kingdoms are the Tarīkh-i Hisān Shāhī from Ahmadnagar of 1565–7 and the Nuṣīm al-Ulīm of 1570 from Bijapur (No. 50). Both display many of the characteristics of mature Deccani painting in their love of daring colour clashes—purples and yellows, pinks and greens, browns and blues—their rich and sumptuous character, the traditional Deccani costume, all of which argue by themselves a pre-existence for the style.

It has been proposed that certain of these elements may come from the art of the kingdom of Vijayanagar, the Hindu rival of the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan, where wall-paintings at least flourish, and whose final destruction by the combined forces of the three was encompassed in 1565. Part of the loot from the destruction of the city may have been the paintings carried off to new cities. However, no evidence has yet appeared in support of this theory in the form of manuscripts or paintings from Vijayanagar, and a more realistic solution is to postulate an earlier Sultanate school whose work has not yet been discovered. The Niṣmatānīna from Mandu does in fact display already in 1500–10 many of the Deccan’s favourite colours.

The Tarīkh-i Husayn Shāhī also shows in the occasional detail, such as the faces of one or two of its women, a resemblance to the typical female profile of the Caurapāntīcākha group, while its total misunderstanding of various motifs of Iranian painting, such as the invariable use of canopies emanating from windows to cover the royal hero and his womenfolk argues an original Iranian model for the style considerably earlier than 1565. It is not without significance in this respect that the earlier work
from the third kingdom, Golconda, which took part no less eagerly in the destruction of Vijayanagara, is under purest Iranian influence and shows the same characteristics of the Decani scripts. It is among the earliest Golconda manuscripts display influence from Bokhara (Hatif's Khamsat va Shiri of 1569, in Bankipore), Herat (the frontispiece to the medical encyclopaedia of 1572, No.47) and Shiraz (the Amris-i Safavi of 1583, No.49, and Sindbadhuma, No.48). Direct Iranian influence continues at Golconda in the Khaliyiyar of Muhammad of 1612 (1560-1611), this time from the Safavid style, but it is difficult to believe that the Safavid baton, cut which died in Iranian painting about 1560, could still be in use in Golconda painting as late as 1600, the date suggested for the manuscript in its single published appearance. Within its highly Persianized style, but with some original Decani characteristics now at last appearing in Golconda painting, we would like to assign it as early a date as is consistent with the admittedly confused chronology of the royal author's poems, i.e. c.1590. To this same period, following Douglas Barrett, we would assign the five Golconda paintings now in the British Museum showing Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah in his court, which display the developed early Golconda style fully for the first time, with its density of composition, built up often in layers, and lovely collisions of pinks and greens.

Little is known of the school of Ahmadnagar from the later 16th century apart from a few portraits, although it may have contributed artists to the Mughal studio (No.50). From the school of Bijapur has survived one magnificent manuscript (No.52) the Penname of the Bijapuri poet Hams, which once contains three separate strands of Bijapuri painting c.1591. It is noteworthy that increased Mughal penetration of the Deccan from the late Akbar period onwards, together with possible artists of Mughal origin, may have introduced new styles. The drawn attention, resulted in a much denser Decani style in the early 17th century in which landscape elements are much more important and are treated in much greater depth in the Mughal manner. However, there are no surviving manuscripts illustrating the superbly sumptuous quality of Decani painting at this period, as the best artists poured their finest work into individual paintings. These must also have been done for the monarchs, who were by and large an immensely cultivated and civilized group; unlike most of their northern equivalents, they were conversant, and indeed favoured and wrote, in the languages of their people, and Telugu – Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's poems in his Khaliyiyar are in Dakhni, not Persian, as is the Penname of Hams, the Bijapuri manuscript of 1591 (No.52). Hamsz putative patron, Ibrahim II 'Adil Shah (1580-1627), was the author, again in Dakhni, of a work on Indian music, and may possibly have commissioned the various sets of Ragaonnada paintings known from this period. They collected books and patronized poets and scholars – one of the great histories of Muslim India, Ferishta's Golshahi-i Ibrahim was written under court patronage in Bijapur, while innumerable poets and scholars in Arabic and Persian from many parts of the Muslim world flocked to their courts.

51. 'Firman' of Muhammad ibn Tughluq, Delhi, 1325.

52. Diplomatic character of the main text. Sometimes the side-pieces also contain Thuluth inscriptions, at right angles to the body of the text, but the name of the abjad is not. Instead, the inscriptions of the manuscripts surround the whole, with its own cover of lots of petals. There are always more ornate medallions, either circular or rectangular, or two or more near the inscriptive panels, and in this latter case usually an area, triangular, semi-circular, or half an octagon with points, protruding into the margin, with half versions of itself at top and bottom along the extent of the upper and lower edges of the panel of illumination. The pattern of this illumination is based on that of 14th-century Persian and Mamluk Koran manuscripts, also known from later Indian Korans in Behari script, which retained this pattern in a frozen state. In Iran of course it went on developing with a multiplicity of palmettes and their incorporation into the marginal arabesques in the Safavid period (50).

As for the content of the illumination, there are the usual motifs of the abaque (planes and chains with leaves and tendrils in gold and colours) and leaf sprays, but with more varied colours and in different shapes from Persian or Arab illumination. But more exotic, and hence presumably Indian, are the sprays of flowers found in many of these manuscripts as well as the elegant patterns of leaves and flowers forming the ground in the text panels. The main motif in the latter is a five-petalised flower seen from the side, either like a crotch or with petals drawn in again throughout the illumination. This is met with also in much a damaged, earlier Indian Ms. Considerable care is taken in the spray of unoutlined leaves seen in Shirazi illumination from about 1370, but here in various colours, quite often a lighter on a dark shade of the same colour, or vice-versa, which is seen in other Sultanate illumination (Nos.19, 20). The colourist has, in comparison with the Middle Eastern Korans, a normal range of golds and blues, heavily emphasized the subsidiary colours – red and green and especially black. The manuscript with a double-page geometric frontispiece in the Il-Khshid and Manasel manner of the 14th century, formed by lines radiating from a central star, with Kufic inscriptions in gold above and below. No other such illumination is known from any Il-Khshid manuscript, not even in the 15th-century manuscripts in Behari based on this model. It is the dying gasp of that earlier, now vanished, Il-Khshid style of the Tughluqs. This pair of illuminated pages, and the next two likewise, use an extremely clumsy and ill-imitated Kufic for the inscriptive panels, over illumination that, despite much damage and repair, seems in consonance with the rest
of the manuscript. Suddenly, in the next two double-pages of illumination, the narrative avatar becomes the master of a bold and commanding presence, a role which is repeated on the pernicious illuminated double-pages. A new wave of illumination appears in which the borders and headings are in Thuluth, in a hand much finer than that of Mahmud Shih Bih." detailed comments made in the manuscript itself reveals that some time between its writing in 1350 and the large-scale and clumsy illuminations which adorned it in the 1380s, the manuscript went through a significant transformation. The colors used and color combinations essayed are, simply, unbelievable for 1399, whether written in India or elsewhere in the Islamic world. They make no sense whatever in terms of what is known of Indian painting around 1400—the flaming reds, yellows and oranges in which this Koran abounds are never seen in western Indian painting for example, of which we have continuous examples from 1390 through to 1600. We must of course make allowances for provincialism—not only was India provincial in terms of the totality of Muslim culture, Gwalior was itself provincial within Indian Muslim culture. Thus we may readily accept the strange outline of the content of the illumination—the odd flower shapes and tendrils, and awkward, squashed, boilerplate medieval fraternity, artists do not suddenly create works out of thin air, without reference to their artistic and cultural milieu, so evidence which contradicts these principles of composition may be assigned to the repainting. Space does not permit here a detailed account of this process of repainting. Suffice it to say that comparison between the two pages of a double-page composition frequently reveals a feature that has been overpainted on one side and not the other, and that for this feature that shocks its virulent and unorthodox colouratura, there may be found elsewhere in the manuscript but painted in colours which are perfectly consonant with what might be expected from northern India about 1400. When and where the overpainting was done is not clear. It happened sometime before the large-scale clastic restoration, as it like, it was done in the 15th century and has not been subjected to the same process. There must have been a fairly rapid deterioration of the condition of the MS. between the two events, the former of which may be placed in the 15th century and the latter in the 19th. There is no reason to suppose that the first overpainting was done in India—that is, in conjunction with the Middle Eastern work of the period.

Collection of H.J. Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, Geneva, Ms.32.
provenance.

This Shahnameh is generally in a pro-
vincial Shirazi style in a sub-Timurid idiom, with paintings of small format mostly occupying horizontal bands across the page. It is in many instances naive to the point of quaintness, and its extreme remoteness from Shiraz undeniable.

A provenance in India is suggested by two pieces of evidence. The first is a statement which is the old one prior to that prepared by Prince Baisangan of Herat for his 1342 edition of the Shahnameh, and the other is almost universally used since, has the additional information that the artist Firdausi, when fleing from his patron Muzaffar of Ghiyath, took refuge in India at the court of the King of Delhi, which would be in line with the provenance that all sub-Timurid manuscripts employ.

Shahnameh. The Shahnameh is a Persian epic poem by Abolhosn, who was a Persian poet and nobleman. The poem is the most famous work of Persian literature, and it tells the history of the Persian people from the beginning of the world to the time of the Arab conquest. The Shahnameh is a rich source of information about Persian history, culture, and mythology.

The text of this manuscript is divided into two parts: the first part contains the poem, and the second part contains the commentary. The manuscript is written in Persian and is accompanied by detailed illustrations, which are considered to be some of the finest examples of Persian miniature painting. The illustrations are rich in color and detail, and they depict scenes from the history of the Persians, as well as other topics from Persian literature and mythology.

The manuscript is an important example of Persian miniature painting, and it is considered to be one of the finest works of its kind. It is a valuable resource for students of Persian literature and history, as well as for those interested in the art of manuscript painting.
all 'Kalpasutra' colour plate X

The Book of the Rituals (see No. 24). The Kalpasutra was copied in 1496/ 1497-98 at the court of Maranda (Mandu) in the reign of Sultan Mahmud (1490-1517), for a Jain monastery at Ghatlin and Gani. This Ms. and its companion unnumbered Ms. (1056) of the Kalpasyasutra were sturdily and gracefully written, and it is the first considerable advance in Jain manuscripts, since those of the late 14th century. The style is inimitable and assured, there is a greater freedom of composition, and a wealth of ornament, which the artist had also seen some Persian manuscripts of the early 15th century, since he has incorporated the high-round horizon into some of his paintings. The concept of a horizon, and the consequent differentiation between ground and sky, was not unknown before this to Jain manuscripts, since some slightly earlier Jain manuscripts do show a triangle of blue in one upper corner. However, this is the first time that the high-round Persian horizon is properly depicted, although obviously the artist was not prepared to treat it as a structural aid to composition—in some miniatures, he returns to tri- angular pieces of sky at the top two corners, in others to a wavy line across the top, which is also the favoured horizon of the Kalpasutra manuscripts (No. 20). 

Against the cherry-red background of the miniatures, the human figures are drawn in thick, lovely brown and black against which their garments of pink, blue, green, and yellow are set off. The execution is elegant. The Ms. is remarkable for its range of lovely textures, employing very different materials from those contemporary with it. This Ms. is a fine example of early Jain manuscripts of this period, and also for its details of contemporary furniture—chairs, a lovely silk curtain and red, with details in crimson, blue, green, gold, white and black, and high lights in mother-of-pearl. The standard flesh colour employed is yellow, against a red background. 

Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1.3.1892

If 10:30 am: thin, light-brown paper (after replacements on slightly thicker paper); 15 lines of Jain text on red, text 24 lines wide; slightly left of centre line of blank in each page: 36 paintings, about 11.2 X 7.5 cm, including borders in red and yellow. 

Bibliography: Unpublished. 

For the close visual resemblance, see Loyce 1975, and references given there; and Brown 1941.

30 'Kalpasutra' Book of the Ritual (see No. 24).

The tradition of richly illuminated pre-Christian script is carried on in the Kalpasutra, most sumptuous happiness in Gujarat itself, with this famous undated Ms. of the Kalpasutra, and the magnificent presentation of the Devanagari Pada Bhadrakali in Ahmedabad, but from which very few copies have descended. 

The Ms. has unfortunately been dispersed before it could be described, and even the small number of miniatures is not now known, nor has the colophon been fully recorded. Nothing is known of the artist, who was prepared at the request of Sars and Jutia who lived at the part of Ganjirah, near Brij (on the mouth of the Narmada) but the part of the codex containing the date is missing. 

The commissioners must have been extremely wealthy and wanted no expenses spared in producing the most sumptuous hand-made book. The text is written in gold or silver ink on grounds of red, blue, deep purple or black. The miniatures of the Kalpasutra are in a good but not outstanding style of the late 15th century, usually applied to Jain manuscripts of the middle ground, with lavish use of gold in the figures, and the usual range of other colours. The miniatures of the Kalpasutra are one of the best preserved and finest. The arms of the miniature are more ambitious, and often occupy the full space between the side margins, although the space is not treated as a single unit but broken up into several scenes. 

The important figures on the top and bottom margins are painted on more than one side, of a texture both figurative and decorative. The side margins of the pages with miniatures usually contain more than one single or double dancing pose; she usually in typical Jaina style in three-quarter profile with projecting eye, but occasionally the artist experiments with pulling her face round to eliminate the projecting eye, and also to show her in full face. She resembles in these latter poses the type of face seen in the Berlin room (15.3.33) which similarly seems to be the result of experimenting in the depiction of the head at different angles, leaving a very round face with eyes quite close together. All the miniatures of this style are similarly observed in the full detail and liveliness manner with animals, horses, men, landscapes, mythological beings with wings, others raised above clouds (of the Chinese-ribbon variety), ships, arabesques, birds, trees, flowers and more, providing the greatest source of Indian decorative motifs before the Mughal period. The total effect in terms of taste is of course deplorable, but its decorative potential cannot be denied. 

There is obviously quite close Iranian influence on the Ms., of which the Chinese ribbon-clouds with rosettes, first seen in Timurid painting of the 15th century, is the most straightforward. However, they are not used here, however, simply show the range of the Indian imagination in this field and the thorough mingling of native Indian and Iranian motifs which is first observable in the 1391 Kaj and the 1423 Ms., some of whose floral ideas recur here. The scene of the Kalpa story in one of the small Kalpasutra stories is a close imitation of the number of variations of turban types, and the like, but partly reflects the contemporary dress of Gujarat. At least one of the turban types was still extant in Sind in 1723. The Sati King himself has replaced his old-fashioned ghoti with a turban-like cap, and his finals appear; mixture of jaima and shatir and hammad Bản, the horses ride are of the native stan scallop variety, and are not Timurid in appearance. In short, we feel that the direct Iranian influence on the Ms. is more than superficial. There would argue that all of its stylistic con- cepts would have existed already in the syncretic culture of 14th-century Gujarat. 

The uniqueness of this is that the artist has been willing to experiment boldly while illustrating a text usually bound by conventional stereotypes. Only one other comparable manuscript has so far been found, a Kalpasutra and Kalkranchari设置了 dated 1491 from Patan, which shows on the evidence of the little of it so far published a similar liveliness in invention, while the 'Persian' revisions of the traditional concepts of the Sati King and his followers such as the new carpet designs and new presentations are also present. The date usually ascribed to the Brench Ms. of 1424 is too early, too early, and the rights place the right, behind it there seems to stand some quite widespread Sultanate style of illustrating Persian manuscripts, of which as yet we have no evidence for Gujarat but which could only be in its formative stages by 1475. The dispersed amy Khamar was the good of known Gujarati proverbs c.1450. A date nearer 1520 would seem more appropriate for this Kalpasutra, although we would not seek to portulate influence in either direction between it and the Patan Ms. of 1501. 

National Museum, New Delhi, 70-64-19. 

Provenance—ex Devanagari Pada Bhadrakali, Ahmedabad.

1926/27. 56 X 46 cm; paper; seven lines of red or silver ink on coloured grounds in panels, 7 x 14 cm, with margins of decorative palmettes and foliate scrolls; plain paper; gold diamond with blue scrollover were left left of margin, mussed foremargins; no marginal decorations on verso; all margins decorated with simple sash or weshowie designs; number of miniatures unknown, from about 15.3.5 to 15.3.5; unknown, 15.3.5. 

Bibliography: Brown 1937 (Being a suggested date is a century too late). 

The story of the monk Kalka (see No. 28). 

The text is the long anonymous Prakt illustrated from the diary of the traditional Jain school that is observable in the Kalpasutra pointed at Mande in 1490. 

The MS. is the same as the Kalka, this MS. is remarkable, within the Jain tradition, for its depiction of reality. This MS. is of a good detail. The people, the projecting eye, while still present, is easily removable, leaving its basic form, and any further interpretation reveals a尿gmented round corner as in the Ganeprthakalika style. A version of the hair in the arth classified, but with less knowledge of its true appearance than in the 1424 example, rather than the proper circular one which is seen in 1459. The manuscript may preserve a slightly earlier example. 

Ishwara Lal Dharbhakshi Institute, Ahmedabad, Ill., Ms. No. 103. 

If 14:00 am: 15 lines of Jain text on red ruled margins; red stellar pattern on recto, slightly left of centre, the same plus red roundels on the margins on verso; 19 paintings, about 10 X 7.2 cm; unbound. 


Brown 1953.


33 Inter cover. Krishna with maha (cowgirl).


34 ‘Hamanzama’

Illustrated on p.46.

The Romance of the Amir Hamam, a Persian epic on the legendary exploits of a hero named Hamam from the Province of Herat, conflated with those of a 9th century hero who fought against the infidels.

This text seems to have been especially popular among the Muslims of India, doubtless because of its topical nature. In addition to this Sultanate version, it was the first major undertakings of the studio set up by Akbar, who wanted a manuscript on a gigantic scale (No.54).

This Hamanzama manuscript is perhaps only slightly later in date, and is decidedly more Indian in treatment, than the dispersed Amir Khusraw Ms. The viewpoint is still the horizontal, against a plain ground. Wavy stripes sometimes denote a horizon, but it is essentially irrelevant to the composition. The figurational style as we have come to expect is totally complete on the normally Jaina ones, in contrast to the Middle-Eastern figurative tradition.

Although the artist was working in a more or less ‘Indianized’ style evolved from the Jaina, we cannot follow Stchoukine and argue that the provenance must therefore be considered. This work is known from Delhi, Jaipur and Mardol, as well as Gujarat and Rajputtan. Pramod Chandra more convincingly points to the Jaina resemblance between the Hamanzama and the Jaina manuscripts of the 12th century from Delhi, and it does seem to us that a northern origin for the Hamanzama is more likely, as the Jaina tradition from which the Hamanzama sprang is itself known from Delhi and Jaipur manuscripts than the Gujarati ones. The Ms. however cannot have been illustrated in a court milieu. We would date it to about 1410.

35 ‘Piaglasatavvyakhya’

An anonymous commentary in Sanskrit on the principles ascribed to Pragila in the Prakrit literature. It is only a verse 3 page Pragila, of indeterminate date, but earlier than Bhartab (2nd century A.D.) and credited with the earliest codification of rules on Sanskrit metre, but the work on Pragita metres is in fact a very much later work, probably not earlier than the 14th century. This palm-leaf manuscript is important not so much for its text but for its binding boards, which have painted interiors. The palm has been dated in the year 772 of the Labamaana era (1421-2) and the text itself not the first of a script very close to the Bhagavata; the Ms. provenance is thus fixed in Mathura, I.H. North of