whither many of the Mughal artists had migrated with their working apparatus of sketches, designs and pounces, and where some of the great Mughal manuscripts also went. The Padvabnamas (No. 82) is in the royal library of Lucknow in 1776, where it was extensively refurbished, and a good number of paintings probably removed. Whether any were substituted is as yet a debatable point, as there is considerable confusion over the Mughal style from the reign of Shah Jahan onwards. There are features in absolutely authentic manuscripts such as the Gulistan and Bistam of 1628–9 (Nos. 79–80) which appear to be of 18th-century date, but which is absolutely impossible that they could be, as the Gulistan at least had left India for England by 1638.

In addition to the archaizing work, the Delhi studio was turning out work in the latest Mughal style in these histories of Shah Jahan (Nos. 127, 137) and other texts, which have a sumptuous appearance but do not repay close inspection. Then the heavy modelling, dull colours and weaknesses of drawing are only too apparent. Presumably, first-class artists were employed on the archaizing work leaving the second-rank artists to get on with this type of work. Many artists in Delhi in the early 17th century commanded a wide range of styles depending on the patron for a particular project. Ghulam Ali Khun for example (Nos. 135–6, 138), worked for the Emperors in the Mughal style and for James Skinner in the ‘Company’ style. The best traditional work of this period was done for a remarkable patron, Maharao Raja Vinay Singh of Alwar (1813–37), who maintained in his palace a flourishing studio for the production of manuscripts. As a patron he demanded the highest standards and invariably got them: standards of calligraphy, illumination and binding. One thing alone he could not command, artistic genius; the paintings in his manuscripts are excellent, far superior to the usual Delhi work, but the best artists had by now passed beyond the Mughal style. He employed Ghulam Ali Khun, for example, to illustrate some of the paintings of the Gulistan of 1844–56, his most important manuscript (No. 138), but this artist had twenty years earlier been working in a far more compelling manner for patrons such as James Skinner and John Fraser (Nos. 135–6); new life could not be breathed into this outworn idiom. It was Ghulam Ali Khun, however, who painted the last great work of the Mughal period, a portrait of the last Emperor, Bahadur Shih II, bringing the insights of his Company manner to illuminate the pathos of the last descendant of Bbur, the Mughal conqueror of Hindustan.

While it is true that the influence of the Mughals was so pervasive that scarcely any region of India escaped being affected in its visual art forms, whether painting or architecture, nonetheless there were various areas on the fringes of the Mughal empire such as Orissa and Assam and the extreme south of India where this influence was only minimal and incidental, revealed more by details of costume or architecture than by any radical reappraisal of traditional methods in the light of new techniques. The whole of eastern India—Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Assam—is one such area that may usefully be considered together.

The Pala style of palm-leaf illumination, although destroyed in its monastic strongholds at the end of the 12th century, survived among families of artists into the 15th century (No. 31), and its influence was still felt thereafter. Eastern India also responded to developments elsewhere; thus the two sets of covers of 1499 and 1499 (Nos. 35, 33) reflect respectively a progressive tradition which was common to western and
which the drawing is spread over several sewn-together leaves, but in fact in style and technique they are indistinguishable from the 18th-century manuscripts, which usually are in an immensely ponderous style. The heaviness of limb which is present in the previous century’s figures is now unrelieved by the lightness and grace of its line, while the contrast in the 17th-century style between areas of exquisitely detailed work and of blank background which gives it so much of its charm has been blurred by the inclusion of too much detail and the consequent lessening of empty space. The result is sometimes too funny. In this century also colouring is more widely applied to some of the details, particularly figures, architecture and plants, which tends to offset the fussiness of detail in the best examples, such as the lovely manuscripts of the Amaruwataka in Bhunabeshwar and the Rūṣeśvara in the British Library (No. 117). In the 16th century there appear many more such manuscripts, colour washes of reds or yellows are applied to the ground rather than to the figures with even greater loss of distinctiveness.

It would seem clear that there were several separate centres of manuscript production in Orissa, but it is not yet possible to distinguish them adequately. They are all united however by the continuous use of such ancient motifs as the positioning of figures under cusped arches or in pavilions. Even in the best-known of the paper-period manuscripts from Orissa, the dispersed 18th-century Gitagovinda which owes so much to a Rajput influence, doubtless brought in the train of one of the Rajput governors for the Mughals, this usage is found. The brilliance of colouring of this manuscript is very unlike the palm-leaf Orissan manuscripts, but the luxuriance of the vegetation and the fussiness of detail are very similar.

One of the earliest reliable historical references we have to Assam concerns its manuscript traditions. Bāna in his biography of the Emperor Harsha (c. 606–646) tells us that King Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa (Assam) sent as presents to Harsha various treasures including jewels, silks and ‘volumes of fine writing with leaves made from aloe bark, and of the hue of the ripe pink cucumber’. This writing material is called sīnuśūpāt, and has been described above. Although no manuscripts of this early date have been recovered, we do have some from the 15th century (British Library Or. 8902), now blackened with age, while the 17th- and 8th-century manuscripts fully merit Bāna’s lovely description of the colour (Nos. 120–2). Paper was also used for Assamese manuscripts, but of a peculiar kind. Known as talūpāt, it is traditionally made from ginned and felted cotton.

The earliest reference to Assamese manuscript illustration occurs in the biography of the Vaishnava saint Shankaradeva (c. 1449–1558) who is said to have painted on talūpāt scenes from the celestial worlds, and also the picture of an elephant which he then stuck on to a wooden manuscript case and presented to his royal patron in Cooch Behar; Shankaradeva himself spent most of his life at the court of the king of Cooch Behar, having been driven out of Assam proper, and any paintings by him would be in a similar style. However no surviving manuscript with illustrations in the Assamese tradition is earlier than the mid-17th century. The manuscript on talūpāt of a Bhāgavata Purāṇa in the Bali Satra in Nowgong bears a date equivalent to AD 1590, but this is highly suspect as it is an added date, not part of the colophon. It, like the Kirtanagāthī (No. 119) in the same style, bears plentiful evidence of a 17th-century origin through the ubiquitous presence of the type of pagri or turban associated with Popular Mughal and Rajput painting of this century, and which is seen in no Hindu or Jain manuscript of an earlier period. There is moreover not a single other example of the style dated from earlier than the latter part of the 17th century. The presence of this turban indicates a date for both the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and Kirtanagāthī of slightly later than the recorded importation of artists into Assam under Pratap Singh (1603–41). Many of these artists were from Cooch Behar, whose Rajas were of the same family as the Darrang Rajas of Assam, and which had come under Mughal rule early in the reign of Jahāngīr.

No artistic productions are known to originate definitely from Cooch Behar before the end of the 18th century, but that is not to say that they did not exist. The origin of the Assamese style must be sought in manuscripts and artists who must have journeyed up the Brahmaputra from Bengal, possibly under the Pālas, but more likely following the collapse of that dynasty and the establishment of Muslim rule in Bengal about 1220. We know that Buddhist monks fled to Nepal, where Buddhism was still prospering. What more likely than that Hindu would have fled to a neighbouring Hindu kingdom such as Assam, which remained free of Muslim domination for many centuries following the collapse of the Pālas? For this Assamese school is full of references to the Pāla style, i.e. the habit of showing all activities under lobed arches, extended in the case of these very wide leaves latitudinally across the page, and the representation of characters using mudrās to express themselves. The exquisite colours of Pāla miniatures have been succeeeded, however, as in many of the medieval schools, by a crude preponderance of blue and red which are universally used for the backgrounds, the red below the arches and blue above. There is of course a horizontal viewpoint. The line is crude, but immensely vigorous, displaying the strength of a developing rather than a declining style. All figures are in strict profile. Women wear wide skirts with a kind of scarf around their upper parts and without any covering for their hair which is tied in a bun at the nape. Men wear the dhoti and Popular Mughal turban. Trees are stylized monochrome ovals with the outline of branches and leaves sketched over them. Architectural elements are indicated by rudimentary outlines. The paintings of these manuscripts invariably share a page with the text which is usually in lines above the painting, although sometimes for special effect the text is in the centre of the folio as in the Rāsmahāpanā where Krishna and the gopīs form their circle all around the text panel, and occasionally a smaller painting is added on top of the larger one, but to one side. Important passages have marginal illumination all around both text and painting, usually of a plain colour with yellow or white simple patterns on top. The total effect although crude in aesthetic terms is both charming and immensely effective at the level of religious art.

Although apparently such manuscripts were connected particularly with the Vaishnava sattras or monasteries of Assam, yet they were patronized and commissioned by the Ahom kings who followed Shiva/ Shakti Hinduism. Rudra Singh (156–714) for example commissioned a Gitagovinda manuscript and others were produced in the reign of his successor Bib Singh (174–44) in this style, though it is noticeable that developments have occurred in the style in the meantime. Elements of landscape have been introduced, the function of the multi-cusped arch
overhead has become much less clear and it is used for decoration. In one manuscript (the Anandalahiri of about 1730) the curves have been ironed out into right angles.

It was when the Ahom kings began to commission illustrated manuscripts that most changes came over this monastic style. The Ahom kings were able to resist attempts by the early Mughals to add Assam to their empire, but in 1662 an expedition led by Mir Jumla captured their capital Garhgaon and succeeding in making the Ahom king Jayadvaja pay tribute to Delhi. The success was shortlived in imperialist terms, for the Ahoms were able to recover their position over the next 20 years, and Assam was finally lost to the Mughals by 1681. It is interesting to note that the Mughal commander at one time was Raja Rám Singh of Amber; he was recalled in 1676 and doubtless brought with him the perfectly preserved group of Assamse manuscripts now in the royal library of Amber (Jaipur). These are on strawberry-pink leaves of sandalwood, with beautiful paricitric decorations on the edges of the leaves.

One of the results of the Mughal attempts to conquer Assam was its being opened up to outside influences, and there are references to artists from outside Assam being brought there in the 16th and early 17th centuries. This included apparently under Mir Jumla’s occupation of Garhgaon the introduction of painters from Delhi, some of whom stayed there. Certainly it is at this time that the kings began to patronize painters to illustrate their manuscripts, and it was under Rudra Singh (1676–1714) that formal court dress in the Mughal style was introduced. It was however under the patronage of his son Sib Singh (1714–44) and his four successive queens that we find considerable numbers of illustrated manuscripts of royal provenance, associated particularly with the flowering of Assamse literature that took place at the court led by Kavichandra Chhavravarti, who composed the first Assamse translation of the Vaishnav Bhrceansvara Puraṣya (No. 122) at the instigation of the first queen Rama Kanti, and of the Anandalahiri, a Tantric work, at the instigation of the second, Phuleshvari. This lady was an ardent persecuter of the Vaishnavas in Assam. Her death in 1731 was followed by the king’s marriage to her cousin, a Vaishnava lady, Ambab, for whom was compiled an impressive work on ornithology (Hastridyaparna of No. 120) by Sukumara Bari Kari in 1734, and the Dharwa Puraṣya by Kavichandra in 1736 (No. 121). There are several other manuscripts also surviving from this period. All of them display the same characteristics of being on a grand scale, with large sheets of aloe bark, lavishly illustrated and beautifully written, while often the portraits of kings and queens are added being shown receiving the manuscript from the author or scribe.

By the 1730s the Ahom court style differed considerably from the popular Assamse style of No. 119, although the latter was in continuous production up to the end of the 18th century. Whereas the popular school retained many of the characteristics of early eastern Indian painting, such as the presentation of all events and personages under elongated architectural motifs, and is remarkable chiefly perhaps for the immense physical vigour displayed by its protagonists, such characteristics were abandoned by the Ahom court painters in favour of a bland conformity to certain Mughal ideals. Important male figures now wear Mughal costume, and the ladies have exchanged their billowing skirts for a saris. Both sexes now wear shawls round their upper bodies. Modelling is sometimes attempted, and, quite often, faces are in three-quarter profile.

Occasionally the viewpoint is raised so that trees can be shown in the middle distance. Very rarely is a horizon shown (there are one or two instances in the Hastridyaparna of 1734) but more usual are a few clouds at the top of the flat ground green. All the cusped arches have disappeared, but are replaced often by a stepped interface between text and painting possibly derived from the rectangular upper features of the Anandalahiri manuscript.

Like the Mughal school, the Ahom court style suddenly appears without any transitional stage, and may perhaps be put down to individual genius, whether of patron or artist. In fact three artists seem to have been responsible for most of the school’s surviving production in Sib Singh’s reign—Badha Ligar, who painted the Somakhadavada of 1726, the Dharwarpurana of 1736 (No. 121) and the Bhagavata Purana Book 6 of 1737, while two artists Dilbar and doṣai were responsible for the Hastredyaparna of 1734 (No. 120). In the succeeding reigns there are very few surviving productions and none of royal provenance until the Darwärjaparaśvāvala of 1791, a history of the kings of Darrang who were subordinate to the Ahom kings and related to the kings of Cooch Behar. It is noticeable that Bengali influence has increased in this manuscript considerably, especially in the architecture where the flat-roofed Ahom palaces have been replaced by curving roofs of Bengali provenance. This is taken to the furthest extreme in the last great royal Assam manuscript, the Brahmkhandara of 1836 (No. 122), commissioned by Purandara Singh, the last ruler of Assam (1818 and 1832–8). Although new elements in the 1836 manuscript include paintings of British officers and of sepoyas in British uniforms, the style is still triumphantly Assamese, and bears no trace of Europeanisms in its technique. Indeed, the artist Durgārāma Bhaṣṭa has carried the rather desiccated Ahom court style to much greater heights of inventiveness, experimenting freely with landscape and architecture. The ground is covered with tufts of flowers or shrubs growing out of little hillocks, while mountainous terrain is represented in one of the most charming landscape stylizations ever seen even in India, hillocks in rows behind one another all of different colours, with animals and birds playing hide-and-seek among them, and flowers and trees crowning their summits. Everywhere are birds and insects, sometimes dominating the composition. The manuscript marks the end of the independent style of Assam, with since Purandara Singh’s dethronement in 1838, there was no significant patron left.

Southern India, the southern part of the Deccan plateau and the coastal plains down to Cape Comorin, although subject to periodic raids and conquest by the Muslim rulers of the north, developed along her own lines in comparative freedom. No amount of cross-fertilization of cultures could induce her to abandon her traditional, austere approach to the palm leaf, in striking contrast to the lavish paintings on temple and palace walls. There is not a single painted palm-leaf manuscript later than the Digambara Jain manuscripts of Moodhabidri of c. 1112, whose style seems related to the fragmentary frescoes found on the earlier Badami caves of northern Karnataka. Not a single illustrated manuscript is associated with the great kingdom of Vijayanagar (1336–1565), where the painting flourished in fresco form. Even the popular drawings on palm leaves which flourished in Orissa had no discernible influence further south. The huge palm-leaf manuscript libraries of
Trivandrum, Tanjore, Mysore and Madras can only muster between them two solitary folios showing this art, of 19th-century date. Nor is it possible to point to more than a few wooden manuscript covers decorated in any way. The Telugus were slightly less austere than the Tamilis, and there are a few interesting covers decorated with ivory, either in the form of ivory inlaid in wood (No.123) or complete sheets of ivory pegged to wooden cores and incised.

The establishment of schools of manuscript illustration on paper in the Muslim courts of the northern Deccan in the 16th century seems to have had little effect on Hindu manuscript production for about a century. The use of paper was slowly spreading southwards during the 16th century through the Mahrratta country, and it is late in the following century that the increasingly politically important Mahrratta courts began to patronize painting. The most flourishing school of Mahrratta manuscript production was, however, at their court in Tanjore. Venkaji, half-brother to Shivaji, the fiercest antagonist of the Mughals in the Deccan, and a general in the service of the 'Adil Shahr of Bijapur, drove out the last of the Nayar rulers of Tanjore and established himself on the throne in 1676. Sahaji II, his successor, was a patron of art and literature, but few, if any, paintings have survived from this period. Surviving examples of Tanjore manuscript painting from the mid-18th century are highly distinctive, and are fully formed. The origin of the style is to be found in Vijayanagar art of the 16th century, of which survive only frescoes at Lepakshi and a few other places, but which must have been widespread over most of southern India. The collapse of the empire in 1565, and the desiccation and ossification of the style into a highly stylised art of icon painting, with heavily modelled and elaborately jewelled, crowned and gilded figures of the deity. Under the patronage of the Mahrratta kings of Tanjore some of the 18th-century manuscripts, such as the early Adaentara and Gajalakshmi manuscripts, now in the Saravanashri Mahal Library in Tanjore, display a levelling of this heavy style with elements, particularly colouring, of Deccani painting, transmitted intact from the 17th century. These delightful manuscripts on the origin, classification and care of horses and elephants, inhabit a world of colour and fantasy. Suddenly, under the cultured Sargabhoji II (1759-1805), a liberally bibliophile in the European tradition, who reorganized the palace library, had thousands of manuscripts collected and copied, and collected books in English and French from the presses of London and Paris, this style was exposed to a disastrous European influence, resulting in a coarsening and a lowering of standards through an attempt to conform to refined European ideas of modelling and landscape.

The earliest Tanjore manuscripts are in a large, upright bound format, but more usual from the time of Sargabhoji on is a reverse to the pahari format on a large scale, with the text in a central panel within wide margins running from edge to edge and crossing over each other. These margins could then be decorated with floral and arabesque motifs, often derived in the 19th century from European rather than Indian inspiration. Miniatures, if added, would be within the central panel (No.124). This type of pahari complete with marginal decorations was a model for the production of the early lithographic presses of Bombay, which kept to the traditional format for the production of Hindu texts such as the epics and Puranas.

In the Deccan itself a similar Mahrratta style seems to have been practised in the late 18th century in Nagpur, and a flourishing southern school, allied to that of Tanjore, in Mysore. Under the patronage of the Mysore Raja, lavishly gilded manuscripts in Kannada of the Ramayana and similar texts were prepared in the 19th century.

Throughout the centuries in which Muslim and Hindu book-production had continued side by side, there had been scarcely any approach between the two until the 18th century. In Kashmir, the traditional format of birch bark had been changed to accommodate the bark sheets being sewn and bound, and in Rajasthan we begin to find papers being sewn, even if as yet only in a single section, from the mid-17th century. Yet is was not until Hindu patrons demanded from their scribes and illuminators, as well as their painters, the standards which Muslim patrons expected as of right, that Hindu manuscripts approached in quality those of Persian manuscripts. For no matter how much attention they paid to the paintings in their manuscripts, Hindu patrons had very low standards of expectation from their scribes. Even so important a work as the Mewar Ramayana of 1649-53 (Nos.91-7) is written in a thoroughly careless manner, with mistakes painted out in yellow rather than the whole page being rewritten. Until, in fact, Hindus were willing to treat calligraphy as a serious art, no improvements along these lines could be expected. It was in Kashmir that standards were first established in this field.

The Kashmiri style of painting has an obscure origin not yet properly fathomed. It is found only in 18th- and 19th-century manuscripts, and is then fully formed. The paintings are always on a small scale, enclosed by the text, with simple compositions, often a group of people in front of a pavilion to left or right, set in a landscape. Recession in the landscape is attempted by drawing various horizons across it, each of the sections being differently coloured, and usually with purple rocks on top of each horizon. In Persian manuscripts, human hands tend to wear antique Persian dress rather than contemporary costume, with the high Chaghatay headdress and long gown for women and long, front-opening gowns (peshaus) for men. The architecture is usually a simple pavilion in contemporary style with a canopy stretched from it. There is a marked fondness for very bright reds and oranges for items of dress, these often covered with gold, with greens, browns and purples in the landscape. The horizon is often dotted with tall firs, the sky beyond being slate-blue.

Comparatively few of these manuscripts bear dates or provenances, but for the latter the place mentioned is 'in Kashmir', i.e. the vale of Kashmir around Srinagar. The manuscript of the Shikandana (No.125) from Rajauri offers perhaps some evidence as to the origin of the style, as many of the characteristic traits of the Kashmiri style are present therein already. This we have seen is the product of the influence of Delhi artists on some unknown local style. Rajauri is on the normal Mughal route from the Punjab up to the vale of Kashmir. Going further back in time and further down onto the plains, there is in a private collection in London a manuscript in Panjabi of the Avtaraparvan of the Mahabharata dated 1749/1692, which bears numerous illustrations in two styles, the earlier being a provincial Mughal style of the late 17th century, the other a Kashmiri style of a century later. In the earlier style it exhibits numerous features, like the Rajauri manuscript, which are later incorporated into the Kashmiri style, particularly the landscape (which is very hilly, so hence probably from near the mountains) and architectural

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elements. Here in this Hindu manuscript, however, the people wear normal contemporary dress. The absence of any Hindu manuscript from Kashmir of a narrative kind (rather than the ubiquitous collections of stotras, Pancharatra etc.) makes comparison difficult, but obvious resemblances between the Avadhaaparayan and the Kashmiri narrative anthology (No.126) are the use of spandrels to close off the top two corners, and the headgear worn by pundits and Brahmins, a cloth bag that covers the hair on top of the head and encloses it at the back also. In the latter manuscript the few lay male figures all wear the short jima and turban of Popular Mughal work of the 17th century.

It would seem then that the style of Kashmir is based at least partly on a late 17th-century provincial style from the northern Panjab which spread up into the northern-most hills via such places as Rajauri, and in Kashmir may have influenced an already existing style about which we know nothing as yet. There is every likelihood that a Sultanate style was in existence in Kashmir based on 15th-century Shiraz work, which would account for the format of the Persian manuscripts illustrated in the valley—very archaic in layout, with their small paintings enclosed in the text. This gradual diffusion of artistic styles to Kashmir via both artists and the physical travels of manuscripts (the Avadamahaparayan travelled to Kashmir where it was added to) is in contrast to the way styles developed in the hill states east of the Sutlej. Being ruled by Hindu chiefs favoring a 'Rajput' style of art, developing within their own traditions as there was no style in neighbouring territories sufficiently in tune for them to be influenced. The forms, when exposed to a full blast of Mughal influence of the Muhammad Shah period by artists fleeing Delhi during the disasters of the 18th century.

It has scarcely been necessary in this discussion of Kashmiri painting to distinguish between Muslim and Hindu styles, for here in Kashmir there occurred in the 18th century a spontaneous synthesis in which Hindu manuscript illumination came closest to Muslim. They adopted the same format as Muslim manuscripts, the broad volume, with the text, beautifully written by Kashmiri scribes in an elegant Nāgara within golden and coloured margins in a central panel, on fine paper, with border decorations of floral subjects around miniatures, and in one manuscript at least (No.126), uniquely, an attempt at the haṭṭ̄āṭh̄ illuminated in gold as in Mughal manuscripts. The typical Kashmiri illumination of saralchā and amānd, broad bands in gold, blue and pink providing the ground for arabesques and flowers, a style based on a certain strand of Mughal illuminations found as early as the 1570 Avari-i Shahiyi (No.57), is found as the frontispiece to Hindu and Muslim manuscripts alike. The elegance of the Nāgara script found in fine-quality Kashmiri manuscripts is unique in India; only Jaipur manuscripts can compare with it, but here the scribes were often Kashmiri anyway. They revived the ancient practice of writing with gold and silver ink on blue or black paper (No.11), a characteristic of Nepalese manuscripts but not seen in Indian manuscripts before. They even were prepared to bind their manuscripts in leather—although this does not appear on illuminated manuscripts, it does on birch-bark manuscripts bound in codex form. In the mid-18th century they had adopted the vertical format of Persian manuscripts (as in No.126), with the text parallel to the short side of the folio, and therefore by the end of the century they had reverted generally for their gathas (small bound volumes) to writing parallel to the long side, and binding along that edge. The boards were sometimes painted and lacquered, but more usually covered in cloth, as in Jaipur, embroidered with silk or gold or silver wire (Nos.125-6).

The Maharājas of Jaipur from Jai Singh II (1720-43), the famous astronomer and builder of the city of Jaipur, began to commission first-class work for their already well-stocked pojhihāna, and to bring the standards prevailing in Kashmir to the plains. A lovely manuscript of the Sarvārānasaghana dated 1704/1737, is perhaps the earliest example of this trend, apparently commissioned by Jai Singh when in Agra. It is in both in elegant Nāgara on gold-sprinkled paper in central panels, the latter in equally elegant Nāgara in side panels on the bias in white clouds against gold, decorated with flowers, with triangular panels of illumination and thirty-three paintings. Succeeding manuscripts done at Jaipur or commissioned from Kashmir script continue this trend. It seems to have been partly occasioned by a desire of Hindu patrons to have manuscripts of the Hindu sacred texts as beautiful and elegant as copies of the Koran, and the number of texts finely illuminated in this way is small, principally the Bhagavadgītā with its associated smaller texts (No.129), the Devimāhātmya, and some Shiva stotras, while the Gitagovinda (No.128), though more a poet than religious text, was also so treated.

These texts as well as the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and a few others were also written in minute script on long paper scrolls and handsomely illuminated. This kind of work appears to have been done at various centres in northern India—Jaipur, Alwar, Benares, which makes use of Persian features such as the saralchā to begin the scroll, and largely borrows the early 19th-century Delhi style for the miniatures (No.130). These features were generally diffused throughout northern India in the early 19th century, so that many Hindustani Sanskrit texts are automatically enclosed within margins ruled in gold and colours and bound up in codex form.
A small group of paintings in this Ms. is by an artist much more attuned to the most recent style of the Bhaghpal court. His technique is much more complex, allowing subtle effects of colouring on the ground, where he uses stippling, while his animals are subtly drawn and modelled, as distinct from the charming but linear animals of the other artist. The paintings in this Ms. vary considerably in size and shape, some being retained within the old format of the text panels, others putting the margins in various ways. The total effect is somewhat undisciplined, as compared with a royal Ms. of the time. The calligraphy is a good To’lūq, but rather colored and compact.

British Library, London, Or.4317, ff.287v: 30 v.19cm.; paper: cream-colored; 21 lines To’lūq script in panels 20 x 15 cm. with ruled margins; brown, brown, and brown; one unrolled; seven paintings, unsigned, full page within the same type of ruled margins; modern binding.


In an ornamental and inscribed Koran in the British Library (Or. 1287) has this combination of artistic elements and text for an elaborately written and beautifully decorated manuscript.

In addition, the Rahim اللهاکی script is found in four Ms., 2-6A, and now vanished, appears to be from this same studio, and written by the calligrapher of the To’lūq. Ghamigah’s list of contributing artists is unfortunately too long to be mentioned here.

80  ‘Shahnama’

Illustrated on p. 102.

The evidence of the Persian kings by Firdawsi (see No.22).

This Ms. bears the inscription that it was given by his late Majesty Jahangir in the 8th year of the reign (1624/1625) to Ilahiвлади Chel, and that the latter gave it to his brother Khwaja Muhammad Badiuddin, Ilahiвлади Chel is known as a pupil of the famous ‘A’lai Chel, and Ilahi влади Chel, and that there is no reason to doubt the inscription. However, no mention of the Ms., except in one (2) of the 1545, has been made of the date 1562/1563. There are 89 miniatures, most with attributions to artists in a neat hand in ink on the pictures them-
The 1598 Razmnama exhibits three kinds of work. Principally, it is the standard Mughal painting of the period but simplified to a greater or lesser degree. Rarer is a move to the Cleveland Museum collection, which pre-Mughal characteristics are included, and which constitutes a link between the pre-Mughal schools and the popular Mughal tradition of the Manley (No.8) and Berlin Rāgamales. Finally in this manuscript by Bhagvan illustrates this linkage perfectly, while f.13b by Bhaiyān shows the emergent Rāgamales characteristic of using architecture to fill background space without regard to structural principles. Also rare is a more progressive style in illustration, in which colours are sparingly applied in pale washes, highlighted in gold. The painting in which Rāma's servant wears the turban in the dholi's household (f.4a of Or.12076) painted by Da'id, the brother of the great artist Daud, is one of the earliest specimens of this style, which proved extremely popular in the early decades of the next century. Artists who worked on this Razmnama include Ka米兰 and Barviri, who both worked for the Khānkhānān, in Kamal's case, in the 4th century. An inscription justifying the manuscript. It is probable therefore that it was commissioned by the Khānkhānān.

British Museum, Or. 12076, f.13b, 30 x 21 cm; beige paper; small Nashki hand, 27 lines in panels 20 x 15 cm with margins ruled in gold; some replacement folios, many marginal repairs; 24 paintings of varying sizes, attributed (for artists see No. 43); another major portion is in the Baroda Museum; some small Nashki modern binding.


89 'Baghavata Purana'

'Baghavata Purana' (Plate XXXIV)

The commentaries, the Ragamala, an album of paintings count to be pictorial representations of a rāga or rāgas, the modes of Indian music. Within each rāga being personified as male with five wives or rāgini, and in the more elaborate systems with rāgāpatra or sons also. First of all, apparently a literal concert, each mode was described in verse in Sanskrit, and later in Hindi. From at least the 15th century, the verses were made the subject of paintings. It does not appear to have been a defined system of design, but one which appeared to the taste of the Great Mughals, but it would certainly have done to the rāgini robes of the Mughal court, for one of whom possibly this set in a Popular Mughal style was made and used. The set is almost complete, having 34 of the paintings of a set of 36, with verses in Sanskrit inscribed at the top. The text followed is of unknown authorship, first appears about 1500-50, and is associated to Ebeling the main source of the Rajasthani tradition of Rāgamales verses.

The compositions are usually very simple with an extremely simplified Mughal landscape - green with sometimes a rocky horizon, sometimes only a merging into the sky, the lower part of which in pink, merging above into white and then slate blue. Architecture and dress conform to Popular Mughal type, while the female is a slight advance in elegance on those first seen in the 1598 Razmnama, wearing the skirt, short bodice, pāṭi and transparent ornh draped over her head, and round her skirt - the back of her head is still often simply pointed, and she is still liberally adorned with pompons. There are perfunctory attempts at modelling. The esoteric glories of the manuscripts are simply sympathetic depiction of birds and animals, and the beautiful stylised trees, which make no attempt at a Mughal naturalistic depiction but instead are a fully formed and fully styled pattern of brightly coloured leaved over a darker ground, the main units being about 16 x 16 cm, and Agra is the only clearly defined known centre for this work, although an attempt has recently been made to claim a pointer to a Bundelkhand origin for it.

Some time before 1747 it almost certainly appeared the library of the Rāgamales chief in Khān Bahān, since it was acquired by one Williams White in the Rohullah Campaign, in the year 1774' (No.11). Warner had it bound up, in the usual manner, and interspersed so that he could write notes on the subjects of the paintings, entirely fanciful, as he himself states.Apparently before 1774, when the subject was a separate foliation in the Khān Bahān Rāgamales, corresponding to the clearly labeled Rāgamales enumeration instead of its present and during one of the sources of the rāgas were written, correctly, as was Rāmā, probably that of the chief, Rāhmat Bahān. These were chopped in binding. In 1815 it was given to Mary Sugarman from whom it passed to her father.


f.184v 17 x 22 cm, brown paper in two lines of Nāgas, with Nāga inscriptions; English descriptions and captions; 34 paintings, in frames ruled in black, blue and yellow, about 25 x 14 cm; many repairs to the European binding in the Bibliography: Ashburn 1950, no.1, painting 17; Ebeling 1973, pp.161-2.

90 'Bhagavata Purana'

'Baghavata Purana' (Plate XXXIII, XXXIV)

The Legends of Krishna (see No. 40).

This incomparable manuscript (Canto 8 and 11-12) of the Purana was copied in Udaipur by the scribe Javant in 1705-16, and is heavily illustrated in the Mewar style. The artist is named at the foot of two of the miniatures as Sāhīb Din (f.40 of Canto 8, and f.41 of Canto 9), who flourished in Udaipur between 1628 and 1655, his greatest work occurring in the Rājasthān of 1649-51 (Nos.22-26). It is difficult to believe that all of the work in this Purana was executed as a whole, as many of the texts are on an extremely simple level, with the exception of certain key passages such as the Elephant's deliverance which begins the eighth chapter. The most important in the Purana, is missing, and it is possible that a few scattered and damaged pages of a much more ambitious type, were originally Sāhīb Din's work in this manuscript. The main folios are in the library of the Rāma and they are in the style of Manohar, whom we met in the first book of the Rājasthān of 1649 (No.9).

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, No.611907-15.

f.141v, fl. 132, 133, 137, 139 31 x 25 cm; country paper; triphāṭī format, various lines of Nāgarī across centre with commentary (of Shihāb al-Dīn); between paragraphs and margins; 129 paintings, 88 full-page, ten 1/4 folios, 19 pages, within red and yellow borders; unbound, without covers.


91-97 'Rājamaasya' of Jagat Singh of Mewar

The Rājiṣṭhān, the Rānīkat epic attributed to the sage Vālmīki, in 20,000 verses. The story of Rāma's banishment of his wife Sītā and brother Lakshman by the wishes of a wicked stumped mother, the life tragic story of forest, the young girl abducted by Rīvana the demon king of Lanka, the befriending of Rāma by the monkeys and bears of the forest and their

91 'Mithila is besetged by Sītā's disappointed suitors. By Manohar.'
about 15 large paintings in Sīhī Dīn’s style. We know that the Moghul paintings in the Alber dette period could take six months for an artist working alone. Even though the Udaipur painters technically, it would be unsafe to allow less than two or three months for one painting. This was the ordinary existence of a quite large studio, if the works were to be completed in a reasonable time. How long depends on the as yet totally unknown number of junior artists working in the studio. He was unable to afford the master artists drawing the compositions and the major figures, there were probably twice this number working in his lesser areas of paint and so on. Even so, with two or three junior artists assisting him, Sīhī Dīn would have taken at least ten years. There is considerable stylistic advancement from the 1628 Rāmāyana to the first paintings of the Ayodhyaśākta, so that it would be reasonable to assume project begun in the late 1630s. Further argument has been made in the Udaïbhādaśākta. Similar calculations apply for the other artists involved.

91 ‘Bālakūḍa’ of the ‘Rāmāyana’
The first book (Book of Childhood) of the Rāmāyana was completed in Udaipur in 1706/16 by Mahātīma Hirānanda, and painted by Manohar. There were originally 70 folios in all, most of them with paintings on one side and text on the other, of which 30 are in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, two in the Baroda Museum, and about 25 in the Sir Cowasji Jeejeebhoy collection in Bombay. The book was commissioned by Āciyār Javant, who was the court librarian, or the administrator of the studio. He was probably the same person as the scribe of the 1708 Bhāgavata by Tulsidas. Manohar is an artist all of whose work occurs in the middle years of the 17th century. The Bālakūḍa is the only signed piece of work, but two other books in the Rāmāyana (Praṇamāyana and Uttarākīraha, Nos.95, 97) are in his general style, and he is also produced other smaller sets about this time. His only known work datable before this Bālakūḍa is a small group of ten paintings at the end of the 11th book of the Bhāgavata (No.69) completed the previous year. His work is difficult, which is of a different manner from the normal Mewar style. The first quarter of the 17th century, has no discernible influence on later work, and represents an at present inexplicable phase in Mewar painting. His compositions and conceptions for the human figure, for architecture, horses and chariots, landscape and vegetation, are all different from those of Sīhī Dīn’s school, while his palette is much harsher, employing garish reds and oranges on occasion as well as a high degree of burnishing. Manohar is a good artist, but is lacking in many of the skills which distinguish Sīhī Dīn’s work. He has little sense of dramatic composition, and is often content to divide up the various episodes of a story within fairly obvious framing devices. When he does juxtapose the same characters side by side, as with the meeting with Parashurāma or Rāma’s breaking of the Vīva bow, the effect is fairly aloof and unemotional. Only in the very occasional painting such as the siege of Mithilā do all his considerable gifts come together in a satisfying and unanswerable way.

Prizes of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, 14.11.20.

f.20 (out of 70): 23 x 39.5 cm; paper; about 5 lines of Nāgāri between margins ruled in red, text area about 15 x 33 cm; each folio painted on recto, with borders red and yellow with text on reverse; unbound.


f.21 (out of 32): 16 x 28 cm; thin brown paper; 2.1 lines of Nāgāri with colophons, details, etc., in red margins with three red vertical lines and two horizontal lines above and below; text area 10 x 26.7 x 32 cm; 68 paintings (17 x 19.7 cm) with red and yellow borders, which usually extend to the edge of the page, but sometimes extend only to the original frame lines; now the folios are all framed in stout European paper and bound up (together with Moti Chand’s Ayodhyaśākta and his other Ayodhyaśākta). European binding prepared for the Duke of Sussex, the covers measuring 32 x 42 cm.


Moti Chand 1955-57.

The Ayodhyaśākta is the work of the Sīhī Dīn studio; with the master perhaps sketching the compositions but leaving most of the colouring to other artists. The paintings are of a very high standard, although some of the núi of this artist’s achievement, which occurs in the Udaybhādaśākta. However, certain sequences, such as the paintings leading up to the departure of Rāma into exile, have an especially fine quality when viewed together that argue the hand of the master himself. Sīhī Dīn’s style is normally one in which the sequence of events are juxtaposed and balanced against one another or against landscape or architecture. Only rarely does he indulge in a grand design. There is a slow build-up of tension through the association of groups of figures to each picture and then through the viewing of the paintings in sequence. Some of the artist’s greatest effects are achieved by the way he treats the scenes of lamination, the disposal of his property, the scenes of farewell to his master. The Ayodhyaśākta builds up detail by detail, small groups of people juxtaposed with other figures. However, the sequence culminates in the farewell scene organized on a grand scale, without regret or sorrow. The whole sequence is accompanied by an exit into exile by the people of Ayodhya with Dusharatha supported by his chariot, his wife and his son, his farewells. It is the ability to handle crowds that distinguishes Sīhī Dīn from other Rajput painters of the 17th century, and indicates that he must at some stage have worked in the Popular Mughul tradition. The crowds he draws are precisely that, and not the served rows favoured by Manohar. All of Sīhī Dīn’s work in this late period indicates long experience in painting from the high viewpoint, in contrast to his 1628 Rāmāyana. It may possibly be that some time between 1628 and his next dated work in 1638, he was in Agra gaining experience of the Mughul tradition. The paintings are for the absence of datable material. British Library, London, Add.15266(1).

Provenance: Royal Library at Udaipur till about 1824; given by Mahātīma Bhūma Singh of Udaipur (1778-1830) to Colonel James Tod and by him presented to the Duke of Suse. George H. Acquired at the sale of the Susse collection in 1844.

ff.22v, 23 x 39 cm; paper, 9.15 lines of Nāgāri between margins ruled in red; 36 paintings, within red and yellow borders; unbound.


92 ‘Aranyakāṇḍa’ of the ‘Rāmāyana’
The Book of the Forest, the third book of the Rāmāyana, which describes the life of the exiles in the forest and the abduction of Sīti by Rāvana, the demon-king of Lanka.

This volume was again commissioned by Javant, written by Hirānanda and completed in 1708/16 while Mahātīma Jagat Singh was regaining victorious in Chittor in Mewar. This emotive usage of the old capital is not meant to imply either that Jagat Singh was living in Chittor, or that the manuscript was copied there. A similar usage in the colophon of the Ājīvikaśākta (No.94) due to the master of the forest. It is the ability to handle crowds that distinguishes Sīhī Dīn from other Rajput painters of the 17th century, and indicates that he must at some stage have worked in the Popular Mughul tradition. The books he draws are precisely that, and not the served rows favoured by Manohar. All of Sīhī Dīn’s work in this late period indicates long experience in painting from the high viewpoint, in contrast to his 1628 Rāmāyana. It may possibly be that some time between 1628 and his next dated work in 1638, he was in Agra gaining experience of the Mughul tradition. The paintings are for the absence of datable material. There are 36 paintings in the Aranyakāṇḍa in a style that is the same as that of Manohar, but possibly not actually by him. The paintings are at a consistently good level for this style, remarkably even in quality. They lack any of the ambitious compositions of the Bālakūḍa, the set pieces with the repetition of the chief characters; instead the artist is content to use standard divisions of architecture or landscape features to divide up the separate scenes of the composition, a river bank or a line of stones to divide his upper layer from his lower one. These devices are remarkably successful. The paintings are slightly restricted than Manohar’s, but far from a poor copy. This folio is unbound, but marked by Barrett as in the same hand as the Bālakūḍa (No.19).

Rāvana sets the golden deer to lure Rāma and Lakṣmana away from Sītā.
99. 186. Harmunim passes through the demoniac Sunbahi who obstructs his flight across the ocean.

ff. 28v, 29v; thin brown paper, with some white fluffs, apparently later; 112–3 lines of Nāgarī with headings etc. in red, but some omitted entirely, between margins in three red lines; sometimes double red lines top and bottom; text area 133 × 28 49.3 × 30.4 mm; 54 paintings, 22 × 38 cm, within plain red or yellow borders with a thin white line; the three in the Manbārī style have the usual red and yellow borders; bound in the same covers as Ayodhyākanda (No. 93).


98. 'Junsandakīnī' of the Rāmāyaṇa

The Beautiful Book, the fifth book of the Rāmāyaṇa, in which, with the aid of Harmunim and the myna birds, Rāma's cover is that Sītā has been abducted by Rāvana, and her rescue is planned. It is not clear whether the fifth book of the Jagat Singh Rāmāyaṇa was ever actually completed, or indeed begun, as no surviving Ms. has a relevant colophon. Although the fifth book includes a few of the Ms. of the Sandakīnī may possibly represent some at least of Jagat Singh's Rāmāyaṇa. Of the 18 books with a Colophon, that of the Kālihāṃḍīkā is the latest, and it bears considerable evidence of not having been properly finished. The Sandakīnī might have been begun earlier, but was allowed to lapse incomplete.

The 18 paintings of the Sandakīnīkāndha

album are in a style that is basically a continuation of the Kālihāṃḍīkāndha style, but since, in contrast to the latter book, there is a considerable amount of human representation, it is easier to see the album as an example of the mixed Mewār-Deccan style first seen in the 'Aurang- shād manuscript of 1652. There are direct resemblances between the human figures in both in the characteristic shape of the head, while the long jowls of the Deccan (as opposed to the Moghul three-quarter length one) seen in the Aurang- shād Ms. also occurs on the person of Vīdhānākha in the Sandakīnīkāndha. There is also self-evident resemblance between the folios in which Rāma and Lakshmana are present, with their very individual garb and hair styles, and their appearance in the Kālihāṃḍīkāndha, while the very individualistic trees are common to both. Again, there is considerable unevenseness of quality between the paintings, arguing a number of hands. There seems little difficulty therefore in accepting this album as of the Mewār school, and of roughly comparable date to the Jagat Singh vol- umes, although probably slightly later than the main body of work, i.e. it is assignable to the early Rājī Singh period, 1652–65. The layout of the text is mostly very similar to the other volumes of the Jagat Singh set, with some variations which are also found in the other volumes, of size and margin, particularly in the Kālihāṃḍīkāndha. However, the text shows many signs of never having been finished, like the Kālihāṃḍīkāndha it is lacking in the red punctuation marks. The final folio, numbered originally 141, does in fact comprise the text of the Rāmāyaṇa in the northern recension of the epic which the Ms. follows. Only the first letter of the word ‘Kīla’ (the paintings were worked on red and yellow borders, unbound originally, despite there being room for some more lines.

The text of the Sandakīnīkāndha is somewhat longer than that of the Kālihāṃḍīkāndha, which in No. 94 occupies 89 folios with 34 paintings. If this Ms. of the Sandakīnīkāndha had been finished (and there seems every reason to believe that the text portion at least was completely written, even if not properly finished off), then covering as it does 141 folios, there would have been very many more paint- ings, probably as many as 100 or all, the rest of which have so far escaped discovery.

India Office Library, London, Skt. MS. 3621:
ff. (18 leaves) ff. 2A 30R (ff. 8A and 9A 24AB 24AC 24AD 24AB 25CB 25CD, 25E and 26 AD 26AB); paper; 18 lines of Nāgarī between margins ruled in three red lines, with some folios having double red lines at top and bottom of text, and with red lines at extreme edge of pages; 18 lines on recto, with text on verso; modern binding.


97. 'Yuddhadakīnī' of the Rāmāyaṇa

Plate XXIII

The Book of the Battle, the sixth book of the Rāmāyaṇa. Rāma and his allies, the monkeys and bears, launch the attack on Lāvakāna and Lāvakāna's forces. After an intense battle, Rāma slays Rāvaka in single combat, and returns with Sītā in triumph to Ayodhyā.

This book was finished in 1709, two months before Jagat Singh's death, again copied by Hīrānīnā in Udāpur. No commission is named in the Ms.; however the colophon ends with the state- ment that Sīhārdī (i.e. Sīhāṛ ad-Dīn) painted the pictures, of which there are 88. In contrast to the attributions to Sīhāṛ ad-Dīn in the 1665 Bhāgavata Purāṇa (No. 90), which are in the margin of the text, there is not underneath two pictures, the inference being that he was responsible for those alone, other artists painting the other paintings, hence that the Yuddhadakīnīkāndha is the statement that he was responsible for them all, and it is by his hands of his full maturity that Sīhāṛ ad-Dīn must be judged as an artist. His complex compositional technique in building up his structure through the use of small groups is here tested to the full in scenes such as the attack on Lāvakāna, which is a triumph of a sort never before seen in Rāmāyaṇa painting. The schematic view of the city, the way the Rājput, indeed native Indian, viewpoint insisted on showing in full from above, is surrounded by a struggling mass of de- mons, monkeys, elephants and horses, rendered in a mass of continuous lines of an Akbar-period historical painting. And this level of achievement is maintained throughout the whole volume. Not all are as complex of course, but there is a continuous tension between picture from picture, that is something very new in Indian book-illustrations.

ff. 206: 23 × 30 cm; smooth brown paper; 9–19 lines of Nāgarī with colophons, dundā etc. in red between margins ruled in three red lines, with two red lines at top and bottom; text area 155 × 29 18 2C 30

 Bibliography: am 1902, pp. 30–32.

Barret and Grey 1913, p. 18.

Coomaraswamy 1921.
This Rajasthani version was copied in Nagari script by the Brahman Cirajmi Raja Ram from Bikaner (near Tonk) in 1818-1873. At the behest of Kanwar Jagvant Singh, son of Bao Raja Sardar Singh of Unija (r.1740-77). Jagvant Singh in 1792 was still a boy; he is depicted as such with his father Sardar Singh in two formal court portraits at the end of the volume, where he appears to be about 12 to 14 years old. He is also depicted with his father in an earlier manuscript dated 1795 of the Bhagavata Purana in the Unija State Collection where he appears to be about 10, but in this case the manuscript was commissioned by his father. It is doubtless a charming portrait on his father’s part that the young prince should have been allowed the use of the royal studio for the production of this book of animal fables, which is couched in the form of moral and political instruction for young princes.

There are 128 illustrations, mostly disposed in horizontal bands across the middle of the page; the artist is named in the colophon as Dhano from Bundi. The miniatures are in a charming style typical of Unija painting, which at this stage is an offshoot of the Bundi style. Dhano’s work seems to him as a great master but as a competent journeyman, occasionally inspired, particularly in the illustrations to the animal stories. His illustration to the beginning of the frame story of Book I, for example, shows his adroit welding together of animal principal with a charming landscape, here populated by monkeys (jathis).

The format is of sheets of country paper, only slightly burnished, folded and sewn with a thick cord in a single section. Limp covers were also sewn on at the same time, a flexible layer of paper pasted together, here covered with dark-brown leather with blind tooling in a Göpping pattern. Leather is barely employed in Hindi manuscripts, but was used not infrequently on 18th-century manuscripts. The Rajasthani courts in imitation of Persian manuscripts. Here the similarity is continued by the use of a flap (jhaba or tongue), which is usually left resting on the top cover, rather than under it as in a Muslim flap, blind tooled, sewn with raw of Ms.

British Library, London, Or. 13034
f.78; country paper; 34 × 24 (30); 24 lines of Nagari between decorated initials; in yellow text; 130 paintings, in horizontal format across centre of page; decorated initials, bordering painting area. The Traditional Indian illustrated manuscripts of the Bhagavata, divinity survive from 1750 onwards (see Norgaard 65, 73, 84). The original Sanskrit versions, Purandara and its successor Hitopadesha, are much less frequently found in illustrated versions.

f.7v. Rama and Sita enjoy their last untroubled moments together.

98 'Balakchanda' of the 'Ramaayana'
The first book of the Sanskrit epic (see No.91).

This huge copy of the Balakchanda copied by Udaiyar in 1796-1797 is one of the best products of the early Sangrampur Singh II (1770-38) period. In style it is consciously archaic as it makes no attempt to use the landscape techniques seen in contemporary Udaiyar court painting, but conforms to Sthik’s Pan’s landscape style. However there have been some developments since the mid-17th century. The size of the figures relative to that of the page has been increased, a trend first brought to Western painting by the artist of the Khushuuddin Chakri (No.94), whose love of dark backgrounds has also filtered through into this new style. A new feature is the use of a great deal of white, in architecture, grounds and other quite large areas, an innovation in the Amar Singh paintings, and altogether a much lighter, colder palette than in the Jagat Singh period.1 Most noticeable however is a sharpness of line and a heaviness of modelling which, together with the coldness of the palette, impart a harshness to the paintings.

Provenance: As No.92.
ff.215b to 286; paper; mostly 2-6, occasionally 15 or 16, lines of Nagari within margins ruled in red; 201 paintings, in red and yellow frames; unbound; brown, new, worn, with fringes and between hard covers.
Bibliography: BM 1902, pp.3-7.

99 'Madhumalati-virat'
The story of Madhumalati, by the Rajasthani poet Camaphui Dri by the two artists simultaneously with four other Rajasthani poems.
The works were written between 1689-1722 by Bhat Harinama at Madhukaraghar, for Lohir Dhuanji. These names are not known from other sources. There are 53 illustrations, the majority illustrating the Madhuma
tali-virat with the rest divided between the next three items: there are besides some 38 small drawings, 11 of them apparently doodles between two of the texts, involving elephants, horses and camels. The paintings are in the style of south-eastern Rajasthan, of Mewar, but Madhukaraghar has so far eluded precise identification.

The paintings are by three different artists, the first of whom has contributed the first 63 in the first two texts in a simplified Mewar idiom, in a bright palette of pinks and reds. The second artist who contributed the 23 paintings in the third text, a much darker palette favouring browns and yellows. The third artist has contributed just two paintings at the beginning of the fourth poem, but in the style more of Bundi than of Mewar.

These two paintings are in fact on separate pieces of paper which have been stuck into the manuscript. The remainder of the fourth poem contains sketch-drawings likewise on separate paper and stuck in.

The Ms is sewn in a single section, with 253 very wide sheets of paper, which have been folded in two and sewn. Stiff card protects the central pages from the friction of the cord, while 16 leaves at the bottom of the pile have been left blank to protect the text pages from the binding. The latter is a piece of leather, with two extra pieces sewn on at the back to make up the total width. To protect the text, the cover protrudes slightly at top and bottom, and is bent round in a flap to the left. The leather is not fastened in any way caused by all the sheets being the same size.

British Library, London, Or.13682.
ff.44 in all with numerous headings, ff.42b with text or painting; each folio (i.e., half sheet) 12 × 9 cm; paper; 17-12 lines of Nagari within narrow margins ruled in red; 201 paintings, in red and yellow frames; unbound; black, new, worn, with fringes and between hard covers.
Bibliography: BM 1902, pp.3-7.

100 'Ragamala'
Illustrated on p.37.
A set of paintings with descriptive Hindi verses illustrative of the musical modes of Indian music. The text used is an anonym
ous Hindi text of 36 quatrains in couplet form, which according to Ebeling first appears about 1700 in Malwa and Bundelkhand.1 There are numerous sets of this type known, all closely related to one another, suggesting a flourishing studio. The main features of the style are small, elegant figures, somewhat elongated, dwarfed by a three-storied architectural backdrop behind, all in white. There are only two known colophons, however, the one without provenance dated 1842-1793, the other dated 1822-76 from Ranthambhor, the latter with the same kind of architecture but with human figures drawn in a more folksy way. The set is obviously a provincial version of the style of a metropolitan centre. The great fortress of Ranthambhor, the guardian of Rajasthani, was at this period on the south-eastern front of the Amber/Jaipur state, having been wrested from the Mughals in the late 17th century, and it has been suggested that these Ragamala sets are actually from Jaipur c.1752. However, no similar Jaipur work of the period is known.

British Library, London, Or.2824.
ff.34 (out of 36); 30 × 21 cm; card with red borders; text and painting in frame of silver, red and white, 3 cm x 12 cm, with text of 6-6 lines Nagari in yellow in panel above, about 4 × 8 cm, with paintings (about 2.5 × 4 cm) protuding into it; on modern guards, in a 17th-century binding of red leather with stamped medallions etc. in gold.

Bibliography: BM 1899, p.37, f.62.

1960 (col. repr. of a very similar set).

British Library, London, Or.1324.
ff.90b-100b, 102b.

101 'Hitopadesha'
Colour Plate News
The Book of Good Counsel, an ancient book of Indian fables, in an anonymous Rajasthani version. The Hitopadesa is a set of fables in four books, told by a sage to a king’s sons to teach them wisdom and polit

The narrative for the first and second millennium AD, by one Nāgīrūpa, of the much earlier Panchatantra, the Five Books. It is this latter work which was translated into Pahlavi, Syriac, Arabic and the languages of Europe, under the title of Kaila and Dinmah, the names of the two jacksals who narrate the frame story of Book I (Karlotta and Damanta in the Sanskrit original). The Arabic version of ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Mu’affa (d.670) formed the basis of Nārā’s Persian version of c.1413. This was extensively rewritten in a more elaborate style by Hussayn Ya’qub ibn Kirdi under the title of Anwa’l-Siyāḥ (The Lights of Canopus) and this version returned to India in the 18th century where it proved very popular. Numerous Indian illustrated manuscripts of the Anwa’l-Siyāḥ survive from 1750 onwards (see Norgaard 65, 73, 84). The original Sanskrit versions, Panchatantra and its successors Hitopadesha, are much less frequently found in illustrated versions.

Bibliography: BM 1902, p.25 (colour repr. of a page).

Buch 1972, fig.48.
102. The Laund "Rāgammalā" is a knowledge of Indian paintings and of calligraphic panels, presented by Archbishop Laud to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in 1619. All its contents and its binding are thus earlier than this date, but how it found its way into the Laund collection is unknown. The album consists of 30 paintings, of which 18 form distinct sets, of a Rāgammalā cycle, with inscriptions in a heavy Nāṣīḷāyā hand identifying the rāgis on each painting, which are of Doṣāca origin, c.1600–20. The other 12 paintings are of scenes from the life of Buddha, portraits, etc., and are mostly in a provincial or popular Mughal style. All the paintings are of calligraphy are mounted in frames of various coloured papers and set in mounts of different colours, usually plain. Some of the calligraphy is in a marvelously painted paper of great beauty; some of the borders are of paper with gold design, while others appear to have been decorated in a process akin to the Batik technique with animals and birds in soft outlines in natural colour on a ground of soft pink. The album is of the greatest importance for various reasons. In its early date, as proven by its 1635 entry into the Bodleian, makes it one of the earliest specimens of Indian art to reach Europe. Had the 12 panels of the thirteenth date, it reflects the taste not of the Emperor or members of his family but of a provincial nobleman or aesthete. Its simplicity renders it a charming survival of the art, and provides valuable evidence that patronage other than the grandest in the land were discerning collectors who were able to pick up together these colophon pages in musaraṇa as their grand patronesses.

103. "Qusāidah" of Nuṣairī Illustrated on p.109. A panegyric in Dakhni Urdu in praise of 'Abdallāh Qubā Shāh of Golconda (1626–72) by Mulla Nuṣairī, copied by 'Ali ʿIbn Naqi al-Husaynī Damghānī. Nuṣairī was the favourite poet of 'Ali Shāh II of Bijapur (1636–72) for whom he composed various works in Dakhni Urdu, including an account of his reign, the Alīnāma. This poem, however, is not a description of Golconda, so that we must suppose it to have been composed perhaps as a royal present from Bijapur to a court of Muslim princes who had originated from Golconda itself, as allusions to architectural resemblance between its sumptuous illumination during the 17th century, it does tend to follow a basically literary format.

The text is written in large Rāqi and smaller Nāsīḷāyā in a central panel, while the margins are illuminated alternately with arabesque or geometric patterns and large stylized plants. The plants are not the delicately naturalistic ones to be seen in Mughal album borders, but manually drawn and painted stylized line on a scene of perfect symmetry, are an arabesque and birds in soft outlines in natural colour on a ground of soft pink. The album is of the greatest importance for various reasons. In its early date, as proven by its 1635 entry into the Bodleian, makes it one of the earliest specimens of Indian art to reach Europe. Had the 12 panels of the thirteenth date, it reflects the taste not of the Emperor or members of his family but of a provincial nobleman or aesthete. Its simplicity renders it a charming survival of the art, and provides valuable evidence that patronage other than the grandest in the land were discerning collectors who were able to pick up together these colophon pages in musaraṇa as their grand patronesses.

104. "Rāslīkāyāṭ" Illustrated on p.110. The Hindi treatise of Keshavadisa on the erotical sentiments in poetical composition and the classification of heroes and heroines of poetry. The work was completed in 1591 at the court of the Rājas of Ojha. The manuscript was copied in Girkhurā of Muhammad Nisārī called Aḥmaḍ Fāl, son of Shāh Dād Qābānī, in 1577/1668, in the Nāṣīḷāyā script and is illustrated with a colophon in a Popular Mughal style. The work was done for a Muslim patron, and so needed to be in a style derived from Golconda. The artist was apparently a Hindu himself and might be associated with architecture, the drawing of the figures, and so on. The female type, which is tall and slender with a small head, and small eyes, wears a bodice and skirt with a non-transparent qafā wrapped around the skirt and up round the head, and resembles the "Malwa" type of about the same period. It is framed by a fine border of architecture associated with a particular school.

Although the large town of Girkhurā in eastern Uttar Pradesh is not known as a centre of painting, there is no reason to suppose that this manuscript could not have been done there, as other places of the same name in India are in no more particular parallels with the present.

We know nothing about its patron, as he is not mentioned in the title page. It includes a biographical dictionary of the 17th century, so that he is probably a local man of no great fame. The style of the painting itself, though dependent on Previous Mughal sources and has developed along lines, particularly in architecture, which are seen in the so-called "Central Indian" group of paintings, which are now generally attributed to Amber/Jaipur (No.100). The existence of this type of architecture, known as the "Rāslīkāyāṭ" and on f.66 may occasion a reassessment of this attribution.

Chethi College, Cambridge, MS. 98, d.5-9.

105. "Khāvānāma" Illustrated on p.110. A Persian poem in epic metre by Manusīn Muhammad Ibn Husain ad-Dirān, known as Ibn Husain (d.1752-70). It relates the fantastic adventures of Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, with his companions, and his battles against various heathen kings principally the Shah- khāvān, who is the title of the work, and dragons and demons.

This Ms. of the work was copied by the scribal Mīlānābād Mūltānī in 1539/1548, with 150 miniature by the artist, Abū al- Hākam Mūltānī. It is laid out on a grand scale, with pictures depicting its heroic subject-matter, in a style of marked peculiarity for the period. There can be little doubt that the Ms. was produced in the city of Mughal, and it is unclear whether the artist is Multanī, and there is a close relationship with architecture, the drawing of the figures, and so on. The female type, which is tall and slender with a small head, and small eyes, wears a bodice and skirt with a non-transparent qafā wrapped around the skirt and up round the head, and resembles the "Malwa" type of about the same period. It is framed by a fine border of architecture associated with a particular school.

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106. "Kārīnāma-‘l Isbā" Illustrated on p.110. The Book of Affairs of Love, a romance in Persian by ‘Ali National Museum of Mohakh. The author was a Hindu, the son of Rizā Māri, Rāz & Khātā Bahānī & in 1271-72 to be obtained an official position in Vakīl of Imamul-Da‘al Qanūt-ad-Dīn Khan, the Viceroy of Muhammad Shah (1271-73). Unfortunately, the Rizā Rūrān, but rather from the official position in Vakīl of Imamul-Da‘al Qanūt-ad-Dīn Khan, the Viceroy of Muhammad Shah (1271-73). Unfortunately, the Rizā Rūrān, but rather from the official position in Vakīl of Imamul-Da‘al Qanūt-ad-Dīn Khan, the Viceroy of Muhammad Shah (1271-73). Unfortunately, the Rizā Rūrān, but rather from the official position in Vakīl of Imamul-Da‘al Qanūt-ad-Dīn Khan, the Viceroy of Muhammad Shah (1271-73). Unfortunately, the Rizā Rūrān, but rather from the official position in Vakīl of Imamul-Da‘al Qanūt-ad-Dīn Khan, the Viceroy of Muhammad Shah (1271-73). Unfortunately, the Rizā Rūrān, but rather from the official position in Vakīl of Imamul-Da‘al Qanūt-ad-Dīn Khan, the Viceroy of Muhammad Shah (1271-73). Unfortunately, the Rizā Rūrān, but rather from the official position in Vakīl of Imamul-Da‘al Qanūt-ad-Dīn Khan, the Viceroy of Muhammad Shah (1271-73). Unfortunately, the Rizā Rūrān, but rather from the official position in Vakīl of Imamul-Da‘al Qanūt-ad-Dīn Khan, the Viceroy of Muhammad Shah (1271-73). Unfortunately, the