





INDIAN PAINTINGS
From the Ludwig Habighorst Collection

J.P. Losty

Francesca Galloway



FOREWORD

The collecting and study of Indian painting have been central to Ludwig Habighorst's life. A chance encounter with Indian miniatures nearly fifty years ago ignited this lifelong passion. For Habighorst, a professor of Radiology, collecting has been a creative and sensual process where he has been guided by his eye and curiosity rather than by a purely academic focus. Hence his partiality for Pahari painting and his particular interest in the visual expression of human nature with its many vicissitudes.

The collection is multifaceted. There are masterpieces and rare treasures such as the two Bilaspur *Bhagavata Purana* folios and the Guler portrait of Raja Dalip Singh attributed to Pandit Seu. Other paintings are compelling for their insight into the human psyche, such as the effects of drugs, the madness of love or the wrath of the gods. The characters of the 'Small Mankot' *Ramayana* are likewise imbued with human emotion.

We thank J.P. Losty for his captivating research and work on this remarkable group of paintings, James Mallinson for his article *Drugs and Religion in India* and we are indebted to Misha Anikst.

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Francesca Galloway



NARASIMHA KILLING HIRANYAKASIPU

Basohli or Nurpur, c. 1690, attributed to Devidasa
 Opaque pigments and gold on paper
 Folio: 20.2 x 20.9 cm
 Miniature: 17 x 18 cm, within a black margin and orange border with a red rule
 Inscribed on the reverse with the number 48

Provenance
 Heeramaneck collection

Published
 Habighorst 2014a, fig. 39, pp. 90–91

Exhibited
 Der Blaue Gott in indischen Miniaturen,
 Mittelrhein Museum, Koblenz,
 2014

Narasimha, the Man-Lion, is the fourth avatar of Vishnu, incarnated to save the earth from the ravages of the demon king Hiranyakasipu. The demon king had conceived a mortal hatred of Vishnu, who in his avatar of Varaha had killed the demon's brother Hiranyaksa. Hiranyakasipu performed extraordinary penances to persuade Brahma to grant him the boons of his not being able to be killed by any possible enemy, divine or human, nor at any possible time or place. Thus fortified, he considered himself immune from any attack by Vishnu. He also had a son Prahlada who was the very opposite and was, along with his mother, a worshipper of Vishnu. Hiranyakasipu greatly oppressed Prahlada and tried to torture him out of his belief. Prahlada prayed to Vishnu for relief from this oppression and the god appeared as Narasimha, half man and half lion, and killed the demon. He emerged from out of a pillar in a courtyard – as neither man nor beast, neither in nor out of a building, neither on the earth nor in the sky and at neither day nor night since it was at twilight – thereby fulfilling all the conditions of the boon given by Brahma to Hiranyakasipu.

In this dramatic representation of this moment, the artist sets the scene in a verandah with a pillar to either side and a central, split asunder, pillar out of which Narasimha has just burst, leaving intact its capital and base.

Narasimha is still in the air, the blue feet of his human lower half flying out from under his yellow dhoti, his leonine mane flying and his tongue hanging out as he places the demon king across his thighs and rends him asunder with his claws with fearful concentration. The demon king hangs upside down across his knees, his legs in the air, still hanging on to his sword and shield, but with his turban falling across the border. To the side stands Prahlada, his hands in prayer and holding a takht or wooden writing board with a prayer to Vishnu.

The image is a close parallel stylistically to work attributed to the artist Devidasa of Nurpur, who is known to be the artist of the 1695 *Rasamanjari* (Goswamy and Fischer 2011a 'Devidasa'), and to whom a small number of *ragamala* paintings have been attributed (*ibid.*, figs 8–10; Seyller and Mittal 2014, no. 2; Goswamy and Fischer 2017, no. 5). The pillars, pavilion, *chajja* etc. against the plain ground are all elements found in the work of Devidasa. No other *Dasavatara* paintings attributed to Devidasa have so far come to light. There is also an obvious parallel to the work of the early 18th-century artist who painted a *Dasavatara* set from Chamba, with four paintings in the Mittal Museum in Hyderabad, especially in the appearance and posture of Prahlada in the Narasimha painting and the general composition (Seyller and Mittal 2014, no. 13).



A PRINCE WITH A FALCON,
PERHAPS MIAN KAILASHPAT DEV OF BANDRALTA

Bandralta or Mankot, c. 1700–20,
attributed to the Master at the
Court of Mankot or his circle
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio: 21 x 16 cm
Miniature: 17 x 12.5 cm, within dark
brown and crimson margins and a
red border
Inscribed in Takri above: sri Bhai Singh
Mandi di surat ('portrait of Bhai
Singh of Mandi') and on the verso:
surat Bhai Singh di

Provenance
Sotheby's London, 17 December 1969,
lot 156
Sotheby's New York, 11 January 1985,
lot 426

Exhibited
Götter, Herrscher, Lotosblumen. Indische
Miniaturmalerei aus 4
Jahrhunderten, Kreissparkasse
Westerwald, Montabaur, 2003
Blumen, Bäume, Göttergärten,
Völkerkunde-Museum, Hamburg,
2013

A young prince in late adolescence is sitting with a falcon on his gloved left hand. His incipient moustache and beard demonstrate his youthfulness. His vertical eyelashes are particularly noticeable. His right hand holds the tassel of his sword which is resting on his lap in its crimson scabbard and protruding into the red surround. He is dressed in a white *jama* decorated with small red flowers in a diaper pattern and a plain white *patka* and turban decorated with a long white tasselled feather. A very large *katâr* is stuck through his *patka* on his left side. The blue rug he is sitting on has a diaper pattern of red flowers. The background is a rich saffron.

This elegant and incisive portrait poses several questions. Its format is that developed in the Mankot idiom in the late 17th, early 18th century. The seated prince occupies a large part of the picture surface, the rug is viewed in plan and fills the lower third of the surface and a coloured background fills the remainder. The inscriptions do not seem relevant to the painting, so we are left to speculate. The small state of Bandralta, with its capital at Ramnagar about 30 miles east–northeast of Jammu, and in thrall like Mankot to its large neighbour throughout the 18th century, has been put forward in the Sotheby's New York catalogue and is here explored.

Bandralta paintings are very rare, and early ones even rarer. What seems to be a securely dated fairly early one is in the Goenka collection (Goswamy and Bhatia 1999, no. 174) dated 1733 and is of the prince Rajpat Dev worshipping the baby Krishna. Rajpat Dev was the son of Indra Dev (r. c. 1730–c. 1760), of whom some portraits are known from the mid-century (Archer 1973, Bandralta nos 1–5), and the portrait shows him as

an adolescent dressed in a flamboyantly striped floor-length *jama* while the baby Krishna sits on a decorated *chauki* on a high plinth. The background (there is no ground as such) is a rich saffron similar to that in our portrait with the addition of two lobed and decorated spandrels. The prince has the same sort of profile and eye as our prince but his head has developed a typically Jammu-like chunkiness, so that if our much more sober portrait is from Bandralta then it has to be earlier.

What seems to be another portrait of this same prince on a striped red rug, holding the line attached to his gauntlet which lies beside him with the falcon also on the rug looking at him, is published in Tandan 1982, pl. XL. It is inscribed as being of Mian Kishan Singh of Jasrota, although it is not known what reliance can be placed on this, and attributed to Mankot c. 1720. It is perhaps a copy of another portrait of our prince but by a less distinguished artist. Another portrait of our young prince was in the Heeramanek collection (Heeramanek 1984, pl. 103), slightly older with more beard showing, seated on a striped rug with another young prince with vases of flowers behind, against a rich saffron background like ours, and attributed to Mankot, c. 1700. Another portrait is in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, again uninscribed, showing a young prince seated on a carpet and smoking from a hookah (Roy 2008, pp. 124–25), where it is dated to c. 1700 and from Mankot. If it is of the same prince, he would seem to be a year or two older with a more developed moustache. He appears again in a portrait in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Coomaraswamy 1916, pl. XXXIV), there with an inscription Raja Hataf Bandral. Whereas Hataf seems an unknown name, Bandral is definitely a



link to the small state of Bandralta. Yet another prince, smoking a hookah and seated on a striped durrie against the same rich saffron ground, in the Chandigarh Museum, is possibly another portrait of the same young man, and this one of prime importance since it is the one inscribed *sabi Meju di* ('Meju's portrait'), and is attributed to 'The Master at the Court of Mankot possibly Meju' (Goswamy and Fischer 1992, pp. 96–125, fig. 31; Goswamy and Fischer 2011b 'Meju', fig. 12).

These portraits are probably not all of the same prince, since the format was fairly standardised for young princes in the Mankot idiom. Our man's nose is perhaps slightly retroussé for instance, whereas the others are mostly straight or slightly aquiline. What distinguishes our portrait, which among these is mirrored only in the Heeramanek double portrait, is an incisiveness, an absolute clarity of design, in the verticals and sweeping curves of the figure's outline, in the beautiful poise of the head on the column of the neck. 'Meju' was of course the artist to whom are attributed the horizontal and vertical Mankot *Bhagavata Puranas*, a dispersed *Ragamala*, and a small number of incisive portraits. His portrait work is most brilliant when painting non-royal subjects (Goswamy and Fischer 1992, nos 38 & 39), but of course his royal portraits such as those of Mahipat Dev of Mankot (*ibid.*, nos 36 & 37) are equally good even if in a more standardised format. It is noticeable that Mahipat Dev and a few other Mankot portrait subjects including the one labelled Meju are shown wearing a double cummerbund,

the inner one much broader and darker in colour compared with the narrower outer one. This is an accessory that is not worn by our young prince, but is worn by the young prince in the Tandan, Heeramanek and Boston collections. None of the admittedly later Bandralta portraits show this feature. Whether or not this is an important sartorial distinction is not clear at present.

The same authorities point out the extremely close stylistic relationship between portraiture in Mankot and Bandralta and posit artists from both states working in either place. That indeed is what seems to have happened in this case. Either 'Meju' or someone equally good was the artist of our Bandralta princely portrait. The vertical eyelashes on our prince do not seem to have been a feature of 'Meju's' own portraiture, but it is noticeable that such a trait is featured in the next important Mankot series, the *Ramayana* of 1720–30 (see nos 3–5).

If our painting is indeed from Bandralta, then it could be that our prince is Raja Indra Dev in his youth, c. 1720, of whom all the portraits show his keen interest in flowers, either in reality or as decorations on his *jama*, although against this they all show him to have a slightly aquiline nose compared with our youth's slightly retroussé one. More likely perhaps it is of his father Raja Kailashpat Dev (r. c. 1715–c. 1730), of whom a securely inscribed portrait in the Lahore Museum from around 1750 (Aijazuddin 1977, Bandralta 1) shows a similar retroussé nose to that of our prince, as well as a similar interest in floral sprigs and flowered *jamas*.



THREE PAGES FROM THE
'SMALL MANKOT' RAMAYANA

The series from which these pages come first emerged in the early 1970s and its forty or so pages from the *Kishkindhakanda* are now widely dispersed. It was first thought to come from Mankot 1700–10 and as a product of influence from Basohli, characterised by 'its swirling rhythms, strong and sturdy forms, avoidance of rich or intricate details and gay anarchic spirit' (Archer 1976, nos 65 & 66). It has since been called the 'Small Mankot' *Ramayana* and dated to 1710–25 (Britschgi and Fischer 2008, no. 43). Other scholars place it in Nurpur c. 1720 (Leach 1986, pp. 312–14, and Seyller and Mittal 2014, no. 10). It is returned to Mankot in Losty 2017 (no. 19), where it is thought to carry on stylistically from the 'vertical' *Bhagavata Purana* series from Mankot from c. 1720. Whether from Nurpur or Mankot, it is one of the great Pahari series, both beautiful and full of energy. Notable features of the style include a concentration on essentials: the mountains formed of vertically striated deep pink fingers edged with vegetation, a few trees with divided trunks and thick dark canopies of

leaves, our tall, slender heroes and the pink monkeys with the chiefs wearing splendid large crowns and many jewels and with access to fine brocade *patkas* to wrap round their waists to keep their small drawers in place. All is placed against a deep-coloured ground below a blue sky and tangled or streaky white clouds.

The series can never have been intended as a full manuscript of the *Ramayana*, since the texts on the reverse are verses condensed from the individual chapters. Indeed, our first of the three rare and splendid pages from the Habighorst collection, the first of the series, makes this clear: it has a heading calling the series a 'picture book'. The then known pages from the series mostly in sale catalogues are listed in Leach 1986, p. 312, when discussing the single page in the Cleveland Museum; another six pages are published in Britschgi and Fischer 2008 (nos 40, 43, 45, 48–50). Two pages are now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and others are in various private collections including the Kronos collection (McInerney 2016, no. 62).



3

SUGRIVA'S FEAR ON FIRST SEEING RAMA AND LAKSMANA

Mankot, 1720–30
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio: 20.5 x 30.8 cm
Miniature: 17 x 27.2 cm, within a
black margin and a red border
with a red rule
Inscribed on the verso in nagari with
the folio number 1 and the
condensed text of the *Ramayana*,
Kiskindhakanda chapter 1. Headed
by *Sri Ramayane Ki[s]kindha citra
kanda* ('picture [book] of the
Kiskindhakanda in the *Ramayana*')
and a colophon calling it 'The fear
of Sugriva on seeing Rama'

Provenance
Dr Herbert Härtel collection

Published
De Sellier 2011, pp. 32–33
Habighorst 2011, fig. 60, p. 85
Habighorst 2014a, fig. 41, pp. 94–95

Exhibited
Der Blaue Gott in indischen Miniaturen,
Mittelrhein Museum, Koblenz, 2014

At the beginning of the fourth book of the *Ramayana*, Rama and Lakshmana have reached the forest of Kiskindha in their search for the abducted Sita and catch sight of the distant Risyamuka mountain. This is the seat of the exiled Sugriva, the king of the monkeys ousted by his brother Bali, and Sugriva perched on his mountain top is suddenly terrified by these strangers approaching his lair. The mountain is formed of and is set against a deep green ground.

The slender Rama and Lakshmana, still very youthful in appearance, are wearing their leaf kilts and caps and are armed with their bows and arrows; indeed the watchful Rama points to the monkeys and holds an arrow in his hand in case of attack. Hanuman, the pink monkey, attempts to calm Sugriva's fears. Other monkeys attempt to hide in the trees in their mountain fastness where tigers, wild boar and wild asses roam.





HANUMAN BRINGS RAMA AND LAKSMANA TO MEET SUGRIVA

Mankot, 1720–30
 Opaque pigments, gold and silver
 on paper
 Folio: 20.5 x 30.8 cm
 Miniature: 16.8 x 27 cm, within a
 black margin and a red border
 with a red rule
 Inscribed on the verso in *nagari* with
 the folio number 6 and the
 condensed text of the *Ramayana*,
Kiskindhakanda canto 5 and a
 colophon calling it 'Sugriva gives
 tree branches for seats to Rama
 and Lakshmana'

Provenance
 Paul Walter collection

Published
 Pal 1978, cat. 55, pp. 160–61

Rama and Lakshmana have told Sugriva all about Rama's exile from Ayodhya and how Sita has been abducted, and Sugriva in turn has told them about his brother Bali stealing his wife and his kingdom. Sugriva breaks off a flowering branch of a shal tree for Rama to sit on and a sandal one for Lakshmana and they and Hanuman sit down to discuss what to do. Sugriva listens inquiringly to Rama as he tells him that Bali will that day be killed, as does Hanuman to Lakshmana's corroboration of his brother's vow. The four are placed on the mountain top, seated on branches, with a tree on either side. The deep pink mountain is set against a green ground with a tree on either side.





SAMPATI ANNOUNCES HIS PRESENCE
TO THE FASTING MONKEYS

Mankot, 1720–30
Opaque pigments, gold and silver
on paper
Folio: 20.7 x 31.3 cm
Miniature: 16.7 x 2.8 cm, within a
black margin and a red border
with a red rule
Inscribed on the verso in *nagari* with
the folio number 48 and the
condensed text of the *Ramayana*,
Kiskindhakanda canto 56 and a
colophon calling it 'Sampati comes
to tell of Sita's travail'

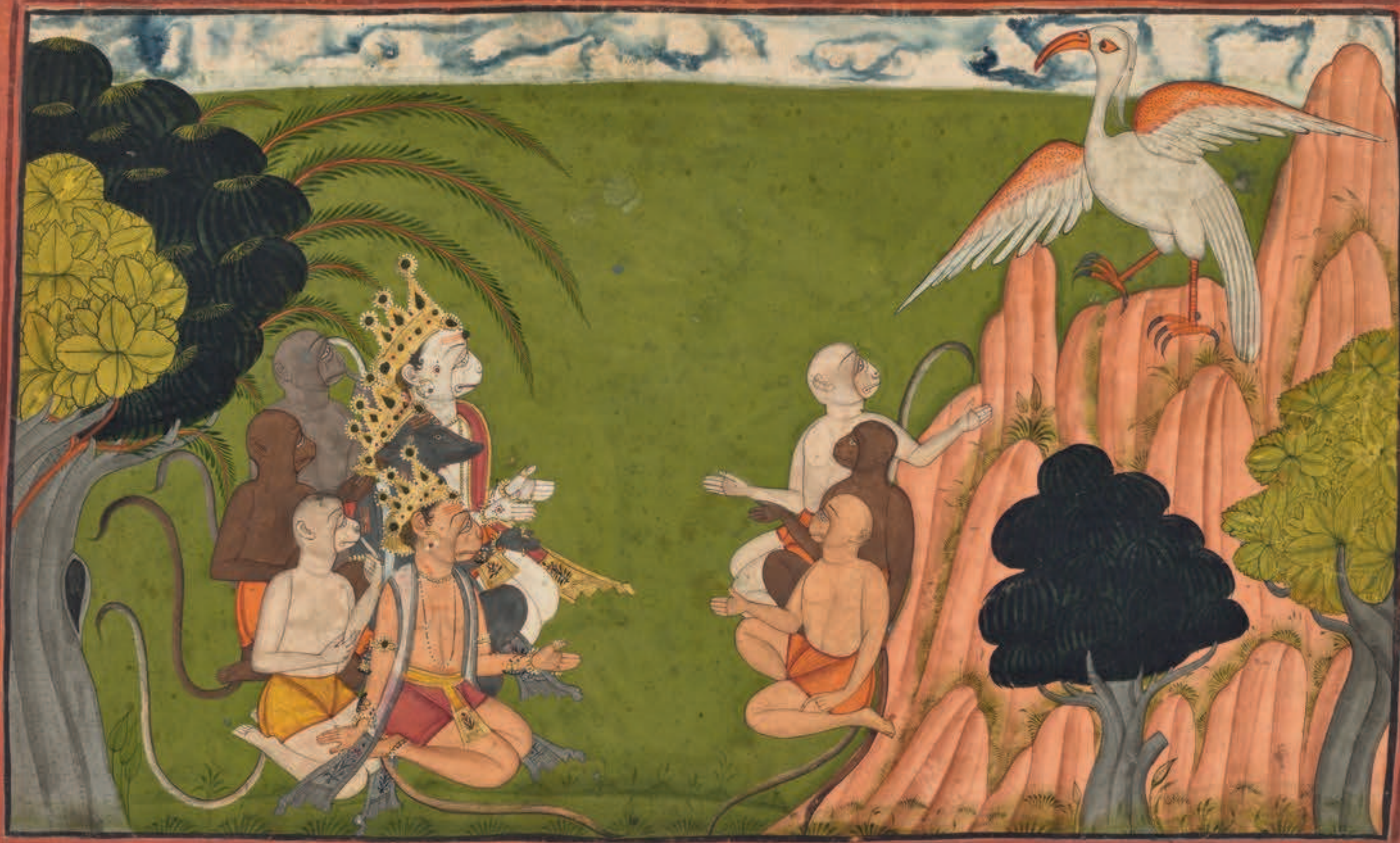
Provenance
Dr Herbert Härtel collection

Being unable to find Sita, the party of monkeys sent to the south, headed by Hanuman, Bali's son Angada and Jambavan, the king of the bears, have resolved to fast to death, in imitation of Jatayu, who embraced death in Rama's service by attempting to rescue Sita from Ravana's clutches, rather than return to Rama and Sugriva unaware of her fate. Sampati, the old king of the vultures, perched on his mountain top, hears them talk of his brother Jatayu, and asks for help to descend the mountain, since he can no longer fly having scorched his wings, so that they can tell him about his brother and he can tell them about Sita. The searchers are crouched down under the trees, fearful of the vulture king lest he should decide to eat them, opposite the mountain on which Sampati resides.

Sampati's mountain is rather like Sugriva's, composed of pink fingers, but is here to the side, balanced by the trees on the other side under which the monkeys are crouching. The curving branches of the trees above are echoed by the elegantly curved tails of the monkeys. Again, the scene is set against a green ground.

Two pages in the Seitz and Fischer collections in the Museum Rietberg show the next in the series, as first two monkeys help Sampati down from the mountain while the chiefs of the search party wait below, and then Sampati tells them what he has seen of Sita's abduction (Britschgi and Fischer 2008, nos 49–50).





RAJA DALIP SINGH OF GULER PERFORMING PUJA

Guler, c. 1740, attributed to Pandit Seu
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio: 27 x 19.6 cm
Miniature: 24.2 x 16.2 cm, within a
dark blue border
Inscribed on the verso in nagari: Raja
Guler ka Dalip Chand

Published
Randhawa 1953, fig. C
Khandalavala 1958, no. 102
Sharma 2010, p. 41
Dehejia and Sharma 2011, p. 11
Habighorst 2011, fig. 72

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

This classic example of the early Guler portrait style is attributed to Pandit Seu, the father of Manaku and Nainsukh, the family of Pahari artists who are credited with changing the

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





ILLUSTRATION TO THE MAHABHARATA OR A PURANA,
PERHAPS DURYODHANA BEING RECEIVED BY KRISHNA

Guler, c. 1760–70
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio: 20.9 x 28.8 cm
Miniature: 16.2 x 24 cm, within a dark
blue margin with a splashed pink
border

Published
Sharma 2010, p. 32
Habighorst 2011, fig. 29
Habighorst 2014a, no. 30

Exhibited
Blumen, Bäume, Göttergärten,
Völkerkunde-Museum, Hamburg,
2013
Der Blaue Gott in indischen Miniaturen,
Mittelrhein Museum, Koblenz,
2014

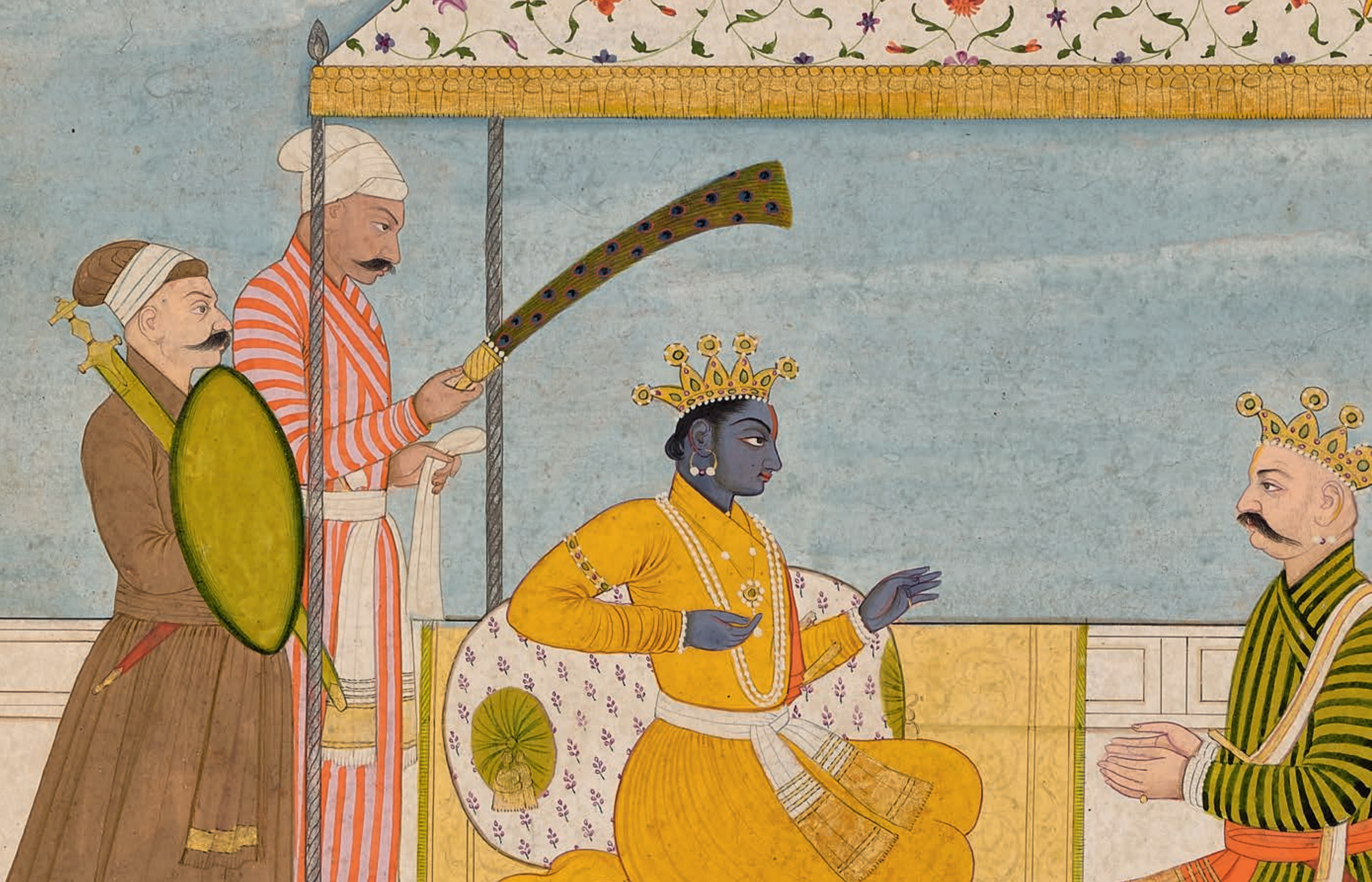
Krishna sits as a prince on a carpet on a terrace with bolster and cushions to support him under a canopy decorated with a brilliantly coloured floral arabesque. He wears a saffron *jama* and a white *patka* and of course his princely crown. He looks intently at the royal supplicant in front of him, but his hands express negativity at whatever it is he has been asked. The red tinge to the corner of his eye suggests annoyance. His visitor's very dress, a *jama* striped in lime green and black, resembles the colours of a venomous insect and suggests even more than words could that this is not a good person. Three attendants are behind him, two kneeling clad in yellow and violet, and the third clad in white standing in his role as the *sontar-bardar* with the silver stick of royalty. Behind Krishna stand his attendants, one clad in brown holding Krishna's sword and shield and the other in red and white stripes holding the white cloth of royalty and waving the *morchhal* over Krishna. The beautifully balanced scene is set on a terrace with the blue sky beyond and some clouds tinged with yellow and pink.

The subject of the painting could possibly be from the *Udyogaparva*, the fifth book of the

Mahabharata, where both sides, the Kauravas and the Pandavas, seek the aid of Krishna in the forthcoming struggle between the cousins. Duryodhana, the leader of the Kauravas, asks for Krishna and his armies to be on their side, but Arjuna asks only for him to remain neutral. Krishna refuses to send his army but promises his friend Arjuna that he will be his charioteer in the battle.

Many features of the work reflect the influence of Manaku and Nainsukh on Guler painting – the balanced and uncluttered composition, the upright bearing of all the participants, Krishna's features, the simple folds of gowns as they ripple over the ground. The format of the painting with its wide blue margin and borders splashed with dark pink as well as its size suggests contemporaneity with a small *Mahalakshmi* series, of which two pages are in the V&A and one in the Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmadabad, dated by Archer to 1760–70 (Archer 1973, Guler 45i–iii). The bushy drooping moustaches reflect a contemporary fashion, exemplified most famously by Shuja al-Daula, the Nawab of Awadh.





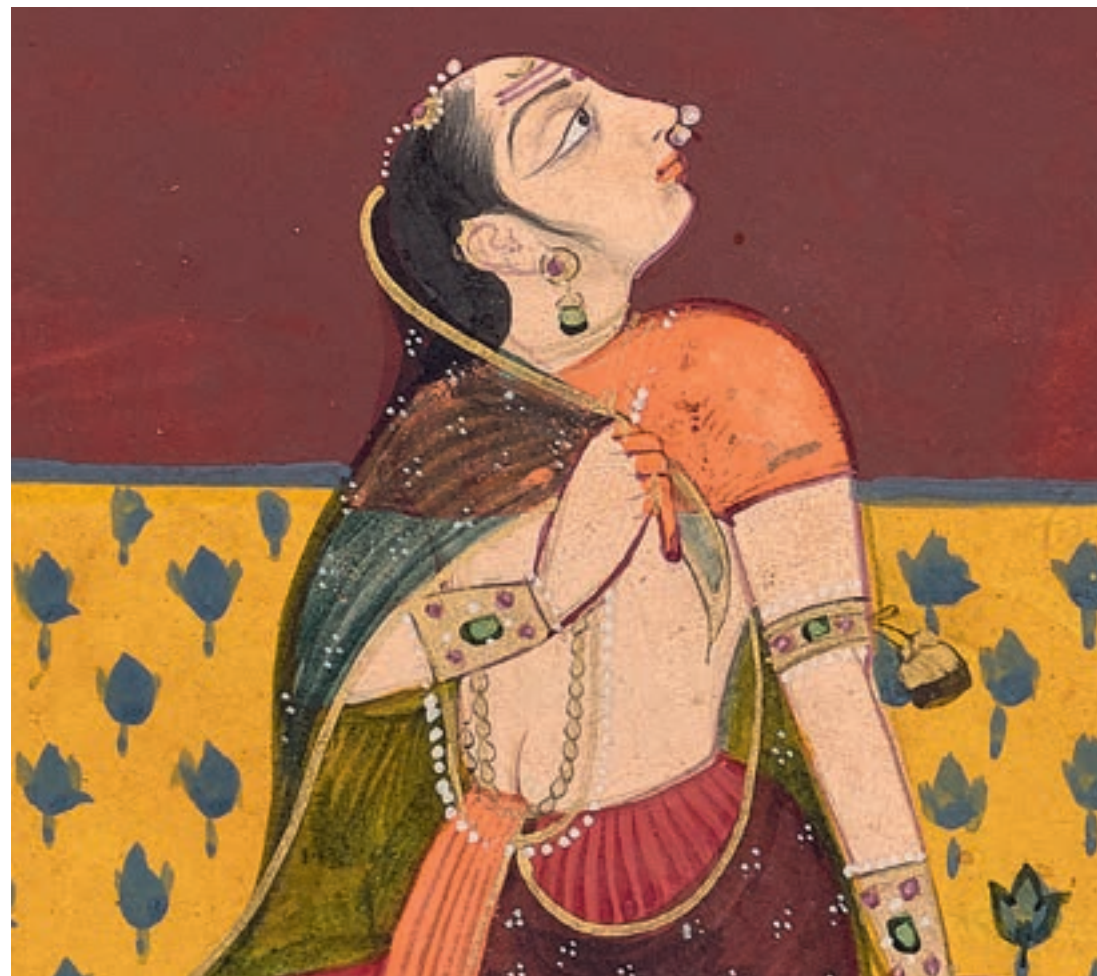
Nurpur, 1740
 Opaque pigments and gold on paper
 Folio: 22 x 18.2 cm
 Miniature: 18.1 x 14.4 cm, within
 white and dark brown margins
 and a red border with white rule
 Inscribed above in Takri: Raga Barbela

Published
 Habighorst 2006b, fig. 1
 Sharma 2010, p. 52
 Habighorst 2014b, pp. 177–89, fig. 5

In this elegant painting, from a Ragamala series from which no other examples seem to have been published, a prince and his lady friend are flying a kite. They are sitting on a brilliant yellow carpet with a regular green leaf pattern. The background is a deep chocolate brown with a strip of blue sky above interspersed rhythmically with lighter blue clouds. The rich but generally sombre colours are continued in the couple's garments. He wears a brown *jama* patterned with white leaves, a theme continued in the turban band of his orange turban, a colour in turn picked up by his *patka* and his hennaed fingers. His Vaishnava sect marks are conspicuous. She wears a red skirt with an orange blouse and *patka*, and

overall a diaphanous light green *orhni* that the artist has fun draping over blouse, skirt and yellow carpet thereby creating other colour effects. The prince of course is flying the kite and the lady turns her head and upper body around to look up at it too, creating interesting angles for the artist to exploit, a trait often found in Nurpur paintings. The young prince is comparable to Nurpur royal portraits from this time (e.g. Archer 1973, Nurpur 22, 25).

Barbal or *Varval raga* is one of the sons of *Malkos raga* in Mesakarna's system. He should be handsome like a love-god and wear a colourful garment, while the sound of the *raga* is compared to that made by a kite (Ebeling 1973, p. 72).



A PRINCESS LISTENING TO MUSIC

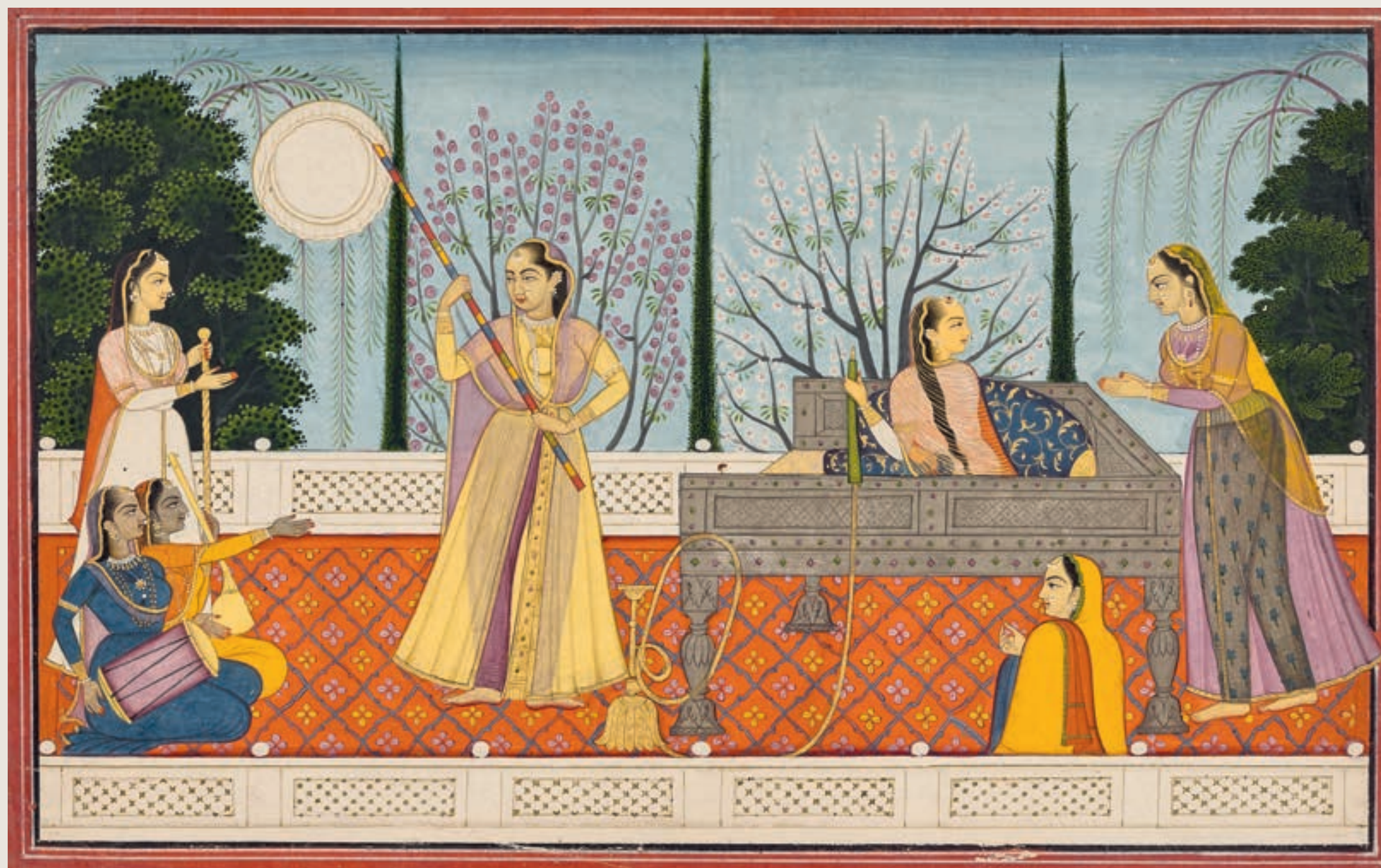
Nurpur, 1770–80
 Opaque pigments and gold and silver
 on paper
 Folio: 17.4 x 28 cm
 Miniature: 16.2 x 26.8 cm, within a
 dark brown margin and red border
 with white rules

Published
 Habighorst et al. 2007b, fig. 41, p. 67
 Sharma 2010, p. 102

Exhibited
 Genuss und Rausch – Betel, Tabak, Wein,
 Hasch und Opium in der indischen
 Malerei, Museum Rietberg, Zürich,
 2010

A princess is sitting in a large silver throne on a terrace attended by her women. She holds the mouthpiece of the snake of a gold hookah placed on the chequered carpet that covers the terrace and turns to talk to the attendant who stands behind her with joined hands. Two musicians are playing, one holds a *tambura* and is gesturing with her arm out as she sings, the other musician is beating a double-ended drum. Another attendant in the centre holds a large circular sunshade that shields not the princess but the musicians. A standing attendant holds a gold staff. Beyond the balustrade of the terrace is a garden with regularly spaced cypresses and other trees and flowering shrubs against a plain blue sky.

Ladies seated on terraces listening to musicians while turning backwards to talk to a companion are something of a feature in mid-18th-century painting from Nurpur (Archer 1973, Nurpur 30 and 32; Archer 1976, no. 73). Indeed, Krishna is seen in the same position in another painting that has all the elements of our composition but set in a more extensive landscape (Archer 1976, no. 74). The female figure from Nurpur by this time is losing the elongation that distinguishes the slightly earlier period and there is more extensive influence from neighbouring Guler. The formal balance of the composition here is very pleasing.



10 & 11

TWO FOLIOS FROM A BHAGAVATA PURANA

Both of these rare and beautiful folios were once in the Nicholas Roerich collection. One (no. 10) is from a small group of paintings, all very similar in spirit, that concentrates on Krishna and the gopas leading to the Bakasura episode, the killing of the crane-demon Baka (*Bhagavata Purana* Book X, canto 11, vv. 46–51). The whole of this small group conveys an idyllic pastoral setting for the activities of Krishna and his friends. Other pages are now coming to light that show different episodes from the *Bhagavata Purana*, suggesting that many other events from the childhood of Krishna were included in the series. The second of our two pages (no. 11) is a case in point: it shows the episode of Krishna stealing the curds. Several different artists were involved with these individual pages although all conform to the same stylistic and figural conventions. Other related pages with the same measurements and border include the *Death of the demoness Pralamba*, formerly in the Ehrenfeld collection in San Francisco (Bh P, X, 18, Ehn bom 1985, no. 107).

Artists in Bilaspur in the first half of the 18th century seem to have concentrated on *Ragamala* paintings, a large number of different sets being known, although there were a few paintings showing religious affiliations to Vaishnavism. Narrative painting was not unknown, with a large *Nala-Damayanti* set produced. However, there were few paintings linked with the *Puranas* until this *Bhagavata Purana*. This comes from late in the reign of Devi Chand (r. 1741–78), a successful ruler and general who aided Ghamand Chand of Kangra and married a Kangra princess. She was regent for her young son Mahan Chand (r. 1778–1824) who succeeded at the age of six, and this series concentrating on the exploits of a young Krishna may be connected to her regency.

The series belongs to what Archer characterises as the third phase of Bilaspur painting from 1770, when he remarks on influence from the new style of Guler being apparent in the treatment of figures, and also of course in the opening up of the landscape. Some more archaic features such as the punctuated use of gold detailing contributes to the charm and beauty of the style. The Guler style has been more completely assimilated in slightly later *Bhagavata Purana* paintings from Bilaspur such as Krishna summoning the cows (Archer 1973, Kahlur 47) and Krishna with his *gopa* friends in the Jehangir collection (Khandalavala and Chandra 1965, no. 93).

The set was acquired by Roerich from Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela, whose family was originally from Bilaspur and connected to the royal family, and who seems to have informed him that it was painted in Bilaspur around 1750 by Kishan Chand. This information was repeated by Khandalavala in 1958. This authorship was disproved by the Waldschmidts, when cataloguing a Bilaspur *Ragamala* set (1967, pp. 98–99, and fig. 50) also from Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela's collection, similarly written on by Kishan Chand. The Waldschmidts showed that the name referred to a previous owner, with his name and abbreviations therefrom written in roman characters on the back of some of the paintings. See also Archer's similar rejection of Kishan Chand as the artist (1973, nos 32 & 46), who confirmed with Ishwari Singh when interviewing him in 1954 that Kishan Chand was indeed his grandfather and that he had inherited his pictures from him. The inscription on the back of no. 11, obviously a note copied at a later date from something written elsewhere by Kishan Chand, confirms this.



KRISHNA AND THE GOPAS LEADING THE COWS TO THE FOREST

Bilaspur, c. 1770–80
Opaque pigments, gold and silver
on paper
Folio: 31.8 x 37.7 cm
Miniature: 26.5 x 32.9 cm, within a
dark brown margin and a dark
blue border with white rules

Provenance
Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela
(originally of Bilaspur), Sirmoor
Nicholas Roerich collection
Jane Greenough Green collection
(prior to 1993)

Published
Khandalavala 1958, fig. 44
Pal et al. 1993, fig. 6, p. 34
Dehejia 2008, p. 212
Sharma 2010, p. 70
Habighorst 2011, fig. 15, p. 33
Habighorst 2014a, fig. 4, pp. 20–21

Exhibited
Blumen, Bäume, Göttergärten,
Völkerkunde-Museum, Hamburg,
2013
Der Blaue Gott in indischen Miniaturen,
Mittelrhein Museum, Koblenz,
2014

The first of our pair shows the boys leaving their new home in Brindaban with the cows, while another from this group (Museum Rietberg, promised gift of Eva and Konrad Seitz) shows them playing ball while leading the cows to pasture and letting them graze among the trees (Losty 2017, no. 12). A third shows Krishna being aided by his friends to overcome and kill the crane-demon Bakasura as they beat it to death with their sticks (all three are published in Khandalavala 1958, plate F and figs 43 & 44). Krishna and his young cowherd friends are leaving the village of Brindaban early in the morning, driving all the cows off to pasture. Krishna and his brother Balarama, both more richly dressed than the other boys, are the centre of the group and the painting, and the artist makes very clear their loving, fraternal relationship in the way that they are holding hands and embracing as they go about their daily task. The other boys surround them, all subtly differentiated in age or appearance.

The artist has devised a most elegant appearance for the boys, a variation on the standard formulae and attire for the *gopas* in various early Pahari schools. Here they have square heads, tall, lithe and athletic figures, and

are clad only in short drawers with caps or turbans, and cummerbunds, all brightly coloured and often of brocade or with brocade floral ends, and lavishly gilded. They all also have the standard cowherd hooded cloak, either worn or draped somewhere about them, though Krishna and Balarama of course have more lavish ones. Several hold cowherd crooks. The boys are doing differing things – one is putting a spray of blossom in his turban seeking Krishna's approval, two are looking back to encourage to catch up a latecomer who has rounded up a straying calf and lost his turban in the process revealing his shaven head. Outside the main group another boy hurries through a gap in the thorn hedge that surrounds his house where two old men watch him leave, a second is climbing a tree and plucking sprays of leaves to offer to the cattle, and a third holds out a spray of leaves he has already plucked to encourage the cows to follow him into the wooded pasture. The variously coloured cows, mottled, marbled or brindled and dappled with gold, walk placidly on. The ground slopes gently past woods and blossoming trees up the hill. All in all, the artist conveys an idyllic pastoral scene with no hint of the danger that lurks outside the village.





KRISHNA STEALING THE BUTTER

Bilaspur, c. 1770–80
 Opaque pigments, gold and silver
 on paper
 Folio: 31.8 x 37.7 cm
 Miniature: 26.5 x 32.9 cm, with a black
 margin and a dark blue surround
 with white rules
 Inscribed on the verso in Urdu is a
 transcribed note from one Kishan
 Chand: Shri Krishan Seva (?) ka patar
 ... Shri Gargacharya Gee ka Shrinand
 Gee aur Seva Gee ke paas Baghvaan
 Shri Krishan Chandar Anand ... ka
 janampatri sunaana aur Shri Krishan
 Chandar aur Baldev Gee ke baal leela
 ka Gautem ke cheen-ne par se deehi ke
 handi he se deehi nikaalkar apni bhai
 Balraam Gee aur Deegar ... aur
 baandara ko baantreehehai. Kya
 manohar sanwali murti hai ke deekte
 deekte gee nahi barta – Muadhab
 Krishnan Chander ('Sri Kishan
 Seva's(?) note: ... Sri Nandaji and
 the women? attend Sri
 Gargacharyaji to hear Bhagvan Sri
 Krishan Chandra Anand's birth
 horoscope and Sri Krishan
 Chandra and Baldevji's childhood
 story of Gautam? who stole the
 yoghurt pot taking the yoghurt
 and distributing it to his brother
 Balaramji and others and
 monkeys. What a beautiful, dark
 deity, however much you look your
 heart (or wanting) is not fulfilled.
 Regards, Krishnan Chander')
 (transcribed and translated by
 Qaisra Khan)

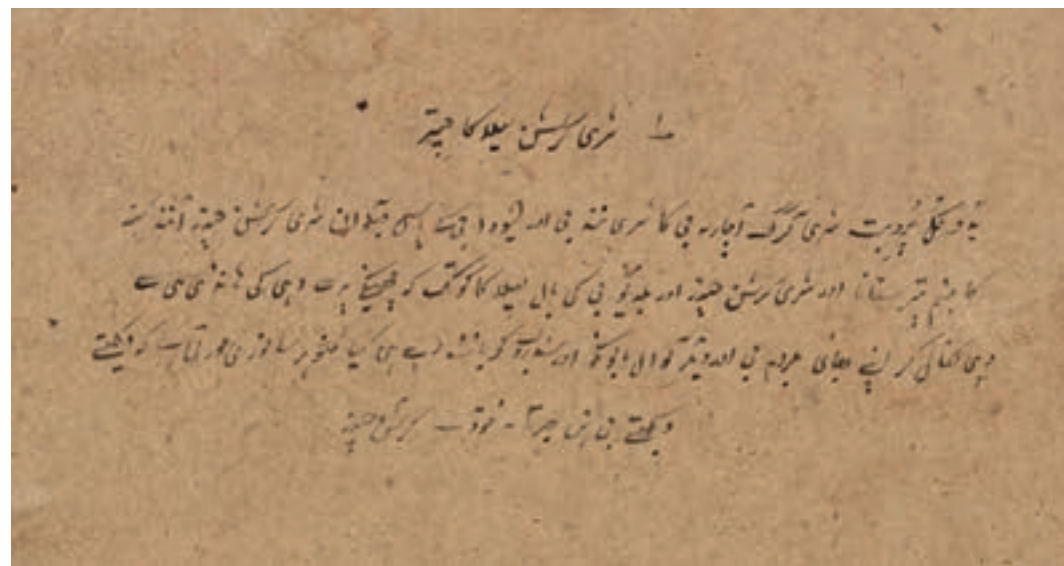
Provenance
 Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela
 (originally of Bilaspur), Sirmoor
 Nicholas Roerich collection

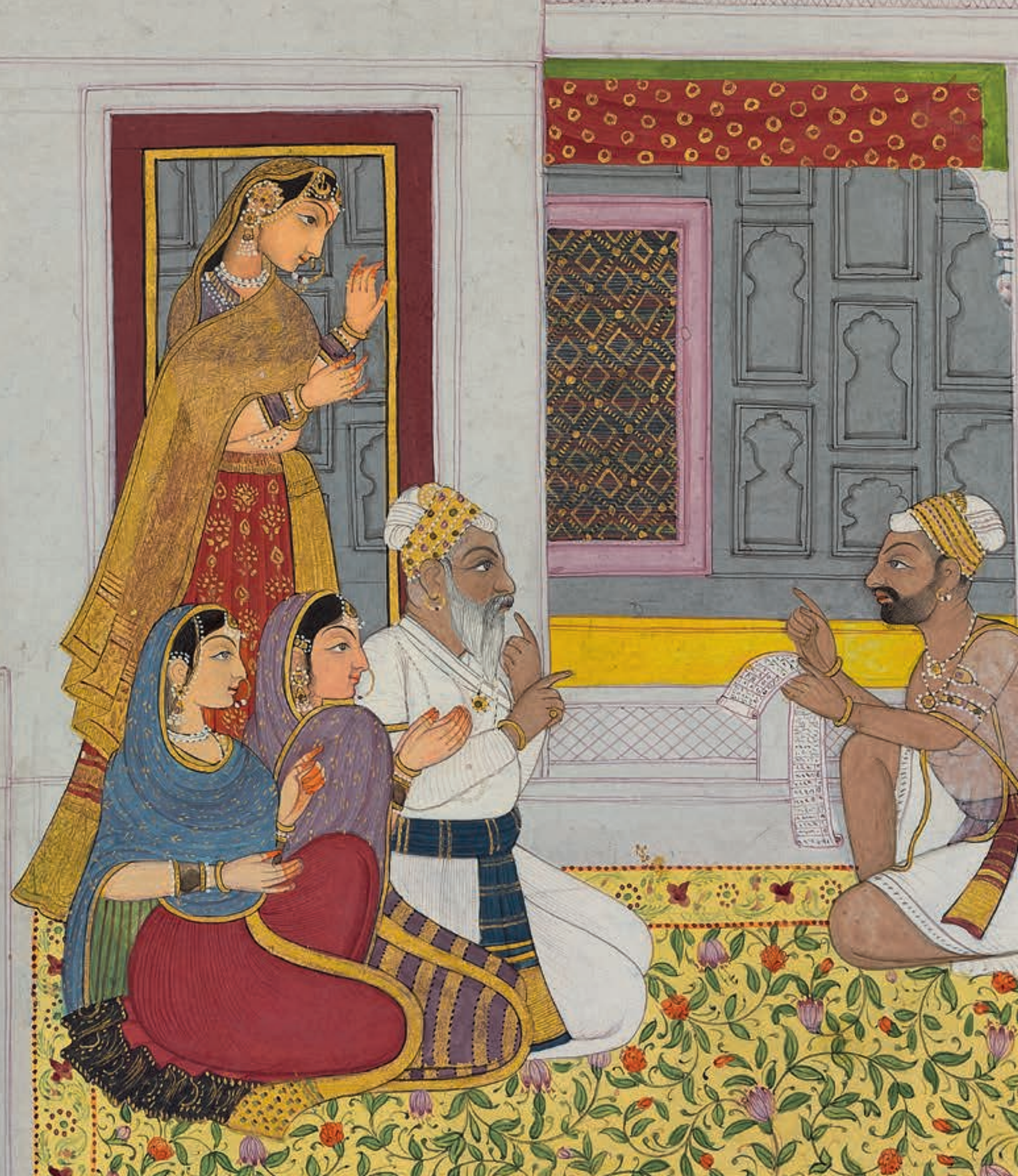
Published
 Habighorst 2011, fig. 114, p. 143 (detail)
 Habighorst 2014a, Abb. 3, pp. 18–19

Exhibited
 Der Blaue Gott in indischen Miniaturen,
 Mittelrhein Museum, Koblenz,
 2014

In chapter 8 of the tenth canto of the *Bhagavata Purana*, the sage Garga, the family priest of the Yadus, has come to Gokul and being asked by Nanda to perform the *samskarana* or naming ceremony for the two boys, the sons of Yashoda and Rohini, does so in secret. He warned Nanda that should Kamsa come to hear of it, that he the family priest of the royal family had performed this ceremony, then the boys would be in danger. In the meantime, baby Krishna and Balarama, still in theory crawling, were up to all sorts of pranks, including raiding the pots of curd, milk and butter that Yashoda had left hanging up so that he could not get at them as he had done earlier when they were on the ground (Bh P X, ch. 8, vv. 29–30). The artist shows him in a beautiful contorted posture as he dips a bowl into the pot

of curds at the same time as looking back at Balarama and his friends, who are holding out other pots or tucking into what he has already given them. The monkeys on the balcony are a reminder that that text actually says that Krishna stole the curds to give to the monkeys, not to his friends, but in an artistic convention dating from at least the first Early Rajput *Bhagavata Purana* of the 16th century, it is the friends who benefited from his largesse. Garga is shown in the guise of an astrologer, who sits with his scroll telling the boys' future to Nanda, Yashoda and Rohini. The artist shows us a view over the walls and thorn fences that surround the house where the cattle are tethered. Through a gap we can see a boy thumping a spike into the ground with a stone watched by a girl.





THE JEALOUS RADHA STRIKES KRISHNA
WITH A LOTUS STEM

Kangra, 1810–20
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio: 28 x 20.2 cm
Miniature in an elongated oval: 22.8 x
14 cm, within blue spandrels
decorated with gold arabesques, a
black margin and red border with
white rules

Published
Habighorst 2014a, fig. 24

Krishna has strayed away from his involvement with Radha and stayed out all night while she has spent the night waiting for him anxiously. When he finally turns up, in her jealous rage she strikes him. The artist has interpreted this scene in a playful manner, so that she strikes him with a lotus stem. Here she grabs hold of his right hand so he cannot escape and raises her own right arm with the lotus stem to strike him again. Krishna ruefully rubs his left cheek where her first blow had fallen.

This is the classic situation of the *khandita nayika*, the enraged mistress whose lover has strayed. Instead of the usual scene on the terrace of the heroine's house with the lover ruefully appearing at dawn prepared to be scolded, the artist has stripped the situation to the bare essentials: the two lovers confronting each other on a terrace, beautifully poised and balanced, she wearing violet and he yellow, both with orange shawls, standing beneath a beautifully arranged

weeping willow silhouetted against the sky. The *nayika's* elegantly draped *dupatta* contrasts with the heavy *patka* wound round Krishna's waist, a heaviness enhanced by the artist's having Krishna's body turn slightly away from Radha and into three-quarter view. A similar effect is seen in a painting of a lovers' quarrel attributed to Harkhu at Chamba where the lover turns away resulting in an extremely heavy-looking *patka* (Mittal 1998, fig. 6).

The poses of the lovers seem based on an episode in the *Danalila* of Krishna and Radha, where for once she sternly assumes the role of a customs official demanding toll from Krishna, instead of the usual way round when Krishna demands toll from the milkmaids. In such scenes he is usually dressed in his cowherd clothes of *dhoti* and *mukuta* instead of those of the contemporary gallant that he here portrays and of course is not struck by her as he is here.



RAJA MAHENDRA PAL OF BASOHLI IN PROCESSION WITH LADIES

Attributed to Ranjha, Basohli, c. 1810
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio: 25.5 x 35.3 cm
Miniature: 23.6 x 33.3 cm, within a
black margin, a blue border with
gold leaf scroll and white rules,
and an outer black margin

Published
Sharma 2010, p. 143 (as Raja Bhup
Chand of Guler, c. 1800)



Detail of Portrait of Mian Mahendra Pal;
Basohli, c. 1800, in the style of Ranjha

Although our painting is uninscribed, a terrace portrait of what is surely this same ruler when still a prince is inscribed on the reverse with his name as Mian Mahendra Pal (see Goswamy 1975, fig. 68). The portraits are identical (see detail). The young face with its rather large straight nose, slight moustache and incipient beard on the front of the slightly receding chin and below the jaw is the same, and he wears the same lilac *jama* and turban and almost the same set of jewels. These paintings provide important evidence of the continuation of Guler-style painting at Basohli well into the 19th century, as documented first by Randhawa in 1965.

According to W.G. Archer (1973, vol. 1, p. 19), Mahendra Pal of Basohli (r. 1806–13) was born in 1784 to the Jammu Rani of Vijay Pal (r. 1776–1806) and ascended the *gaddi* when he was twenty years old in 1806. The start of his reign witnessed the ascendancy of the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh over much of the western Punjab Hills and Basohli became tributary to the Sikh power. Regular visits to Lahore were required, during one of which Mahendra Pal died. During his short reign, he extended the palace at Basohli and embellished the Rang Mahal with mural paintings. He was supposed to have been very handsome and fond of good living, perhaps reflected here in the large number of ladies who accompany him on this jaunt. He was married to a princess from Jasrota who acted as regent for their young son Bhupendra Pal after her husband's early death.

Mahendra Pal is depicted enjoying a ride on an elephant with his ladies. Three ladies accompany him in his howdah while another eleven follow in howdahs on two more elephants. Retainers on horseback accompany the elephants while the state musicians, flag- and arms-bearers lead the

way. The chief elephant is breaking into a run causing its caparison to flutter and alarming the nearest horseman. The procession is heading across a grassy hillside dotted with occasional small trees.

We know from various sources that in 1763 Nainsukh took up residence in Basohli on land granted to him by Amrit Pal and that his youngest son Ranjha lived with him there. Nainsukh died in 1778 and Ranjha stayed in Basohli until his own death, thought to be around 1830. His son Gursahai records in a priest's register at Pehowa in 1828 that he himself was still living in Basohli on the land granted to his grandfather by Raja Amrit Pal (Paul 1998, pp. 131–32). It seems reasonable to assume that any portraits of the Basohli rajas Vijay Pal and Mahendra Pal should be attributable to either Ranjha or Gursahai, although both of course worked elsewhere for other courts. Ranjha's work is fully attested only in the large series of *Ramayana* drawings now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, dated 1816 and done in Basohli (Goswamy 1971; Archer 1973, Basohli no. 30), but numerous other paintings have been attributed to him including the painted *Nala-Damayanti* paintings now in the Hari Tara Trust in Jammu. This authorship was first suggested in B.N. Goswamy's 1975 monograph on the *Nala-Damayanti* material, and has since been firmed up (see Goswamy and Fischer 2011, no. 35, p. 693). Other works have also been attributed to Ranjha (see Ohri 1998; Seyller and Mittal 2014, pp. 235–46; and Losty 2017, no. 12). The evidence presented there as to Ranjha's authorship is confusing, but he had a long and productive life and could certainly have changed his style as he matured as an artist, from one closely imbued with his father's ideals to one more in tune with the





flatter, more angular and more decorative zeitgeist of the early 19th century.

For the moment Ranjha seems the most likely candidate to be the artist of our impressive and well-organised processional scene. His son Gursahai seems to have cultivated a much more involved and decorative style (Paul 1998; Seyller and Mittal 2014, pp. 260–63). The present picture may be compared with a similar processional scene in the painted Nala-Damayanti series attributed to Ranjha showing the different princes heading to Damayanti's *svayamvara* (Goswamy 1975, pl. 24). In this very similar composition the three elephants caparisoned in the same way are processing across a yellow hillside dotted with small trees while smaller figures ride or walk across the landscape. Elephants make rather rare appearances in Pahari portrait paintings of this period. All the foreground attendant riders and walkers are cut in half by the bottom border. This somewhat disconcerting element is rare in earlier Pahari painting, though not unknown, as in *The Road to Vrindavan* from the c. 1770 Guler *Bhagavata Purana* (Goswamy and Fischer 2011, fig. 10).



Kulu, 1765–70
 Opaque pigments and gold on paper
 Folio: 25.3 x 18.3 cm
 Miniature: 21.4 x 14.8 cm, within a dark brown margin, a pink and purple splashed border and dark brown rules
 Inscribed in *nagari* on the reverse with a verse from a Hindi *ragamala* text ('As if it were a lotus her face, the antelope's manner and gait her body, Todi bends her neck, holding a *vina* on her shoulder'), headed *ragini Todi Dipak ka* and the statement *todi tankar sabdai gayate* ('Todi is to be sung with the voice of plucking [presumably of the *vina*'])

Provenance
 Alvin O. Bellak collection

Published
 Kramrisch 1986, no. 107 (as Kulu, c. 1800)
 Habighorst 2011, fig. 61, p. 86 (as attributed to Bhagvan, c. 1790)

Exhibited
 Blumen, Bäume, Göttergärten,
 Völkerkunde-Museum, Hamburg,
 2013
 Indische Gärten / Gärten der Welt,
 Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 2016

A lady holding a *vina* over her shoulder stands under a willow tree looking at and pointing to the ground beneath her. She wears a gold brocade skirt with a diaper pattern of flowers and a wide green band at the waist, a short bodice in the same brocade material and a mauve diaphanous *orhni*. Her thoughtful face has large eyes with large black pupils at the edge and vertical eyelashes under a long curving eyebrow, while her nose meets her forehead with a decided angle. Her *vina* has a red body and blue gourds. She stands on a lime green ground in front of a brilliant yellow background and under an elegantly depicted weeping willow. The painting's surround is mauve splashed with darker purple. The artist's command of colour contrasts and coordination is truly impressive. The clash of purples, yellow and green is reminiscent of earlier Deccani paintings.

Although published as Kulu c. 1800 by Kramrisch (1986), the painting seems to be somewhat earlier than is commensurate with this date. It comes instead from a somewhat earlier *ragamala* series, of which six pages are in the Mittal Museum in Hyderabad (Seyller and Mittal 2014, nos 42–47). The figure of *Gunakari ragini* there is particularly close to our *Todi ragini* in appearance and costume. Dated there c. 1775–80, another page from the same series is

published in Archer 1973 (Kulu, no. 32), there dated c. 1765–70. The late Raj Kumar Tandan lists many of the extant pages (Tandan 1983, pp. 47, 109–10). In the same manner as other large *Pahari ragamalas*, the various 'families' of the main *ragas* all have coordinated borders, but the only other family member of *Dipaka raga* identified by Tandan lacks a border.

Originally affixed to a wall, the versos are sometimes damaged but where readable have short Hindi verses with identifying inscriptions and notes on the sounds to be imitated when the verse is sung. Although similar in concept to the more familiar system of *Mesakarna* as used in *Pahari ragamalas*, this differs in detail and appears to be the system found in the *Guru Granth Sahib*, the sacred book of the Sikhs (*ibid.*, p. 111, n. 2; Seyller and Mittal 2014, p. 118). *Mesakarna's Todi ragini* should be a woman carrying *vina* and cymbals and chewing betel, while the sound is likened to that of an owl.

The female form in our painting, and those in the Mittal Museum, seems to be closer to the females in a portrait of Raja Tedhi Singh with his women in that same museum from c. 1750–60 (Seyller and Mittal 2014, no. 41) than it does to the women depicted by Bhagvan (e.g. *ibid.*, nos 48–53), hence we prefer Archer's earlier date for our painting.



RAJA SIDH SEN OF MANDI PERFORMING PUJA

Mandi, 1730–50
 Opaque pigments and gold on paper
 Folio: 26.7 x 18.1 cm
 Miniature: 22.8 x 14 cm, within a dark
 brown margin and red border

An elderly Raja Sidh Sen of Mandi (r. 1684–1727) is sitting cross-legged in front of a *sivalingam* performing *puja*. Naked to the waist, he wears just a red *dhoti*, while a white cloth is draped over his shoulder. A chaplet of beads and leaves encircles the crown of his shaved head leaving just a topknot which has a *datura* flower tied to it. The raja's long curling moustache is white, as are the remnants of his curled sideburns and his eyebrows, and the whiskers on his chin. A very long rosary of *rudraksa* beads is held in his right hand while his left rests on his knee. The object of his devotion is a *sivalingam* on which is placed another *datura* flower, a flower particularly beloved by Shiva, in front of which is placed two little images of Shiva's bull Nandi and Parvati's lion (here a tiger) while other cult objects lie around. A flywhisk lies beside the raja on the white rug while the background is plain blue.

The raja would appear to be Raja Sidh Sen of Mandi, although he differs in some respects

from his normal portraits, which often show him with a beard, sometimes white. His identity is confirmed by an inscribed but rather younger portrait of him wearing much the same costume and accessories including the *datura* flower in his topknot and with a yogi's wooden disc in his ears (Skelton 1961, no. 55). Nearly all his many portraits are posthumous ones done in the reign of his descendants, and dating them can be difficult. A very similar portrait to ours, but with a dark moustache, showing him worshipping a *sivalingam*, with bull and tiger before it, is in the Frits Lugt collection, Paris (Gahlin 1991, no. 95; Crill and Jariwala 2010, no. 44), there dated 1730–40. Sidh Sen was a forceful ruler who in his posthumous reputation was thought to have lived to be 100 years old and to have been a magician. He was a worshipper of Shiva and the Devi, reflected in the joint sectarian mark on his forehead.



Mandi, c. 1770–80
 Opaque pigments and gold on paper
 Folio: 29.6 x 20 cm
 Miniature: 26.8 x 16.4 cm, within
 black, white and red margins and
 an orangey-red border
 Inscribed in Takri above: sri Sidh Sen

Published
 Habighorst et al. 2007a, fig. 27

Exhibited
*Genuss und Rausch – Betel, Tabak, Wein,
 Hasch und Opium in der indischen
 Malerei*, Museum Rietberg, Zürich,
 2010
*Genuss und Rausch – Wein, Tabak und
 Drogen in indischen Miniaturen*,
 Museum für Islamische Kunst,
 Pergamonmuseum, Berlin, 2014

The inscription is, in fact, misleading, since this is not Sidh Sen but his grandson Raja Shamsheer Sen (b. c. 1721, r. 1727–81). The raja, clad all in red and with a garland and two gold amulets round his neck, sits on a red and pink striped durrie smoking from a hookah. He has a full black beard flecked with grey as is also his hair which is visible, since his turban is nothing but a fairly short wrap. He appears to be in his fifties. His forehead is smeared with ash over his Shaiva-Shakta sect mark. A young attendant squats before him holding his hookah with two standing young men behind him, while another stands with a white cloth behind the

raja, all dressed in white apart from their orange caps. As often in these pictures of Shamsheer Sen with young men, he is clearly eyeing them up.

By all accounts Shamsheer Sen was ‘deeply religious, whimsical [and] enigmatic’ and clearly not greatly interested in governing his kingdom (Goswamy and Fischer 1992, p. 200). He was the subject of many portraits during his long reign, often showing him smoking and in the company of young men (Binney and Archer 1968, no. 67; Archer 1973, Mandi 23–25, 29, 31, 33, 36; Khandalavala n.d., figs 45–50 and col. pl. J; Goswamy and Fischer 1992, nos 80–82; Gahlin 2002, no. 72; Losty 2017, no. 96).



Mandi, late 18th century
 Opaque pigments on paper
 Folio: 25.9 x 17.8 cm
 Miniature; 22 x 14.3 cm, within a
 black margin, a yellow border with
 geometric decoration, a further
 dark brown margin and an outer
 red border

Provenance
 Royal Arki collection

Kali is the embodiment of the destructive power of time. She is envisaged as four-armed, holding the sword of destruction and the severed head signifying eventual death and showing the hand that protects from fear and the hand that gives bliss. She is naked apart from a garland of severed heads and another *vanamala* of human corpses and a skirt made of over-large severed arms. She wears bracelets and anklets of severed heads and earrings of corpses. She laughs as her lolling tongue protrudes, eager for blood as she bestrides the corpse that represents the destroyed universe. She is in a funeral ground with burning corpses behind her and a jackal feasting on the remains as vultures fly off. The ground behind the goddess is a brilliant orange leading up to a high curved horizon with a curved arc of white cloud striped with red and a

deep blue sky above. For a similar representation of Kali standing on the corpse of Shiva in the burning grounds, see Gahlin 1991, no. 97. Also Kramrisch 1986, no. 119, for a painting thought there to be Guler 1820–30.

Mandi painting remained fairly static in style throughout the 18th century and was not affected by the revolution in Pahari painting begun in Guler until early in the next century. The style of Mandi court painting from earlier in the 18th century also filtered down to a more popular level in later decades. Dating of such pictures can therefore be problematic but certainly the earlier pictures all have either plain grounds or very high straight horizons, whereas in later ones a high curving horizon is sometimes preferred (e.g. Archer 1973, Mandi 39 and 41).



THE NAYIKA WHOSE HUSBAND HAS ARRIVED HOME,
NAYIKA AGAMAPATIKA FROM A RASIKAPRIYA SERIES

Attributed to the Guler artist
Chhajju at Chamba, 1800–10
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio: 28.8 x 21.5 cm
Miniature: 21.2 x 14.8 cm, within a
dark blue margin with a gold and
silver scroll and outer border of
pink with regular little strokes of
darker pink.

Published
Sharma 2010, p. 65

The *Agamapatika nayika*, ‘she whose husband has come’, is a variant of the third of the eight standard *nayikas* in the *Rasikapriya* of Keshav Das, the *Vasakasajja nayika*, ‘she who waits for her lover at her door’, and is appropriate when indeed the husband has just returned from a distant journey. In our painting the lady stands at the doorway of her chambers, her hand on the jamb, supervising arrangements for his coming to her. A bed is being assembled in the courtyard so that they can make love under the stars, his hookah is being prepared for him to use, and wine is being delivered to the maid at the entrance to the zenana by a young soldier who tries to keep it cool by fanning it. His baggage is coming in that way too (only the head and arms of the porter being visible), but the husband himself is coming in the front door, here in the background, hugging his aged father and greeting his retainers who show their respects for their returning master. His equipage, including a horse and a palanquin for when he is tired of riding, his soldiers and falconers, wait within the walled compound for their dismissal. Above the wall are visible the typically Guler cypresses interspersed with trees.

The verses illustrating the ‘hidden’ and ‘open’ *Vasakasajja* heroine are straightforward descriptions of the *nayika* either hiding by herself in a bower or else being the object of her friends’ curiosity, but the point of the Pahari versions of the idea is in the crow, which here perches on the *chajja* of the zenana gateway and whose cawing leads the *nayika* to believe that her husband is about to come. The painting follows on as it were from one in the Mittal Museum, Hyderabad, where she is addressing the crow and promises to reward it if her husband indeed comes today (Seyller and Mittal 2014, no. 89),

which illustrates a Pahari verse where having addressed the crow she grasps the doorjamb to wait for her husband (*ibid.*, p. 256). The verse is quoted on the back of a Pahari drawing of the subject in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Sharma 2008, p. 142). Seyller and Mittal cite another four Pahari versions including ours (also Randhawa 1962, pl. XIV; Archer 1973, Chamba 46; Sharma 2008, no. 45).

Our version is very much in the same style as the Mittal version, which is thought to be the work of the Guler artist Chhajju at Chamba. It is also placed within exactly the same margins and border. Chhajju and his brother Harkhu were the sons of Nikka, one of Nainsukh’s four sons, and are thought to have worked for a while at Chamba (Mittal 1998). The heroine’s figure and garments are almost identical. Chhajju also seems to have been the artist of a *Baramasa* series at this time, in which, unlike most versions of the series of verses from the *Kavipriya* (*ibid.*, figs 8, 12 & 13), the general activities associated with each month are also included in the background to the painting. This type of experience is reflected in the background activities in our painting. And as in most paintings by Chhajju and his generation, the subsidiary figures, here the maids and the wine-carrying soldier, are sympathetically and attractively handled.



Kangra, 1820
 Opaque pigments and gold on paper
 Folio: 18.5 x 26.5 cm
 Miniature: 13.6 x 22 cm, within a dark
 blue margin with gold and silver
 floral scroll and an uncoloured
 outer border

Provenance
 Koller auction, Zürich, 15 May 1987,
 lot 632

Published
 Sharma 2010, p. 148

Harihara, the combined form of Vishnu and Shiva, stands on a lotus in a meadow. The left half is Vishnu clad in yellow, crowned, bejewelled and resplendent, his four attributes divided between two arms (club, lotus, conch and discus worn as a bracelet), while the right half is Shiva, with matted hair, *rudraksa* rosary and a yogi's wooden earplug, his two arms holding a bowl for his snakes to drink out of and his trident, wearing a leopard skin dhoti and with a tiger skin over his shoulder, and with the Ganges fountaining from his locks where the crescent moon is also lodged. Both are attended by their consorts and *vahanas*, Lakshmi and Garuda for Vishnu and Parvati and Nandi for

Shiva, in devotional attitude. Garuda is standing on one leg and Nandi is about to lick Shiva's foot. A distant view of Vishnu's heavenly abode Vaikuntha is on the left, while on the right rises Shiva's holy mountain Kailasa.

Harihara is a *murti* that does not occur very often in any case, but it seems to be rather rare in Pahari painting. In the late 18th and early 19th century Pahari artists were expanding their repertoire to include various Tantric forms of divinities such as the Mahavidyas of the Devi (see no. 17) as well rarer forms of Shiva and Vishnu and no doubt these were intended for devotional use.



SHIVA IN A PASSION CAUSED BY PARVATI'S INTERRUPTING HIS MEDITATION

Guler, 1800–10
 Opaque pigments and gold on paper
 Folio: 24.2 x 18.3 cm
 Miniature: 22.3 x 14.4 cm, within a red margin and a dark pink border

Published
 Habighorst 2011, fig. 68
 Lal 1968, pl. XVI

Exhibited
 Blumen, Bäume, Göttergärten,
 Völkerkunde-Museum, Hamburg,
 2013

Shiva is enraged and sits with his two eyes closed and his third eye open, which spells destruction for anything caught in its gaze. In his passion his hair has become unbound from its usual tangled state and flies off above and behind him. Arms akimbo on his thighs, he sits on a leopard skin perhaps absorbing the fumes of what is on fire in the brazier before him. One of his snakes rears up from the ground also trying to absorb the fumes and seems to be listening to the music made by Parvati, who sits playing on her *vina*, while the god's bull Nandi sits placidly by. The divine pair sit by a lotus lake with ducks beneath trees realistically painted and alive with flowering creepers.

Shiva wears little but his girdle and a red poncho-like cloak, with *rudraksha* beads round his body and right arm with, unusually, chains of pearls and a pendant round his neck and armbands. Large wooden discs in his ears denote his status as a yogi. His trident with his *damaru* (drum) suspended from it are propped up behind

him. Parvati wears an orange skirt and a diaphanous striped shawl over her head and upper body. The red cloak and the position of Shiva's arms form the angry rectilinear centre of an otherwise calm and soothing composition in diagonals.

The cause of Shiva's anger would seem to be because his meditation has been disturbed, hence his two closed eyes and the open third one. The disturbance to his meditation would seem to be caused by Parvati's playing the *vina*, which is obviously so wonderful that the god cannot resist breaking away from his trance, although he is practising meditation as a yogi and should not be disturbed. Even his snake has slithered down from round his neck to sit beside the goddess and sway its head in time to the music. God and goddess are often pictured along with their children enjoying family life on Kailasa (see no. 22 for example), but as with all families, husband and wife can have fallings out over trifles, although artists rarely depicted them.





KRISHNA MAKES LOVE TO THE WIVES OF THE COWHERDS OF BRINDABAN, PAGE FROM THE 'LAMBAGRAON' GITAGOVINDA

Attributed to the artist Purkhu and workshop, Kangra, c. 1820
 Opaque pigments and gold on paper
 Folio: 27.7 x 36.6 cm
 Miniature: 23 x 32.5 cm, within a dull blue margin with white and gold foliate scroll and a splashed pink border with three red rules
 Inscribed on the recto in nagari top left with the name of the dawn raga Ramakali and on the verso with the number 7 and the Sanskrit text of Jayadeva's Gitagovinda, canto I, vv. 38–47, with additional verses

Provenance
 Royal Kangra collection,
 Lambagraon
 Christie's London, 6 July 1978, lot 70
 Private collection, USA

Published
 Menzies 2006, fig. 21, p. 44
 Dehejia 2008, p. 110
 Habighorst 2014a, no. 14, pp. 40–41

Exhibited
 Goddess—Divine Energy, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, 2006–07
 Blumen, Bäume, Göttergärten, Völkerkunde-Museum, Hamburg, 2013
 Der Blaue Gott in indischen Miniaturen, Mittelrhein Museum, Koblenz, 2014
 Indische Gärten / Gärten der Welt, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 2016

The poet Jayadeva at the end of the first canto of his *Gitagovinda* evokes the spirit of spring and tells of Krishna playing love games with the wives of the cowherds of Brindaban, with the refrain to each verse telling of a new seduction:

He hugs one, he kisses another, he caresses another dark beauty ...

Hari revels here as the crowd of charming girls revels in seducing him in play (Miller 1977, pp. 43–44).

The scene is described to Radha by her confidante, the *sakhi*, who sits with her at the top left of the painting beneath two figures male and female representing the *Ramkari raga* to which the verses are to be sung. The girls individually caress Krishna, hug him, kiss him and seduce him; and then surrounded by his friends Krishna says farewell to them and makes his way back home.

The lovingly detailed studies of trees and blossoms in this series serve as a continuous

background to the activities of Krishna, Radha and the *gopis*. The brightly coloured figures lavishly detailed in gold interweave with the dark screens of the trees and the brilliant highlights of blossoms in varied patterns on every page to create their own kind of magic.

The series consisting of around 50 paintings and now widely dispersed is named from its provenance in what remained of the Royal Kangra collection kept by the rajahs of Lambagraon, who were descended from Sansar Chand's brother Fateh Chand. It was first published by French in 1931 and described by Archer in 1973 simply as Kangra c. 1820–25 (1973, vol. 1, pp. 307–08). By 2011 the whole series was attributed to Purkhu (Goswamy and Fischer 2011d 'Purkhu', p. 728). According to Goswamy and Fischer, Purkhu was court painter to Sansar Chand (r. 1775–1823) and was responsible for a number of large-sized series, such as the *Shiva Purana*, *Harivamsa*, *Rasikapriya* and *Kedarakalpa* as well as this *Gitagovinda* (*ibid.*, pp. 719–32).





DRUGS AND RELIGION IN INDIA

James Mallinson



Indian spirituality has fascinated the Western world since the late 19th century, the heyday of the Theosophists. It wasn't until the 1960s, however, when a stream of more hedonistic pilgrims headed east along the hippie trail, that India's reputation as a centre for spiritual drug use took hold across the world, typified to this day by photographs of dreadlocked holy men disappearing behind clouds of cannabis smoke.

Such images are often viewed with an orientalist gaze as continuations from a timeless past, but, as usual with India, the truth is much more interesting. Holy men in India have been indulging in spiritual intoxication since at least 1500 BCE, the time of composition of the hymns of the Rigveda, which is the earliest of the Vedas, Hinduism's oldest sacred texts, but cannabis was not used for its psychoactive effects until a thousand years ago, and it wasn't smoked until the arrival of tobacco in India in 1600 CE.

Premodern evidence for drug use in India almost always associates it with religious practice. A Rigveda hymn (10.136) tells of a long-haired sage sharing a cup of poison with Rudra (a prototype of the great Hindu god Shiva) and then 'mounting the wind' to fly through the sky. The most praised god in the Vedic hymns is Soma, a deified drug which is pressed and then drunk during the Vedic rituals. The identity of Soma – whose use in Zoroastrian rites shows that it is of Indo-European heritage – is the perennial puzzle of Indian historical studies. An array of candidates has been put forward, each usually reflecting the drug of choice at the time of its proposal. Thus, they have included alcohol, cannabis, magic mushrooms, ephedra and, most recently, ayahuasca.

Soma is also identified with *amrita*, the nectar of immortality, which was produced at the churning of the ocean, perhaps the most popular

and certainly the most picturesque of India's creation myths. The gods and demons wrap a giant snake around an inverted mountain to churn the oceans in order to obtain *amrita*.

Before it finally appears, however, thirteen other items emerge, including a terrible poison called *halahala*. The poison is going to destroy the world until Shiva comes to the rescue. He drinks it and through his yogic power is able to turn it into *amrita*, saving himself but not before his neck turns blue, earning him one of his most popular epithets, *nilakantha*, 'he of the blue throat'.

Shiva is the archetype for Hindu holy men, who, when explaining their drug consumption, invoke this legend. The heaven-and-hell ambivalence of drugs is mirrored in the opposition between poison and nectar, and India's drug-consuming holy men (and holy women, although they are found in much smaller numbers) acknowledge that drugs may have deleterious effects, but claim that, like Shiva, they can negate them with their yogic powers. That drugs are poisonous is also acknowledged in legends of their creation that hark back to the churning of the ocean. My own teacher, a Hindu yogi, told me that cannabis appeared in India when Shiva, after drinking the *halahala* poison from a conch shell while in his Himalayan home, turned the almost-empty shell upside down and put it on the ground. The last remaining drops trickled out and down across the Himalayas, and from them the first cannabis plants arose.

Cannabis has grown in India, as hemp, since before the Vedas, but its use as a drug arrived with Islamic traditions about a thousand years ago. It is then that it first appears in Sanskrit medical texts, together with opium, also an Islamic import. Like so many Islamic traditions,

both cannabis and opium have become inextricable parts of Indian culture. In the western Indian states of Gujarat and Rajasthan, the ritual use of opium is central to traditional domestic rites and hospitality, while the drinking of cannabis (which when consumed thus is known as *bhang*) is common across all of north India, particularly during the spring festival of Holi.

The ritual use of cannabis and opium is likely to have been introduced to India by Sufi traditions and it is they and their Hindu counterparts whom we see depicted in a wide range of paintings from the periods of Mughal and British rule. They smoke huqqas containing a mixture of tobacco and cannabis or opium, or they filter green *bhang* liquid through a cloth. Some depictions are respectful – indeed sometimes we see Shiva himself making *bhang* with his wife Parvati – but often they are satirical, showing ravaged drug-fiends in various states of intoxication.

This ambivalence, which again reflects the poison–nectar opposition of the churning of the ocean myth, recurs throughout the history of religious intoxication in India. In tantric traditions which use alcohol or drugs, they are effective not just because of their psychoactive effects but because consuming them is transgressive: breaking societal norms is a means to spiritual breakthrough. Most religious orders in India condemn the use of drugs and even within those orders where they are used, opposing attitudes may be found. A 13th-century compendium of teachings of Matsyendra, the first human guru of an important order of yogis, calls cannabis *siddhi-mulika*, ‘the root of spiritual success’. A subsequent text attributed to Goraksha, Matsyendra’s disciple, equates *bhang*

with alcohol and meat, saying that their consumption leads one to hell. The text accompanying the description of the Sannyasi order of holy men in the 1825 CE manuscript by James Skinner (the *Tashrīh al-Aqvām*) discusses the practice of *samadhi* or yogic trance. Some are said to achieve it ‘in a state of intoxication with *bhang* and other intoxicants, imagining that they are leaving the world, and this is entirely devoid of spiritual benefits’.

Despite such attitudes, cannabis remained legal in India during British rule. Indeed, the most extensive analysis of cannabis use ever undertaken, the 1894 Indian Hemp Commission Report, found that ‘moderate use practically produces no ill effects’ and argued against criminalisation. It was only in the latter half of the 20th century, when India signed up to the international Single Convention of Narcotic Drugs, that cannabis and other drugs were made illegal. But India exempted *bhang*, and the smoking of cannabis by holy men remains tolerated by the authorities. Recent years have seen moves to legalise cannabis in India, an aim which seems likely to succeed, not least because its use in India is deeply ingrained in her culture and its criminalisation was due only to external pressure.

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Guler, 1790–1800
 Opaque pigments, gold and silver
 on paper
 Folio: 21.3 x 16 cm
 Miniature: 19.1 x 14 cm, within a
 yellow margin with a gold and
 silver floral scroll
 With a drawing on the reverse in red
 sanguine of Krishna stealing the
 curds, c. 1790

Provenance
 Arturo Schwarz collection

Published
 Bubbar 2008, no. 11, pp. 22–23
 Sharma 2010, back cover, with verso
 drawing p. 175
 Habighorst 2011, fig. 71, p. 100
 Völlnagel 2017, p. 53

Exhibited
 Genuss und Rausch – Betel, Tabak, Wein,
 Hasch und Opium in der indischen
 Malerei, Museum Rietberg, Zürich,
 2010
 Blumen, Bäume, Göttergärten,
 Völkerkunde-Museum, Hamburg,
 2013
 Genuss und Rausch – Wein, Tabak und
 Drogen in indischen Miniaturen,
 Museum für Islamische Kunst,
 Pergamonmuseum, Berlin, 2014
 Alchemie – Die große Kunst, Staatliche
 Museen, Kulturforum Berlin, 2017

Shiva and his family are sitting under a neem tree by the banks of the Ganges in the Himalayas with the foothills and the jagged peaks of the mountains rising up into the reddening evening sky behind them. Shiva dressed only in a yogi's garb of a loincloth and wooden disc earrings, with his usual snake round his neck, and Parvati in a gold skirt and vivid orange shawl are straining *bhang* through a muslin cloth into a bowl. Their two children Karttikeya and Ganesh want some of the *bhang* and eagerly hold out bowls in their several hands to have a taste. Shiva's snake necklace is also in on the act. Parvati hides a smile as she looks down at what she is doing, but Shiva looks at his importunate offspring with a father's fond exasperation. Their four *vahanas* are arranged before them. Nandi the bull licks the supine lion's ear, while Ganesh's rat cleans his

paws and Karttikeya's peacock looks round at the divine pair.

The holy family engaged in domestic tasks had been a favourite subject among Pahari artists since Nainsukh's day (Goswamy 1997, fig. 89), and here is no different. Of course, most families did not engage in straining their own *bhang*, but Shiva is here being a yogi as well as a family man. In a painting in the Chhatrapati Shivaji Museum, Mumbai (Desai 2003, no. 151), Shiva is looking fondly at Ganesh as with two of his tiny hands he pounds up the ingredients for *bhang*, while Parvati offers the god a bowl with the strained intoxicant. As here, Shiva's snake wants some too. In the same spirit of normalisation of this extreme family, another painting shows Shiva keeping his family warm at night wrapped up in an elephant skin (Goswamy and Fischer 1992, no. 153).



By the Mughal artist Dhanraj,
1595–1600
Brush drawing in brown and black
ink with some colour washes
heightened with gold on paper
Folio: 25.2 x 14.8 cm
Drawing: 16.1 x 9.1 cm, with pink
upper and lower borders with gold
designs and gold margins, laid
down on a gold-sprinkled green
album page with a red rule
Inscribed in lower right corner in
nasta'liq: 'amal-i Dhanraj ('work of
Dhanraj')

Provenance
Spink and Son
Private collection, Japan

Published
Losty 2008, no. 3
Habighorst 2012, pp. 117–32, fig. 1

In this attractive and delicate brush drawing an aged ascetic sits at ease, leaning his right arm on his fakir's crutch while his left leg dangles over the rocky shelf on which he sits. He is telling his beads outside his hut, while two young men attend him. On the left one sits with his *vina* making music for him while another on the right stands before him bowing respectfully and raising his joined hands to his forehead in the respectful *anjali* gesture.

In the *Yogavasistha* manuscript in Dublin done for Akbar's son Salim in Allahabad in 1602, now in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Leach 1995, 2.30 & 2.40), the god Shiva in paintings attributed to Kesu is similarly attired and stands making a respectful gesture to the ascetics rather like our young man on the right. It is possible that drawings such as this were instrumental in patenting the type seen in the Allahabad manuscript.

The scene takes place beneath what looks like a pine tree, of which the trunk and spreading branches are carefully drawn and modelled while their leafy extremities are interestingly depicted through bold washes of green and brown without the usual attention to detail at this period. A pair of hoopoes sits on one of the branches. In the background can be seen an outline of a European townscape, suggesting the heavy influence of a Flemish engraving not only on the style but also the composition of this drawing.

Such drawings of ascetics were popular in the early 17th century, especially among artists eager to demonstrate their skills in modelling nearly naked bodies and in assembling them in groups without the use of much colour to help with the perspective. Here Dhanraj has been especially

skilful in utilising the mediaeval Indian full profile for the two young men and three-quarter profile for the old one to achieve a group composition in which the figures are in meaningful spatial relationships with one another. An expanded version of this drawing possibly also by Dhanraj, with further yogis going around their daily tasks below the principal figures, is illustrated in Tandan 1982, fig. 9.

Dhanraj was an individual but not very prolific painter. He is known from a few works in imperial manuscripts from the 1580s into the early Jahangiri period. Where he worked in collaboration, he is normally the designer of the page. He contributed three paintings to the c. 1591 *Baburnama* in the British Library, including the splendid page showing Babur approaching the fort at Gwalior (Losty 1986, no. 13). He contributed one interesting page to the second *Akbarnama* of 1603–04 illustrating the young Akbar receiving his mother Hamida Banu Begum in 1557 after her journey from Kabul (Leach 1995, 2.101). Like our drawing, this is in the then-fashionable *nimqalam* style and Dhanraj has used the style very skilfully to suggest a receding landscape. It is also one of the rare paintings to show Akbar in profile, whom Dhanraj has thus positioned so that he and his mother are in a meaningful spatial relationship, exactly as he has done with the two young men and the ascetic in this drawing. His very beautiful *nimqalam* drawing of an elephant hunt c. 1600 in the Royal collection has just been published (Hannam 2018, no. 12). This had entered the Royal collection by 1728, thus making Dhanraj one of the earliest named Mughal artists to be represented in a European collection.

An unrelated manuscript page is on the verso.



YOGIS ROUND A FIRE

By the Mughal artist Sankar, c. 1600
Brush drawing in brown ink with
touches of watercolour heightened
with gold on paper
Drawing: 14 x 11 cm
Inscribed below in *nasta'liq*: 'amal-i
Sankar and on the verso *majlis-i-sir*
jogian ('assembly of the head yogis')
with inspection notes in the royal
library dated between 1637 and 1677
together with the seal of 'the
devotee of Padshah 'Alamgir,
Sayyid 'Ali al-Husayni'

Provenance
Mewar royal collection
Spink and Son

Published
Losty 2008, no. 4



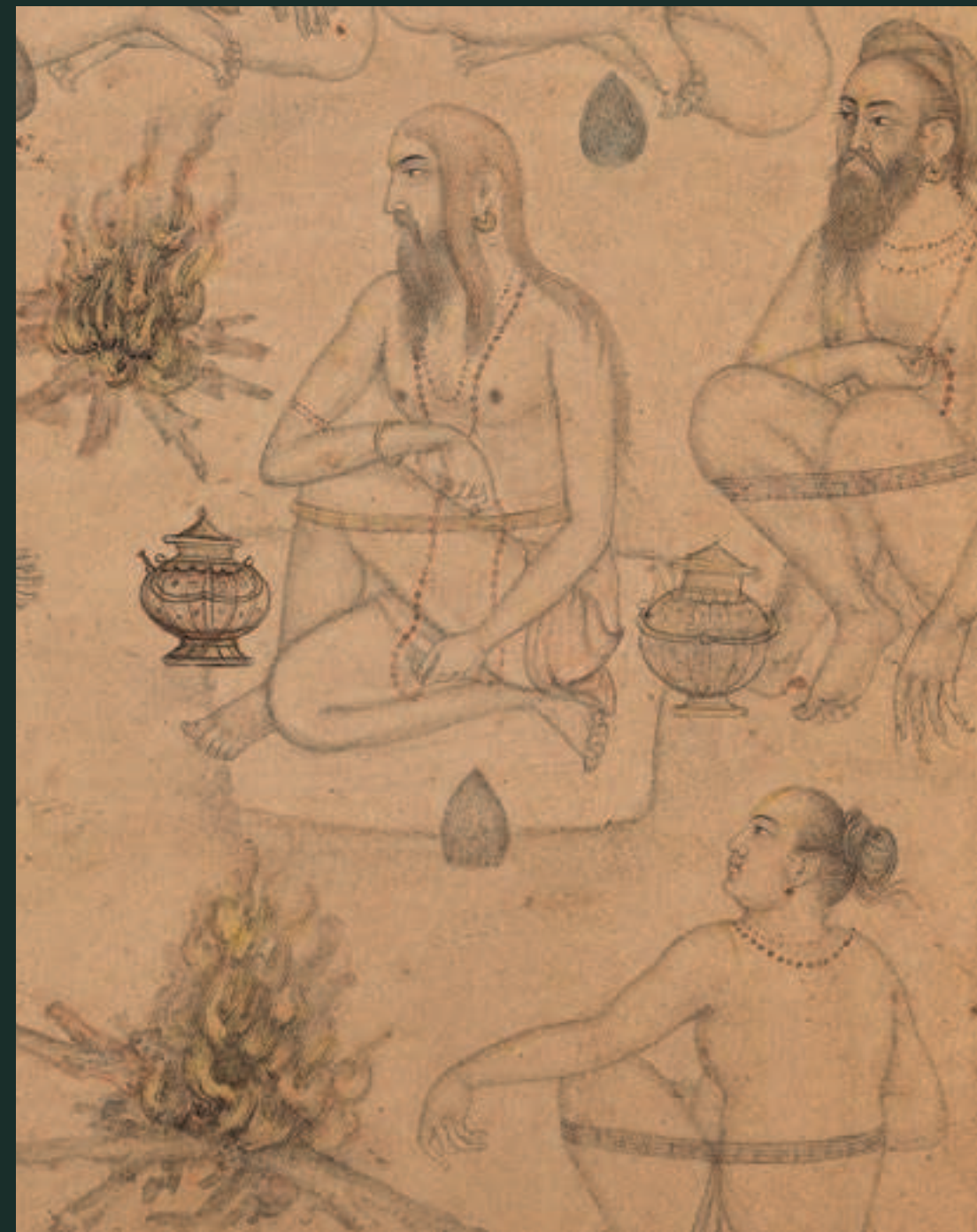
A group of senior yogis, who all wear heavy wooden earrings in their lobes, are gathered round a fire and do not seem to be conversing, but each rather communes with himself. Four among this group wear *yogapattas*, bands of cloth tied round their bodies and legs to support them in their chosen attitude, while the youngest of them crouches down by the fire to warm his outstretched hands. Behind, another group of younger yogis wearing smaller earrings are grouped around a second fire. They are concerned with the meaning of the text which they are elucidating among themselves, a rare and beautiful Mughal illustration of a *pothi* (loose-leaf) Indian manuscript on paper, which they are extracting from its cloth wrapper on the ground before them.

Like Dhanraj (in no. 23), Sankar has made skilful use of the different possible profiles in his

armoury to create a spatially meaningful composition. His figure modelling is exceptionally beautiful. The top of the painting, slightly reduced, displays his skill in the most delicate depictions of flowers and shrubs. A similar fragmentary drawing also attributed to Sankar using very similar models to our drawing is in the Jehangir collection in Bombay (Khandalavala and Chandra 1965, no. 24, who date it too late).

Our drawing with its royal library inspection notes was obviously once part of the Mughal Imperial Library. The drawing would have entered the Mewar collection through marriage. These *nimqalam* drawings mostly of ascetics and European subjects from the late Akbar period were sometimes pasted into Imperial albums such as the three folios which entered the British Royal Collection in 1728 (Hannam 2018, nos 3–11). Other folios from this Imperial album have come up at auction, executed by Imperial artists including Sankar (Christie's London, 17 April 2007).

Sankar is an artist known from the 1580s onwards who worked on various imperial manuscripts normally doing the colouring in collaborative works. He then began to work independently on individual paintings in the c. 1595 *Iyar-i Danish* and the 1602–03 *Akbarnama* (Leach 1995, 1.140; 2.96 and 98, unillustrated), and of course on these *nimqalam* drawings.



A YOGI OFFERED A GIFT

Mughal style, perhaps at Bikaner,
c. 1620
Opaque pigments with gold on paper
Folio: 24.2 x 18.3 cm
Miniature: 19.2 x 13.8 cm, within red
and white ruled margins, a red
border with white and black rules,
and a narrow yellow outer border
Inscribed on the reverse in nagari:
kharad? and with the Bikaner
inventory number am. 12

Published
Habighorst 2011, fig. 69, pp. 95–98

Exhibited
Blumen, Bäume, Göttergärten,
Völkerkunde-Museum, Hamburg,
2013
Indische Gärten / Gärten der Welt,
Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 2016

A yogi is seated under a fig tree being offered a dish on a golden plate by a young man. The yogi wears a brown cloak draped round his body over a pink lower garment, and wears some of the characteristic marks of the Nath sect – a collar of little cloth strips, a horn suspended round his neck, a turban of patchwork cloth and the large wooden earrings. His body is smeared with ash turning it grey. He sits before a fire holding a stick in one hand and reaches out to take the proffered gift in the other. His accompanying dog barks furiously at the visitor, who is dressed in a red *jama* (tied on the right) over striped *pajama*, a white *patka* with brocade ends, and a turban of mauve tie-dyed cloth. A dagger is stuck through his cummerbund. The landscape is very simple, a stream in the foreground, a swathe of grass with flowers bounded by rocks behind the

tree that dominates the composition, and a stand of more distant trees. The sky has turned yellow in the evening.

The subject of this rare and important painting is a little mysterious, since the man offering the dish must be a Muslim judging by the way his *jama* is tied, and is possibly a reflection at a distance of Jahangir's interest in yogis and their ways. The yogi is relatively young and his well-drawn face looks remarkably like it is a portrait. That said, the simple style of the painting shows it to be not an imperial product, and it is possibly the work of a Mughal artist working in the provinces such as in the Bikaner court, where the painting remained. The regular inventory inscriptions from the later 17th century are possibly concealed behind strengthening strips of paper on the reverse.



A GROUP OF A MEN AT EASE PARTAKING OF DRUGS

Bundi school, or possibly Kota,
mid-18th century
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio: 26.3 x 26.2 cm, within a narrow
black border

Provenance
William K. Ehrenfeld collection

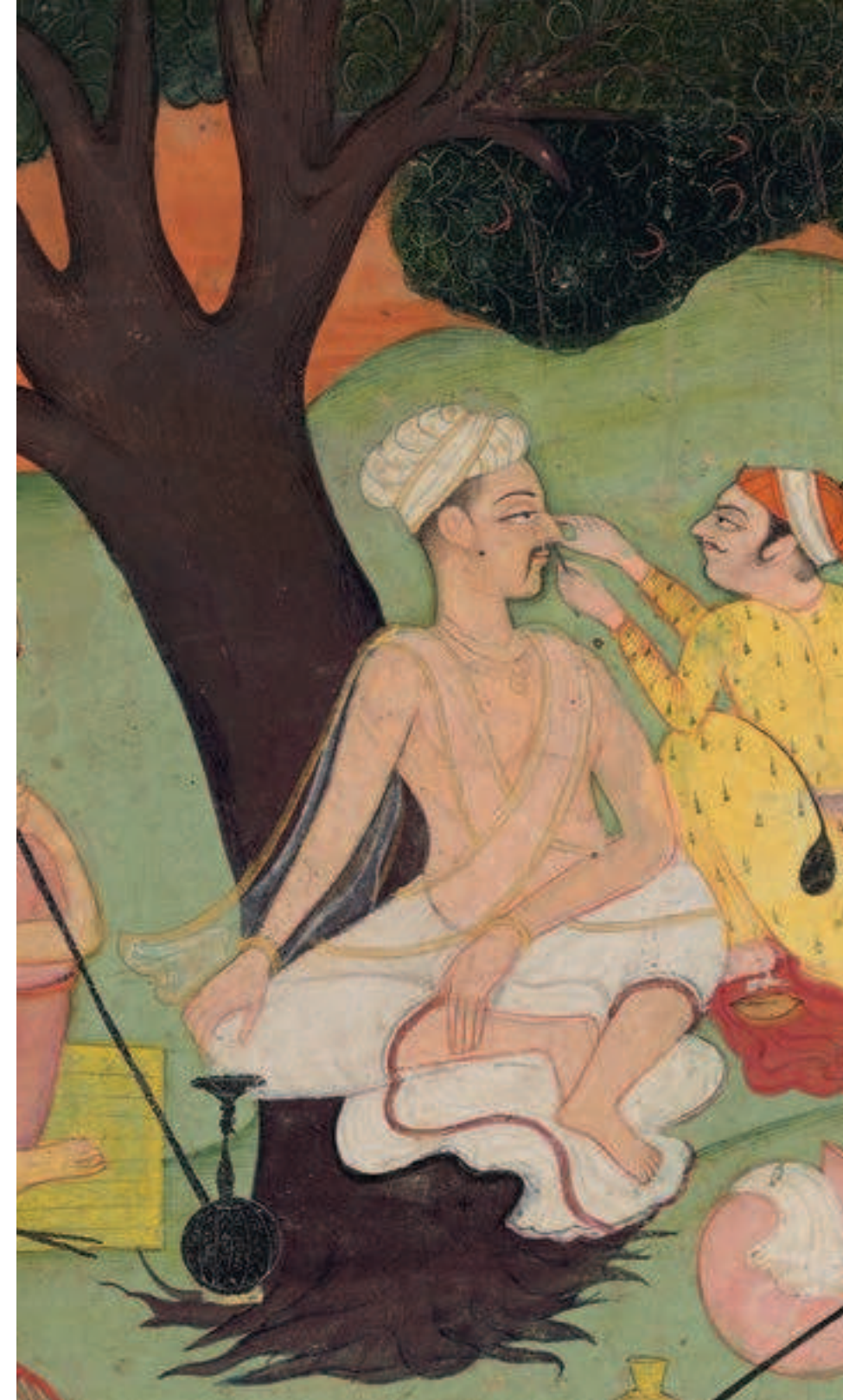
Published
Ehnbom 1985, no. 60
Habighorst et al. 2007b, fig. 73

Exhibited
Genuss und Rausch – Betel, Tabak, Wein,
Hasch und Opium in der indischen
Malerei, Museum Rietberg, Zürich,
2010
Genuss und Rausch – Wein, Tabak und
Drogen in indischen Miniaturen,
Museum für Islamische Kunst,
Pergamonmuseum, Berlin, 2014

In contrast to some of the more extreme behaviour seen in other miniatures of this type, this group of men seem more relaxed in their drug-preparation and -taking habits. Indeed, some of their activities do not seem relevant to drugs at all, as with the figures of the barber intent on trimming his customer's moustache or the snake charmer. A group of men are peeling and boiling sugarcane in order to sweeten the preparation of the liquor. Others are inhaling drugs from hookahs or drinking the powerful liquid concoction. Others are clearly out of it, either lying down or bent over in total inebriation. Caged birds and parrots often accompany these scenes, but here we also have birds of prey, one of which is incongruously perched on the gauntlet of a man bringing sugarcane to be prepared, while another perches on a stoned druggie's head. It is unlikely his thin cap would protect him from the fierce talons. As usual in these scenes a yogi is

involved, on the extreme left, but more incongruously we also have a snake charmer playing his pipe while the cobra sways up out of its basket, to which the assembled company is quite indifferent. The scene is set on a gently rolling hillside and under a dark fig tree which stands out against the red sky with its tangled clouds.

The painting has elements of both Bundi and Kota compositions. The sky is typical of Bundi in the 18th century and the snake charmer with his feathered turban perhaps derives from a well-known painting in the Chhatrapati Shivaji Museum, Mumbai (Desai 2003, no. 115). The intentness of the barber on his work is seen in such Kota compositions as the carpenter whittling a toy matchlock now in the Fort Museum, Kota (Welch et al. 1997, no. 26), while the extra-long and indeed extended eyelashes seen in our painting are found in many Kota paintings (e.g. *ibid.*, no. 33).





Mughal, perhaps from Awadh, late 18th century
 Brush drawing with some colour
 Folio: 25.5 x 31 cm
 Painting: 20 x 25.5 cm, laid down on lighter-coloured paper within black, blue and red rules
 Inscribed in Urdu above: 'An example of the state of Asaf al-Daula's army. On the appearance of a mouse, they imagine it to be a lion and in a panic the opium-addicts take up their weapons, but straight away go into a stupor!' (translation by Qaisra Khan)

Published
 Habighorst 2012, pp. 117–32, fig. 9 (as Ajmer, c. 1730–50)

Exhibited
 Genuss und Rausch – Betel, Tabak, Wein, Hasch und Opium in der indischen Malerei, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 2010
 Genuss und Rausch – Wein, Tabak und Drogen in indischen Miniaturen, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Pergamonmuseum, Berlin, 2014

Intoxicated men, all bare-chested and wearing nothing but long drawers or *paijama* apart from their turbans or caps, are trying to catch a mouse trapped in the middle of their circle. They aim muskets and arrows and wield swords. Many in their inebriated state have their eyes closed. One looks down the front of his trousers to see if the mouse has got in there, while another seems to be seeing if it has entered his scabbard. An emaciated mule stands bottom left while on the right a yogi enters the scene. The source of their intoxication is nowhere apparent and the action plays out against a totally blank ground.

The inscription turns this comical study of the effects of such substances as opium and *bhang* into a savage satire on the reign of Asaf al-Daula, Nawab of Awadh (r. 1775–97). Renowned for his architectural projects in beautifying Lucknow and for his love of the arts, what little talent for government he possessed was undermined by the persistent attempts of the East India Company to render Awadh a compliant vassal state. Its army was consistently reduced so that Awadh could never again pose a threat to the Company's armies as it had done in the reign of his father Shuja' al-Daula.

The stoned men in this drawing are not being caricatured in their personal appearance, but rather for the effects of drugs on their system, which render them incapable of catching a mouse or even despatching it with sword or musket or bow and arrow. Their eyes are closed

not because of the effects of the drug but as a metaphor perhaps for the political state of Awadh. The simplicity of the drawing and colouring despite its incisive style makes it difficult to pinpoint an exact provenance. A provincial Mughal school would seem to be involved, though perhaps not metropolitan Awadh itself where such a satire might be thought dangerous. The artist or his patron took a jaundiced view of what was going on in the neighbouring state. The patron may of course have been a nawab from within Awadh itself looking from a distance at the goings on in the capital.

The subject, although without the inscription, proved popular in the 19th century. A painting, now in the Alice Boner collection in the Rietberg Museum, Zürich, is obviously derived from our miniature or its source, making use of the same figures, but is in mirror reverse and includes a variegated green ground and a hint of a sky (Boner et al. 1994, fig. 199; Habighorst et al. 2007b, fig. 74), there catalogued as Jaipur or Mewar c. 1840. This caricature of the effects of opium or *bhang*, showing how addicts become divorced from reality in their attempted assaults on the mouse, occurs several times in different late Rajasthani schools including Jodhpur (in the palace museum, see Crill 2000, fig. 120, p. 121 with other references) and Kota (paintings formerly with Francesca Galloway, see Losty 2008, no. 33; 2010, no. 22).



Sawar, c. 1785, by Pemji
 Folio: 28.2 x 21 cm
 Miniature: 23.9 x 16.2 cm, within
 margins in dark brown and yellow
 and with a red border with white
 rules and corner finials
 Inscribed on the reverse in nagari:
 panoh amalya ko and (in a more
 modern hand) tasvir amal hara ki
 che (both seeming to mean 'this
 page/painting is of drunk people')
 along with a partially pasted-over
 inscription above naming Pemji.
 Also in an English hand 1830
 Chittor, the rest erased

Provenance
 William K. Ehrenfeld collection

Published
 Ehnbom 1985, pp. 126–27
 Habighorst et al. 2007b, fig. 72, p. 110
 Bautze 1995, fig. 147, pp. 164–65
 Habighorst 2012, pp. 117–32, fig. 8

Exhibited
 Rajasthan – Land der Könige, Linden-
 Museum, Stuttgart, 1995
 Der Weg des Meisters – Die großen
 Künstler Indiens, Museum Rietberg,
 Zürich, 2011
 Genuss und Rausch – Wein, Tabak und
 Drogen in indischen Miniaturen,
 Museum für Islamische Kunst,
 Pergamonmuseum, Berlin, 2014

Caricatures of ascetics and their drug-imbibing habits were a long-continued theme in Indian painting. In this delightful example, a group of ascetics has gathered in front of a reed hut where a Shaiva yogi sits on a charpoy smoking marijuana from a hookah. He seems unaware he has been joined by a tiger, as are all the other stoned ascetics unaware of the birds and animals preying on them. Beside two mango trees on either side of the hut *bhang*, an intoxicating liquor prepared from hemp, is being distilled. Apart from the yogi in his hut and the three central figures who are discussing something to do with a caged parrot, the other figures are all exaggeratedly scrawny and bony, with their straggly turbans all awry.

Pemji's style is 'characterised by angular movement, a wiry line, and a strong preference for yellows and green' according to Ehnbom (1985, p. 126), but where exactly he was working has been elusive. For many years he was placed in

the northern Mewar thikana of Badnore, but Andhare's publication of paintings actually from Badnore (1995), which are in style closely allied to that of Deogarh, has put paid to that theory, and it now seems he was working in another thikana, at Sawar. Paintings of some of the thakurs of Sawar by Pemji are in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Thakur Sagat Singh and Kunwar Saman Singh) in a pared down but incisive style, with another in the San Diego Museum of Saman Singh, where is also one of his caricatures of stoned ascetics (1990.642). Pemji's painting of a later prince of Sawar, Kunwar Ajit Singh's revels in a garden, is in Harvard (Beach 1992, fig. 148). Sagat Singh is the descendant of Raj Singh of Sawar (c. 1705–30), under whom flourished a lively school of drawings with four splendid examples in the Howard Hodgkin collection (Topsfield 2012, nos 90–93), but it is not known whether Pemji is an artistic descendant of those artists.





A CONCLAVE OF DRUG USERS

Lucknow, 1760–80, school of Mir Kalan Khan
 Opaque pigments and gold on paper
 Folio: 38.8 x 24 cm
 Miniature: 29.9 x 17.5 cm, within a dark brown margin with a gold foliate scroll, gold and green rules and a buff border with gold flower designs

Published
 Haase et al. 1993, fig. 192c (dated by J. Bautze as Mughal 18th century after an original of the 17th century)

Habighorst et al. 2007b, fig. 68 (as Mughal c. 1620)
 Habighorst 2012, pp. 117–32, fig. 3 (as Mughal c. 1620)

Exhibited
 Morgenländische Pracht, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, 1993
 Genuss und Rausch – Betel, Tabak, Wein, Hasch und Opium in der indischen Malerei, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 2010
 Genuss und Rausch – Wein, Tabak und Drogen in indischen Miniaturen, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Pergamonmuseum, Berlin, 2014

Meetings of Sufis or dervishes (in Persia) and yogis (in India) under a tree had been the subject of numerous paintings and drawings from at least the late 16th century. The Persian examples are exemplified by a painting attributed to the Herati painter Muhammadi about 1590 now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Gray 1961/77, p. 157), with figures grouped and acting naturally. The Sufi participants are often under the influence not only of drink but of drugs (the Persian equivalent of *bang*) to induce a feeling of spiritual ecstasy.

Two Indian adaptations of Muhammadi's drinking party have been published in Habighorst et al. 2007b (including this one, see also their fig. 66). They still show the considerable Persian influence found in a certain strain of Jahangiri painting, but our version seems an altogether later one. It shows twenty-four drug users individually depicted in rows against a dark green ground with three small trees in the background and a blue sky above almost obscured by streaky white clouds. The individual participants are closely observed. The preparation of *bang* is in full swing, as the hemp plant is kneaded and mashed and mixed with liquids to produce a palatable liquor. The large Chinese-influenced vessels and bowls of Muhammadi's painting have disappeared in favour of little hookahs, this time with figurative blue-and-white decoration, for smoking the narcotics. Balls of narcotics, perhaps opium, are also being weighed out and no doubt these are being used for smoking in the little hookahs.

The Persianate or Central Asian appearance of some of the participants has been inherited from Jahangiri models, but the over-regular folds in garments and the many similar lines and wrinkles in skin suggest a later date. The

brilliant and slightly yellow light that infuses the scene suggests perhaps the school of Mir Kalan Khan at Lucknow, who also sometimes relied on Persian models to construct his totally individual compositions (e.g. *Lovers in a Landscape* in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, McNerney 2011b 'Mir Kalan Khan', fig. 12). Many of this artist's paintings used other schools, whether Mughal, Deccani, Persian or European, in this way and his sometimes startling effects are also found in his followers' work, such as ours. For a very similar Awadhi painting from the same period of drug abusers in rows, this time on a blue ground without any attempt at a landscape, see the Francesca Galloway 2009 catalogue, no. 28.

The figures being arranged in rows against a plain ground is a compositional model seen in some other paintings of this type. Two (in the Cleveland Museum and the Freer Gallery, Leach 1986, nos 42 & 42C) have drug users positioned on a verandah with a landscape background, but others have the plain ground seen in our miniature (e.g. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Hurel 2010, no. 132; and Chester Beatty Library, Leach 1995, 4.40). The Read Albums in the Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York, have several related drawings (Schmitz 1997, figs 185 & 188). A Mughal version of the subject is in the Cynthia Polsky collection (Topsfield ed. 2004, no. 81) showing only nearly naked yogis gathered under a large tree. They are going through the various stages of preparing *bang* and the prepared narcotic is being given to the leader of the group. For other Mughal paintings and drawings of the preparation and consumption of narcotics, see Habighorst et al. 2007b, pp. 100–05. These of course are all earlier than our painting, but none shows the adaptation of earlier models which is often a function of painting in Awadh.





THE AWFUL EFFECTS OF DRUG ADDICTION

Rajasthan, perhaps Jodhpur or a Marwar thikana, 1780–1800
 Opaque pigments and gold on paper
 Folio: 35.6 x 24.1 cm
 Miniature 26 x 21.5 cm, within gold, blue and white rules in a buff pink album page with splashed gold

Published
 Habighorst 2012, pp. 117–32, fig. 7 (as Jodhpur or Pratapgarh, mid-18th century)

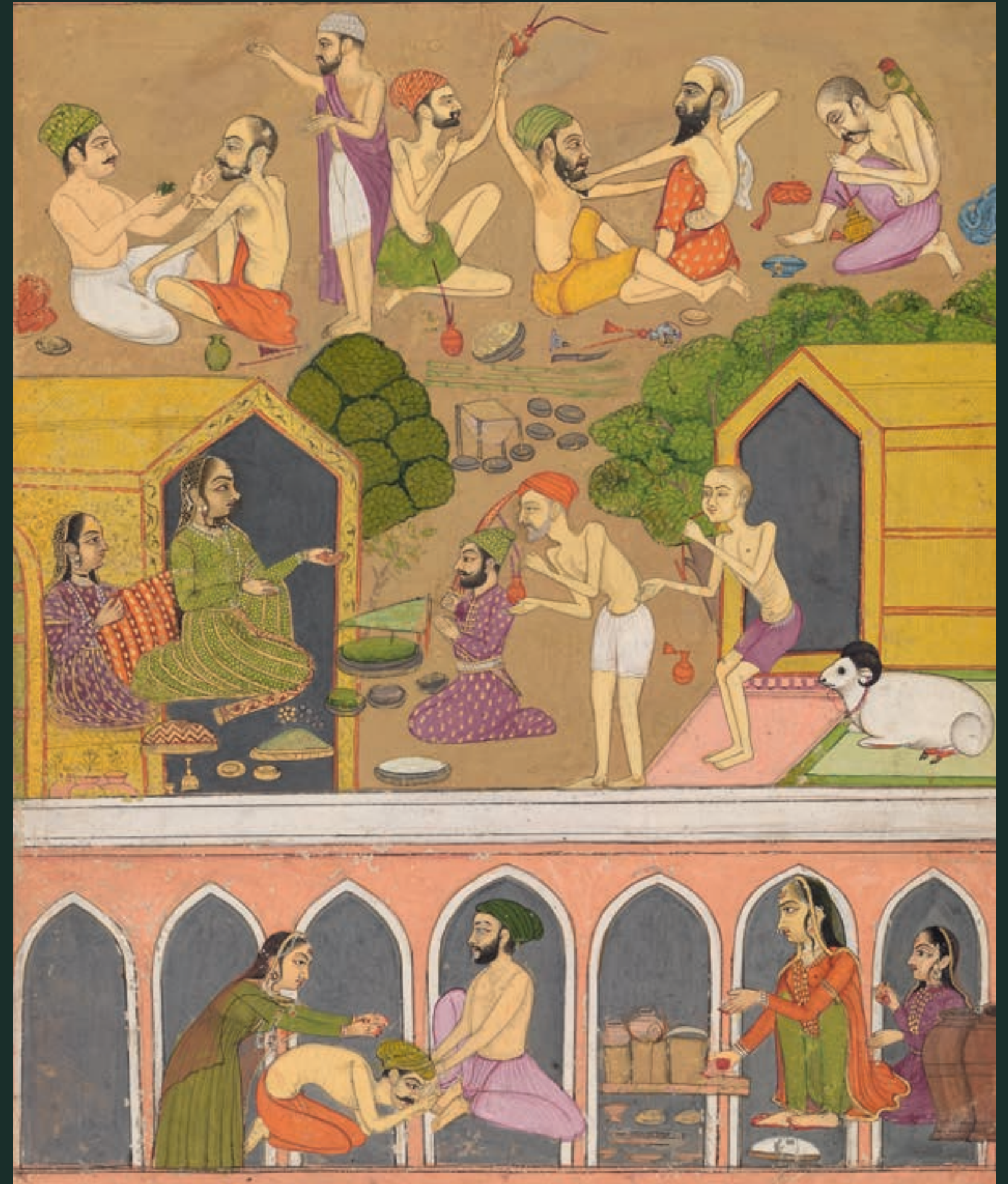
Exhibited
 Genuss und Rausch – Betel, Tabak, Wein, Hasch und Opium in der indischen Malerei, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 2010
 Genuss und Rausch – Wein, Tabak und Drogen in indischen Miniaturen, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Pergamonmuseum, Berlin, 2014

This painting seems to depict various antisocial behaviours that are the result of drug addiction. The central scene shows a Muslim gentleman visiting a lady in her hut. Both are richly dressed and she seems to be selling something, perhaps drugs, which might be why the nobleman is wielding a sheathed sword on his shoulder, or perhaps she is the madam of a brothel and one of her girls is beside her. Behind the gentleman two ascetic types have emerged from another hut, both smoking from *nargila*, but one of these has fallen to the ground and is broken. The two hold out their hands for some drugs or largesse. A large sheep with fat tail and horns sits beside this hut watching what is going on. Between the huts is a still for preparing *bhāng* with receptacles and sugar canes. Above are three apparently separate scenes. On the left are two men seated partly dressed, one offers *pan* to the other but the latter is more interested in putting his hand on the first one's genitals. A standing man is expostulating about such behaviour. In the centre three emaciated men seem to be fighting over the one *nargila* although others lie on the ground, perhaps two are trying to wean the third from his addiction. On the right another man seems totally out of it smoking his *nargila* with a parrot perched on his shoulder. At the bottom of the picture there seems to be a man running a liquor or drug shop in front of an arcade with various pots and stills preparing the

liquors. A man and woman bow down begging in front of the shopkeeper while two women on the right would seem to be involved in the preparations. The palms of their hands are dyed bright red. All in all, the point of the painting seems to be warning the viewer off drugs, demonstrating the emaciation of the body that nearly all the users display and the unsocial, indeed outrageous, behaviour that drug addiction leads to.

The style is as difficult to place as the subject. The album format and the rich colours, especially the clashes of purples, greens or yellow, suggest a late Mughal school in Lucknow or Murshidabad, although even in the late 18th century these schools normally had more interest in perspective than is shown in our painting, which in turn suggests Rajasthan. Jaipur is a distinct possibility with its significant but unexplored links to Lucknow painting, and its adoption of album formats in the Mughal manner. However, the figural style, the fairly heavy modelling of features, the large eyes with their pupils and corners slightly upturned, suggest in turn Jodhpur in the late 18th century or, since the subject seems divorced from court painting (for which see Crill 2000 and Diamond et al. 2008), at least Marwar, perhaps in a *thikana* of Jodhpur.

On the verso are inked out seals and perhaps inscriptions. A square seal was impressed at the top right.





DRUG CONSUMPTION AT A HANUMAN SHRINE

Datia, 1810–20
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio: 21.8 x 32 cm
Miniature: 19.9 x 30.5 cm, within a red
margin with white rules and a
dark blue border with black and
red rules
Inscribed in *nagari* on the recto
beside each of the participants
with identifications etc. Modern
nagari inscriptions on the verso

Published
Habighorst 2012, pp. 117–32, fig. 6 (as
second half of the 18th century)

Exhibited
Genuss und Rausch – Betel, Tabak, Wein,
Hasch und Opium in der indischen
Malerei, Museum Rietberg, Zürich,
2010
Genuss und Rausch – Wein, Tabak und
Drogen in indischen Miniaturen,
Museum für Islamische Kunst,
Pergamonmuseum, Berlin, 2014

Various scenes of drug manufacture and consumption are being enacted in a courtyard in front of a Hanuman temple. A *baradari* is on one side and a stall selling liquor on the other, to which a child is leading an old man. Two disapproving women peer from the arcade of the *baradari* at the goings on in front of them which include the usual scenes of *bhang* preparations and consumption, smoking etc. The scene is set against a brilliant yellow ground contrasting with the heavy dark trees between and beyond the buildings. Monkeys are playing in the trees. Dogs play with some of the participants. A rat is running off with a piece of someone's clothing and the aggrieved owner is aiming a spear at it.

Datia painting has hitherto been closely studied, especially those from the 19th century, only in the monumental publication by Konrad Seitz (2015). However, the big, wide folio is typical of the manuscript productions of Datia during this period, 1820–30, including a dispersed *Ramayana* and a *Bhagavata Purana* (Seitz 2015, nos 60, 61.1 & 61.2), with lots of small figures engaged in various activities and, in the latter instance, numerous identification inscriptions. However, the still fairly elegant figural drawing in our painting and the archways seen in the *baradari* are more typical of the slightly earlier *Satsai* series from Datia (*ibid.*, 59, 1–10), traditionally dated in the late 18th century but more realistically as Seitz points out c. 1800–10 when Bundelkhand finally began to escape from under the Maratha domination.





नंजी कामधु

बेटीकी मोनदी गानी रागे

नवले माणवाका चणे

बिवाफरात करीमो

प्रवादा रका

मोनी

कुवे

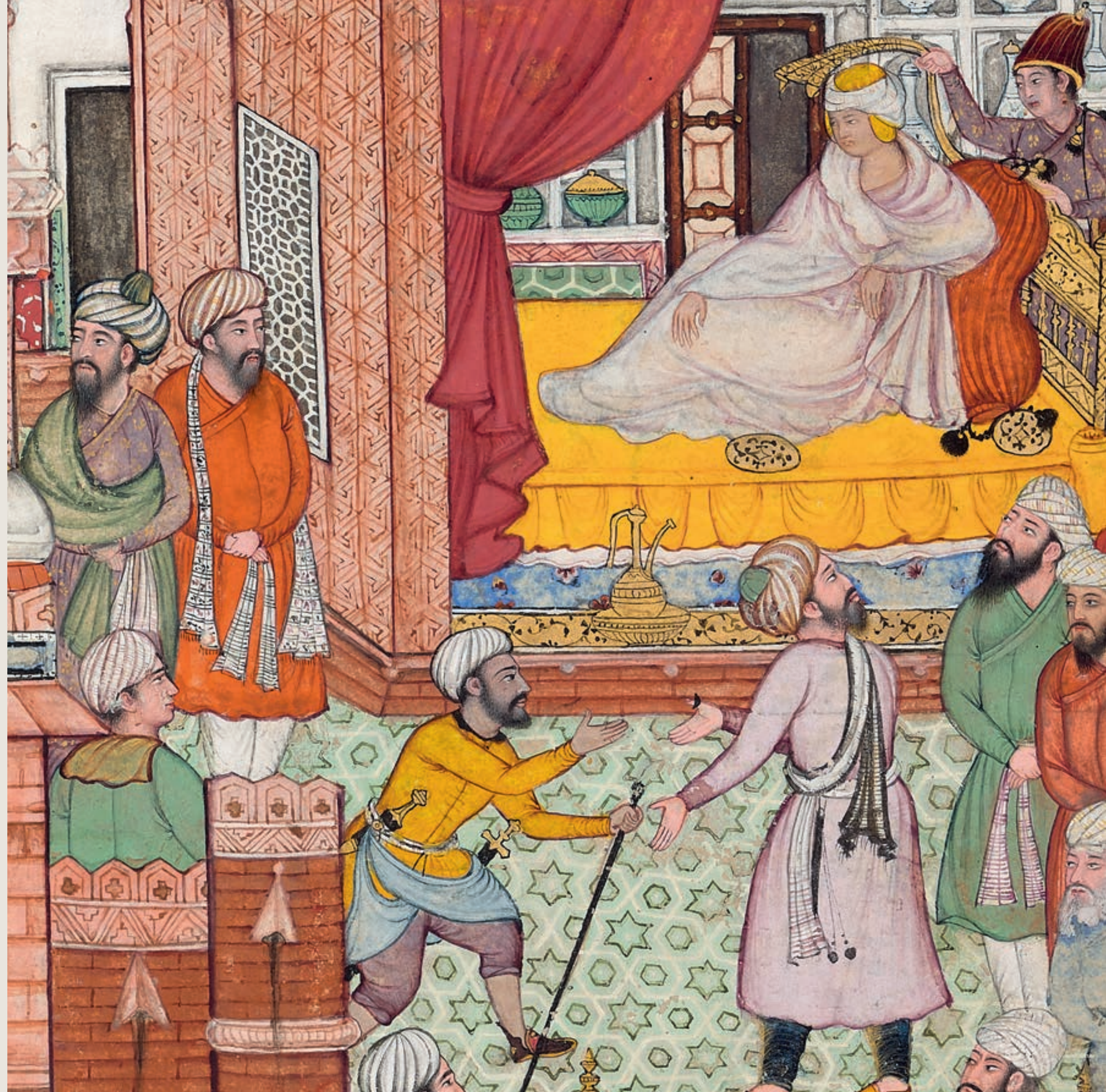
TWO PAINTINGS FROM THE
FIRST BABURNAMA (1589–90)

Babur, the founder of the Mughal empire and Akbar's paternal grandfather, wrote his diary in the language of his native Turkestan, *Chaghatai Turki*, recording the events of his life until shortly before his death in 1530.

Babur's memoirs are one of the greatest and most interesting of pre-modern autobiographical books. He records in detail not only the events of his own tumultuous life, but also his reactions to India on first coming into that fabled land in 1526, and to its people, its flora and its fauna. It was written in *Turki*, the ancestral language of the Mughals, and his grandson Akbar ordered it to be translated into Persian for the better comprehension of his court. This work was entrusted to Akbar's friend Mirza 'Abd al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan, who presented the finished translation to Akbar in November 1589. Court artists immediately set about producing an illustrated version. This manuscript was dispersed in a sale in London in 1913, through the bookseller Luzac. Twenty folios are in the V&A (Stronge 2002, pp. 86–91). Other groups of leaves are in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington and the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

At least three more illustrated manuscripts based on this first version were produced within the next ten years, which are now in the British Library (Suleiman 1970); divided between the Moscow State Museum of Eastern Cultures and the Walters Art Gallery Baltimore; and in the National Museum, New Delhi (Randhawa 1983).

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



**BABUR SITS ENTHRONED IN HIS COURT,
FOLIO FROM THE FIRST BABURNAMA**

Imperial Mughal, 1589–90
Ascribed to the artist Khim Karan
(amal-i Khem Karan)
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio: 34.6 x 22.7 cm
Miniature: 22.7 x 13 cm, within gold
margins and an unrelated pink
border with gold flora and fauna
designs in ink and gold

Provenance
Luzac & Co, London, 1913

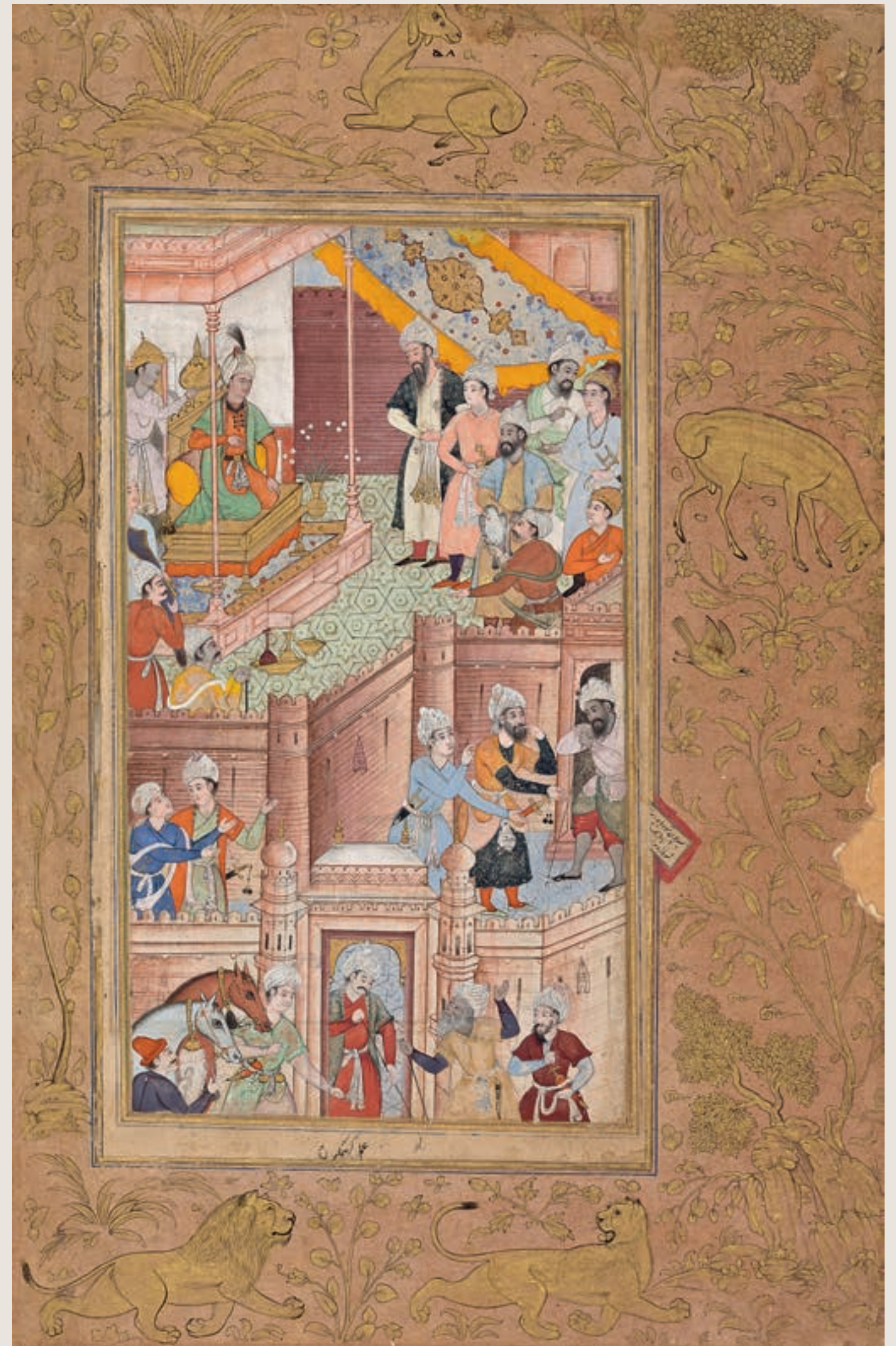
Published
Haase et al. 1993, pl. 183b
Habighorst 2011, figs 105 & 106

Exhibited
Morgenländische wcht, Museum für
Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg,
1993
Blumen, Bäume, Göttergärten,
Völkerkunde-Museum, Hamburg,
2013
Akbars goldenes Erbe, Museum
Rietberg, Zürich, 2015–16

Babur is enthroned within a pavilion in the courtyard of a fort with courtiers and others facing him, while attendants seem to express surprise in an adjacent court and servants attend to the horses of arrivals outside the fort. The absence of any relevant text makes identification of the event difficult, but Babur is still young and beardless, so the scene is presumably set somewhere in Central Asia. A comparable scene of an enthroned young Babur in a courtyard in the British Library version of the *Baburnama*, the next one to be prepared chronologically, shows Babur receiving the submission of the rebel 'Alidust Tagha'i at Marghinan (Margilan) in 1498 (Or. 3714, f.80v, published Suleiman 1978, pl. 17; *Baburnama* (Beveridge translation), p. 100, *Baburnama* (Thackston translation), pp. 73–74).

Khim Karan is an important artist of the Akbar period, being one of those cited as among the excellent of the age by Abu'l Fazl in *A'in* 34 of the *A'in-i Akbari*. His work is found in most of the important manuscripts of the reign from the *Timornama* of 1584 onwards until the 1603–04 *Akbarnama*.

The painting has been laid down on an early 17th-century *Shahnama* page (like several of the known pages from this dispersed manuscript) decorated with flora and fauna drawn in black and gold on a pink ground, with part of the text visible at an oblique angle protruding into the border. The verso is a page from a different manuscript, the *Khīrad-nama-yi Iskandari* section of Nur al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman Jami's *Haft Aurang*.



BABUR RECEIVES AN ENVOY FROM UZUN HASAN WHEN LYING SICK IN 1497, FOLIO FROM THE FIRST BABURNAMA

Imperial Mughal, 1589–90
 Opaque pigments, ink and gold
 on paper
 Folio: 30.3 x 19.5 cm
 Miniature: 20.7 x 12.5 cm, within
 green and gold margins with a
 buff outer border with splashed
 gold
 Inscribed top and bottom in Persian
 'And the great amirs and the
 young soldiers despaired of my
 life, [and] each person began to
 think of his own affairs. While I
 was in this condition, a servant of
 Uzun Hasan ...'

Provenance
 Luzac & Co, London, 1913

Published
 Haase et al. 1993, pl. 183a
 Habighorst 2006b, fig. 2

Exhibited
 Morgenländische Pracht, Museum für
 Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg,
 1993
 Blumen, Bäume, Göttergärten,
 Völkerkunde-Museum, Hamburg,
 2013
 Akbars goldenes Erbe, Museum
 Rietberg, Zürich, 2015–16

The painting shows a servant of the Aqqoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan being admitted to the presence of the sick Babur in the year 1497. According to Babur's own record of this event, just after he had taken Samarkand in 1497 he became very sick and was lying near death's door for four days. During this time the rebel Uzun Hasan laid siege to Babur's old capital of Andijan and took it. The *begs* were each seeking their own advantage in this perilous situation and accordingly admitted the rebel's messenger into Babur's chamber (Beveridge translation of the *Baburnama*, pp. 86–87; Thackston translation, pp. 64–65). Babur looking wan and ill lies in bed wrapped up in a blanket and propped up on a

bolster, while the *begs* look at each other and the messenger seems very concerned.

The page has two lines of the original text of the *Baburnama* in separately ruled panels at top and bottom. It has been laid down onto the text panel of a separate manuscript with splashed gold borders, although whether the original panel of text is still there is not ascertainable. The text on the verso with the same borders is from the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau concerning a story about Musa (Moses). The blank panel at the top above the top panel of text is from the original *Baburnama* page. Although staggered tops and bottoms of the original paintings of the *Baburnama* are rare, they do occur, as in a page in the V&A (IM.273-1913).



Mughal, c. 1640–50, attributed to Payag and studio
 Opaque pigments on paper
 Folio: 16.4 x 11 cm
 Miniature: 15.4 x 10.1 cm, within gold and black margins and a salmon pink border with a gold floral scroll and white rule

Published
 Habighorst 2006a, pp. 53–65
 Habighorst 2009, pp. 29–35

Exhibited
 Akbars goldenes Erbe, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 2015–16

It is evening on the bank of a river. Four Sufi mystics are seated on a mat in silent communication, perhaps with each other, but more likely with the divine. Only the two on the left seem to be interacting by actually looking at the two on the right, but the latter two are either in another world or otherwise distracted. Both those on the right are telling their beads and are presumably engaged in prayer. The rough mat cloth they are all on is laid directly on the ground but the two senior divines are seated additionally on a light rug patterned with floral arabesques. The more elderly of the two is also nimbate, suggested not by the usual radiating rays or solid nimbus but by delicate white lines in a circular pattern. The one facing him also seems to have the remains of a nimbus.

Portraits of holy men in groups are one of the most characteristic compositions from the 17th century and some of them are labelled so that they can be identified. A later drawing obviously based on this scene (shown opposite) gives names to the four mystics and its inscriptions purport to identify them, as follows, from right to left: Hazrat Farid Shakar Ganj; Hazrat Shah Majid al-Din; Hazrat Kh[w]aja Mu'tamid/Mu'ayyad (?) al-Din; and Khardaws (Firdaws/Firdaws?), with what seems to be a correction beside it: Shaikh Jami. A *nagari* inscription on the reverse of the drawing says that it is a portrait of Hazrat Bade Saheb.

The only figure who can be identified with certainty is the one on the extreme right, the Chishti mystic Farid al-Din Ganj Shakar (c. 1175–c. 1266) or Baba Farid, who helped spread the Chishti order of Sufi mystics in South Asia. He was based in the Punjab where he is still greatly revered. Many of the inscriptions on such drawings as these identifying earlier Sufis are

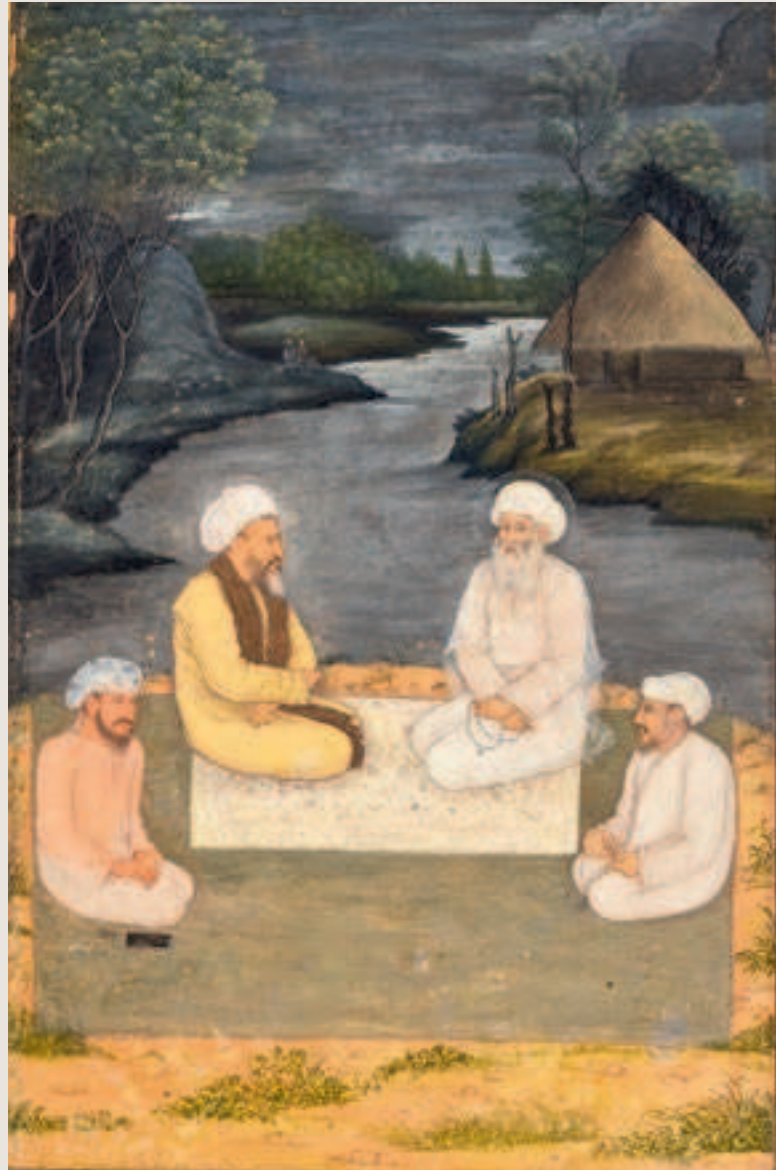
unreliable, but we are helped by an 18th-century Awadhi painting of six Sufis in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (Hurel 2010, no. 173). In the Paris painting Farid al-Din is recognisably the same as in our drawing and painting, while the two main nimbate figures are very similar to our two nimbate ones. They can accordingly be identified as Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, the founder of the Qadiriyya Sufi order, the elderly, nimbate, long-bearded man on the right, and opposite him Shaikh Mu'in al-Din Chishti, the saint of Ajmer, both such revered mystics that a nimbus seems justified. The fourth figure remains unidentified, but has been thought to represent Qutb Sahib, Shaikh Bakhtiyar Kaki of Mehrauli (Habighorst 2006a, p. 58).

The golden-yellow bare ground around and beneath the mat is crossed by delicately depicted little tufted clumps and longer grasses. A couple seem to be enjoying a picnic in the distance on the left bank of the river in the background, while a conical-roofed hut is placed on the right. The sky above is thinly veiled by dark clouds but moonlight is breaking through, to be reflected in the water, more silvery as the river recedes, and also off the tree trunks on either side. What makes this landscape almost unprecedented in the 17th century is the way its boldly depicted recession is suggested by the wide silvery stream retreating in aerial perspective towards the distant horizon via impressionistically depicted banks and trees.

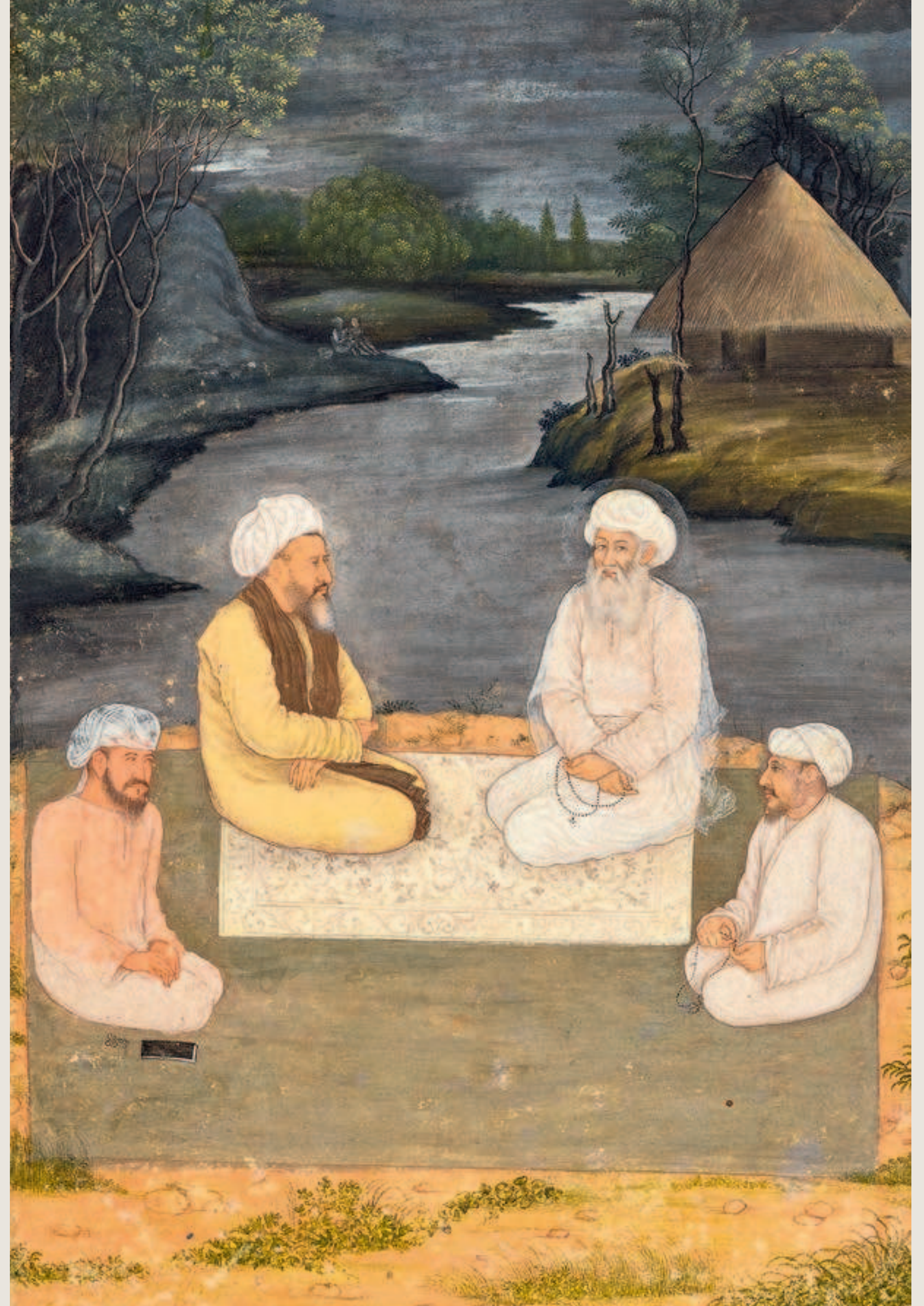
By the mid-century Mughal artists had learnt to cope with landscape recession, and had indeed made use of aerial perspective (several of the paintings in the Windsor Castle *Padshahnama* for instance), but this particular combination suggesting recession via the narrowing of a wide river and making use of

aerial perspective is very rare. Payag in particular among Shahjahani artists had a fine understanding of aerial perspective, as in his *Dara Shikoh hunting Nilgais* in the Freer Gallery, Washington (Koch 1998). He is also of course the major Shahjahani artist who most readily comes to mind when looking at gatherings of mystics (Dye 1991). In our painting the rendering of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani in particular is exceptionally good and the handling of the diaphanous shawl round his upper body is wonderfully beautiful in the way it is depicted standing slightly away from his body. The other figures too are wholly convincing both as portraits of mystics and in the way all the figures either commune with the divine or interact. Payag was interested too in depicting similar types of landscapes. He tried something similar to our receding riverine landscape in two of his late paintings of gatherings of mystics, although on a much broader expanse (Keir collection, London, and Indian Museum, Calcutta, Dye 1991, figs 12 & 13). Indeed, even in European art it was the Flemish and Dutch artists of the early 17th century who were perfecting this sort of pure landscape and no doubt prints had reached India of such scenes in order to be able to influence Mughal artists. A contemporary 17th-century Mughal landscape painting with two travellers, now in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, after a print by Gilles van Scheyndel (Cohen et al. 1986, no. 114; Hurel 2010, no. 40), is a case in point.





Actualsize



THE VASAKASAJJA NAYIKA WHO WAITS EAGERLY FOR HER
LOVER TO COME TO HER, FOLIO FROM A RASIKAPRIYA SERIES

Mewar, c. 1650–60
Opaque pigments and gold and ink
on paper
Folio: 29 x 23 cm
Miniature: 26.4 x 20.4 cm, within a
yellow margin with black rules
and an outer red border
Inscribed in a panel above with the
text of Keshav Das's *Rasikapriya* 7.11
illustrating the *prachhanna*
vasakasajja nayika ('the heroine
who waits in secret for her lover to
come'). Inscribed on the verso in
nagari: am. 24jam. 86. Sam. 1751 asu
sambhaliya ('serial number 24,
album 86, [recorded as present] in
the inventory taken in Samvat 1751/
AD 1694–5')

Published
Habighorst 2011, fig. 38
Dehejia 2008, pp. 195, 353
Dehejia 2013, p. 225

Exhibited
Blumen, Bäume, Göttergärten,
Völkerkunde-Museum, Hamburg,
2013

The *Vasakasajja nayika* is the heroine who waits
longingly for her lover to arrive, as in this verse:

Where the sandalwood tree does stand, with
tender bright leaves, and entwined by fair
clove creepers – there she ran and hid herself,
that nymph divine!
Seeming the bright flame of a lamp in her blue
dress she sought to hide her body's splendour;
she does glance this way and that with
startled eyes.
At every soft sound of the breeze, and leaves,
and birds, and beasts, she yearns for her
beloved;
Thus concealed in the network of groves and
ferns that maiden who for Nandalal (Krishna)
awaits looks like a bird within a cage (transl.
Bahadur 1972, p. 114)

How well the artist captures the essence of the
verse: the effulgent heroine in her finery hiding
in the bower encircled by flowering creepers,
surrounded by brilliantly coloured trees and
flowers. Birds sit in the trees and monkeys pick
the fruit of a fig tree. A stream gushes from the
rocks with deer and peacocks on its bank, before
calming down into more regular patterns at the
bottom of the page, while a wading bird catches
its fish. All this surrounds her like a cage as the
poet says, and to reinforce the simile a cage with
a bird inside is placed before the heroine.

The *Rasikapriya*, which Keshav Das presented
to his patron Rajkumar Indrajit Singh of Orcha
in 1591, is a treatise on the poetics of courtly,
erotic, lyric verse in the vernacular of
Brajbhasha, the old-Hindi dialect of Braj (Vraja).

The work classifies and analyses the various
types of romantic heroes and heroines (*nayakas*
and *nayikas*) and the moods that inspire them
through verses that first identify and then
exemplify them through Keshav Das's own
verses: each category normally is identified
through an open (*prakasa*) or a secret (*prachanna*)
state, open being for those who are free to love
(*svakiya*) and secret for those who are already
married or living unmarried in their father's
house (*parakiya*).

Sahib Din and his studio produced two
complete series of the *Rasikapriya* in the reign of
Rana Jagat Singh of Mewar (r. 1628–52), each with
well over a hundred illustrations (in the 1625
according to Topsfield 2002, p. 65), now mostly
dispersed. Another dispersed series from which
our painting comes is slightly later, 1650–60, in
which the guidance of the master is still
apparent. Twenty-one paintings from one of the
earlier series as well as fifty-four from the later
one had reached the Bikaner court before 1694,
the date of the taking of an inventory as recorded
on the versos. Sahib Din, although sometimes
literal, also found new and expressive ways to
illustrate this elusive text (elucidated in
Topsfield 1986) and his insights are largely
replicated in the later series. Other paintings
from this series are in the National Museum,
New Delhi; the Neotia collection, Kolkata; the
Goenka collection, Mumbai; other private
collections; and some sale catalogues: Sotheby's
London, 12 December 1972, lot 87; and Fogg 1999,
no. 41. See also Khandalavala et al. 1960, no. 24a–g
and figs 32 & 33 for paintings in the Khajanchi
collection at Bikaner.



Ragamalas are sets of 36 (or sometimes more) paintings, each illustrating a different *raga* of Indian music as interpreted by an accompanying verse whether in Hindi or Sanskrit, normally anonymous. Sometimes the verses are written above the painting, sometimes on the verso, but often are not included, or only the name. The verses describe a scene which is meant to evoke the spirit of the *raga* in question. The sets are conceived as consisting of six (male) *ragas* each with five wives or *raginis*.

Sirohi, a small state in southern Rajasthan between Mewar and Gujarat, produced various *ragamala* sets in the late 17th century, all in a brilliant school of its own that also in some instances used unusual iconographies. However, there is no known link between the artist of the Sirohi sets and the Sirohi court and indeed the evidence pointing to Sirohi as the provenance is very weak and not supported by any documentation, as Beach points out (2011, pp. 481–82), but is nonetheless generally accepted in view of the uniqueness of the artistic vision. Many elements of the compositions show the style's initial dependence on that of the school of Sahib Din in Mewar, further suggested by the surviving wall paintings in the Sirohi palace

(Topsfield 2002, p. 102, n. 1). Beach (2011, pp. 484–85) traces the dynastic and marital links between Sirohi and its much larger neighbour in the 17th century, suggesting thereby the transference of basic elements of the style and compositional formats of Sahib Din. This is particularly evident in the compressed register at the bottom of each picture with its arcades, pots and little steps leading to a terrace above. It is evident, however, that the artist he dubs the Sirohi Master has transformed the style in his own way, particularly as regards his distinctive colour scheme of brilliant yellows and oranges, his beautiful tree stylisations, and his elegant suggestions of architecture.

Beach (2011, p. 480) suggests that the Sirohi Master was responsible for three *ragamala* sets, all of them now dispersed and probably incomplete, all slightly differing in the size of their folios. Our paintings all come from his Set C, which he illustrates with Behag, Devagandhar, Gauri and Sarang *raginis* (*ibid.*, figs 5–8), in which the inscription is normally placed in the middle of the border above the painting. The other sets have slightly different arrangements for the inscriptions. For Sirohi paintings see also Bautze 2000–01.



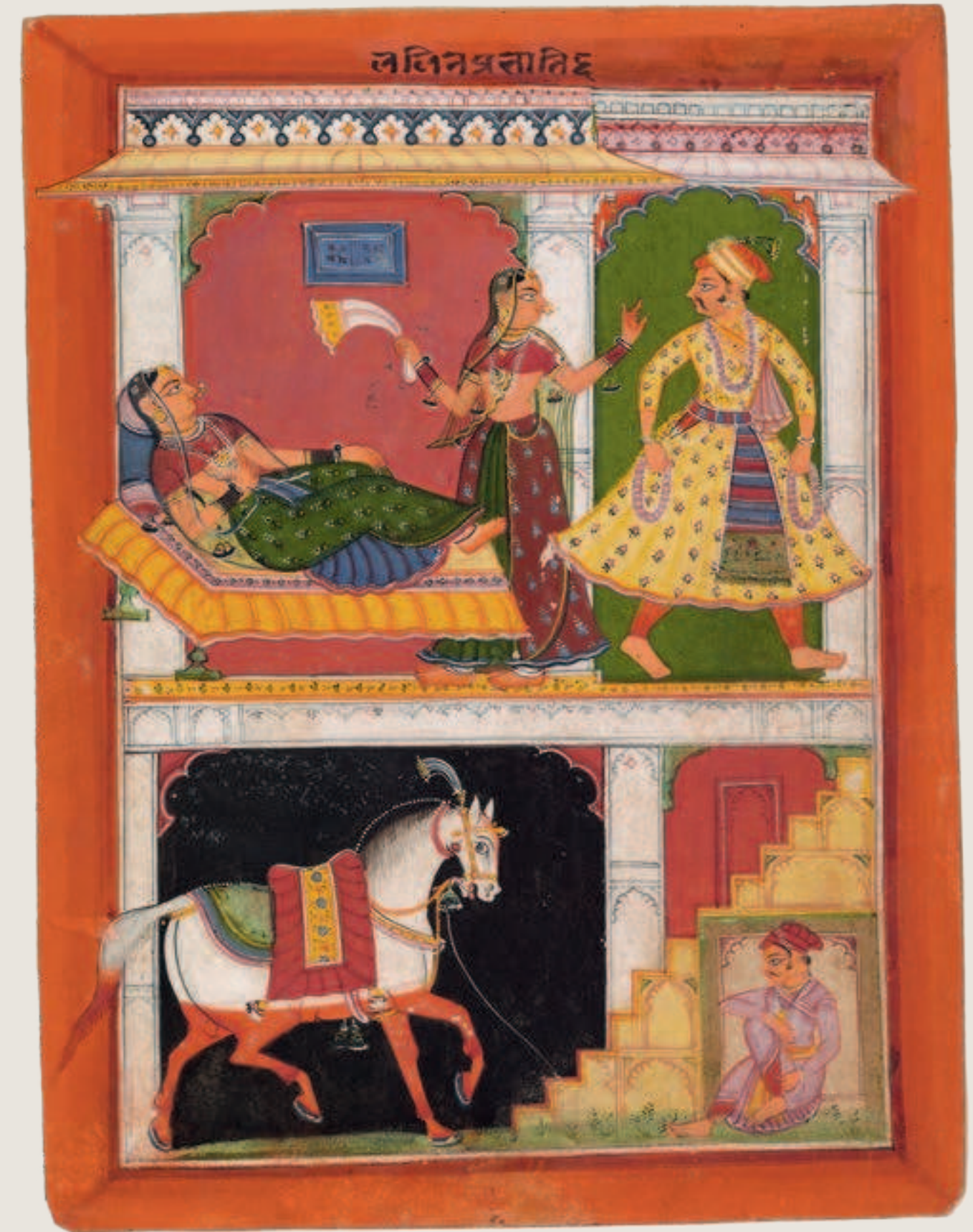
Sirohi, c. 1680
 Opaque pigments and gold on paper
 23 x 17.8 cm, with white and crimson
 margins and red border
 Inscribed above in nagari: Lalita
 prabhati 6 ('Lalita, a dawn [raga], 6')

Provenance
 Marco Polo, Paris, 1985

Lalita is a dawn *ragini*, one of the wives of the first *raga* Bhairava. It is normally the fourth wife, but here its number 5 indicates the fifth, and its theme is the lover leaving his mistress as dawn breaks, here told with a wonderful economy. The composition fills the entire painting field and indeed bursts out of it.

The scene is divided into two registers, artfully linked by a set of steps. In the upper register is the pavilion on the terrace with its bedchamber

where a prince carrying two garlands is leaving his mistress still lying on her bed, while her attendant waves a scarf over her to ward off the insects and to cool her down. The prince is heading towards the steps which will lead him to the terrace below the pavilion, where in the lower register his horse fully saddled is waiting, anxiously pawing the ground, watched by the seated attendant who must have brought it round from the stables.



Sirohi, c. 1680
 Opaque pigments and gold on paper
 23 x 17.5 cm, with white and crimson
 margins and red border
 Inscribed above in nagari: raga Hindola 13

Provenance
 Marco Polo, Paris, 1985

Hindola is the third *raga*, hence number 13 in the sequence. A prince is seated with his mistress in a swing in a pavilion in a palace and is giving her a *pan*. A female attendant stands on each side. The swing hangs in a chamber in the palace, which fills the entire width of the painting field, and indeed bursts out of it with its heavy double *chhajjas*.

This is one of the rarer type of Sirohi *ragamala* scenes, where the figures are placed centrally instead of in the usual off-centre arrangement. *Hindola* is normally depicted as a swing between two trees, and often with Krishna as the prince. Here we are given a view of the central chamber of a palace with a *jharokha* above and typically Mewari-type tile decoration on the cornices.



Sirohi, c. 1680
 Opaque pigments and gold on paper
 23 x 17,5 cm, with white and crimson
 margins and red border
 Inscribed above in nagari: raga
 Panchama prabhati 25 ('Panchama,
 a dawn raga, 25')

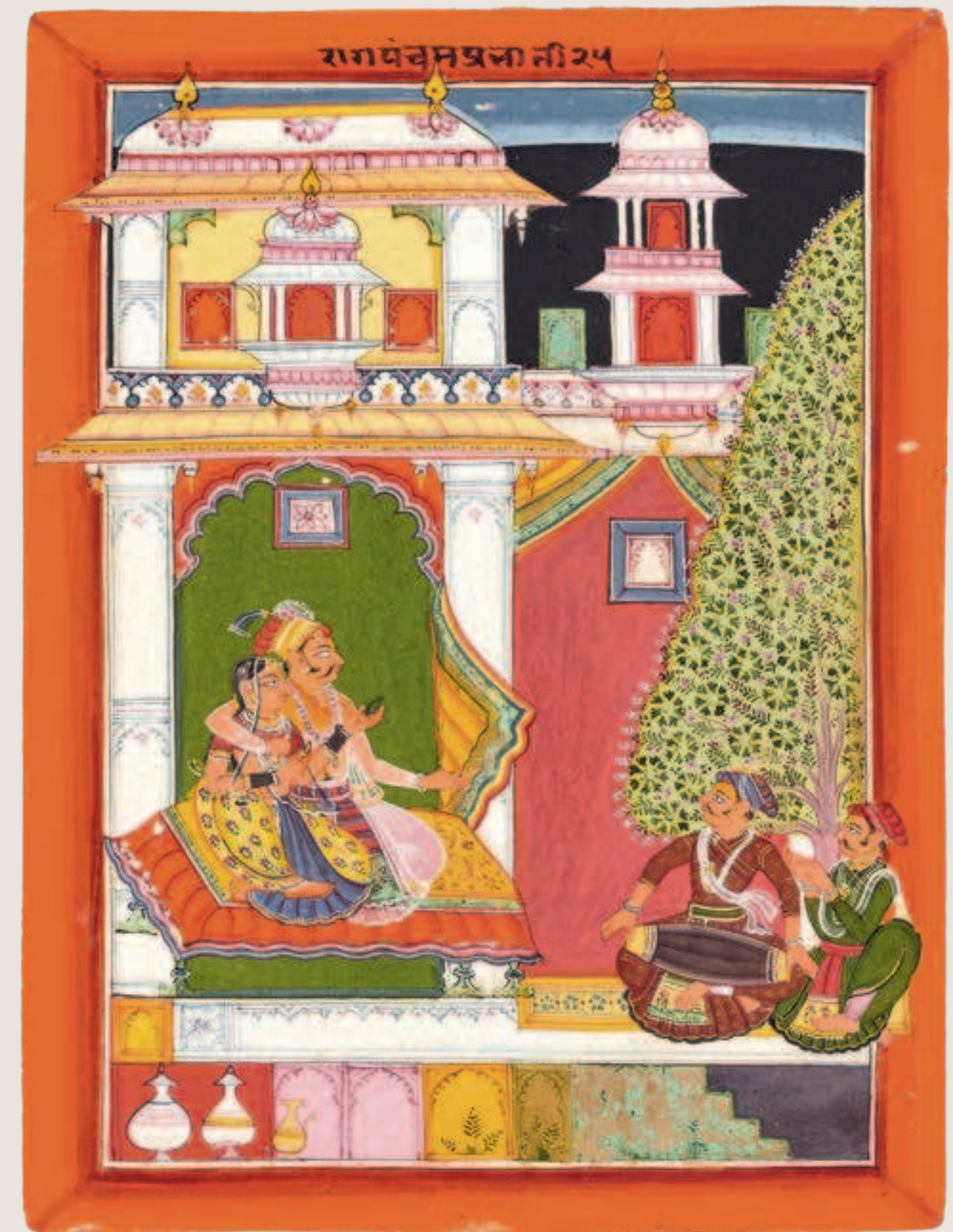
Provenance
 Sotheby's London, 20 November 1986,
 lot 122

Published
 Habighorst 2011, fig. 34

Exhibited
 Blumen, Bäume, Göttergärten,
 Völkerkunde-Museum, Hamburg,
 2013

Panchama, the fifth *raga*, is another of the dawn *ragas*, and its theme is the lovers being awakened by musicians at daybreak. A prince and his mistress are awakened at dawn by two musicians seated outside under a beautifully stylised tree and beating a drum, clapping and singing. The prince sits up on the bed with his arm round the woman and pulls back the curtain of their chamber, while she hands him *pan*. Other versions of this *raga* sometimes show the musicians being rewarded (for instance, Ebeling 1973, fig. 23) from the Manley Ragamala in the British Museum.

The basic composition of the two-storeyed pavilion, the main chamber open, with *jharokha*, balcony and *chhatra* above, is repeated in many of the paintings of these sets, as in *Kaphi ragini* (see no. 39), and also in Beach's sets (2011, figs 1, 5 & 8).



Sirohi, c. 1680
 Opaque pigments and gold on paper
 23 x 17.5 cm, with white and crimson
 margins and red border
 Inscribed above in nagari: raga Kaphi
 25/6 [6 overlaying the 5]

Provenance
 Marco Polo, Paris, 1984

A lady sits with her companion fanning her with a chowrie while watching a female dancer with her arms raised above her head revolve beneath a beautifully stylised tree covered with flowers. The scene is set on the standard terrace outside a two-storeyed pavilion.

The iconography of this ragini is unique to the Sirohi school. In the system followed at Sirohi, Panchama is the fifth raga and Kaphi his first wife, hence no. 26 in the sequence. The composition of this ragini in Beach's set B is more or less identical but in mirror reverse (now in the Sackler Museum, Harvard; see Ebeling 1973, fig. 219).



40 & 41

TWO FOLIOS FROM A RASIKAPRIYA SERIES

The *Rasikapriya*, which Keshav Das presented to his patron Rajkumar Indrajit Singh of Orcha in 1591, is a treatise on the poetics of courtly, erotic, lyric verse in the vernacular of Brajbhasha, the old-Hindi dialect of Braj (Vraja). The work classifies and analyses the various types of romantic heroes and heroines (*nayakas* and *nayikas*) and the moods that inspire them (see no. 35).

According to Goetz (1950, p. 111), this royal Bikaner *Rasikapriya* series consists of 187 paintings and was begun by Ruknuddin at the time of the siege of Golconda in 1687. It was continued by his pupils including Nuruddin until the death of Maharaja Anup Singh in 1698, when there was a hiatus before being resumed in 1712 and more or less completed. For others in the series see Goetz 1950, nos 78 (by Ruknuddin) and 93 (by Nuruddin), and Gray 1981, fig. 174. Pages from a *Rasikapriya* by Nuruddin are in the Metropolitan Museum (1981.371.1) and the former Khajanchi collection, Bikaner (Khandalavala et al. 1960, no. 72), a third by Ibrahim is in the Brooklyn Museum (Poster et al. 1994, no. 113) and a fourth by Hasan son of Ahmad is in the Goenka collection, Bombay (Goswamy and Bhatia 1999, no. 118). For a discussion of the different workshops in Bikaner in the late 17th century, see Krishna 1985.



KRISHNA MAD WITH LONGING,
FOLIO FROM A RASIKAPRIYA SERIES

Bikaner, c. 1686, by Ruknuddin
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio: 25.5 x 19 cm

Miniature: 19 x 13 cm, within a gold
margin and a red border with
white and black rules

Inscribed on the verso in nagari: 30
Rasikapriya ra Ruknada Sam. 1743
(number 30 in the Rasikapriya [by]
Ruknuddin Samvat 1743/AD 1686–
87) and in a more formal hand:
Krishna ko prachanna unmada;
gudha agudha prakasata vatani am.
15 Prabhava 8 (‘the hidden
intoxication of Krishna, [verse] no.
15, chapter 8: [beginning] “things
plain and obscure he proclaims”’)

Published
Habighorst 2011, fig. 12, p. 30
Habighorst 2014a, fig. 16, pp. 44–45

Exhibited
Blumen, Bäume, Göttergärten,
Völkerkunde-Museum, Hamburg,
2013
Der Blaue Gott in indischen Miniaturen,
Mittelrhein Museum, Koblenz,
2014

The verse is VIII, 43 in Dehejia’s edition of the
Rasikapriya and in his translation, one friend is
talking to another:

O sakhi! It seems that someone has stolen
Krishna’s mind. At times he speaks
incoherently and at other times he is very
lucid. At times he talks about worldly matters
and then at other times he is very spiritual.
Sometimes he cries and then he laughs and
then at other times he dances and sings
without any shame. He has no inhibitions and
is not concerned about who watches him and
his body has wasted away. I feel he has been
affected by a woman or been touched by
Kama’s arrows (Dehejia 2013, pp. 89–90).

Krishna appears twice in this scene, which
perfectly illustrates the verse. Crowned and
richly jewelled and garlanded, and wearing a

deep red dhoti with gold trim, he is dancing all by
himself; his gold dupatta flies out as he whirls
around. And then he flings himself at the feet of
one of Radha’s friends, who raises her finger to her
mouth in astonishment at his behaviour; this
time he is wearing a gold dhoti but is similarly
crowned and jewelled, while his head rests on one
arm and his garland is all awry. The scene is set in
a simple landscape with a grove of trees and a
small palace in the background, but overhead
there roll thunderous dark clouds, suggestive of
the monsoon season when peacocks traditionally
are thought to dance.

Ruknuddin’s background in a Mughal/Deccani
environment is apparent in the delicate modelling
of Krishna’s features and beautiful handling of his
hands, as also in the masterly way the folds of both
dhotis are depicted following the patterns of dots
in one case and flowers in the other.



KRISHNA MEETING HIS BELOVED AT NIGHT,
FOLIO FROM A RASIKAPRIYA SERIES

Bikaner, c. 1690, attributed to
Nuruddin
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Folio: 27 x 18 cm
Miniature: 19 x 14 cm, laid down on a
pink support
Inscribed on the verso in nagari: am. 5
jo. 41. ... ?? ki Sam. 1751 ('Painting
no. 5, volume 41 ... Samvat 1751/AD
1694-95')

The sun is setting behind the trees and evening is coming in Braj as a group of cowherd boys and girls with their cows begin to wend their way home. Krishna, however, is content to be left behind and he seizes the opportunity to be with Radha and the lovers embrace in a grove. All the figures are richly dressed in bright colours and brocades with jewels. The painting is otherwise stark with bare green hillsides and trees and a village in the distance.

The page seems to illustrate *Rasikapriya* V, 30, Nishimilan (meeting in darkness):

The cowherd girls and youths did hie to Gokul
once, and when night came back, home they
went:

soon from all sides dark clouds arose, such
darkness reigned upon the earth
that when one spoke then only was his
presence known.

Then Krishna sad separation broke, and did
those things which he was wont (transl.
Bahadur 1972, p. 81).

The inscription on the reverse is not clear. The style seems that of Nuruddin as evidenced by a painting attributed to him in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, from the series (1981.371.1), and also another in the Khajanchi collection (Khandalavala et al. 1960, fig. 72).



A PRINCE AND HIS CONSORT ENJOYING FIREWORKS

Mughal, c. 1715–20, attributed to Dalchand and studio
 Opaque pigments and gold and silver on paper
 Folio: 39.8 x 29 cm
 Miniature: 37 x 26 cm, laid down on a plain support

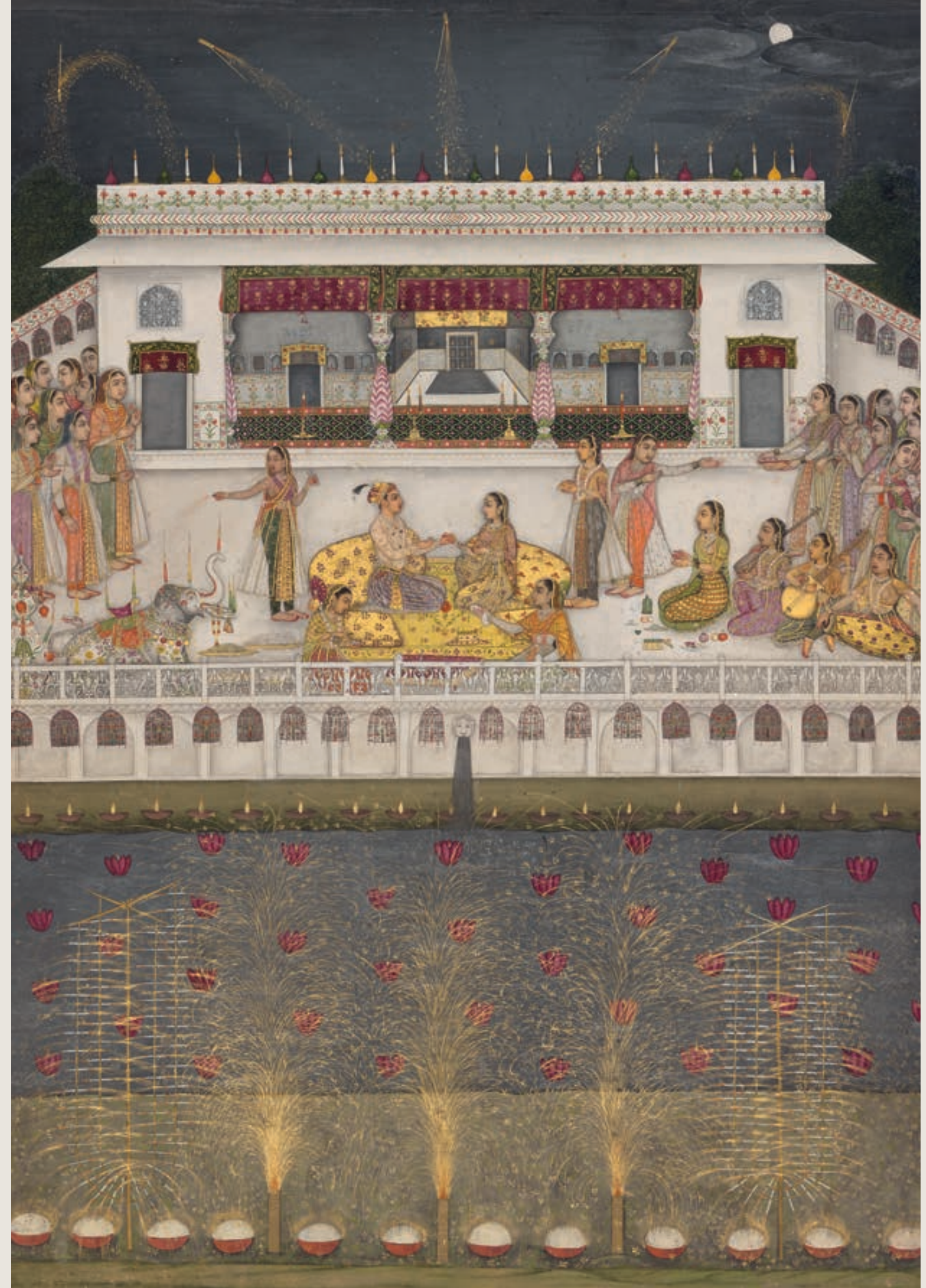
Published
 Habighorst et al. 2007b, figs 54 & 55
 Habighorst 2011, fig. 24, p. 46

Exhibited
 Genuss und Rausch – Betel, Tabak, Wein, Hasch und Opium in der indischen Malerei, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 2010
 Blumen, Bäume, Göttergärten, Völkerkunde-Museum, Hamburg, 2013

A prince and his consort are seated on a terrace on a yellow rug and propped up by bolsters covered in brocade, having their every desire catered for by the numerous attendant women. He is holding her hand and holding out a little gold cup of wine for her to take, while one of the women seated close by pours wine from a gem-set gold flask into an equally tiny porcelain cup. Another seated woman holds the white cloth signifying royalty. A gem-set gold *pan-dan* and spittoon are on the rug beside the pair. Other women bring delicacies in gold vessels as well as a basket of flower garlands. Four seated women on the right play musical instruments – *tambura*, *sarod* and *mridangam* – and one of them is clapping her hands and singing. Standing women behind them chatter among themselves. On the left behind the prince other women hold sparklers and set light to them. Differently coloured candles are attached to a large decorated white model elephant and to a three-tiered decorated white candelabra. The terrace on which all this activity takes place is bounded by a delicately carved white marble balustrade above an arcaded base, with lit lanterns of mica painted with flowers hanging underneath the parapet. From a lion's mouth inset into the terrace wall issues a stream of water cascading into a lotus pool. Little oil lamps in a row are all lit on the far side of the pool and on the near side is a firework display of Roman candles, frameworks holding multiple little fireworks and bowls of what appears to be burning naphtha. Behind the couple the terrace is closed by an arcaded white marble *baradari* with baluster columns and *pietra dura* inlay. On its roof are more burning candles and a display of coloured glass bottles, while burning rockets whiz through the night sky. Dark clouds partly obscure the full moon.

Paintings of elaborately lit displays of fireworks in a Mughal context are thought to represent the night of *Shab-i Barat*, a festival in the middle of the month of *Sha'ban*. It is a night when Muslims believe the fortunes of men are decided for the year ahead. Prayers are held through the night so that worshippers can ask for forgiveness for themselves and for their dead ancestors and lamps are lit outside mosques. Whether this description holds good for such an entirely secular scene as the one portrayed in this beautiful and ambitious painting is another matter. It could equally well be a Mughal prince and his household enjoying *Diwali*. Such scenes with firework displays were thought highly of in the early part of the 18th century (see Cohen et al. 1986, no. 69, 'A Prince and his Womenfolk Enjoying Fireworks', in the *Musée Guimet*). For a very similar display of fireworks on the far side of a river, see a painting in the *Clive Album* in the *V&A* from c. 1710 sometimes published as of *Murshid Quli Khan* (Llewellyn-Jones 2013, fig. 1).

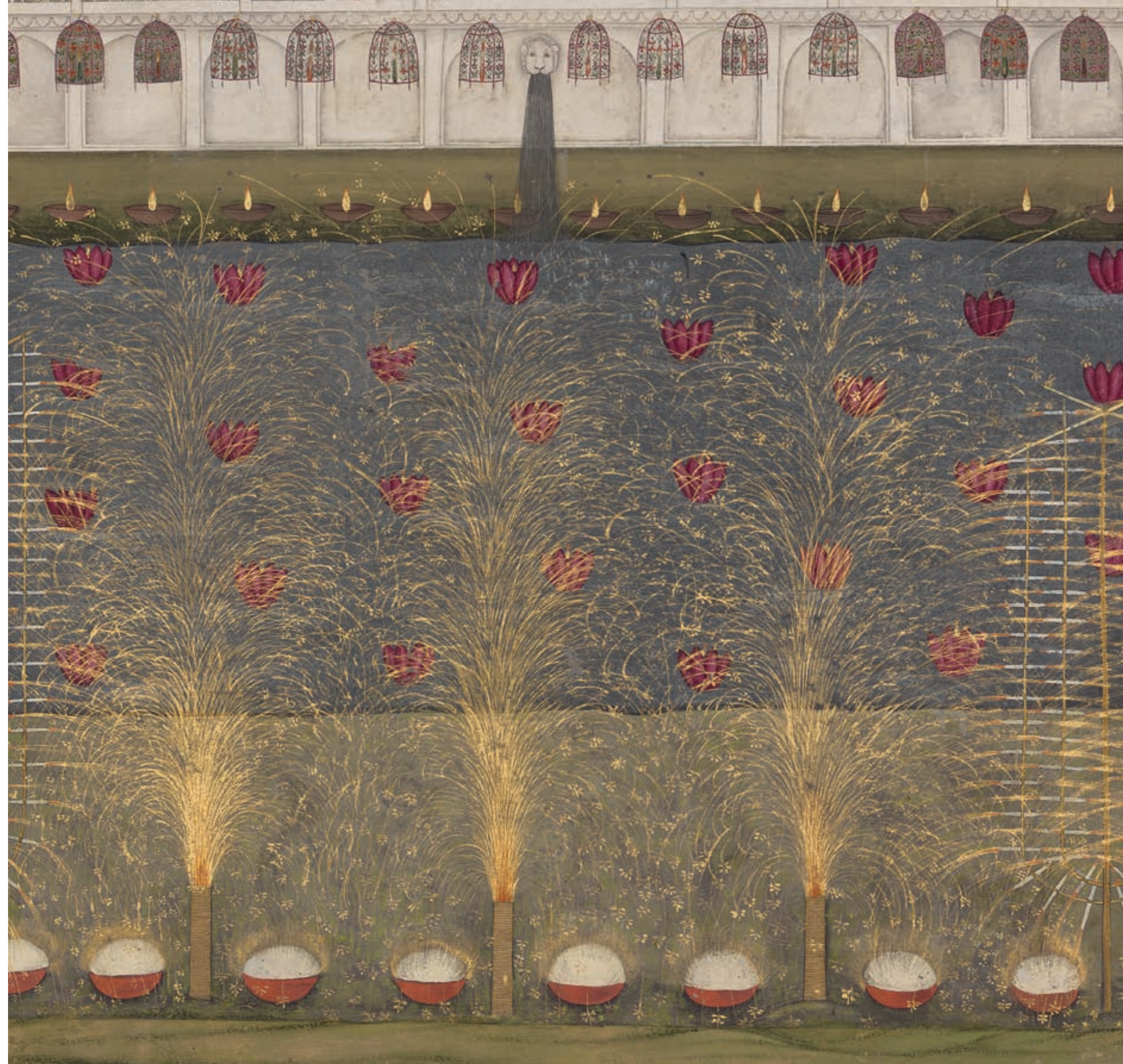
Our painting's largely successful ambition shows it is clearly the work of a major artist, but perhaps an early work. That this is an early work in the 18th century is suggested by a still rather 17th-century density of colour and figuration, prior to the onset of the lightness of touch and compositional clarity which characterises paintings from later in the *Myhammad Shah* period. It is also perhaps an early work of the artist as shown by the imprecise perspective of the side walls on the terrace with the lanterns hanging underneath the parapet. It is a rather unusual composition in that the terrace with the figures on it is placed quite far back behind the lotus pool instead of the other way round as was usual in *Muhammad Shah* period paintings



(see McNerney 2002, figs 10 & 14 by Nidhamal), although an early work attributed to Govardhan II has dancing figures in the foreground with the emperor on a terrace further back (*ibid.*, fig. 4).

The artist has a great feeling for textiles – compare the heavy blinds and brocades hanging in the *baradari* with the delicate fabrics worn by the two principals and especially the way the prince's diaphanous *jama* ripples over his purple and gold striped *pajama*. Such painterly effects, commonplace in the earlier Mughal period, became much rarer in the 18th century. We admire too the artist's command of pictorial space in the way he has suggested the interior of the *baradari* leading back to the more shadowed area of the inner recess and his command of detail in the masterly rendering of the building's *pietra dura* work.

Trying to fit one of the known artists of the period to this painting is rather difficult, but the closest one seems to us to be Dalchand, whose known oeuvre in his Mughal phase before moving to Jodhpur in the early 1720s is restricted to just two paintings (McNerney 2011a, figs 1 & 2). His female figures are especially alike. His female faces in three-quarter profile seen in his *Two ladies on a terrace* from c. 1710 (Cynthia Polsky collection, Topsfield ed. 2004, no. 144; McNerney 2011a, fig. 1) are seen again in the attendant figures in our painting, in the curve of the cheek and the way their faces are modelled. The two principal ladies too wear diaphanous *peshwaj* over their striped brocade *pajama* with rippling folds similar to that of our prince's. The ambitious composition and the principal figures would seem to be attributable to Dalchand with his studio finishing the attendant figures on the side.



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LIST OF EXHIBITIONS

List of exhibitions in which paintings from the Habighorst collection have been shown

- Morgenländische Pracht – Islamische Kunst aus deutschem Privatbesitz, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, 18 June – 22 August 1993
- Rajasthan – Land der Könige, Linden Museum, Stuttgart, 3 June – 8 October 1995
- Kota – Die Gemäldesammlung des Fürsten von Kota, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 22 November 1997 – 8 February 1998
- Höfische Malerei in Udaipur/Rajasthan – Bilder für die Fürsten von Mewar, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 8 March – 12 May 2002
- Liebeskunst. Liebeslust und Liebesleid in der Weltkunst, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 1 December 2002 – 27 April 2003
- Götter, Herrscher, Lotosblumen. Indische Miniaturmalerei aus 4 Jahrhunderten, Kreissparkasse Westerwald, Montabaur, 27 March – 25 April 2003
- Ganesha – Der Gott mit dem Elefantenkopf, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, Haus zum Kiel, 16 May – 7 September 2003 / Ethnologisches Museum Berlin Dahlem 26 September 2003 – 1 February 2004
- Goddess – Divine Energy, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, 13 October 2006 – 28 January 2007
- Genuss und Rausch – Betel, Tabak, Wein, Hasch und Opium in der indischen Malerei, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 12 January – 2 May 2010
- Der Weg des Meister – Die großen Künstler Indiens, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 1 May – 21 August 2011
- Wonder of the Age – Master Painters of India 1100 – 1900, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 26 September 2011 – 8 January 2012
- Mystik – Die Sehnsucht nach dem Absoluten, Museum Rietberg Zürich, 23 September 2011 – 15 January 2012
- Blumen – Bäume – Göttergärten – Indische Malerei aus sechs Jahrhunderten, Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg, 17 March – 27 October 2013
- Genuss und Rausch – Wein, Tabak und Drogen in indischen Miniaturen, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Pergamonmuseum, Berlin, 21 April – 22 June 2014
- Der Blaue Gott in indischen Miniaturen, Mittelrhein Museum, Koblenz, 26 July – 5 October 2014
- Akbars goldenes Erbe – Malerei für die Kaiser Indiens, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 9 October 2015 – 14 February 2016
- Der Gärtner des Maharadschas – Ein Sachse bezaubert Indien, Schlossmuseum Pillnitz, Dresden, 30 April – 1 November 2016
- Indische Gärten / Gärten der Welt, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 13 May – 31 October 2016
- Miniatur-Geschichten – Die Sammlung indischer Malereien im Dresdner Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 3 March 2017 – 5 June 2017
- Alchemie – Die große Kunst, Staatliche Museen, Kulturforum Berlin, 7 April – 23 July 2017

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