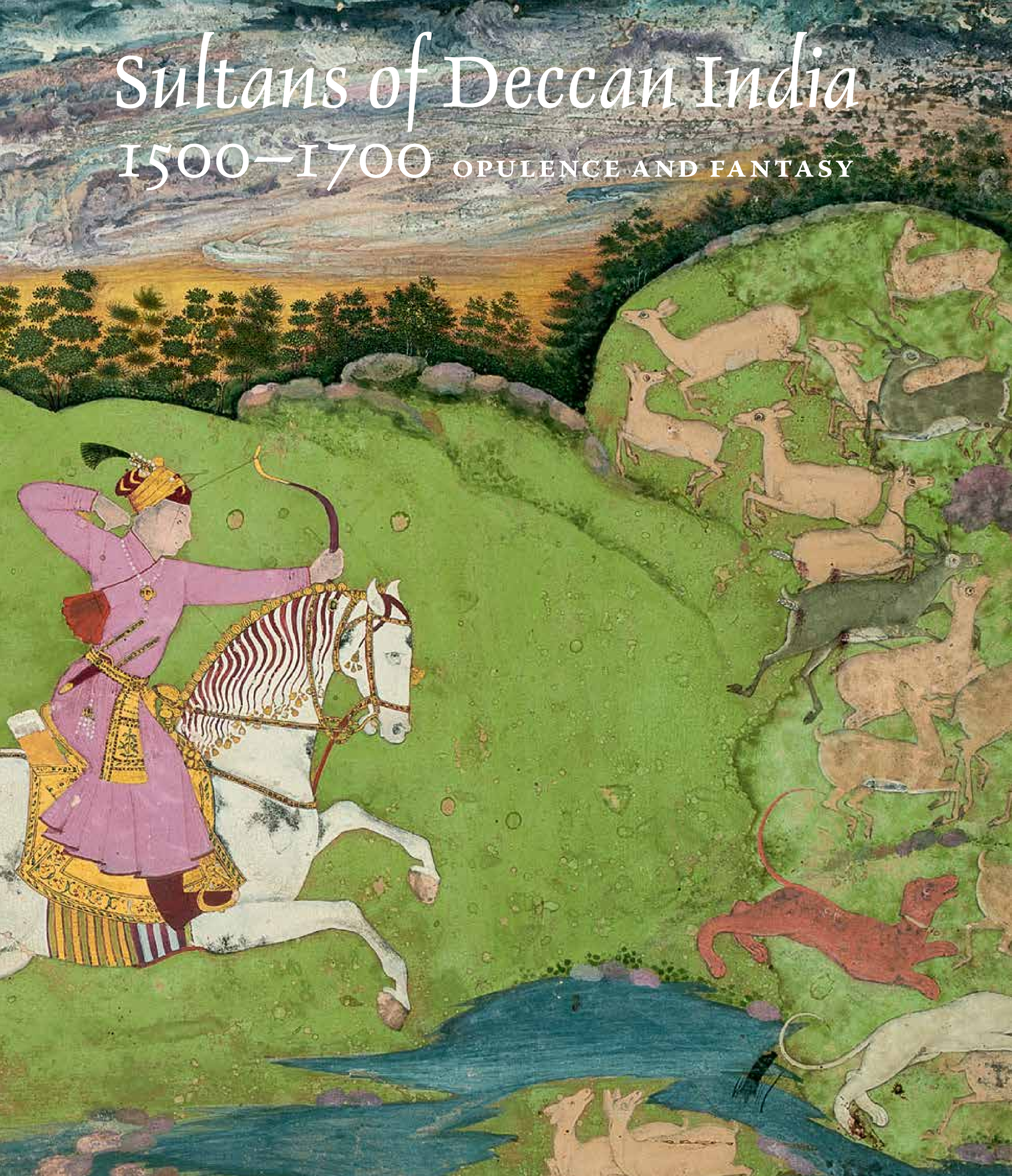
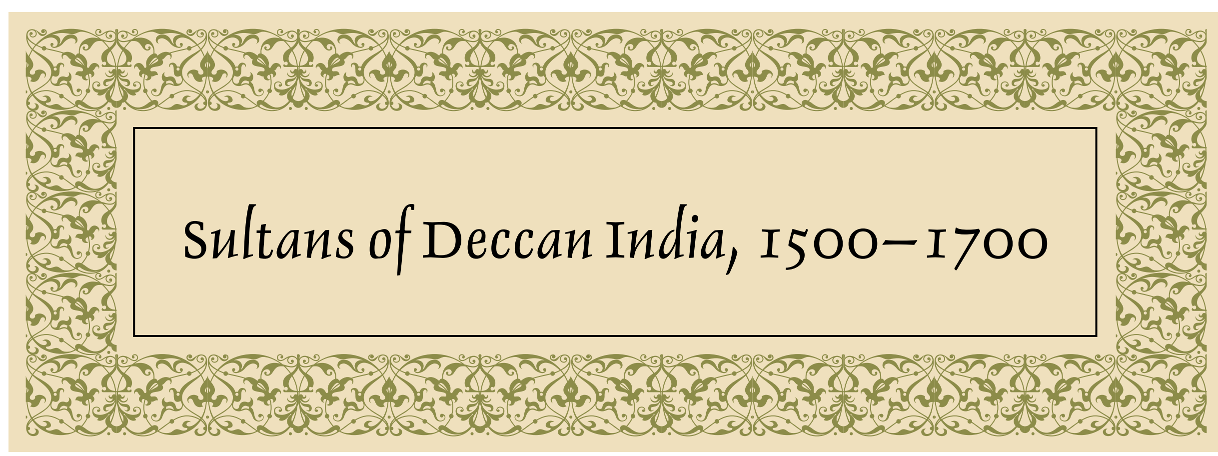
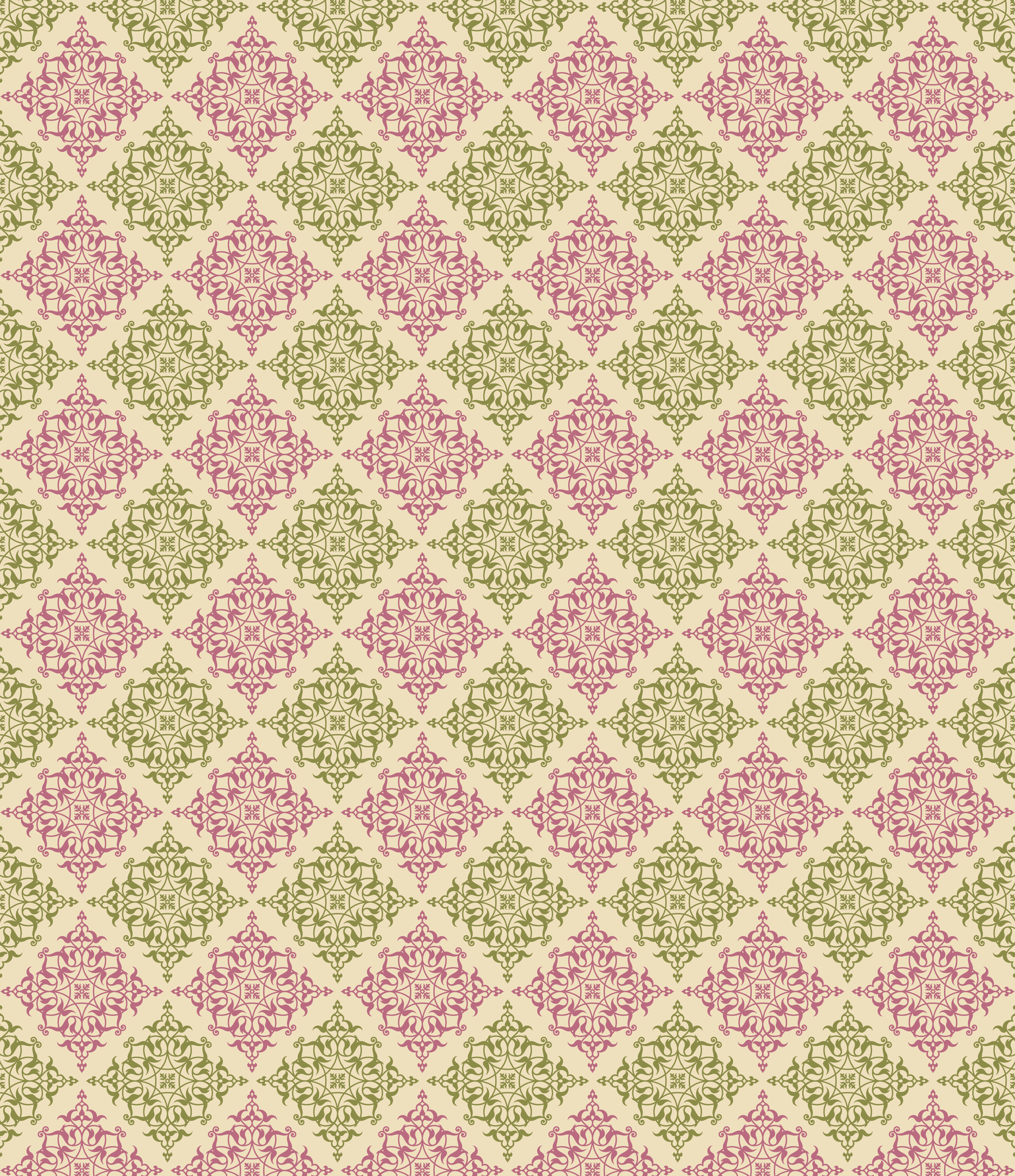


Sultans of Deccan India 1500–1700

Opulence and Fantasy


Sultans of Deccan India, 1500–1700



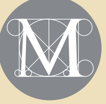
Sultans of Deccan India 1500–1700

OPULENCE AND FANTASY

Navina Najat Haidar and Marika Sardar

with contributions by

John Robert Alderman, Jake Benson, William Dalrymple, Richard M. Eaton, Maryam Ekhtiar, Abdullah Ghouchani, Salam Kaoukji, Terence McInerney, Jack Ogden, Keelan Overton, Anamika Pathak, Howard Ricketts, Courtney A. Stewart, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Laura Weinstein



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NOTE TO THE READER

Foreign words are italicized throughout the book, and for the benefit of the general reader, terms are defined throughout the text. Every effort has been made to treat the transliteration of Arabic, Dakhni, Farsi, Hindi, Persian, Telugu, Turkish, and Urdu words consistently while respecting authorial choices. The *‘ayn* and the hamza are marked, but diacritics are not used.

Dates are given in the Gregorian calendar unless an object carries a precise Hegira and Vikram Samvat date. In those cases, dates are provided in both systems, with the Hegira date appearing first. Except where context demands, all dates for buildings and architectural sites reflect the year of completion.

Dimensions are noted in the following sequence: height precedes width precedes depth. When necessary, the abbreviations H. (height), L. (length), W. (width), D. (depth), Diam. (diameter), and Wt. (weight) are used for clarity.

The authors of the catalogue entries are noted by their initials at the end of each text. Citations are abbreviated throughout the book; full references are provided in the bibliography, beginning on page 351.

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Director's Foreword

The foundations of today's global culture were laid long ago, from the late fifteenth to the late seventeenth century, when Europeans set out to discover the world, their sights set above all on India. Drawn to its heartland, the Deccan plateau, they encountered a world where other cultures, those of the Middle East and Africa, had already met and been absorbed into India's powerful embrace. This was the age of the Deccan sultans, mysterious kings whose courts flourished for two centuries before vanishing into the annals of history. The fragile but superb traces of their art are the subject of this publication, *Sultans of Deccan India, 1500–1700: Opulence and Fantasy*.

The late medieval period was one of discovery and change for India, too. Receptive to outside influences yet securely rooted in its ancient traditions, the Deccan became home to foreign immigrants, Sufi mystics, Shi'a Muslims, and global traders. The courts of the Deccan kings also attracted artists from all over India and from farther afield. Works of art in this exhibition reveal the sophisticated taste of the royal patrons and the masterful skill of the painters and craftsmen in their employ.

The diamond-rich Deccan fostered an opulent court culture, one represented in the precious textiles, rare treasures, and refined objects on view, but the magic and majesty of Deccan art goes beyond the material realm and into that of the imagination. Paintings express this quality most powerfully in their fantastic styles, challenging the idioms of the Indo-Persian canon but never straying from its discipline and technical finesse. The meeting of multiple cultural influences on India's fertile ground must have contributed to this creative spirit of the age.

Deccani art is one of the rarest categories for both museums and private collectors, yet this exhibition and its accompanying publication gather together nearly 200 works of art. This endeavor has required the participation of approximately sixty public and private lenders, numerous donors, and an array of scholarly experts, to whom we owe profound thanks. With them we share the achievement of pioneering the first exhibition of its kind on this important subject.

Many years of planning have gone into the making of this exhibition and catalogue, organized by Navina Najat Haidar, Curator, Islamic Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Marika Sardar, Associate Curator, Southern Asian and Islamic Art, San Diego Museum of Art. Their efforts to present these works to our public have been supported by the Exhibitions, Design, Objects Conservation, Paper Conservation, and Editorial Departments in a sustained collaboration across the Metropolitan Museum.

This exhibition would not have come to fruition without the considerable support of a number of donors: the Gail and Parker Gilbert Fund, the Placido Arango Fund, the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation, the National Endowment for the Arts, and Cynthia Hazen Polsky and Leon B. Polsky. The exhibition has also been supported by an indemnity from the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities. We offer our gratitude to The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation, the Doris Duke Fund for Publications, Shubha and Prahlad Bubbar, and Marshall and Marilyn R. Wolf for their contributions toward the show's catalogue. For underwriting the accompanying scholarly symposium, I thank H.H. Sheikh Hamad bin Abdullah Al-Thani. The E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation, the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, Princess Shamina Talyarkhan and the Deccan Heritage Foundation, and Benjamin and Barbara Zucker are also gratefully acknowledged for their support of the exhibition's educational programs. The opening is made possible by Amira Nature Foods Ltd.

Thomas P. Campbell
Director
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Preface and Acknowledgments

The surviving art and architecture from the five sultanates of the Deccan—Ahmadnagar, Berar, Bijapur, Bidar, and Golconda—are the enduring legacy of talented artists working for courtly patrons. The region served as a meeting ground for cultural strands from Iran, Turkey, Arabia, East Africa, and Europe. Artistic, political, and spiritual interplay between these traditions on Indian soil resulted in the flowering of the Deccan's distinctive artistic expression. Deccani art continues to be recognized for its quality and depth, with a growing number of publications, symposia, and displays in recent years. This volume brings together works of art from four sultanates (Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Bidar, and Golconda) and Aurangabad (an important Mughal center in the northern Deccan), along with a few objects related to the European presence in the region. No portable works survive from Berar, which was absorbed into Ahmadnagar at an early date, but its major architectural sites are discussed in the catalogue.

The architectural remains of the Deccan constitute hundreds of monuments in varying states of preservation, many displaying high-quality decoration. Some independent fragments, such as relief-carved calligraphic panels or tile fragments, now reside in museum and private collections. Portable paintings, manuscripts, and objects traveled widely, some during the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European diamond and textile trade, and are found in European treasuries and churches. Other works entered the realms of the imperial Mughal rulers and their Rajput allies after their conquest of the Deccan in the 1680s and were further dispersed to Iran, Turkey, and Russia. More recently, during the period of British rule and its aftermath, other objects made their way to public and private collections in India and abroad.

Owing to the widely scattered nature of the material, assembling a comprehensive display of the most important works has involved approximately sixty institutional and private lenders. The resulting collection of works in the exhibition offers a partial but powerful view of one of the world's greatest artistic cultures. Paintings form the majority of objects in this volume, which traces the evolution of style from the spare, bold compositions of the late sixteenth century to the development of a mature Deccani idiom through the course of the seventeenth century. Other works include metalwork vessels and sculptures, superb painted and dyed textiles (*kalamkari*s), and a variety of luxury objects such as weapons, embellished boxes, and diamonds fashioned for the courts as well as for trade abroad.

The catalogue begins with a historical overview by Richard M. Eaton, an art-historical introduction by the present author, and an essay on the Bahmani period by Marika Sardar. Subsequent chapters are devoted to the courts that succeeded the Bahmanis, each beginning with a more detailed history and a discussion of architecture. Through short texts on the catalogue objects, organized in roughly chronological order, a host of scholars bring the rich art of the period to life. In some instances special groups of material, such as *bidri* metalwork or marbled paintings and drawings, are featured together and discussed in short essays by specialists. A penultimate chapter in two parts is devoted to the Mughals and Europeans in the Deccan, with introductions to these topics by Terence McInerney and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, respectively. An epilogue by William Dalrymple traces the region's later history through the period of its final rulers, the Asaf Jahis (1724–1948) until shortly after Indian independence in 1947. The appendix provides excerpts from a translation of a Qutb Shahi history of the seventeenth century. Last but not least, photographs by Antonio Martinelli record the everlasting allure of the geographical landscape and the monuments within that attracted numerous peoples from three continents for centuries. Many of these arresting images are published for the first time.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This exhibition and its accompanying catalogue have been nearly a decade in the making. Countless scholars, collectors, dealers, museum colleagues, and others have given their ideas and support to this project in abundance. For their support within the museum I thank Director Thomas P. Campbell, President Emily Kernan Rafferty, Associate Director for Exhibitions Jennifer Russell, Deputy Director for Collections and Administration Carrie Rebora Barratt, and Patti Cadby

Birch Curator in Charge of the Department of Islamic Art Sheila Canby.

An exhibition of this scale and complexity requires the generosity of many funders. We offer our thanks to the Gail and Parker Gilbert Fund, the Placido Arango Fund, the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation, the National Endowment for the Arts, Cynthia Hazen Polsky and Leon B. Polsky, and the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities for their commitment to the exhibition; The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation, the Doris Duke Fund for Publications, Shubha and Prahlad Bubbar, and Marshall and Marilyn R. Wolf for supporting the rich scholarship of this publication; the E. Rhodes and Leona B. Carpenter Foundation, the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, Princess Shamina Talyarkhan and the Deccan Heritage Foundation, and Benjamin and Barbara Zucker for engaging a broad audience through the educational programming; H.H. Sheikh Hamad bin Abdullah Al-Thani for graciously sponsoring the symposium; and Amira Nature Foods Ltd. for their partnership in the opening celebration.

Several individuals played a critical role in helping to advance knowledge of the subject. Terence McInerney has been an erudite and creative partner throughout the process. The insights of Robert Skelton, Jagdish Mittal, John Robert Alderman, and Andrew Topsfield helped to illuminate the path while Bashir Mohamed has been a great guide and teacher. Similarly, I thank Steven Kossak, Gursharan Sidhu, George Michell, Helen Philon, Klaus Rötzer, Robert Elgood, Richard M. Eaton, Phillip Wagoner, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Howard Ricketts. The generous lenders, listed on page xi, in providing their works of art have also shared their taste and discernment. Philippe de Montebello has been a supporter of this project since the beginning.

The authors of this catalogue—John Robert Alderman, Jake Benson, William Dalrymple, Richard M. Eaton, Maryam Ekhtiar, Abdullah Ghouchani, Salam Kaoukji, Terence McInerney, Jack Ogden, Keelan Overton, Anamika Pathak, Howard Ricketts, Marika Sardar, Courtney A. Stewart, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Laura Weinstein—provided invaluable contributions to this volume. The site and architectural photographs of Antonio Martinelli are a key feature of this publication, while the images of Anna-Marie Kellen, Ram Rahman, and Alan Tabor round out the extensive photography campaign for the book.

In India, permission to borrow objects and photograph various sites and collections was granted by the Ministry of Culture and Shri Ravindra Singh, Secretary; the National Museum, New Delhi, and Shri Venu Vasudevan, Director General, as well as Shri Vijay Mathur, Shrimati Anamika Pathak, Shri Varma, Shri S. V. Tripathi, and Mr. Rahman; and the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) and Shri Rakesh Tewari, Director General, as well as Dr. M. Nambirajan, Dr. Urmila Sant, R. Krishnaiah, A. M. V. Subramanyam, A. Mounesh, Dr. Anand Thirth, Dr. H. R. Desai, T. J. Alone, and Shri N. Taher. I also thank Dr. Sabyasachi Mukherjee, Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya (CSMVS), Mumbai; Dr. Shrikrishna Bhave and Professor B. D. Kulkarni, Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Pune; and Professor S. M. Azizuddin Husain, Rampur Raza Library. Additional photography permission was granted by Dr. C. G. Betasurmath, Dr. Khusru Hussaini, Dr. D. K. Mathur, and Shri Umesh Udal Verma (Melghat Tiger Reserve).

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Navina Najat Haidar
Curator, Department of Islamic Art
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Lenders to the Exhibition

Aga Khan Museum, Toronto

Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford

Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Pune

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Bijapur Archaeological Museum, Gol Gumbaz

Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

British Library, London

Trustees of British Museum, London

Trustees of Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

Cincinnati Art Museum

Collection of Patricia Phelps de Cisneros, New York

Cleveland Museum of Art

David Collection, Copenhagen

Free Library of Philadelphia

Furusiyya Art Foundation

Hispanic Society of America, New York

Collection of Howard Hodgkin, Oxford

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Kronos Collections, New York

Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Collection of Terence McInerney, New York

Collection of Ismael Merchant, Claverack, New York

Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad

Collection of Bashir Mohamed, London

Morgan Library and Museum, New York

Musée de la Mode et du Textile, Les Arts Décoratifs, Paris

Musée National des Arts Asiatiques–Guimet, Paris

Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Museum of Islamic Art, Doha

Náprstkovo Muzeum Asijských, Afrických a Amerických Kultur, Prague

National Museum, New Delhi

Philadelphia Museum of Art

Private collection

Private collection, Haddam, Connecticut

Private collection, Seattle

Private collection, Ticino, Switzerland

Private collections, London

Private collections, New York

Rampur Raza Library

Ranros Universal, S.A., British Virgin Islands

Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait

San Diego Museum of Art

Collection of Elvira and Gursharan Sidhu, Seattle

Al-Thani Collection

Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam

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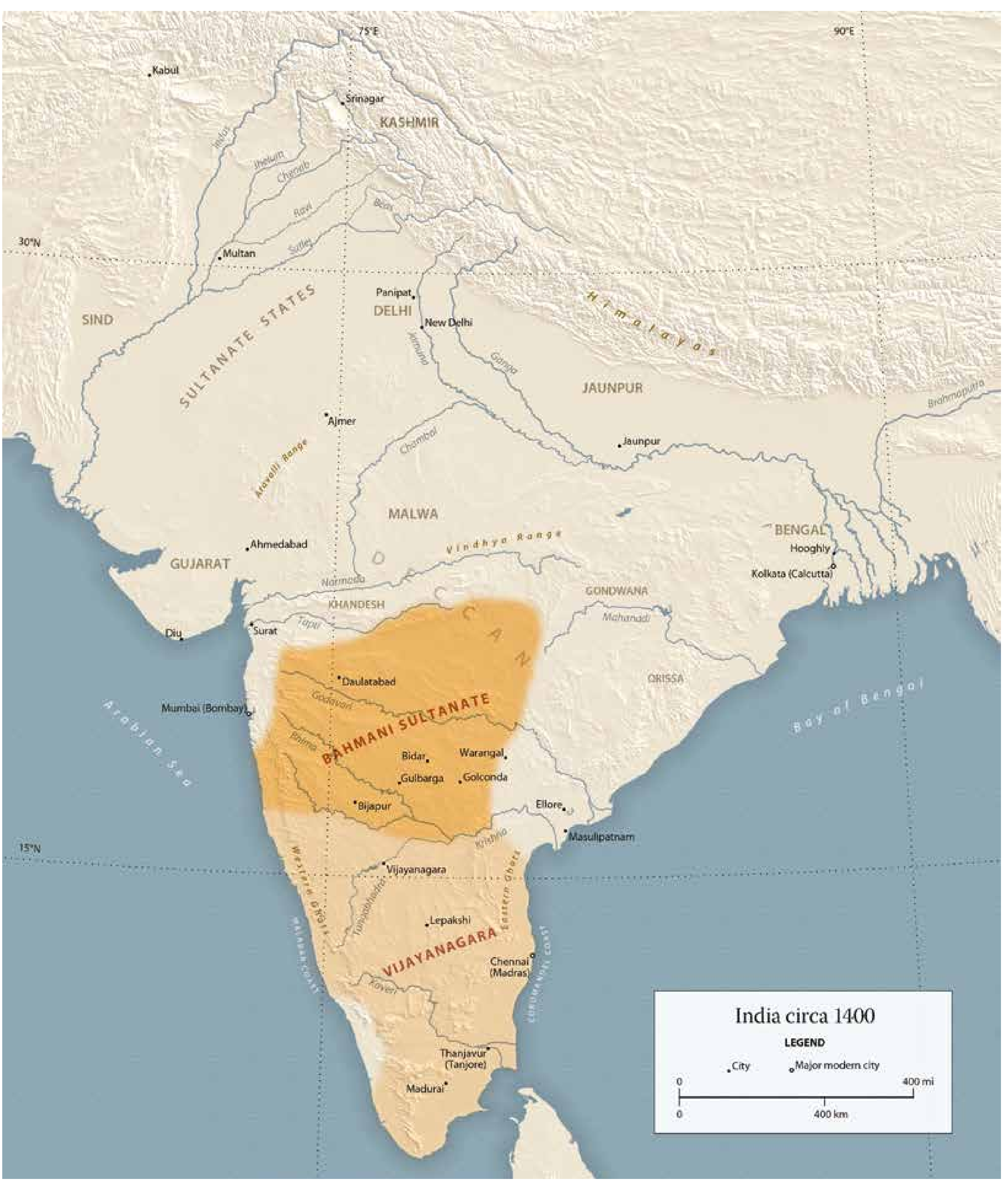
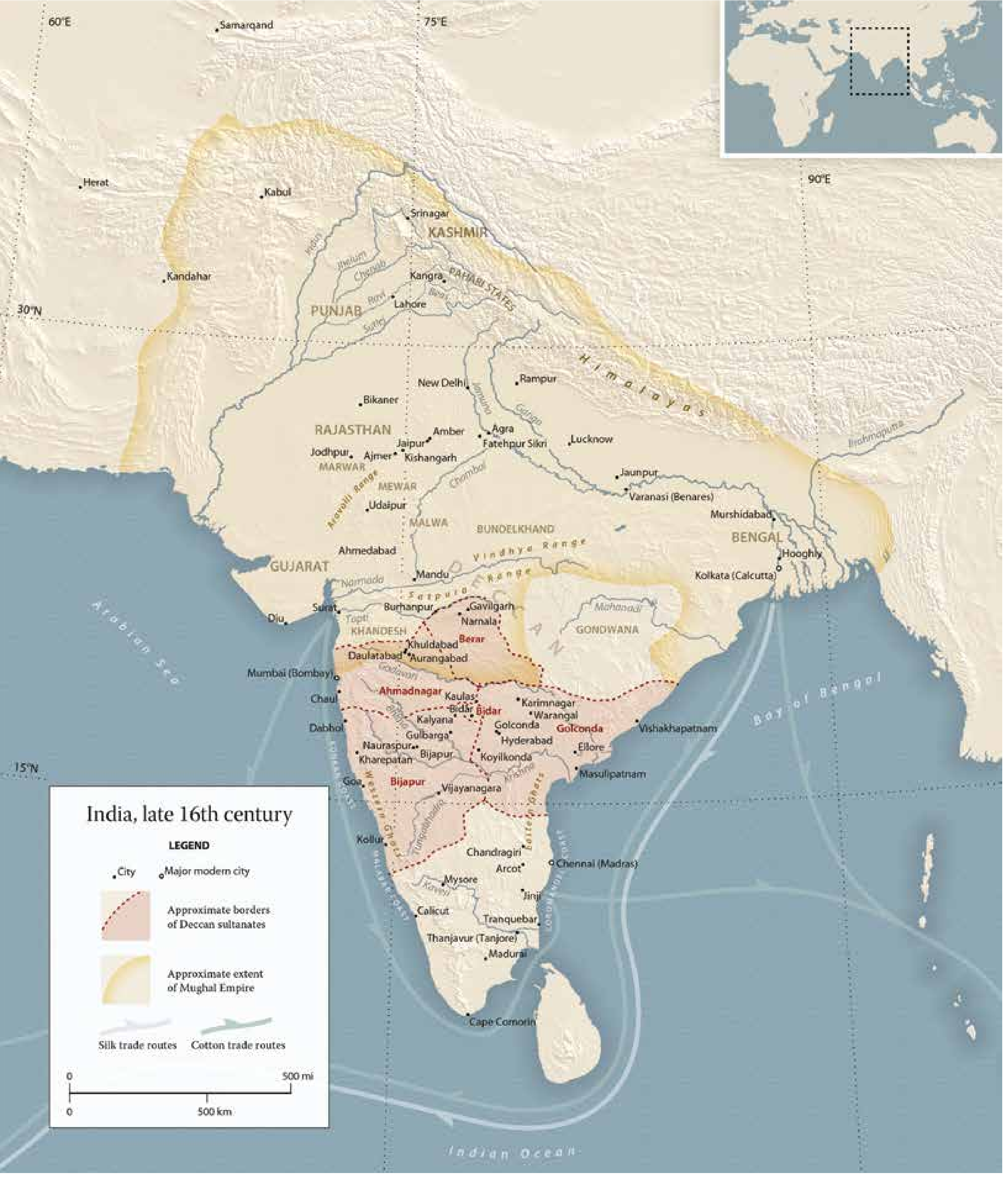
Collection of Mrs. Stuart Cary Welch, New Hampshire

Collection of Marshall and Marilyn R. Wolf, Toronto


India circa 1400
LEGEND
City
Major modern city
0
400 mi
0
400 km
75°E
90°E
30°N
15°N
Kabul
Srinagar
KASHMIR
Multan
SIND
SULTANATE STATES
Panipat
DELHI
New Delhi
Himalayas
JAUNPUR
Jaunpur
Ajmer
Aravalli Range
MALWA
Ahmedabad
GUJARAT
Vindhya Range
BENGAL
Hooghly
Kolkata (Calcutta)
GONDWANA
KHANDESH
DECCAN
Surat
Diu
Mahanadi
ORISSA
Daulatabad
Mumbai (Bombay)
BAHMANI SULTANATE
Bidar
Warangal
Gulbarga
Golconda
Bijapur
Ellore
Masulipatnam
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Vijayanagara
Lepakshi
VIJAYANAGARA
Chennai (Madras)
Thanjavur (Tanjore)
Madurai
Indus
Jhelum
Chenab
Ravi
Beas
Sutlej
Jamuna
Ganga
Brahmaputra
Chambal
Narmada
Tapti
Godavari
Bhima
Krishna
Tungabhadra
Kaveri
Western Ghats
Eastern Ghats
MALABAR COAST
COROMANDEL COAST


India, late 16th century
LEGEND
City
Major modern city
Approximate borders of Deccan sultanates
Approximate extent of Mughal Empire
Silk trade routes
Cotton trade routes
0
500 mi
0
500 km
60°E
75°E
90°E
30°N
15°N
Samarqand
Herat
Kabul
Kandahar
Srinagar
KASHMIR
Kangra
PAHARI STATES
PUNJAB
Lahore
Himalayas
New Delhi
Rampur
Bikaner
RAJASTHAN
Amber
Agra
Fatehpur Sikri
Lucknow
Jaipur
Jodhpur
Ajmer
Kishangarh
MARWAR
MEWAR
Aravalli Range
Udaipur
Jaunpur
Varanasi (Benares)
Murshidabad
MALWA
BUNDELKHAND
BENGAL
Ahmedabad
Vindhya Range
Hooghly
GUJARAT
Mandu
Kolkata (Calcutta)
Satpura Range
Surat
Burhanpur
Gavilgarh
Narnala
Diu
KHANDESH
GONDWANA
Khuldabad
Berar
Daulatabad
Aurangabad
Arabian Sea
Mumbai (Bombay)
Ahmadnagar
Chaul
Kaulas
Karimnagar
Bidar
Warangal
Kalyana
Golconda
Dabhol
Vishakhapatnam
Bay of Bengal
Gulbarga
Hyderabad
Nauraspur
Ellore
Bijapur
Koyilkonda
Kharepatan
Masulipatnam
Goa
Vijayanagara
Western Ghats
Eastern Ghats
Kollur
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Arcot
Chennai (Madras)
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Indus
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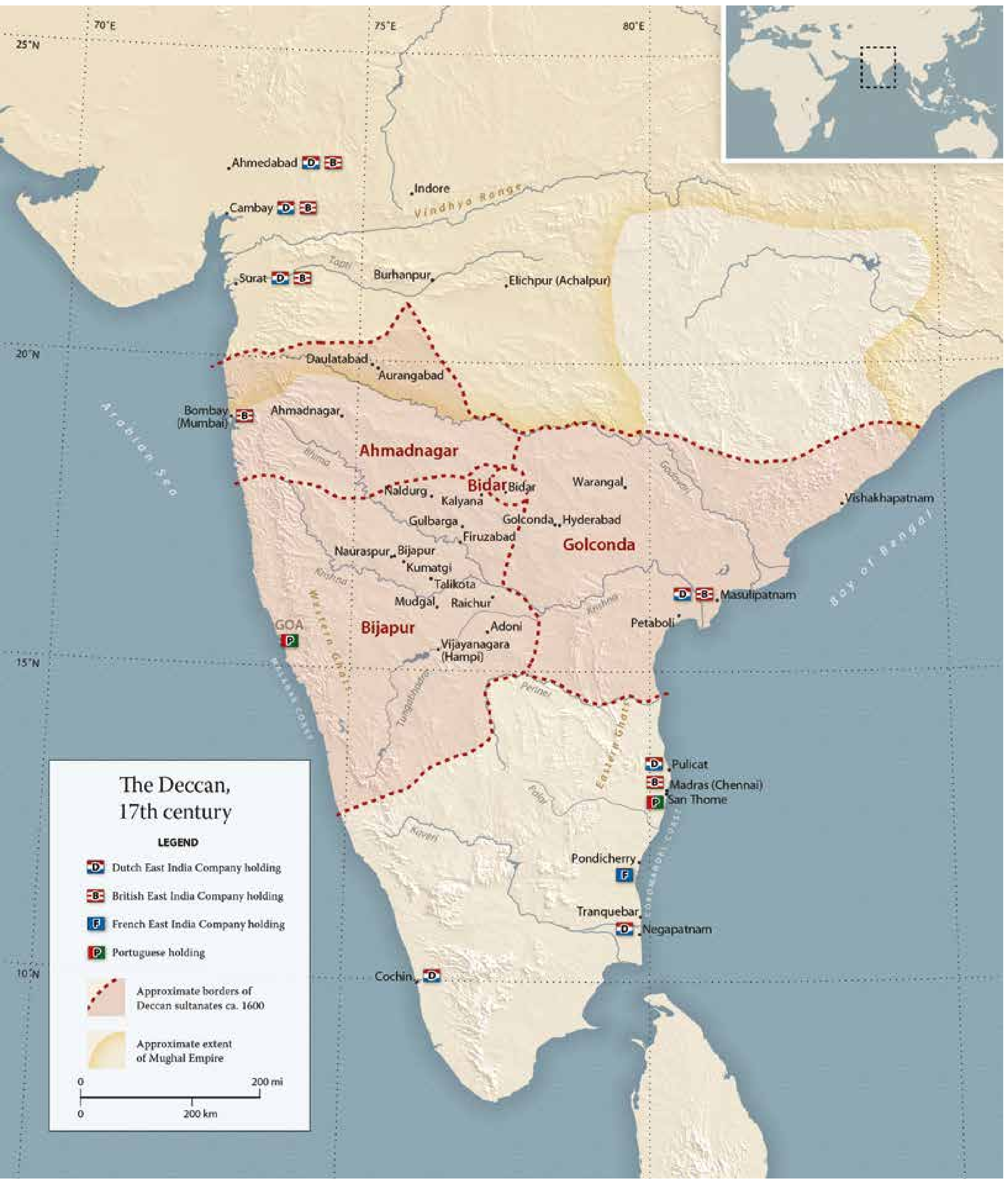
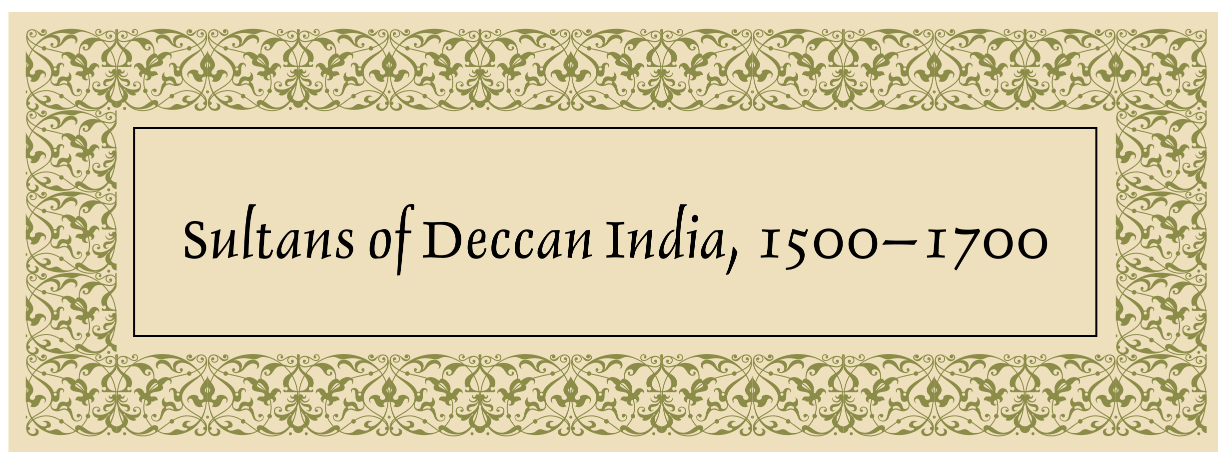
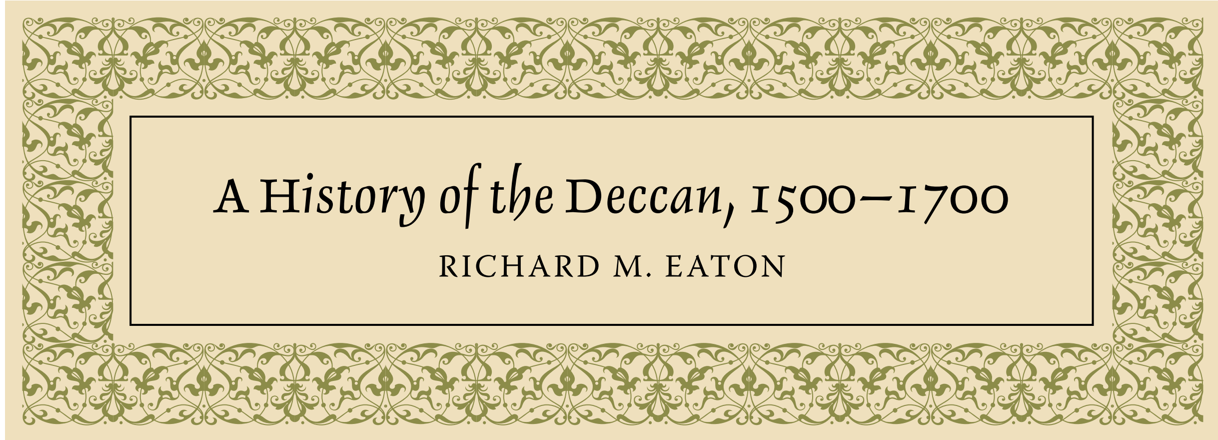
Chenab
Ravi
Beas
Sutlej
Jamuna
Ganga
Chambal
Brahmaputra
Narmada
Tapti
Mahanadi
Godavari
Krishna
Tungabhadra
Kaveri



The Deccan, 17th century
LEGEND
Dutch East India Company holding
British East India Company holding
French East India Company holding
Portuguese holding
Approximate borders of Deccan sultanates ca. 1600
Approximate extent of Mughal Empire
0
200 mi
0
200 km
70°E
75°E
80°E
25°N
20°N
15°N
10°N
Ahmedabad
Cambay
Indore
Vindhya Range
Surat
Tapti
Burhanpur
Elichpur (Achalpur)
Daulatabad
Aurangabad
Bombay (Mumbai)
Ahmadnagar
Arabian Sea
Ahmadnagar
Bhima
Bidar
Bidar
Warangal
Godavari
Naldurg
Kalyana
Vishakhapatnam
Gulbarga
Golconda
Hyderabad
Firuzabad
Golconda
Bay of Bengal
Nauraspur
Bijapur
Kumatgi
Krishna
Talikota
Mudgal
Raichur
Masulipatnam
Krishna
GOA
Western Ghats
Bijapur
Adoni
Petaboli
Vijayanagara (Hampi)
Penner
Tungabhadra
Eastern Ghats
Pulicat
Madras (Chennai)
San Thome
Palar
Kaveri
Pondicherry
Tranquebar
Negapatnam
Cochin


Sultans of Deccan India, 1500–1700

The Deccan
A GOLDEN AGE



A History of the Deccan, 1500–1700

RICHARD M. EATON

THE DECCAN PLATEAU, which occupies the Indian peninsula's broad midsection, witnessed the production of some of India's finest works of art and architecture between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Renowned for their unusual and rich palette, Deccani miniatures constitute only one dimension of the region's extraordinary artistic legacy. The courts of the Deccan—principally Ahmadnagar, Berar, Bidar, Bijapur, and Golconda, together with their great neighbor to the south, Vijayanagara—also patronized stupendous works of monumental architecture as well as those in other mediums, such as bronze, silver, stone, lacquer, and cotton fabric. Although one can see affinities between the Deccan's visual arts and the better-known art of northern India—especially that of the Mughal Empire (1526–1858)—the artistic production of the Deccan is not merely derivative of northern traditions. Rather, Deccani art and architecture stand very much in a class of their own. The reasons why that was so, and why there was such a burst of artistic creativity in the early modern period, lie in the region's cultural, social, and political history.

The culture of the Deccani courts can be traced to the migration to India of waves of Central Asian Turks who had been uprooted from their homelands by Mongol invasions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Having grown up in Central Asia or Iran amid the flowering of the Persian Renaissance (10th–13th century)—a vibrant literary and cultural movement then in progress in those regions—these refugees brought with them the entire spectrum of cosmopolitan Persian culture, which soon took root in North India. This tradition eventually diffused southward when armies of the Delhi sultanate (1206–1526), a large state that at the time spanned northern India's Indo-Gangetic Plains, conquered the Deccan plateau in the early fourteenth century. Migrants transplanted from Delhi then settled the Daulatabad region, in the northwestern part of the plateau. Accompanying these migrants were Sufis, Muslim holy men and mystics, who were believed to possess spiritual authority that transcended the political authority of kings or governors. Sayyid Muhammad Husaini Gesu Daraz (1321–1422), whose tomb attracts many thousands annually, remains today the most popular Sufi in the Deccan. He was the son of one of these early migrants from Delhi. Residing at a calculated distance from royal palaces, figures

Fig. 1. Tile Work, Southern Facade, Madrasa of Mahmud Gawan, Bidar, 1472

Pages xvi–1: Sharza and Gumbad Gates, Bidar Fort, 15th–16th century

like Gesu Daraz often had complex relations with rulers, who simultaneously sought their political support but distrusted their popularity with the masses. On the other hand, some Sufis officiated at royal coronations, legitimizing a ruler as properly Islamic and his sovereign territory as incorporated into the Muslim world. Other Sufis, pursuing their spiritual quest for direct access to divine reality, readily fraternized with yogis or other non-Muslim religious specialists, which led to fascinating interactions between Muslim and Hindu spiritualists—a theme frequently captured in Deccani miniatures.

In 1347, settlers to the Deccan from northern India, who had become disaffected with Delhi's imperious rule, successfully rebelled, establishing the Bahmani sultanate (1347–1538)—the first independent Indo-Persian state in the Deccan and the political predecessor to the five major sultanates discussed in this volume. Soon thereafter, the entire eastern Muslim world would fall under the spell of the brilliant Turkish warlord Timur, or Tamerlane (died 1405), whose territory spanned Central Asia, Iran, Iraq, and eastern Anatolia. In 1398, Timur turned to India, defeating the armies of the Delhi sultanate and sacking the capital itself. Although Bahmani rulers in the Deccan were spared Timur's sword, they nonetheless emulated his courtly culture, his style of patronage, and, especially, the Timurid aesthetic vision. Within months of Timur's invasion of northern India, Sultan Firuz Shah Bahmani (reigned 1397–1422) was planning his own palace-city, Firuzabad, just south of the Bahmani capital of Gulbarga. Here, in the Deccan's earliest such city, Firuz incorporated elements of Timur's distinctive style—enlarged portals, an overall layout emphasizing axial alignments of different elements, and the tiger or lion motif in the spandrels of the gateway leading to the palace area.[1] In fact, the tiger or lion motif at Firuzabad is the earliest known use of an animal motif in any Indo-Muslim architecture.

Firuz and his successors also sought administrators, soldiers, artists, and literati steeped in the prestigious Persian culture that the Central Asian conqueror had so lavishly patronized. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a steady stream of so-called Westerners (*gharbian*), settlers from the Arab and Persian worlds, flowed to the Deccan, having been attracted by offers of favored status.[2] As the Russian horse merchant Anafasy Nikitin wrote, referring to the Bahmani kingdom, which he had visited in the 1470s, "the rulers and the nobles in the land of India are all Khorasanians"—that is, people from northeastern Iran and Central Asia.[3] Perhaps the most prominent of these immigrants was Mahmud Gawan (died 1481), an Iranian aristocrat whose career epitomized Bahmani efforts to transplant Timurid Central Asian culture into the heart of the Deccan plateau. In the Bahmanis' final capital of Bidar, Mahmud Gawan patronized the construction of one of the most dazzling madrasas, or schools, in all of India. With brilliant glazed tiles covering its facades and minarets (fig. 1), this stunning monument follows Timurid aesthetic principles so faithfully that, standing before it, one can easily imagine oneself in the Central Asian metropolises Herat, Bukhara, or Samarqand.

However, the influx of foreign-born, Western recruits like Mahmud Gawan, and the official favors granted them, caused considerable resentment among the descendants of the original Muslim settlers who had migrated from northern India in the previous century and launched the Bahmani state. These "Deccanis," people who had been born in the Deccan, were as proud of their local origins as the Westerners were of their foreign ones. This deep and intractable

Deccani-Westerner rift—and the poisonous intrigues and destructive civil wars it spawned—ultimately undermined the state's stability. As a blue-blooded Westerner, Mahmud Gawan himself was a victim of the conflict; he was executed in 1481 after his Deccani enemies had tricked the sultan into charging him with treason.

Out of the Ashes of the Bahmani Sultanate

Within just thirty years of Mahmud Gawan's execution, the Bahmani state—a polity structured around the person of the sultan, who was assisted at his capital by a council of ministers and in the provinces by appointed governors—had effectively disintegrated. By the time provincial governors scrambled to pick up the pieces of the collapsing sultanate, five successor states—Bidar, Ahmadnagar, Berar, Bijapur, and Golconda—had emerged amid the rubble. In Bidar itself, the last Bahmani prime minister, Qasim Barid I (died 1504), established the Barid Shahi dynasty (ca. 1487–1619) more or less by default, as he found himself and the Bahmani capital abandoned by rebellious provincial governors who had withdrawn their support for the central government. Although the sultanate of Bidar had inherited the formidable outworks and fortifications of the Bahmani capital (see pp. XVI–1), Bidar was the smallest and weakest of the five successor states. It was here where one of the Deccan's most famous craft traditions was produced—the so-called *bidri* ("from Bidar") metalware, which is a blackened alloy inlaid with designs in silver, brass, and gold.

The first independent sultanate to emerge was the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar, established by Malik Ahmad, the son of one of the last Bahmani prime ministers.[4] In the 1480s, his father, a staunchly partisan Deccani, had aggrandized all power and reduced the Bahmani sultan to a puppet, which greatly exacerbated the perennial Westerner-Deccani conflict. Finally, in 1486 the minister was assassinated, touching off a chain reaction of political disintegration. Four years later Malik Ahmad, embittered by the politics of the court and the murder of his father, declared his independence at Junnar, where he had been governor. However, he refrained from minting coins in his own name until 1496, when he began styling himself as Ahmad Nizam Shah Bahri. He also established a new capital named after himself, Ahmadnagar, which soon became one of the Deccan's most important centers of artistic patronage. Ahmad Nizam Shah was succeeded by his son, Burhan Nizam Shah I, during whose long reign (1510–53) growing numbers of Iranians migrated to Ahmadnagar owing to that state's wealth, which resulted from its control of key ports along the Arabian Sea.

Variations on this pattern of state formation were swiftly repeated throughout the plateau. To the north of Ahmadnagar, in the Bahmani province of Berar, the governor Fathallah 'Imad al-Mulk (reigned 1490–1510) also grew disgusted with the deteriorating state of affairs in Bidar, the Bahmani capital. In 1490 he, too, declared independence and founded the 'Imad Shahi sultanate (1490–1574), with the Fort of Elichpur (now Achalpur) as his capital.

About the same time, Yusuf 'Adil Khan (ruled 1490–1510), the provincial governor of Bijapur, asserted his de facto independence from the Bahmani house, establishing the 'Adil Shahi dynasty (1490–1686). An immigrant from the Middle East, Yusuf declared Shiism the state

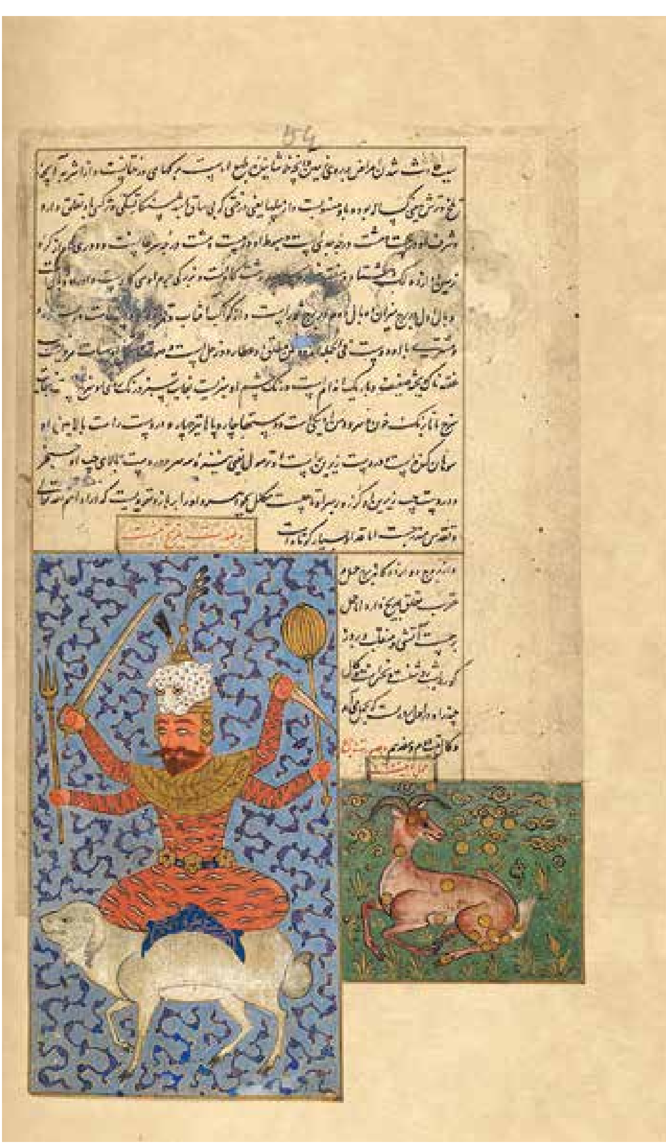


Fig. 2. "Mars and Aries," folio 27v from the *Nujum al-'Ulum* (Stars of the Sciences, cat. 22)

religion of Bijapur shortly after Iran's new Safavid regime (1501–1722) had done so in 1503. Yet he never imposed his faith on Bijapur's subjects. His son and successor, Isma'il 'Adil Shah (reigned 1510–34), by contrast, was far more zealous. Raised by an aunt who had come straight from Iran, Isma'il seldom spoke Dakhni Urdu, the language of the Deccani class, and employed only Westerners, banishing all native-born Deccanis from his court. In 1519 he had the Friday prayers offered for Iran's Safavid ruling family and ordered his entire army to wear scarlet caps with twelve points, imitating the style of the Safavid court. Isma'il's son Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I (reigned 1535–58), on the other hand, identified himself and his regime with indigenous Deccani culture. First, he embraced Sunni Islam, the sect of most Deccani Muslims. More interestingly, he invoked the memory of one of the Deccan's most illustrious imperial dynasties by prominently placing Kalyana Chalukya (973–1183) inscriptions and an ensemble of twenty-four Chalukya columns in the courtyard of Bijapur's citadel gateway (fig. 41).[5]

Ibrahim's son and successor, 'Ali 'Adil Shah I (reigned 1558–80), reoriented the dynasty's sectarian affiliation back to Shiism. But he was no zealot. Indeed, being somewhat of a freethinker, he took cartloads of books with him on tours and military campaigns, and even invited Portuguese clerics to Bijapur so that he could learn about Christianity.[6] 'Ali's crowning intellectual achievement was to author the enigmatic *Nujum al-'Ulum* (Stars of the Sciences, cat. 22, figs. 2, 45), which, written in Persian but replete with Dakhni Urdu, drew on Indic, Islamic, Hellenic, and Turkic traditions to provide a comprehensive vision of medieval Deccani courtly knowledge.[7] Blending astronomy, mysticism, and politics, the text shows that, despite the bitter class struggles between Deccanis and Westerners or the sectarian strife between Sunnis and Shi'as, courtly knowledge in the Deccan could achieve a remarkably eclectic synthesis of Indic and Persianate cultural traditions.

In the eastern Deccan another migrant from Iran, Sultan Quli (reigned 1496–1543), had been appointed governor of Telangana in 1496 with the title Qutb al-Mulk. But owing to the chaos accompanying the twilight years of the Bahmani sultanate, it took several decades of intermittent conflict before he finally emerged as the former province's sole, independent ruler with his capital at Telangana's famous hill fort of Golconda, starting the Qutb Shahi line (1496–1687). Upon his death in 1543, his son Jamshid (reigned 1543–50) seized the throne by blinding his

older brother. Anticipating the same fate for himself, Jamshid's younger brother, Ibrahim, prudently fled to the court of Vijayanagara (1336–1646), the great kingdom occupying the southern Deccan plateau. He spent seven years as a guest of Ramaraya, that state's autocrat from 1542 to 1565, and became thoroughly steeped in courtly culture informed by Telugu language and literature. When Jamshid died in 1550, powerful Telugu chieftains in Golconda's nobility invited Ibrahim to return and accept the Qutb Shahi throne, which he did, inaugurating a reign (1550–80) that saw an extraordinary degree of courtly patronage of Telugu and Indo-Islamic culture.[8]

Conflicts to the South and North

For the first half of the sixteenth century, the fracturing of the former Bahmani sultanate into five smaller successor states played into the hands of Vijayanagara, a neighboring kingdom with which the Bahmanis had so often been at war. Earlier scholarship on the Deccan typically represented the conflict between Vijayanagara and its northern neighbors as a titanic struggle waged over religion, with the former cast as a bastion of Hinduism, defending peninsular India from the advancing tide of Islam.[9] More recent study has shown that a good deal of culture—modes of governance, courtly etiquette, architectural traditions, sartorial habits—freely trafficked between the northern and southern Deccan, as did thousands of opportunistic mercenaries and even high-ranking nobles.[10]

However, relations between the northern and southern Deccan reached a dramatic climax in the mid-sixteenth century. In the early 1540s, the ambitious and arrogant Ramaraya seized the reins of Vijayanagara's government and shrewdly exploited rivalries among the largest of the northern sultanates—Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Bijapur, and Golconda—such that he alone held the balance of power over the entire plateau. Ultimately the northern sultanates (except Berar), exasperated with Ramaraya's excesses, formed a league and together confronted their powerful southern neighbor. In the ensuing Battle of Talikota (1565), one of the most important battles in Indian history, Vijayanagara's army was annihilated, Ramaraya executed, the great metropolitan capital of Vijayanagara sacked, and the state severely crippled. Politically, this outcome led to the southward expansion of the Bijapur and Golconda sultanates, which annexed the western and eastern portions, respectively, of Vijayanagara's former territory. The sultanate of Bijapur, especially, benefited at the expense of its defeated foe, as Sultan 'Ali 'Adil Shah I used his recently acquired wealth to create a new circuit of walls around the capital, where he also constructed the largest congregational mosque ever built in the Deccan.

From a cultural standpoint, the period following the Battle of Talikota—from 1565 to the Mughal conquest in 1687—was something of a golden age, as the principal Deccani sultanates enjoyed unprecedented peace, prosperity, and artistic florescence. The great wealth of the five sultanates, based especially on the production and export of textile fabrics, astonished foreign visitors. In the Western imagination, Golconda, in particular, became synonymous with fabulous fortune, as European merchants traveled to that city's bazaars to purchase diamonds taken from nearby mines.[11] Perhaps the clearest evidence of this affluence is the urbanization that occurred during this period. Older cities such as Daulatabad were greatly enlarged to accommodate growing

Fig. 3. Charminar (Four Towers), Hyderabad, 1591

populations, while entirely new cities appeared—most prominently Hyderabad, which Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (reigned 1580–1612) had founded in 1591 just a few miles from Golconda Fort. Centered on the Charminar (Four Towers, fig. 3), the gateway and mosque that is doubtless the Deccan's most iconic monument, Hyderabad is conventionally considered an Islamic city. Significantly, though, its layout and conceptual design show it to have been modeled not on stereotypically Islamic cities like Isfahan or Samarqand, but on earlier Deccani cities, in particular Warangal, the former capital of the Kakatiya dynasty (ca. 1163–1323).[12]

Further contributing to the Deccan's prosperity and patronage was the shrinking number of sultanates in the decades after the Battle of Talikota. As smaller states were absorbed by the larger remaining ones, the latter acquired more territory, more wealth, and, hence, greater wherewithal to endow the arts. The first of the five sultanates to disappear was the 'Imad Shahi kingdom of Berar, which Ahmadnagar annexed in 1574. Next was the Barid Shahi sultanate of Bidar, which Bijapur assumed in 1619. By this time, the Mughals, having consolidated their rule over all of northern India, had begun pushing southward in earnest. In 1601, Emperor Akbar (reigned 1556–1605) took over Khandesh, an independent state that the Faruqi dynasty of sultans (1382–1601) had ruled since 1382.[13] Its capital of Burhanpur, known to the Mughals as the "gateway to the Deccan," absorbed a great deal of Mughal influence after 1609 when it became the capital of the Mughal Deccan for several decades, governed by Emperor Jahangir's second son, Parviz (1589–1626). From Burhanpur, which was also a major commercial center and textile producer, the Mughals exerted increasing pressure on the Deccan sultanates. Their first victim was the geographically contiguous Nizam Shahi sultanate of Ahmadnagar, a state that under the brilliant leadership of its Ethiopian-born prime minister, Malik 'Ambar (1548–1626), had held back the Mughal tide for twenty-six years. But in 1636 this sultanate, caught between the expansive kingdom of Bijapur to the south and the much larger Mughal Empire to the north, vanished as its former territory was divided by treaty between those two states.

To stave off the encroaching Mughal power to the north, the two surviving Bahmani successor states, Bijapur and Golconda, which governed the western and eastern sides of the Deccan respectively, were obliged to acknowledge the Mughals as their supreme overlords. Nonetheless, Prince Aurangzeb, two-term governor of the Mughal territories (1636–44 and 1653–58) bordering Golconda and Bijapur, had urged his father, Emperor Shah Jahan (reigned 1628–58), to authorize a full-scale war against the two states. But this onslaught had to wait until after Aurangzeb,

once he became Emperor 'Alamgir (reigned 1658–1707), launched a protracted, twenty-six-year Deccan campaign that commenced in 1681. The emperor's immediate goal was to capture his rebel son, Prince Akbar, who had taken refuge in the Maratha kingdom, a new state that had been carved out of the mountainous western parts of Bijapuri territory in 1674. Although 'Alamgir sought to extinguish the fledgling Maratha power—a goal he doggedly pursued until his death in 1707—he first turned his attention to Bijapur and Golconda, states he had long wished to conquer. Faced now with the full brunt of 'Alamgir's army, both states capitulated and were finally annexed by the Mughals—Bijapur in 1686 and Golconda the following year.

A new era dawned, one suffused with the Mughal culture that had accompanied the northern empire's drive southward. The transition from pre-Mughal to Mughal can be seen in Khirki, a city Malik 'Ambar founded in 1610 and whose town quarters had been named after prominent Maratha chieftains.[14] The Mughals captured the city in 1633, and when Prince Aurangzeb was appointed viceroy of the Mughal Deccan for the second time in 1653, he made it his headquarters, renaming it Aurangabad. The Bibi ka Maqbara (Queen's Tomb), a magnificent tomb completed in 1661 in memory of Aurangzeb's wife, Dilras Banu Begam (died 1651), is the city's most impressive monument (fig. 4). Resembling the much larger Taj Mahal in Agra, on which it was modeled, the structure symbolizes the transplanting of Mughal architecture from northern India to the Deccan. In 1681, Aurangzeb—by then emperor—ordered a wall built around Aurangabad, and the city soon filled up with northern soldiers, administrators, scholars, merchants, and Sufis,

Fig. 4. Bibi ka Maqbara (Queen's Tomb), Tomb of Dilras Banu Begam, Aurangabad, 1661

whose hospices and grave sites served to imbue the land with sanctity.[15] However, at the end of this period, in 1724, one of ʿAlamgir's former generals, Nizam al-Mulk, Asaf Jah I (reigned 1724–48), carved out a de facto dynasty in the Mughal Deccan. His descendants would be known as the Nizams of Hyderabad (1724–1948), after the capital had been transferred from Aurangabad to Hyderabad in 1763.

In addition to spreading northern aesthetics and traditions, the Mughal conquest of the Deccan ended a distinctive practice of courtly patronage in the region. When assessing what had fostered the burst of artistry in the principal Deccani courts between the Battle of Talikota (1565) and the Mughal conquest (1687), one must look beyond their sheer riches. After all, many courts in the early modern world were wealthier than those of the Deccan yet were not as active patrons of the arts. Perhaps most important was the cosmopolitan character of the Deccani courts, a function of the region's cultural and ethnic diversity. This diversity is especially apparent when juxtaposed with the more homogeneous culture of the imperial Mughals, a contrast encapsulated by an encounter that took place in 1596 at the dawn of Mughal military pressure on the Deccan. Having been invited to intervene in Ahmadnagar's internal politics, the Mughals happily obliged and then took the opportunity to besiege the Fort of Ahmadnagar. While the siege was still in progress, officers from both sides sat down for cease-fire talks, during which one of Ahmadnagar's diplomats challenged the Mughals' right to make demands on Deccani territory. With Prince Murad, the son of Emperor Akbar at his side, a Mughal officer exploded in rage. "What nonsense is this?" he exclaimed. Then, citing the prince's and Akbar's noble descent from Timur, he angrily contrasted the Mughal dynasty with the motley collection of peoples defending Ahmadnagar's fort, people he dismissed contemptuously as "crows and kites of the Dakan, who squat, like ants or locusts, over a few spiders."[16] The anecdote reveals the Mughals' self-perception as a homogeneous, Turko-Iranian class, in contrast to the welter of ethnic communities they encountered in the Deccan.

Diversity in the Deccan

Which different cultures were represented in the mosaic of people then confronting the mighty Mughals? First, there was the Persianate tradition that émigrés from northern India or Central Asia had brought with them in the early fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and which was then absorbed by all the Deccani courts. As recent immigrants from the Middle East, Westerners continued to cultivate Persian literary and aesthetic traditions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[17] By contrast, Deccan-born Muslims were rooted in the plateau's indigenous traditions, and over time they became more confident and assertive of their own cultural identity. By the fifteenth century, Deccanis had created their own vernacular, an early form of Urdu known as "Dakhni." By the sixteenth century, and more so in the seventeenth, Deccani poets were confidently composing literature in that language.[18] Literary Dakhni had attained such respectability that even rulers—notably Bijapur's Sultan Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627) and Golconda's Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah—composed poetry in that language. These courts also patronized the vernacular traditions of their respective regions. In the east the Qutb

Shahi rulers of Golconda enthusiastically supported the production of Telugu literature. As early as 1535, Bijapur had switched the language of its revenue and judicial accounts from Persian to Marathi; by the early 1600s Golconda would do the same with Telugu.[19]

The Deccan's voracious demand for military labor, a product of continual interstate conflict, brought still other communities to the forefront of the region's political and cultural life. Among them were East Africans, or Habshis, who were recruited as military slaves initially by Bahmani rulers, and then by the independent sultanates, especially Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, the two westernmost states. Driving this process was the chronically unstable political environment caused by the mutual antagonism between Deccanis and Westerners, and the belief that culturally alien military slaves, having no kin of their own and being wholly dependent on their legal owners, would direct their loyalty to the state only, and to neither the Westerner nor Deccani class. Since access to Central Asian slave markets was blocked by hostile northern Indian dynasties—first the Delhi sultans, then the Mughals—recruits were sought in East Africa, across the Arabian Sea, especially from the highlands of Ethiopia. By the early seventeenth century Habshi slaves were entering the Deccan in substantial numbers. In 1610 Malik 'Ambar, the prime minister of Ahmadnagar and probably the most famous African in Indian history, fielded an army of ten thousand Habshis, constituting a fifth of the sultanate's forces. Inevitably, former military slaves who rose to a high rank, as Malik 'Ambar had, brought African sensibilities to the works of art or architecture they patronized.[20]

Another prominent group attracted to military service in the sultanates was that of the Marathas, the indigenous warrior clans of the western plateau. Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I of Bijapur hired thirty thousand Maratha cavalry, and by 1624 Ahmadnagar had enlisted forty thousand Marathas into its service—figures that reveal the extent to which the sultanate form of governance, initially alien to India, had meshed with local Deccan societies.[21] In a pattern stretching back to the Bahmani era, Maratha *deshmukh*s, the hereditary territorial chiefs in the western countryside, not only collected revenue and adjudicated disputes, but they also raised troops and made them available to sultans, who in return formalized the chiefs' rights to specified lands.[22] Indeed, many leading Maratha clans rose to prominence in tandem with the sultanates.[23] In the eastern Deccan, meanwhile, Telugu warriors known as *nayakwari*s, whose martial traditions reached back to the Kakatiya dynasty, played an analogous role in Golconda's army and political system.[24] Although *nayakwari* families tended to maintain strong ties to particular ancestral locales, the more successful among them moved with relative ease from one place to the next in search of military service under rulers who would grant them estates for maintaining their troops. Inevitably, the cultures of these two military service groups, the Marathas and the Telugu *nayakwari*s, seeped upward into the Deccan courts in which they served.

Finally, in sharp contrast to northern India under the Mughals, Brahmins figured prominently in the administration of the Deccan sultanates. In Golconda the Niyogis were the worldly Telugu Brahmins who had given up their caste's traditional priestly role to serve in the state's administration. At lower levels, they were typically accountants; at higher levels, they were governors of towns, diplomats at the courts of neighboring states, or even ministers to the sultan. In Bijapur, beginning in 1535, Brahmins effectively ran the revenue administration at all tiers. By

the early seventeenth century, that state's judicial system was, at the local level, in the hands of Brahmin councils. These groups heard disputes in Marathi, the vernacular language of the western plateau, and litigated them using indigenous law codes dating back to the eleventh century.[25]

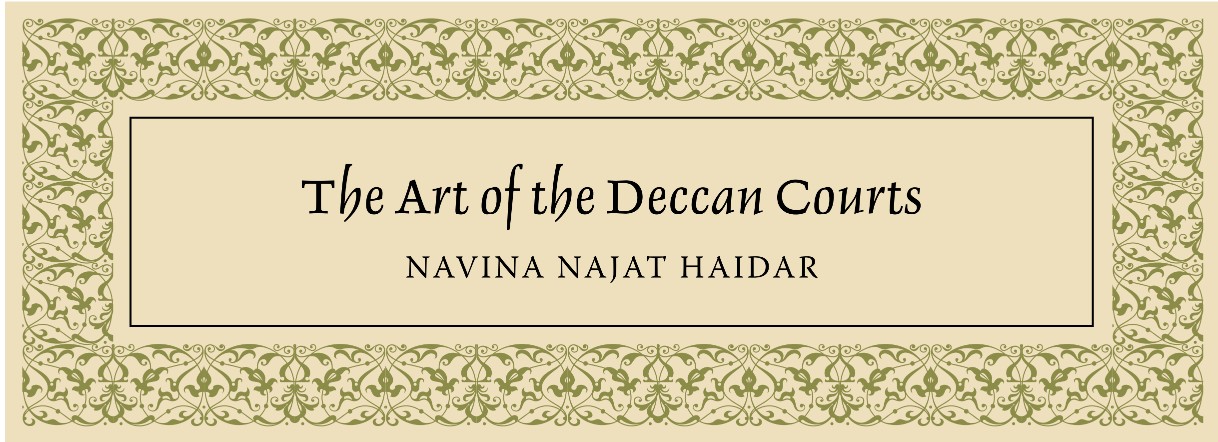
Added to this cultural amalgam were the many overseas influences that penetrated the early modern Deccan. Peninsular India, after all, occupies the middle of the Indian Ocean, with ports on both coasts that made the region a commercial hub. On the western side, Chaul, Dabhol, and Goa connected the Deccan to the Middle East via maritime routes, while on its eastern side Masulipatnam connected it to Southeast Asia. Deccani rulers needed overseas trading partners to buy locally produced textiles. In turn, they needed to purchase warhorses from far beyond India, since horses do not breed well in tropical South Asia. In fact, it was Bidar's insatiable demand for horses that attracted foreign merchants such as the aforementioned fifteenth-century Russian horse merchant Nikitin, who described one market near Bidar where twenty thousand horses were sold.[26] European merchants—and conquerors—followed suit. Acting on behalf of the Portuguese crown, in 1498 Vasco da Gama inaugurated the age of significant European presence in South Asia with his successful all-sea voyage from Lisbon to India, landing in Calicut on the Malabar Coast. This journey was followed by Afonso de Albuquerque's seizure of the important port of Goa from Bijapur in 1510. Eschewing territorial conquest, however, the Portuguese sought control of key Indian ports, which were nodes in a larger maritime network that extended from eastern Africa to southern China, with Goa as its hub and headquarters. Though based on the coasts, the Portuguese, nonetheless, sent commercial agents, spies, clerics, and mercenaries into the Deccan interior to obtain commercial monopolies, proselytize for Christianity, and promote their political objectives.[27]

Northern Europeans did not enter the scene until 1597, when a Dutch ship returned from India with a valuable cargo that stimulated the capitalist appetite of the Netherlands' growing bourgeoisie. Five years later, a group of trading companies consolidated their capital to form a single joint-stock firm, the Dutch Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (United East India Company), which the government licensed to make war, build forts, conclude treaties, and open commercial relations anywhere in the East Indies. Although the Dutch company established commercial stations all along the coasts of India, its principal window into the Deccan was the east-coast port of Masulipatnam, where it established a station in 1605. At about the same time, a group of English merchants formed a joint-stock company similar to its larger Dutch counterpart, obtaining from Queen Elizabeth (reigned 1558–1603) a charter giving them a monopoly of English trade with the East Indies. Having established a base in 1612 at the Mughal port of Surat, on the Arabian Sea to the west, the English were initially focused on northern India, not the Deccan. It was not until 1668 that King Charles II (reigned 1660–85) transferred the island of Bombay to the company, having received it from the Portuguese as part of a wedding dowry from his queen. This gave the English limited commercial access to the northwestern Deccan just as the Mughals were consolidating their authority in the former Nizam Shahi and 'Adil Shahi territories of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, respectively. In 1616 the Danish Ostindsk Kompagni (East India Company) was given a royal charter allowing it to monopolize trade between

Denmark and India, where several maritime trading posts were established, principally at Tranquebar on the peninsula's southeastern coast.

All of these influences—Chalukya, Timurid, Westerner, Deccani, Maratha, Habshi, *nayakwari*, Brahmin, and European—conferred on Deccani courts an aura of dynamism, diversity, and cosmopolitanism that was perhaps unique in the early modern world. This sophisticated atmosphere, together with the region's great wealth generated by the export of its renowned textiles, diamonds, and precious metals, shaped a moment of remarkable artistic creativity.

A version of this essay was published as Eaton 2011. **1.** Michell and Eaton 1992, pp. 80–83. **2.** In fact, Sultan Firuz Shah Bahmani sent ships annually to the Persian Gulf to recruit men of talent for service in the Deccan. Firishta 1864–65, vol. 1, p. 308; English translation in Briggs 1966, vol. 2, p. 227. **3.** Nikitin 1970, p. 12. **4.** The dynastic name Nizam Shahi derives from the title of its founder, Malik Ahmad Nizam al-Mulk Bahri. Similarly, the dynastic names of the other Deccan sultanates were derived from the titles of their respective founders. Barid al-Mulk became Barid Shah, and so on. **5.** Eaton and Wagoner 2014, pp. 126–33. **6.** Correia-Afonso 1964, p. 87. **7.** Flatt 2011, pp. 226, 235. **8.** Wagoner 2011. **9.** The historian Robert Sewell, writing in 1900 during the height of Orientalist scholarship, captured this sentiment by characterizing Vijayanagara as a "Hindu bulwark against Muhammadan conquests." See Sewell 1962, p. 1. **10.** See Wagoner 1996. **11.** The founding fathers of Golconda, Illinois (named in 1817), probably hoping to strike it rich, certainly made this association. As the town's website proudly declares, "Golconda sparkles like a diamond on the banks of the mighty Ohio River." **12.** Eaton and Wagoner 2014, pp. 220–30. **13.** The rulers of Khandesh descended from a former Bahmani minister who had rebelled against the sultan in the late fourteenth century and carved out a small independent kingdom in the extreme northern Deccan. **14.** Gadre 1986, p. 182. **15.** Green 2012, pp. 170–85. **16.** Tabataba 1936, p. 629; English translation in Haig 1923, pp. 343–45. **17.** This particular strand of Deccani culture, with its roots in Timurid Iran and Central Asia, was the same one boastfully claimed by the above-mentioned Mughal officer who, continuing his rant, shouted to Ahmadnagar's diplomats, themselves Westerners from Iran: "You, who are men of the same race as ourselves [*mardum ki ibna-yi jins-i ma'id*], [should not] throw your selves away to no purpose." Tabataba 1936, p. 629; English translation in Haig 1923, p. 344. **18.** S. R. Faruqi 2001, pp. 95–104. **19.** Firishta 1864–65, vol. 2, p. 27; English translation in Briggs 1966, vol. 3, pp. 47–48; see also Alam 2003, p. 157. Firishta called the new language "Hindvi," the term Westerners like Firishta used when referring to any Indian vernacular. **20.** See Robbins and McLeod 2006. **21.** See the account by William Finch covering the years 1608–11 in Foster 1968, p. 138; see also Duff 1971, vol. 1, p. 36. **22.** Gordon 1993, p. 34. **23.** Eaton 2005, p. 188. **24.** Richards 1975, pp. 5, 11–12. **25.** See Smith and Derrett 1975. **26.** Nikitin 1970, p. 12. **27.** Boxer 1978; Subrahmanyam 1993.



The Art of the Deccan Courts

NAVINA NAJAT HAIDAR

The imaginative style of Deccani court art has been admired for its poetic character and sense of fantasy. In painting these qualities are conveyed in part by a lyrical movement of line; a dark, mysterious palette or one with distinctive combinations of glowing color; enigmatic shifts of scale; and an emphasis on mood rather than reality, as the more widely known Mughal school is often thought to educe. Several factors influenced Deccani artists, including Hindu iconography, Persian painting, and European sources. But none entirely explain, for example, transformations in the style of Bijapur's most famous painter, the master Farrukh Husain. His earlier, more conventional Persianized idiom, which he employed while in service at Kabul and later at the Mughal court, gave way to a far more individual and inspired one when Farrukh Husain reached the Deccan. His most famous Deccan painting depicts Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627) riding through a luminous landscape of emerald forest, fluidly curving violet rocks, and golden sky, the whole work infused with a sense of jewel-like illusion (cat. 31). The émigré artist had arrived home.

Metaphor and symbol also play a significant role in Deccani painting and the wider arts, as demonstrated in illustrated sufi romances such as the *Gulshan-i 'Ishq* (Flower Garden of Love, cats. 173–74), composed in 1657–58 by the Bijapur poet laureate Mullah Nusrati. His text links allegorical gardens with actual horticulture through vivid descriptions of Deccani trees and flowers and their symbolic meanings.[1] In the romance the *Pem Nem* (The Laws of Love, cat. 29), the hero in the illustrations bears the image of his beloved on his chest, and silver spray comes from his lips when he mentions her name, among other visual metaphors.[2] Objects, too, show similar imaginative flair such as the base of a *bidri huqqa* (water pipe) decorated with inlaid water patterns with floating lotuses on the exterior (cat. 86), or the underside view of the fierce *gandaberunda* double-headed mythical bird clutching elephants in a *qanat* (tent hanging) textile panel (cat. 165). Established iconography takes on fresh combinations that relate to dynastic imagery. This can be seen in a dagger with a zoomorphic hilt, in which a dragon, lion, deer, bird, and snake, royal symbols drawn from Indian and Persian sources, appear in interlocked combat (cat. 63).

The view of Deccan art as otherworldly, as it is frequently described, certainly captures its most seductive qualities. Yet this perception has also partially eclipsed a full appreciation of the

Detail of cat. 59

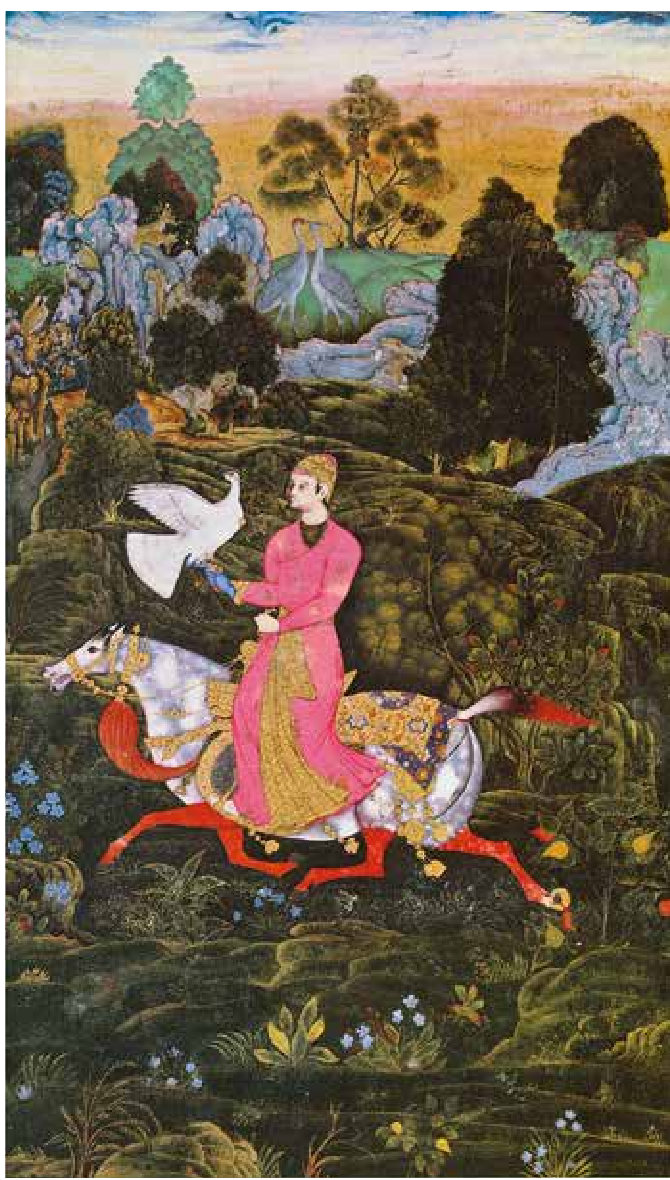


Fig. 5. Farrukh Beg. *Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II Hawking*, Bijapur, ca. 1590. Ink, opaque watercolor, gold, and silver on paper, 11¼ × 6⅛ in. (28.7 × 15.6 cm). Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg (Ms. E. 14, fol. 2)

rigor and mastery of Deccani artists over the formal idioms of Islamic art. The so-called *Muraqqa'-yi 'Adil Shahi* ('Adil Shahi Album) contains splendid specimens of calligraphy by several leading scribes of the Ibrahim 'Adil Shahi II period at Bijapur, such as Abdul Latif, Abdul Hamid, and Mustafa, in a variety of writing styles, primarily *naskhi* and *thuluth* scripts (fig. 6).[3] A Golconda album of about 1591 also displays extremely fine Persian, Turkish, and Arabic calligraphy executed in colored inks, decoupage, and fingernail-pressed relief by court calligraphers (cat. 104). Calligraphy as a form of architectural ornament is perhaps most opulently seen in the carved stone surfaces of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II's tomb, the Ibrahim Rauza (fig. 8), executed by Naqi al-Din Husaini, whose son 'Ali was also a calligrapher. Superb stone calligraphy is further found at the Qutb Shahi tombs in Golconda and in that of the saint Shah Khalilullah at Bidar, where crisply chiseled letters are set against springing arabesque vines (fig. 7).

Certain major Islamic art forms that came to the Deccan were transformed stylistically or technically, resulting in effects that are almost unique among the book arts and objects. One can cite marbled drawings, numbering approximately forty and forming a group found nowhere else (cats. 72–80); a style of gold and ink illumination with abundant and naturalistic foliage, birds, and animals (cat. 105); and fine-relief calligraphy on the interior of metal vessels (cats. 152–59), a technical accomplishment particular to the Deccan.

Architecture also contains elements that, while remaining fundamentally faithful to the Indo-Islamic tradition, are highly original in style. Some outstanding examples include the carved plasterwork and mother-of-pearl inlay into black basalt in the Rangin Mahal (Colored Palace) at Bidar and the corresponding relief-carved arabesques executed in formal Timurid style in the wood ceiling (pp. 170–71). Pierced calligraphic *jali* screens in the upper interior arches of the Ibrahim Rauza exemplify the design expertise and technical skill of Deccani craftsmen. The extraordinary trompe l'oeil gesso painted mihrab at Bijapur's Jami Masjid and the Shi'a-related designs of the tile work in the Badshahi Ashurkhana at Hyderabad also demonstrate the Deccan imagination at its most inventive (pp. 76–77, fig. 67).

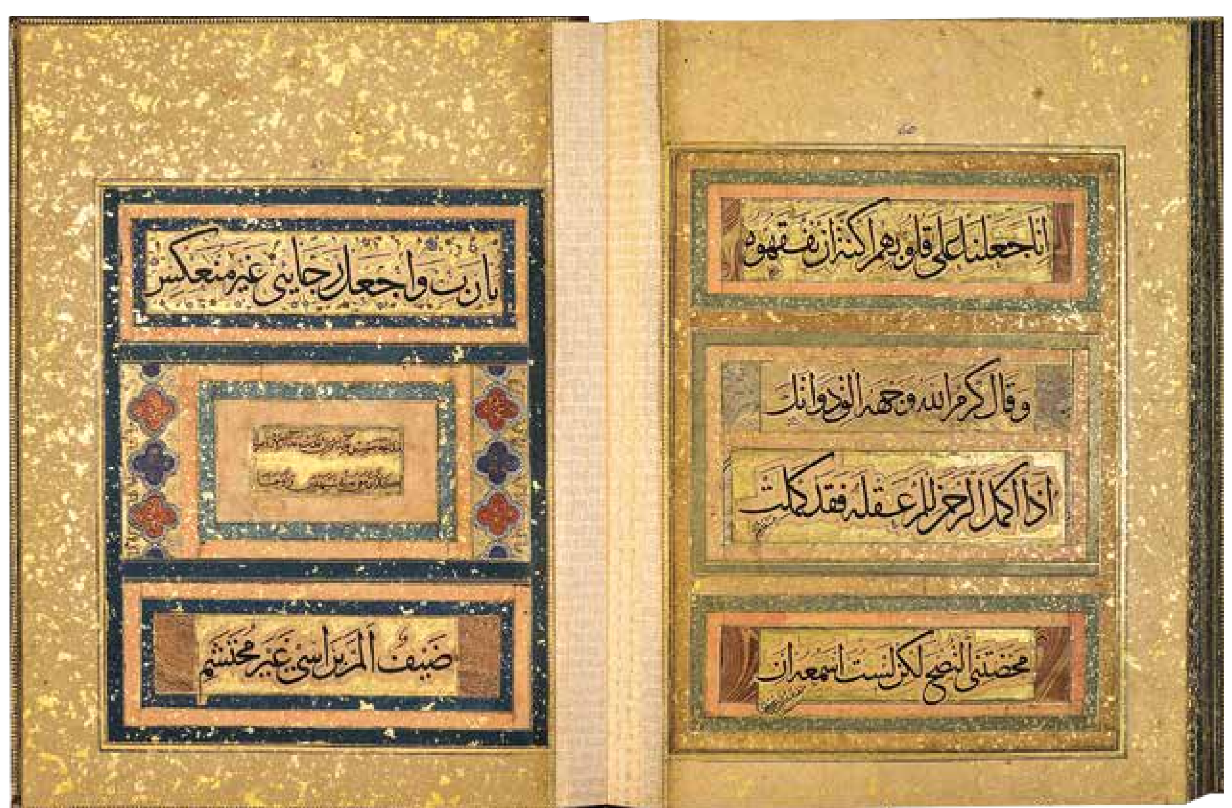


Fig. 6. *Muraqqa'-yi 'Adil Shahi* ('Adil Shahi Album), Bijapur, early 17th century. Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, approx. 9 × 14 in. (22.9 × 35.6 cm). Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad (M.91)

Fig. 7. Qur'anic Inscription, Tomb of Shah Khalilullah, Chaukhandi (Four Story), Bidar, 1450

Fig. 8. Chevron Decoration, Right Bay, Southern Facade, Ibrahim Rauza, Tomb of Ibrahim ʻAdil Shah II, Bijapur, ca. 1627–35

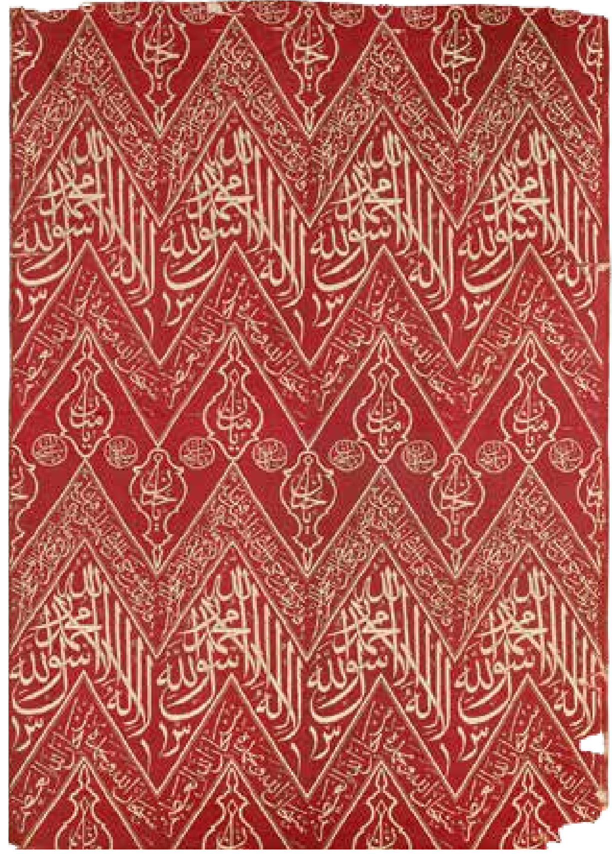


Fig. 9. Fragmentary Cenotaph Cover with Qur'anic Calligraphy, Turkey, 17th–18th century. Silk and lampas, 38¼ × 26¾ in. (97.2 × 67.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.460)

Foreign contact in the Deccan influenced local artistic production and transported Deccani works and styles to Iran and Turkey, Japan, Indonesia and other parts of Southeast Asia, and northern Europe (where the Dutch master Johannes Vermeer [1632–1675] is thought to have included a Deccani carpet in a painting).[4] Deccan influence even came to North America, where Elihu Yale's legacy laid the foundations for Yale University, New Haven, based in part on the wealth he had acquired in trading in Deccan diamonds. The recent identification of three Hoysala-period shields of the late twelfth century and other items of furniture in a church in the Ethiopian interior shows how far some Deccan objects had traveled into eastern Africa as part of a medieval Indian Ocean exchange.[5]

Connections with Iran and Central Asia form a major theme in Deccan art, with numerous writers, poets, theologians, calligraphers, and artists from these areas, particularly Iran, finding patronage at the Deccan courts. Ottoman links are demonstrated by the immigrant Ottoman gun-founder Ustad Muhammad Bin Husain Rumi, whose name appears on the monumental Malik-i Maidan (Lord of the Plain) cannon, cast in 1549 at Ahmadnagar (fig. 47), and another Nizam Shahi cannon at Ausa Fort in 1543.[6] A walrus-ivory sword handle is of Ottoman shape and style but attributable to Bijapur (cat. 62). Ottoman funerary textile patterns are reflected in

the chevron designs of the Ibrahim Rauza (fig. 8). However, the trade was not unidirectional: an early eighteenth-century Burhanpur textile panel with medallion designs recalling Ottoman wicker shields was reportedly found lining the inside of an Ottoman tent in Bulgaria.[7]

Chinese ceramic fragments are found all over the Deccan, but relatively scanty scholarly attention has been paid to this material (although Chinese imports in northern India have been better studied).[8] Three distinguished Deccani institutions—the Andhra Pradesh State Archaeology Museum, Hyderabad; Bijapur Archaeological Museum; and Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad—as well as the British Museum, London, all display quantities of Chinese ceramics and shards, many dating to the seventeenth century or earlier (fig. 10). In addition, Asad Beg, the Mughal ambassador to Bijapur in the early seventeenth century, mentioned large Chinese vases in the palace of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, and Chinese motifs taken from pots or textiles appear in fifteenth-century Deccan wall painting and tile work.[9] The mention of Chinese silk textiles (*murasa' alat va qumasha-ha-yi khata'i*) at the Golconda court in a contemporary history is further evidence of a taste for such wares at court.[10]

Fig. 10. Ceramic Vases, China, 16th–17th century. Installation View, Bijapur Archaeological Museum, Gol Gumbaz

Arguably the greatest Deccani art tradition was that of painting. It is in this realm that the hands of some individual artists can be discerned in the creation of distinctive, exciting stylistic expressions of intellectual depth and profundity. This publication assembles paintings and book arts from the schools of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golconda—where the main evidence survives—and also works from the northern Deccan, which reflect a mixed style incorporating Mughal, Deccan, and Rajput influences. Like court painters in North India, Deccan artists interwove Iranian Safavid, North Indian Mughal, and earlier Sultanate styles and subject matter. However, in Deccani painting individual strands of these traditions retain their singular flavors

Fig. 11. Coverlet (detail), China for the Export Market, 17th century. Silk satin embroidered with silk and gilt paper–wrapped thread, 84 × 79 in. (213.4 × 200.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1975 (1975.208d)

Fig. 12. *Yogini with a Mynah Bird*, detail of cat. 30

to a greater degree. For example, the poses and bearing of figures are often in a medieval South Indian style, and the palette includes the unusual pink hue typical of early Rajput painting.[11] Similarly, Safavid-style figures within background architecture are not blended into the composition but appear as though directly planted there from distant shores (cat. 44).

Very little is known about Deccan artists, partly owing to the paucity of surviving records, few translated primary sources, and less knowledge about the day-to-day life at court. Paintings, when they bear inscriptions, generally include just one or two artists' names, without specifying their particular roles. Thus not much light can be shed on workshop practice. While individual hands have been identified, scholars do not always agree on attributions, even for the limited number of works under discussion. For example, the question of whether Bijapur's most famous artist, Farrukh Husain, was the same person as the Mughal painter Farrukh Beg has been debated for almost sixty years, and only now most have come to agree that, indeed, he is the same artist.[12] Other masters in the Bijapur atelier are still largely known by their Berensonian nomenclature, with some exceptions.[13] These artists include the Paris Painter (cats. 14–15), Bikaner Painter (cats. 27–28), Dublin Painter (cat. 30, fig. 48), Bodleian Painter (cats. 38–42, 53), 'Ali Riza (cats. 46–47), and the Bombay Painter (cats. 66–67), as well as Kamal Muhammad and Chand Muhammad (cat. 71).[14]

Ahmadnagar painting provides a crucial basis for understanding the evolution of style and taste in the Deccan. Although extremely fragmentary, the evidence demonstrates two broad

styles. An early, simplified Indic idiom of around 1565, seen in the paintings of the *Ta'rif-i Husain Shahi* (Chronicle of Husain Shah, cat. 8) and in a group of *ragamala* paintings (cats. 10–13), is marked by boldly drawn figures, buoyant color applied in strong blocks, and a spirited distillation of the essential elements of the subject. By contrast, a more Mughal-influenced style that developed later in the sixteenth century, seen in the works of the so-called Paris Painter and a group of drawings, has a more modeled approach to form, using superbly refined brushwork to create fine lines and stippling and employing plenty of gold (cats. 14–15). These styles converged at various points but also remained as separate strands in Deccani painting, giving rise to a range of effects, from understated refinement to unbridled freedom of expression.

Bijapur painting, particularly during the reign of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, is recognized as a high point of Deccan art, meriting its description as a "window wide open upon an enchanted world."[15] Under his enlightened and sensitive patronage and that of his successors, the arts of music and painting rose to expressive heights. Like other great Bijapur paintings, a penetrating portrait of an unidentified African or Indian noble (cat. 52), assigned to an unknown master and dated to around 1630, captures the mood of its pensive sitter with haunting insight. In general, Bijapur painting remained more independent of the Safavid and Mughal influences seen in works painted for the Qutb Shahi rulers (1496–1687) of Golconda. Golconda artists in some ways kept greater pace with developments in Iran and even preserved some styles past their Persian arc, such as the fifteenth-century Turkmen idiom that flourished at Golconda into the seventeenth century in the form of lively animal drawings and energetic figures. While royal portraits and known artists can be associated with the courts of Golconda, Bijapur, and Ahmadnagar, certain types of paintings, marbled works for example, cannot be assigned to any one center, nor can some of the illuminated and decorated folios from books that share a common decorative language.

Shifts of scale in Deccan painting—the source of much of its ethereal strangeness—are among its most fascinating qualities. Why do they occur? Some elements of scale can be understood to be hierarchical, as in the portrait of a Golconda prince in a landscape with miniaturized figures (cat. 132). He towers over his attendants running below him, a tendency that is also seen in Mughal painting and various eighteenth-century Rajput schools, including Kishangarh and Raghugarh.[16] In other cases, shifts of scale were perhaps attempts to show distance or echo the main theme, as in an image of a peregrine falcon, in which the overblown foliage in the background is filled with minuscule birds of the same gray-and-white coloring (cat. 48). The oversize Chinese-inspired flowers on either side of the Dublin Painter's *Yogini with a Mynah Bird* show that this artist was quoting from sources that, though foreign to him, must have seduced him into the creation of his enigmatic masterpiece (figs. 11–12).

European prints and engravings circulating in India also offer insights into the subject matter and the question of scale. A print of two parakeets on branches by Adriaen Collaert (1560–1618) has been identified as a source for two oversize birds appearing in Deccan paintings (fig. 13).[17] The Bodleian Painter introduced the bird on the right in the background of his famous sufi visitation scene of around 1610–20 (fig. 15). The bird on the left pecking at a berry appears (mirror-reversed) in a painting attributed to Golconda, around 1630–70 (fig. 14). Seated on the

Fig. 13. Adriaen Collaert (Netherlandish, 1560–1618). *Avium Vivae Icones (Birds)*, from the *Psitaci Duplex Genus* series, Antwerp, ca. 1600. Engraving, 5⅛ × 7⅜ in. (13 × 18.7 cm). Trustees of the British Museum, London (Z,1.59)

Fig. 14. *A Parrot Perched on a Mango Tree, a Ram Tethered Below*, detail of cat. 130

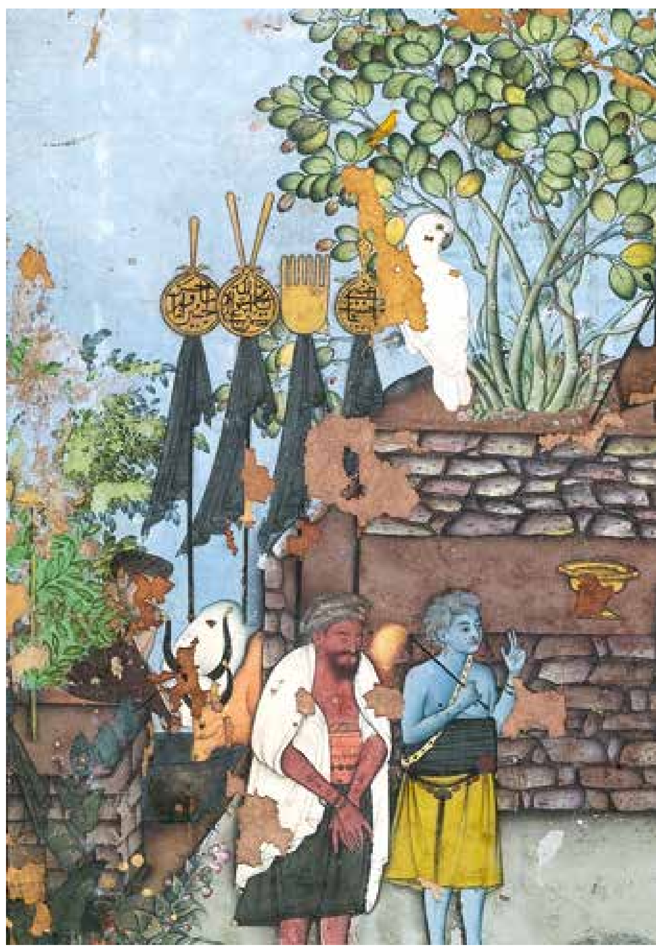


Fig. 15. *Dervish Receiving a Visitor*, detail of cat. 38

branches of a tree, the bird dwarfs a ram tethered below, perhaps as a result of the artist's reading of the distant sheep in the Collaert print as being on the same plane as the bird and therefore of much smaller size.[18] How did the two birds shown in Collaert's engraving fly into such different paintings, separated in time by as much as a half a century? The print source possibly remained within an artist's family or workshop for generations, valued for what might have been seen as exotica. During a brief period of painterly exchange between Iran and Golconda at the end of the seventeenth century, similar stylistic effects took place. Safavid Persian artists in the circle of the master Shaikh 'Abbasi were enamored of Mughal and Deccani painting and drawing, among other foreign or exotic styles. Bahram Sofrakesh executed several works that display the same shifts of scale as Deccani painting, including plants with oversize insects (figs. 16–17).[19] Also distinctive was a shaded and tinted drawing style that Safavid and Golconda artists jointly developed (cat. 143).

Fig. 16. *Prince Holding a Rose*, Golconda, end of 17th century. Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 12¼ × 7⅞ in. (31 × 20 cm). National Museum, New Delhi (58.30/5)

Fig. 17. Bahram Sofrakesh. *Two Lovers*, probably Isfahan, A.H. 1050 (A.D. 1640). Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, with artist's signature, 6⅞ × 4⅛ in. (17.3 × 10.5 cm). Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Lent by the Art and History Trust (LTS1995.2.116)

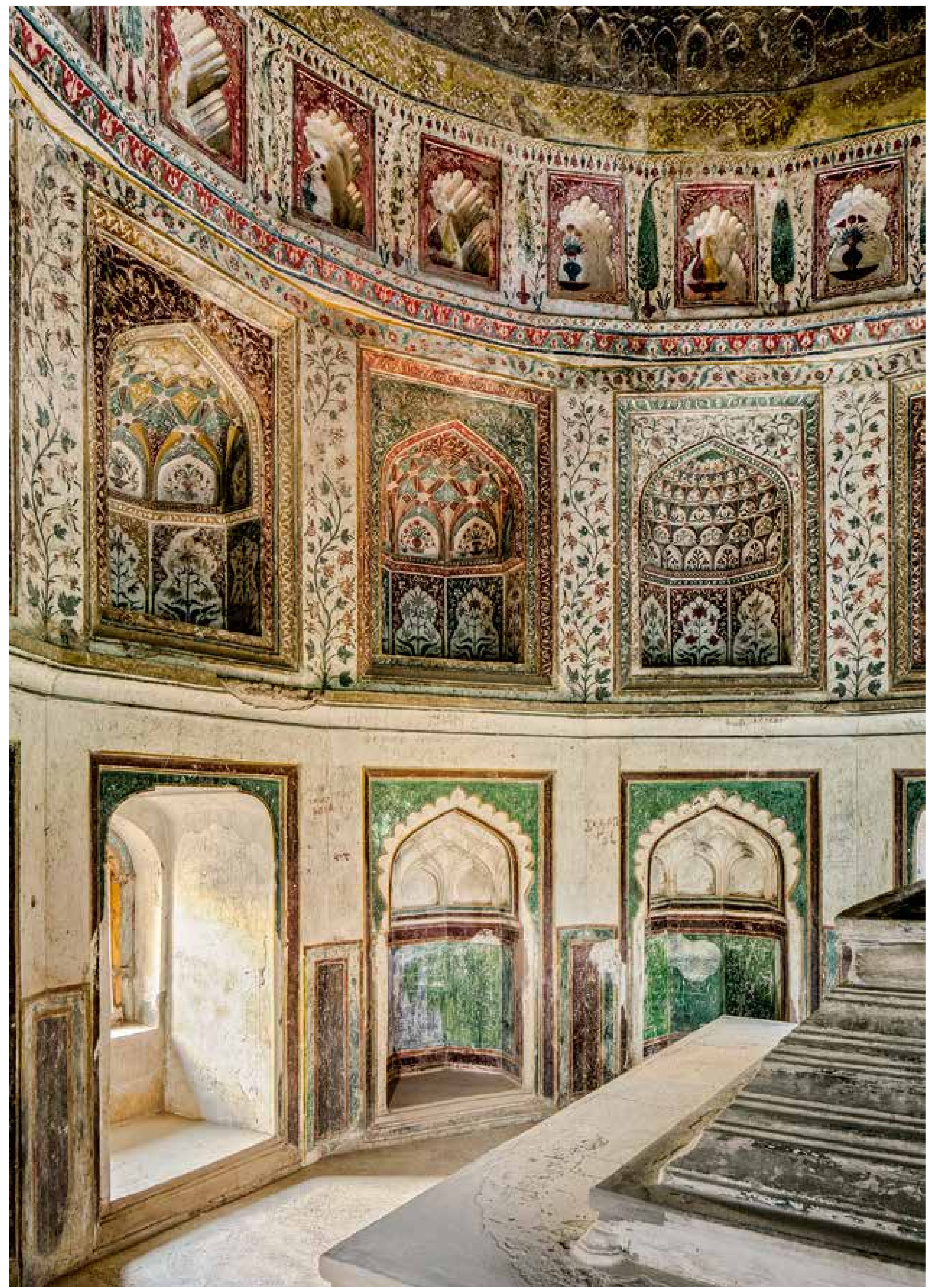


Fig. 18. Interior Wall Paintings, Kharbuza Mahal (Melon-Shaped Hall), Tomb of Bilqis Begum, Burhanpur, ca. 1632

Fig. 19. Tent Hanging, Deccan, ca. 1645. Mordant- and resist-dyed and hand-painted plain-weave cotton, 80¾ in. × 9 ft. 7 in. (205.1 × 292.1 cm). Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Gift of Miss Lucy T. Aldrich (37.010)

The wealth of the Deccan came partly from its fertile agricultural land, especially the cotton-growing areas, and natural resources such as diamonds in the Golconda region. Early Deccan diamonds in their original shapes are rare as many were recut into glittering forms. Several gems are associated with later Mughal, Persian, or European royal ownership (cats. 197–200). A set of pendants, however, displays flat-cut diamonds with limited facets set into *à-jour* (openwork) gold frames (cats. 134–38). Such ornaments represent a local style of jewelry, as worn by a group of women in a Golconda painted textile (cat. 163). The Shah Diamond (fig. 31), dated 1591 and inscribed with the name of Burhan Nizam Shah II (reigned 1591–95) of Ahmadnagar, and the Shah Jahan Diamond (cat. 133) are further examples of the local cut and shape during this period.[20]

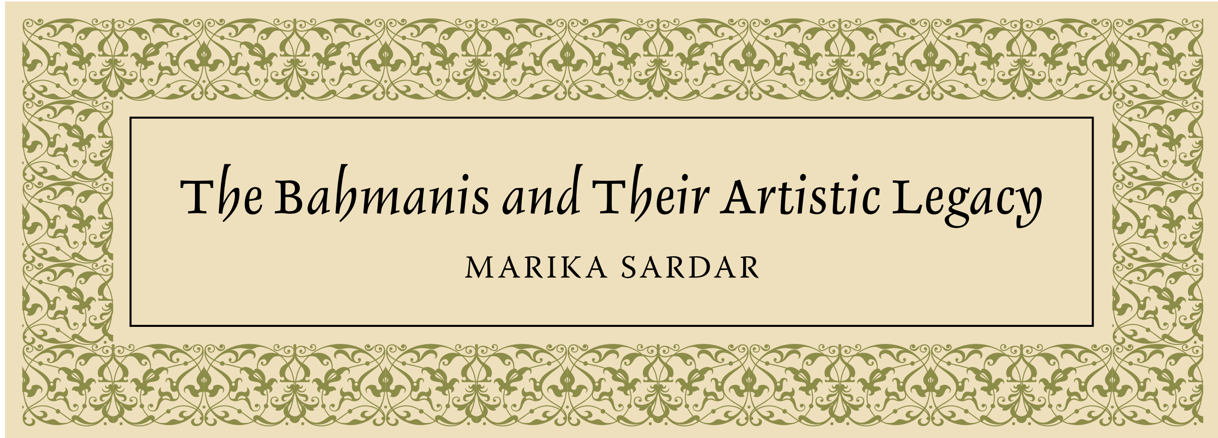
Metalworking in the Deccan was highly developed in early times, to judge from the ample surviving evidence in temple statues. However, unlike other parts of the Islamic world, smaller domestic objects in metalwork are not known in significant numbers from the Deccan before the fourteenth century.[21] A hoard of ritual objects of that date excavated at Kollur near Bijapur is a rare group of early metalwork vessels.[22] From the sixteenth century, however, a great many metalwork techniques and styles were developed. Among them and particular to the Deccan are *bidri* metalwork, chased and relief metal objects, ʻ*alam*s, arms and armor, and gilt copper (sometimes related to Ottoman *tombak* metalwork).[23] Courtly vessels of devotion or medicine are often richly embellished with verses from the Qur'an or Shiʻa invocations. Contemporary architectural forms and Deccan landscapes inspired shapes and designs. European forms were also depicted in caskets (cats. 184–85) and works of art in Goa.

The great textile tradition of the Deccan was *kalamkari* (painted and dyed cotton textiles), which flourished from the seventeenth century for at least two hundred years. An extraordinary diversity of styles was made for a variety of markets, including those of Europe and Southeast Asia.[24] Possibly the most hybrid style was for the Deccan courts themselves, which incorporated Persianate princely figures, Indian dancers, vignettes from European prints, and scenes of courtly entertainment. The centers of production are not well known, but from the painting style it is evident that contact with court art was an important factor for the designers of these cloths. Designs produced at Burhanpur in the northern Deccan reflect a strong Mughal influence, featuring flowering plants under cusped arches or formal arabesque medallions. Textiles from this region and others in the Deccan found their way to the Rajput and other Indian courts. Among them is a section of a tent panel painted with flowering palm trees (fig. 19) from the Amber Palace *toshakhana* (storeroom) made in the period of the Rajput ruler Mirza Raja Jai Singh (reigned 1622–67), who died in Burhanpur, where his memorial remains. Also at Burhanpur from about the same period is the newly rediscovered tomb of the wife of Shah Shujaʻ, known as the Kharbuza Mahal for its melon-shaped profile.[25] Its interior, which is miraculously preserved, is richly painted with *qanat*-style motifs that convey the lavish effect of Burhanpur's textile tradition (fig. 18).

However, a mystery persists about other types of textiles that did not survive but are assigned to the Deccan. In the literature and painting of the period, many more types are mentioned and portrayed—silks, brocades, shawls, and other varieties—some of which were likely imported and others possibly produced locally. The use of pashmina wool from Kashmir as a backing in furniture has been confirmed in a box at The Metropolitan Museum of Art that has fragments of red-purple pashmina behind its metal inlay (cat. 176). Reflecting recent scholarship on carpets, this volume includes two examples (cats. 151, 183), although most carpet production in the region appears to be later than the period under consideration.[26]

The later period under the Nizams of Hyderabad (1763–1948) forms part of an ongoing artistic continuum that lasted beyond the fall of the sultanates. Deccan styles also spread into Rajput and Pahari painting following the Mughal conquest. Deccani court art continued to flourish at Hyderabad and surrounding smaller centers throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, an efflorescence that constitutes another grand phase in the history of the Deccan.

1. Husain 2012, pp. 154–81. **2.** See Hutton 2006, pp. 70–119, for an extended discussion; see also Hutton 2011, p. 49. **3.** N. Ahmad 1956b, p. 36, describes this *muraqqa'* (album) and gives an account of its contents. **4.** Johannes Vermeer, *Young Woman with a Water Pitcher*, ca. 1662, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (89.15.21). See Kamada 2011, pp. 171–77, especially p. 173. **5.** Finbarr Barry Flood in a lecture at Columbia University, New York, February 6, 2014. **6.** Eaton and Wagoner 2014, pp. 248–58. The employment of an Ottoman specialist may have been a natural development from earlier exchanges with West Asia during the fifteenth century, when the Mamluk rulers of Egypt had likely been furnishing the Deccan with ordnance in exchange for other commodities. **7.** Francesca Galloway, letter to the author, April 2000 (curatorial files, Department of Islamic Art, Metropolitan Museum). The panel of a tent lining (1700–1740) is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (2005.251). **8.** For a discussion of Chinese ceramics in northern India, see Carswell 2000, pp. 111–12; see also Smart 1975–77. **9.** Elliot 1964, p. 164; Philon 2012, p. 97. Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam quote and analyze another part of Asad Beg's text describing the Bijapur palace with *martaban* vases, which are generally attributed to Myanmar and China: "The main gallery was at two yards height, and some sixty hands in width, but with no columns (*sutūn*). This gallery had three walls with ten niches (*taq*) each, which were three yards in height and ten yards wide. Each had a royal chinaware jar (*martabān*), with a decorated silk cover. These were as high as the niches themselves, and the walls behind them were well-decorated with trappings and mural paintings. Asad Beg declares that he was quite astonished at seeing all this display." See Alam and Subrahmanyam forthcoming. **10.** See Maryam Ekhtiar's "Excerpts from the *Tarikh-i Muhammad Qutb Shah,*" in this volume, pp. 344–45. **11.** D. Ali 2004, pp. 148–62, provides information about court protocol and aesthetics, including bearing. **12.** Beach 2011, pp. 208–9, explains the debates, ultimately supporting Skelton 1957. The discussion is also summed up in Overton 2011b, pp 28–32. **13.** Berensonian nomenclature refers to unknown artists by the location of their famous works. **14.** Overton 2011a, pp. 375–80, has suggested that 'Ali Riza and the Bodleian Painter are the same. **15.** Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 162. **16.** Topsfield 2012, p. 222, no. 94. **17.** Thanks are due to Robert Skelton, who first identified this print source in a personal communication. **18.** Thanks are due to Sheila Canby for pointing this out. **19.** The author is presently working on a research project on The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Davis Album, a collection of Indian and Persian paintings, which sheds light on the exchanges between Iran and India in the late seventeenth century. **20.** For more, see Navina Najat Haidar, "Diamonds of the Deccan," in this volume, pp. 325–26. **21.** Theories about why early metalwork has not survived in India include (a) the melting down and reuse of metalwork in the domestic and courtly sphere and (b) notions of ritual pollution that would have encouraged this practice and discouraged large numbers of ceramic imports or production. **22.** M. Chandra 1962–64. **23.** Robert Elgood, in a forthcoming catalogue on the arms and armor collection at Bikaner Palace, will no doubt present more information about this subject. **24.** This broad aesthetic range was recently presented in the exhibition "Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500–1800," held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art; see Peck 2013. **25.** See N. Mehta 2013. **26.** S. Cohen 2011; Kamada 2011.



The Bahmanis and Their Artistic Legacy

MARIKA SARDAR

IT WAS DURING the reign of the powerful Bahmani dynasty (1347–1538) that that the cultural foundations of the five Deccani sultanates were established. This dynasty had risen in the wake of a major shift in the region after successive invasions led by the Khilji and Tughluq sultans of northern India toppled the three dynasties ruling the Deccan—the Kakatiyas of Warangal (ca. 1163–1323), Yadavas of Devagiri (mid-12th century–1317), and Hoysalas of Dorasamudra (ca. 1006–1346)—but failed to establish permanent control of the Deccan as a province of the Delhi sultanate.[1] In their stead, two new powerful empires emerged to take the reins. One was located in the southern Deccan, where a series of four dynasties (1336–1646) ruled from the city of Vijayanagara, and the other was in the northern and central Deccan, under the rule of the Bahmanis.

The Bahmani dynasty was based initially at Daulatabad Fort, former capital of the Yadavas, before shifting to Gulbarga, a fort with a less distinguished heritage but a more strategic location (fig. 21).[2] The walls of the Gulbarga fort are well preserved; they enclose a sizable mosque, an audience hall later transformed into a cannonade, a street of shops, and mounds of debris that likely indicate the presence of ruined Bahmani palaces.[3]

To the north of the fort was the city's congregational mosque, the Shah Bazaar Masjid (ca. 1358–75), and to the northwest, the shrine of the sufi Shaikh Siraj al-Din Junaidi, built around 1379/80, next to which the early Bahmani sultans were buried. Later on, the famed sufi mystic Sayyid Muhammad Husaini Gesu Daraz (1321–1422) would surpass Junaidi in importance. Gesu Daraz had moved from Daulatabad to Gulbarga at the invitation of Firuz Shah Bahmani (reigned 1397–1422), and despite losing this sultan's favor, he remained widely popular, his shrine attracting royal patronage for the next several centuries.[4] The Bahmani sultans who died between 1378 and 1422 are interred near this shrine, and their domed tombs feature plasterwork characteristic of this era, with vegetal, floral, and calligraphic designs once painted in bright colors (fig. 22).[5]

On his accession to the throne, Firuz's brother Ahmad Shah Bahmani I (reigned 1422–36) named Bidar his capital and developed his own spiritual path by inviting the members of the Iranian Niʿmatullahi sufi order to resettle near his new royal center. Bidar, too, had been a preexisting fortress, but Ahmad transformed the site and moved the court there from Gulbarga in 1432

Fig. 20. Outer Gallery, Jami Masjid (Congregational Mosque), Gulbarga, late 14th–early 15th century

Fig. 21. Eastern Gate, Gulbarga Fort, 14th century

(pp. XVI–1).[6] Of Ahmad's many palaces, the suite of buildings known as the Takht Mahal (Throne Palace) is preserved closest to its fifteenth-century form. Its main hall, flanked by charming lobed pools, is decorated with carved stone and glazed tiles depicting royal lions with suns rising over their backs (fig. 23). All of these structures were on a grander scale than the earlier Bahmani monuments at Gulbarga, reflecting the growth of the empire since its foundation a century earlier; the construction of a royal necropolis at Ashtur, just east of the Bidar Fort, further established the city as a dynastic center. Starting with Ahmad, all subsequent sultans and their families would be buried there. Ahmad's tomb possesses an extraordinary painted interior—geometric strapwork and cartouches filled with arabesques cover the entire interior, along with extracts from the writings of Shah Ni'matullah, the sufi master whose teachings Ahmad had followed (fig. 25).[7]

Meanwhile Vijayanagara was also rapidly growing in territory and influence, and its capital city was truly impressive. Vijayanagara's Hindu kings developed this major pilgrimage site located on the banks of the Tungabhadra River, with massive temples forming a sacred center

Fig. 22. Interior, Tomb of Firuz Shah Bahmani, Gulbarga, ca. 1422

complemented by a vast royal zone with numerous palaces, audience halls, and other ceremonial structures. Many Europeans, visiting Vijayanagara in the hope of establishing trade relations, have left descriptions of the court rituals and festivals held in the city, which are an important source for understanding the extensive architectural remains at the site.[8]

These two empires were political rivals and on the surface were culturally divergent. Vijayanagara, with its Hindu, Kannada-speaking rajas, followed more closely in the path of the dynasties that had preceded it, while the Bahmani sultans introduced Persian as the language of literary discourse and Islam as the religion of the ruling class. However, at their height the Bahmani and Vijayanagara empires also had much in common. In a change from the preceding centuries, both depended on armies with a strong cavalry, and they were based on similar systems of tax-farming.[9] Royal architecture shared a vocabulary of domed and arcaded spaces (fig. 24) decorated with carved plaster, and styles of dress and titles were also harmonized across the northern and southern halves of the Deccan.[10] The surviving Vijayanagara objects, however, are mostly religious in nature and do not reflect this cultural exchange.

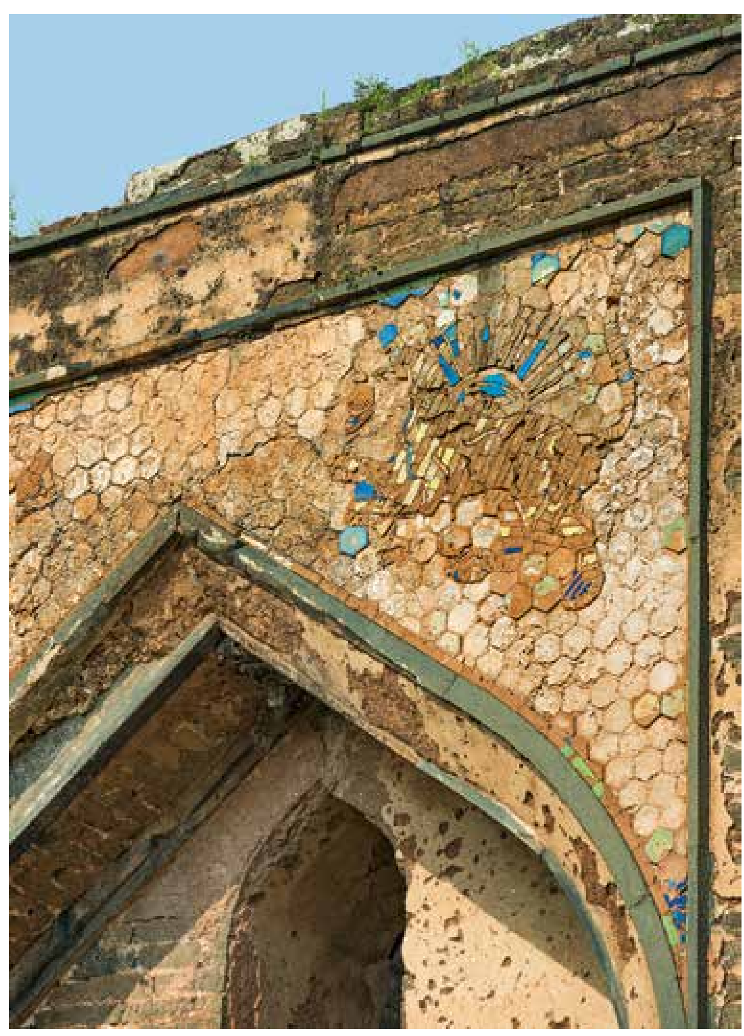


Fig. 23. Tile Work with Lion and Sun, Takht Mahal (Throne Palace), Bidar, 1420s

Fig. 24. Elephant Stables, Vijayanagara, 15th–16th century

Manuscripts and decorative arts of the Bahmani period are rare. An anthology of 1436 and a *Shahnama* (Book of Kings) of 1438 have been linked to the court,[11] as well as an early Qur'anic scroll included in this volume (cat. 4) and a late *firman* (edict) in the Metropolitan Museum's collection.[12] The paintings hint tantalizingly at a strong Shirazi Persian taste, and the quality of Bahmani calligraphy and illumination appears high. As it stands, however, it remains impossible to identify a group of manuscripts that presage the great schools of bookmaking that developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A small group of metal objects has also been attributed to this period (cats. 2–3, 5–6), but these meager remains stand in stark contrast to the remarkable works mentioned in contemporary descriptions, including the turquoise throne of Muhammad Shah Bahmani I (reigned 1358–75), made by Telugu craftsmen in 1361. According to the historian Firishta (1560–1620), it was finished in ebony, with plates of gold studded with jewels and turquoise-colored enameling.[13] Perhaps further study of regional collections will reveal additional treasures of the Bahmani era.

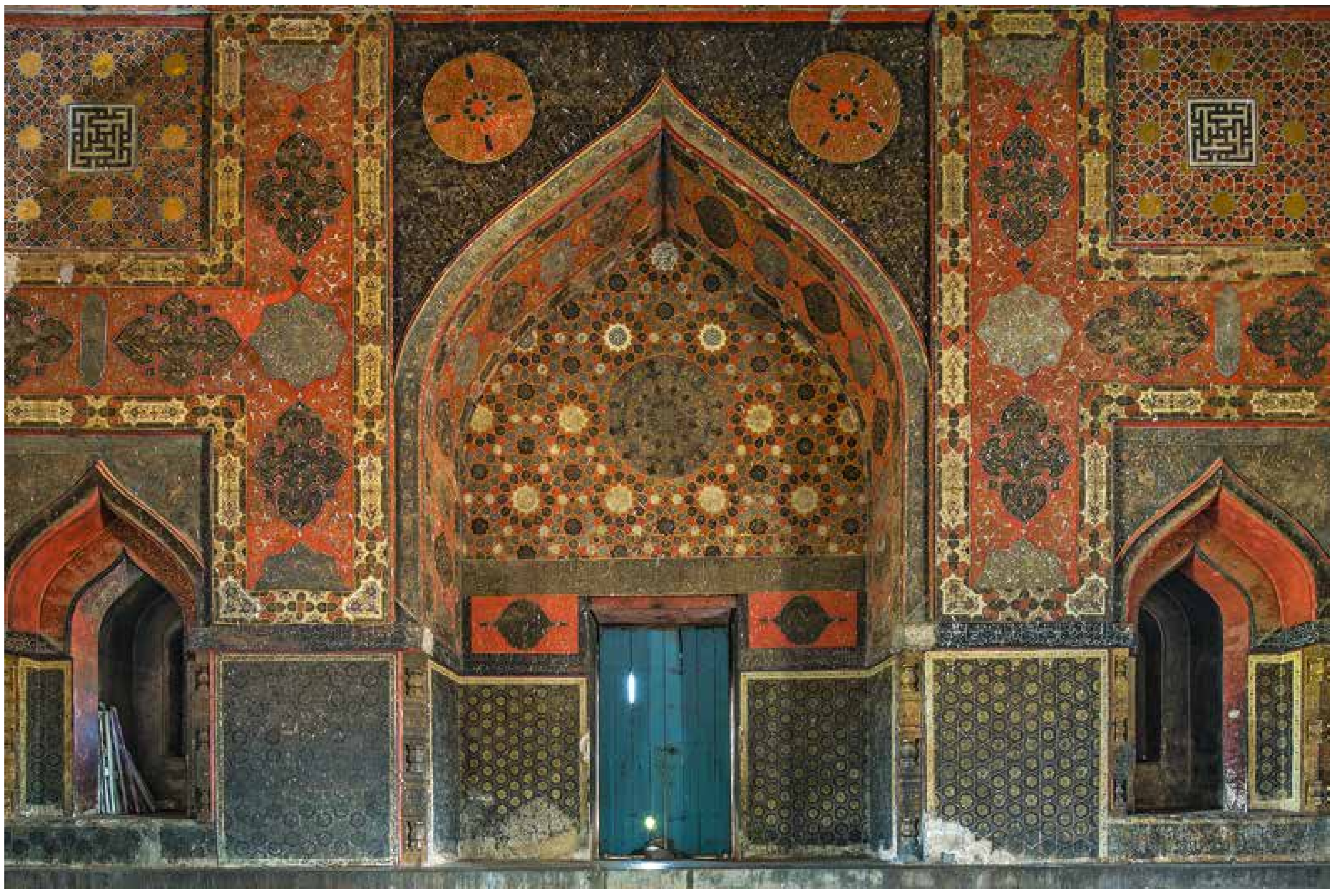


Fig. 25. Painted Interior, Tomb of Ahmad Shah Bahmani I, Ashtur, ca. 1436

1. Venkataramanayya 1942, pp. 2–11; P. Jackson 1999, pp. 196–210. On the early establishment of the Bahmani dynasty, see Sherwani 1985, pp. 21–30. **2.** A few buildings have been associated with the Bahmani occupation of Daulatabad; see Philon 2010b. **3.** Helen Philon suggests that the mosque was originally built as a ceremonial hall; ibid., pp. 41–42. **4.** For more on Firuz's unusual character, see Sherwani 1943–44. **5.** For these and Bahmani buildings at other sites, see Merklinger 1981; Philon 2010b. **6.** The foremost work on Bidar remains Yazdani 1947. Helen Philon has more recently offered her own reinterpretations of the site. See Philon 2010a; Philon 2011. **7.** For Helen Philon's new work on this tomb, see Philon 2000. **8.** Fritz, Michell, and Nagaraja Rao 1984 is one of many publications on the architecture of the site. For the foreign accounts, see Rubiés 2000. **9.** Stein 1989, pp. 22–23, 39–42. **10.** Asher 1985; Michell 1992; Wagoner 1996. **11.** As attributed by Barbara Brend in Brend 1986. The anthology is Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Persian Ms. 124), and the *Shahnama*, British Library, London (Or. 1403). **12.** Eaton 2011, p. 6, fig. 3. The *firman* is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1998.260). **13.** Firishta, *Tarikh-i Firishta*; English translation in Briggs 1966, vol. 2, pp. 188–89.

1 Coins of the Bahmani and Vijayanagara Empires

[a] Bahmani *Tanka* Coin from the Reign of ʿAla al-Din Bahman Shah. Gulbarga, A.H. 756 (A.D. 1355). Silver, Wt. 0.4 oz. (10.3 g)

[b] *Tanka* Coin from the Reign of ʿAla al-Din Muhammad Shah Khalaji. Ranthambor, late 13th–early 14th century. Silver, Wt. 0.4 oz. (10.9 g)

[c] Bahmani *Tanka* Coin from the Reign of Muhammad Shah Bahmani I. Gulbarga, A.H. 762 (A.D. 1360–61). Silver, Wt. 0.4 oz. (10.9 g)

[d] Bahmani *Tanka* Coin from the Reign of Muhammad Shah Bahmani II. Gulbarga, A.H. 797 (A.D. 1394–95). Silver, Wt. 0.4 oz. (10.8 g)

[e] Bahmani *Tanka* Coin from the Reign of Taj al-Din Firuz Shah. Gulbarga, A.H. 819 (A.D. 1416–17). Silver, Wt. 0.4 oz. (10.9 g)

[f] Bahmani *Tanka* Coin from the Reign of ʿAla al-Din Ahmad Shah II. Bidar, A.H. 861 (A.D. 1456–57). Silver, Wt. 0.4 oz. (11 g)

[g] Bahmani *Gani* Coin from the Reign of ʿAla al-Din Ahmad Shah II. Deccan, A.H. 852 (A.D. 1448–49). Copper, Wt. 0.6 oz. (16.7 g)

[h] Bahmani *Gani* Coin from the Reign of ʿAla al-Din Ahmad Shah II. Deccan, A.H. 838 or 839 (A.D. 1434–36). Copper, Wt. 0.5 oz. (15.1 g)

[i] Bahmani Coin from the Reign of Shams al-Din Muhammad Shah III. Bidar, A.H. 876 (A.D. 1471–72). Silver, Wt. 0.4 oz. (11 g)

[j] Vijayanagara Half-*Hun* Coin from the Reign of Harihararaya II. Vijayanagara, ca. 1377–1404. Silver, Wt. 0.1 oz. (1.7 g)

[k] Vijayanagara *Hun* Coin from the Reign of Krishnaraya. Vijayanagara, ca. 1509–29. Silver, Wt. 0.1 oz. (3.4 g)

Private collection, Haddam, Connecticut

Fig. 26. Cylindrical Box, Deccan, 15th century. H. approx. 8 in. (20.3 cm). Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad

The Bahmani and Vijayanagara empires were located on either side of a long east-west border across South India. This territorial division, however, did not prevent cultural or economic exchange. Vijayanagara gold coins (*hun*) were widely used within the territories of the Bahmanis and their successors, outweighing Bahmani gold coins by a factor of more than two to one.[1] These Vijayanagara coins are easily distinguished from Bahmani specimens by their use of *devanagari* script and Hindu iconography. The examples here show Shiva and Parvati seated and Vishnu as the young Krishna (Balakrishna) seated on the front and the names of the kings Harihararaya II (reigned 1377–1404) and Krishnaraya (reigned 1509–29) on the reverse (cats. 1j–k).

Bahmani coins were struck in copper (*gani* or *falus*), silver (*tanka*), and gold (*tanka*, *dinar*) and provide the titles, names, and parentage of the sultan in Arabic along with the date and place of minting.[2] Some Bahmani coins were apparently unearthed in cylindrical boxes of the period.[3] At least two such boxes are in private collections; their bodies are said to be high in zinc and decorated with relief designs on the side and top, forming a simple radiating floral motif around the knob of the lid (fig. 26).[4] NNH

1. Wagoner 2014. **2.** Coin 1i is inscribed *al-mu'tasim billah abu'l muzaffar shams al-dunya wa'l-din muhammad shah bin humayunshah al-sultan khallada mulkahu* (He who relies on God, the Father of the Conqueror, Sun of the world and of the faith, Muhammad Shah, son of Humayun Shah, the Sultan. May God preserve the kingdom). Goron and Goenka 2001 gives an account of Bahmani coinage. See also M. H. Martin 1980; M. H. Martin 1992. **3.** Abdul Wali Khan 1964, pl. XXXV. The author is grateful to Jagdish Mittal for providing this reference. **4.** Such boxes formerly in the collection of Simon Digby, Jersey, are also known.

[a] obverse
[a] reverse
[b] obverse
[b] reverse
[c] obverse
[c] reverse
[d] obverse
[d] reverse
[e] obverse
[e] reverse
[f] obverse
[f] reverse
[g] obverse
[g] reverse
[h] obverse
[h] reverse
[i] obverse
[i] reverse
[j] obverse
[j] reverse
[k] obverse
[k] reverse

2 Spherical Container with Spiraling Radials

Probably Warangal, 14th century
Bronze, Diam. 6⅛ in. (15.4 cm)
Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad (76.1295)

Incribed in Telugu in interior: *salpu di ranga phani yabhai: ka*(?)
(The value of the contents in this container is fifty: *ka*[?])

Recent scholarship has uncovered the influence of the Kakatiyas (ca. 1163–1323) on the cultural codes of the later sultans of the Deccan.[1] This striking spherical box has been attributed to their capital at Warangal partly on the basis of its decoration, which resembles Kakatiya architectural ornament.[2] The spiral flutes on the box alternate between plain and ribbed lines, presaging more simplified fluting on later Deccan metalwork vessels. Attachments on the sides provide a hinge at one end and a latch at the other. It was likely a container for coins or jewelry, as implied by its Telugu inscription. NNH

1. Eaton and Wagoner 2014, pp. 165–202; Sardar 2014, p. 15. **2.** Jagdish Mittal kindly pointed out the similarity with the ornamentation on Kakatiya monuments such as the Thousand Pillar Temple at the Hanamakonda and the Warangal Fort.

Cat. 2

Cat. 3

3 Footed Ewer with Elephant-Headed Spout and Bird-Shaped Terminals

Deccan, probably 15th century
Copper alloy, H. 8⅛ in. (20.5 cm), W. 7⅞ in. (20 cm), D. 4⅛ in. (10.5 cm)
Collection of Terence McInerney, New York

The distinctive shape of a curving pilgrim flask with upturned ends is well known through leather and metalwork examples from the Islamic courts of India from the sixteenth century onward. However, this ewer rests on a high diamond-shaped foot in the manner of vessels that have been dated to the fourteenth century.[1] This evidence comes largely from a hoard of metalwork objects, which display similar pedestals excavated at Kollur.[2] The vessel's zoomorphic elements, such as the elephant spout and bird terminals, are associated with Deccan metalwork styles in general. Therefore, the ewer may be a rare survivor of the Bahmani period, when these features are likely to have first come together. NNH

1. Zebrowski 1997, p. 138, pl. 167. **2.** M. Chandra 1962–64.

4 Qur'an Manuscript Scroll

Calligraphy by 'Abdullah Sururi
Probably Deccan, 15th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on glazed cotton, 9 ft. 10⅛ in. × 20⅞ in. (300 × 52.9 cm)
Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait (LNS 1084 T)

Notwithstanding the fact that the text of the Qur'an was transcribed on talismanic cotton shirts and that the early Arab lexicographers al-Asma'i and Ibn al-Manzur mention that the practice they labeled *muhraq* (an Arabized Persian term) existed in early medieval times, it is highly unusual to find the text transcribed on a cotton scroll. This rare, three-meter-long manuscript, signed by the calligrapher 'Abdullah Sururi, begins with an elaborate illumination, covered with gold and inscribed with the first two verses of the Surat al-Fatiha, the first chapter of the Qur'an, in red, rounded *thuluth* script outlined in black and pale blue. The contouring ground is filled with red, lobed medallions evocative of Chinese cloud bands, and small floral devices fill the interstices of the letters. Below the header is a band inscribed with the remaining three verses of the opening chapter in red on a gold ground, followed by the *basmala* in pale blue outlined in red, and the entire text of the Qur'an in minuscule *ghubar* script.

The thirty sections (*juz'*) of the Qur'an are indicated by large, circular medallions inscribed with the number of the section in red on a gold ground, and are laid out in a zigzag arrangement made possible because the *ghubar* script was stretched and contracted to accommodate the pattern. Rectangular panels that project from the medallions are inscribed with the beginnings of the verse, which are almost illegible today since they are on a silver ground that is now oxidized. Smaller medallions that do not follow a particular pattern indicate the quarter and half sections.

Bordering the outer edges of the scroll are bands featuring roundels on a ground of lobed medallions (a few of which are still legible), inscribed with some of the ninety-nine names of God, as well as the apotropaic formula *buduh*. The group of letters forming the word *buduh* generally invokes good fortune and safe return, and the fact that the word was frequently engraved on sword blades might suggest that the scroll was carried during military campaigns to protect the troops and secure their safe return.

Cat. 4

Detail of cat. 4

The scroll's attribution to the Deccan is supported by its decorative features and format. The shifts of scale seen in the arabesque patterns of the upper part are reminiscent of the same sort of patterns in Bahmani carved plasterwork.[1] In addition, later scrolls indicate that such a tradition developed in the region.[2] SK/NNH

1. Helen Philon, personal communication to Navina Najat Haidar. **2.** An unpublished Deccan scroll of 1683 transcribed with the names of the Shi'a imams was formerly in the collection of Sam Fogg.

5 Bowl in the Shape of a Ten-Pointed Star

Deccan, 15th century
Engraved bronze, H. 3⅜ in. (8.5 cm), Diam. 9 in. (23 cm)
Private collection, London

An intriguing survivor from the early Bahmani period is this heavy bronze bowl with a rounded body and a raised, cusped rim in the form of a ten-pointed star. Seen from above, each point is a trefoil with an engraved, loosely drawn Timurid-style arabesque uniting the flat spaces that surround a round well in the middle. An Indian-style lotus is engraved at the bottom. Seen from the side, a cusped, engraved, perforated cornice beneath the rim follows the outline of the star. This cornice in turn creates a sort of awning that shades the rounded base and flanged foot.

The star shape can be compared to a number of fountains and pools in Deccan and later Mughal palaces. Fifteenth-century stellar fountains adorn the Jahaz Mahal (Ship Palace) at Mandu, a pleasure dome in the extraordinary capital of the sultans of Malwa (1401–1562) to the north of the Deccan. A fifteenth-century cistern with fourteen trefoiled stellar points, moved from the Takht Mahal (Throne Palace) and now located in the Lal Bagh (Ruby Garden) in front of the Solah Khamba (Sixteen Columns) mosque at Bidar Fort, is the centerpiece of a raised platform that dominates the garden (fig. 27).[1] The combination of the tiered body and fretwork brackets also echoes Deccani architecture, particularly that of Bijapur, where running cornices have openwork brackets beneath their lower edges. A platform in the middle of a water tank in front of the city's Asar Mahal, a shrine built to house hairs from the Prophet's beard, has a similar tiered, bracketed outline.

Round, cusped, black-basalt footed bowls used for burning incense are found at a number of Shi'a shrines in the region. An impressive example is in the Asar Mahal itself, and another is found in the Badshahi Ashurkhana reliquary house in Hyderabad. It is possible that this metal bowl was also used for burning incense in a Shi'a shrine. JRA

1. Philon 2010a, p. 54.

Cat. 5

Fig. 27. Star-Shaped Pool, Lal Bagh (Ruby Garden), Bidar, 1420s

Cat. 6

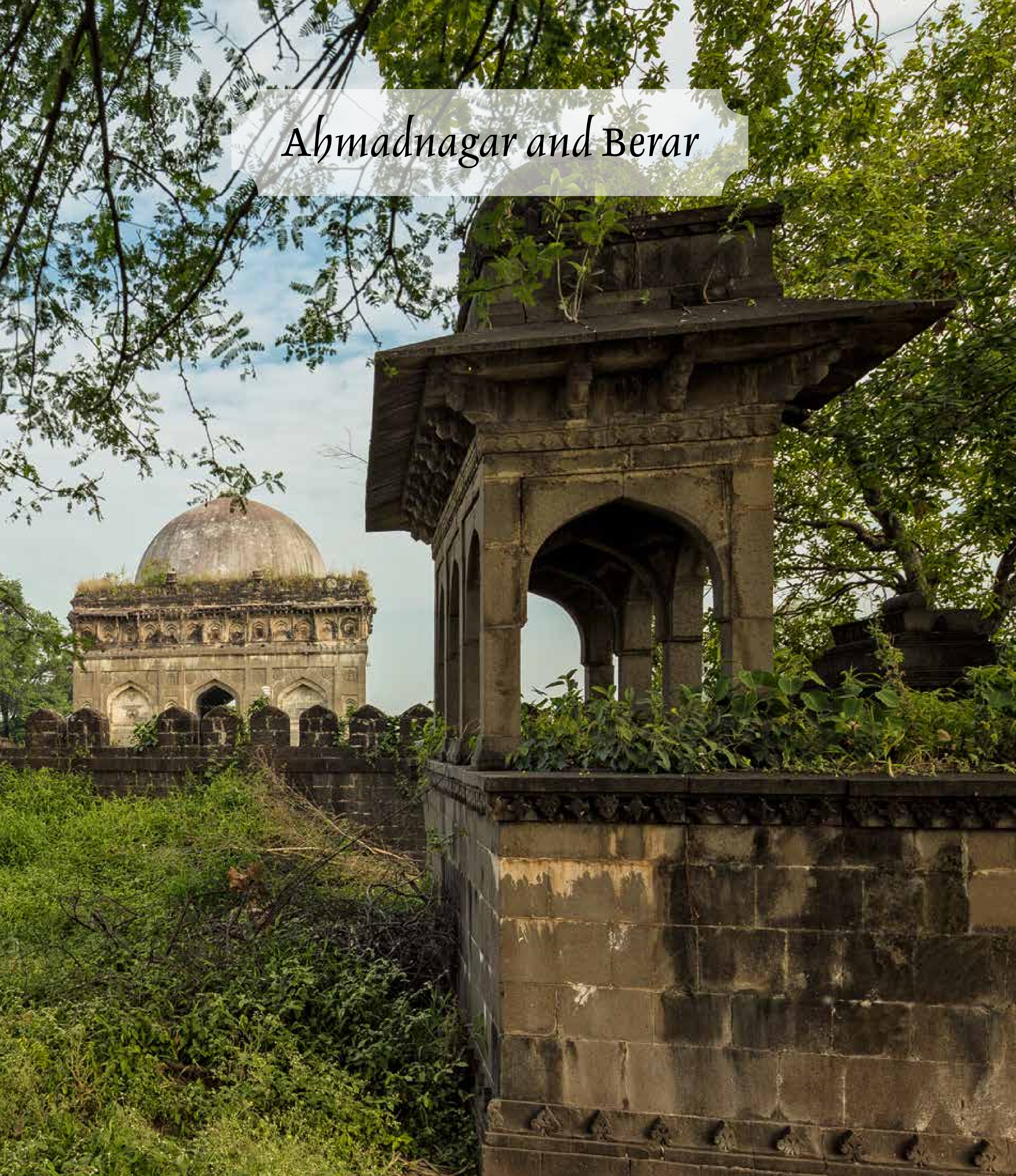
6 Brazier

Deccan, probably 15th century
Cast and chased bronze, H. 9⅝ in. (24.4 cm), W. 25 in. (63.5 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Nathaniel Spear Jr. Gift, 1988 (1988.293)

A hexagonal brazier with finials and short legs on each side is a type known from Iran, dating back at least to Timurid (ca. 1370–1507) and perhaps Ilkhanid (1256–1353) times. The interwoven and symmetrical organization of the scrolling stems and leaves on the side panels follows a design common in Timurid objects and architecture, which can also be seen in the tile panels and stuccowork of the buildings in Bidar. In addition, the dragon heads along the legs of this object are part of a shared decorative vocabulary and would be seen on later Deccani metalwork, such as the beggars' bowls (*kashkul*s) and standards (*'alam*s) produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The object's provenance connects it to Hyderabad, lending weight to its Deccani attribution.[1]

MS

1. Thanks are due to Terence McInerney for this information.



Ahmadnagar and Berar

AHMADNAGAR AND BERAR

It is to the Bahmani governor Malik Ahmad Nizam al-Mulk Bahri (reigned 1496–1510) that the Deccani sultanates owe their existence.[1] Already frustrated with the weakened Bahmani sultan and the factionalized administration in Bidar, Ahmad was outraged by the politically provoked murder of his father and declared independence in 1490, emboldening his fellow governors in Bijapur, Golconda, and Berar to do the same.[2]

Ahmad's gambit succeeded, and his province survived as an independent entity until 1636. Situated on the northwestern side of the Deccan plateau, it encompassed the key fort of Daulatabad and the busy port of Chaul, among other assets. In 1494, Ahmad established his own capital to cement the sultanate's newfound status. Named Ahmadnagar, the city was located at a strategic distance between the forts of Daulatabad and Junnar. Ahmad first built round earthen walls, enclosing the elegant palaces and halls, and over time, a city grew up about a half mile to the west, encircled by the residential garden estates of the Ahmadnagar elite. Few of the early structures survive, but Ahmad's tomb at Bagh Rauza combines fine stucco- and stonework (fig. 28).

Ahmad's grandson Husain Nizam Shah I (reigned 1553–65) would similarly rouse his fellow Deccani sultans to action, in this case, to attack the kingdom of Vijayanagara in 1565. While each of the Deccan sultans had found reason to ally with Vijayanagara at strategic moments in the past, the rulers of Bijapur, Golconda, and Bidar joined forces with Husain, decisively routing their southern rival. The momentous Battle of Talikota, which sealed the victory over Vijayanagara, is the subject of the *Ta'rif-i Husain Shahi* (Chronicle of Husain Shah, cat. 8), made for the triumphant Husain.

The subsequent flow of treasures from Vijayanagara to the sultans' territories resulted in the increased patronage of paintings and buildings at their respective courts, and the city of Ahmadnagar further blossomed under the Nizam Shahi rulers and their enriched nobles.[3] The Damri Masjid (1568), one of the structures erected at this time, is a fine example of the local stone-carving tradition. Perhaps once a neighborhood mosque, the building is constructed entirely of brownish-gray basalt. Austere from the exterior, it has a small interior replete with carved details: geometric bands outline the structural elements, arabesques fill the spandrels of arches, and trees flower and sprout alongside calligraphy in the mihrab (fig. 29).

Detail of cat. 14

Pages 42–43: Bagh Rauza, Tomb of Ahmad Nizam Shah, Ahmadnagar, 16th century

Fig. 29. Damri Masjid, Ahmadnagar, 1568

Husain's son Murtaza Nizam Shah I (reigned 1565–88) was initially heavily involved in expanding his realm of authority, particularly through the conquest of the neighboring sultanate of Berar. But by 1575 he had almost entirely retreated from state affairs, taking up residence first in the Hasht Bihisht Bagh (Eight Paradises Garden) and then in the Farah Bakhsh Bagh (Pleasure-Bestowing Garden) estates. The historical chronicles portray him as mercurial, even deranged, ordering massacres, burning libraries, and demolishing a newly built palace that displeased him.[4] But this backdrop of mayhem and fear contrasts with the flourishing architectural scene that included the construction of the refined pavilion in the Farah Bakhsh Bagh (fig. 30).[5] The pavilion is octagonal and set in the middle of a reflecting pool, from which water was pumped into the building and up through its three levels of rooms. Inside the pavilion, strips of glass laid into the floors connected the fountains, and delicately carved plaster decorated the ceilings.[6]

Though in power for only four years, Burhan Nizam Shah II (reigned 1591–95) is a pivotal figure under whom the arts at Ahmadnagar came fully into their own. His reign coincides with the development of a new school of drawing (cats. 16–19) and with the careers of the poets Maulana Malik, Malik Qumi, and Zuhuri, the last of whom dedicated his famous panegyric the *Saqinama* (Book of the Cupbearer, ca. 1591–94) to the sultan.[7] Burhan also commissioned several projects in relation to the turning of the millennium in the Islamic calendar (A.D. 1591–92): he bid Sayyid 'Ali Azizallah Tabataba'i to write the *Burhan-i Ma'athir*, a history of the Nizam Shahi dynasty,

Fig. 28. Dome, Bagh Rauza, Tomb of Ahmad Nizam Shah, Ahmadnagar, 1509

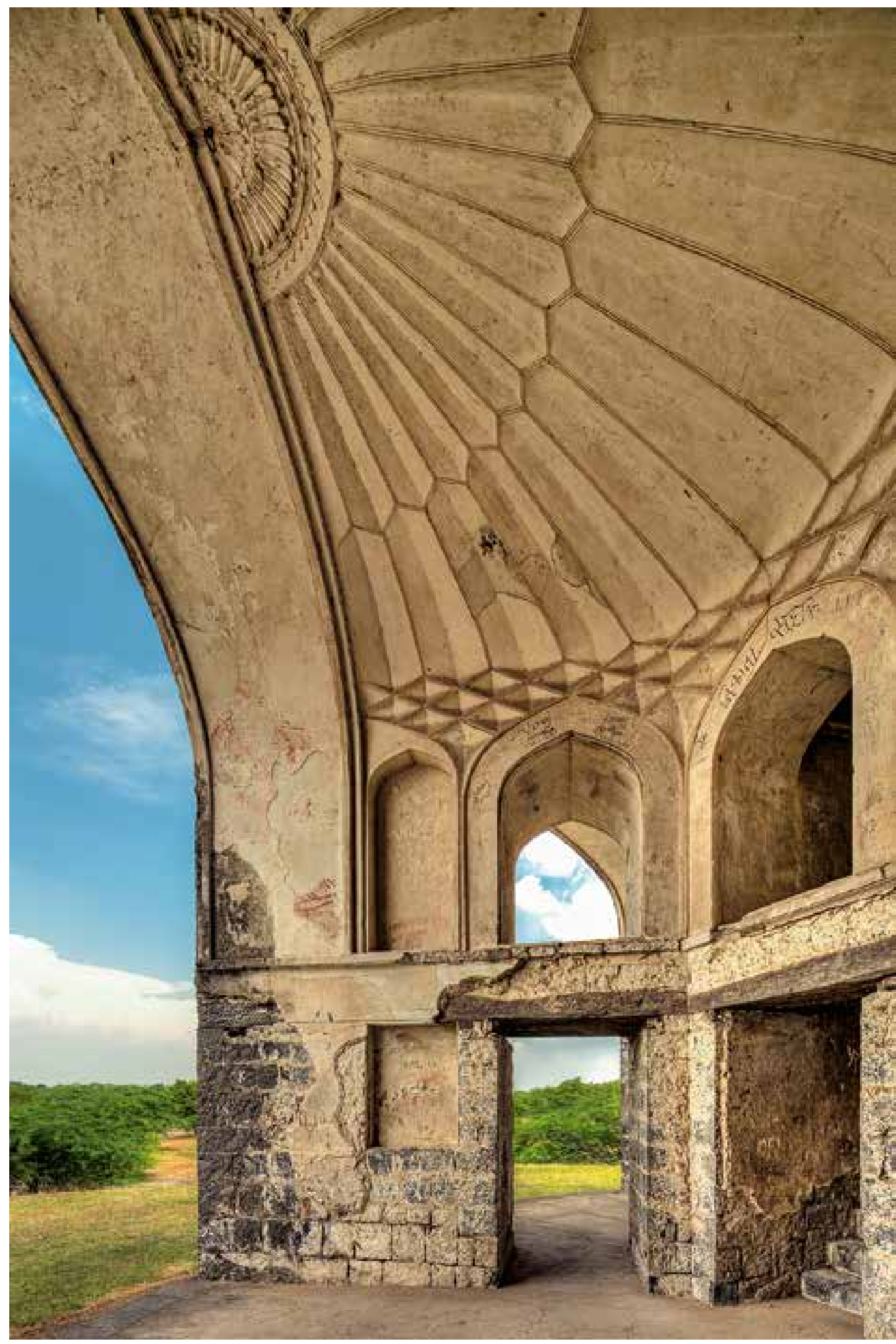


Fig. 30. Pavilion, Farah Bakhsh Bagh (Pleasure-Bestowing Garden), Ahmadnagar, 1583

and had a diamond carved with his name and the year A.H. 1000 (fig. 31).[8] Among the earliest inscribed diamonds from India, this Deccani example predates even the known Mughal ones.

In the next several years of political upheaval, the Ethiopian-born general Malik ʻAmbar (1548–1626) emerged as Ahmadnagar's leader, using a succession of weak Nizam Shahi scions as puppets to effectively rule the sultanate. He was a brilliant strategist, credited with reconfiguring Ahmadnagar's financial structure and with developing a new type of warfare that

successfully stayed the conquest of the sultanate for nearly three decades.[9] Malik 'Ambar also established the city of Khirki (now Aurangabad) and built a tomb near the shrine of Burhan al-Din Gharib (died 1334). This shrine had been patronized by the Bahmani sultans and continued to grow through the Nizam Shahi period, attracting pilgrims and spawning a series of subsidiary shrines, around which hundreds of devotees are now buried.[10] Malik 'Ambar's tomb represents a final stage in the Ahmadnagar architectural tradition with pierced screens set into a simple square structure (fig. 32).

After Malik 'Ambar's death in 1626, his son Fath Khan continued to support the state in his role as prime minister to both Husain Nizam Shah III (reigned 1631–33) and Murtaza Nizam Shah III (reigned 1633–36) until surrendering to the Mughals in 1633. By ceding the fort of Daulatabad to the forces of Emperor Shah Jahan (reigned 1628–58), the traitorous Fath Khan secured leniency—and even a pension—from the Mughals, whereas other Nizam Shahi nobles continued the fight for the sultanate for another three years, facing ultimate defeat in 1636.

Fig. 31. Shah Diamond, Deccan, dated A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591–92) with later inscriptions. Wt. 88.7 cts. State Diamond Fund, Armoury Chamber, Kremlin Museum, Moscow

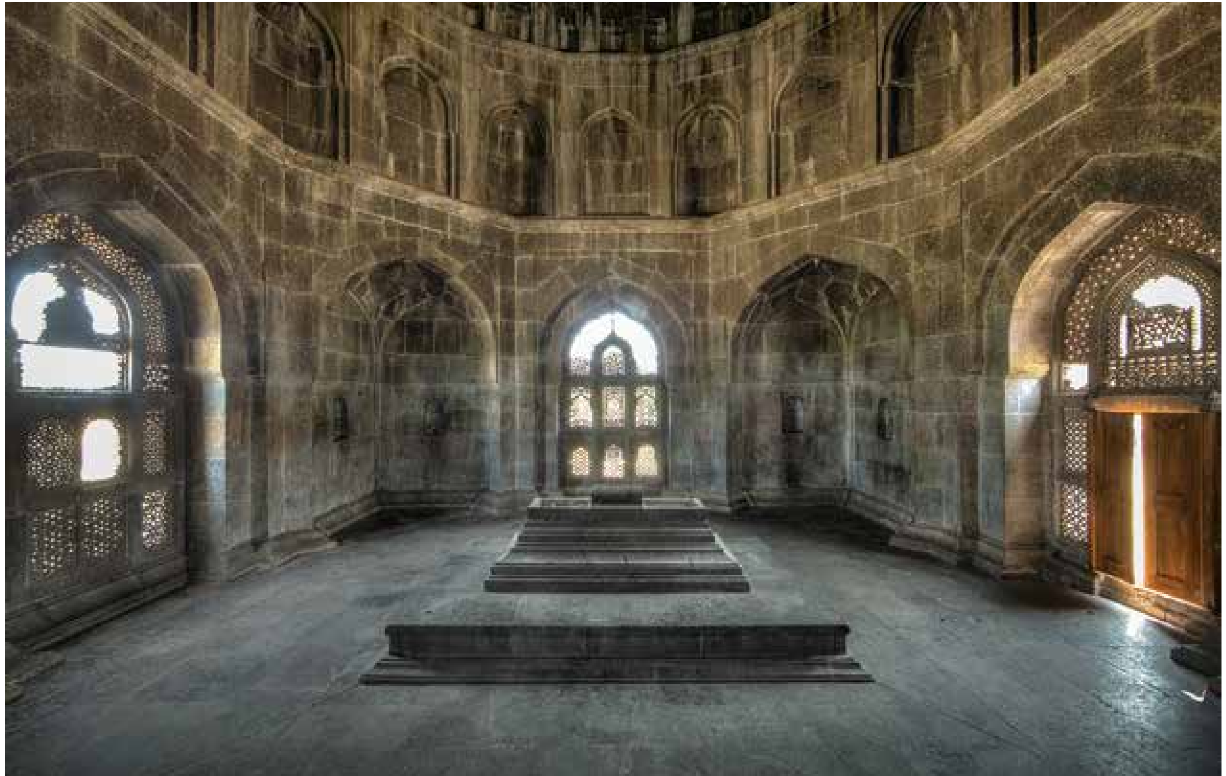


Fig. 32. Interior, Tomb of Malik 'Ambar, Khuldabad, 1626

Fig. 33. Gavilgarh Fort, 15th–16th century

Fig. 34. Jami Masjid (Congregational Mosque), Gavilgarh, late 15th century

Berar

Berar, located in the northeastern Deccan, was created as a separate province in the late fourteenth-century division of the Bahmani Empire into four administrative units, and in 1490, its governor Fathallah ʻImad al-Mulk (reigned 1490–1510) established his independence, founding the ʻImad Shahi dynasty (1490–1574).[11] Although the sultanate should have prospered like its neighbors, Fathallah and his successors ʻAla' al-Din ʻImad Shah (reigned 1510–30), Darya ʻImad Shah (reigned 1530–61), and Burhan ʻImad Shah (reigned 1562–74) faced constant pressure from the sultans of nearby Ahmadnagar and Gujarat, who were determined to annex Berar for themselves. The Berar rulers kept up a valiant defense for several decades, but they could not repel the determined efforts of Murtaza Nizam Shah I. When, in 1574, he launched simultaneous attacks on several key forts, the young Burhan and his general Tufal Khan were forced to surrender. The Ahmadnagar sultan thus captured Berar, and it remained a part of his sultanate until 1596, when it fell in turn to the Mughals.[12]

Berar is usually overlooked in art-historical surveys because it was subsumed into Ahmadnagar around the time the earliest works from any Deccani court are known, and no surviving manuscripts or decorative objects can be linked to the region or its rulers. One can assume its libraries were filled with Persian and Arabic manuscripts, and that its rulers were immortalized in majestic portraits, but a sense of its courtly culture must be imagined from other bits of evidence.

The forts at Gavilgarh, Narnala, and Elichpur (now Achalpur) served at different times as the capital of Berar.[13] The monuments built at these capitals demonstrate a distinctive northern Deccani aesthetic—shared with Ahmadnagar and the nearby sultanate of Khandesh—that features dressed stone, rather than stucco, and favors a decorative vocabulary of shallow niches, rosette bosses, and eaves resting on brackets. The buildings were often constructed on high plinths and have flanking minarets with a square profile topped with domed kiosks, or *chhatri*s.[14]

Located high in the Satpura Range, the Gavilgarh and Narnala forts were established in the fifteenth century under the Bahmanis.[15] Both can be entered only on one side, via long winding paths defended by bastions and heavily fortified gates. In the ʻImad Shahi period, Gavilgarh (fig. 33) was built up as Fathallah and his son ʻAla' al-Din added monuments befitting a capital.[16] Inside the main gate, a series of additional gates lead into a palace zone with water reservoirs and courtly buildings, including baths with pyramidal roofs of a type found throughout the Deccan. During the Nizam Shahi occupation of Gavilgarh, the Chhoti Masjid (Small Mosque, 1577–78) was also constructed here.

Just beyond the palace zone is a large congregational mosque, the Jami Masjid (fig. 34), in what may have been a more public part of the fort. The mosque, truly impressive in size and proportions, is perched at the highest point of the compound and overlooks the plains below. The building is preceded by a walled courtyard once enlivened with pierced screens, while the prayer hall has a facade of seven arches flanked by minarets terminating in *chhatri*s. There must have

Fig. 35. Dedicatory Inscription, Mahakali Gate, Narnala Fort, 1487

Fig. 36. Gate, Elichpur Fort, 16th century

Fig. 37. Octagonal Pavilion, Hauz Katora Bagh, Elichpur, 16th century

once been a large dome over the bay in front of the mihrab, but it has fallen, as has most of the *qibla* wall. No dedicatory inscription survives, but it is likely that the mosque was built around the time of Fathallah's declaration of independence. Several other Deccani sultans also erected large mosques during this period as symbols of their break from the Bahmanis, but the determination to construct this building in such a remote location, and at a size that must have dwarfed the fort's population, is particularly poignant.

At Narnala, once again a long ascent is rewarded with the arrival into an area of level ground where an audience hall, small mosque, baths, stables, and tombs are clustered next to water reservoirs. The inscription on the fort's Mahakali Gate (fig. 35) gives the date of its construction, 1487, and the name of its patron, Fathallah. Another building (of unknown function) may also have been erected during the reign of Fathallah, as the form of its arches and the remaining plasterwork suggest a late fifteenth-century date.

In Elichpur is a low-lying fort that was used for ceremonial rather than defensive purposes (fig. 36). Little is left of the fort's ʿImad Shahi foundations, but about a mile and a half to the west is a sixteenth-century garden, the Hauz Katora Bagh. It was designed along the same lines as the Nizam Shahi Hasht Bihisht and Farah Bakhsh Baghs, and similarly features a large pool surrounding a multistory octagonal tower (fig. 37).[17] The first and second floors of the tower are faced in stone and each has a single room, while the top floor, faced in brick but probably once plastered, has a room in the center with a gallery surrounding it. The interiors are decorated with carved stucco in addition to the rosette bosses, pierced screens, and shallow niches found on other ʿImad Shahi buildings.

Although the court was short-lived, the legacy of this strategically significant and agriculturally rich sultanate endured, and the name of Berar was later revived. In 1853, the Nizam of Hyderabad, Asaf Jah IV, was forced to cede this territory to the British as payment of an alleged debt, but his descendants were granted the title "His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar" and the heir apparent was known as the "Prince of Berar," in acknowledgment of this region's importance.

MS

1. Ahmad's reign dates are typically given as 1496–1510 because he started minting coins in his own name in 1496; however, his move toward independence started in 1490. **2.** How independent Golconda was at this time is a matter of debate and is discussed further in this volume, on p. 198. **3.** For the development of Ahmadnagar under Burhan I, Husain I, and Murtaza I, see Nazim 1933–34, p. 2; Shyam 1966, pp. 373, 393–94; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, pp. 9–11; Sohoni 2010a. **4.** Tabataba, *Burhan-i Maʾathir*; English translation in Haig 1921, pp. 326–27, p. 328; Haig 1922, p. 29. **5.** Constructed between 1574 and 1583; see Nazim 1933–34, pp. 11–12; Shyam 1966, pp. 373, 395. For Murtaza's displeasure with the pavilion's design, see Tabataba, *Burhan-i Maʾathir*; English translation in Haig 1921, p. 328. **6.** Sohoni 2010b, pp. 48–51. **7.** N. Ahmad 1974, pp. 91–92. **8.** The diamond, now 88.7 carats, later passed into Mughal hands, at which time it was inscribed with Emperor Shah Jahan's name. It was then captured by Nadir Shah of Iran and inscribed by Fath ʿAli Shah Qajar, before being presented to the Russian Czar Nicholas I in recompense for the murder of a Russian diplomat in Tehran. Khalidi 1999, pp. 53–54. **9.** For a biography based on contemporary sources, see Seth 1957; see also Eaton 2005, pp. 105–28. **10.** Ernst 1992, pp. 201–6. **11.** Fathallah was captured in a raid into Vijayanagara realms in 1423 and became a favorite of Ahmad Shah Bahmani, later being appointed Berar's governor around 1473. **12.** Firishta, *Tarikh-i Firishta*; English translation in Briggs 1966, vol. 3, pp. 297–98; see also Shyam 1973, pp. 278–87. **13.** Various references in the *Burhan-i Maʾathir* (see, for example, English translation in Haig 1920, p. 165) explain the movement of the court and capital among these three sites. **14.** See the discussion in Z.-D. A. Desai 1974, pp. 256–58. **15.** Hira Lal 1932, pp. 140–41, 147–48; see also Haig 1907, pp. 146–61; Haig 1907–8. **16.** ʿAlaʾ al-Din ʿImad Shah is said by Firishta to have "established his royal residence at Gavilgarh," after "following the example of other chiefs of the house of Bahmani, and declaring himself King, under the title of ʿAlaʾ al-Din ʿImad Shah"; *Tarikh-i Firishta* (English translation in Briggs 1966, vol. 3, p. 293; translation slightly modified by the author). **17.** Z.-D. A. Desai 1974, pp. 258–60; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 41.

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7 Sultan Husain Nizam Shah I on Horseback

Ahmadnagar, ca. 1555
Ink, opaque watercolor, gold, and silver on paper, 7⅝ × 9⅞ in. (19.5 × 25.1 cm)
Cincinnati Art Museum, John J. Emery Endowment (1983.311)

Inscribed in Persian at top center: *shabih-i sultan ibrahim-i kalan, padshah-i bijapur* (Portrait of Sultan Ibrahim the Great, King of Bijapur)

In Arabic on the center of the sunshade: *nasrun min allah wa-fathun qarib wa-bashshiri l-mu'minin* [Qur'an 61:13] (Assistance from God, and a speedy victory, and do thou bear good tidings to the true believers)

In Persian on the edge of the sunshade: *zihi az gulshan-i ku-yi tu rawnaq-i bagh-i rizwan-ra/safa-yi digar az ru-yi tu khalwatkhana-i jan-ra// muqim-i ka'ba-i ku-yi tu bashad az haram farigh/ka nabwad ba haram nisbat-i harim-i ku-yi janan-ra* (Your garden gives splendor to the garden of paradise. The hermitage of the soul is given another radiance by your face. He who dwells in the Ka'ba of your lane can dispense with the Sanctuary. For he who is privy to the lane of the beloved has no connection to the Sanctuary)

In Persian on the parasol: *buwad ab-i nabat az khak-i pa gar khizr rah burdi/bi-khak-i pa-yi tu hargiz najusti ab-i haywan-ra//khwash an mahfil ka garbad rawshan az sham'-i jamal-i u/khwash an chatr[i] ka bashad jilva-gah an shah-i khuban-ra* ([Your] footprints are [sweeter] than sugar water. Had Khizr found his way to your footprints, he would never have sought the Fountain of Living Waters. Happy that assembly that is illuminated by the candle of his beauty; Happy that parasol that is a place of manifestation for that prince of beauties)

In Arabic on the triangular banners: *nasrun min allah wa-fathun qarib* [Qur'an 61:13] (Assistance from God, and a speedy victory).

In Persian on the scarves: *chih rahat-bakhsh u riza-awar(?) subhan allah in munzal shuda . . . /saya-i haq zill-i yazdan-ra//nizam-i silk-i dawlat mazhar-i akhlaq-i yazdani/ka zat-ash bud az khalq-i jihan maqsud yazdan-ra* (What giver of ease and contentment[?]. Praise God. This has been revealed . . . shadow of God. The order of the arrangement of the state, manifestation of divine characteristics, whose essence was God's purpose in creating the world)[1]

This is a magisterial state portrait of Husain Nizam Shah I (reigned 1553–65) and his attendants enjoying a hunt. It was probably painted shortly after Husain I ascended the throne at age thirty, making this the earliest known Deccani painting.[2] Poetic and Qur'anic quotations inscribed on the regalia reinforce the royal theme. The later Persian inscription at the top center wrongly identifies the subject as Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II of Bijapur.

Husain is hunting with a falcon, or kestrel, which is shortly to be released to attack the two cranes, outlined only in black ink, fluttering in the uncolored sky in the upper-right corner. The significance of these areas of plain paper is uncertain. Perhaps this work was left unfinished, as also indicated by the flatness of the attendants' robes. Yet there is also a long tradition in Indian painting of incorporating the natural color of the paper as an important element of the composition.

The painting's style resembles examples from the royal workshops of the Khilji dynasty at Mandu, an Islamic sultanate some 250 miles north of Ahmadnagar. Among the few extant illustrated Mandu manuscripts are the *Miftah al-Fuzala*, a glossary of rare words composed around 1500; Sa'di's *Bustan* (The Orchard), a classic of Persian poetry of around 1500–1503; and the *Ni'matnama*, a beautiful cookbook of around 1495–1505.[3]

Few illustrated Mandu manuscripts have survived, but several extant works belong to what has been called the Chandayana style of pre-Mughal painting.[4] Derived from fifteenth-century Turkmen painting from Iran, this style flourished in Ahmadnagar until about 1600. The present work displays various elements of the Chandayana style, including flattened figures with prominent contours and faces depicted in strict profile, with very large, often bulging eyes. But the palette does not correspond to the cool, pastel colors associated with the style. Indeed, the warm colors of Husain's robe and those of his attendants recall similar elements in the *Ta'rif-i Husain Shahi* (Chronicle of Husain Shah, cat. 8).[5] This is not the only similarity between the two works. In this portrait, Husain sits atop a small-headed, spindly legged horse similar to one that he rides in the *Ta'rif*. The sultan's eight male attendants wear basket-weave sandals also worn by various minor characters in four illustrations (folios 34b, 44a, 46b, and 47a) from the *Ta'rif*.[6] In eight illustrations from the *Ta'rif*, Husain wears a similar tight-fitting turban and loose robe, and he is accompanied in three illustrations (folios 34b, 46b, and 47a) by the same royal insignia: a fringed parasol and a fan-shaped *aftabgir* (sunshade). In both paintings, Husain has a blunt nose and rounded head, but in the later manuscript his body has already begun to acquire a middle-age thickness. In fact, these works are so close in style that one is led to believe they were painted by the same artist. TM

1. Smart and Walker 1985, p. 43, with slight modifications to the transliteration. **2.** Daniel S. Walker in ibid., p. 44. **3.** British Library, London (Or. 3299; Losty 1982, pp. 66–67, no. 40), National Museum, New Delhi (48.6/4; S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 134–35, no. 79), and British Library (Persian Ms. 149; Losty 1982, p. 67, no. 41), respectively. **4.** K. Desai 2002, pp. 80, 81, 264–65, nos. 77, 78; see also Khandalavala and M. Chandra 1969; P. Chandra 1976; P. Chandra and Ehnbom 1976. **5.** Aftabi 1987. **6.** Men in present-day Yemen wear similar basket-weave sandals. The author is indebted to Navina Najat Haidar for this information. See also Leach 1995, vol. 2, p. 829.

8 Manuscript of the *Ta'rif-i Husain Shahi* (Chronicle of Husain Shah)

Ahmadnagar, ca. 1565–69
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 6¼ × 5 in. (15.9 × 12.7 cm)
Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Pune

The *Ta'rif-i Husain Shahi* is the earliest and one of the greatest Deccani illustrated manuscripts. Together with the equestrian portrait of Husain Nizam Shah I (cat. 7), it inaugurates court painting at Ahmadnagar and in the Deccan at large. Written in Persian, the court language of Ahmadnagar, by the royal poet Aftabi, the text is a long epic poem (*masnavi*) in praise of the sultan. It chronicles his principal activities, particularly his great victory over Vijayanagara at the Battle of Talikota in 1565 and his marriage to Khanzah Humayun, his primary queen, whom Husain idolized.

Only about 85 percent of Aftabi's original text survives. At present it is organized in twelve cantos totaling 341 lines. The text is written in black ink, with eight lines to a page, in a very handsome *nasta'liq* script. The margins are sprinkled with gold. There are fifty-three remaining folios; the last three are empty, although they have been margined.

Aftabi's poem clearly postdates the Battle of Talikota, and the curious state of the last three pages is just one indication that the text was left incomplete after Husain's unexpected death in 1565. Since there is no colophon, it has been suggested that the manuscript and its illustrations were made in the six-month period between Husain's victory and his untimely death.[1] Another opinion is that they were produced during the regency of Khanzah Humayun, who ruled from 1565 to 1569.[2]

The chief glory of the *Ta'rif* is its twelve (originally fourteen) miniatures, which can be divided broadly into battle (folios 34b, 43b, 44a, 45b, 46b, and 47a) and palace scenes. Folio 29a cannot be placed in either category. It depicts the

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ancient Indian *dohada* theme in which a chaste and beautiful woman's embrace makes a tree blossom.

The composition of the illustrations, as well as the vegetation and landscape, reflects the conventions of provincial Persian painting. However, the often startling combinations of color, including ultramarine blue and the very Indian cinnabar red and mustard yellow, are certainly Indic in origin. The influence of earlier Malwa painting from India, as well as court painting from Vijayanagara, is also evident in the bold outlining of the male figures and the sinuous curves of the female figures.

The six battle scenes all have three rows of soldiers riding on horses or elephants. Only the flat background color varies from illustration to illustration. Husain, identified by his

royal parasol and *aftabgir* (sunshade), appears in three battle scenes. In folio 46b, he orders the decapitation of Ramaraya (reigned 1542–65), the defeated ruler of Vijayanagara (fig. 38).

More interesting than the battle scenes, the five palace scenes usually feature architecture and gardens, as well as people of diverse costume and ornament. The architecture often consists of a large, rectangular frame and a decorated arch with narrow, colored side compartments topped by plain, pointed arches very much in vogue in Ahmadnagar.[3] Against this architectural background, the figures are placed according to their specific narrative function. Often, Husain is seated on a bedstead or divan at the center of the composition, with female attendants to either side. In one folio, he is casually enthroned in a tall garden chamber, seated beneath a canopy-like cloth ceiling with a hanging frill or ceiling fan. The garden pavilion is surrounded by a variety of trees and fronted by a small pool of water.

Originally, Queen Khanzah Humayun was depicted beside him. Her figure was later covered with thick layers of paint and the sultan's body was redrawn or repainted in portions, perhaps to conceal the erotic nature of the scene. Alternatively, it has been suggested that the changes to the miniature are a visual record of the queen's political rise and fall.[4] The figure of Khanzah Humayun was also obliterated from folios 21b, 36a, and 40b. TM

1. Zebrowski 1983a, pp. 17–19. **2.** Barrett 1958, p. 6. **3.** Aftabi 1987, p. 29. **4.** Barrett 1958, p. 6; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 147.

Fig. 38. Folios from cat. 8

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Detail of cat. 9

Fig. 39. Stone Steps, Daulatabad Fort, 1550–60

9 Helmet

Probably Ahmadnagar, ca. 1570–1600
Steel, silver, and fabric; skull: H. 7½ in. (19 cm), overall: H. 23⅝ in. (60 cm), W. 8⅝ in. (21.8 cm)
Private collection, London

This helmet is one of the most splendid examples of princely Deccani armor to have survived from the sixteenth century. While thoroughly regal, it is light for comfort and robust enough to have offered complete protection in the often violent combat that characterized warfare of the period. This effect was achieved by placing thin panels of steel, embossed with scale work in the Italian fashion, within stouter vertical ribs. Since ventilation was a major concern, movable steel plates, which could be flipped or slid up when not needed, protected the face, ears, and neck.[1]

To decorate the helmet, the armorer overlaid the metal with a thick plating of silver, a common feature of Deccani armor. This gave the piece status and, at the same time,

reflected heat away from the wearer and protected the metal from rust. This technique could have evolved from the Bahmani practice of gold-plating armor monochromatically in the previous century, or it could have been brought to Ahmadnagar by Ustad Muhammad Bin Husain Rumi, the Ottoman armaments expert employed by Burhan Nizam Shah I (reigned 1510–53) to advise the sultan on military matters and to supervise the casting of the great cannon Malik-i Maidan (Lord of the Plain, fig. 47) in 1549.[2]

Until now, little was known about where this helmet was actually made. However, elements of decoration on the nasal bar provide several clues. The designer-craftsmen chose lotus and trefoil ornament, known to have been the favored motifs of the ruling dynasty of Ahmadnagar.[3] Both appear as roof decoration on a shrine in Daulatabad and feature prominently in the design of the hilt of a royal sword attributed to Ahmadnagar.[4]

The trees farther down the nasal bar are similar to a very stylized tree seen on steps in the Daulatabad Fort (1550–60, fig. 39) and in more mature form as a grove of palms in the Bijapuri folio "The Ruler on His Seven-Storied Throne" in the *Nujum al-'Ulum* (Stars of the Sciences, cat. 22), which suggests that these trees may be symbols of the longevity of the ruling dynasty.[5] On the lower part of the face guard, there is a floral arabesque reminiscent of the blade-reinforcing plates seen in zoomorphic daggers, while the eyebrowlike form on the upper part is similar to the blazon shown on the tomb of Ahmad Nizam Shah (reigned 1490–1510) in the Bagh Rauza at Ahmadnagar.[6]

The nasal bar, originally probably removable, was firmly attached to the helmet at a later date. This adaptation perhaps pandered to the superstition that it was inauspicious for the nasal bar to be accidentally dropped when the helmet was being put on before battle. Although there is no contemporary account from the Deccan, Abu'l-Fazl, the chronicler of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (reigned 1556–1605), recounts a similar occurrence during the campaign against Gujarat in the 1570s. However, when his courtiers remarked that it could be taken as a bad omen, Akbar rebutted them and said quite the reverse, that without the face guard he would be more recognizable to his troops in battle, which would only inspire them with greater confidence.[7] HR

1. In several paintings in the *Padshahnama*, Mughal warriors are shown with their earguards flipped up; Beach and Koch 1997, pls. 16, 18, 31. The design of the neck plate was probably derived from Mamluk riding helmets of the period. One from the Kevorkian Foundation Collection was sold at Sotheby's, London (Sotheby's 1968, p. 33, lot 114; see also *Art at Auction* 1968, pp. 286, 287). **2.** Egerton 1896, p. 16, mentions a report by Anafasy Nikitin in the fifteenth century that describes "the Sultan of Beder [Bidar] [wearing] a suit of gold armour inlaid with sapphires, and three swords mounted in gold." Quantities of Aq Qoyunlu silver-decorated armor would have come into Ottoman hands after the defeat of the Safavids in 1514. It was stored in the arsenal, formerly the Christian church of Saint Irene, in Istanbul. **3.** As discussed in Ricketts 2014. The trefoil is used as a blazon on the forehead of an elephant; Ricketts 2014, p. 154, fig. 9. George Michell points out that the lotus motif was commonly used in Ahmadnagar architecture; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 85. **4.** Sohoni 2010a, p. 56, illustrates the palace adjacent to the shrine. For the sword, see Goetz 1950, p. 165, pl. 65; Ricketts 2014, p. 157, fig. 15. **5.** Ricketts 2014, p. 156, fig. 13; Leach 1995, vol. 2, pp. 857, 860, no. 9.211, p. 856, colorpl. 117. **6.** Ricketts 2014, p. 160, fig. 20, p. 161, fig. 22. **7.** Rogers and Beveridge 1978, vol. 1, p. 42.

10 Peacock in a Rainstorm at Night

Northern Deccan, late 16th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 6⅛ × 7½ in. (15.5 × 19 cm)
Private collection, London

11 *Gauri Ragini*: A Maiden Picking Blossoms from a Tree

Northern Deccan, late 16th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 9¾ × 7½ in. (24.8 × 19.1 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Bequest of Edwin Binney, 3rd (M.90.141.2)

12 *Dhanasri Ragini*: A Woman Drawing a Portrait on a Tablet

Northern Deccan, late 16th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, gold, and silver on paper, 9⅞ × 7¼ in. (25 × 18.5 cm)
Private collection, London

13 *Nat Malhar*: A Woman Splashing Water on Her Lover from the River

Northern Deccan, late 16th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 9⅝ × 7½ in. (24.5 × 19 cm)
Private collection, London

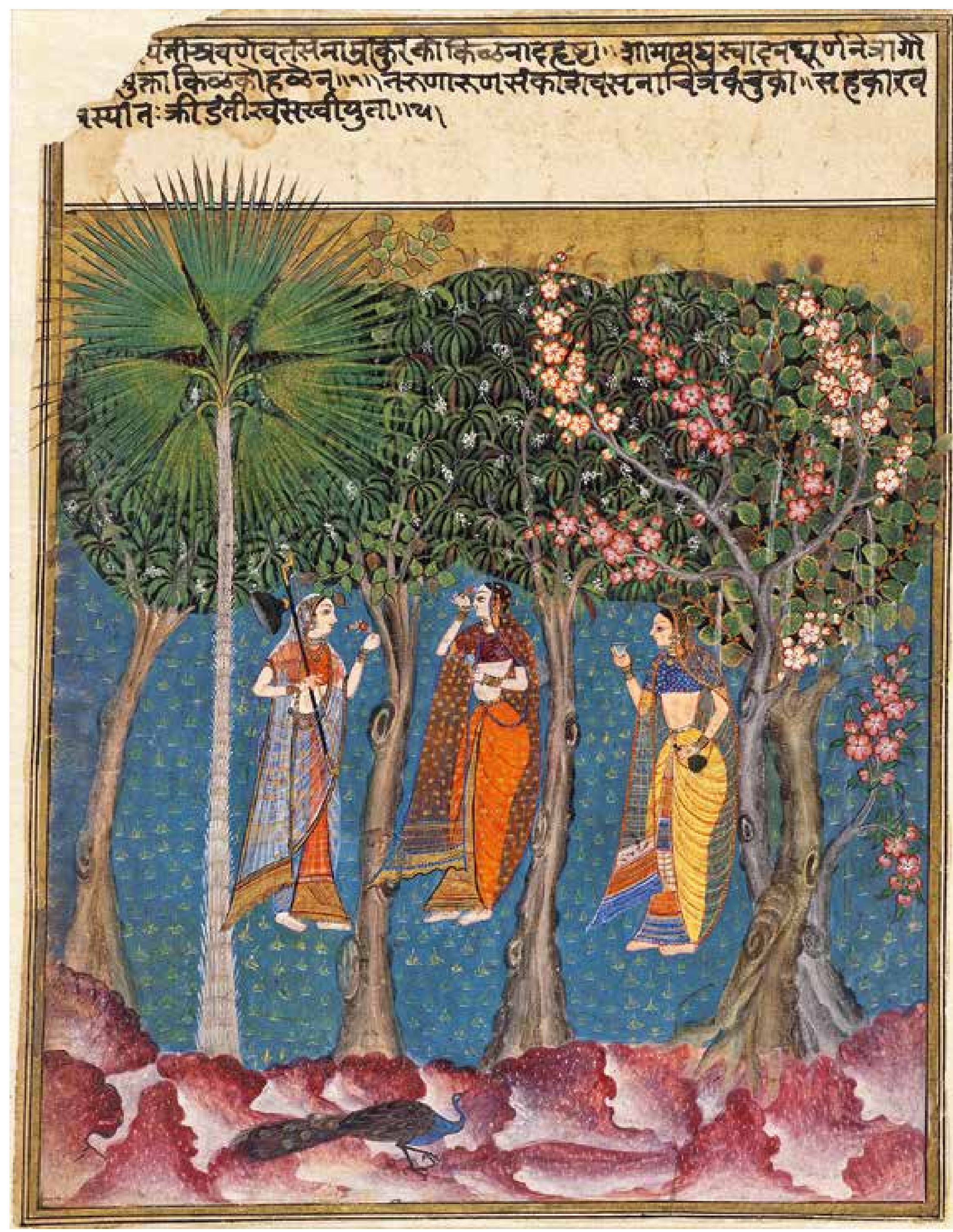
The genre of *ragamala* painting, which developed in North India in relation to poetic texts, emerged at the end of the sixteenth century in the music-suffused milieu of the Deccan. Based on the idea of a "garland of *raga*s," or songs, *ragamala*s depict various Indian musical modes through illustrations of verses describing stories, moods, seasons, and deities. Lyrical and spirited in their compositions, these four folios are from a group of ten generally attributed to a provincial center in the northern Deccan, or, alternatively, they are sometimes thought to be from the earliest phase of Bijapur painting.[1] Several of these

Cat. 10

works were previously in the Bikaner royal collection and more unpublished folios are said to have belonged to the Roerich Collection, Bangalore.[2] Four different artistic hands have been discerned, three of which are represented in this selection. On some folios, the Sanskrit text is followed by either a Persian summary or a blank area that may have been intended for such an inscription.

The imagery of these early Deccani *ragamala*s corresponds to descriptions of *raga*s and *ragini*s found in the later *Sangita Darpana* (Mirror on Music), a text composed around 1625 by Damodara Mishra, a musician at the Mughal court.[3] The *Javahir al-Musiqat-i Muhammadi* (The Jewels of Music of Muhammad, ca. 1570) is another illustrated text containing images of three *raga*s and twenty-two *ragini*s.[4] Its unusual iconography, together with that of the present series, indicates the fluid development of the Deccani *ragamala* tradition at this formative time.[5]

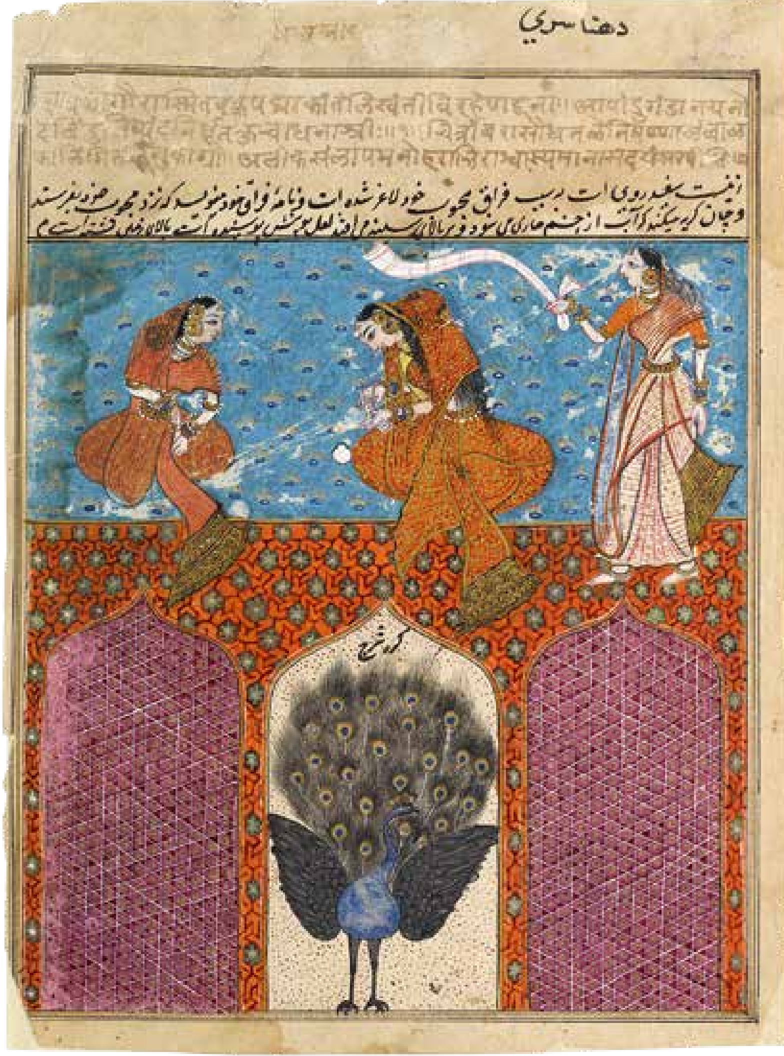
The fragmentary but highly evocative *Peacock in a Rainstorm at Night* (cat. 10) depicts a peacock in flight at the break of the monsoon clouds, a subject symbolic of unrequited love. Within the branches of the trees, tiny birds nestle from the rain that is rendered in cold white lines against the dark hill. The missing portion of the page probably contained a lovesick heroine.[6] *Gauri Ragini* (cat. 11) describes a wandering beauty who plucks blossoms off a mango tree. Here, under a verdant canopy of entwined trees and lustrous gold skies, a maiden and her attendants capture the essence of the *bhava* (devotional feeling) of the verses. The figures have an attenuated grace typical of this anonymous painter's hand. In *Dhanasri Ragini* (cat. 12), bold patterns



Cat. 11

and daring color intensify the slightly surreal vision of three beauties appearing above a colonnade of arches containing a peacock. The heroine dips her brush into a Persian-style inkpot and portrays her lover on a Persian *safina* manuscript or a long palm leaf. Although the spatial relationships seem illogical, the mauve-blue background, filled with a pattern of stylized rocks and clusters of flowers, indicates an outdoor setting beyond. Such compositions, with figures above and patterned arches below, are also found in fifteenth-century folios, such as the *Chandayana* romance.[7]

Nat Malhar (cat. 13) depicts a maiden playfully splashing water from a lotus-filled river onto her lover, who sits on



Cat. 12

Cat. 13

the shore. Now darkened, the drops of water once appeared as a silver spray sparkling across the page. Golden hues surround the princely figure, whose robe is tied on the right in the Muslim convention and whose *patka* (sash) is spread out to reveal its rich gold-pricked borders. The diagonal axis of the river and the delineation of the water in banded scales evoke established conventions of mid-sixteenth-century Rajput painting.[8] The broad section in the lower part of the image, filled with strong color and large, amorphous shapes, may be inspired by a developing taste for marbling in the Deccan or may be meant to suggest cloud forms, rocks, or other landscape elements somewhat like those in the *Gauri Ragini*. Alternatively, it may simply represent the Deccani flair for the strange and unexplained.

Following this early group, several other series of *ragamala* paintings were produced in the Deccan during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including a copy of the present series that is also dispersed and incomplete.[9] However, it is in these early Deccani pages that the aims of this major Indian tradition—to express the ephemeral qualities of music united with the moods of spiritual devotion—are most freshly realized. NNH

1. Michell and Zebrowksi 1999, pp. 153–54, 157, lists nine known folios as *Peacock in a Rainstorm at Night* (cat. 10), *Gauri Ragini* (cat. 11), *Hindola Raga*, *Sri Raga*, *Patanasika Ragini*, *Dhanasri Ragini* (cat. 12), *Kamghodi Ragini*, *Prince and Ladies in a Garden House*, and *Malavi Ragini*. **2.** Ibid., p. 153. **3.** Skelton 2011b, p. 23. **4.** Zebrowski 1983a, p. 63, ill. no. 45, points out that it contains a later dedication to Muhammad ʿAdil Shah of Bijapur. **5.** Ebeling 1973, p. 176, no. 24; Losty 1982, pp. 72–73, no. 51. **6.** Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 154. **7.** K. Desai 2002, p. 80, no. 77; Adamjee 2011. **8.** A comparable page from the "Isarda" *Bhagavata Purana*, ca. 1560–65, with Krishna and the *gopis* in the river is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1972.260; Kossak 1997, p. 30, no. 5). **9.** Zebrowski 1983a, pp. 55–59.

Cat. 14

14 Portrait of an Ahmadnagar Ruler

By the Paris Painter
Ahmadnagar, ca. 1565–95
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 9¼ × 8⅛ in. (23.5 × 20.5 cm)
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Supplément Persan 1572, fol. 26)

Inscribed on reverse, probably in a Mughal hand: *burhan nizam al-mulk*; *kar-i avval-i dakkan* (Burhan Nizam al-Mulk; the earliest work of the Deccan, or, alternatively, work of the first [best] quality of the Deccan); owner's dates: A.H. 1050 (A.D. 1643–44) and A.H. 1128 (A.D. 1715–16)

15 Portrait of an Ahmadnagar Ruler Reclining beneath a Covered *Takht* (Seat)

Attributed to the Paris Painter
Ahmadnagar, 1565–95
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 10⅛ × 7⅝ in.
(25.5 × 19.3 cm)
Rampur Raza Library (Album 4, fol. 13a)

Inscribed: Burhan Shah (second inscription below seat is erased)

The Paris Painter, so named for his masterpiece in the Bibliothèque Nationale, appeared as a new and brilliant force in Ahmadnagar painting. He brought the refinement of Mughal brushwork from his previous training and a feel of opulence to darkly stippled gold backgrounds yet paid heed to the human form that had already been established at Ahmadnagar. Among the continuities from the style of the earlier *Ta'rif-i Husain Shahi* (Chronicle of Husain Shah, cat. 8) is the adapted *maharajalilasana* pose of the royal figure with one leg raised to the dais and the fashion of a red-trimmed white robe with a gauzy neckline.[1] However, the overwhelming impact of the Paris painting lies in its powerful new idiom, in which shading, color, and figure style work together to create a fresh vision of man. The monumental sultan, spirited young betel-nut bearer (*tambuladharin*), and dignified courtiers in attendance all exhibit a dark Deccani complexion, projecting far eye, puckered lips, and stippled faces rendered through masterful shading and layers of applied pigment. These elements were new to the Deccan and lay the foundation for the continued development of a sophisticated portraiture tradition.

The presence of male courtiers around the king represents a change of practice from the medieval South Indian tradition of female attendants, as seen in images of Husain Nizam Shah I (reigned 1553–65) in the earlier *Ta'rif* paintings.[2] This shift was likely based on Mughal parallels. The style of the throne with a triangular back and *sadeli* mosaic patterns is also more Mughal.[3] New to royal imagery, too, is the custom of holding a white scarf, a Persian symbol of kingship; however, the waving of a scarf above a royal figure was an established Deccani feature.[4]

The identity of this enthroned Nizam Shahi ruler has been a matter of debate. Most scholars accept the figure as Burhan Nizam Shah II (reigned 1591–95), who came to the Ahmadnagar throne at age thirty-five after wresting power from his son.[5] When Burhan II was received at the Mughal court in 1585, he may have seen imperial images that inspired his patronage at his own court.[6] Another opinion suggests that it is an earlier portrait of his brother Murtaza Nizam Shah I (reigned 1565–88), arguing that the image more

Cat. 15

accurately represents Murtaza in his twenties during a cultural high point at Ahmadnagar. Murtaza, known as Divana, or "madman"—he had imprisoned his mother, Khanzah Humayun, upon his accession—was also known for many acts of self-aggrandizement. His reign, despite the political turmoil, saw the arrival of the writers ʻUrfi and the young Zuhuri from Iran.[7]

The Paris Painter evoked the same Ahmadnagar ruler in another composition now in Rampur (cat. 15). The ruler is similarly posed, although more reclined, with his *jama* (robe) opened to reveal its inner tassels and his finely stippled and rhythmically arranged chest hairs. A seventeenth-century Nayaka ivory plaque shows a Hindu ruler in a similar setting and pose, indicating the later spread of this royal convention.[8] It has been suggested that the gold background and dark corona around the heads in both portraits reflect the influence of Sienese painting imported into the region through Portuguese contact, although no known examples of such items survive.[9] NNH

1. Aftabi 1987, pp. 98, 156. For the pose in Persian painting, see Hillenbrand 2002, p. 147, fig. 173; Sims 2002, p. 117. For the pose in India, see Michell 1995, p. 181, fig. 131. **2.** D. Ali 2004, p. 114. **3.** Sen 1984, p. 15, pl. 16, and p. 126, pl. 55, show variations of the same kind of throne. **4.** Images of Persian rulers with cloths can be seen in Lentz and Lowry 1989, p. 105, no. 30, p. 243, no. 136; Canby 2011, p. 99, fol. 50v. Raman and Agarwal 2012, p. 87, mentions that yak-tail *chowri*s in gold handles and peacock *morchal*s were used specifically to indicate to the crowd the exact personage of the monarch. **5.** S. C. Welch 1985, p. 286, no. 190, argues that folio 74a of the *Darabnama* depicts Burhan II, similarly stout, at the Mughal court, around 1585. **6.** Shyam 1966, p. 179. **7.** Michell and Zebrowski 1999, pp. 147–49. **8.** Michell 1995, p. 214, fig. 156. **9.** Michell and Zebrowski 1999, pp. 150–51.

16 Royal Elephant and Rider

Ahmadnagar, 1590–1600
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 12¾ × 9⅝ in. (32.5 × 24.4 cm)
Ranros Universal, S.A., British Virgin Islands

The survival of a small group of fine compositions provides evidence of the patronage of drawings at Ahmadnagar. While *nim qalam* (half-pen) and European grisaille techniques were known in the Mughal sphere by about 1580, the pulsating qualities of line in Ahmadnagar drawing indicate a different taste, one reflecting the preservation of the fifteenth-century Turkmen style in the Deccan. Ahmadnagar artists demonstrate a mastery of simple ink and line and various technical effects, such as stippling and shading. Although the works form a group by virtue of their basic techniques, each example is quite different from the next: thus, the individualism of Ahmadnagar drawings in some ways defies their being classified together.

The undulating lines, areas of dense ink, and gradations of dots, dashes, and spots on this drawing of an elephant and rider point to its remote aesthetic descent from the Turkmen style, particularly in the delineation of the heavy folds above elephant's tail, around its ear, and in the rider's turban.[1] This influence was mediated naturally through the intervening refinements of sixteenth-century Iran, evident in the use of red outline in the elephant's backcloth. Most dominant, however, is the marked impact of Mughal composition, particularly in illustrated manuscripts of the 1580s, in which animated elephants like this one are found. The humanized treatment of the animal's eye stands in contrast to the more stylized, staring gaze of the rider, who may represent the same royal figure as the one at the center of *Royal Picnic* (cat. 17). NNH

1. Çağman 2005.

Cat. 16

17 Royal Picnic

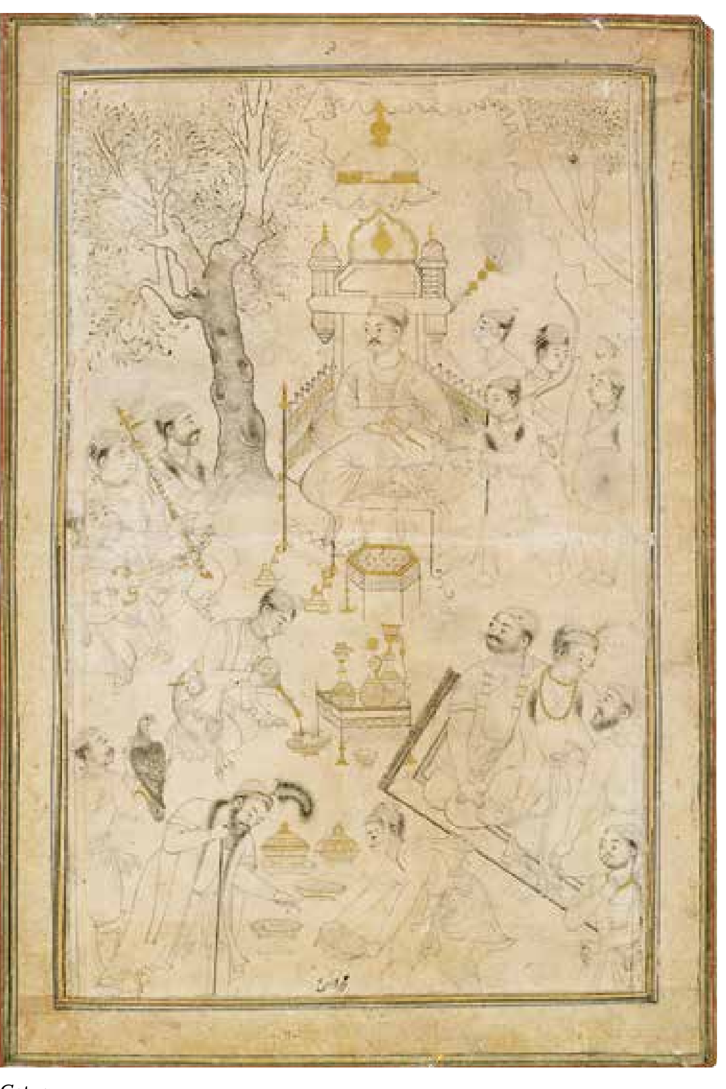
Ahmadnagar, ca. 1590–95
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 11⅞ × 8⅛ in. (30 × 20.5 cm)
British Library, London (Add. Or. 3004)

Inscribed at bottom: Muhammad Qutb(?) Shah

The artist who drew the lively running elephant (cat. 16) may also have made this drawing of a royal picnic for Burhan Nizam Shah II (reigned 1591–95) or one of his successors. The enthroned figure and the elephant rider both wear short mustaches and similarly tied turbans, as do other figures in the picture. Entertainment scenes were common in Persian painting, and the genre of *razm-o-bazm* (fighting and feasting), two ideals of kingship, later spread into Indian and Ottoman art. In these scenes, the ruler is typically shown enthroned at an outdoor feast following a hunt or battle. Double-page compositions with the ruler, attendants, musicians, and guests on the right, and servants preparing a feast on the left, were the customary formula.[1] This drawing has been slightly cut down at the edges and is incomplete in parts, perhaps indicating that it was a preparatory study for one half of a grand double-page spread in a royal manuscript.

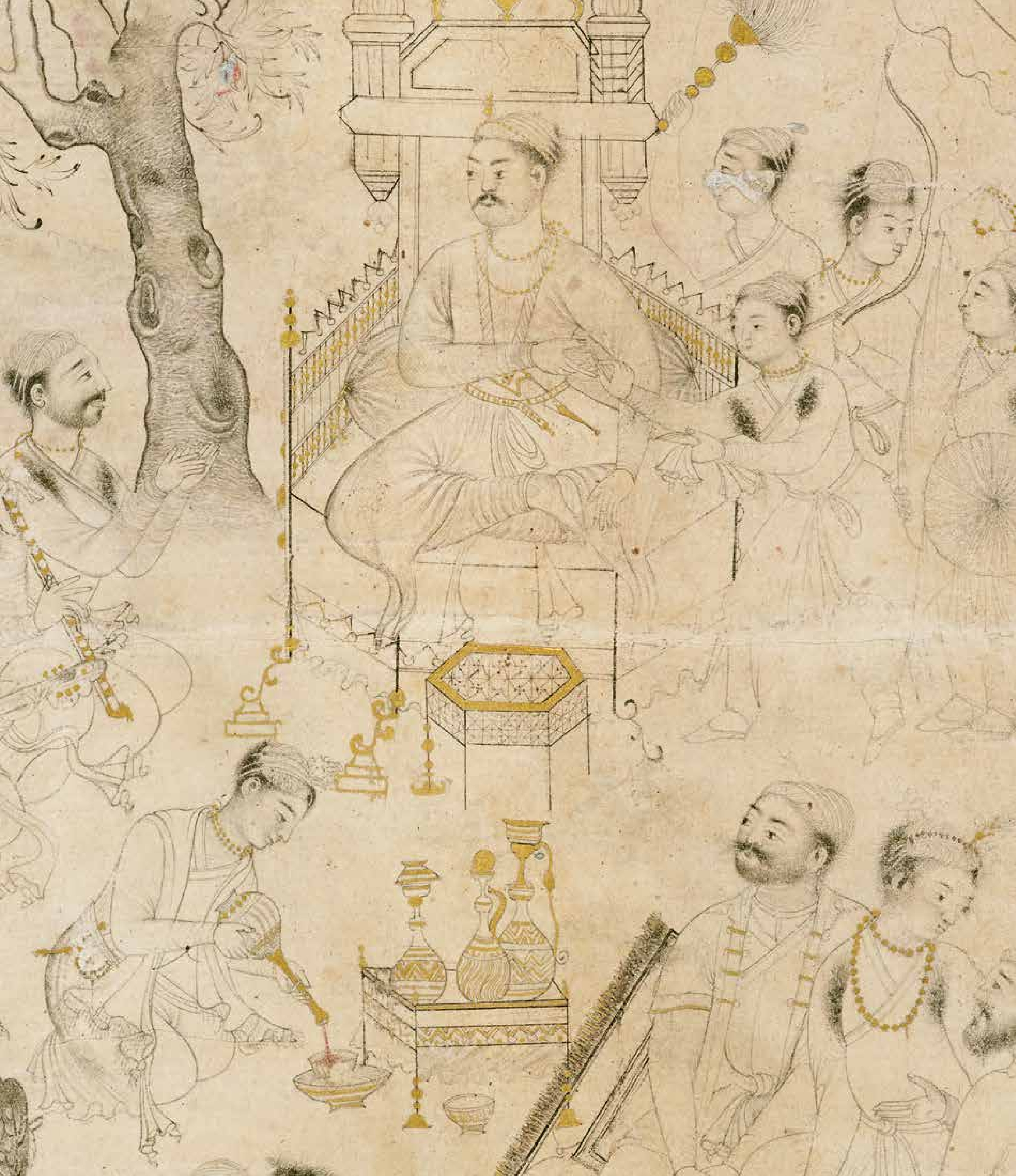
The prominence of the falcon and the presence of the hunters behind the throne imply that *baz,* or falcon hunting, was the main activity of the day. The three figures seated on the carpet may be diplomats. The servant in the foreground with the lower part of his face covered by a cloth is a common figure type in such scenes.[2] The facial covering was likely worn to prevent pollution of the food. NNH

1. Sims 2002, pp. 114–20, shows several *razm-o-bazm* pictures. **2.** Similar figures can be seen in Beach 2011, p. 193, fig. 3, and "Preparation for a Feast," a folio from a *divan* of Jami, in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (52.20.4).



Cat. 17

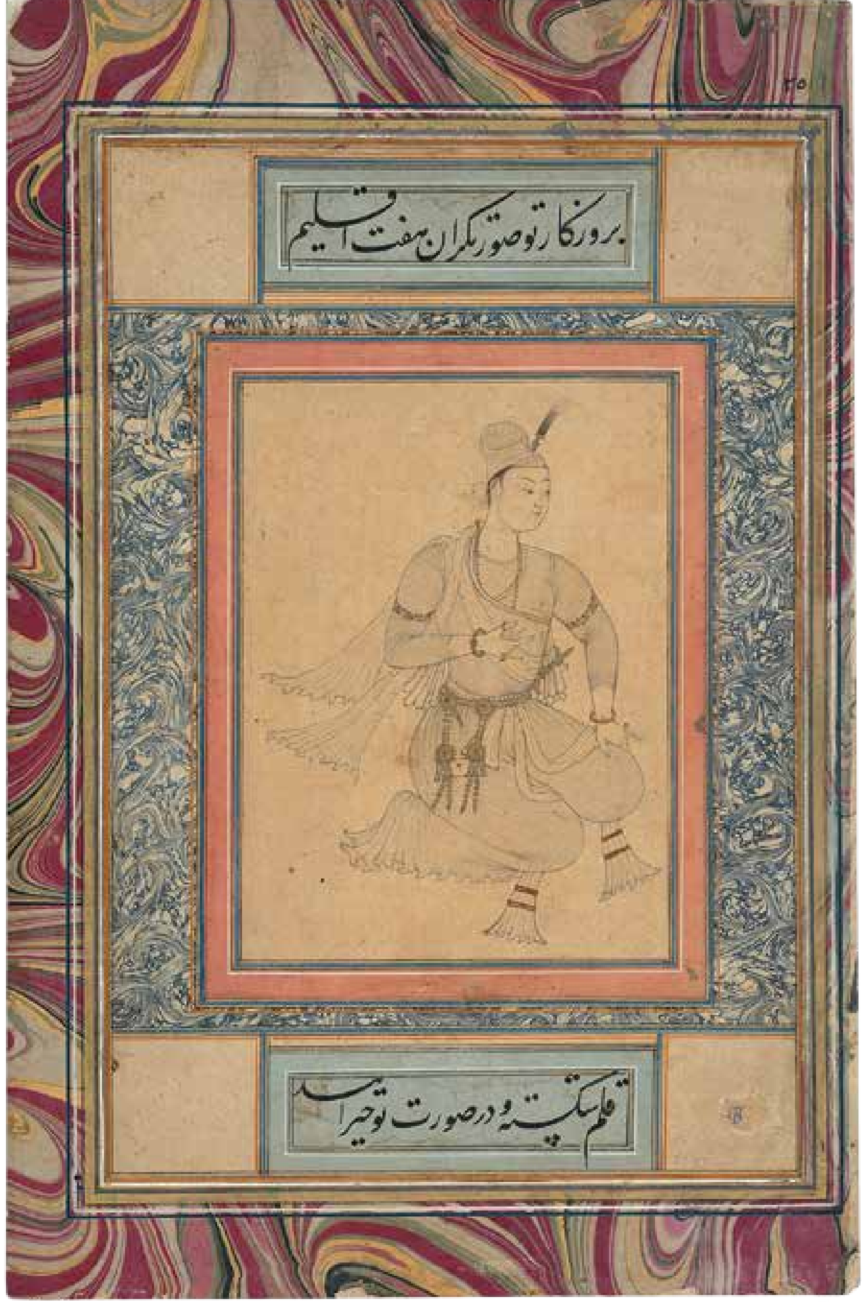
Detail of cat. 17



18 Young Prince

Ahmadnagar, late 16th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper and marbled paper,
folio: 15⅛ × 10 in. (38.5 × 25.5 cm)
Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department, John Frederick
Lewis Collection (P99)

Inscribed: *bi ruzigar-i tu surat-garan-i haft iqlim/qalam shikaste, va dar surat-i tu hairanand* (Upon seeing you the painters of the seven climes/Will break their pens and will be awed by the beauty of your countenance)

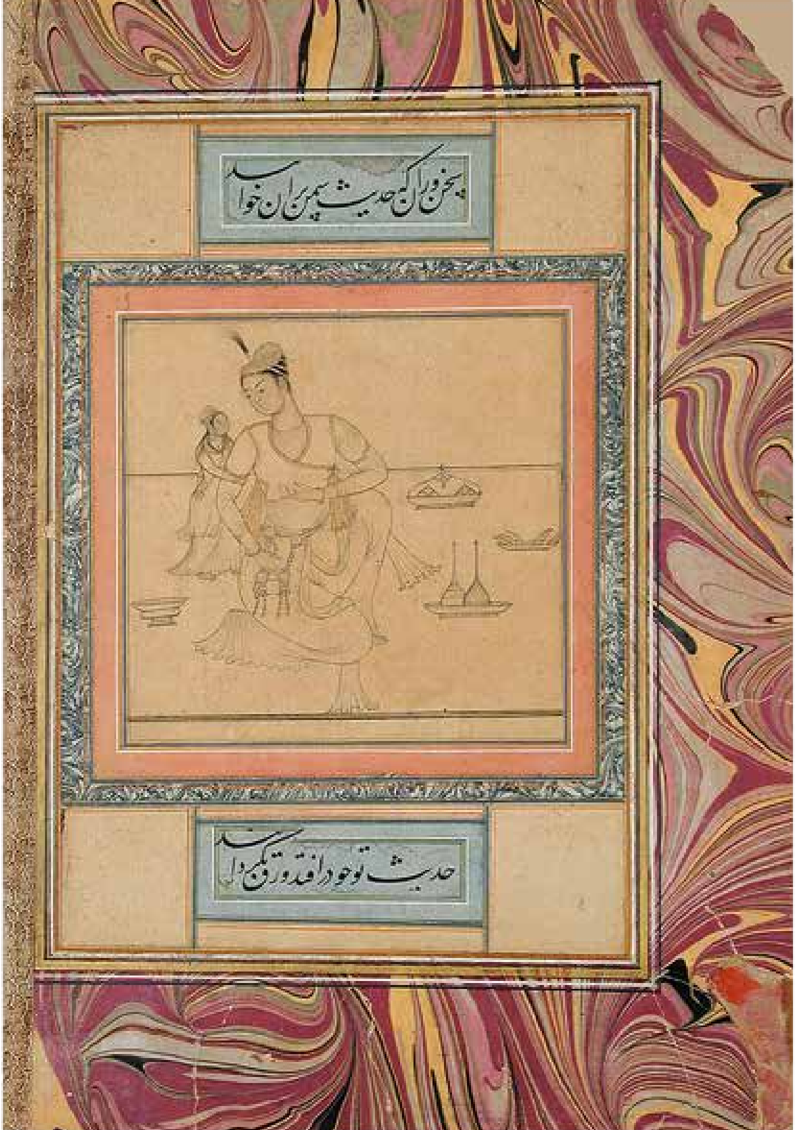


Cat. 18

19 Young Prince and Princess

Ahmadnagar, late 16th century
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper and marbled paper,
folio: 16½ × 11½ in. (42 × 29.3 cm)
San Diego Museum of Art, Edwin Binney 3rd Collection (1990.459)

Inscribed: *sukhan-varan ke hadith-i saman-baran khanand/hadith-i tu chu dar uftad varaq begardanand* (The eloquent speakers who tell your jasmine-scented tales/When they speak about you, they will turn the page)



Cat. 19

The elegant princes on each of these folios may be the same royal, possibly one of a number of child kings, who ascended to the Ahmadnagar throne after the death of Burhan Nizam Shah II (reigned 1591–95) in 1595.[1] The diminutive female figure holding the arm of the prince in the San Diego page is thought to be his sister or bride. Such hierarchical scaling of figures in Deccani art became more common in the seventeenth century.

These pages can be identified as facing folios from the same album because of their rhyming couplets, by the poet Hasan-i Dihlavi (1253–1327),[2] and similarly marbled borders. They are likely part of a larger dispersed album, of which more pages are in the University of Edinburgh Library.[3] All of them have either a panel of calligraphy or a drawing at the center, surrounded by smaller panels of text. Around each element is a rectangular frame, which is made up of either marbled or plain colored paper with colored rulings. The calligraphers whose work appears in the album include Sultan Muhammad Nur, ʿAli al-Haravi, and Muhammad al-Husaini, among others. While there is evidence of nineteenth-century European interventions—such as the outermost borders—the preface makes reference to the album's fine marbling, which confirms that the inner borders and sections of the pages are contemporary with each other. The album may well have been assembled in Ahmadnagar in the sixteenth century, perhaps for or by Muhammad Tahir, whose name is given in the text.[4]

NNH/MS

1. Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 151. **2.** Hasan-i Dihlavi 1963, p. 158, no. 333. One line appears in a Mughal album in Tehran; see Ehsanullah 1962, p. 27. **3.** *Qitʿat-i Khushkhatt*, University of Edinburgh (Or. Ms 373). Jake Benson, personal communication, August 20, 2013, identified these two pages as part of the album in Edinburgh. Other folios may be in the Kronos Collections, New York, and the San Diego Museum of Art (1990.474). **4.** The preface is partially preserved in Edinburgh; read by Abdullah Ghouchani.

Cat. 20

20 Malik ʿAmbar

Ahmadnagar, early 17th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 12 × 8¼ in. (30.5 × 21.1 cm)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Arthur Mason Knapp Fund (26.8)

Images of several Africans from the Deccan have survived,[1] and as a whole, they fall safely within the body of royal Deccani portraits: these men are not distinguished as being different from any other courtiers. In the Deccan, manumitted African slaves held roles as commanders of troops and could become nobles with the ability to marry and pass on their titles and properties to their heirs.[2] Among the dozens of such figures mentioned in historical chronicles, the most famous are Malik ʿAmbar (1548–1626) and Bijapur's Ikhlas Khan (died 1656, cats. 59–60), and they appear repeatedly in the painted record.

In this portrait the powerful Malik ʿAmbar is set against a green background, wearing gauzy white robes and holding a long Deccani sword. Born as Chapu in 1548, Malik ʿAmbar was initially sold to an owner in Baghdad. He was later taken to India, where the chief minister of Ahmadnagar, a former slave himself, purchased him in the early 1570s. After being freed, Malik ʿAmbar built up his own corps of African slave-soldiers and became more and more powerful within the Ahmadnagar state. He married, and his son Fath Khan (fig. 40) also later played a pivotal role in Ahmadnagar politics.[3] Although best known for his strategies in politics and warfare, Malik ʿAmbar was a generous patron of the arts during the fragile moments of peace and stability in the early seventeenth century.

The observational style of this image represents a new phase in the development of the Ahmadnagar school, which took a decidedly Mughal turn in the early seventeenth century. Together with the portrait of Fath Khan and a handful of other paintings, it shows a new, more documentary approach.[4] This painting also set the iconography for images of Malik ʿAmbar that continued to be made through the seventeenth century in both the Deccani and the Mughal courts.[5] MS

1. Including examples in the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha (MS.48), San Diego Museum of Art (1990.461), and a private collection (cat. 129). **2.** A recent contribution to the study of Africans in India is Robbins and McLeod 2006. **3.** Eaton 2005, pp. 105–28. **4.** This group includes portraits in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (13.1397), as well as those listed in note 1. **5.** For example, paintings in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IM.21-1925), and Musée National des Arts Asiatiques–Guimet, Paris (7172).

Fig. 40. *Fath Khan, Son of Malik ʿAmbar*. Ahmadnagar, 1610–20. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 14½ × 9⅜ in. (36.7 × 23.9 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection (17.3103)

21 "Jahangir Shoots the Head of Malik 'Ambar," Folio from the *Minto Album*

By Abu'l Hasan (active 1600–1630)
Mughal, ca. 1616
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 10⅛ × 6½ in.
(25.8 × 16.5 cm)
Trustees of Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (In. 07A.15)

Inscribed near the head of Malik 'Ambar: *khani-yi bum shuda kalli-yi shab-rang-i ghulam* (The head of the night-colored servant has become the house of the owl). Right of the javelin: *huva. 'anbar bum ki az nur gurizan mibud, tir-i dushman fikanat kard zi 'alam birun*. (He [God]. 'Anbar the owl, which fled the light, has been driven from the world by your enemy-smiting arrow). To the left of the javelin: *huva. batin gah-i 'aduvvat ra chu khuk-ast az khunish sar-i sinan-i tu sir.* (He [God]. The inside [nature] of your enemy is like a swine, from whose blood the head of your javelin is sated). By the arrow: *allahu akbar har gah ki dar kaman dar 'a'i, rang az rukh-i dushmanan ruba'i.* (God is highest. Whenever you [the arrow] appear in the bow, you will steal the color from the face of the enemies [they will be pale with fear]). Under the scales: *allahu akbar zi 'adl-i shah nur al-din jahangir makida shir az pistan-i buz shir.* (God is highest. Because of the justice of King Nur al-Din Jahangir, the lion has sucked milk from the teat of the goat). Near the gun: *allahu akbar tufang-i shah nur al-din jahangir khata na-buvad dar 'u chun hukm-i taqdir kunand az sahm-i jan suz-ash bi-har dam zamin-busi palang-u shir-u na[kh]jir.* (God is highest. The musket of King Nur al-Din Jahangir, like the Judgment of Fate, has no inaccuracy, because of its life-burning arrow, the leopard, the lion, and wild game kiss the earth every moment). Below the scales: *Zi-yumn maqdam-i zill-u-llahi zamin gushta sabuk bar gav-mahi.* (Through the felicity of the Divine Shadow's [Jahangir's] coming; the earth rests lightly on the fish-bull). Between the bird of paradise and the crown: *huva. nuh pusht-i tu tajwar zi yazdan.* (He [God]. Thy nine ancestors were crowned by God). In the roundel below the crown: *nur al-din muhammad jahangir padshah-i ghazi; ibn akbar padshah; ibn humayun padshah; ibn babur padshah; ibn umar shaikh mirza; ibn sultan abu sa'id; ibn sultan muhammad mirza; ibn miran shah; ibn amir timur sahib qiran.* (Nur al-Din Muhammad Jahangir Padshah-i Ghazi; son of Padshah Akbar; son of Padshah Humayun; son of Padshah Babur; son of Umar Shaikh Mirza; son of Sultan Abu Sa'id; son of Sultan Muhammad Mirza; son of Miran Shah; son of Amir Timur Sahib Qiran). To the left of the crown and roundel: *allahu akbar 'amal-i kamtarin murid zadaha-yi ba ikhlas abu'l-hasan.* (God is highest. Work of the humble follower of the faithful sons, Abu'l Hasan)[1]

The Mughal Emperor Akbar (reigned 1556–1605) commenced his campaign to conquer the sultanate of Ahmadnagar in 1586. Fourteen years later, he finally succeeded in capturing its capital, only for Malik 'Ambar to immediately free it from his grasp. Akbar's son Emperor Jahangir (reigned 1605–27) continued the quest for Ahmadnagar, relocating his court to Mandu in order to oversee the campaign, but victory was not to be his. Jahangir and Malik 'Ambar died within months of each other, bitter rivals to the end.

The antagonistic relationship between Malik 'Ambar and the imperial Mughals is exemplified in this famous allegorical painting made for Jahangir. Offering a Mughal view of the hated Deccani enemy, it shows the emperor shooting the severed head of his rival, an event that occurred only in his dreams.[2] In an elaborate set of interrelated visual and textual metaphors, Jahangir is associated with the forces of light and legitimacy, while Malik 'Ambar is aligned with darkness and evil.[3]

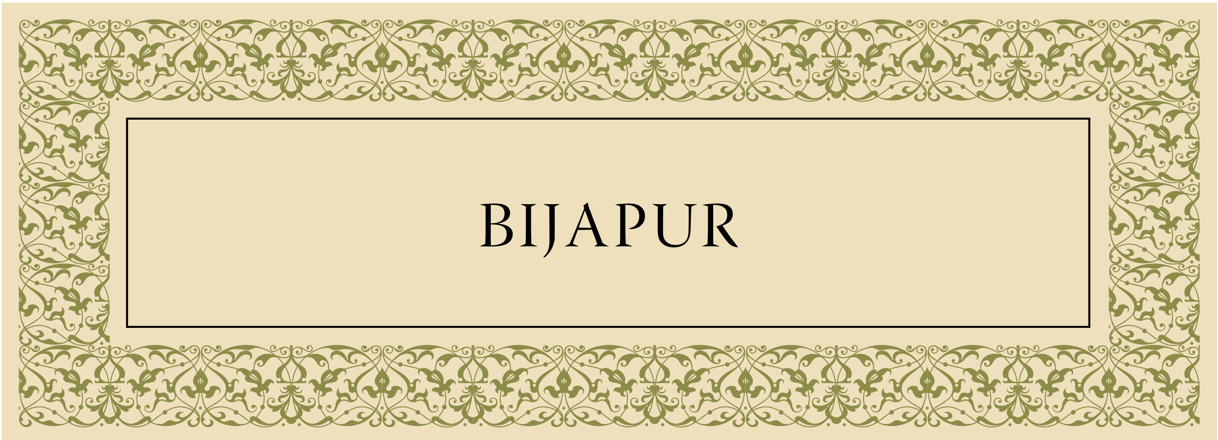
This painting falls into a group of related works from around 1616–18 by Abu'l Hasan and other leading Mughal painters, which depict the inner vision of their patron's psyche and dreams through the employment of a rich array of symbols and motifs drawn from Islamic, Hindu, and Christian sources.[4] Here, these are interwoven into a unified set of references of considerable complexity. Jahangir stands on a globe, upon which various beasts lie tamely together. The globe rests on the horns of a cow and a fish, symbols of kingship in Islamic literature.[5] Cherubs hand Jahangir divine weapons, as he shoots at Malik 'Ambar's head with a golden bow. A royal bird of paradise hovers above a crowned disc on a golden stand bearing a genealogical seal containing the dynastic titles. Scales and a chain of justice extend from the globe to the pole on which Malik 'Ambar's decapitated head is impaled. Shown without the dignity of its turban, his head is surmounted by an owl, symbol of darkness, whose dead mate hangs below. Jahangir's musket rests against the pole, below the severed head. The use of texts to label and explain the various elements of the painting closely mirrors the practice of *explicatio* in European Renaissance art.[6]

Malik 'Ambar also features in at least two Mughal portraits made after Deccani originals, which are among a group of paintings of important Deccani men created by the artist Hashim. While Hashim's portrait of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627) of Bijapur is quite dismissive, showing Ibrahim gray-bearded and shrunken,[7] the images of Malik 'Ambar convey a healthy respect for this foe. NNH

1. These inscriptions have been read here by Abdullah Ghouchani. **2.** Bailey 2001, p. 56. **3.** Eaton 2005, p. 122. **4.** Skelton 1988. **5.** For example, Farid al-Din 'Attar, *Mantiq't-tair*; English translation in 'Attar 1998, p. 13, line 123: "Since earth rests firmly on the back of the Cow, And the Cow on the Fish and the Fish on Air." **6.** Bailey 2001, p. 55. **7.** This portrait is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (55.121.10.33).

Cat. 21

Bijapur



BIJAPUR

Bijapur (Vidyapur or City of Knowledge [*vidya*]) fostered an exceptional milieu of artistic, musical, literary, and poetic life, whose spirit is captured in the jewel colors and dreamy atmosphere of its evocative paintings. The state flourished under a succession of nine ʿAdil Shahi rulers, from the foundations laid by Yusuf (reigned 1490–1510) to the downfall of its last ruler, Sikandar (reigned 1672–86). Its western borders extended at times to the Arabian Sea, bringing styles of Bijapur architecture into Goa and contact with the Portuguese, who had established a base there in 1510. At the end of the sixteenth century, an influx of important courtiers from Ahmadnagar, including the scholars Nur al-Din Muhammad Zuhuri (died 1616) and his father-in-law, Malik Qumi, contributed to the court's literary and cultural wealth.

Bijapur painting first appeared in the form of painted manuscripts from the reign of ʿAli ʿAdil Shah I (1558–80), most abundantly in the enormous volume of 1570 known as the *Nujum al-ʿUlum* (Stars of the Sciences, cat. 22), filled with illustrations related to an eclectic set of ideas on cosmology, science, and magic. The esoteric qualities of the *Nujum* are reflected in other works of the late sixteenth century. On a zoomorphic-hilted dagger (cat. 25), once possibly belonging to ʿAli, a lion and elephant are interwined with a dragon fighting a phoenix to create a composite of allegorical allusions and hybrid symbols.

The golden age of the sultanate under the long rule of the visionary Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627) saw a mature Bijapur idiom in the arts come to full fruition. Ibrahim's court attracted some of the most talented artists of the age, who gave expression to the sultan's inner vision and whose works offer a glimpse into an opulent and sensuous world. An inspired patron of the visual arts with mystical leanings and a profound love of music, Ibrahim is credited with composing a book of songs, the *Kitab-i Nauras* (Book of Nine Essences, cat. 45), which is a key to several artistic high points of the period and to the aesthetic concept of *nauras* as a symbol within state affairs.[1] Filled with romantic metaphors, the text sheds light on Ibrahim's hybrid religiosity and devotion to Saraswati, the Hindu goddess of music and learning; includes references to Muslim divines; and provides information about the sultan's inner circle. Surviving pages from an imperial copy are among ten or so contemporary versions of the text written during his reign.

Detail of cat. 28

Pages 76–77: Interior, Jami Masjid (Congregational Mosque), Bijapur, begun in 1576

Under Ibrahim's successor, Muhammad 'Adil Shah (reigned 1627–56), Bijapur reached its maximum territorial extent, even as the state came into greater contact with the Mughals and their Rajput officers in the north after a treaty had partitioned Ahmadnagar in 1636. Changing styles in painting demonstrate this growing Mughal influence, with an increasing preference for naturalism over fantasy in background details and for documentation over idealization in portraiture. With an enhanced degree of recording events and people, paintings reveal other figures at court, including the Habshi noble Ikhlas Khan (died 1656), an important power at Bijapur (cats. 59–60). Royal costume styles from about 1630 also changed from the double-tasseled, long Deccani *jama* (robe) to a shorter Mughal-style garment tied under one arm. Jewels and weapons also show a greater presence of northern forms such as punch daggers (*katar*s). However, the tall, distinctively shaped Bijapuri turban with broad headband (*patta*) with roots in South India's medieval period seems to have endured.[2] The element of fantasy of the Ibrahim era continued as well, as in a brilliantly enigmatic portrait of Muhammad executed in a pointillist style and rich colors, setting him against a purple sky, with mysterious symbols such as a conch shell on the ground (cat. 53). By the middle of the seventeenth century, the book arts had achieved many notable techniques, including decoupage, marbling, and cut-gold work, along with new decorative motifs, particularly flowering vases, seen also in contemporary architectural decoration.

Bijapur was essentially a circular walled city with a citadel at its core (fig. 41). In addition to fortifications, the city contained palaces, mosques, and tombs, as well as many hundreds of sufi shrines, humble outdoor graves, and elaborate *dargah*s and *khanqah*s (spiritual centers). 'Adil Shahi architecture typically displayed domed, triple-bay structures featuring broad, double-planed arches with finely worked plaster roundels in the spandrels, brackets with angled eaves, turrets with miniature domes, and '*alam*-shaped relief ornaments, including pendants hanging from stone chains. Important buildings include the Jami Masjid (Congregational Mosque, pp. 76–77), begun in 1576 by 'Ali I, which contains a later intricately decorated mihrab of 1636 (fig. 44). Under Ibrahim II, finely carved stonework became popular. This stonework is also seen in the Anda (Egg, for the shape of its dome) mosque of 1608 and the Mihtar-i Masjid of the same period. Queen Taj Sultan's exquisite tomb and mosque complex for her husband, the Ibrahim Rauza (ca. 1627–35), is entirely covered in rich carvings and Arabic and Persian inscriptions forming a sophisticated epigraphic and decorative program that combines Qur'anic verses, pious phrases, magical and talismanic motifs, auspicious elements of Hindu temple architecture, designs evoking funerary textiles, and unique *jali* screens of pierced calligraphy, of which barely two survive (fig. 42). Faint traces of wall painting show that it was once further decorated with images of tall, delicate trees, star-and-cross patterns, pendants on chains, and small, single, waving flowers painted in minty green, white, and mauve-pink.[3]

Under Muhammad, his own mausoleum, Bijapur's grandest building, the tomb known as the Gol Gumbaz (Round Dome, 1656, fig. 43), was completed, its monumental dome, at forty-four meters in diameter, the largest in the Islamic world at the time. He also built the Asar Mahal (1647), which, like the palace Chihil Sutun (1646) in Isfahan, had a tall portico entrance, reflecting pool, and wall paintings with figures and flowering vases.

Fig. 41. Southern Gate with 11th-century Chalukya-Dynasty Columns and Inscription, Citadel, Bijapur, 1538–44

While life at court flourished, the region at large saw a steady number of foreign visitors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Deccani works of art associated with European traders and travelers are found both in the region and outside it. A set of Flemish tapestries created in the second quarter of the sixteenth century to commemorate the Portuguese triumph in Goa shows the variety of arms, regalia, and other types of objects that were likely to have been circulating at that time.[4] At Bijapur's eastern limit, the Welsh merchant Elihu Yale reportedly played a role in securing a fort from the governor of Jinji for the British.[5] Dutch and French traders were also on the ground, with Bijapur granting Pondicherry, which it briefly controlled, to the French in 1674. European influences did not significantly penetrate the courtly arts, but subtle connections are seen. Wall paintings showing this sort of inspiration are visible in seventeenth-century buildings such as the Asar Mahal and the Kumatgi pavilion. The Dutch artist Cornelis Claesz. Heda (active 16th–17th century) also resided at the court of Ibrahim, though none of his works survive.

The reigns of the last two sultans, ʿAli ʿAdil Shah II (1656–72) and Sikandar, who ascended the throne at age four and occupied it until the kingdom's fall in 1686, saw the production of many important works of art and architecture. ʿAli II's tomb, left unfinished at his death, is the final major monument of the age, its large size indicative of Bijapur's lasting architectural ambitions. Many striking portraits of ʿAli II exist, and his lush facial features are quite recognizable. Several important scholars were at his court, including the poet Mullah Nusrati, who composed the popularly illustrated sufi romance *Gulshan-i ʿIshq* (Flower Garden of Love, cats. 173–74) in

Fig. 42. Calligraphic Screen, Right Bay, Northern Facade, Ibrahim Rauza, Tomb of Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II, Bijapur, ca. 1627–35

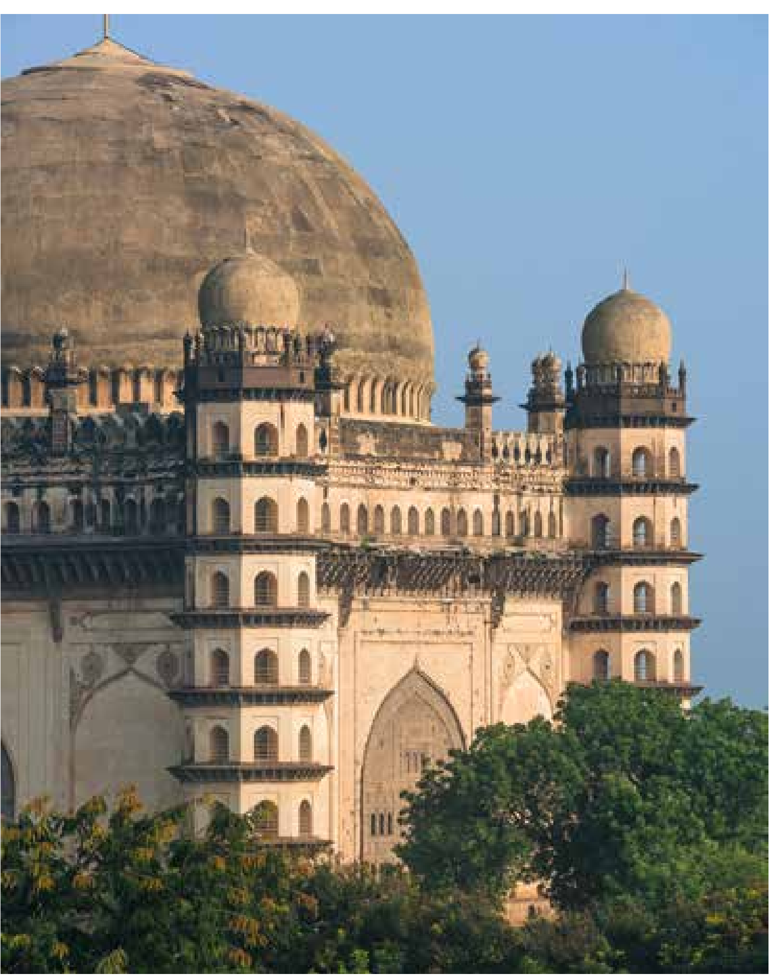


Fig. 43. Gol Gumbaz (Round Dome), Tomb of Muhammad ʿAdil Shah, Bijapur, 1656

1657–58. But this was a fated age, filled with both the stirring of the future and the poignancy of the past. Perhaps most evocative in Bijapur painting's final phase are the masterful renderings of landscapes and skies by the artists of the third quarter of the seventeenth century (cat. 68). The last sultan of the house of Bijapur, Sikandar, ruled as a minor under powerful court nobles and also the shadow of the oncoming Mughals. Even so, his youthful image appears at the end of a dynastic painting of the ʿAdil Shahi royal family (cat. 71). NNH

1. N. Ahmad 1956b, p. 57, lists eighteen different uses of the term at court. **2.** D. Ali 2004, pp. 118–19. **3.** Thanks are due to John Robert Alderman for photographs of these surviving traces. **4.** Rotraud Bauer in *Portugiesen in Indien* 1992, pp. 53–151. **5.** Nayeem 2008, p. 73.

Fig. 44. Mihrab, Jami Masjid (Congregational Mosque), Bijapur, 1636

22 Manuscript of the *Nujum al-'Ulum* (Stars of the Sciences)

Bijapur, A.H. 14 Rabi' al-Awwal 978 (August 17, 1570)
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper, 10⅛ × 6¼ in. (25.8 × 16 cm)
Trustees of Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (In. 2)

'Ali 'Adil Shah I has a bellicose reputation. Arms are among the few objects attributed to his reign (1558–80), and portraits made in later eras often depict him in full armor, sword at the ready (cats. 24, 71). His interest in literature and the arts, however, could be much better understood. Historical documents refer to his royal library, with an overseer and guard, and to a workshop of sixty men, who created manuscripts for his collection.[1] Intriguing, too, is a set of works from his era, including a copy of the quasi-scientific *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* (Wonders of Creation, ca. 1560); a treatise on Indian musical systems, the *Javahir al-Musiqat-i Muhammadi* (The Jewels of Music of Muhammad, ca. 1570); and a most interesting guide to astrology and magic, the *Nujum al-'Ulum*, which 'Ali himself is said to have written.[2]

A compilation of Sanskrit and Persian sources, this substantial volume filled with over four hundred illustrations has been described as a treatise on astrology and astral magic.[3] Since it provides the information a king requires to bring into harmony the supernatural forces that affect his domains,[4] the *Nujum* could equally be considered a mirror for princes. Notes in different parts of the text and in a colophon on folio 171r indicate that copying of the book was completed in 1570, and on the basis of the style of the paintings and the richness of the book's production, it has long been tied to a court workshop in the 'Adil Shahi realms.[5] The link to the Bijapur court was recently confirmed by the discovery of notes in the body of the text, in which the author claims to be 'Ali.[6] How to read these claims can be debated, and they need not be taken literally. After all, 'Ali's successor, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627), is also credited with the creation of an important text, the *Kitab-i Nauras* (Book of Nine Essences, cat. 45). But both the association of 'Ali with this manuscript and its unusual blend of contents certainly fit within the larger picture of his patronage of manuscripts and architecture.[7]

The catholic nature of the material is evidence of the uniqueness of sixteenth-century Deccani culture and 'Ali's diverse intellectual interests. The writings of Qazvini and Apollonius of Tyana are among the sources of the Persianate traditions, and these texts are presented in the *Nujum* along with facts deriving from Indic conceptions of the universe,

Fig. 45. "The *Ruhani* Lhanas," Folio 255r from Cat. 22

Cat. 22. “The Ruler on His Seven-Storied Throne,” Folio 191r

although the exact source of the Sanskrit material is more difficult to pinpoint.[8] The paintings seem to indicate a similar conclusion about the Bijapur court and its taste, in that the variety of styles indicates a mingling of aesthetic cultures. It has been plausibly suggested that the book was produced by artists arriving from the recently defeated kingdom to the south, Vijayanagara, who worked alongside those trained in classical Persian bookmaking.[9]

The paintings vary in quality. Those in some sections, such as the one on talismans, are hastier and simpler in execution, while those on the heavenly angels and on summoning spirits are especially beautiful in their rendering. The style of the figures resembles that of the near-contemporary *Javahir al-Musiqat*, and together they represent an early phase of painting at Bijapur marked by a preference for spare images with angular and elongated figures whose clothing and adornments are depicted in a rudimentary fashion.

The pages illustrated here come from two different parts of the text. The first (folio 191r) depicts the ideal form of the throne belonging to the *chakravartin*, the universal or ideal ruler. The text of this section describes other such possessions, including the flywhisk and the palanquin, which help the sovereign to rule in harmony.[10] The throne depicted here has seven stories, and the ruler sits atop it on a blue lotus and is shaded by a parasol of gold leaves. Below are the king's consorts, subjects, courtiers, horses, and elephants. The throne is adorned with the royal symbols of the lion and the peacock and labeled *sinhasan chakra*, with reference to the *simhasana* (lion seat), associated with the Buddha and Vishnu.

The second illustration (folio 255r, fig. 45), from the chapter on the earth forces and their spirits, depicts the *ruhani* Lhanas. *Ruhani*s are goddesses with the power to determine a ruler's success in battle, and the author mentions that he learned about them from a Hindu source.[11] In the manuscript they are shown with supernatural attributes and/or hideous features, but they wear the same clothing, large earrings, and heavy gold necklaces as the courtly women elsewhere in the book. A cross between a monstrous bird and a lion, Lhanas carries dead soldiers in her hands. MS

Cat. 23

1. These references are found in the Bijapur historical chronicle written by Rafi' al-Din Shirazi and in two edicts; all are discussed in Joshi 1956–57. **2.** The *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* is in the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad, and the *Javahir al-Musiqat* is in the British Library, London (Or. 12857). **3.** The book is incomplete, containing only seven of the fifty-three sections listed in the *fihrist* at the beginning of the volume. Furthermore, it has been bound out of order, several pages have been cut and attached to papers of a larger size, and several pages are missing. One of the removed pages has been located in the San Diego Museum of Art (1990.435). **4.** Leach 1995, vol. 2, pp. 819–89. Two additional copies of the text are known, one also in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, dated around 1660–80 (Ms. 54; Leach 1995, vol. 2, pp. 891–903), which seems to have copied In. 2 as its model, and the other in the Wellcome Collection, London, dated to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century (Per. Ms. 373). See Tourkin 2003. **5.** As suggested by the rate of illustration, number of artists involved, and extensive use of gold; Leach 1995, vol. 2, p. 820. In addition, a note on folio 1r indicates that the book was purchased for the library of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II. **6.** This attribution is based on comments on folios 43v, 53v, and 181r, as read by Flatt 2011. **7.** Deborah Hutton takes just this approach in Hutton 2006, pp. 26–69. **8.** Leach 1995, vol. 2, p. 842. A large portion of the text, relating to arms, has been translated in Elgood 2004a, pp. 205–16. **9.** Leach 1995, vol. 2, p. 862. **10.** Ibid., pp. 852–53. **11.** Ibid., p. 862.

23 Battle-Ax with Openwork Decoration and Hidden Blade

Bijapur or Ahmadnagar, ca. 1570
Silver, bronze, and iron, with some gilding, L. 23⅜ in. (59.5 cm), W. 7½ in. (19 cm)
Private collection, London

Inscribed in Persian: *nasrun min allah wa fathun qarib* (Assistance from God and victory is near)

The handle of this ax conceals a sharp spike within, making it a doubly powerful weapon. Its openwork blade, a technique characteristic of the finest Deccan arms, contains in the center a double-headed *gandaberunda* bird motif, flanked by two leonine *yali*s, within vines and plants. As lively in outline as their narrow-waisted, painted counterparts in the seven-stepped *chakravartin* throne of the *Nujum al-ʿUlum* (Stars of the Sciences, cat. 22), these fantastical symbols on weapons further enhanced the ruler's aura of power. The use of such images is also related to relief-carved blazons on Deccan forts, which appear in Bahmani structures as well as later ones. NNH

Detail of cat. 23

24 Sultan ʿAli ʿAdil Shah I

Bijapur, ca. 1570–80
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 13⅛ × 9½ in. (33.2 × 24.2 cm)
David Collection, Copenhagen (6/2013)

Inscribed on right edge, possibly in the hand of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir or Emperor Shah Jahan: *shabih-i ʿali ʿadil khan dakani* (Likeness of ʿAli ʿAdil Khan of the Deccan)

On scroll: *ya ʿali madad/damid bar gul ruyat khatti zi-sabz-yi tar dilam/khushast bi-ru-yi tu . . . damidan khatt ʿajab . . .* (O ʿAli help/On your beautiful face there grows a light covering [of hair] for my heart/It is good that it grows on your face . . . a wonderful line . . .)

On the upper diagonal bands: fragmentary text

On reverse in *ta'liq* script: seven lines and seal from a Safavid *firman* (edict) of Prince Sam Mirza, brother of Shah Tahmasp, dated 1534

ʿAli ʿAdil Shah I (reigned 1558–80) was one of Bijapur's great warriors, playing a significant role in the Battle of Talikota in 1565, when he led the confederacy of sultanates against the Vijayanagara kingdom to the south. Perhaps his prominent dagger, its sculptural hilt enriched with a lion dominating an elephant, a well-known motif in South Indian art, came as bounty from the victory that followed. Or it could have been given to ʿAli earlier when he reportedly visited the capital of Vijayanagara during times of peace and was received with honor by Ramaraya (ruled 1542–65).[1]

This portrait is one of two similar depictions of ʿAli I, the second in the Freer and Sackler Galleries, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (fig. 46). A strong black scrawl along the edges of the painting identifies the ruler but refers to him as "khan," a lesser title, rather than the more lordly "shah," as was the Mughal custom, indicating that the painting may have traveled from Bijapur into Mughal hands. Other inscriptions contained on the diagonal bands in the upper corners of the painting are now illegible. The verses on the scroll that the ruler carries refer to his namesake, Imam ʿAli, the first Shiʿa imam.

The petitioner's pose in which ʿAli I is shown is a frequent device of late sixteenth-century Mughal and Persian painting. ʿAli I successfully established diplomatic relations with the Mughals toward the end of his reign; perhaps this painting was created at that time.[2] The Freer and Sackler version, also similarly inscribed, is executed in a more conventionally pale Mughal palette and may have been based on the present work. In that image, the painter has misunderstood the iconography on the dagger in that the elephant appears larger than the lion, whereas here the artist has properly conveyed the theme of the lion, a symbol of royalty, in domination.[3] Owing to its formality and stiffness of pose, the present painting was once thought to be a Golconda copy of a lost Bijapur original.[4]

On the reverse, several lines of *ta'liq* calligraphy have been cut out and laid down on another sheet with later gold-ground illumination. These seven lines referring to the Sufis of Azerbaijan appear to be part of a *firman* (edict) in the name of the Safavid Prince Sam Mirza, with a date of 1534 and his seal.[5] The remounting of this *firman* in later borders may be a sign of the esteem that the order held and possibly relates in some way to one of the many sufi orders of the Deccan. NNH

1. Verma 1974, p. 125. **2.** Joshi 1973, p. 336, describes ʿAli's supplication to the Mughals in 1576 and other exchanges. **3.** Ricketts 2014. **4.** Zebrowski 1983a, p. 65. **5.** Karimzadeh Tabrizi 2006, pp. 19–21, illustrates this *firman* and a related one.

Fig. 46. *Sultan ʿAli Adil Shah I*, Bijapur, ca. 1590. Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper, 9¼ × 5⅞ in. (23.3 × 15 cm). Freer and Sackler Galleries, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Purchase–Smithsonian Unrestricted Trust Funds, Smithsonian Collections Acquisition Program, and Dr. Arthur M. Sackler (S1986.446)

Cat. 24

Cat. 25

25 Dagger with Zoomorphic Hilt

Probably Bijapur, mid-16th century
Hilt: gilt bronze inlaid with rubies, blade: watered steel, L. 16½ in. (42 cm), W. 3⅜ in. (8.7 cm)
David Collection, Copenhagen (36/1997)

This dagger is the most magnificent among a small group of similar weapons, which are characterized by hilts that incorporate entwined animals in hunting or fighting poses. The sinuous and fluid lines of this example form a horned lion (*yali*) grasping an elephant (*gaj*) on one side, while on the reverse a long-tailed dragon (*af'i* or *naga*) bites down on a struggling phoenix (*simurgh*). The guard is made up of two other *simurgh*s whose heads are turned toward the hilt; such mirrored bird finials are typical of South Indian ornament, often with parrots.

The iconography, which centers on the idea of the balance of power, both political and otherworldly, combines the long-standing South Indian Hindu motif of the elephant in subjugation to the royal lion with a Perso-Islamic theme of the dragon and phoenix. This latter combination occurs, for example, on a sixteenth-century Ottoman *yatagan* (short saber) from the workshop of Ahmed Tekelü, in which the same mythical beasts appear in gold relief decoration.[1] In India, the lion is generally a symbol of royalty, while the elephant, a larger but less fierce animal, often appears in a position of servitude, sometimes supporting great temples on its back, as at the Kailashnatha temple in Ellora. Within the Deccan, the symbolism of a lion over an elephant might have had special significance, recalling Vijayanagara's defeat of the Gajapati dynasty of Orissa in the fourteenth century.[2]

Two portraits of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I (reigned 1558–80) wearing a similar dagger with a zoomorphic hilt—including catalogue number 24—have led to a Bijapur attribution for the group, although it is possible that such a weapon came to him from Vijayanagara, either before 1565 as a royal gift or after the Battle of Talikota as booty.[3] Another recent suggestion is that the dagger may have come from Ahmadnagar, since a group of royal daggers from that state employed comparable sculptural lion motifs.[4] A slightly larger and simpler zoomorphic-hilted dagger also in the David Collection, Copenhagen, and one in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, are the closest related weapons, while a dagger in the Metropolitan Museum, although composed of different beasts, is a later, more linear expression of the same general style (cat. 63).[5] NNH

1. David Alexander and Stuart W. Pyhrr in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2011, pp. 312–13, no. 221. **2.** Elgood 2004a, p. 130, and personal communication. Divyabhanusinh 2005, pp. 67–97, discusses the concept of Mrigraja, Lord of the Beasts, in Indian kingship. **3.** Elgood 2004a, p. 115. **4.** Ricketts 2014. **5.** Elgood 2004a, p. 113, no. 11.6; Pant 1989, p. 247, no. 20/LIII.

26 Hilt of a Gauntlet Sword (*Pata*)

Bijapur or Ahmadnagar, ca. 1550–80
Steel, iron, and silver, L. 19½ in. (49.5 cm), W. 4¾ in. (12 cm), D. 6⅛ in. (15.4 cm)
Private collection, London

This is an early hilt of a *pata*, or gauntlet sword (so called because it resembles a glove), fashionable mostly in south-central India from the late sixteenth to the late seventeenth century. It evolved from the two-handed fighting sword used for dueling in Ahmadnagar that had become popular around 1500 during the reign of Ahmad Nizam Shah I (1490–1510), a skillful swordsman who may have introduced the custom of dueling to the state.[1] Later in the century, the need arose for a heavy sword, probably for fighting on horseback. Designed for use with one arm, the *pata* left the other hand free to hold the reins of a horse, a shield, or perhaps another weapon.

This sword hilt originally incorporated a broad double-edged blade, probably of European origin, now missing. Requiring great forearm strength, it must have been a difficult sword to wield with ease; however, in close combat, it would have had the reach to counter a javelin. The blade originally issued from the open mouth of a *yali*, a lion with horns and bulging eyes, that forms the hilt. Its iconography is reminiscent of the muzzle of the massive cannon known as the Malik-i Maidan (Lord of the Plain, fig. 47); elephants are shown between the lion's teeth, symbolizing royal authority over these immensely valuable animals. The preserve of the ruler, elephants were equal in status to the tank in the twentieth century: in a campaign they could win or lose not just the day but the entire kingdom.

Sculptural depictions showing this configuration of animals have their origins in Mamluk architecture. The motif of a lion in accompaniment used on a relief dated 1273 on the Baybars Bridge in what was Palestine is little different from that shown on the four reliefs at Raigad Fort in the Konkan region of western India, carved some three hundred years later.[2] In the Deccan this virtually identical Muslim emblem of royalty was sometimes further embellished with ornament taken from South Indian Hindu art. In this case the hilt is modeled as a *makara*, or aquatic monster, set with the horns of a *yali*. Between the horns is a demon's mask (*kirtimukha*), also common in Hindu imagery, which can be seen on the walls at the Golconda Fort, where it appears as the conjoined head of two lion-tiger figures on the Banjara Gate.

On the hilt, rampant lions, also symbolic of majesty, flank the repoussé steel gauntlet, which is decorated with chevron-like ribs. This foreign technique of embossing was probably

Cat. 26

Detail of cat. 26

Fig. 47. Malik-i Maidan (Lord of the Plain) Cannon, Ahmadnagar, 1549. Installed at Bijapur Fort

adopted from pieces of armor imported into the Deccan from Italy in the mid-sixteenth century. The elephants' heads act as finials for the rear retaining strap. The hilt shows extensive traces of silvering, which would have not only proclaimed it a princely piece, but also deflected the sun's rays from the forearm while protecting the surface of the metal from rusting on humid days. HR

1. Shyam 1966, p. 46. **2.** The relief on Baybars Bridge shows side views of lions, lording over diminutive figures of horses, there to represent the cavalry, as important in battle to the Mamluks as elephants were to the princes of the Deccan. Baybars (reigned 1260–77), the first Mamluk sultan to halt the advance of the Mongol armies, is mentioned in an inscription dated 1273.

27 Sultan Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II

Attributed to the Bikaner Painter
Bijapur, ca. 1590
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper; image: 10⅜ × 6½ in.
(26.5 × 16.5 cm), folio: 15⅜ × 10¼ in. (39 × 26 cm)
David Collection, Copenhagen (105/2007)

Inscribed in a later ascription on album page above: *mirza shahrukh pisar-i amir timur gurkan* (Portrait of Mirza Shahrukh, son of Amir Timur Gurkan)

On two bands in *nastaʿliq* script in the turban, except the bottom right cartouche:
khadiv-i zamin badshah-i zaman/mah-i burj-i daulat shah-i kamran/
furugh-i dil va dide-yi muqbilan/vali-i nimat jani-i sahibdilan
falakra guhar dar sadaf chun tu nist/faridun va jam ra khalaf chun nist/bi-takht-i suleiman bimani salha (largely flaked off)
(Viceroy of the world, the king of his age/Enthroned under an auspicious sign, the fortunate king/Light of the heart and of the eyes of the happy/The benefactor of the soul of the generous
The oyster shell of the heavens contains nothing like you/Faridun and Jam have no son like you/On the throne of Solomon, may you stay for years)

In the cartouche on right end of second line: *huwa ʾl khalil*
(He is Khalil)

Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627) inherited the throne of his uncle ʿAli ʿAdil Shah I (reigned 1558–80) at the tender age of nine and a decade later shook off the controls of his regent, assuming real power as a mature youth. This first-known portrait of the adolescent shah may have been made at that key moment and demonstrates that the great artist known as the Bikaner Painter was in the royal atelier at Ibrahim's coming of age. Capturing the ruler's sprouting beard, rosy complexion, and adornments of a tall, decorated turban and strings of emeralds, the portrait conveys the budding promise of Ibrahim's glorious reign at Bijapur.

The broad decorated textile around Ibrahim's turban was an important headpiece for royalty in southern India. In earlier medieval courts, it was often conferred at moments of transformation such as a coronation (*pattabandha-mahotsava*).[1] The texts in *nastaʿliq* script on the band contain verses from the *Saqinama* (Book of the Cupbearer) of Hafiz (in seven of the cartouches) and were probably selected for their sentiment of praise for a king from a poem that otherwise largely centers on the role of a cupbearer.[2] A line in the original text has been changed from *bi-ja-yi sikandar biman salha* (in the state of Alexander, may you stay for years) to *bi-takht-i suleiman bimani salha* (on the throne of Solomon, may you stay for years), an early instance of the Solomonic association with Ibrahim made throughout his reign and which also appears in the epigraphic program of his tomb, the Ibrahim Rauza (ca. 1627–35).[3] Part of the poem, however, is missing in what is perhaps the artist's attempt to suggest that the verses continue on the back of the turban. The phrase *huwa ʾl khalil* (he is Khalil) in the end cartouche, which is not from the poem, relates Ibrahim to the prophet Abraham, hailed as the *khalil* (friend) of God, an association that was also extensively made at court.[4]

The Bikaner Painter, known from just two works, this painting and another depicting Ibrahim in procession that was formerly in the Bikaner royal collection (cat. 28), shows originality in concept and style. The unusual large three-quarter view of Ibrahim's head is unprecedented and presages similar developments in Mughal painting.[5] It has been conjectured that the artist may have had knowledge of European portraits circulating in the Deccan, although no comparable examples survive.[6] NNH

1. D. Ali 2004, pp. 118–19. **2.** Hafiz 2002, pp. 616–17. **3.** Overton 2011b, pp. 162–64. **4.** Zebrowski 1983a, p. 73. **5.** Skelton 1958, p. 124, mentions a later head portrait of Ibrahim in the Bijapur Archaeological Museum, Gol Gumbaz, which remains unpublished but might be based on this example. **6.** Jeremiah P. Losty in *Royal Courts of India* 2008, p. 52, suggests that Lucas Cranach the Elder's 1531 portrait of John Frederick I, Elector of Saxony, may have been a source; Rosemary Crill in Crill and Jariwala 2010, p. 110, n. 2, proposes Cranach's print of Sybilla of Cleves as another source.

28 Procession of Sultan Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II

By the Bikaner Painter
Bijapur, ca. 1595
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 6¼ × 9⅞ in.
(16 × 25 cm)
Private collection, London

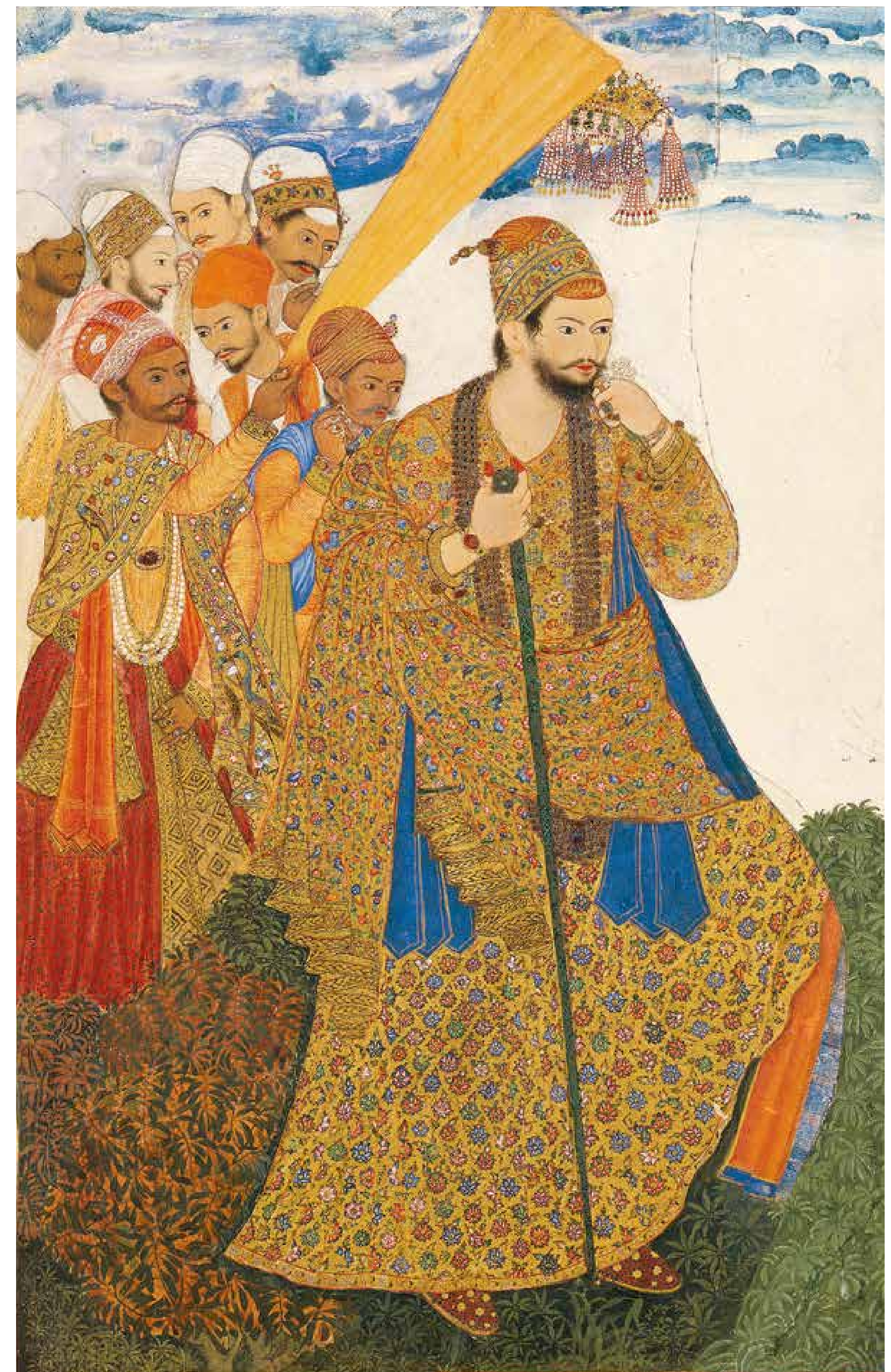
Inscribed on reverse in *devanagari* script: *aviraham sah vajapur ro/aduni ri kothi su an g*(?) *5*(?)/*s[amvat] 1748* (Ibrahim Shah of Bijapur/From the treasury of Adoni, part 5[?]/Year A.D. 1691)

Also contains a stamp from the Bikaner royal library

This sumptuous portrait of Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627) in procession with a group of attendants behind him captures the sultan at about age twenty-five. A *devanagari* inscription on the reverse indicates that it was taken from the Deccan fort of Adoni at the siege laid by Raja Anup Singh of Bikaner and then added into the Bikaner royal library as part of the booty in 1691. It is for this tour de force that the Bikaner Painter is named.

Much of the opulence conveyed in this image comes from the figure's flowing golden robes. Ibrahim also bears around

Cat. 27



Cat. 28

Fig. 48. *Sultan Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II with a Consort in a Landscape.* Attributed to the Dublin Painter. Bijapur, ca. 1590–1605. Gouache with gold on paper, folio: 12⅛ × 8⅞ in. (30.8 × 22.4 cm). Collection of Bashir Mohamed, London

his neck four strings of *rudraksha* berries, a sign of his increasing devotion to Hinduism. The composition displays a strong diagonal thrust, partly achieved by the descending cluster of figures, each one a distinct individual. Such arrangements are also seen in ancient wall paintings in the Deccan, and while no direct line can be drawn between the many intervening centuries, there could once have been elements of continuity that no longer survive. One means of transmission might have been a wall-painting tradition at Bijapur, as is hinted by the very faded remains at the Kumatgi water pavilion, although admittedly what little survives of those paintings tends to depict single monumental figures and few groups.[1] But there may have been other variations. Certainly the sense of movement, depth of space, and relationship between figures seen here are far removed from the more formal conventions of Mughal painting at this time, while some elements, such as the individualized portraiture, are shared. Ibrahim's countenance is rendered with particular sweetness as he holds up narcissus flowers and curls of hair escape the confines of his tall Deccan turban.

The right side of this painting has been cut away, with various areas showing replacement and repainting in the white ground. However, a surviving element is the edge of a red skirt visible on the lower right.[2] It appears to have belonged to a female companion of Ibrahim's, probably his concubine the Maharashtrian dancing girl Rambha, who was either deliberately or accidentally expunged from the painting.[3] A contemporary painting (fig. 48), seemingly based on the present image, provides some insight into how the original may have appeared.[4] Here Ibrahim appears in a similar pose with a staff and holding up a rose while Rambha faces him. She is dressed in a sari draped in the Maharashtrian style, its outward sweeping end resembling the textile edge in the present image. NNH

1. See Cousens 1916, p. 125, for a description of the wall paintings. On entering Bijapur and Golconda, the Mughal Prince Aurangzeb ordered the wall murals removed. **2.** Thanks are due to Robert Skelton for his observations on this painting and its later versions. **3.** N. Ahmad 1956b, p. 41, discusses Rambha and the confusion concerning whether she was Muhammad's consort or Ibrahim's. **4.** Other versions of this painting are M. Chandra 1951, p. 26, pl. 3 (from the Khandalavala Collection); Goswamy 1999, p. 94, fig. 72 (only Ibrahim but mirror-reversed).

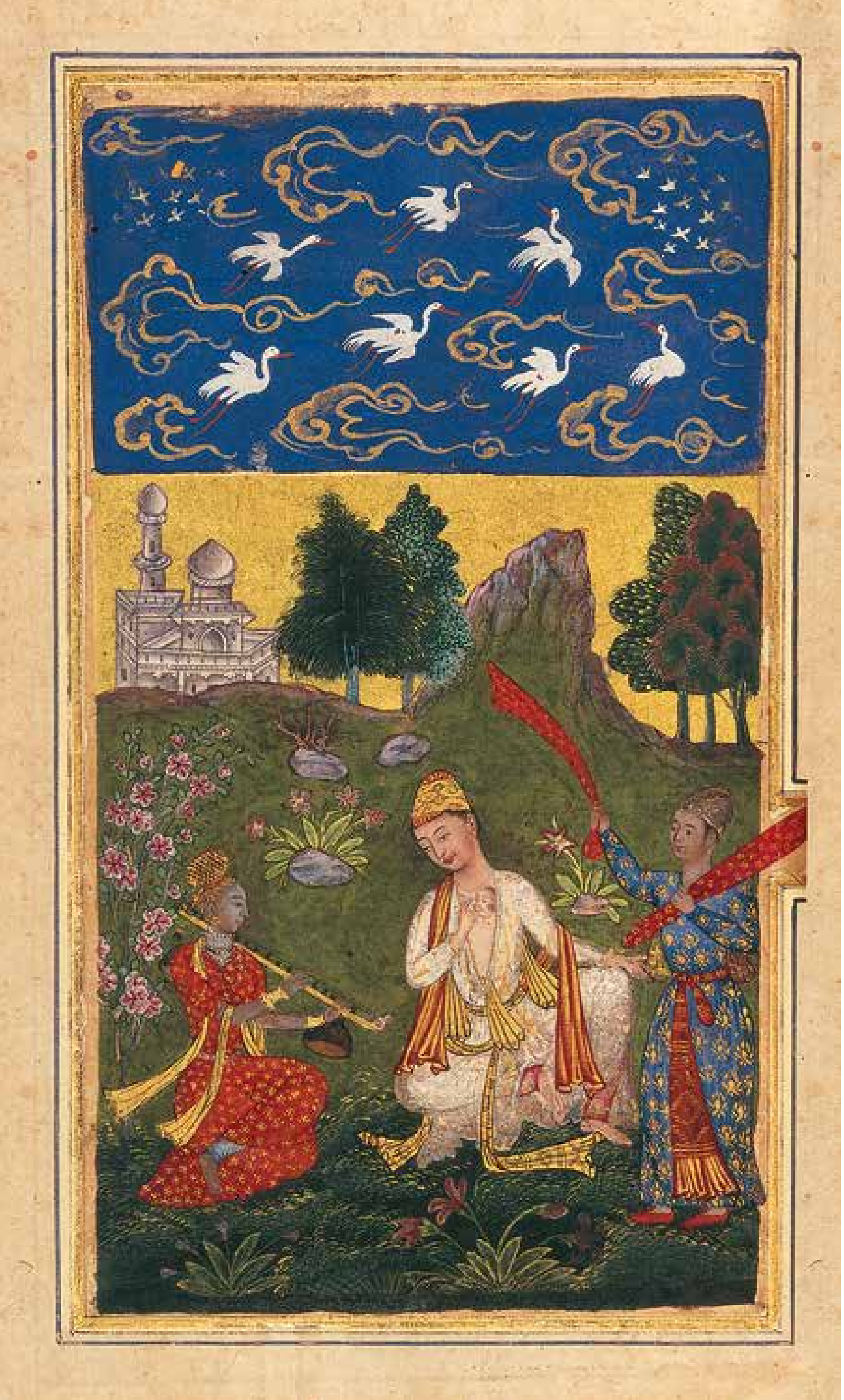
29 Manuscript of the *Pem Nem* (The Laws of Love)

Bijapur, text: A.H. 990 (A.D. 1590–91)
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 9½ × 6¼ in. (24 × 16 cm)
British Library, London (Add. 16880)

In addition to supporting painters, Ibrahim ʻAdil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627) was a patron of calligraphers, musicians, poets, and historians. Under his direction, Firishta and Rafi' al-Din Shirazi wrote their chronicles, works that remain the major historical sources for the Deccan, and during his reign the *Pem Nem*, a romantic tale that serves as a metaphor for the search for spiritual union with God, was composed.

The *Pem Nem* was dedicated to Ibrahim by Hasan Manju Khalji, pen name Hans, who commences the work with a lengthy introduction in praise of God, the Prophet, and the sultan, mentioning Ibrahim's elephant Atash Khan and his musical instrument, the *tambur* nicknamed Moti Khan. Then follows the main subject of the text, the story of Shah Ji, a prince of Kuldip, and Mah Ji, a princess from the island of Sangaldip. The two fall in love on seeing each other's portraits, but when they finally meet in person, Shah Ji decides that the woman he sees is merely a reflection of the ideal he has borne in his heart during the months he has spent searching for her. Shah Ji leaves Mah Ji: he to a year of contemplation, she to a year of mourning. The story ends happily, however. On further consideration, Shah Ji realizes that his love for Mah Ji is true; he returns to his beloved and the two wed. Metaphorically, this is the tale of an adept so caught up in his own conception of God that he does not recognize the real God when he finally achieves union with him—a genre with a long history in Persian, and then Indian, literature.

The illustrations in this manuscript have typically been ascribed to three artists, differentiated on the basis of their quality, but some traits carry throughout. The creative visual metaphors such as the depiction of Mah Ji's face on Shah Ji's chest not only are emotionally evocative, but also efficaciously demonstrate Shah Ji's devotion to his beloved and the fact that she is a very part of his being, whether or not he is consciously meditating on her.[1] This device is a visual expression of the sufi practice of *dhikr*, the constant remembrance of God and repetition of his ninety-nine names.



Cat. 29

Although the folios assigned to each painter range greatly in style, in general, the best paintings, by Hand A (folios 46r, 49v, 69r, 75v, 80r, 82v, 119r, 181v, 183r, 197v, 210r, 213v, 215r, 219r, and 232r), combine carefully conceived compositions, full of sympathy for the lovers' plight, with sensitively rendered figures and background landscapes incorporating Persian-style rocks. In the second-best paintings, by Hand C (folios 70v and 87r, and possibly 47r, 89v, and 138r), the figures

have rounder faces, trees are depicted as green masses covered with pointillist applications of colors, and the landscape features are coarsely executed. The weakest, by Hand B (folios 90v, 135r, 147r, 166r, 186r, 171r, 172r, 176r, 177v, 178v, 184r, 202r, 206r, and 224v), have tall, thin figures outlined in red, with chinless faces and beaky noses, set against backgrounds with little depth or detail.[2]

The manuscript as it stands now seems to reflect at least two moments of creation. All of the pages usually attributed to Hand A have been pasted into this copy and may have been removed from an earlier work that was prepared at the same time as the composition of the text, around 1590–91. This artist, among Bijapur's finest early practitioners, might also have been responsible for the great *Yogini* painting (cat. 30).[3]

Later, perhaps in the mid-seventeenth century, another copy was made that included the paintings from the Hand A copy as well as additional paintings by Hands B and C, other artists who may have been charged with filling out the original. The Hand A folios do, in fact, tell the complete story, while those by Hands B and C merely amplify it—prolonging the exposition of Shah Ji's initial meeting with the king of Sangaldip (even repeating a composition prepared by Hand A) and his decision to leave Mah Ji and the palace. They also expand the representation of the wedding and its preparations. These additions perhaps represent the interests of the manuscript's later owner, who requested that these subjects be worked up. At yet another moment the manuscript was rebound, resulting in the loss of some pages and the misordering of others.[4] MS

1. See the discussion in Hutton 2011. **2.** This argument was laid out by Barrett 1969 and is further discussed by Losty 1982, p. 73; Hutton 2006, pp. 73–78. **3.** Zebrowski 1983a, pp. 103–4. **4.** Catchwords and numbers on the paintings indicate that additional paintings were once part of the manuscript and that the current binding has disrupted the original sequence of pages. For instance, the pages now numbered 138 to 142 should be ordered as 139, 138, 141, 140, 142, and the author believes that the paintings opposite folios 139v, 174v, and 179v are missing. Blumhardt 1899, p. 57, original cataloguer of the text, noted that painting numbers 21, 24, and 25 are missing, but since most of his analysis has been rejected by later scholars, this observation has also been dismissed.

30 *Yogini* with a Mynah Bird

By the Dublin Painter
Bijapur, early 17th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, folio: 17⅜ × 12⅝ in. (44 × 32 cm)
Trustees of Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (In. 11A.31)

Inscribed on outer right and left margins: four couplets by Shaikh Kamal Khujandi in praise of a beautiful woman, straight as an *alif*, beautiful, tall, and with a mole at her lip[1]

On outer top and bottom margins: four couplets by Khwaja Salman al-Savuji in praise of a black-haired woman speaking and spreading fragrance, impossible to forget from one's heart and eyes[2]

On inner border on white ground, above and below: two couplets by Katibi, which include his name and state that when Katibi speaks of her eyes, a thousand *fitna* (stirrings of chaos) appear among people[3]

On inner border: ten couplets from Maulana Sa'd, including his name, about a heart burning with love[4]

On reverse: verses by Katibi

*Yogini*s, or female ascetics, as described in the *Nujum ul-'Ulum* (Stars of the Sciences, cat. 22) and *Pem Nem* (The Laws of Love, cat. 29), were thought to be agents of occult powers in a belief system that was prevalent in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in the Deccan.[5] Such female mystics more widely relate to Indian ideas of feminine auspiciousness and power, and ideals of renunciation. For Sultanate-era viewers, such images in painted albums might thus have been charged with great esoteric, layered meaning.

The dark *yogini* has the dusky complexion of an ash-covered mystic but bears the royal attributes of lavish jewelry and fine costume. Her red *chakdar jama* (four-pointed tunic) is appropriately colored and masculine in style, a marker of female penitents in India. The Deccani palace on the distant hill may be a gleaming symbol of the life she left behind as she walks in an open landscape holding a mynah bird, teller of stories and conveyer of joy. The flanking oversize lotus and peony plants are likely to have been copied from Chinese porcelain, which was known in Bijapur and examples of which still remain at the Bijapur Archaeological Museum, or from imported Chinese textiles (figs. 10–11).[6]

This imaginatively realized vision shows the hand of an unknown master. One suggestion is that the folios of the *Pem Nem* attributed to Hand A, including one depicting a prince conversing with a dark *yogini*, are by the same hand.[7] But Hand A, while strong and gifted, lacks the refinement and restraint shown here, and his *Pem Nem* pictures vary considerably in style. Another view, worthy of serious

Cat. 30

appreciation, is that the artist of this page is Farrukh Beg, whose style is recalled in the handling of trees, treatment of landscape, and the silhouette of the figure.[8] Perhaps Farrukh's encounter with the *yogini*s of the *Pem Nem* inspired this response, which has all the hallmarks of a Persian- and Mughal-trained hand.

The painting was part of an album that has a Golconda provenance (cat. 104), possibly having been sent as a gift from Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627) to Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (reigned 1580–1612). NNH

1. Kamal Khujandi 1954, p. 165. **2.** Salman al-Savuji 1917, p. 160. **3.** Katibi Turshizi 1964, p. 78. **4.** ʿAli Shir Nava'i 1905, pp. 85, 259. **5.** Diamond 2013a, p. 149, fig. 11.1, illustrates this work as *Yogini with a Mynah Bird*, Bijapur, ca. 1600. **6.** Chinese-style lotuses also appear on Deccan tiles as early as the Bahmani period; see Haidar, "The Art of the Deccan Courts," in this volume, p. 19. **7.** Zebrowski 1983a, pp. 104–5. **8.** Skelton 1957.

31 Sultan Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II Riding the Elephant Atash Khan

Attributed to Farrukh Husain
Bijapur, ca. 1600
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, folio: 6⅞ × 5⅜ in. (17.2 × 13.7 cm)
Collection of Mrs. Stuart Cary Welch, New Hampshire

Farrukh Husain, Bijapur's most celebrated painter, is undoubtedly the author of this luminous work. An almost identical, mirror-reversed version of the painting appears at the top of another masterful composition depicting the Hindu goddess Saraswati and inscribed to Farrukh Husain, thus providing the evidence for the attribution (fig. 49).[1] The Saraswati painting was first published fairly recently and, together with the present image, sheds light on Farrukh's close involvement with the *Kitab-i Nauras* (Book of Nine Essences, cat. 45), for incorporated into that composition are key verses from a song in the text: *Ibrahim ko got pita dev guru ganapati mata pavitra sarsuti* (Ibrahim whose father is guru Ganesh and mother, the pure Saraswati).[2] Thus the subject of the Saraswati painting derives from a highly personal textual reference to Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627), which, combined with the sultan's own presence along with his elephants, shows Farrukh's masterful representation of the idealized vision of self, state, and culture that Ibrahim espoused.

Atash Khan, the elephant portrayed here, was Ibrahim's favorite, described by the sultan in the *Kitab-i Nauras* as "resplendent as the sun," "speedy as eyesight," and with "tusks as sharp as spears."[3] By 1602 Atash Khan either had drowned, as suggested in Ibrahim's song number nine, or was otherwise rendered "useless," much to his master's grief.[4] Atash Khan's mate, Chanchal, appears as a demure and shadowy presence beside him; she was given to the Mughal Emperor Akbar (reigned 1556–1605) in 1604, embarking with the ambassador Asad Beg on a long journey northward to the Mughal court, during which she reportedly exhibited a great fondness for Portuguese wine.[5] Therefore, this painting can be dated to before her departure in that year and the presumed decline of Atash Khan. The rider is the sultan himself, recognizable by his stance and turban and by the fact that he is fanned by an attendant. A delicately Europeanized attendant on the ground blends harmoniously into the composition.[6] Another splendid elephant picture attributable to Farrukh depicts a heavily jeweled elephant, possibly Chanchal, just before her departure for the Mughal court (fig. 50).[7]

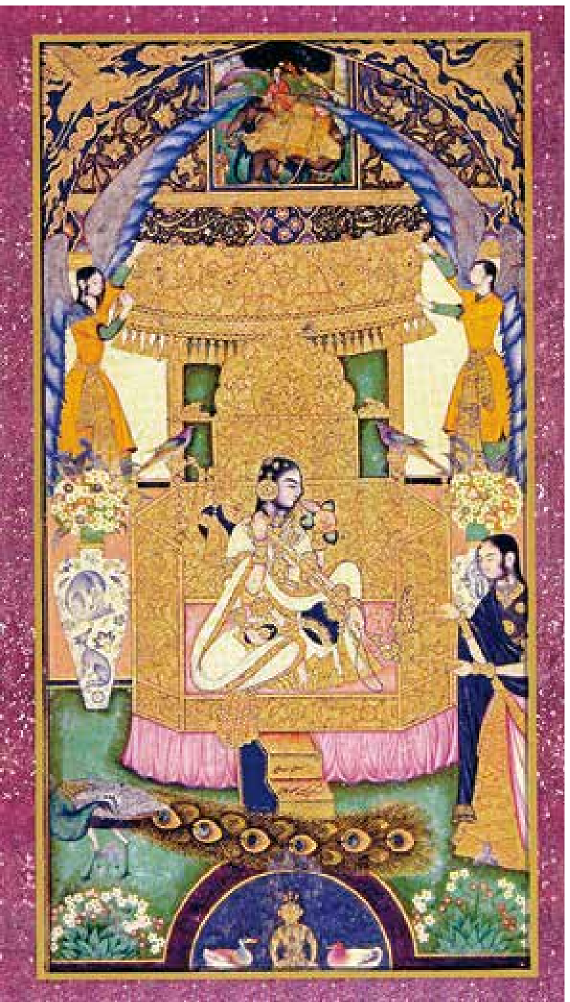


Fig. 49. *Saraswati Plays on a Vina*. By Farrukh Husain. Bijapur, ca. 1604. Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 9¼ × 6¼ in. (23.6 × 15.8 cm). Brigadier Sawai Bhawani Singh of Jaipur, City Palace (JC-1/RJS.1326-RM 177)

Cat. 31

The Iran-born, Safavid- and Mughal-trained painter Farrukh Husain remains one of the most enigmatic artists of the Deccan. The mystery lies less in his proposed trajectory, which is now largely accepted by most scholars, and more in his transformation from a competent but conventional painter into a master of great imagination and unique style during his Bijapur years. Farrukh's tenure at the court is marked by expressive paintings employing saturated, glowing color and distinctive figures, often leaning slightly forward with dark coronas and shadows. Dramatic shifts of scale and evocative landscapes further convey the otherworldly mood for which his Deccan phase is known, and that to some extent defines the spirit of Bijapur painting. In some part Farrukh's style must have come about through his exchanges with other artists. Apart from those with his compatriots at Bijapur, his interactions with the Mughal artist Aqa Riza Jahangiri and the Shirazi illuminator Muhammad 'Ali have also been recently reconsidered by scholars.[8] Of the approximately twenty-six paintings associated with Farrukh along his route from Shiraz (Iran) to Kabul (Afghanistan), Agra (North India), Bijapur (Deccan), and back to the Mughal north, about seven are associated with his Bijapur period.[9] NNH

1. The inscription appears on the stairs leading up to the throne: *harrarrahu*(?) *farrukh husain musavvir-i ibrahim 'adil shahi* (Work of the humble Farrukh Husain, painter of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah), with the words *ibrahim shahi* placed above. **2.** *Collection of Maharaja of Jaipur* 2003, pl. I; Singh 2004, p. 99, no. 1326, pl. C (following p. 74). For a more detailed discussion, see Haidar 2011b. The verses are from song number fifty-six; see N. Ahmad 1956b, pp. 146–47. **3.** N. Ahmad 1956b, song number forty-five, pp. 119–20. **4.** Ibid., song number nine, pp. 132–33: "Having separated from Atash Khan I feel the anguish of burning fire. My sad plight is such that the exemplary heat on the Day of Resurrection with its acute intensity is nothing in comparison. . . . Taking water as fire's enemy it [the elephant] hastened and plunged into the water tank. . . . I fail to understand how it would survive." Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam relate that Asad Beg's request for the elephant Atish Para (Atash Khan) was turned down as he had been rendered useless two years before; Alam and Subrahmanyam forthcoming. **5.** Alam and Subrahmanyam forthcoming. **6.** Two grisaille drawings relating to this painting are known: one is in a private collection in London (Sotheby's 1989, lot 91); the second is in the Freer and Sackler Galleries, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (Lawton and Lentz 1998, pp. 182–83). The Polier Albums in the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, also contain a woodcut loosely based on this composition. **7.** N. C. Mehta 1926, pl. 47. This painting is now thought to be lost. **8.** Skelton 2011a has proposed interactions between the Mughal artist Aqa Riza Jahangiri and Farrukh Husain. Seyller 2011c has proposed that Muhammad 'Ali may have been in the Deccan around 1590. **9.** Skelton 1957; Seyller 1995; Beach 2011, pp. 187–90.

32 Royal Horse and Groom

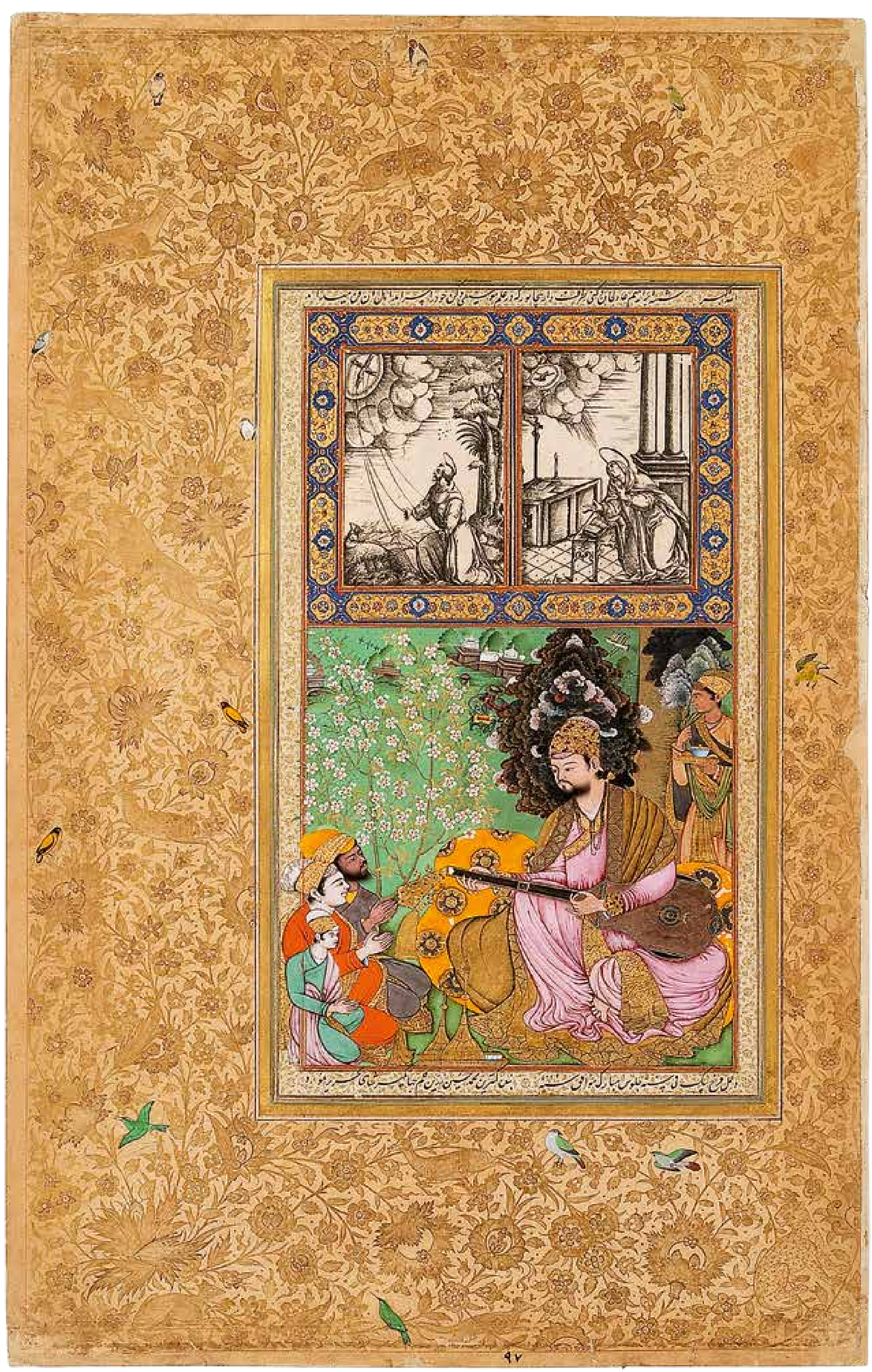
Attributed to Farrukh Husain
Bijapur, ca. 1600–1610
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, folio: 17⅜ × 10⅝ in. (44 × 27 cm)
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IS.88-1965)

Farrukh Husain's recognizable hand is most likely the one to have created this spirited horse portrait. His mark includes a verdant green background with impressionistically rendered conical trees shaded on the outer edges. The figure of the groom, caught in active movement, and the caparisoned horse have been compared to figures in the elephant portrait also attributed to Farrukh (fig. 50).[1] The large, free-hanging, graduated flower pendants worn by the horse seem to have been a local style of animal jewelry and also appear on the steed in Farrukh's painting of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627) riding from the Saint Petersburg Album (fig. 5).[2] NNH

1. Zebrowski 1983a, p. 98. **2.** The painting came from the collection of the late Captain E. C. Spencer-Churchill.

Fig. 50. *Portrait of an Elephant, Either Atash Khan or Chanchal*. Attributed to Farrukh Husain. Bijapur, ca. 1600–1604. Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 4⅛ × 5½ in. (10.5 × 14.1 cm). Formerly in the Babu Sitaram Sahu Collection, Varanasi, location unknown

Cat. 32



Cat. 33

33 Sultan Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II Playing the *Tambur*

Ascribed to Farrukh Beg in an inscription written by Muhammad Husain Zarin Qalam
Bijapur, ca. 1595–1600 (painting); Agra, A.H. 1019 (A.D. 1610–11) (album page and inscription)
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, folio: 16⅝ × 10⅜ in. (42.3 × 26.5 cm)
Náprstkovo Muzeum Asijských, Afrických a Amerických Kultur, Prague (A.12182)

Inscribed: *allah u akbar shabih-i ibrahim ʿadilkhan dakani tarafdar-i bijapur ki dar ʿilm-i/musiqi-yi dikan khud ra sar amad-i ahl-i an fann mi danad/va ʿamal-i farrukh beg fi sana-yi 5 julus-i mubarak muvafiq-i sana-yi 1019 banda-yi kamtarin muhammad husain zarin qalam jahangir shahi tahrir numud*

(God is highest. Likeness of Ibrahim ʿAdil Khan of the Deccan, ruler of Bijapur, who, in the science of Deccani music, considers himself superior to the masters of that art. And the work of Farrukh Beg. In the fifth auspicious regnal year [of Emperor Jahangir], corresponding to A.D. 1610–11, written by the humble servant Muhammad Husain Zarin Qalam [in the service of] Jahangir)

Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627) sits holding his beloved instrument, the *tambur* that he named Moti Khan, in the posture of an accomplished Indian musician, with one knee raised to support the guitar and toes splayed to balance the body. Accompanists clap *taal*, a system of beats, while nature blossoms beyond the bolstered divide. The painting is associated with verses in the *Kitab-i Nauras* (Book of Nine Essences, cat. 45), in particular, a description in song number fifty-six (the same song from which verses appear in a depiction of Saraswati by Farrukh Husain, fig. 49): "In one hand he has a musical instrument, in the other a book from which he reads and sings songs related to [the] *Nauras*. He is robed in saffron-colored dress, his teeth are black, the nails are painted in red, and he loves all. Ibrahim whose father is guru Ganesh and mother, the pure Saraswati, has a rosary of crystal round his neck, a city like Vidyapur [Bijapur], and an elephant as his vehicle."[1]

While this composition is not an exact illustration of the verses, certain key elements correspond, most obviously the description of Ibrahim holding a musical instrument. The sultan's colored nails, also seen on his accompanists, probably reflect a custom by musicians, while the reference to his blackened teeth likely indicates the use of *missi*, a beautification technique similar to the application of kohl around the eye.[2] From the direction in which he holds his *tambur*, it can be inferred that he was left-handed. This conclusion is also suggested by the hitherto unexplained feature of a sharpened and extended thumbnail on his left hand, most likely the digit with which he plucked his string, in another portrait of him by ʿAli Riza (cat. 46).

This painting is an important key by which Farrukh Husain of the Deccan has been reasoned as being the same artist as Farrukh Beg of the Mughal court.[3] In this largely accepted view, Farrukh, having left the Mughals for Bijapur earlier in his career, returned during the reign of Emperor Jahangir (1605–27), with this powerful image among his offerings to his new patron. The painting comes from an album of Jahangir, where it has been mounted together with European prints, as was sometimes done with Deccan subjects in Mughal albums. The inscription written by the leading Mughal calligrapher Muhammad Husain Zarin Qalam has been interpreted to suggest his diplomacy and helpfulness toward Farrukh Beg (probably an old friend) in presenting a painting to Jahangir that was likely originally made for Ibrahim, Farrukh's former patron. Zarin Qalam composed the inscription in such a way that the date, which refers to the inscription, appears close to Farrukh's name, thus implying that the painting may also have been made in 1610–11, in a deliberate ambiguity.[4] The inscription also takes a critical tone, noting that Ibrahim considered himself superior to masters of Indian music.

Changes in Farrukh's style over his long tenure at various Persian and Indian courts have generally been thought to reflect shifts in patronage. However, this painting demonstrates that even within a particular period, his style was not uniform. Here, compared to his other Bijapur works, the figures are larger, the faces rounder, and the composition bolder. Fine passages of stippling and shading coexist with simpler elements such as the background elephants. NNH

1. N. Ahmad 1956b, pp. 146–47. **2.** Topsfield 2004c, p. 256, fig. 9, shows musicians with red nails. For *missi*, see Platts 1993, p. 1036. Thanks are due to Prashant Keshavamurti for this information. **3.** Robert Skelton first proposed this idea; see Skelton 1957; Skelton 2011a. See also Seyller 1995; Beach 2011, pp. 187–90. **4.** Of course, if the date pertained to the painting, it would be highly unlikely for the exact day of the regnal year of its original creation to be mentioned. Also, the inscription on the lower line starts with the word *va ʿamal* . . . (and the work of . . .), which is a grammatically incorrect way to begin a sentence. Therefore, the first half of the second line may in fact be the continuation of the upper inscription, which would have to be reordered slightly to understand its original sequence but would have essentially the same meaning.

Cat. 34

Cat. 35

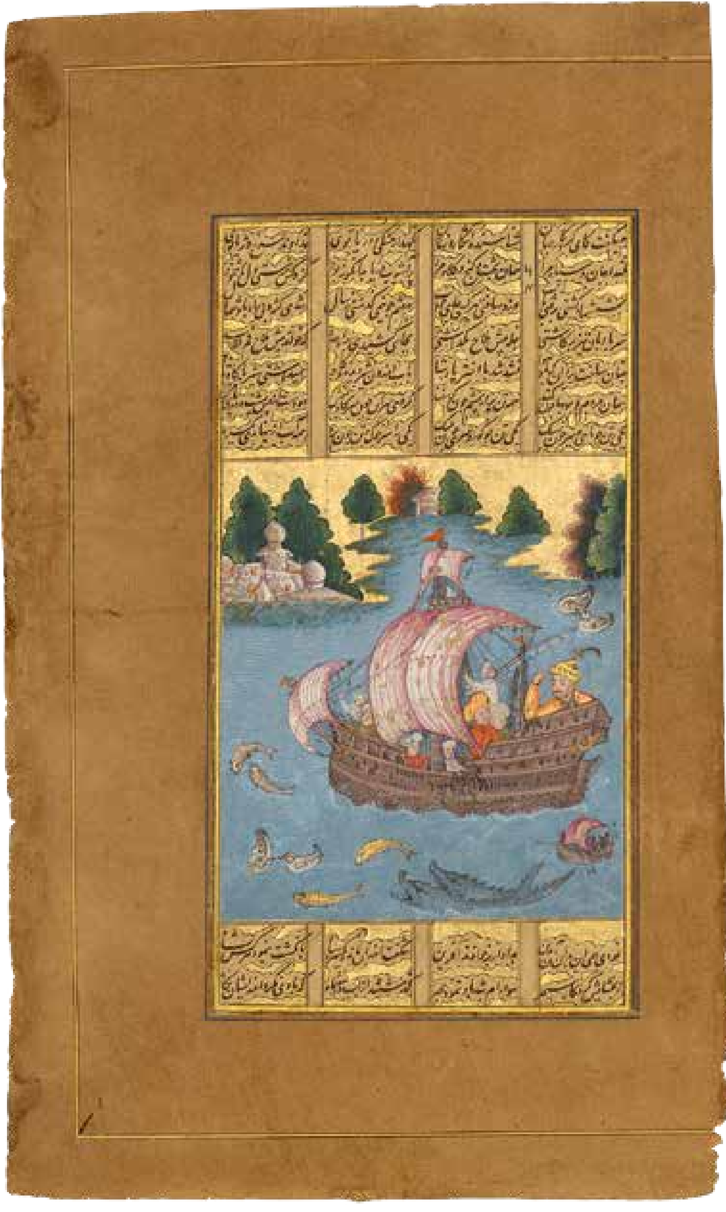
34 “Suhrab Slain by Rustam,” Folio from a *Shahnama* (Book of Kings)

Bijapur, ca. 1610
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper; image: 2⅝ × 3⅛ in. (6.7 × 8 cm), folio: 8 × 4¾ in. (20.3 × 12.2 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of The Kronos Collections, 1985 (1985.404.1)

35 “The Death of Farud,” Folio from a *Shahnama* (Book of Kings)

Bijapur, ca. 1610
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper; image: 3¼ × 3⅝ in. (8.4 × 9.1 cm), folio: 8 × 4⅞ in. (20.3 × 12.4 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of The Kronos Collections, 1985 (1985.405.1)

Cat. 36



Cat. 37

36 "Piran Stays the Execution of Bizhan," Folio from a *Shahnama* (Book of Kings)

Bijapur, ca. 1610
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper; image: 5¼ × 2¾ in. (13.2 × 7 cm), folio: 7⅞ × 4¾ in. (20 × 12.1 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Wendy Findlay, 1983 (1983.354.1)

37 "Kai Khusrau Crosses the Sea," Folio from a *Shahnama* (Book of Kings)

Bijapur, ca. 1610
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper; image: 5⅜ × 2¾ in. (13.6 × 7 cm), folio: 8 × 4⅞ in. (20.3 × 12.4 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Wendy Findlay, 1982 (1982.476.3)

Given the great value placed on Persianate culture in the Deccan, it is unsurprising that the *Shahnama* (Book of Kings), an epic relating the feats of the kings of both legendary and historical Iran, should have been illustrated in the region. Compiled by Abu'l Qasim Firdausi (ca. 940–1020) from earlier histories of the kings of Persia, the text eventually came to be represented more than any other narrative in illustrated manuscripts across the Persianate world. With the exception of a few stray folios, no other early seventeenth-century Deccani copies of the *Shahnama* have been published.[1] Produced in Bijapur in the early seventeenth century, this small but delightful manuscript surely once contained far more than the two dozen or so folios that have survived.[2]

Although all the known pages from this manuscript were at some point remargined with a brittle, brown paper that has a glossy, oily look, their original main support is a very thin, high-quality, cream-colored paper, sprinkled with gold. Four columns of *nasta'liq* script have been inscribed on this lush surface, separated from one another by gold rules. Pages with paintings bear even more gold, since the text is surrounded by gilt cloud bands. There is no evidence, as yet, that the manuscript was produced for Bijapur's royal family, but the abundance of expensive materials suggests its sponsor was a high-ranking member of courtly society.[3]

The illustrations combine features familiar from Persian painting with unique traits found in Bijapuri works on paper. For example, the landscapes in which the heroes confront one another include the same red- and green-speckled trees that appear in portraits of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627). Facial types and the clusters of white buildings on horizon lines further link the illustrations to other images from Bijapur. The assimilation of the *Shahnama* into the Bijapuri visual world is not total, however. Figures wear distinctly Persian, not Deccani, clothing, and when depicting popular episodes, the artists modeled their illustrations after the standard compositions established in sixteenth-century Persian and Central Asian copies of the *Shahnama*.

In the tragic illustration of "Suhrab Slain by Rustam" (cat. 34), Rustam, his face pale and big eyes open wide, rips apart his tiger-skin garment in agony, having discovered that he has slain his son. Suhrab lies bleeding on the ground next to him. Features that derive from Deccani painting include the color palette emphasizing pink, orange, and green and the candy-colored swirling clouds in the upper right and left corners. A Deccani precedent for such polychromatic clouds is found in a manuscript of the *Anvar-i Suhaili* produced in Golconda in 1582.[4] A mural depicting the same episode—among the most piercing stories of the epic—appears inside a pavilion within the garden complex of Kumatgi, ten miles east of Bijapur. The mural was probably produced during the reign of Ibrahim II, suggesting that this story may have resonated in both royal and courtly Bijapur at this time.[5]

Unlike most known illustrated pages from this copy of the *Shahnama*, "The Death of Farud" (cat. 35) depicts events that do not appear until later in the text. It shows the demise of the warrior Farud after a battle with the great Persian heroes Rustam and Bizhan. Farud's head is in the lap of his mother, Jarira, who commits suicide soon after the death of her son. In contrast to the episode of Rustam and Suhrab, this painting bears muted emotional content. As with many illustrations from this *Shahnama*, the composition extends into the right margin and over the gold rules around the text block. It seems as though those in charge of the text and rules expected less expansive illustrations; however, such extensions were common in Persian and Indian manuscripts. The cluster of white palace buildings on the horizon is a visual trope that Mughal artists frequently used in the 1580s and 1590s and may have been adopted in the Deccan upon the immigration of artists such as Farrukh Husain.

At least five illustrations of the story of Bizhan and Manizhe survive from this manuscript.[6] Among the most romantic stories in the *Shahnama*, it was a favorite among illustrators, and many scenes are so popular that stock compositions evolved for their depiction. The protagonists are lovers from opposing kingdoms, and in "Piran Stays the Execution of Bizhan" (cat. 36), Bizhan is about to be killed, having been captured inside the palace of Manizhe's father amid a dalliance with the princess. He narrowly avoids death through the intervention of the Turanian general Piran, who appears in the bottom left of the painting on horseback. As in other folios from this manuscript, a certain coarseness is evident in the faces and clothing, but the vitality of the palette and the ample use of gold give it remarkable charm.

In "Kai Khusrau Crosses the Sea" (cat. 37), amid a Bijapuri landscape replete with speckled trees and white palaces under a golden sky, the legendary Persian king Kai Khusrau and his men sail across the sea after a fierce battle in Makran. The water was rough ("lions fought with oxen in the waves") and full of miraculous creatures ("a fish that had a leopard's head . . . a lamb a hog's").[7] This story is frequently illustrated, perhaps because artists enjoyed depicting the amazing sea

creatures that Kai Khusrau and his companions encountered. No obviously mythical animals swim around the sailboat in this painting, though fish, ducks, and alligators are paired as if in a love story. LW

1. The only other Deccani *Shahnama* published to date is an abridged manuscript from about 1660–80, which was produced in Sikakol (now Srikakulam), a coastal city in present-day Andhra Pradesh (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms. 23). See Leach 1995, vol. 2, pp. 903–12. **2.** In addition to the four pages without illustrations in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1982.476.4; 1983.354.2; 1985.404.2; 1985.405.2), there are illustrated and unillustrated pages in the San Diego Museum of Art (1990.437.1–4); Williams College Museum of Art, Williamstown, Mass. (91.15.61-3); Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.81.12a–b); Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IS.75-1993); Asian Art Museum, San Francisco (1990.219); Cleveland Museum of Art (2013.283.a–b); and private collections in the United States and United Kingdom. **3.** As yet, no colophon has been located. The manuscript was first attributed to Bijapur on the basis of the style of its illustrations and calligraphy, which is particularly close to that of the *Pem Nem* now in the British Library, London (Add. 16880); McInerney 1982, p. 49. For an extended discussion of the Bijapuri manuscript and an appendix of known pages, see Weinstein forthcoming. **4.** See, for example, fol. 61v; Guy and Swallow 1990, pp. 109–10, ill. no. 90. The *Anvar-i Suhaili* is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IS.13:116-1962). **5.** This mural is discussed in Overton 2011b, pp. 136–39. **6.** These include Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.81.12a), San Diego Museum of Art (1990.437.3), Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IS.75-1993), and Cleveland Museum of Art (2013.283.a). **7.** Firdausi 1909, pp. 245–46.

38 Dervish Receiving a Visitor

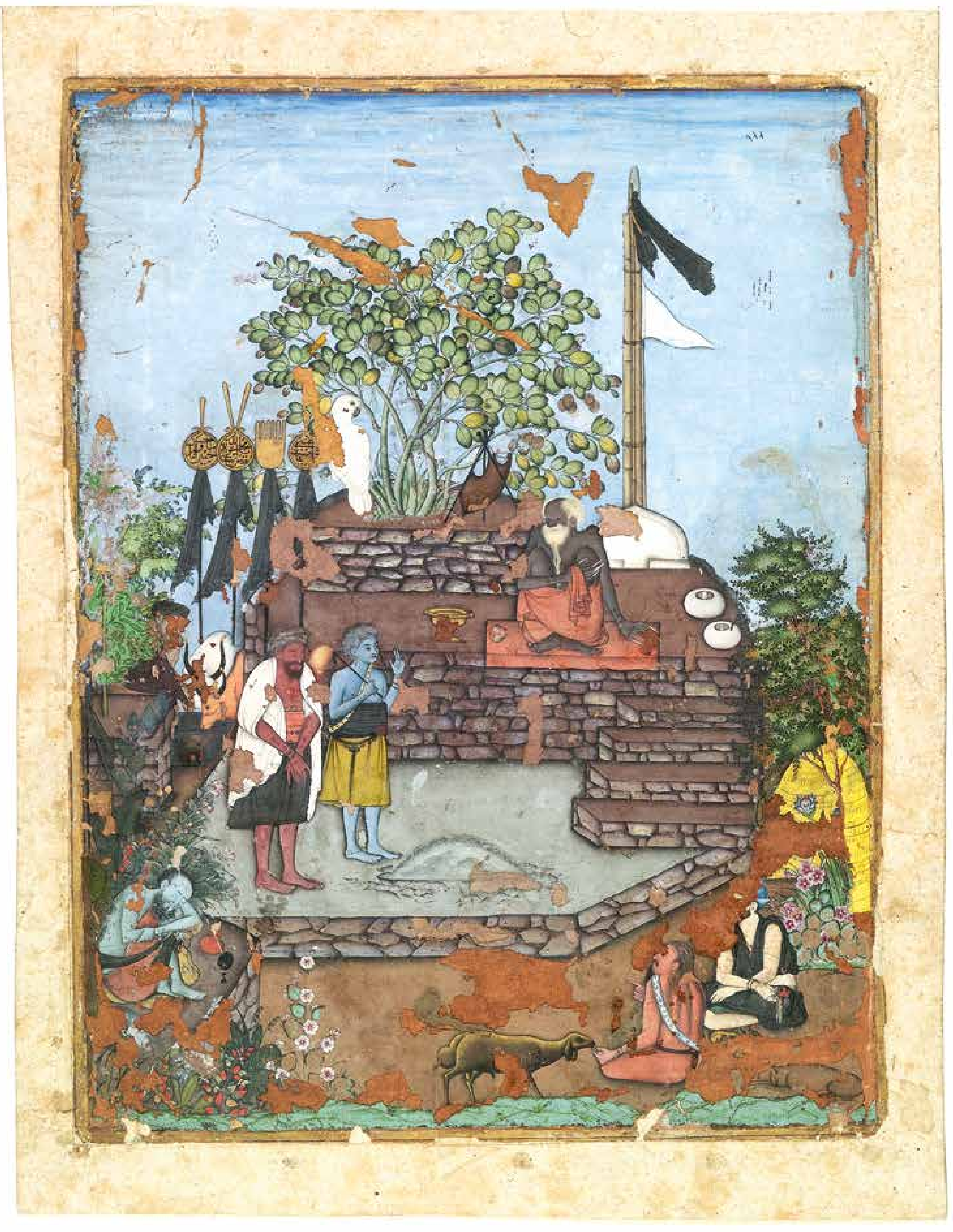
By the Bodleian Painter
Bijapur, ca. 1610–20
Ink, opaque watercolor, gold, and silver on paper, 10⅜ × 7¾ in. (26.5 × 19.7 cm)
Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (Ms. Douce Or. b. 2, fol. 1r)

Inscribed on the standards: (left) *ima[m] hasan wa ima[m] Husain* (Imam Hasan and Husain); (center) *ya allah, ya muhammad, ya ʿali* (O Allah, O Muhammad, O ʿAli); (right) *ya husain aʿinni* (Help me, O Husain)

In Bijapur, sufi saints of all ranks formed spiritual lineages and held allegiances as powerful as those of its kings. Here a humble dervish, identifiable by his long nails and cross-legged pose, receives a visitor, who is also a Sufi, signaled by the tattoos or burn marks on his forearms, and is accompanied by an ash-covered devotee. The dervish has his begging bowl near him and the offering of a mango on the ground. The simple outdoor holy shrine is marked by flags arranged near the white grave, probably that of the old man's *pir* (spiritual guide), while other mystics are seated all around. A sacred tree flourishes in the middle of the mound, with a large white bird perched beside tall standards bearing inscriptions. The bird, the only oversize element in this otherwise perfectly scaled composition, is almost directly quoted from an engraving of 1560 (fig. 13) by the Netherlandish artist Adriaen Collaert (1560–1618).[1]

This gathering of mystics appears to show holy men from several formal and informal traditions in various postures of sleep, meditation, or observation. Each one bears traits signifying a particular order. The visitor, it has been suggested, is Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627), appearing in the guise of a Sufi but recognizable to some by the pointed nose and beard. The subject of the meeting between a king and a holy man had developed in Mughal painting by this time, representing a well-known idea about the interaction between the temporal and spiritual world. However, the figure's closed eyes alternatively suggest that he may be a blind dervish awaiting a miracle as other, more advanced Sufis were known to have performed.

The painting reveals an exactitude of pen and brush that distinguishes the Bodleian Painter's other works. Contours are precisely delineated, modeled, and shaded to great effect, with dark coronas appearing around the edges that allow for contrast and give the slight illusion of figures rising up from the ground. In addition to the flawless polish, the Bodleian Painter reveals great sensitivity to nature, as



Cat. 38

Detail of cat. 38

expressed through the tendrils of vines growing between stones and the carefully treated bamboo poles from which the flags fly. The use of gold and silver—in the gold-stippled fleece of the sheep and the silver trough for the cows—brings luster to this otherwise ascetic world rendered in tones of brown, olive, and gray.

The identity of the Bodleian Painter has remained mysterious. One recent suggestion is that he is 'Ali Riza, creator of several other works in this volume (cats. 46–47). Another possibility is that the two are different painters, but each was influenced by Farrukh Husain, whose style of trees and compositional effects are seen here. The eighteenth-century Lucknow painter Mihr Chand made a copy of this painting, which reveals that a black-faced langur monkey once sat on a stand at the upper left.[2] His painting is inscribed "Hazrat Shah Murad," referring to an as-yet-unidentified saint, who may be the seated subject of the works. NNH

1. See Haidar, "The Art of the Deccan Courts," in this volume, pp. 21–23.
2. Topsfield 1994, p. 30, fig. 5.

39 Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II Holding Castanets

Attributed to the Bodleian Painter
Bijapur, ca. 1610–20
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 6¾ × 4 in. (17 × 10.2 cm)
Trustees of British Museum, London, 1937 (1937,0410,0.2)

The musically and mystically inclined Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627) walks in a dark landscape where an invisible breeze is captured in the swaying movement of his diaphanous robes and rich gold wrap. Flowers bloom at his feet, and a white palace with Safavid-style figures gleams in the distance. The setting may be that of a scented night garden, a powerful metaphorical setting for spiritual and romantic union in the Deccani literary imagination.[1]

In one hand Ibrahim holds castanets (*kartal*s) of the kind used in devotional temple music (*bhajan*s), indicative of his dedication to Saraswati, the Hindu goddess of music and learning. In his other hand is a small green cloth, a symbol of kingship adapted from Persian royal imagery, in which the ruler is often depicted with a cup in the right hand and a small cloth in the left. Ibrahim wears little jewelry; instead, his opulence derives from his golden textiles, which might have been imports from Gujarat.

The identification of this figure as Ibrahim has never been doubted, even though there is no inscription and Ibrahim's features vary widely in his portraits. NNH

1. Husain 2012.

Cat. 39

40 Stout Courtier

Attributed to the Bodleian Painter
Bijapur, ca. 1620
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 6¾ × 4 in. (17 × 10 cm)
Trustees of British Museum, London (1937,0410,0.3)

41 A Mullah

Attributed to the Bodleian Painter
Bijapur, ca. 1620
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper; image: 6 × 3 in. (15 × 7.5 cm), folio: 12 × 7¾ in. (30.3 × 19.6 cm)
British Library, London (J.25,14)

42 Sultan Ibrahim ʻAdil Shah II Standing

Attributed to the Bodleian Painter
Bijapur, ca. 1620
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 7 × 4½ in. (17.8 × 11.3 cm)
San Diego Museum of Art, Edwin Binney 3rd Collection (1990.440)

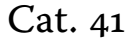
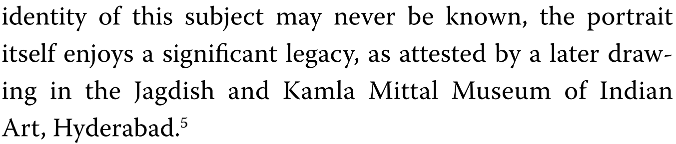
These three small portraits can be attributed to the Bijapuri artist known as the Bodleian Painter or possibly ʻAli Riza.[1] Active during the reign of Ibrahim ʻAdil Shah II (1580–1627), the Bodleian Painter is renowned for his realism, draftsmanship, and technical precision, three qualities that often set him apart within the broader history of Bijapuri painting. Each of these portraits depicts a single figure on a plain background accented by floral clusters and/or paired birds on the upper and lower edges. All of the figures wear white or beige garments, and it is in these passages that the artist's exemplary use of underdrawing and fascination with white, the former often showing through the latter, are most conspicuous.[2]

The depiction of a Bijapuri courtier (cat. 40) has been cropped on its lower edge, but a comparison to the two other portraits presumably from the same album (cats. 41–42) suggests that the pointed green forms at the bottom would have been parts of flowers. Like Ibrahim in catalogue number 42, this courtier wears luxurious gold cloths, including a geometric *patka* (sash), turban sash, and large shawl. The artist's trademark underdrawing is visible, especially where the pigment has flaked off, and he has used different tones of white to imply volume, especially in the rotund upper body. The raised rosettes on the edges of the *jama* (robe) contribute additional refinement.

The identity of this figure is unknown, but his dignified stature and exquisite dress leave little doubt that he was a prominent courtier during Ibrahim's reign. The most

Cat. 40

substantial information about the notables who populated Ibrahim's inner circle can be found in the contemporary text entitled *Khan-i Khalil* (Table of the Friend of God), which includes descriptions of six of the ruler's closest confidants, all of whom hailed from Iran.[3] One might speculate that this stern figure is Shah Nawaz Khan, the prime minister from Shiraz known for his lofty palace in Nauraspur (the new city whose construction he supervised in 1599); his competence in mathematics, astronomy, and physiognomy; and his gifting of books (via his son) to Ibrahim, including canonical texts on *mantiq* (logic) and *kalam* (theology).[4] While the

Cat. 41

Cat. 42

identity of this subject may never be known, the portrait itself enjoys a significant legacy, as attested by a later drawing in the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad.[5]

In *A Mullah* (cat. 41), the individual's dress and accoutrements—white and beige robes, bulbous white turban with red cap, natural-colored Kashmiri pashmina shawl, prayer beads, and book (possibly a Qur'an) with a fine gold binding—indicate that he is a religious dignitary.[6] The Bodleian Painter created at least three depictions of Bijapuri religious personalities. While this figure's dress can be compared to that of the seated Sufi in *Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II Venerates a Sufi Saint* (cat. 46), in his urbane demeanor he is the polar opposite of the wild ascetic in *Dervish Receiving a Visitor* (cat. 38). Considered together, the three paintings exemplify Ibrahim's multifarious approach to religion, ranging from the orthodox and canonical to the heterodox and mystical. In addition to pledging devotion to the Prophet Muhammad, the Hindu goddess Saraswati, and the Deccani sufi saint Sayyid Muhammad Husaini Gesu Daraz (1321–1422), Ibrahim was nominally a Sunni who employed a seal with the Shi'a prayer Nadi 'Aliyan (call to 'Ali) and adopted

Detail of cat. 41

the Hindu title Jagadguru (world teacher) while repenting as a true *hanif* (Hanafi Sunni Muslim).[7]

A number of sufi orders were active during Ibrahim's reign, including those composed of Arab émigrés who sought to reform Bijapur's courtly culture from within its urban and elite environment (Qadiri, Shattari) and those made up of local saints who fostered ties with the general populace and preferred to maintain a distance from the court (Chishti). Several Sufis in the former category attempted to steer Ibrahim toward the orthodox path, including the Qadiri saint Shah 'Abu'l Hasan (died 1635), whose family had migrated from Baghdad to Bidar to Bijapur.[8] The library of Bijapur's Qadiri order was apparently significant, and Shah 'Abu'l Hasan presented Ibrahim with books with illustrious provenances.[9] Could this figure be 'Abu'l Hasan or at least an equally influential Arab sufi intellectual?

Of the approximately sixteen portraits of Ibrahim datable to his reign, *Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II Standing* (cat. 42) may constitute his most accurate representation.[10] Though the ruler can be readily identified through his codified iconography—including the elephant in the background, the white handkerchief in his hand, and his royal garb (flat turban with gold sash, white *jama* with pants underneath, and gold *patka* with geometric designs)—what is distinctive here is his prominent hooked nose, thinning beard, and darker complexion. The last trait appears to be historically accurate, based on the Flemish gem trader Jacques de Coutre's account that the ruler was "a little dark in the face like a gypsy."[11] Ibrahim is similarly depicted in the Bodleian Painter's masterpiece *Dervish Receiving a Visitor*, and a comparison between his paintings and those by Farrukh Husain (cat. 32, fig. 50) underscores the former artist's inclination toward realism in contrast to the latter's idealism.[12] The Bodleian Painter achieved his heightened naturalism through shading, especially in the faces of his subjects, underdrawing, and pigment layering. Meticulous lines of underdrawing are visible throughout Ibrahim's dress, and the artist applied white pigment with restraint and delicacy in order to illuminate the color beneath, whether the ruler's brown skin or his orange pants. While at first glance this portrait may appear to be a staid depiction of Ibrahim, sustained firsthand inspection reveals the artist's subtle and methodical hand. KO

1. For an overview of 'Ali Riza, whom the author has argued elsewhere to be the artist known as the Bodleian Painter, see Overton 2011a. For the Bodleian Painter, see Zebrowski 1983a, pp. 78–86. **2.** For a fourth painting of this type (of a European couple), and presumably belonging to the same album, see Overton 2011a, p. 384, fig. 10. **3.** For the original Persian and an English translation, see *Seh Nasr* (Three Essays) in Ghani 1930, apps. A–C. **4.** For the description of Shah Nawaz Khan in the *Khan-i Khalil*, see ibid., pp. 453–58. For a history of Nauraspur, see Hutton 2006, pp. 107–19. For volumes in Shah Nawaz Khan's collection that eventually passed to Ibrahim as gifts, see Overton 2011b, pp. 61–63. **5.** The author is grateful to Navina Najat Haidar for pointing out this work. **6.** For depictions of religious authorities wearing Kashmiri shawls, especially plain ones, see S. Cohen 2008, pp. 180–81; Wright 2008, pp. 288–90, no. 36A, pp. 326–27, no. 45A, pp. 397–98, no. 66A. The author thanks Stephen Cohen and Rosemary Crill for these references. **7.** See Ibrahim's invocations in his *Kitab-i Nauras*; N. Ahmad 1956b, p. 128. Hanafi Sunni Islam was restored in Bijapur early on in Ibrahim's reign, in 1583. For the presentation of Ibrahim as a "*hanif* pure believer, not a polytheist" in the epigraphy of his tomb, part of the Ibrahim Rauza complex, see Wannell 2011, pp. 255–56, 266. **8.** Eaton 1978, pp. 108–12, forms the basis of the recent assessment by Wannell 2011, p. 266. **9.** For the Qadiriyah Library, see Qureshi 1980, p. 4. For more on the volumes that Shah 'Abu'l Hasan presented to Ibrahim, see Overton 2011b, pp. 63–65. **10.** The painting's muted brown background, the elephant's elongated trunk, and the foreground floral clusters appear to have been significantly restored, as shown by the reproduction in Sherwani and Joshi 1973–74, vol. 2, pl. VIb. Some of the restoration of the elephant's trunk was removed in 2014, as shown here. Ibrahim himself appears untouched. **11.** Jacques de Coutre, *Vida de Iaques de Couttre, natural de la ciudad de Brugas*; see de Coutre 1991, p. 298. For more information on de Coutre's memoirs, see Overton 2014. **12.** For one of Farrukh's especially idealized depictions of Ibrahim (beardless, with a slender, sloping nose), see Overton 2014, p. 247, fig. 10.4, p. 251, fig. 10.7.

Detail of cat. 41

Cat. 43

43 Siesta

Bijapur, early 17th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 8⅛ × 5⅝ in. (20.6 × 14.2 cm)
Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (T.4595, fol. 36)

44 Ascetic Visited by a *Yogini*

Bijapur, early 17th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 11⅞ × 8⅞ in. (30.3 × 22.6 cm)
Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (T.4596, fol. 4a)

These two opulent paintings are by the same anonymous artist, whose knowledge of varied idioms is evident through the rich stylistic quotations. In *Siesta* (cat. 43), a handsome prince, most likely an idealized and youthful Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627), dozes in a Deccan garden. He is attended by three young pages, beardless like himself, and is adorned with amulets and other golden jewels. One boy presses the sultan's feet and knees; another youth offers him a small cup, likely containing the opium that has sent him to sleep, while a sword bearer fans him with a white scarf. Opiate fantasies seem to extend into the setting, where irises and other blossoms grow outward from lush green tufts around small trees and rocks, giving the impression that they hang from above rather than grow from the ground. The

Cat. 44

second work (cat. 44), likely made sometime later based on its slight stiffness, depicts a *yogini* (female ascetic) visiting a sufi ascetic, each recognizable by various attributes.[1] There is much to linger over in this painting, which has a rich range of foreign references. The pair of lions in the foreground are posed in a fifteenth-century Persian Turkmen style. European and Safavid figures can be seen within the architecture in the background, as can elephants, villagers, and a cowherd. In both works the artist mixes rich and cool color, strong and subtle brushwork.

These works are part of a set of five by the same hand, possibly once forming an album of delightful scenes.[2] The group has also been attributed to the same artist who created *Yogini with a Mynah Bird* now in Dublin (cat. 30).[3] While this attribution to the Dublin Painter has considerable merit, there is also the possibility that two different artists were involved. The *Yogini* painting has a softer, more modeled handling of form and landscape along with a different palette. By contrast, the paintings under discussion make use of distinctive, pale, flat colors to fill the background as well as more solid, voluminous figures and generally crisper edged outlines.

NNH

1. Zebrowski 1983a, p. 111, ill. no. 86. **2.** Ibid., p. 110. **3.** Michell and Zebrowksi 1999, p. 173.

45 Folios from a Manuscript of the *Kitab-i Nauras* (Book of Nine Essences) of Sultan Ibrahim ʻAdil Shah II

Calligraphy by Khalilullah Butshikan
Bijapur, A.H. 1027 (A.D. 1618)
Ink, gold, and opaque watercolor on paper, each approx. 8⅛ × 4⅜ in. (20.6 × 11 cm)
a, c–g: National Museum, New Delhi (69-22/1–6); b: Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift in honor of Madeline Neves Clapp; Gift of Mrs. Henry White Cannon by exchange; Bequest of Louise T. Cooper; Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Fund; From the Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection (2013.284.b)

Inscribed on cat. 45a: *kamtarin shagird*(?) *amir*(?) *khalilullah ghafar allah dhunubahu wa satara ʻuyubahu* (Work of humble student[?] amir[?] Khalilullah. May God forgive his sins and conceal his failings)

These delicate, gold pages illuminated with scenes of burgeoning nature come from a dispersed manuscript of the inspired verses of Ibrahim ʻAdil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627), the *Kitab-i Nauras*. This text, containing fifty-nine devotional songs and seventeen couplets, is attributed to Ibrahim by the poet laureate Nur al-Din Muhammad Zuhuri (died 1616) in his preface, *Seh Nasr* (Three Essays). Aside from being the earliest musical work in Dakhni Urdu, the songs offer a fascinating glimpse into Ibrahim's mystical mind and personal world. A variety of Hindu and Muslim divines are evoked. The songs also mention Ibrahim's wife, Chand Sultan, and mother, Bari Sahib, his favorite elephant, Atash Khan, and his attachment to his musical instrument Moti Khan.[1] In his preface Zuhuri provides information about the six leading courtiers in Ibrahim's inner circle: Malik Qumi (Zuhuri's father-in-law and court poet), Khalilullah Butshikan (calligrapher and diplomat), Maulana Farrukh Husain (artist), Shah Nawaz Khan (prime minister), Mullah Haidar Zehni (poet), and Zuhuri.[2] A key to Bijapur's golden age, the term *nauras* (nine juices or essences) refers to an Indian system of aesthetics, which was widely adapted in state emblems, from coinage to the naming of Nauraspur, a nearby city.

About ten copies of the *Kitab-i Nauras* are known, ranging in date from 1562 to 1618 (the present folios).[3] The earliest version, copied by the calligrapher Abdul Rashid, is dated to when Ibrahim would have been eleven years old and unlikely to have composed the full text.[4] Therefore, some early versions of the songs may already have existed, and Ibrahim may have added to them.

Here six pages from the National Museum, New Delhi, and another from the Cleveland Museum of Art have been brought together, providing a glimpse of the hand of the celebrated calligrapher Khalilullah Butshikan (Idol Destroyer), whose writing Zuhuri described as possible to read "on the forehead of the sky."[5] Khalilullah arrived in Bijapur in 1596 after former association with the court of Shah ʻAbbas I (reigned 1587–1629) in Isfahan.[6] From Bijapur he returned at least twice to Isfahan as an emissary, one time carrying an important letter asking for help against Mughal incursions.[7] Recently an entire manuscript of the *Khamsa* (Quintet) of Nizami copied by Khalilullah has come to public attention, with an inscription describing the calligrapher as *padshah-i qalam* (King of the Pen), a title Ibrahim had given him.[8]

The folios by an anonymous illuminator depict at least eight different species of birds, including ducks, cranes, crested fowl, and hovering birds; more than twelve types of plants, including varieties of prunus, palm trees, reeds, irises,

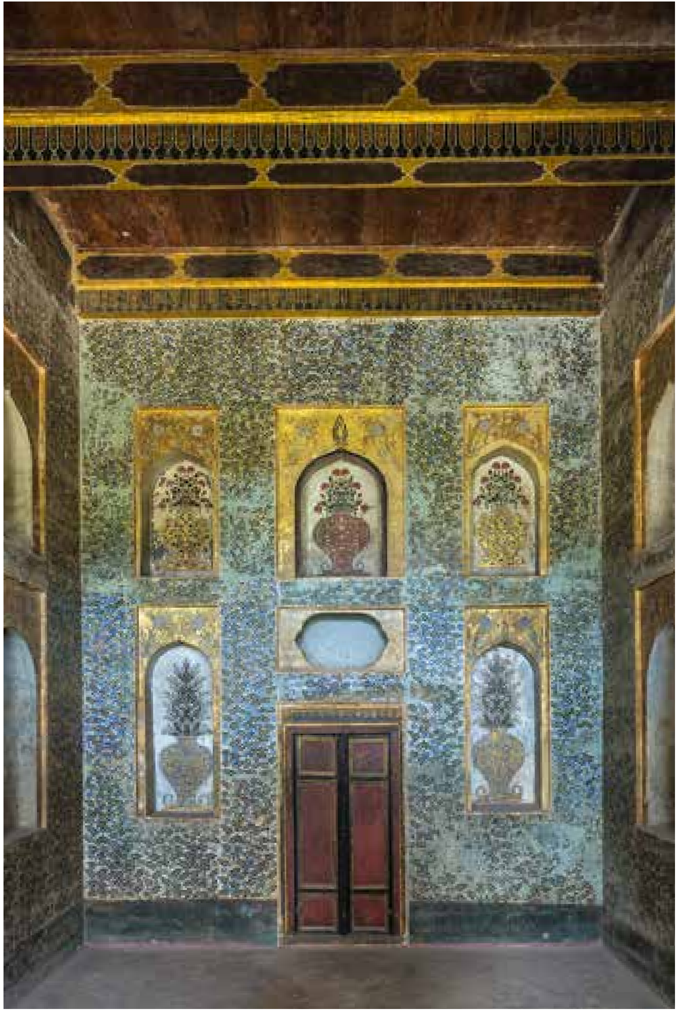
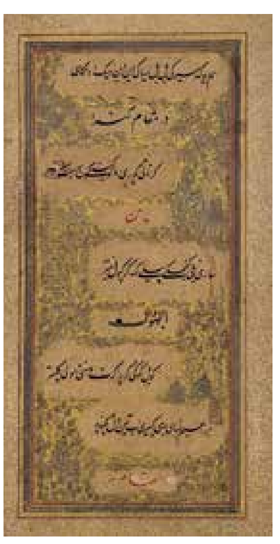


Fig. 51. Frescoes of Flowering Vases, Asar Mahal, Bijapur, 1647

Cat. 45a



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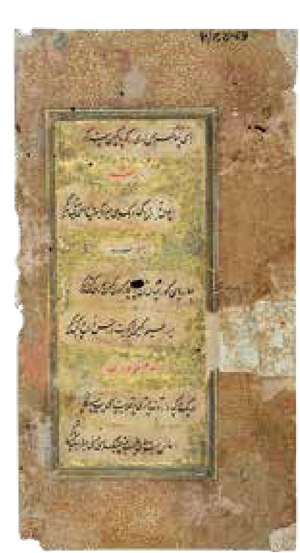

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and Turkmen-style blossoms; and foxes, fish, and a black-faced langur monkey climbing a palm tree. An ethereal flowering vase decorated with arabesque scrolls on the colophon page likely inspired the style of motif in wall paintings in the Asar Mahal, a palace built by Ibrahim's son in 1647 (fig. 51).

NNH

1. For a more extensive discussion of the *Kitab-i Nauras*, see Haidar 2011b. **2.** Ghani 1930, pp. 461–62. **3.** N. Ahmad 1956b, pp. 82–94. **4.** In Pune in 2012, Dr. Mehendale examined the date in question in light of the Shuhur San system of dating in the Deccan, as well as other local calendars. The author is grateful to him for this information. **5.** See Haidar 2011b, p. 31. Another folio from this series remains in a private collection in New Delhi. Jake Benson has also identified a related folio in an album in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad (Ms. 90). **6.** N. Ahmad 1969, pp. 158–59; see also N. Ahmad 1970, pp. 46–48. **7.** N. Ahmad 1969, pp. 145–54. **8.** Sotheby's 2014, pp. 47–49, lot 60.

46 Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II Venerates a Sufi Saint

By 'Ali Riza
Bijapur, ca. 1620–30
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, painting: 6⅜ × 5⅝ in. (16.2 × 14.4 cm), folio: 16⅝ × 11⅝ in. (42 × 29.5 cm)
Trustees of British Museum, London (1997,1108,0.1)

Inscribed in white on the lower border: *mashaqahu khanazad 'Ali Riza* (Drawn by the house-born [servant] 'Ali Riza)

In gold on the canteen held by Ibrahim: *sihat va 'afiyat* (Health and prosperity)

This painting is one of two images from the Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II era (1580–1627) inscribed with the name of the artist 'Ali Riza.[1] Whereas *Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II Riding an Elephant under a Canopy* (fig. 52) features his signature in the picture plane, this inscription is rendered in white on the lower border and may be a copy of an original cropped during remounting.[2] As is typical of his style, 'Ali Riza has favored a muted palette dominated by white and beige, employed underdrawing and shading throughout, and rendered the setting with painstaking precision.[3] The saint sits on a canopied, bedlike throne (*takht*) of the type ubiquitous in Deccani imagery (cats. 15, 119) and stares directly at the viewer. Two ostrich eggs encased in precious fittings dangle above him and underscore his religious stature, presumably as a notable sufi *pir* (spiritual guide).[4] Clearly a visitor, Ibrahim carries a bejeweled spittoon and canteen inscribed "health and prosperity," and his attendant, holding a fanning cloth and wearing two fine pendants (*urbasi*), stands behind the Sufi. These realistic vignettes are combined with several smaller objects—a mango or peach, pieces of rolled cloth, a pince-nez, and a gold plaque—whose precise meanings and functions are ambiguous.[5] Are they symbolic, exercises in depth, or mere space filler? The overall premise of the picture is enigmatic as well. Was it created at Ibrahim's bequest as yet another visualization of his piety (cat. 38), or was the ruler a mere pawn in the saint's self-aggrandizement?

While the meaning of the painting remains elusive, its composition contains standard Bijapuri tropes and can be compared to several contemporary images. The penetrating gaze of the saint finds its closest parallel in *Seated Devotee*, which has also been attributed to 'Ali Riza and depicts a similarly dignified religious subject.[6] In *Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II Presenting a Necklace*, a lady gazes directly at the viewer while the ruler looks adoringly at her, and doorways and arches contribute a similar sense of recession beneath tasseled forms.[7] Yet another romantic equivalent to the sufi painting under discussion can be found in the *Pem Nem* (The Laws of Love, cat. 29), where the lovers' final encounters transpire within canopied interiors.[8] Since Ibrahim was a devotee of Sayyid Muhammad Husaini Gesu Daraz (1321–1422), it is possible that the saint in question is the Chishti *pir* and that 'Ali Riza cast the ruler's veneration of his long-deceased spiritual guide in the romantic visual language of Bijapur's present.[9]

KO

1. For a third portrait signed by the 'Ali Riza in question but likely dating to around 1640–50, see Overton 2011a, p. 389, fig. 14. **2.** For the original assessment of the inscription, see Robert Skelton in *Indian Heritage* 1982, p. 42, no. 55. The painting was collected into an album owned by the late eighteenth-century Maratha minister Nana Phadnavis. Calligraphy on the back of the folio is dated A.H. 1142 (A.D. 1729–30); see Losty 2013, p. 4. The author thanks Terence McInerney for this reference. **3.** Overton 2011a. **4.** For images of ostrich eggs dangling from canopied structures, or more simply a pole or ceiling, see Green 2006, p. 55, fig. 12. **5.** For the peach and further discussion of the painting's approach to depth, see Hutton and Tucker 2014, pp. 223–25 and fig. 9.5. **6.** Golestan Palace Library, Tehran (Ms. 1663, fol. 126); Overton 2011a, p. 382, fig. 6. **7.** Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IS.48-1956, fol. 1b); Overton 2014, p. 238, fig. 10.1. **8.** Deborah Hutton has argued that the *Pem Nem*'s thirty-nine paintings progress from expansive natural settings to confined palatial ones (culminating in the canopied interior), thereby echoing the sufic path from the outer world toward inner truth. See Hutton 2011, pp. 50–51 and p. 62, figs. 32, 33. **9.** For the hypothesis that the painting's saint could be Gesu Daraz, see Hutton 2006, p. 105. It is well known that Ibrahim established Gesu Daraz as a major subject of devotion in his Nauras (nine juices or essences) cult and praised him throughout his collection of songs known as *Kitab-i Nauras* (cat. 45).

Cat. 46

47 Sultan Ibrahim ʻAdil Shah II in Procession

School of ʻAli Riza(?)
Bijapur, early 17th century
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 5⅜ × 4⅛ in. (13.5 × 10.5 cm)
Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, Lent by Howard Hodgkin (LI118.121)

The similarities between this diminutive painting of Ibrahim ʻAdil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627) in a procession of elephants and the far larger *Sultan Ibrahim ʻAdil Shah II Riding an Elephant under a Canopy* (fig. 52), which is signed by ʻAli Riza, suggest that this example is a product of ʻAli Riza's school, perhaps by the master's pupil.[1] In terms of subject matter, the two works recall the portraits of Ibrahim riding elephants by Farrukh Husain (cat. 31). However, whereas Farrukh adopted jewel-like colors to create ethereal landscapes, ʻAli Riza and his followers used refined line to record the material culture of Bijapur. Visible in this painting are many examples of Deccani portable arts, including a spiraling spittoon (cat. 51); elephant goads (*ankusha*); a palanquin finial in the shape of a lotus (similar to that in cat. 142); a lobed container for preserving a precious item; incense burners topped with peacocks; a red textile decorated with stripes and dots recalling Ottoman *chintamani* designs (see the one on Atash Khan in cat. 31); and bejeweled necklace pendants (*urbasi*). Comparable snapshots of Bijapur's decorative arts are visible in figure 52, which includes a quintessentially Deccani canopy embellished with peacock-shaped finials and an ostrich egg (cat. 46), water troughs similar to those in the Bijapur Archaeological Museum, and two-pronged tridents identical to extant examples. Although incomplete—the artist did not finish his alterations to Ibrahim, which entailed turning his head—and often described as a "tinted drawing," *Sultan Ibrahim ʻAdil Shah II Riding an Elephant under a Canopy* includes fine passages of gold paint in keeping with the signature cartouche.[2] In terms of composition and technique, it closely parallels the Bodleian Painter's *Dervish Receiving a Visitor* (cat. 38), which depicts a sufi shrine in a similarly naturalistic yet contrived mode, and therefore lends further credence to the argument that ʻAli Riza and the Bodleian Painter may be one and the same.[3] Considered together, the dervish and elephant paintings epitomize the artist's divergent approaches to representing Ibrahim—an ascetic devotee versus a wealthy ruler—while simultaneously bearing the hallmarks of his realistic draftsmanship (underdrawing, shading, pigment layering, and translucency). They also complicate the traditional divide between Deccani and Mughal painting, with the former presumed to be fantastical and dreamlike in contrast to the latter's naturalism and historicism. KO

1. For the attribution of this painting to a member of ʻAli Riza's school, see Overton 2011b, p. 281. Arguments in support of the master himself could be viable; at this stage, a definitive conclusion cannot be reached. **2.** For what was likely a preparatory sketch for the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, drawing, with Ibrahim's head facing the opposite direction, see Falk and M. Archer 1981, no. 467. See also further discussion in Overton 2011b, pp. 281–82. **3.** For comparisons of the elephant and dervish paintings as well as the artist's commitment to "contrived accuracy" and "illusionary realism," see Overton 2011a, p. 385; Overton 2011b, pp. 279–80; Overton 2012, pp. 49–53.

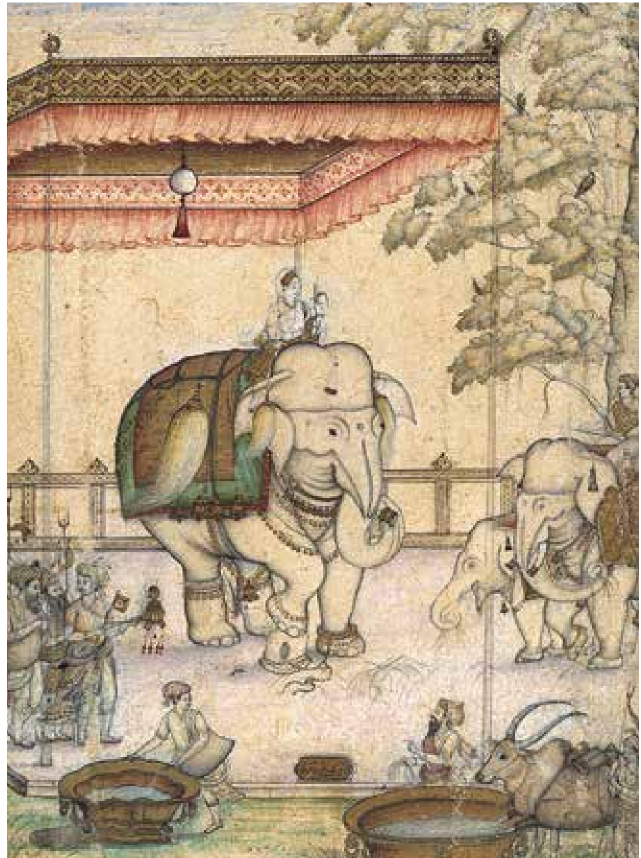
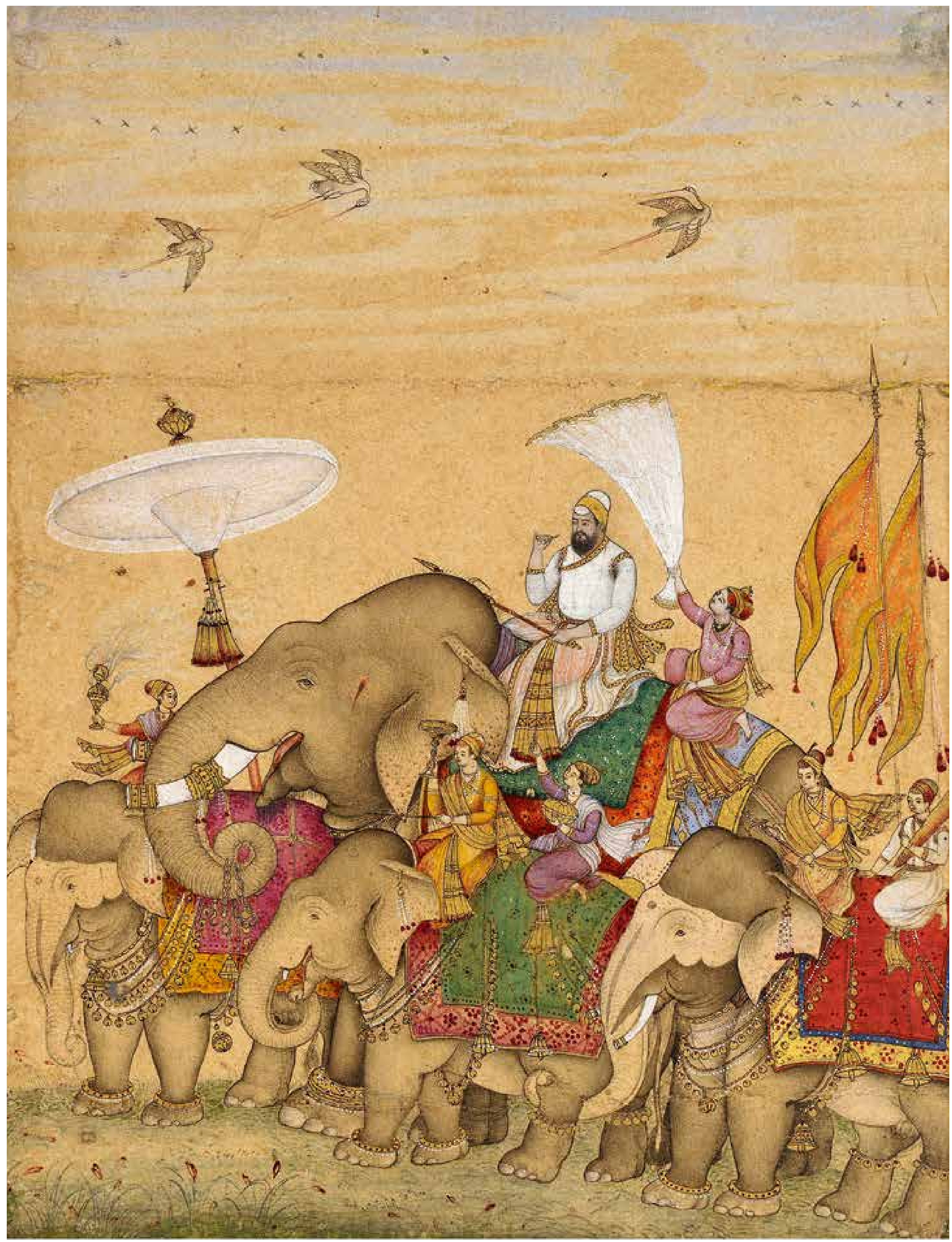


Fig. 52. *Sultan Ibrahim ʻAdil Shah II Riding an Elephant under a Canopy*. By ʻAli Riza. Bijapur, ca. 1610. Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 14 × 9⅜ in. (35.5 × 23.7 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (D.398-1885)



Cat. 47

Cat. 48

48 Royal Hunting Falcon (*Baz*)

Attributed to a follower of the Bodleian Painter
Bijapur, ca. 1610–20
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 9¼ × 6½ in. (23.5 × 16.5 cm)
Musée National des Arts Asiatiques–Guimet, Paris (MA2642)

This magnificent bird adorned with a ruby locket is a variety of peregrine falcon, identifiable by its coloring and wavy pattern of breast feathers. Tiny birds nestled on the background plant, possibly of the same species as the main subject yet miniaturized, are completely out of scale with the environment, adding to the strangeness of the picture. The dark tones with glowing colors of plant life and spiky stalks of grass resemble the mysterious backgrounds of the Bodleian Painter, particularly the portrait of Ibrahim holding castanets (cat. 39). However, the slightly stiff handling of the falcon suggests that this might be the work of one of his followers.[1]

Studies of hunting falcons became popular in Mughal painting by the 1620s, especially in the hands of the naturalist master Mansur, the artist who had established the convention of placing the falcon on a stand. This bird might have been an express favorite of the sultan. The outer borders of the folio are composed of three types of marbling. NNH

1. Zebrowski 1983a, p. 86.

49 Incense Burner in the Shape of an Octagonal Shrine

Deccan, 17th century
Brass, H. 9½ in. (24 cm)
Private collection, London

The pierced wall of this incense burner would have released fragrant smoke from a plate within. Its auspicious shape, that of a shrine, would have been appropriate for both royal and religious settings. Its tall dome and proportions also recall the profile of a water pavilion from the pleasure gardens at Kumatgi (fig. 53). NNH

Cat. 49

Fig. 53. Water Pavilion, Kumatgi, first quarter of 17th century

50 Ewer with Dragon Heads (Butler Ewer)

Deccan, first half of 17th century
Brass, with traces of gilding, H. 20⅛ in. (51 cm), W. 7⅞ in. (20 cm), D. 6¼ in. (16 cm)
Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, presented by Miss Eleanor Butler, in memory of her father Dr. A. J. Butler, 1976 (EA 1976.43)

The elegant proportions and graceful spiral fluting of this long-necked ewer make it the most famous example of a type that was produced in the Deccan. When such ewers first became known, they were attributed to Iran, Turkey, or Mughal India, understandably as the ewer's widely dispersed style appears in all of those schools of painting.[1] However, Deccani painting, too, depicts such objects. The painting dubbed *Siesta* shows similar examples next to the sleeping prince (cat. 43). The ewer was formerly in the collection of the bursar of Brasenose College, University of Oxford, A. J. Butler, from whom it gets its name. The lid is a replacement and the original gilding is rather rubbed, giving the effect of a somewhat illusory silvery gold. NNH

Cat. 50

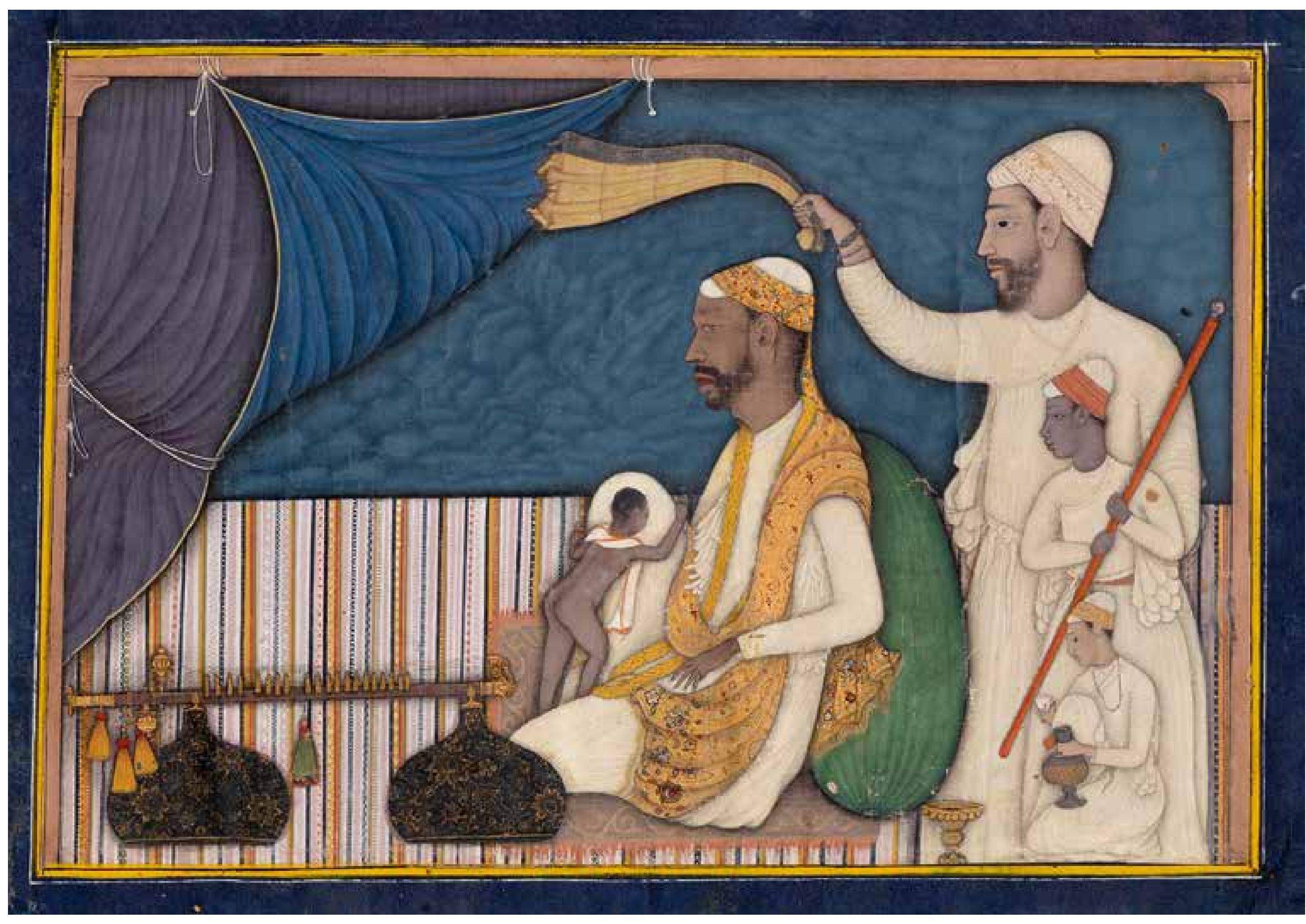
1. Zebrowski 1995.

51 Spittoon or Incense Burner

Bijapur or Golconda, late 16th–early 17th century
Cast, joined, and engraved brass, H. 9 in. (22.9 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Friends of Islamic Art Gifts, 2007 (2007.287)

Similar cup-shaped vessels can be seen in paintings from the Sultanate and Mughal periods, most often on the ground at a royal gathering, as in *Siesta* (cat. 43), or in the hand of an attendant near an esteemed dignitary, as in *Sultan Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II Venerates a Sufi Saint* (cat. 46). The use for this type of vessel is not certain. It may have been a spittoon, an accessory for the practice of chewing betel nut (*pan*), a digestive aid that also refreshed the mouth. In fact, in the Deccan these vessels were sometimes called *ugaldan*, from the Urdu "to spit out."[1] Vessels of this shape were also known to have served as incense burners, perfuming the air during royal assemblies.

Cat. 51



Cat. 52

The inclusion of these lavish objects in royal scenes indicates that their display no doubt had a ceremonial purpose, signifying the grandeur of a prince. Other paintings demonstrate how these cups were paraded in a procession, along with other ceremonial objects including *ʻalam*s (standards), *chhatri*s (ceremonial umbrellas), and the *mahi-maratib* (fish standard, cat. 180).[2] In a Persian tradition well known through text and iconography, the cupbearer was an esteemed position crucial to the king's safety. As a high-ranking officer, he served drinks at the royal table and guarded against poison in the king's cup. Confidential relations with the king often gave him great influence, and depictions of cupbearers in Persian art are well documented.[3] CS

1. Zebrowski 1997, p. 179. **2.** For the cups in procession scenes, see *Sultan Ibrahim ʻAdil Shah II in Procession* (cat. 47). For the other ceremonial objects, see Sadiq Naqvi 1987, p. 11. **3.** See, for example, a twelfth-century brass figure in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (68.67).

52 Portrait of a Ruler or Musician

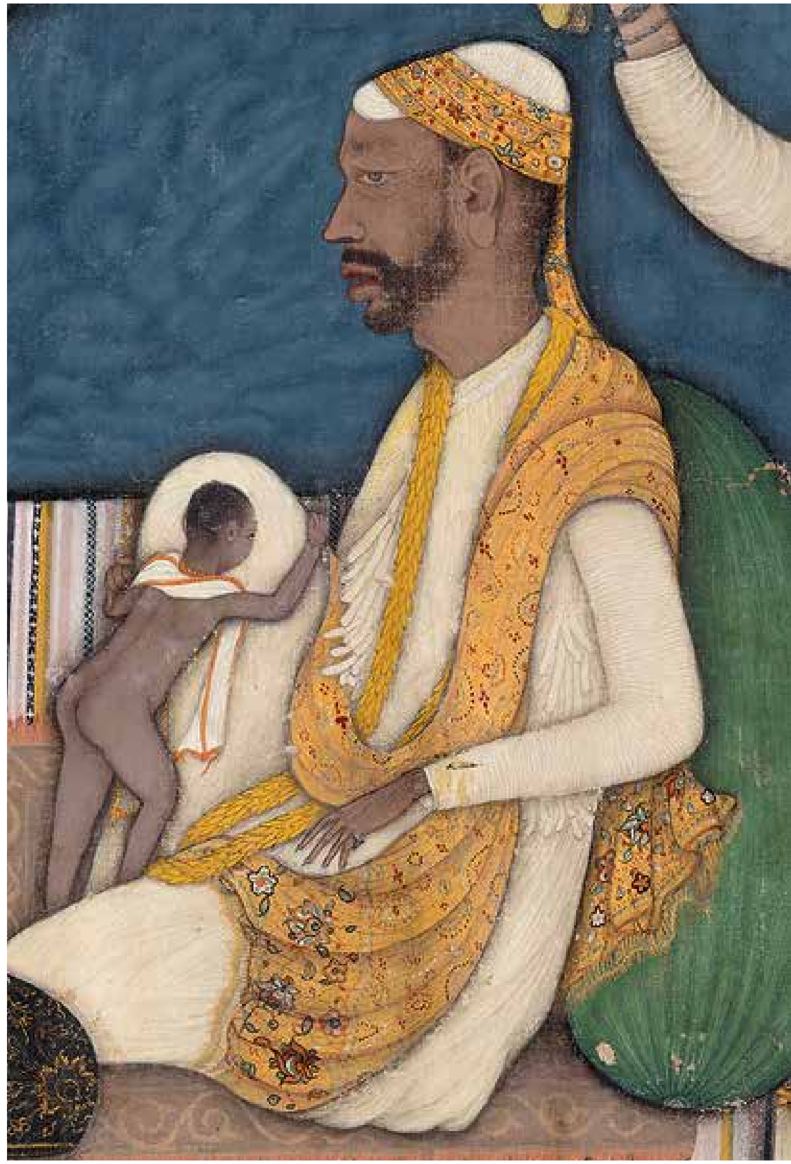
Bijapur or Golconda, ca. 1630
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 8 × 12 in. (20.3 × 30.5 cm)
Collection of Terence McInerney, New York

Inscribed on back in *devanagari* script: *uttam* (the best)

On margin edge in Persian: 601 and 9

On margin edge in Hindi: 34(?), 54(?)

This enigmatic portrait is probably one of the most important Deccani paintings to have emerged in recent years. The seated figure is a dark-skinned nobleman, possibly of Indian or East African descent, with a hooded gray-blue eye, full lips stained red with betel nut (*pan*), subtly delineated wrinkles around chiseled features, and a prominent Adam's apple (a rare feature in Indian portraits). His expression is thoughtful, perhaps troubled, and his visible hand is withered and shrunken. He sits on a striped rug before a *rudra vina*



Detail of cat. 52

instrument; his young son, wearing just a cloth over his bare body, grasps his knee. Of the three servants who attend him, one waves a scarf above, another holds a staff (reminiscent of that held by Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II [reigned 1580–1627] in cat. 28), and the third holds a vessel and cup. A dark blue curtain on the left is tied back, seemingly deliberately, to reveal a mottled ground beyond, probably a cloudy monsoon sky.[1] The painting was once mounted in a Jaipur album and is surrounded by gold-speckled and chevron-decorated borders. The inscription *uttam* (the best) indicates that the folio was recognized there for its merit.

The identity of the seated noble may never be fully determined. Is he a member of the Bijapur or Golconda royal family, an African nobleman, or a musician of great eminence in a courtly culture where music was immensely valued? The white *jama* (robe), with small tassels on both sides, and his gold shawl are in the costume style of the 1630s, before Mughal influence had set in more discernibly. If he is a royal figure of that period, his chiseled nose and full lips most recall Muhammad Qutb Shah (reigned 1612–26) of Golconda, possibly in his true skin tones rather than the idealized, fair visage that is elsewhere depicted (cat. 119).[2] Like other Deccan rulers, Muhammad was known for his love of poetry; his *divan* (anthology) is filled with images of musicians and dancers at court. Alternatively, another suggestion is that he may be the later ʿAli ʿAdil Shah II (reigned 1656–72) of Bijapur, who was often shown with such lush features by his great portraitist, the Bombay Painter (cats. 66–67).[3] The horizontal format, striped carpet, and predominantly blue palette have led to one opinion that this picture could be an eighteenth-century Bikaner copy of a lost Deccan original.[4] However, the striped carpet is a known seventeenth-century type, and the format of the painting may in fact presage a later convention, in which a group of figures tended to cluster at one end of a horizontal composition with an expanse of carpet beyond. The hierarchical arrangement of the three attendants and the style of their turbans are typical of Bijapur, and the shadowy coronas and shading are reminiscent of the work of the Bodleian Painter. Perhaps this painting is by him or one of his followers, either at Bijapur or at Golconda.

Beyond the style and attribution, the greatest interpretive challenge lies in teasing out the work's full meaning. The psychological insights afforded by the figure's expression and withered hand, together with the gathering clouds that amplify the thought and introspection on his visage, are almost hitherto unseen in Deccan painting. The setting hints at *ragamala*s (illustrations of musical modes) associated with the monsoon season: *raga Megh* or *Malhar* are believed to bring on rain when performed or sung by a great mystic.

NNH

1. Philon 2000, p. 7, points out a lifted blind to reveal blazing light beyond as an allegorical feature of the murals in the tomb of Ahmad Shah Bahmani I at Ashtur. **2.** Terence McInerney, personal communication, 2013. For a portrait of Muhammad Qutb Shah, see Zebrowkski 1983a, p. 176, ill. no. 143. **3.** John Robert Alderman, personal communication, 2013. **4.** Stuart Cary Welch, personal communication, 2007.

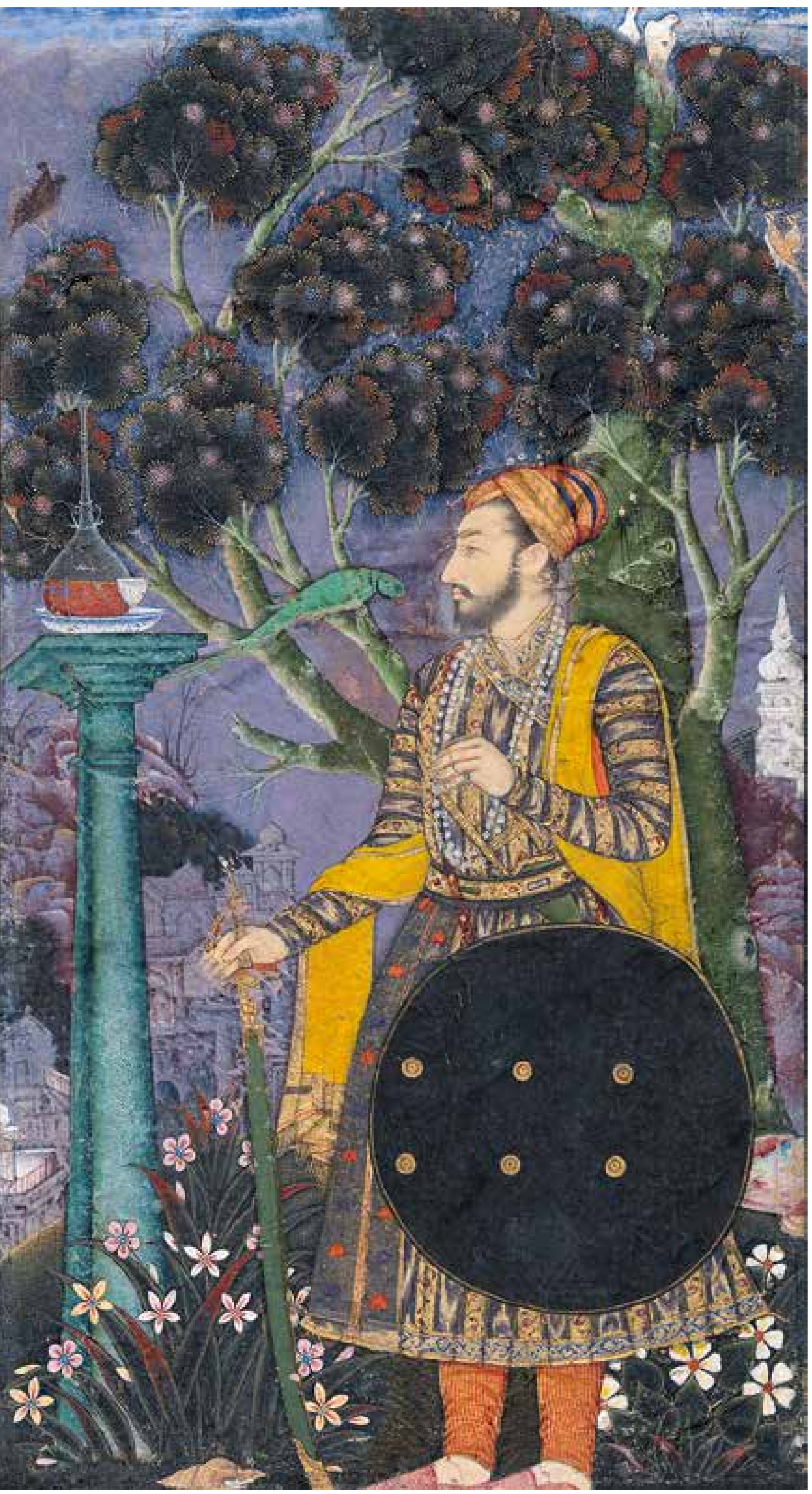
53 Sultan Muhammad ʻAdil Shah

Attributed to the Bodleian Painter and a Mughal-trained artist
Bijapur, ca. 1635
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 7½ × 4⅝ in. (19.1 × 11.7 cm)
Collection of Gursharan and Elvira Sidhu, Seattle

Glowing violet skies above gorgeously stippled trees and intense blooms create an almost hallucinogenic setting for Muhammad ʻAdil Shah (reigned 1627–56), the likely subject of this painting, portrayed as a young man in his early twenties, in about 1635. He was the second son of Ibrahim ʻAdil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627), chosen by his father as the heir to the throne, which Muhammad assumed at age fourteen. This painting perhaps resulted from a collaboration between a Mughal-trained artist at Bijapur, who based the Mughal-style facial features on an image of Emperor Shah Jahan (reigned 1628–58), and the Bodleian Painter, who aided in the overall coloring and outdoor setting.[1] The Bodleian Painter is recognized by his remarkable use of color, pointillist technique, and imaginative handling of the garden setting. The symbols, yet to be fully decoded, are intriguing. They include a conch shell on the ground, evoking attributes of the Hindu god Vishnu; a shortened teal column with wine and cup, recalling the promised river of wine in the Islamic garden of paradise; and a parrot, teller of tales and secrets in Indian tradition. Muhammad wears a *jama* (robe) with a narrow-striped ikat design: this may be the first known representation of a Gujarati *mashru* textile in an Indian painting of this kind.[2]

A very thorough technical study of the picture has demonstrated that its sublime palette is original and used conventional ingredients, but to new effects—displaying a mastery of alchemy as much as artistry.[3] NNH

1. Zebrowski 1983a, pp. 123–27. **2.** Thanks are due to Dr. Gursharan Sidhu for pointing out this feature. **3.** Yana van Dyke, unpublished report, Department of Paper Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Cat. 53

Cat. 54

Cat. 55

54 Album Page with *Découpé* Vase, Insects, and Birds

Attributed to Muhammad Hasan
Bijapur or Golconda, 1630–40
Gouache on black paper with colored and white decoupage,
8⅛ × 4⅛ in. (20.7 × 10.5 cm)
Private collection, London

55 Album Page with *Découpé* Calligraphy

By Muhammad Hasan and calligraphy by ʿAli
Bijapur or Golconda, 1630–40
Gouache on black paper with colored and white decoupage,
16¾ × 12⅝ in. (42.5 × 32 cm)
Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford,
Lent by Howard Hodgkin (LI118.99)

Inscribed on cat. 55: *ya qanbar kunta bi'l-ams-i li/wa sirta al-yuwma mithli/wahabtuka li-man wahaba li/katabahu ʿali ʿali/qatiʾuha muhammad hasan*

(O Qanbar, yesterday you were mine/And today you have become like me [free]/I donate you to He who had donated you to me/Written by ʿAli, ʿAli/The cutter of the calligraphy is Muhammad Hasan)

These two decorative pages, now in separate collections, were likely mounted together, possibly in an album made for Muhammad ʿAdil Shah (reigned 1627–56). However, decoupage was also practiced at Golconda, as demonstrated by the Shirazi Turkmen paper cutter Murad Dhu'l Qadr, whose name is found in a calligraphic page in the so-called Millennial Album made for Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah

Detail of cat. 54

Fig. 54. Album Page with Cut-Paper Decoration. By ʻYar Khan(?). Probably Deccan, ca. 1650. Cut paper, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 10½ × 7⅛ in. (26.7 × 18.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Cynthia Hazen Polsky and Leon B. Polsky Fund, 2002 (2002.222)

(reigned 1580–1612).[1] The two principal techniques of decoupage were both practiced in the Deccan: one in which very fine shapes are cut away and applied to another surface, as seen here, and another in which letters are cut away from a sheet of paper, which is then laid down over another. The Bijapur Archaeological Museum contains two unpublished examples of this second technique.

These Deccan decoupage pages in their fineness and sensitivity surpass their stouter Ottoman and Persian cousins. In the vase folio, the cut paper, which is now faded but was originally brighter, was colored to shape the springing flowers, buds, thorns, and leaves, which are also pressed to enhance their veins. Gold leaf was applied to the collar of the fantastical vase, below which stands a charming family of marbled ducks. The finely cut legs and pale colors of the grasshopper were arranged to convey a sense of its overlapping body. Its liveliness is matched by the delicacy of the moth and poetic irises below. The smoothness of the surface indicates the thinness of the applied paper, which rises at a very low relief and appears almost diaphanous in some areas.

The calligraphic folio provides the name of the talented artist Muhammad Hasan and his collaborator, the calligrapher ʻAli.[2] The text quotes a phrase, attributed to ʻAli ibn Abi Talib (cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad) as he freed his slave Qanbar, which became a well-known Shiʻa phrase.[3] The letters are interwoven with a simple but strong S-shaped arabesque scroll bearing blossoms. The effect of the light-colored letters and tightly curling vines against an almost black ground recalls the mother-of-pearl inlay in black basalt in the Rangin Mahal (Colored Palace, fig. 64) in Bidar and in contemporary *bidri* metalwork. The work of the Ottoman *découpé* artist Efsanci Mehmed (died 1534) and his followers, who specialized in cutout flowers and gardens, may also have been known to this artist. However, their works illustrate different types of flowers and vase shapes.[4] Another decoupage page, perhaps a practice sheet filled with images of flowers and animals, provides the name of the artist ʻYar Khan(?), who was possibly part of the same workshop (fig. 54). NNH

1. James 1987, p. 246. **2.** Originally the fourth line would have stated *katabahu ibn abi talib ʻali.* However, since the calligrapher is also named ʻAli, he altered the original text by shortening it and repeating the name ʻAli twice (the first one referring to ʻAli ibn Abi Talib as the composer of the text and the second to himself as its calligrapher). **3.** Another folio with the same phrase can be seen; Drouot-Richelieu 2014, p. 18, lot 33. Thanks are due to Nabil Saidi for pointing this out. **4.** Atasoy 2002, pp. 73–86.

56 A Floral Fantasy

Deccan, first half of 17th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, gold, and silver on paper, 13⅞ × 9 in. (35.2 × 22.9 cm)
Collection of Gursharan and Elvira Sidhu, Seattle

This lively plant, a fantastical composite bearing several types of stylized blossoms, grows out of rocks at the edge of a pool of water and is surrounded by swooping birds in the sky, some alighting on its branches. The choice of colors, applied with masterful stippling—purple in various shades of depth, blue graduated from azure to periwinkle, and glowing pinks made mystical by the subtlety of the myriad points—matches the inventiveness of the drawing. A sinuous tendril in orange and shades of dark purple recalls the tail feathers of a *simurgh*

Cat. 56

Fig. 55. *A Floral Fantasy of Animals and Birds* (*Waqwaq*). Mughal India, early 1600s. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 7⅞ × 5 in. (20 × 12.6 cm). Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift in honor of Madeline Neves Clapp; Gift of Mrs. Henry White Cannon by exchange; Bequest of Louise T. Cooper; Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Fund; From the Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection (2013.319)

(mythical phoenix). Despite the fantasy, naturalism is also apparent in the individual depictions of the ten pairs of birds and four dragonflies (one caught in a bird's beak) in the upper part of the painting. Flanking the plant below, a pair of lynx attacks a duck and a hare, whose respective mates flee; these vignettes are partly executed in silver, now oxidized. Another diving duck remains in the pool. The borders of the work appear to have been added later, perhaps at the Mughal court, where the folio seems to have made its way.

This colored drawing falls into a connected world of such creations that extends from Iran to Turkey to the Deccan and is tied together by the use of arabesques, sinuous lines, interlocked *saz* leaves, and fantastical motifs such as dragons.[1] From such examples as a wall-painting design of around 1425 with a comparable flowering plant in a Persian album to a pair of *Waqwaq* drawings attributed to seventeenth-century Mughal India (fig. 55), this tradition allowed the skill of artists and illuminators to flower into ever more imaginative exercises, with particular freedom at the Indian end of the spectrum.[2] The large scale and style of the plant and the pool, which assumes a hillock-like profile, anticipate the Tree of Life compositions of *kalamkari* textiles, which were made in Golconda in the second half of the seventeenth century.

NNH

1. Denny and Krody 2012. Denny, personal communication, notes that the flower on the left is an upside-down lotus blossom. **2.** For the example in the Persian album, see Lentz 1993, pp. 257, 259, fig. 7.

57 Illumination in the Form of a Vase

Probably Bijapur, early 17th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 10 × 6⅝ in. (25.5 × 16.8 cm)
Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, Lent by Howard Hodgkin (LI118.99)

Inscribed above lower border: *gul-i hazar gulha*(?) (flower of a thousand flowers[?])

On lower left: 32, 30, an illegible date(?)

This decorative fantasy of a flowering vase may have formed the opening or end of a Bijapuri album of paintings and calligraphy. The shape of the vase is principally outlined by serrated-edged *saz* leaves, which are a hallmark of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman art. The Ottoman genre of *saz* ink drawings, executed with a reed pen and incorporating the outlines of *saz* leaves in curving and broken forms, must have been known to this illuminator, who successfully produced many of the same effects.[1] The thickened line in some strokes relates to the calligraphic technique of *saz* drawings, as does the treatment of the leaves, which weave and interlock in stiff tension. Enriched with color and gold that has been pricked and worked, the surface effect is that of opulence.

Small facial masks in the illuminated opening pages of the manuscript *Zakhira-yi Khwarazmshahi* (The Treasury of Khwarazm Shah, cat. 96), made in Golconda in 1572, as well as in other examples from sixteenth-century Shiraz, are in keeping with the frontally facing mask on the neck of the vase here. Turkmen-style blossoms and other more conventionally styled flowers, such as lotuses and peonies, are included. At the base of the vase, a row of rocks with some plants growing out of them pays a deferential nod to realism, from which this fanciful composition is otherwise far removed. NNH

1. Denny 1983.

Detail of cat. 57

Cat. 57

Cat. 58a

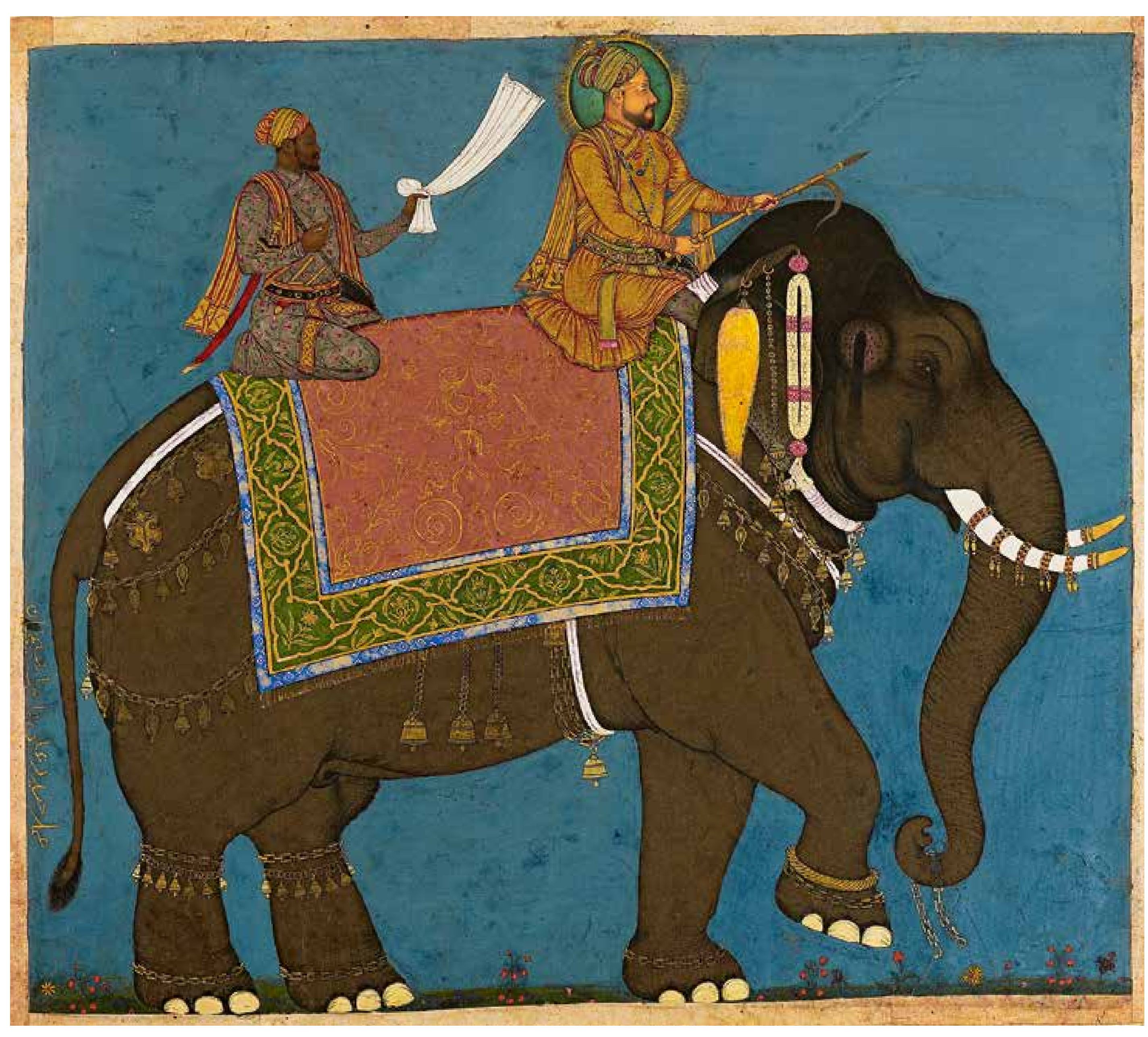
Cat. 58b

58 Pair of Book Covers

Bijapur or Golconda, ca. 1700
Lacquer, opaque watercolor, and gold on leather, a: 9¼ × 6⅝ in. (23.4 × 16.9 cm), b: 9 × 6⅜ in. (23 × 16.3 cm)
Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, Lent by Howard Hodgkin (a: LI118.63, b: LI118.64)

This exuberant pair of painted and lacquered book covers is decorated with trees filled with plump birds and flanked by auspicious, flower-filled vases. Open urns burst with cabbagelike leaves topped with sprouting grass and varieties of ferns and flowers including tulips and lilies while oversize vases brim with long-stemmed leafy flowers. A sense of oddness pervades the compositions: insects appear the same size as birds, and flowers grow to great heights and in unusual combinations.[1] NNH

1. For a later tent hanging with a very similar design, see Veronica Murphy in *Indian Heritage* 1982, p. 86, no. 217.



Cat. 59

59 Sultan Muhammad ʻAdil Shah and Ikhlas Khan Riding an Elephant

By Haidar ʻAli and Ibrahim Khan
Bijapur, ca. 1645
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 11¼ × 12⅝ in. (28.6 × 32 cm)
Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, Lent by Howard Hodgkin (LI118.54)

Inscribed: *ʻamal-i haidar ʻali va ibrahim khan* (Work of Haidar ʻAli and Ibrahim Khan)

Muhammad ʻAdil Shah (reigned 1627–56) inherited the splendid and diverse ruling traditions of his father, Ibrahim ʻAdil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627), and himself oversaw a strong and distinguished period of Bijapur history. However, in the background was the forceful and ambitious African prime minister Ikhlas Khan (died 1656), shown here together with the sultan on the royal elephant, in an emblematic display of the actual power behind the throne.[1] Many portraits of both men exist from the period. Muhammad is often shown

in a more effete mode holding a flower or a mango, whereas images of Ikhlas Khan invariably hint at his unyielding power.

Under Muhammad's patronage Mughal influence was manifested in painting through a great degree of naturalism and a growing interest in observation. Therefore, the elephant is as much the subject of the painting as its commanding riders. The large number of bells worn on its legs, neck, and body would have ensured both a visual and an aural impact. Opulent gold and areas of bold, flat color are confidently applied by the artists Haidar 'Ali and Ibrahim Khan.[2] The blue background seen here became a preferred one for the late eighteenth-century Hyderabad painter Rai Venkatchallam, whose royal elephant processions preserved much of the splendor and power seen here.[3] NNH

1. See Alderman 2006, pp. 116–21, for a discussion of portraits of Ikhlas Khan and other Habshis at court. **2.** Gahlin 1991, p. 43, no. 41, pl. 40. **3.** See, for example, Venkatchallam's *Three Noblemen in Procession on an Elephant*, 18th century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (2008.561).

60 Ikhlas Khan with a Petition

By Muhammad Khan
Bijapur, ca. 1650
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 4¾ × 4¼ in. (12 × 10.8 cm)
San Diego Museum of Art, Edwin Binney 3rd Collection (1990.442)

Inscribed on cushion: *'amal-i muhammad khan farzand-i miyan chand* (Work of Muhammad Khan, son of Miyan Chand)

On border: Mas'ud Khan

Serving at the Bijapur court from a young age, the African slave Malik Raihan 'Adil Shah was raised alongside Prince Muhammad 'Adil Shah (reigned 1627–56). When Muhammad assumed the throne, so too did Malik Raihan (died 1656) embark on a new career. Rising up from his slave status, he initially presented petitions to the sultan in his private chamber. Later, he became a commander of troops, conquering territories in Mysore. Eventually he was named governor of a province on the border with Golconda, and in 1635 he received the title Ikhlas Khan, by which he is known to history. However, soon after the accession of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II (reigned 1656–72), Ikhlas Khan was accused of betrayal and executed.[1]

As the inscription on the border states that the painting depicts Mas'ud Khan, this attribution was accepted until paintings that later came to light made clear that the subject must be Ikhlas Khan.[2] In each image he appears with the same snub nose, distinctive facial hair, and costume—a coat with rows of red flowers and a fur-lined collar over a translucent white or pink *jama* (robe).[3] In this painting, he sits among bolsters on a carpet, armed with a sword and shield yet holding a scroll, likely a reference to his former position as secretary. On the cushion beneath his left arm is the signature "work of Muhammad Khan, son of Miyan Chand," thus identifying the work as that of the artist known from two other paintings, both in Jaipur: one a portrait of Muhammad 'Adil Shah in a landscape, the other a scene in the sultan's quarters.[4] In the latter, Muhammad sits on a cushioned platform, smoking a *huqqa* (water pipe), while the man standing in front of him holds a decree dated 1651, stipulating that the revenues of a village called Tib are hereby granted to the artist Muhammad Khan, son of Miyan Chand. Ikhlas Khan is depicted on the sultan's right, standing behind the platform.

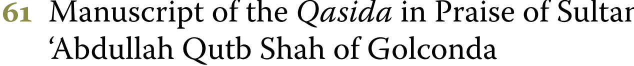
The curving swoop of his figures' facial features—especially eyes and eyebrows—is the most original feature of Muhammad Khan's work. He also repeatedly uses the device of the scroll, and from his contemporary court painters he borrows the unusual seated posture particular to portraits of the Muhammad 'Adil Shah era as well as the gesture of a hand with palm turned up and one finger raised to the sky (cat. 59). MS

1. Sadiq Ali 1996, pp. 117, 123, 139, n. 12, the latter based on the *Basatin al-Salatin*. Because this title was common, there is some confusion as to whether he was the same person who had served under Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, but that appears to be a different person altogether. **2.** Edwin Binney originally suggested that the sitter is Mas'ud Khan, prime minister of Bijapur between 1678 and 1683; Binney 1973, p. 159. **3.** The other known portraits of Ikhlas Khan include that by Chand Muhammad (ca. 1640, British Library, London, Johnson Album 23, no. 2); and one by an unknown artist (ca. 1650, British Library, Johnson Album 26, no. 19). He also appears in multifigure compositions such as *Sultan Muhammad 'Adil Shah and Ikhlas Khan Riding an Elephant* (cat. 59); *Sultan Muhammad 'Adil Shah Selects a Jewel* (ca. 1650, San Diego Museum of Art, 1990.443); and *Darbar of Sultan Muhammad 'Adil Shah* (1651, City Palace Museum, Jaipur, AG 771). He also appears in several late seventeenth-century compositions, including two album pages (ca. 1670, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.76.2.35, and San Diego Museum of Art, 1990.493), and at least three portrait sets (ca. 1686, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Witsen Album, no. 42; and two albums in the British Museum, London, 1974,0617,0.4, fol. 26, and 1974,0617,0.2, fol. 54). **4.** The portrait in a landscape (AG 765) and the scene in the sultan's quarters (AG 771) are in the City Palace Museum, Jaipur. Illustrated and discussed in Zebrowski 1983a, pp. 126–30. Zebrowski also attributes a portrait of Ikhlas Khan in the British Library to this painter but discounts Welch's ascription of additional works to him. See Zebrowski 1983a, p. 134, n. 14; S. C. Welch 1961, p. 414.

Cat. 60

Cat. 61a. Folio 19a

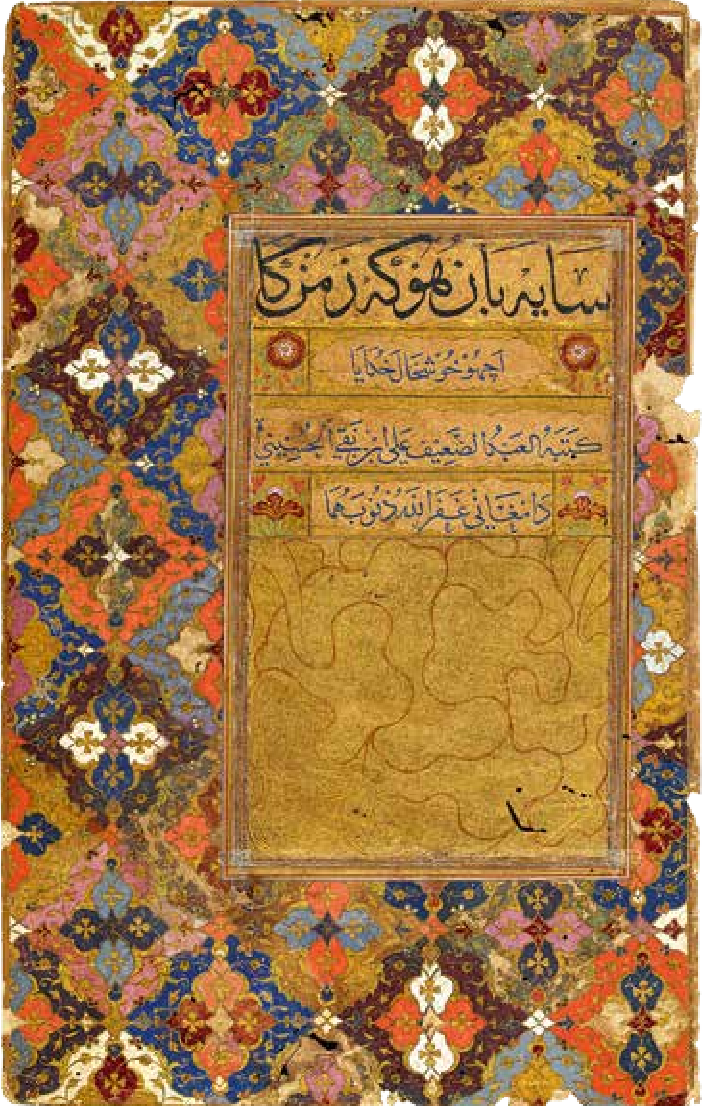
b. Folio 18b



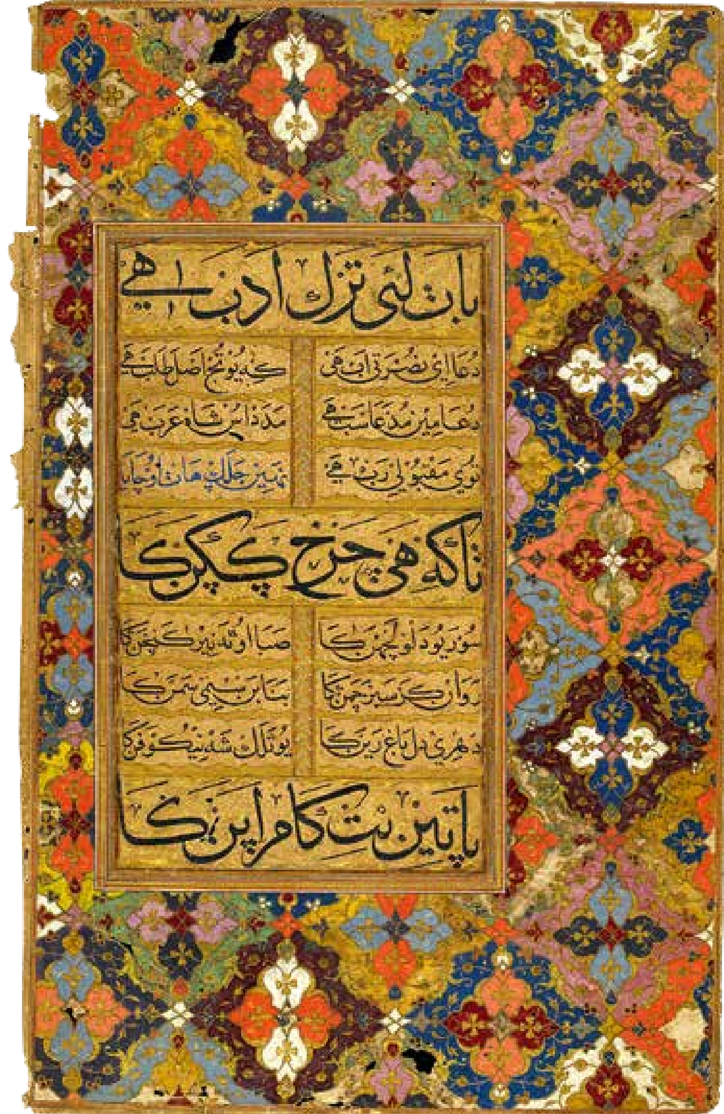
61 Manuscript of the *Qasida* in Praise of Sultan 'Abdullah Qutb Shah of Golconda

Calligraphy by 'Ali ibn Naqi al-Husaini Damghani
Bijapur, mid-17th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 11¼ × 5⅞ in. (28.5 × 15 cm)
British Library, London (Or. 13533)

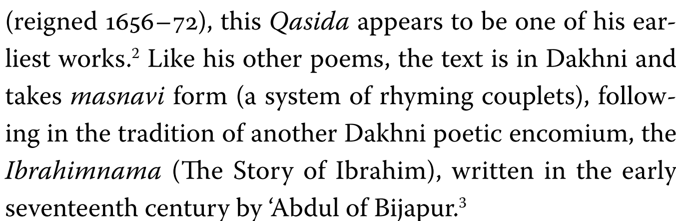
In February 1633 the marriage of Muhammad 'Adil Shah (reigned 1627–56) and Khadija Sultana, the sister of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah (reigned 1626–72), was celebrated in grand fashion as the ruling houses of Bijapur and Golconda united. Historical chronicles mention the presentation of a cash dowry, horses, and elephants as part of the monthlong festivities.[1] Yet, this lavishly illuminated poem in honor of 'Abdullah may also have been among the gifts exchanged at the time. Written by the Bijapuri court poet Mullah Nusrati, the "poet laureate" of Muhammad's son 'Ali 'Adil Shah II



c. Folio 29a



d. Folio 28b



(reigned 1656–72), this *Qasida* appears to be one of his earliest works.[2] Like his other poems, the text is in Dakhni and takes *masnavi* form (a system of rhyming couplets), following in the tradition of another Dakhni poetic encomium, the *Ibrahimnama* (The Story of Ibrahim), written in the early seventeenth century by ʿAbdul of Bijapur.[3]

Descending from a respected line of scribes, the calligrapher is the son of Naqi al-Din Husaini, whose name is signed several times on the Ibrahim Rauza (ca. 1627, fig. 42), the tomb of Muhammad's father, Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627). Each opening of this special presentation manuscript is illuminated with a unique pattern that carries across both pages, boldly filling the margins with large and confident lozenges, cartouches, and floral-diaper patterns of color. MS

1. Nizam ud-Din Ahmad 1961, pp. 133–42. **2.** For more on Mullah Nusrati, see Husain Khan 1969, pp. 1–67. **3.** Husain 2011.

Cat. 62

Detail of cat. 62

62 Hilt of a Sword

Probably Bijapur, A.H. 1044 (A.D. 1634–35)
Walrus ivory inlaid with engraved gold, iron covered with gold, and silver, H. 4¼ in. (10.9 cm), W. 1½ in. (3.9 cm), D. 1 in. (2.5 cm), excluding silver rivets
Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait (LNS 37 I)

Inscribed on upper edges of hilt in *nasta'liq* script: *qulna ya naru kuni barida wa salaman 'ala ibrahim fi sana 1044* (We said, "O fire, be thou cool/and a means of safety for Ibrahim [Abraham]" in the year A.D. 1634–35)

Even though the date on the hilt postdates the death of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627) by almost one decade, the inscribed verse from the Surat al-Anbiya' (Qur'an 21:69) in *nasta'liq* script most likely refers to him, since the sultan of Bijapur often availed himself of verses associated with his namesake the prophet Ibrahim, and the ruler's wife, Taj Sultan, perpetuated the practice long after his demise.[1] As this specific verse is featured on Sultan Ibrahim's tomb complex, which was probably completed between 1633 and 1635, coinciding with the date on the hilt, it is quite likely that the text was chosen, possibly by one of his descendants or a member of his court, as a form of association with the sultan.[2] It could also have been a means of protection against persecution, as alluded to in the verse in which the prophet rebels against idolatry.

The hilt's walrus-ivory slabs are decorated with an intricate, gold-inlaid arabesque of finely detailed, split palmettes as well as a lightly carved arabesque (never inlaid and exhibiting considerable wear) of spiraling scrolls issuing sprigs and small rosettes created from somewhat deeply drilled depressions in the intervening areas. On the grip, two recessed medallions are carved with floral wreaths; a later silver rivet obscures the palmette medallion, and the wreath in the lobed medallion encircles a bird in flight. Framing the surface of each ivory slab and separating the grip from the pommel are deeply carved, paired filets that retain no inlay and enclose a carved cable motif now showing great wear. SK

1. Regarding the association with verses from the Qur'an referring to the prophet Ibrahim, see references to inscriptions on the Ibrahim Rauza; Michell 2011, pp. 245–46; Wannell 2011, pp. 252, 256. **2.** For the reference to Taj Sultan's A.H. 1044 (A.D. 1634–35) *abjad* date on the tomb complex, see Wannell 2011, pp. 252, 262.

63 Dagger with Zoomorphic Hilt

Probably Bijapur, ca. 1600–1650
Hilt: cast, chased, and gilt copper inlaid with rubies; blade: forged steel, L. 15⅝ in. (39.6 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 2011 (2011.236)

Fig. 56. Casket of Matias de Albuquerque, Goa, late 16th century. Gold filigree and enamel, H. 5½ in. (14 cm), W. 7⅝ in. (19.5 cm), D. 3¾ in. (9.6 cm). Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (577 OUR)

More linear and attenuated than its cousins, this dagger falls into a family of related weapons distinguished by hilts that are composed of interlocked animals drawn from Persian, Indian, and European sources. At the center, a tiger attacks a deer, a long-standing Perso-Islamic hunting motif. Before it a bird standing on a palmlike frond grasps a shrunken snake in its beak. This motif, widely seen in South Indian art, is associated with the enmity between Garuda, the mythical bird mount of Vishnu, and the *naga*s (serpent kings). A dragon, whose tail wraps around the grip, attacks the tiger. Lower down on the hilt is a *kirtimukha* (monster mask) with floral scrolls issuing from its mouth. For whom could this richly iconographic dagger have been made?

The motifs convey messages of power and dominance relevant to specific dynasties of the region. The dagger could have been meant for a Nayaka ruler (successors to the Vijayanagara Empire) or one of the Deccani Muslim states, Bijapur being the frontrunner as a similar style of dagger (cat. 25) was adopted by ʻAli ʻAdil Shah I (reigned 1558–80).[1] The iconography is extremely Hindu in some respects, especially the protective lotus at the base of the hilt where it joins the blade.

Cat. 63

The tiger, with tiny stripes, small head, and curly mane, is quite naturalistically styled, even possibly Europeanized, in comparison to other sculptural forms of the time. The elongated dragon, too, has a distinctly foreign air with scales, a ruff, and a long snout. Perhaps this motif is the key to solving the mystery of the dagger's origin.

A comparable lizardlike dragon, with a hatched pattern on its body, appears on the latch of the gold filigree and enamel casket of around 1597 (fig. 56) of the Portuguese viceroy Matias de Albuquerque (ruled 1591–97).[2] This impressive object was commissioned in Goa by his widow and made its way to the Convento da Graça monastery in Lisbon. Thus such Westernized creatures appear to be related to Portuguese tastes and commissions of luxury objects, their style comfortably aligning with the existing language of *makara*s (aquatic beasts), *naga*s, and other Indian mythical dragons and snakes. Therefore, besides the existing suggestions, a third possibility comes to the fore: perhaps the dagger was made for a Portuguese noble in Goa, reflecting both his own culture and that of the Deccan. NNH

1. Thanks are due to Robert Elgood for his insights on this object. **2.** Dias 2004, p. 94.

64 Fish-Shaped Waterspout from the Asar Mahal

Bijapur, ca. 1647
Basalt, L. approx. 84 in. (213 cm)
Bijapur Archaeological Museum, Gol Gumbaz

The Asar Mahal on the east side of the Bijapur citadel was built in 1647 by Muhammad ʿAdil Shah (reigned 1627–56) as a public audience hall, accessible from his palaces inside the citadel walls as well as from the city proper. The building features a deep porch supported by massive timber beams, and it faces a large rectangular water tank. This waterspout and its mate are said to have come from that tank; each would have tipped back and forth as water filled a recess in its back and then poured through the beast's mouth. They complemented a rich, unusual decorative program inside the building, which was painted with murals and inlaid with designs in ivory and mother-of-pearl. Unique today as large sculptural works, the

Detail of cat. 64

Cat. 64

spouts hint at a wider tradition of carved stone figural images that must have once graced the palaces of the Deccan. A male figure in court dress, also in the Bijapur Archaeological Museum, is another piece of evidence for this tradition. MS

65 Inscribed Panel

Deccan, mid-17th century
Carved basalt, H. 14½ in. (36.8 cm), W. 38 in. (96.5 cm), D. 4⅛ in. (10.5 cm)
Collection of Ismail Merchant, Claverack, New York

Inscribed in *thuluth* script: *bismillah al-rahman al-rahim* (In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful)

Stating "in the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful," this plaque might have started the dedicatory inscription of a mosque. It has the orthographic features of mid-seventeenth-century architectural inscriptions, finding close parallels to the epigraphic panels in the second story of the Gol Gumbaz (Round Dome, 1656), the tomb of Muhammad ʿAdil Shah (reigned 1627–56). The building's soaring dome is its most notable feature, but its skillfully executed stucco and stonework are evidence that the fine architectural traditions of the Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II era (1580–1627) continued well into the seventeenth century. Like the inscriptions in the tomb, this example is contained within a cusped cartouche, with the words appearing above and below a central line, here created by the horizontal extension of the letter *he* in *al-rahim*. Technically, creating the inscription involved chipping away the surface of the stone around each letter, the contrasting surfaces resulting in different shades of gray for the fore- and backgrounds of the inscription. The effect is simple but allows the words to be easily read. MS

Cat. 65

Cat. 66

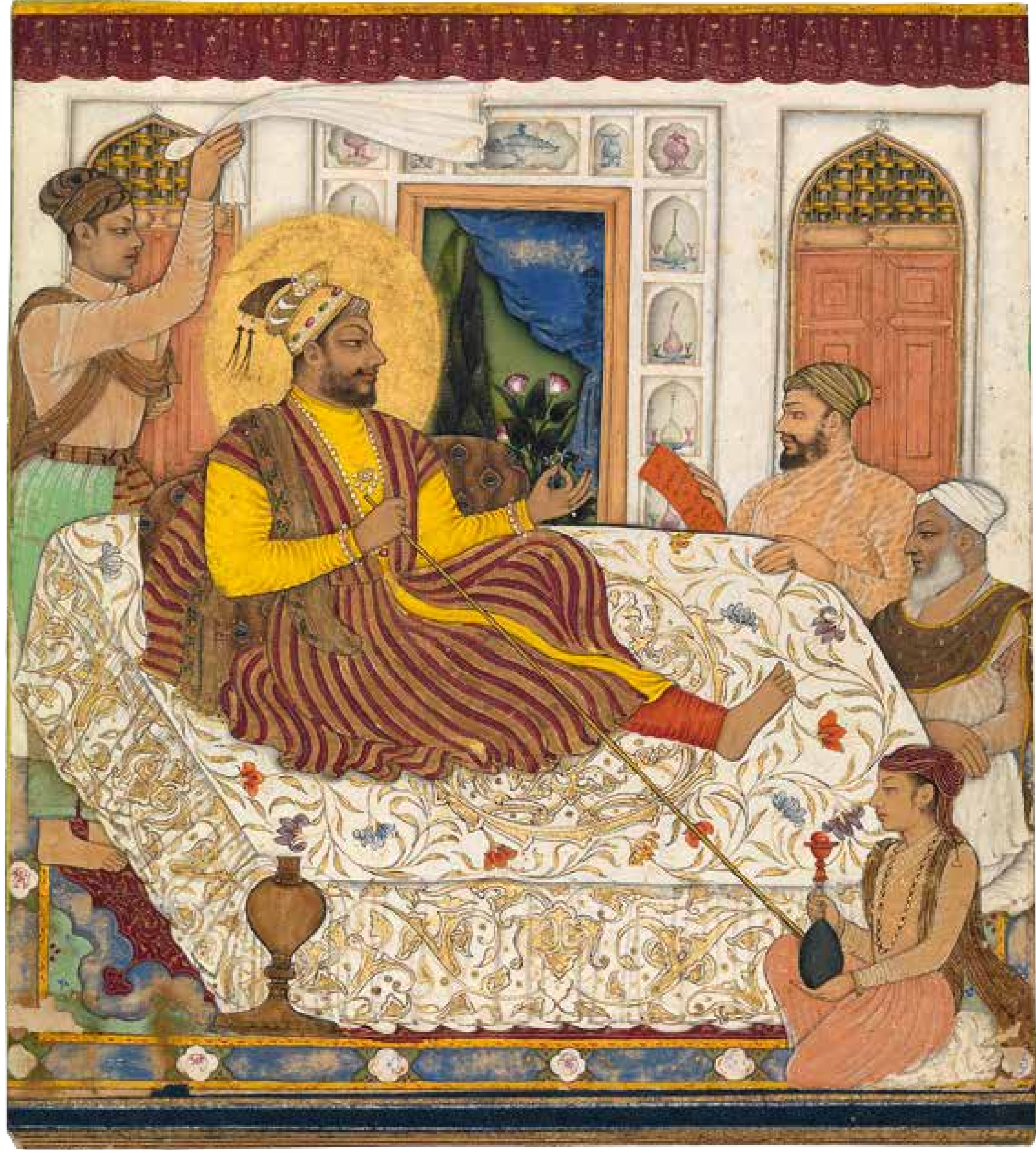
66 Sultan ʻAli ʻAdil Shah II Slays a Tiger

Attributed to the Bombay Painter (probably Abdul Hamid Naqqash)
Bijapur, ca. 1660
Ink, opaque watercolor, gold, and probably lapis-lazuli pigment on paper, 8½ × 12⅜ in. (21.5 × 31.5 cm)
Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, Lent by Howard Hodgkin (LI118.98)

67 *Darbar* of Sultan ʻAli ʻAdil Shah II

Attributed to the Bombay Painter (probably Abdul Hamid Naqqash)
Bijapur, ca. 1660
Ink, opaque watercolor, gold, and silver on paper, 7½ × 6⅝ in. (19.1 × 16.8 cm)
Private collection

The Bombay Painter was a powerful force in Bijapur's final phase of painting, in which he captured his patron ʻAli ʻAdil Shah II (reigned 1656–72) in several opulent works. In this fragmentary painting, ʻAli II is resplendent in gold as he draws his bow to discharge a second arrow on a tiger crouching on the rocks (cat. 66). The rising golden finial below is thought to be either from the tail of a griffin or lion stand or an element from a royal barge.[1] Either case would indicate an unusual iconography for such a subject. Several allusions have been read into this image, including a reference to ancient Middle Eastern friezes and Gupta-era coinage of kings slaughtering lions, symbols that must have held meaning for the ruler.[2] The small size of the tiger suggests hierarchical scaling rather than distant perspective, while the hidden grotesques in the rocks are a throwback to an earlier Persian convention.



Cat. 67

Another portrait of ʿAli II by the Bombay Painter shows him within a palace interior, with a blue curtain in the doorway drawn aside to reveal the landscape outside (cat. 67). ʿAli holds a rigid tube extending from a *huqqa* (water pipe) held by a servant while a nobleman reads a scroll, in a composition following a formula established in an earlier painting of Muhammad ʿAdil Shah (reigned 1627–56). The scene here might depict ʿAli II with the Maratha ruler Shivaji (reigned 1674–80), holding the document and wearing a *tilak* (forehead mark), at a reconciliation that took place in 1661.[3] The Bombay Painter proves himself to be a close recorder of sartorial styles and court textiles, seen in the stripes of color on the robe, the robe's split-sleeve style (the empty sleeve hanging behind ʿAli's back), the peacock-feather patterns on the bolster, and the lively arabesques of the *kalamkari* bedcover.

An inscription on a woman's portrait from a dispersed Bijapur album by the same artist—*ʿabdul hamid naqqash* or *ʿamal-i* (work of) *muhammad naqqash*—provides the Bombay Painter's name.[4] Blunt features, including well-articulated, reddened lips and a prominent eye with a sweeping brow, are marked qualities of his portraits. His influence made its way to the Rajput court of Kishangarh, where several

of the Bombay Painter's works somehow arrived by the end of the seventeenth century, paving the way for the curvaceous eye and elongated nose to become major hallmarks of the eighteenth-century painting style of Nihal Chand.[5]

'Ali II reigned as the penultimate ruler of Bijapur for sixteen years. Plagued by pressure from the rising strength of the Marathas under Shivaji in the west and the relentless pressure of the Mughals from the north, he nevertheless managed to maintain active patronage of the arts. Some of the most evocative painted works of the Deccan come from his age. NNH

1. Zebrowski 1983a, p. 140; S. C. Welch 1985, p. 307. **2.** S. C. Welch 1985, p. 307. **3.** Michell and Zebrowski 1999, pp. 186–87. **4.** Zebrowksi 1983a, p. 143, ill. no. 112; Okada 1991, pp. 112–13. **5.** Zebrowski 1983a, p. 142, ill. no. 111.

68 Princely Deer Hunters

Bijapur, ca. 1660–70
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 9½ × 18 in. (24.1 × 45.6 cm)
Collection of Mrs. Stuart Cary Welch, New Hampshire

Infused with qualities of mood and allegory, this composition contrasts the static and stiffly posed royal hunters on their pale horses, "beautiful machines of destruction," as they approach a group of deer, below a movement-filled cloudy monsoon sky, a portent of the storm and the hunt to follow.[1] The externalization of emotion, from the direct subject into the surrounding environment, is one trait of the greatest Deccan paintings, seen also in the portrait of a mysterious dark-skinned nobleman against a cloudy, blue background (cat. 52).

The deer are clustered on the right and attendants to the hunters on the left, allowing for an open, green, hilly background, against which the vivid pink, gold, and white colors of the princes—typical of the Bijapur palette in the late seventeenth century—stand out. The identity of the princes is not known, yet they share the snub-nose, lush-lipped features of the 'Adil Shahi royal family. It has been speculated that the young rider in front in a pink robe may be Sikandar (reigned 1672–86), the last ruler of the royal house.[2]

The treatment of the sky in some ways recalls the technique of marbling, a well-established Deccani process, but here is the result of the expansive application and controlled movement of paint and gold. Later Rajput painters were especially influenced by the qualities of landscape shown here.

NNH

1. Zebrowski 1983a, p. 147. **2.** S. C. Welch 1985, p. 309.

Cat. 68

Detail of cat. 66

69 Carpet Weights (*Mir-i Farsh*) with Domed Profiles

Deccan, mid-17th century
Stone; a: H. 10⅛ in. (25.5 cm), W. 5⅛ in. (13 cm), b: H. 11¼ in. (28.5 cm), W. 5 in. (12.5 cm)
Private collection, London

Cat. 69a, b

These carpet weights miniaturize seventeenth-century architectural forms prevalent throughout the Deccan. They sport bulbous domes, small in proportion to the structure below, that rest on narrow bases ringed by fringes of petals. The corner legs on which they stand are also found on Deccani cenotaphs as well as on the exterior corners of some Deccani tombs.[1] They are probably from such a tomb, where they would have held down the cloth covering a grave. MS

1. Nayeem 2008, p. 336, fig. 36, illustrates stone lamp pedestals from various Bijapur sites of similar shape but of uncertain date.

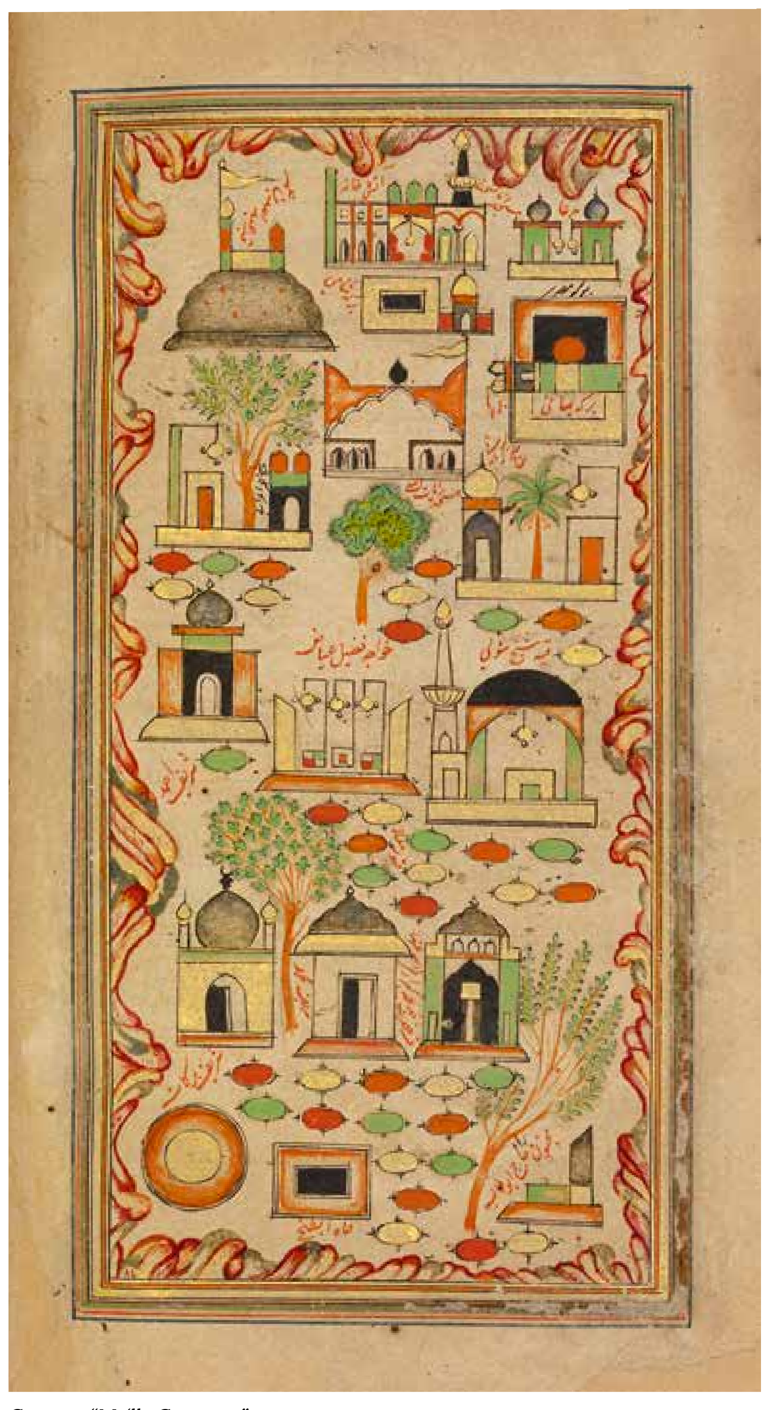
70 Manuscript of the *Futuh al-Haramayn* (Description of the Holy Cities)

Bijapur, probably Kharepatan, A.H. 1089 (A.D. 1678)
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, folio: 7⅜ × 4⅜ in. (18.8 × 11 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, funds from various donors, Elizabeth S. Ettinghausen Gift, in memory of Richard Ettinghausen, and Louis E. and Theresa S. Seley Purchase Fund for Islamic Art, 2008 (2008.251)

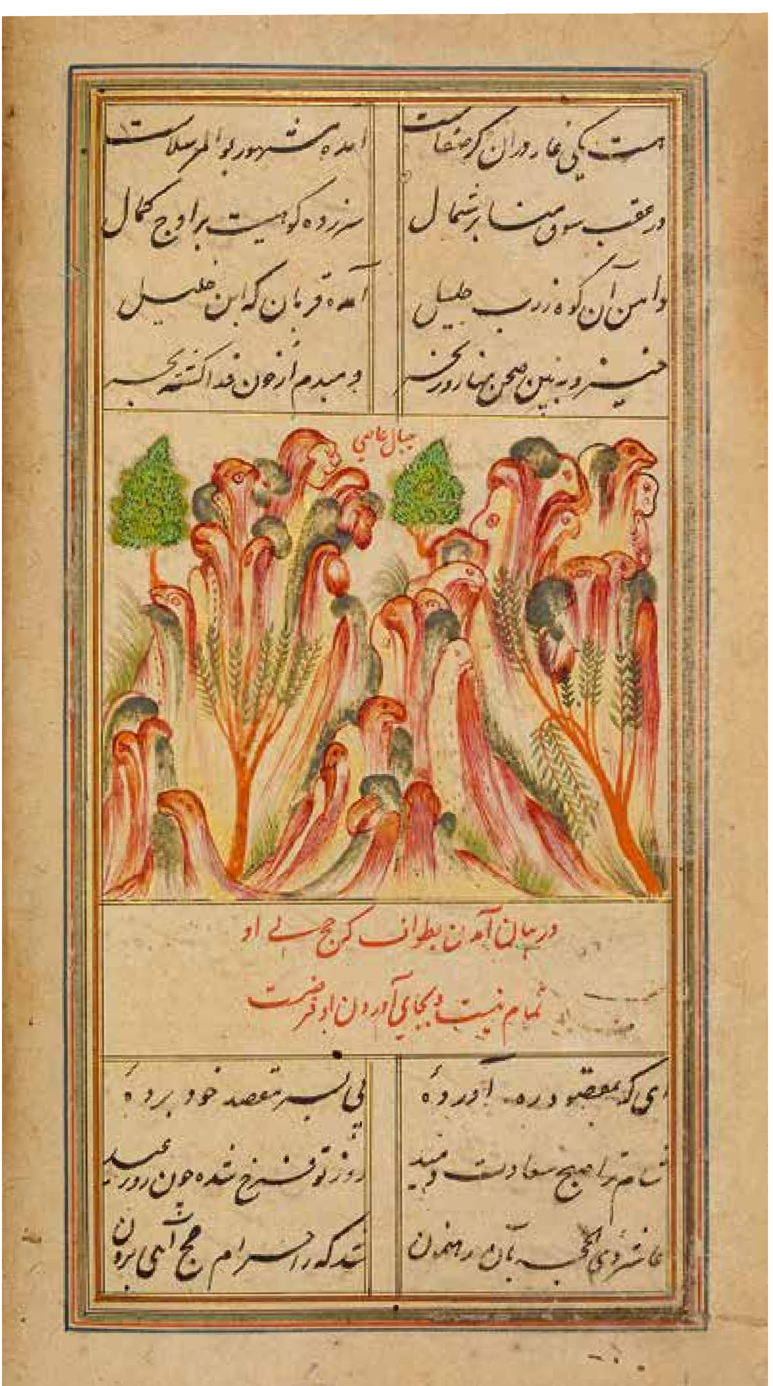
The *Futuh al-Haramayn*, a guidebook to the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina written by Muhi al-din Lari, instructs pilgrims on the rituals of the hajj and lists the religious sites they can visit. From a popularly illustrated tradition in Turkey, Iran, and India, this manuscript remains within a tight and somewhat dry formula of bird's-eye views of courtyards, buildings, and outdoor sites.[1] The present copy follows that well-established convention but adds considerable Deccani flourish in the curving, orange lines of the trees; animated, purple mountains concealing hidden grotesques at their rocky edges; and overall bright palette. Never has this pious route looked quite as cheerful and lush as through the hand of this anonymous painter.

The manuscript contains a colophon mentioning a date of A.H. 1089 (A.D. 1678) and a place, Qil'a Bandar, thought to be the city of Kharepatan, which lay in the Bijapur territories just off the western coast of India. The small port town was a center for trade and pilgrimage and likely a place from which a visitor to Mecca would embark. At least five other unpublished manuscripts of the same text remain in the National Museum, New Delhi, demonstrating that this was a commonly illustrated text in India. NNH

1. Witkam 2009.



Cat. 70a. “Ma‘lla Cemetery”



Cat. 70b. “The ‘Asi Mountains”

71 House of Bijapur

By Kamal Muhammad and Chand Muhammad
Bijapur, ca. 1680
Ink, opaque watercolor, gold, and silver on paper, folio: 16¼ × 12¾ in. (41.3 × 32.5 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Gifts in Memory of Richard Ettinghausen; Schimmel Foundation Inc., Ehsan Yarshater, Karekin Beshir Ltd., Margaret Mushekian, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Ablat and Mr. and Mrs. Jerome A. Straka Gifts; The Friends of the Islamic Department Fund; Gifts of Mrs. A. Lincoln Scott and George Blumenthal, Bequests of Florence L. Goldmark, Charles R. Gerth and Millie Bruhl Frederick, and funds from various donors, by exchange; Louis E. and Theresa S. Seley Purchase Fund for Islamic Art and Rogers Fund, 1982 (1982.213)

Inscribed on left border: *'amal-i kamal muhammad va chand muhammad* (Work of Kamal Muhammad and Chand Muhammad)

In sky above: *shah 'abbas padshah-i iran* (Shah 'Abbas, King of Iran)

This image from Bijapur made for the last of its rulers, Sikandar (reigned 1672–86), shown here as a young boy soon before the kingdom's fall to Mughal conquerors in 1686, brings together all nine 'Adil Shahi sultans in a dynastic assembly likely inspired by Mughal paintings illustrating the same idea. The artists Kamal Muhammad and Chand Muhammad here incorporated the characteristic features of the Bijapur school of the period: great shifts of view, varying use of perspective, and a palette rich in a distinctive pink hue. An otherworldly mood is conveyed partly by illogical juxtapositions, such as the stairs leading up to the carpet with no supporting architectural elements or the soaring mountains of Safavid inspiration in the background. Distant views of water hint at Bijapur's former vastness, which at its greatest extent stretched to include Goa on the Arabian Sea.

This painting would have the viewer believe that the key of legitimacy—being handed over by Isma'il (reigned 1501–24), founder of the Safavid dynasty (1501–1722) of Iran (here erroneously identified as Shah 'Abbas in a later inscription), to Yusuf (reigned 1490–1510), founder of the Bijapur dynasty—symbolizes the unwavering allegiance of the 'Adil Shahi family to the Shi'a creed. However, Bijapur in its golden period under the freethinking Ibrahim II (reigned 1580–1627, third from the right) witnessed the open embrace of Hinduism and Sufism as well as the formalization of Sunnism as the state religion in 1583, which lasted until the end of his tenure.

Certain historicizing details in the composition acknowledge the two-hundred-year span of the family. The early rulers on the left wear dagger hilts—straight, split-end West Asian and curving double-leaf South Indian—of a style earlier than the punch dagger (*katar*s) in the belts of the later rulers on the right. Local tastes are seen in the swirling blue carpet and flat ceremonial umbrellas also found in early Andhra sculpture. Like many other painters of the Deccan, Kamal Muhammad and Chand Muhammad remain fairly unknown, with very few attested works.[1] Several later versions of the present Bijapur dynastic work, which was formerly in the Kevork Essayan Collection, Paris, are known, including one made for the Italian physician Niccolò Manucci.[2] NNH

1. Baptiste, McLeod, and Robbins 2006, p. 34, fig. 26. Falk and M. Archer 1981, no. 404, illustrates a portrait of Ikhlas Khan signed by Chand Muhammad. **2.** Manucci Album, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Estampes (Rés. Od 45 pet. fol.); Manucci 1907, vol. 3, pl. XXXIV. The author is grateful to Marta Becherini for her assistance with the Manucci Album. For other later versions of the painting, see Taylor and Fergusson 1866, frontispiece; Strzygowski 1933, pp. 42–43, fig. 37 (abbreviated version of the painting now in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna); Duda 1983, p. 266, fol. 20, fig. 458; Sotheby's 1985, lot 71 (copy of ca. 1750).

Cat. 71

The Art of *Abri*: Marbled Album Leaves, Drawings, and Paintings of the Deccan

Persianate artists have produced a wide range of richly decorative papers for making manuscripts since the fifteenth century.[1] One particularly captivating type called *kaghaz-i abri*—or simply *abri*, meaning "clouded" paper in Persian and known as "marbled paper" in English—flourished in the Deccan in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The technique is unique: organic colors such as lampblack, indigo, lac, and finely ground mineral pigments are mixed with a chemical surfactant, floated on the surface of a liquid bath, and manipulated with different tools to form abstract designs, after which a sheet of paper is carefully laid on top to capture the final design. Marbling is essentially a form of fluid monotype printing, since no two marbled patterns are ever exactly alike, no matter how precisely they are made. The artists who made *abri* were also skilled in other techniques such as dyeing, spattering, and flecking gold on paper as well as bookbinding and illumination methods, including attaching cut-paper borders, drawing marginal rules, and cutting paper for both stenciling and decoupage.

While water-based paper marbling first emerged in East Asia roughly one thousand years ago, another form using plant mucilage may have independently appeared in Timurid Persia in the late fifteenth century.[2] The earliest example from the Islamic world is dated 1496 (cat. 72), and one Safavid source attributes the invention of marbling to the Timurid scribe ʿAbdullah Murvarid of Herat (died 1516–17).[3] The master of *nastaʿliq* calligraphy Mir ʿAli of Herat (died 1544–45) wrote original compositions on pale, softly swirled *abri*, a practice imitated by his followers.[4] Such works were collected by connoisseurs from India to Turkey, thereby popularizing marbled paper throughout the eastern Islamic world.

While it is difficult to distinguish early styles from different regions owing to their overall similarity, surviving evidence suggests that marbled-paper production commenced in India by the last quarter of the sixteenth century. A Persian miscellany written over primitive spot patterns, completed in Bijapur in 1580, is the earliest example of *abri* from the subcontinent; however, such rudimentary designs were not limited to the Deccan.[5] A *Divan-i Anvari*, completed for the Mughal Emperor Akbar (reigned 1556–1605) in Lahore in 1588, is similarly marbled on every leaf.[6] Calligraphy specimens of one of his most celebrated scribes, Muhammad Husain Kashmiri (died 1605), have also been identified.[7] The earliest technical marbling account from the Islamic world—describing the form as *darhami*, an "intermixed" form of color—is found in a chapter of the *Risala-yi Khushnavisan* (Treatise of Calligraphers), which praises Akbar in the preface and is hence dated before his death in 1605.[8] The text describes two methods: *abri-yi abi,* produced on a water bath, and *abri-yi ahari*, which is made on a mucilaginous sizing extracted from boiled fenugreek seed, with an extract of *ritha* (soapberry) added to the colors to float them.

During the last decade of the sixteenth century in Iran and India, the repertoire of *abri* patterns blossomed into a dizzying array of designs. Meticulously prepared floating colors were

Detail of cat. 72b

manipulated by a stylus or pin rake to form sharply defined swirls and spirals as well as chevron and serpentine patterns. Drawing a broad, fine-tooth comb over a chevron pattern yielded optically captivating, microscopically fine arcs reminiscent of variegated feathers. Such combed patterns were often further altered with a stylus or pin rake, spattered with additional droplets of color that could be stylized into motifs, flecked with gold, or even outlined in gold ink. Various additives mixed into the colors created visually riveting special effects, from droplets bursting with bubbles to a finely veined *craquelure*. The patterning techniques likely derived from ancient core-form glass production, in which finely colored rods or drops of molten glass were manipulated with pins and combs to form strikingly similar designs. These innovations were likely introduced to the Deccan by a Persian émigré named Mir Muhammad Tahir. One Deccan album with multiple marbled borders on every folio contains a preface praising this master exclusively and in lavish terms.[9]

Later Deccani marblers cleverly used stenciling and resist-masking techniques by blocking off different areas of a sheet of paper prior to marbling to create a vividly colorful new mode of painting. The exact method for producing these works was a matter of debate, with some scholars arguing that the technique is a form of decoupage.[10] Others observed that the works must have been made with a masking technique of cut-paper stencils in conjunction with a gum solution applied as a masking fluid.[11] The specific use of alum mordanting for marbling in conjunction with a gum resist recalls techniques for producing decorative *kalamkari* and other painted cotton textiles (cats. 160–65), another major Deccani art form at the time. Since mordant and resist methods do not appear within the Persianate manuscript tradition, it seems reasonable to think that marbling artists probably adapted the textile method in their paintings and drawings.

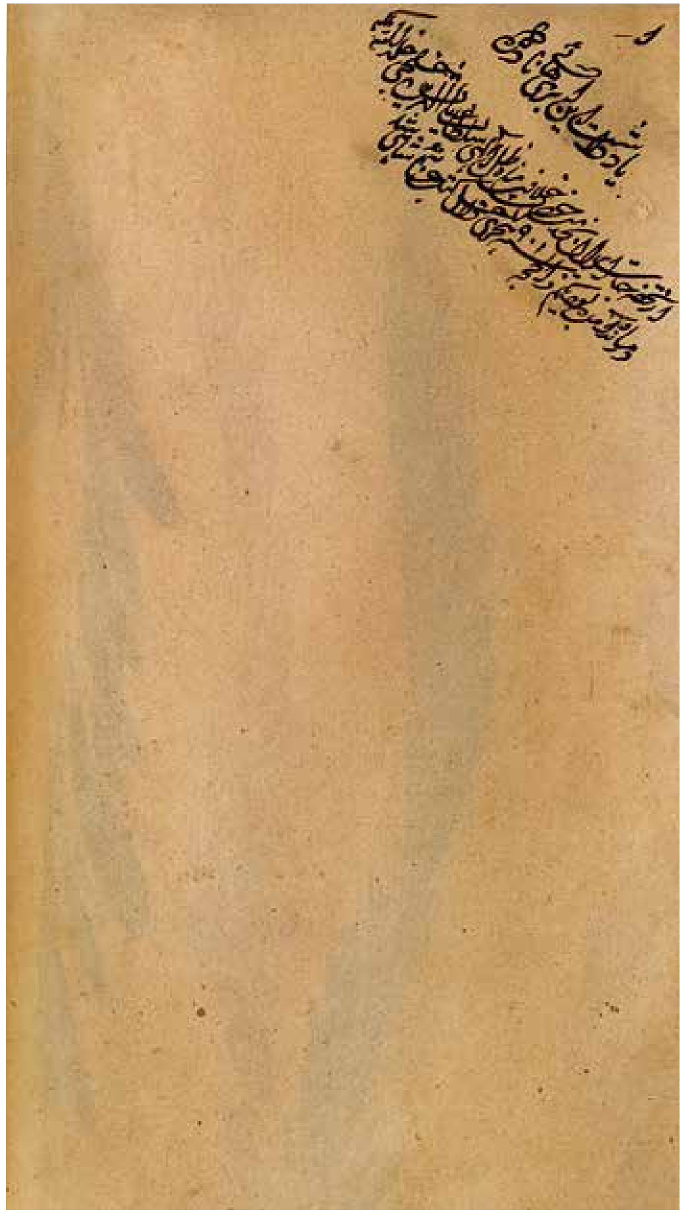
While several *abri* drawings were made with just one pattern, others were repeatedly masked and marbled in various contrasting colors and designs to furnish decorative elements and synthesize complex imagery, drawn from Persianate, Indian, and European models, into new visual modes. Some were made in multiples reusing the same stencils; however, the artist would change the exact elements and rearrange their placement.[12] Still others bear similar painted features, probably by the same hand, an indication that workshops once specialized in the production of these drawings.

Abri drawings are often ascribed to the ʻAdil Shahi sultanate of Bijapur because of the overpainted features, especially in figural portraits.[13] However, evidence of marbled paper elements adhered to illustrated scenes in the *Divan of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah* (ca. 1590–95, fig. 72) of Golconda, as well as a calligraphic panel written over a combed pattern and signed by Qutb Shahi scribe ʻArab Shirazi, proves that the art was practiced more widely throughout the Deccan.[14] Other works bear overtly Mughal (cat. 80) or even European features, suggesting they date to the second half of the seventeenth century or later, during the decline of the sultanates and rise of Mughal hegemony in the region. The existence of a dispersed album with several marbled drawings and a poem dated 1729 indicates that production continued at least until the early eighteenth century, a longer period of time than had previously been known.[15] Ample evidence from elsewhere in India shows the popularity of marbling. Examples include several leaves penned by Muhammad Ashraf Khan Razavi in Kashmir in December 1658, and two remarkable letters by

the nobleman Qa'im Khan, the son of the Mughal politician Roshan al-Daula, bearing a seal dated 1704–5 and written within a masked, marbled central panel with surrounding floral motifs such as a stylized tulip.[16] The vivid marbled designs in these *abri* drawings and paintings reflect the revolutionary innovations of Mir Muhammad Tahir and his followers. Even if some works were produced outside the region, they still bear a discernible Deccani influence. JB

1. For an overview of decorative papers used in Islamic manuscripts, see Porter 1994, pp. 35–56; Blair 2000, pp. 25–32; Bloom 2001, pp. 70–72; Roxburgh 2005, pp. 149–79; Blair 2006, pp. 50–56. Yana van Dyke discusses technical methods in relation to several examples from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; see van Dyke 2012, pp. 19–23. **2.** For a concise overview of paper marbling in East Asia, see Benson 2005. **3.** Mahmud bin Muhammad, *Khatimah dar Zikri Ustadan-i Khutut* (Conclusion in Remembrance of the Masters of Scripts) of the *Qava'id al-Khutut* (The Rules for Scripts), completed 1553; see Danish-Pazhuh 1977, p. 21. **4.** One dated example, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Lent by the Art and History Trust (LTS1995.2.93a), is a riddle on the name Fasih written in Bukhara in A.H. 950 (A.D. 1543–44); Soudavar 1992, pp. 306, 307, no. 128a. **5.** Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Manuscrits Orientaux, Supplément Persan 796, fols. 152b, 154b–155a, 157a, 173a, 196b; Richard 2000, p. 246, pl. 13 (fol. 196b); Déroche 2006, p. 141, ill. no. 50 (fol. 173). Note that the latter gives an incorrect date of 1560. **6.** Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass. (1960.117); Schimmel 1983, p. 67. **7.** Several panels are preserved in the Royal Collection, Windsor Castle (Waley 1992, p. 18), and Golestan Palace Museum, Tehran (1049; Ghelichkhani 2013, p. 39). Another panel recently sold at Christie's (see Christie's 2012b, p. 12, lot 12, verso). **8.** See Porter 1989. The art form is described as *darhami* and is preceded by discussions of *mufrid* (single) colors made from one pigment or dyestuff and *murrakab* (compound) colors made by mixing individual colors together to produce different shades. **9.** *Qit'at-i Khushkhatt*, University of Edinburgh (Or. Ms 373); see cats. 18–19, in this volume. A detailed analysis of this album is planned as an essay by the present author for a forthcoming monograph on Deccan-Safavid relations. **10.** F. R. Martin 1912, p. 94, was the first to suggest that they were masked, but Binney 1979, p. 802, and, most recently, Michael Barry in 'Attar 2013, p. 360, advance the decoupage thesis. **11.** See C. Weimann 1983; I. Weimann and Sönmez 1991, pp. 18–22. **12.** In an unpublished lecture given in 1988 at the University of California, Los Angeles, Christopher Weimann demonstrated how several marbled works were all made with the same stencils. **13.** Zebrowski 1983a, p. 137; Hutton 2006, pp. 146–55; Mittal 2013. **14.** Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad (76.154); Jagdish Mittal in S. C. Welch 1985, p. 214; Mittal 2007, pp. 64, 132, no. 113; Seyller and Mittal 2013, pp. 119–21, no. 40. **15.** The leaves from a masked marbled album dispersed by Adrienne Minassian—*Two Camels Locked in Combat*, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass. (1984.474); *Marbled Paper Horse*, formerly Stuart Cary Welch Collection; *Marbled Paper Drawing of a Lion or Qi-Li*, formerly Stuart Cary Welch Collection; and *Two Birds*, Brown University Library, Providence, R.I.—feature several masked marbled images executed within similar combed patterns. The folio bearing the poem dated 1729 was exhibited at the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass., in 1986; see *Ebru: The Art of Marbling* 1986. Its current whereabouts is unknown. **16.** One of the leaves by Muhammad Ashraf Khan Razavi was sold by Sam Fogg and is now in a private collection; for two additional examples, see Will Kwiatkowski in Fraser and Kwiatkowski 2006, pp. 124–25, no. 37. The letters of Qa'im Khan are in the Africa and Middle Eastern Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (1-88-154.50 and 1-84-154.54); see Christiane J. Gruber in *Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Calligraphy* 2007.

Cat. 72a, recto



verso

72 Marbled Papers with an Accession Note at Mandu

Iran, 15th century (marbling); Mandu, A.H. 1 Dhu'l Hijia 901 (August 11, 1496) (note)
Opaque watercolor and gold on marbled papers, a: 8 × 4½ in. (20.4 × 11.5 cm); b: 8 × 4⅝ in. (20.2 × 11.8 cm)
Kronos Collections, New York

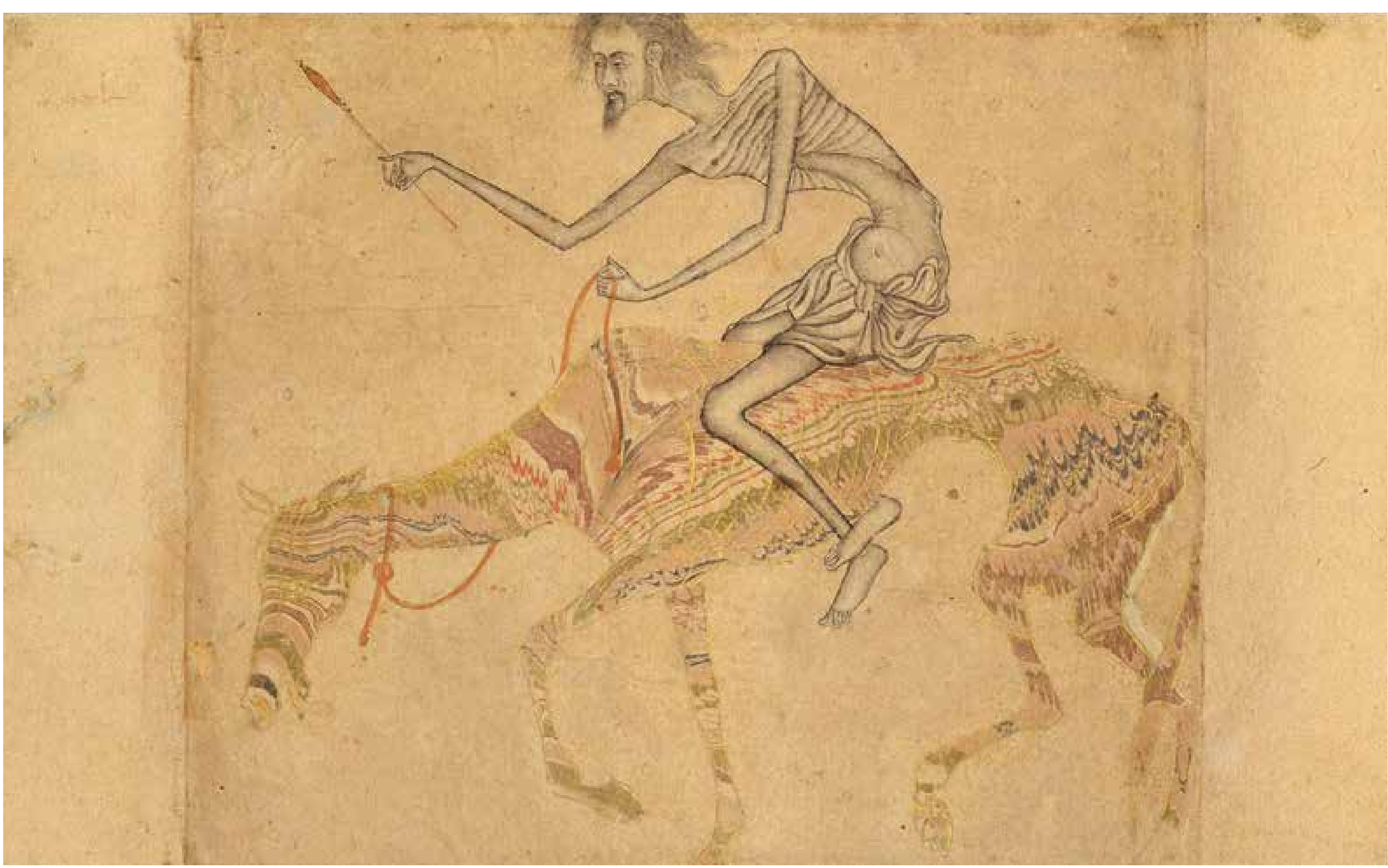
Inscribed in *divani* script on cat. 72a (verso): *alif*(?); *yad-dasht in abriha-yi nadira; az tuhfa-jat-i iran ba khidmat-i hazrat khilafat-panah zill ilahi sultan ghiyath al-din khalji khallada ilahu mulkuhu; dar mandu amada bud dhi'l-hijja* [written *dha l-hijja*] *sana 901 hijri dakhil-i kutub khana-yi shahi shud* (Beginning. Memorandum. These incomparable pieces of marbled papers from the presents [commodities] of Iran in the service of Hazrat Refuge of the Caliphate Shadow of God Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Khalji [1469–1501], may God make his rule endure; In Mandu had come [on] August 11, 1496, [they] were entered into the royal library)

Cat. 72b, recto

verso

The kingdom of Mandu, north of the Bahmani territories, discernibly influenced Deccan painting and book-art styles. This important work relates to the development of later marbled drawings in the Deccan sultanates. These two marbled papers are the earliest known works of Persian marbling, dated approximately one century before other papers.[1] The inscription, written in a variant of *divani* script and with a particular elegance, sometimes called *shana-yi ʿarus* (comb of the bride), provides a rare documentation of a royal gift within India or the broader Islamic world of the time. NNH

1. Simon Digby, handwritten notes in the possession of the lender.



Cat. 73

73 Ascetic Riding a Nag

Deccan, 17th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper and marbled paper,
4 × 6⅜ in. (10.2 × 16.2 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1944 (44.154)

74 Ascetic Riding a Nag

Deccan, mid-17th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on marbled paper; image:
4½ × 6½ in. (11.5 × 16.5 cm), folio: 9½ × 14¾ in. (24 × 37.4 cm)
Morgan Library and Museum, New York, Purchased by J. Pierpont
Morgan (1837–1913) in 1911 (Ms. M.458.30v)

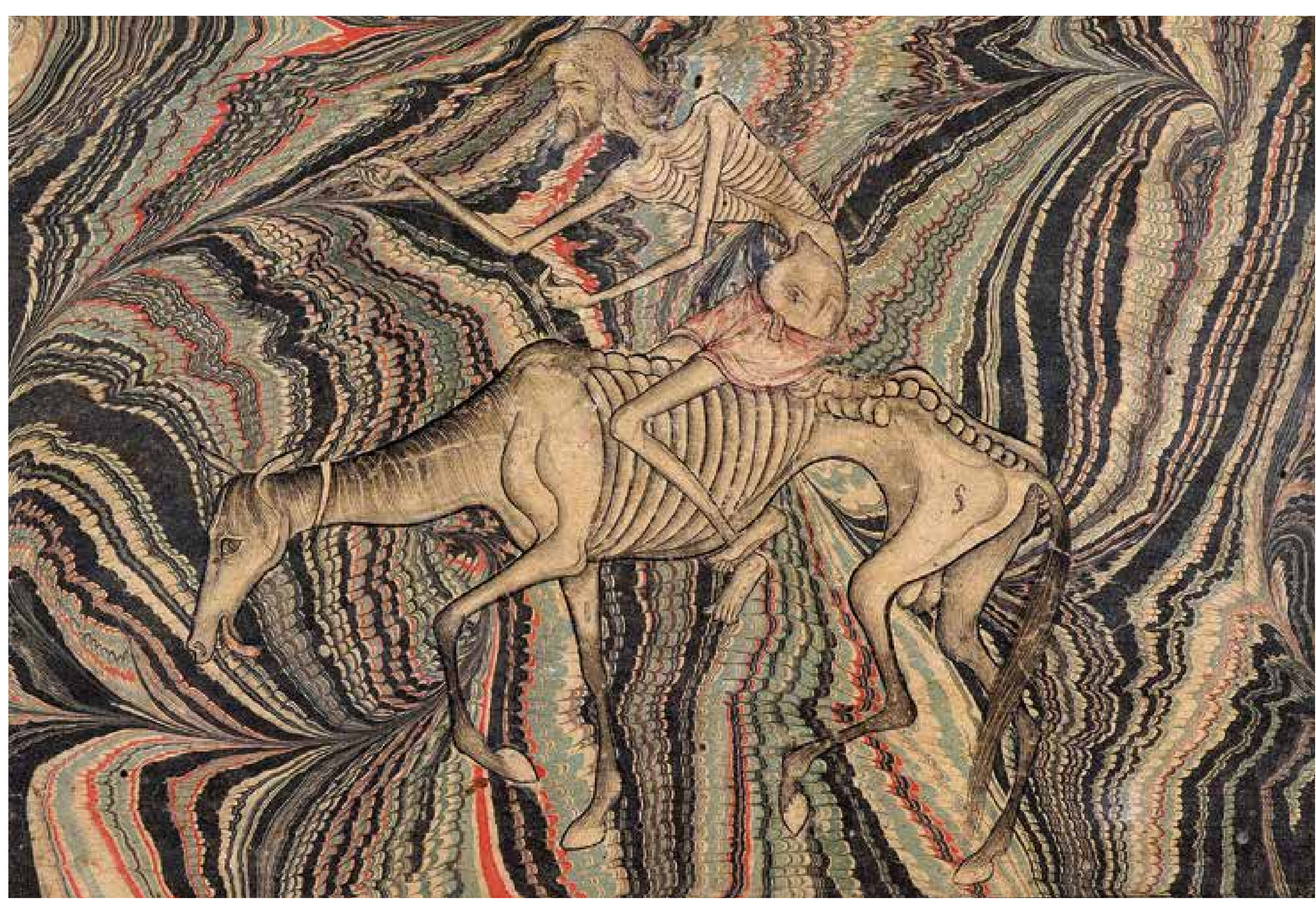
A wizened, bearded man wearing only a loincloth rides an equally emaciated old nag, his feet locked beneath its belly. These two images were likely made from positive and negative stencils cleverly cut from the same sheet of paper, creating the marbled body and background in both compositions. While the riders are drawn in black ink, their apparent disparities suggest the hands of two different artists. Both horses are rendered in an unnatural, highly exaggerated fashion, and the facial features and outstretched arms of both riders recall Mughal depictions of Majnun, who in the famed tale starves himself out of grief over his separation from his beloved Layla.[1]

Three other marbled drawings of emaciated horses also exist, but curiously lack a rider; instead, two depict crows attacking open, bloody wounds on the poor creature's back.[2] Those riderless images are clearly derived from satirical images from the fifteenth to seventeenth century of a horseman whose aged mount appears pathetically frail and on the verge of death.[3] One such model in the Metropolitan Museum depicts the horseman forced to carry his saddle, while crows relentlessly feast on the open, fistulous withers on the back of his tired, old nag.[4] Such imagery was undoubtedly inspired by a darkly comic genre of Persianate poetry that ridicules a pitiful, dying nag unfit for a soldier defending the realm.[5] A composition attributed to the Safavid painter

Mu'in served as a direct model for a marbled drawing of an emaciated horse now in the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, further proving that such satirical works inspired the marbled compositions featuring a riderless emaciated horse attacked by crows.[6] Nevertheless, the horsemen observed in those drawings are curiously omitted from the marbled versions. Scholars have interpreted all of the marbled emaciated horses as symbolic of *nafs al-ammarah* (base ego or lower self) in mystical sufi thought.[7] While the present works may allude to training the ego, a preliminary stage on the sufi path, their far more extreme depictions of a horse on the verge of death suggest that they represent a highly advanced stage of *fana* (annihilation), the level immediately preceding the final goal of *baqa* (subsistence) in the divine, which is also a central theme in the story of Layla and Majnun. Interestingly, in an elegy written toward the end of his life, the Iranian poet Ashraf Mazandarani (died 1704) bemoaned his pain and suffering, desiring release from his predicament. He described his body as white and lifeless, trembling with age, and then made the startling comparison to marbled paper: "My limbs have become clouded [*abri*]; my colors have become mixed."[8]

Other scholars have attributed the scene to European allegorical images of death riding an emaciated horse including two works by the German painter Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528).[9] The pose of the nag—head down, hind legs crossed, and tail in between—is intriguingly similar to that of a horse pulling a cart in the foreground of the *Triumph of Death* (ca. 1562) by the Netherlandish painter Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525–1569) and subsequently copied by members of his family.[10] The artist may have seen such allegorical images but interpreted them differently, based on more familiar imagery.

A final clue is offered by a very different marbled equestrian portrait, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, for it confirms how Deccani artists cleverly adapted European imagery. In this drawing, modeled on an engraving of Charles



Cat. 74

Howard, 2nd Baron Howard of Effingham and 1st Earl of Nottingham, by the British artist Thomas Cockson (active 1591–1636), the artist faithfully imitated many features but recast the earl's hat, adorning it with an aigrette, a familiar Indian expression of nobility.[11] Such adaptations help to explain the hybridized, multivalent imagery seen here that simultaneously recalls Persian caricatures of stranded soldiers, Renaissance allegorical images of death, and the story of Layla and Majnun. JB

1. See, for example, the depictions of Majnun in a *Khamsa* (Quintet) of Nizami completed for Emperor Akbar in 1594 (British Library, London, Or. 12208); Brend 1995, pp. 29–32, figs. 17–22. **2.** The three drawings are Aga Khan Museum, Toronto (1983.425); Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (14.695); and Museum of Islamic Art, Doha (MS.653.2008). **3.** S. C. Welch 1959, p. 141, no. 13, in his description of *A Turkman Warrior Leading an Emaciated Horse* (now in the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass., 1977.198), observed that such Persian images were likely inspired by Mongol images, such as those by the thirteenth-century Yuan dynasty painters Gong Kai and Ren Renfa, who drew emaciated horses symbolizing the excesses and decline of the prevailing state. **4.** *An Emaciated Horse Led by His Master* (45.174.11); Swietochowski and Babaie 1989, pp. 36–37, no. 13. **5.** Schimmel 1972 and Schimmel 1992b, pp. 114, 194–95, describe the genre. **6.** Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, Polotsov Album (VR-735); Adamova 2012, p. 239, no. 55; Museum of Islamic Art, Doha (MS.653.2008). **7.** Zebrowski 1983a, p. 138, n. 11; Hutton 2006, p. 193, n. 43. **8.** Ashraf Mazandarani 1994, p. 274; Afshar 2011, p. 148. **9.** F. R. Martin 1912, pp. 93–94; Seyller 2011a, p. 80, n. 9. **10.** Museo del Prado, Madrid, ca. 1562 (PO1393). **11.** Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (PDP 3447); Christopher Alan Bayly in Bayly 1990, p. 76, no. 72; Schmitz 1997, p. 168. The author is grateful to Amy Marquis, Curator of Prints and Drawings at the Fitzwilliam, for this identification of the engraving. Note how the spiked plumes atop the aigrette closely resemble the contours of the crowning feathers of the horse's headdress.

75 Marbled *Begum*

Probably Bijapur, ca. 1625–30
Gold, silver, and opaque watercolor on paper and marbled paper, 9⅛ × 5⅜ in. (23.2 × 13.5 cm)
Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad (76.408)

Inscribed: *hur khanum mughalai* (The Mughal lady Hur)

Cat. 75

Begum Hur was likely a Turkish Chaghatai lady of distinction, judging from her elaborate headdress embellished with a feather plume and many strings of beads and ornaments. Double-chinned and sharp-eyed, she is represented here through both caricature and portraiture. In terms of technique, the marbling brilliantly follows the wobble and line of the folds of her body to articulate her monumental form, and this work may be by the same artist who created *Man with Captive Lion* (cat. 76), which has a similarly rendered area of marbling in the foreground, metallic chains, and fine handling of color. When presented at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1985, this painting was among the first works to demonstrate that the Deccan was the source of a group of marbled drawings likely made in the period of Muhammad 'Adil Shah (reigned 1627–56).[1] NNH

1. Jagdish Mittal in S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 296, 298–99, no. 198; see also Mittal 2013, pp. 137, 140. Jake Benson has compiled a list of forty known marbled drawings and paintings.

Cat. 76

76 Man with Captive Lion

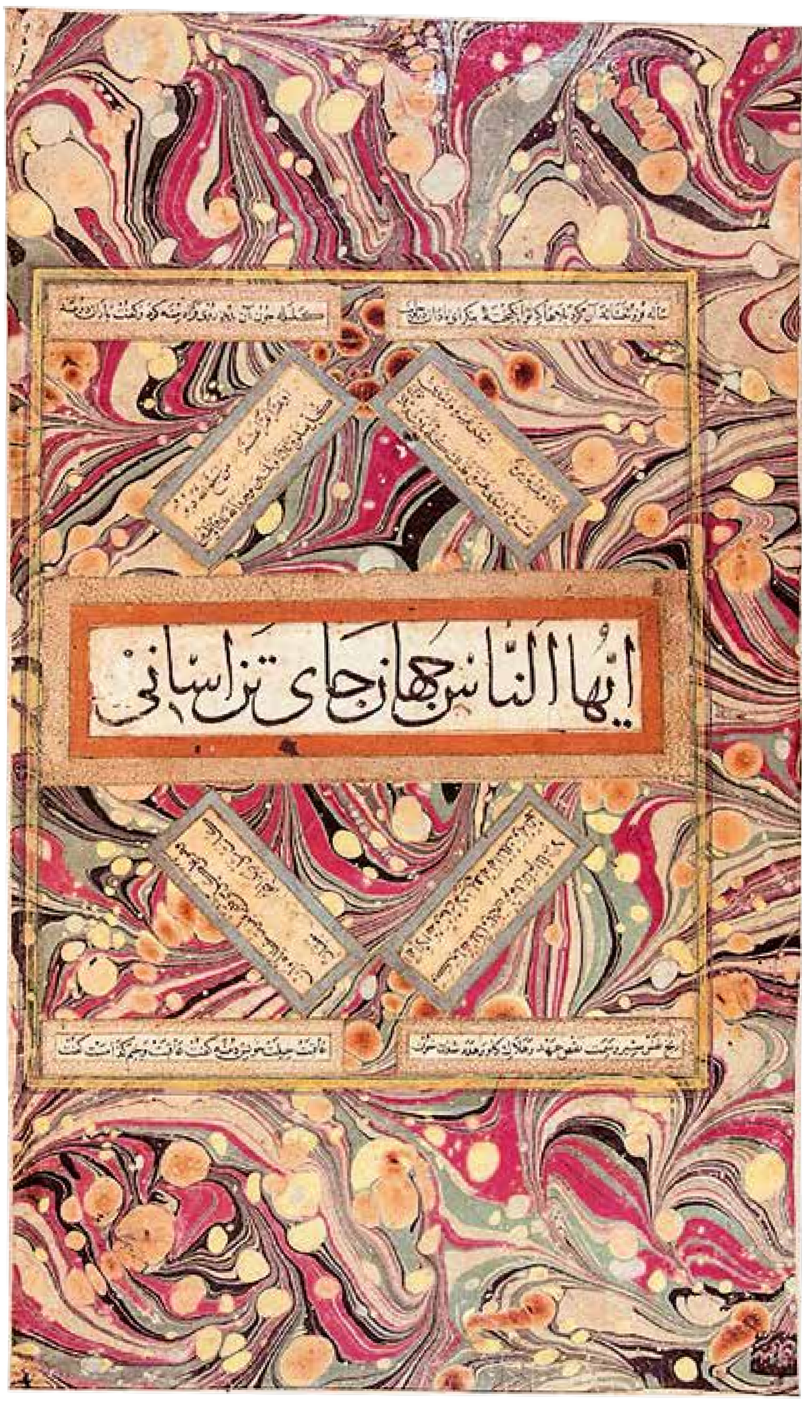
Deccan, mid-17th century
Ink and opaque watercolor on paper and marbled paper, 11⅝ × 6¾ in. (29.5 × 17.2 cm)
Collection of Gursharan and Elvira Sidhu, Seattle

In this enigmatic depiction of a lion tamer, a bearded man wearing a fur-trimmed hat stands by a lion chained to a tree. He bears a stick in his right hand, while his left holds a circular object, possibly a small hand drum. A large bird, with hairpin-shaped strokes for the plumage and large tail seemingly inspired by the combed marbled pattern, flies overhead. This drawing is likely influenced by a sixteenth-century Safavid or Mughal manuscript illustration and may feature a scene from the story of Shaikh Abu'l Ghays al-Yamani from the *Nafahat al-'Uns* (Breaths of Divine Intimacy) of 'Abd al-Rahman Jami (died 1492). According to the story, after the lion killed the shaikh's donkey, the man was forced to serve in the animal's place carrying firewood. While an exact model for the composition has not been identified, the man's attire, with the exception of the headgear, resembles the shaikh's as depicted in a Mughal manuscript of 1603.[1]

To create the work, a paper stencil was cut to simultaneously render both the main bodies and the surrounding border of the scene, which was adhered to the paper before it was marbled. The combed pattern is composed of dark red earth, vermilion, yellow orpiment, indigo, and a bright green made by combining indigo and orpiment. A sepia wash tones the man's belt and breeches as well as the tree leaves. The piece was further illuminated in gold and silver inks—the latter now tarnished black—to define the chain and collar of the lion.

In addition to painting the facial features, hands, and legs, the artist adhered a small piece of blue comb-patterned marbled paper to the man's waist in order to furnish the man with a pouch, probably to cover up a small void in the pattern. During the marbling process, specks of dust can land on the floating colors, pushing them aside to form small voids that, when printed, leave blank spots, disrupting the combed design. In this case, the artist cleverly filled in these areas, transforming one into a small pouch, dangling next to the larger blue one, using a sepia wash. Other voids in the ground and right margin were covered with rows of small hash marks in alternating vermilion and indigo to blend in the blank areas with the rest of the marbling. A similar treatment of silver and sepia washes and fine-lined brushstrokes can be observed in the *Marbled Begum* (cat. 75). JB

1. British Library, London (Or. 1362, fol. 534v).



Cat. 77

77 Folio from an Album of Calligraphy with Marbled (*Abri*) Borders

Deccan, ca. 1595–1630, with earlier and later additions
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on marbled paper, approx. 12 × 8 in. (30.5 × 20.3 cm)
National Museum, New Delhi (54.45)

Inscribed on the panels: Various pious phrases

This album consists of approximately twenty folios containing Arabic and Persian calligraphic panels, including a ninth- or tenth-century Kufic page on vellum and a number of other cut and pasted sections. The album may have been assembled in the seventeenth century when marbling was common. However, the colors and bold style of marbling on some pages suggest that they may belong to a later period, perhaps the eighteenth century. NNH

Cat. 78

78 Elephant Trampling a Horse

Deccan, mid-17th century
Gold and opaque watercolor on marbled paper, 6¾ × 10 in.
(17 × 25.5 cm)
Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford,
Lent by Howard Hodgkin (LI118.91)

Inspired by Mughal manuscript illustrations of animals in combat, this lively scene depicts a mahout desperately attempting to control his enraged elephant, which is intent on trampling a subdued and frightened horse. The brilliant, comb-marbled background, composed of red earth, black, and bluish-gray indigo, enhances the drama. A positive cut-paper stencil was applied to the sheet before it was marbled, after which the drawing was rendered within the resulting void. Immediately in front of the mahout, a single downward stroke was made with a stylus in the combed design, conveying greater dynamism to the finished piece.

A mature artist skillfully drew the delicately shaded, black ink drawing in a variation of the *nim qalam*, or "half-pen," technique. The elephant's jeweled harness and chain, the horse's bridle, and the mahout's *khawah* (dagger) and hooked *ankusha* (elephant goad) are all rendered in gold ink. While the mahout's costume is decidedly Mughal, the delicate gilding of the harness recalls more elaborately jeweled metalwork observed on paintings of Atash Khan, the favorite elephant of Ibrahim ʻAdil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627).

Several other marbled works featuring elephants are known, including one in the collection of the Princeton University Art Museum.[1] In that work, an elephant ridden by two mythical *div* mahouts is led in a procession by another *div* blowing a trumpet. The composite body is filled with a profusion of different animals, *div*s, and a bent, bearded male figure wearing a *jama* (robe) and turban typical of the reign of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (1628–58). The garments of the man and *div*s are similar to the undulating *jama* worn by the mahout in the present composition, indicating that the same hand likely drew them both. JB

1. Seyller 2011a, p. 65, fig. 1. Other marbled drawings featuring elephants are Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford (LI 118.49); Free Library of Philadelphia (M.55); Brooklyn Museum (2002.38); and Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (Ms. W.715).

Cat. 79

79 Dervish Seated in Contemplation

Probably Bijapur, mid-17th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper and marbled paper, 6½ × 4¾ in. (16.4 × 12 cm)
San Diego Museum of Art, Edwin Binney 3rd Collection (1990.445)

Inscribed in Persian at top left: *hazrat-i hafiz-i shiraz* (The Venerable Hafiz of Shiraz)

A bearded ascetic with long hair parted to one side sits clasping his hands beneath the wide sleeves of his marbled cloak, furrowing his brow as he gazes intently to his right. Seated on an animal skin, he keeps at his side a *kashkul* (begging bowl), with which he accepts offerings of food and alms. The animal skin, begging bowl, and large sleeves are features traditionally associated with Persianate sufi mendicants, and idealized single-page portraits of such ascetics, widely popular throughout Iran and India at that time, undoubtedly inspired this composition. A Persian inscription at the top left identifies the dervish as the famed fourteenth-century Persian poet Hafiz. While this identification is apocryphal, the vibrantly colored marbled pattern evokes single-page portraits of Sufis wearing billowing robes or patched clothing—such as the *Kneeling Dervish* in the Gulshan Album—that were popular in ʿAdil Shahi Bijapur.[1]

The robe of this dervish was made by applying a negative cut-paper stencil to a sheet of paper and then marbling a combed pattern formed of pink, grayish-black, and indigo-blue colors. The marbler further manipulated the combed pattern with a stylus, making a single, deliberate stroke, curving upward and terminating halfway up the left sleeve of the dervish. The effect provides further definition to the man's lap and sleeves. Afterward, his head was rendered by hand in black and red, and the marbled design was outlined and augmented in black and gold ink to form the sleeves, collar, hemline, and bow-tie closing of his cloak, along with other irregular lines intended to convey garment folds. This treatment, along with several specific overpainted elements, such as the outline of the eyes and fine, parallel brushstrokes of the hair, beard, and animal skin, are observed in several other marbled drawings including *Man with Captive Lion* (cat. 76) and the *Marbled Begum* (cat. 75). JB

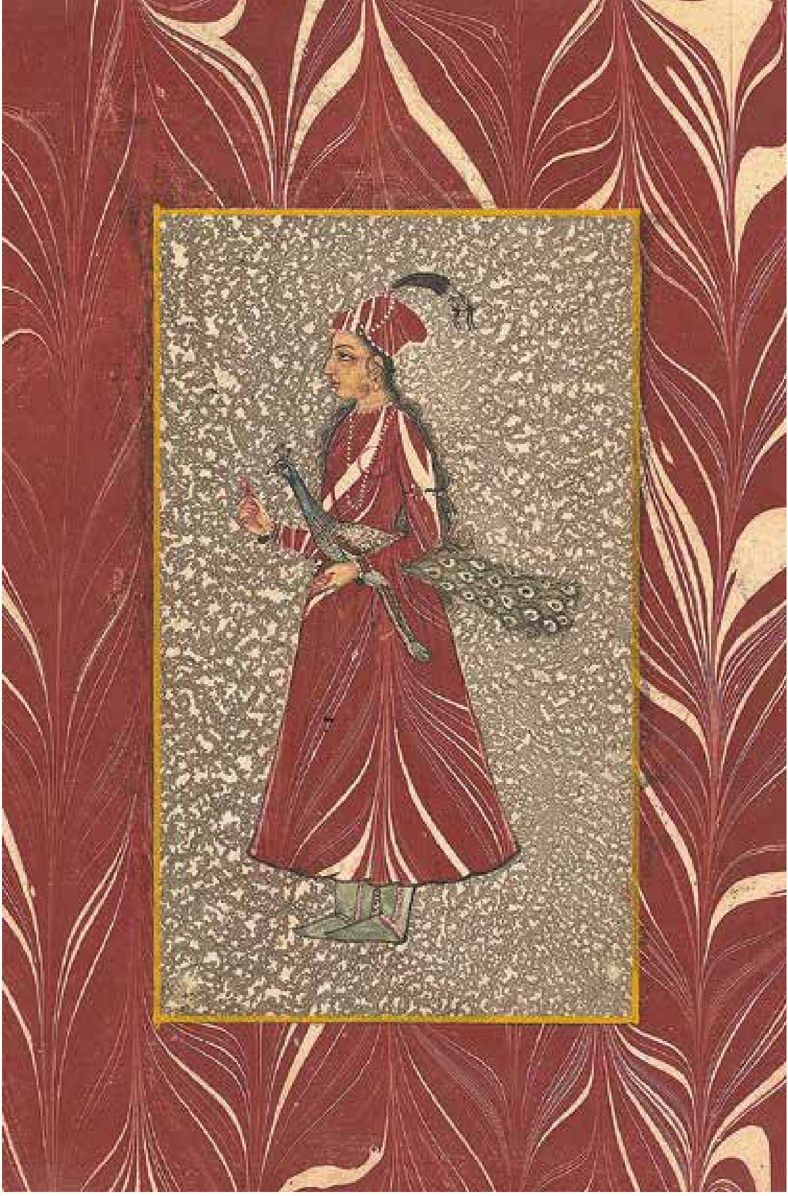
1. Zebrowski 1983a, p. 84, ill. no. 60.

80 Lady Carrying a Peacock

Probably Hyderabad, late 17th–early 18th century
Opaque watercolor on paper and marbled paper, 8 × 5¼ in.
(20.3 × 13.3 cm)
Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department, John Frederick Lewis Collection (M56, box 20)

A noblewoman grasps a blossom in her right hand, while in her left she clutches a peacock to her waist. Her hands appear stained with henna, as though she is about to attend a wedding and intends to present the peacock as a gift. Her shaded facial features are reminiscent of paintings of Shaikh ʻAbbasi and his sons as well as Rahim Deccani, who flourished in Hyderabad during the final quarter of the seventeenth century (cats. 143–44, 146).[1] Her attire—specifically her jeweled headgear with a distinctive twin-tailed *sarpech* or aigrette—recalls Mughal-inspired portraits of noblemen from Bijapur and Golconda as well as popular depictions of the historical heroines Chand Bibi and Rupmati, dating from the late seventeenth to the eighteenth century, during the period of Mughal hegemony in the Deccan.[2]

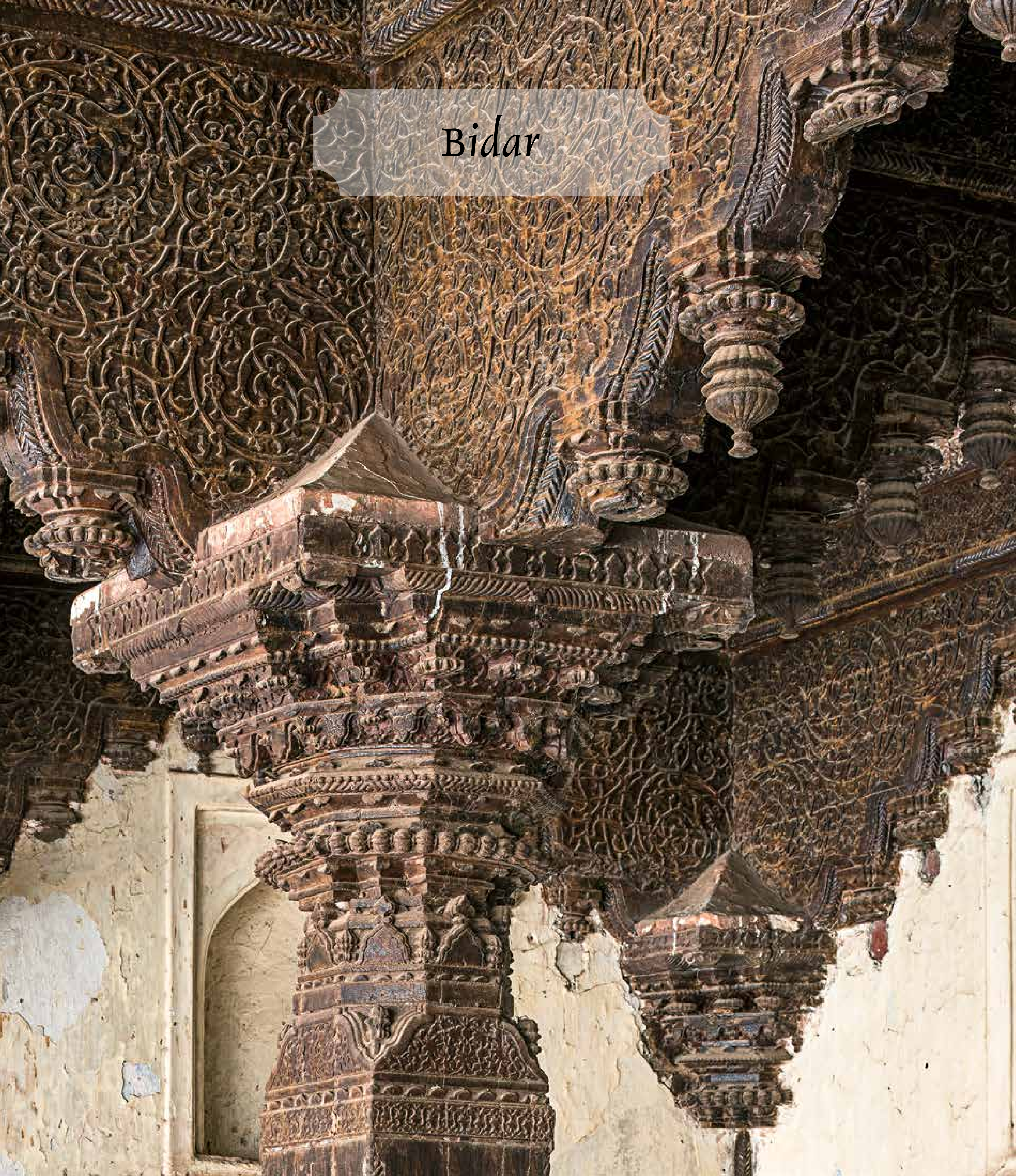
Unlike the other marbled drawings featured in this publication, this piece was made with three separate stencils applied in conjunction with two marbled patterns. Other examples survive today that were similarly overmarbled with as many as five different contrasting designs.[3] First, all of the stencils used to produce the portrait were likely cut from the same sheet of paper. A positive stencil, fashioned so as to allow for the body of the peacock, was applied to the central area. Another stencil was added to designate the surrounding border before the sheet was marbled with a gray *craquelure* to provide the central background. To impart this grained effect, the marbler mixed a chemical additive such as alum into the color prior to marbling the first layer.[4] After the sheet had dried, the artist took great care to adhere the second stencil to ensure proper registration with the first pattern as well as prevent the subsequent layer from overlapping. The leaf was again marbled with a deep, rich burgundy-colored undulating chevron pattern to form the lady's attire, which mimicks the turban folds of her headgear, and the border. Finally, the remaining features of both the peacock and the lady were realized in colored pigments and black ink. JB



Cat. 80

1. Zebrowski 1983a, pp. 195–204. **2.** See depictions of Muhammad, Sikandar, and ʻAli ʻAdil Shah II, as well as ʻAbdullah Qutb Shah wearing a similar twin-tipped *sarpech*; ibid., ill. nos. 92, 94, 95, 118, 149–52, 163. For Chand Bibi, see, for example, a painting of around 1700 in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1999.403). **3.** Christopher Weimann, in a lecture at the University of California, Los Angeles, October 6, 1988, identified five different layers in *Rustam Catching Rakhsh*, Cleveland Museum of Art (2013.286), and *Tiger Devouring Its Prey*, San Diego Museum of Art (1990.446). **4.** This pattern is known as *kumlu,* meaning "sandy" in Turkish. In commenting on the use of this pattern for a background, C. Weimann 1983, p. 165, noted that adding alum or alcohol to the color caused this effect.

Bidar



BIDAR

QASIM BARID I (died 1504), a Georgian-Turkish slave who entered service of the Bahmani court in 1463, founded the fourth of the five Deccani sultanates. Having risen steadily up the ranks by 1487 to become the most influential minister in the court of Mahmud (reigned 1482–1518), Qasim outmaneuvered the dissolute young ruler to take direct control of state after 1492. Qasim's descendants continued to serve as all-powerful ministers until the death of the Kalimullah Shah Bahmani in 1538. At this time they emerged as independent sultans, establishing the Barid Shahi dynasty (ca. 1487–1619) with territories centered around the former Bahmani stronghold of Bidar.[1]

Fig. 58. Rangin Mahal (Colored Palace), Bidar, mid-16th century

Fig. 57. Mosaic Tile Inlay, Rangin Mahal (Colored Palace), Bidar, mid-16th century
Pages 170–71: Woodwork, Rangin Mahal (Colored Palace), Bidar, mid-16th century

Fig. 60. Second Story, Tarkash Mahal, Bidar, mid-16th century

Qasim's grandson 'Ali Barid Shah (reigned 1543–80) must surely rank as the most important patron of this dynasty, yet little is known about him aside from two significant acts: the adoption of the royal title "shah," and his role in the 1565 defeat of Vijayanagara. This victory resulted in a rise in wealth and status for 'Ali, and he outfitted Bidar with beautiful palaces and an impressive tomb.

The Rangin Mahal (Colored Palace), located just inside the gates and preceding the Bahmani palaces (fig. 58, pp. 170–71), is the first building that present-day visitors to the site encounter. The two-story structure faces an open courtyard once dotted with pools of carved stone. Many of its rooms still bear evidence of exquisitely carved stucco decoration, including a suite preceded by a porch with wood columns and a delicately carved ceiling. A doorway with mosaic tile inlay of Timurid-style arabesques affords entrance into rooms with tile dados (fig. 57), accented by panels of black stone inlaid with mother-of-pearl (fig. 64). The building also bears several inscriptions, including verses in praise of the building and its patron.[2]

'Ali's tomb (fig. 59), west of Bidar Fort, is set in a royal necropolis established by Qasim at a deliberate distance from the Bahmani tombs at Ashtur. The tomb is located within an enclosure wall with an imposing gate on the south side. It is an open-sided pavilion with a tall dome over

Fig. 59. Interior Tile Work, Tomb of 'Ali Barid Shah, Bidar, 1577

Fig. 61. Stuccowork Arabesques, Tarkash Mahal, Bidar, mid-16th century

the sultan's grave. On both the interior and exterior, bands of stone define spaces for colorful tile decoration and extracts from the Qur'an selected by ʿAli, who had the tomb constructed several years before his death.

The Barid Shahi sultans also expanded and decorated the Tarkash Mahal and Gagan Mahal at Bidar (figs. 60–61) and were patrons of the city's congregational mosque. However, connecting the strong and well-defined architectural aesthetic from Bidar to paintings or the decorative arts has proved complicated. A single illustrated manuscript of the seventeenth century is attributed to this era. The *Bhogphal* is a Dakhni text of erotic content written by the poet Qureshi probably during the reign of Amir Barid Shah III (1609–19).[3] It can be connected in style to sixteenth-century manuscripts from Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, including the stiff figures, clothes ending in hard pleats, found in the *Javahir al-Musiqat-i Muhammadi* (The Jewels of Music of Muhammad, ca. 1570) or the *Taʿrif-i Husain Shahi* (Chronicle of Husain Shah, cat. 8).[4] By contrast, *bidri* ware is plentiful, but the earliest known examples of this metalwork, so strongly

Fig. 62. Cannon Inlaid with Arabesque Designs, Kalyana Fort, 16th century

connected to Bidar, date to the period after the tiny sultanate had been annexed to Bijapur in 1619. Nonetheless, the design of those objects (cats. 81–95) with their overall arabesque patterning can be convincingly argued to be an outgrowth of the arts of the Barid Shahi court, where similar decorative arabesques can be found in the stucco, stone, and tile work of its sixteenth-century palaces (fig. 61). Furthermore, the visual effect of a light inlay on a dark ground is seen in the brass inlay of a Barid Shahi cannon at Kalyana, also of the sixteenth century (fig. 62).[5] MS

1. Joshi 1973. **2.** Translated in Yazdani 1947, p. 46. **3.** Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad (466); see Mittal 1974, pp. 204–5. **4.** The *Javahir* is in the British Library, London (Or. 12857). **5.** Mittal 2011, p. 13.

#

Bidri Ware

Of all the luxury goods produced in the Deccan, none are more distinctive than *bidri* metalwork, named after Bidar, the Bahmani capital historically associated with the craft, and where the work is still produced today. Cast from an alloy composed of around 90 percent zinc with smaller amounts of lead, copper, and tin, along its surface the object is incised with decorative floral or geometric motifs; the grooves are inlaid with silver and sometimes brass in sheet or wire to form a flush surface; the alloy background is then covered with a paste containing sal ammoniac, among other ingredients. Next, this combination is polished to give it a lustrous, black sheen. The metal alloy is fragile, soft, and warm to the touch, unlike steel or bronze. The black ground is a perfect foil to the flashing silver and flecks of brass. Like all Deccani art, the greatest examples of historical *bidri*, though influenced by Persian, Mughal, and Turkish design, display a startling originality unique to their place of origin. Ewers, trays, basins, *pan* (betel nut) boxes, incense burners, and, above all, *huqqa* (water pipe) bases are the main categories of early pieces.

The apparent lack of a local zinc source raises the question of how this essential ingredient reached Bidar. From the twelfth century, and long before China or Europe started producing zinc, it was smelted in India at the Zawar mines, south of Udaipur and in present-day Rajasthan. This mine was almost certainly used for *bidri*, but the distance of some six hundred miles from Zawar to Bidar along with political rivalries in the area through which it would have passed have caused recent scholars to question the dating and even the center of production for the earliest *bidri*.[1] Indeed the rarity of early *bidri* indicates that it was an expensive item and transportation may have been a factor in the cost. Nonetheless, Zawar lies near the heavily traveled land trade routes from North India to the Deccan, and zinc could easily have been part of the active trade between the ports of Gujarat and those along the Konkan Coast controlled by Bijapur, where goods from the Deccan hinterland flowed in and out. The volume of trade in luxury goods produced in the Deccan remains largely unstudied, but it was hugely profitable and little impeded by political considerations. By at least the early seventeenth century, China was also producing zinc that may have made its way to Deccani ports on the Coromandel Coast. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, artisans in other centers in India, such as Purnea, Lucknow, and Murshidabad, used the *bidri* technique for large-scale production. Though often of great technical quality, later *bidri* lacks the artistic grandeur of the early Deccani objects.

Despite its unusual technique and undoubtedly long tradition in Bidar, little documentary evidence has been discovered for the origins of *bidri* and precise dating is nearly impossible. Only one early *huqqa* base is inscribed with a date that has been interpreted as 1634, though it is indistinct and subject to controversy as the first letter is illegible.[2] Some accounts trace a fifteenth-century trajectory from Persia via Ajmer in North India to the Deccan. Based on

Detail of cat. 92

stylistic grounds, several rare objects may predate the seventeenth century, but most cannot be assigned a date earlier than the second quarter of the seventeenth century. As the Mughals gradually conquered the Deccan during the seventeenth century, their influence on patronage and taste became more pronounced. In trying to establish a chronology, the oral traditions of the Bidar craftsmen, which relate the long lineage of their art, provide a source of information that cannot be ignored. Equally useful are comparisons of the design similarities of *bidri* with the decorative details of Deccani paintings and textiles where dating is more firmly established. These details differ in both substantial and subtle ways from the North Indian design lexicon. In Western terms one could make the case that, if Mughal decorative arts are serenely classical, Deccani patrons preferred the Mannerist style in their arts, in which overblown fantastical flowers are shaken by the wind, and dramatic rocky hillocks, elongated palm trees, and courting cranes fill the moonlit landscapes. Architecture and architectural ornamentation provide vital comparative material as many *bidri* objects are miniature shapes and forms of instantly recognizable Deccani building types.

Seventeenth-century portraits of rulers and noblemen depicted smoking *huqqa*s, a category of *bidri* that far outnumbers other early types, indicate that the introduction of tobacco in the Deccan by the Portuguese in the late sixteenth century gave a commercial impetus to the development of the craft. Within several decades, smoking the *huqqa* became the aristocratic gentleman's favorite pastime, long before the fashion spread to the courts of North India. The matching trays, base rings, and *chillam*s (fire cups containing the tobacco embers) required for a *huqqa* set would have had a multiplying effect on production.

Perhaps the most distinctive Deccani quality of *bidri* is quite simply the black color. Almost none of the courtly luxury items produced in Mughal India are black, a color reserved for funerary purposes.[3] Bejeweled gold and silver, enamel, glass, precious jades, stones, and marbles were used to craft the possessions of the emperors and their highest-ranking courtiers. For the elite of the Mughal court to prize objects made from a humble zinc alloy would have been unthinkable, whereas their Deccani counterparts seem to have held them in high esteem. Dating far back in history, the black basalt stone of the Deccan was used to create decorative objects, and the blackened base metal of *bidri* ware gives a similar effect. One of the greatest artistic achievements in Deccani art is the polished black basalt panel inlaid with mother-of-pearl that adorns the arch of a door in the Rangin Mahal (Colored Palace) in Bidar Fort (fig. 64). Dating from the mid-sixteenth century, it is associated with Barid Shahi rulers of the city, and its effect on the viewer is an uncanny precursor of that achieved by *bidri*.

Symbolic of mourning for the lost prophets Hasan and Husain, the black color accords with the Shiʻa and sufi traditions of the Deccan. Many *bidri* objects have a metaphysical quality that goes beyond their utilitarian function or a simple desire to be beautiful. They recall the shapes of religious buildings, or their designs hint at cosmological meaning. JRA

1. Parodi 2014a. **2.** Mittal 2011, pp. 48–49, no. 1. **3.** White was also a funerary color, particularly for Hindus. Black was associated with Shiʻa mourning.

81 *Bidri* Incense Burner (*Dhupdan*) in the Shape of a Tomb

Bidar, 17th century
Zinc alloy inlaid with brass and silver, H. 5¼ in. (13.2 cm), Diam. 4½ in. (11.5 cm)
Private collection, London

One delightful aspect of traveling through the Deccan landscape is the appearance of small tombs, mosques, and *dargah*s (sufi shrines of saints) that appear outlined in isolation against the bright horizon (fig. 63).

Metal craftsmen were inspired by the forms of these buildings to make a variety of objects such as caskets, containers, and particularly incense burners. These objects might have been placed in the tombs and shrines, or used as incense burners to give the owner a pious sensation of closely identifying with a favorite saint by possessing a small replica of a shrine with which to scent the house. This octagonal *bidri* incense burner (*dhupdan*) is inlaid with brass and silver and has a broad, low dome accentuated with finials. Its wide niches contain prim, stylized flowers that suggest they are earlier than the exuberant flora seen on other *bidri* objects in this publication. Its shape relates closely to the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century tombs of the Bahmani rulers in Gulbarga, which are based on Tughluq models.[1] The flowers, archaic squat feet, and general solidity point to an early date, though such a supposition is based on visual comparisons and highlights the frustrating lack of early written accounts of the origins of *bidri* in the region. The name of a Maratha owner, *dada ji bhau ka s . . .* , inscribed on the base in *devanagari* script, was probably added at least a century later. JRA

1. See Michell and Zebrowski 1999, pp. 67–73.

Cat. 81

Fig. 63. Tombs from the Shrine of Sayyid Muhammad Husaini Gesu Daraz, Gulbarga, 15th century

82 Pear-Shaped *Bidri* Ewer (*Aftaba*) with Flowering Trees

Bidar, 17th century
Zinc alloy inlaid with brass and silver, H. 11 in. (28 cm)
Collection of Bashir Mohamed, London

83 *Bidri* Ewer (*Aftaba*)

Bidar, 17th century
Cast and engraved zinc alloy inlaid with silver and brass, H. 11¼ in. (28.5 cm), W. 7¼ in. (18.4 cm)
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (1479-1904)

Cat. 82

Even though ewers (*aftabas*) are among the most commonly found metal objects from India, few of high quality exist as *bidri*. The base metal is relatively fragile and becomes increasingly so with age; while ewers are used daily, many have fallen victim to careless handling, or, over time, their inlay has corroded from contact with water. Robust brass and bronze ewers were more commonly used to hold liquids. A grand exception is a silver and brass *bidri* ewer (cat. 83). It was executed in the *aftabi* technique, where, instead of the black base metal predominating with the silver or brass design incised into it, the process is reversed, and a silver sheet is laid over the surface and then incised to allow the design to appear in black. Strips of inlaid brass provide accents, and the incipient pear-shaped body is decorated with a scrollwork arabesque

Cat. 83

pattern. The ogival arches on the ewer's neck relate to Deccani architectural sources, including those found at Bidar, whereas the wider arch on the spout is Mughal in appearance. The lid is missing, and on the upper rim where it would have rested, an inscription claiming that the object was made for Timur (Tamerlane) in the early fifteenth century was added at a later date.[1] With its fully developed pear-shaped belly and crescent-shaped top, another *bidri* example inlaid with brass and silver (cat. 82) resembles the classic proportions of a mid- to late seventeenth-century Mughal ewer. The graceful chevron pattern of the spout and handle and the perfect spatial disposition of the floral motifs across the body create a sensuous object that is as much a pleasure to hold as it is to observe. Though both objects are examples of the pear-shaped, seventeenth-century Indian ewer, the example from the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, is probably a few decades earlier. Its shape is less fully rounded, and its highly energized decoration gives way to a much calmer appearance in the second piece, whose single floral motifs against a plain background are typical of later seventeenth-century Deccani decorative schemes when Mughal taste prevailed. JRA

1. Stronge 1985, pp. 39–40. The apocryphal inscription on the hexagonal rim of the neck—*'amiluhu usta/husayn isfahani. sultan/amir teymur kurka/ni sanata hasht sad o no'*—states that the ewer was made by Husain Isfahani for the Amir Timur in A.H. 809 (A.D. 1406–7).

84 *Bidri* Box with Sloping Walls

Deccan, early–mid-17th century
Cast and engraved zinc alloy inlaid with silver and brass, H. 3⅞ in. (9.9 cm), W. 5⅜ in. (13.6 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Louis E. and Theresa S. Seley Purchase Fund for Islamic Art and Rogers Fund, 1996 (1996.3a, b)

The brass-yellow scrolling lattice that encloses the silver-petaled flowers covering the surface of this *pan* (betel nut) box distinguishes the object from numerous later *bidri* vessels

Cat. 84

decorated with individual flowering plants. The decoration relates to illumination found in Deccani books from the same time period, as well as to the patterning on objects such as a seventeenth-century *vambrace* (cat. 123) and an unidentified object (cat. 101), dating to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, and which is also decorated with arabesques. The mid-sixteenth-century inlay work at the Rangin Mahal (Colored Palace) displays a comparable use of a scrolling vine with flowers and split-leaf motifs (fig. 64).

This type of decoration seems to indicate an earlier date for the box than other objects within the *bidri* group,[1] and it helps to establish the genesis of the *bidri* tradition at the beginning of the seventeenth century. MS

1. As originally suggested by Zebrowski 1983b.

85 *Bidri* Carpet Weight (*Mir-i Farsh*) with Trellis Pattern

Bidar, 17th century
Zinc alloy inlaid with brass and silver, H. 7⅛ in. (18 cm), Diam. at base 8¼ in. (21.1 cm)
Private collection, London

During the summer heat of India, royal and elite households stored their wool carpets and replaced them with lighter woven or embroidered cotton floor coverings. To hold them in place, weights called *mir-i farsh* (slaves of the carpet) were placed at the corners. A number of *bidri* examples exist, though none as large and imposing as the one commonly found in domestic settings and that appears in this volume (cat. 85). In addition, the *mir-i farsh* secured textiles in tombs, often woven or embroidered with Qur'anic inscriptions that covered the stone or marble sarcophagus of a sufi saint or noble personage. Owing to its unusual size and weight, which would have been necessary to secure a heavy tomb covering, the object most probably served this function. The weight was made in the *aftabi* technique: instead of engraving the design in the base metal and then applying the inlay, a sheet of silver or brass was applied to cover the entire surface of the object, and the design was then cut out to reveal the negative. This *mir-i farsh,* decorated with an overall trellis pattern, has a majestic dome inspired by Deccani tombs and rests on an octagonal base that repeats the shape of many tomb chambers. JRA

Cat. 85

Fig. 64. Mother-of-Pearl Inlay, Rangin Mahal (Colored Palace), Bidar, mid-16th century

86 *Bidri Huqqa* (Water Pipe) Base with Lotuses Emerging from a Pond

Bidar, mid-17th century
Zinc alloy inlaid with brass and silver, H. 8¼ in. (21 cm)
Private collection, London

87 *Bidri Huqqa* (Water Pipe) Base with a Meandering Riverside Landscape

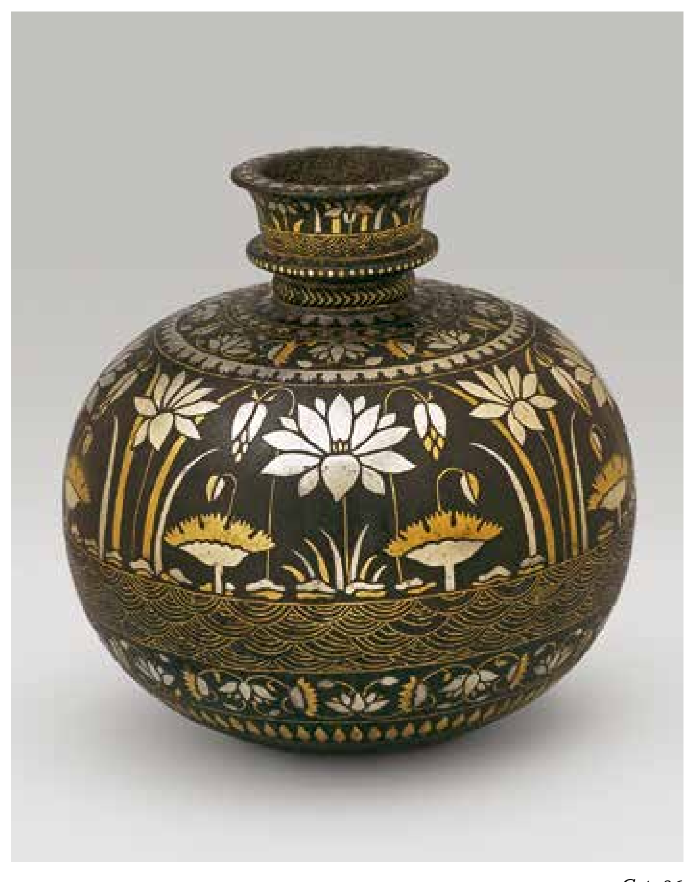
Bidar, mid-17th century
Zinc alloy inlaid with brass and silver, H. 8¼ in. (21 cm)
Private collection, London

88 *Bidri Huqqa* (Water Pipe) Base with Tall Flowers in Arches, and Associated Ring

Bidar, 17th century
Zinc alloy inlaid with brass and silver; ring: H. 1⅜ in. (3.5 cm), Diam. 6⅛ in. (15.5 cm), base: H. 7⅜ in. (18.5 cm)
Private collection, London

89 *Bidri Huqqa* (Water Pipe) Base with Poppies against a Pointillist Ground

Bidar, 17th century
Zinc alloy inlaid with brass and silver, H. 7⅝ in. (19.5 cm)
Private collection, London



Cat. 86

90 *Bidri Huqqa* (Water Pipe) Base with Irises

Deccan, last quarter of 17th century
Cast and engraved zinc alloy inlaid with brass, H. 6⅞ in. (17.5 cm), Diam. 6½ in. (16.5 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Louis E. and Theresa S. Seley Purchase Fund for Islamic Art and Rogers Fund, 1984 (1984.221)

Of the small number of known *bidri* objects that predate the eighteenth century, a majority are *huqqa* (water pipe) bases. Tobacco arrived in India sometime in the late sixteenth century, brought by the Portuguese from the New World to the port of Goa. The plant acclimatized well, and its popularity soon spread from the western Deccan northward into Mughal territories. By 1620 tobacco was used all over, and while coconut shells were first employed as the hot-water chamber for the pipe, sometime around the mid-seventeenth century Bidar craftsmen were creating *huqqa* bases that rank among the most attractive decorative objects of the period. These early examples are nearly always spherical, though one or two ovoid examples are known. To remain stable, the base would rest on a *bidri* ring; with very rare exceptions (cat. 88), the rings seem to have all been lost.

Four of the five examples in this volume are inlaid with both silver and brass, which is a characteristic of early *bidri*. They would have been highly prized possessions of the Deccani rulers and their courtiers, or of the Mughal and Rajput aristocracy who arrived with the Mughal armies that gradually conquered the Deccan from 1636 to the end of the century.

Two of the *huqqa*s (cats. 86–87) are perhaps from the same workshop and are remarkable for their quality and the poetic imagery of their decor. The first is decorated with lotuses emerging from a pond, which are shown in all stages of flowering, from tightly budded to fully open. In Buddhism, Hinduism, and sufi mystical tradition, the lotus is a symbol of purity and enlightenment. Similar flowers adorn a famous Bijapur painting depicting a holy woman, *Yogini with a Mynah Bird* (cat. 30), which displays an overblown exuberance typical of the flora in Deccani art. Both *huqqa*s are conceived as miniature universes of sky, earth, and water, a concept that was conducive to the restful meditation and

Cat. 87

Cat. 88

Cat. 89

Cat. 90

harmony of their owners as they smoked. The landscape decoration can be interpreted as a setting under a dark night sky with the shiny silver and brass surfaces reflecting the shimmering light of the moon. Their nocturnal mood reminds one that the night is a time for the imagination to wander freely.

The second *huqqa* (cat. 87) depicts a riverbank lined with palm trees and garden pavilions with niches revealing wine cups and flasks. Loving pairs of cranes, a symbol of faithfulness and fidelity, stand amid the dramatic rocky hillocks that give the Deccani landscape an almost lunar appearance. The river, below, is fed by water cascading down from the rocks and exemplifies the Qur'anic ideal of the pleasure garden.[1]

The increasing influence of Mughal preferences on Deccani craftsmen becomes apparent in the three remaining *huqqa*s, and as a result, it could be postulated that they are slightly later in date. The first of this group (cat. 88) is unusual in that it was acquired with a *bidri* ring from the same period, which fits perfectly but does not seem to belong to it. The decorative scheme of cusped arches containing large standing flowers immediately recalls similar ones found in Mughal palaces and tombs. Here, however, the flowers do not stay upright and demure but twist and turn with an intense energy typical of the flora in Deccani art. Did a Rajput Maharaja or Mughal grandee carry this home as a souvenir from his campaign in the Deccan?

The fourth *huqqa* (cat. 89) is adorned with graceful poppies against a pointillist background sky of silver stars. Again the flowers are similar to Mughal decoration, but their contorted movement, heavy blossoms, and drooping heads dramatically juxtaposed to the sky reveal a uniquely Deccani aesthetic. The poppies call to mind that opium was widely used by the Mughal and Deccani elite, and that tobacco was not the only substance that could be smoked in a *huqqa*.

JRA

The style of decoration, use of a single metal for inlay, and short neck with everted rim all point to a date later in the seventeenth century for the fifth *huqqa* base (cat. 90). The graceful play of upright stem and leaves with drooping blossoms recalls the depiction of the iris plant on the *kalamkari* tent panel (cat. 181), and the delicate sprinkling of flowers against the background is a more restrained version of the decoration found in the *huqqa* described just above. MS

1. Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 241.

91 *Bidri* Tray with Lotuses and a River

Bidar, ca. 1675–1700
Cast and engraved zinc alloy inlaid with silver, Diam. 13 in. (33 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of Anna Bing Arnold and the Indian Art Special Purpose Fund (M.89.19)

92 *Bidri* Tray with Flowering Plants

Bidar, 17th century
Zinc alloy inlaid with brass, Diam. 12¼ in. (31 cm)
Private collection, London

93 *Bidri* Tray with Flowering Plants in Arches Radiating from a Central Medallion

Bidar, 17th century
Zinc alloy inlaid with brass and silver, Diam. 14⅛ in. (36 cm)
Private collection, London

94 *Bidri* Tray with Petals

Bidar, second half of 17th century
Cast and engraved zinc alloy inlaid with silver and brass, Diam. 12¼ in. (31 cm)
David Collection, Copenhagen (16/1987)

Bidri was often furnished in a four-object set, composed of the *huqqa* base, the ring, the *chillam* (fire cup), and a tray on which the *huqqa* rested. A complete set from this time period no longer exists, but a close approximation may be a large tray inlaid with brass and silver (cat. 93) with a nearly identical *huqqa* base and ring (cat. 88). In a masterful display of technical prowess, this particular workshop of artisans has created a design that resembles a wheel whose spokes divide eight curved arches that radiate from a central medallion. The arches are generously filled with flowering plants that sway with a twisting, baroque movement. A high cusped rim, inlaid with recurring flowers, the scrolling arabesque of the outer border, and the frames of the arches create a rhythmic quality, which from a distance gives the illusion that the tray is spinning.

The concept of eight flowers fanning out from a central medallion is also used on a second tray (cat. 92), but the effect is very different. Created solely with brass inlay so thick and fine that it appears to be gold, the flowers reside again somewhere between Mughal and Deccani taste. A bold tulip, quite unlike the other flowers, centers the composition and is strikingly similar to a painted tulip in the borders of a painting from

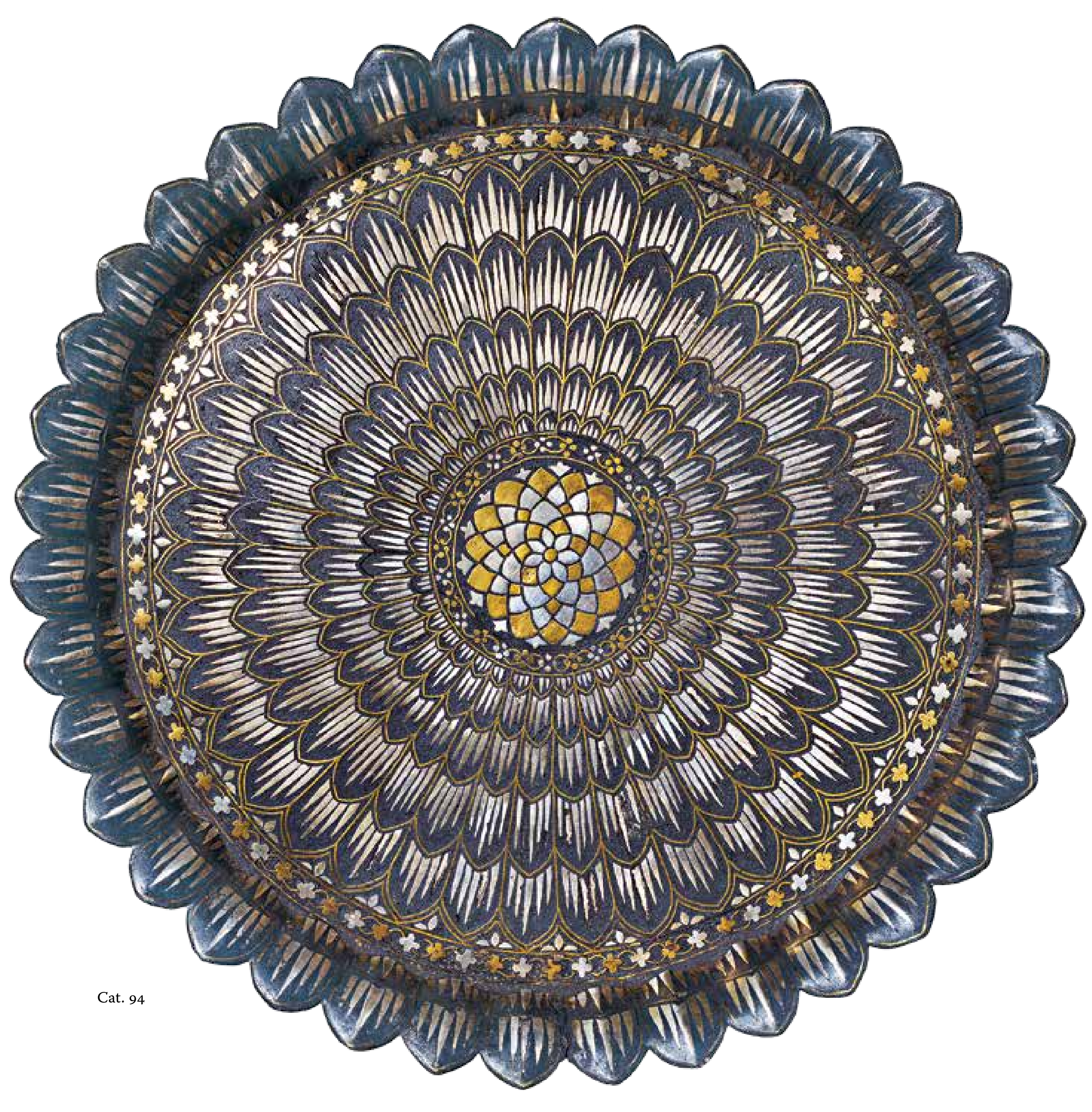
Cat. 91

Cat. 92

the period of Emperor Shah Jahan (reigned 1627–58).[1] Further underscoring the artistic crosscurrents between the Deccan and Mughal courts, the painter of this tulip has been named the “Master of the Borders,” and it has been speculated that he may have migrated to the Mughal court from the Deccan on the basis of his Deccani-style flowers.[2] JRA

Catalogue numbers 91 and 94 are decorated with concentric bands that distinguish them from catalogue numbers 92 and 93, in which flowering plants are arranged as spokes emanating from a central hub. The pulsing rhythm of the striped petals surrounding a central stamen (cat. 94) contrasts sharply with the blissful undulation of waves

Cat. 93


Cat. 94

bearing lotus blossoms (cat. 91). The Copenhagen tray further makes use of a combination of wire and sheet inlay to create pleasingly contrasting textures. Both trays are dated to the second half of the seventeenth century, after *bidri* decorative schemes had evolved from repeating, allover patterns to a preference for individual motifs. In the second half of the eighteenth century the repertoire broadened further to include neoclassical motifs of European inspiration. MS

1. Zebrowski 1997, pp. 247, 248, pl. 421. **2.** S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 245–47, no. 161.

Cat. 95

95 *Bidri* Basin (*Sailabchi*)

Bidar, mid-17th century
Zinc alloy inlaid with brass and silver, H. 6¾ in. (17 cm),
Diam. 13⅝ in. (34.5 cm)
Private collection, London

This imposing *bidri* basin (*sailabchi*) would have had an accompanying ewer. In more distinguished households one servant would pour water from the ewer over a guest's hands to wash them before the meal, while another servant would collect the water in the basin from below. The inlay on the rim shows a degree of water corrosion that indicates it was well used.

Few *bidri* pieces have a more sophisticated decorative scheme. The silver-and-brass floral and arabesque-scroll inlay on the rim relates to Mughal and Deccani carpet and textile designs, as well as to architectural decoration such as the mosaic tile work in the early seventeenth-century Badshahi Ashurkhana, Hyderabad. The wavy, stripelike decoration on the underside of the rim is an element of the *chintamani*, or "auspicious jewels," motif that was fashionable in contemporary Ottoman silks.[1] Here, the design has been altered, and instead of two separate, parallel waves (thought to imitate tiger stripes), there is a unified motif that more resembles clouds. The chevron pattern on the restricted neck of the basin is similar to a sash that separates these stripes or clouds floating above the base from the rich floral decoration on the bowl. JRA

1. An example of these silks making their way to the Deccani courts is in the portrait of Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II riding an elephant (cat. 47), in which the animal is covered with a sumptuous caparison, probably of Ottoman origin, decorated with *chintamani* motifs.

Golconda

GOLCONDA

On the southeastern side of the Deccan, the sultanate of Golconda was blessed with riches. Golconda had fertile lands, access to the sea, and diamond mines. It maintained diplomatic relations with the Safavids of Iran (1501–1722) and established trading rights with European companies, ensuring that its goods found their markets around the world. It was also the longest-lived of the Deccani sultanates, the last to fall to the Mughals in 1687.

Sultan Quli Qutb Shah (reigned 1496–1543), the founder of the sultanate, belonged to the Qara Qoyunlu clan, which had once controlled large areas of western Iran but had been forced from power by the opposing Aq Qoyunlus. Left to find his fortunes elsewhere, Sultan Quli

Fig. 65. Citadel and Outer Fort Walls, Golconda, 14th–17th century

Detail of cat. 141

Pages 194–95: Ceiling, Tomb of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, Golconda, 1580

Fig. 66. Northern Arch Framing a View of the Charminar, Char Kaman (Four Bows or Four Arches), Hyderabad, 1591

arrived at Bidar during the reign of Muhammad Shah Bahmani III (1463–82) and rapidly moved up the ranks to receive the governorship of Telangana and the use of its fortress at Golconda as his headquarters by 1496 (fig. 65).[1]

Although he did not sever ties with the Bahmanis in the 1490s in the same fashion as the other governors, Sultan Quli adopted other symbols of independence by minting coins, building a congregational mosque, and developing his capital in much the same way as the rulers of Ahmadnagar, Berar, and Bijapur. He also vastly expanded his territories during the course of his nearly fifty-year reign, extending the Qutb Shahi realms all the way east to the Coromandel Coast and north to the borders of Orissa.

While Sultan Quli's origins meant cultural and political ties to Iran remained strong under his successors, other developments came to the fore throughout the history of the dynasty, especially during the reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shah (1550–80), who participated in the 1565 battle against Vijayanagara and presided over the subsequent flourishing of the sultanate. The intellectual range of Ibrahim's court was broad and surely reflects the influence of the sultan's seven-year exile at Vijayanagara during the reign of his brother Jamshid Qutb Shah (1543–50). Ibrahim oversaw the creation of the earliest surviving Qutb Shahi manuscripts and Qur'ans (cats. 96–98), which were quite Persianate in nature, and he also sponsored dams and waterworks in the manner of the Kakatiyas (ca. 1163–1323), the earlier rulers of the Golconda region.[2] He and his courtiers not only built mosques and made donations to the shrine of Mashhad,[3] but also fostered a renaissance of Telugu literature.[4]

Ibrahim's successor, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (reigned 1580–1612), moved the Qutb Shahi capital from Golconda to Hyderabad.[5] Like the other newly founded Deccani capitals of this era, Hyderabad was located on a plain without natural defenses; rather than providing protection in times of war, its grandiose edifices instead symbolized the dynasty's wealth and power, and its foundation was timed to coincide with the turning of the millennium in the Islamic calendar. At its center stands the Charminar monument (fig. 3), to the north of which is a broad plaza that once provided access to the Qutb Shahi palaces, gardens, and public buildings (fig. 66), including a hospital with a garden for medicinal plants,[6] as well as the Badshahi Ashurkhana (royal house of mourning), where Muharram was observed annually. Inside, this building is revetted with spectacular tile mosaic (fig. 67) that forms the backdrop for the display of *'alam*s (standards); outside, its tall, columnar porch comes directly from the contemporary architecture of Iran, and the Chihil Sutun pavilion of Isfahan. This feature was incorporated into many of the

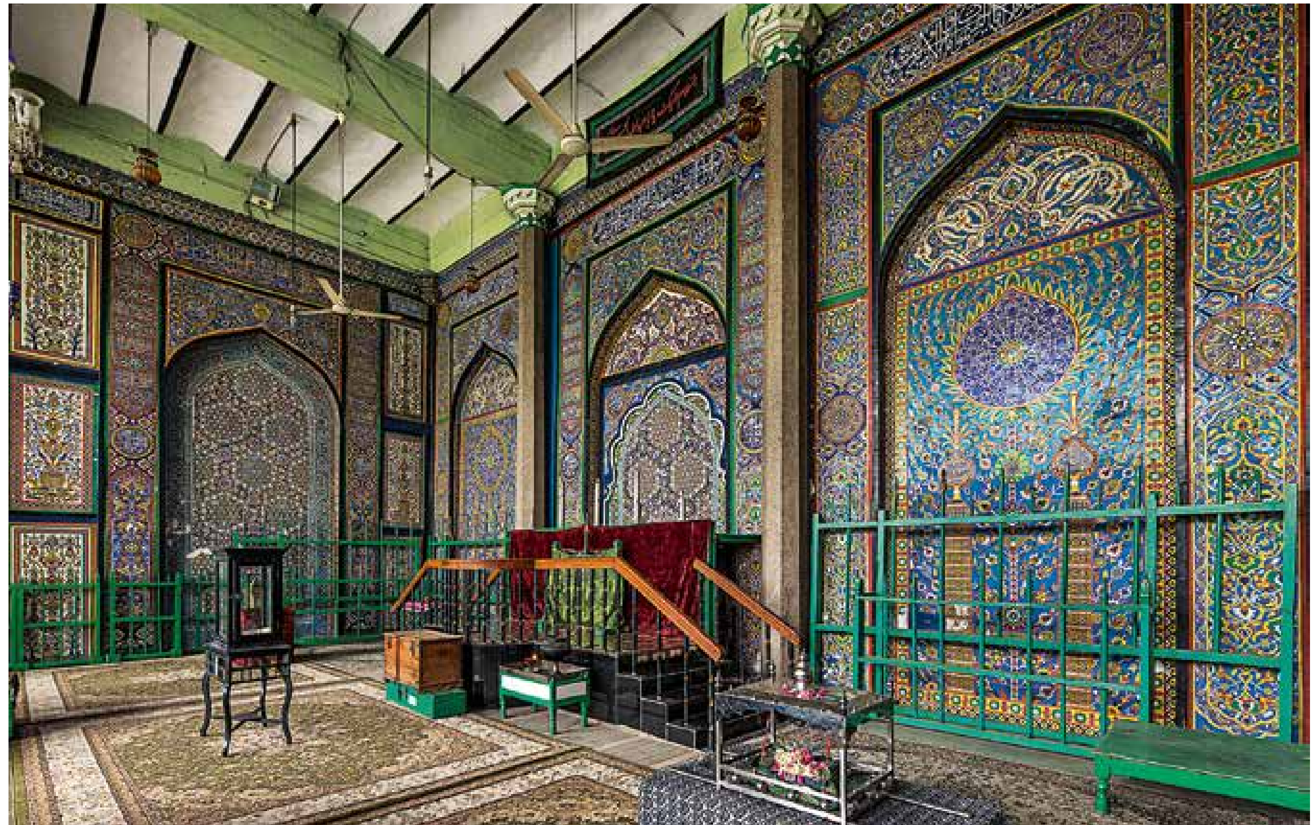


Fig. 67. Interior, Badshahi Ashurkhana (Royal Mourning House), Hyderabad, 1591. Tile Work, 1611

buildings of the era, including the tomb of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, located in the dynastic necropolis at Golconda. These structures contain all of the elements that have come to define the Qutb Shahi style of architecture: the mixed use of glazed tile, plaster and carved stone features, hemispherical domes set on fringes of petal forms, and minarets with balconies and miniature bulbous domes (fig. 68).

Muhammad Quli was also a poet, and his writing in Dakhni formed the content of two particularly beautiful productions: an illustrated *divan* (usually called the *Kulliyat*, ca. 1590–95, figs. 69, 72) and an album of calligraphy (cat. 104).[7] The preoccupations of this genre of poetry were different from the Telugu poems of the period; rather than returning to classical texts, as Ibrahim's poets had, Muhammad Quli's verses focus on festivals and religious observances and include a subgenre of love poetry in which the sultan assumes a female identity.[8]

The chief concern of Muhammad Quli's nephew and successor Muhammad Qutb Shah (reigned 1612–26) was the threat of Mughal invasion, now made quite real by the settlement of the Mughal Prince Khurram in Burhanpur from where he closely supervised the campaign to conquer the Deccan. Muhammad's reaction was to maintain the close diplomatic relations with the Safavid dynasty that had been established under his predecessor with an exchange of ambassadors who spent years at a time at each other's court.[9] He also sponsored the writing of the *Tarikh-i Muhammad Qutb Shah* (History of Muhammad Qutb Shah), a chronicle that provides a key to the decorative arts from Golconda.[10]

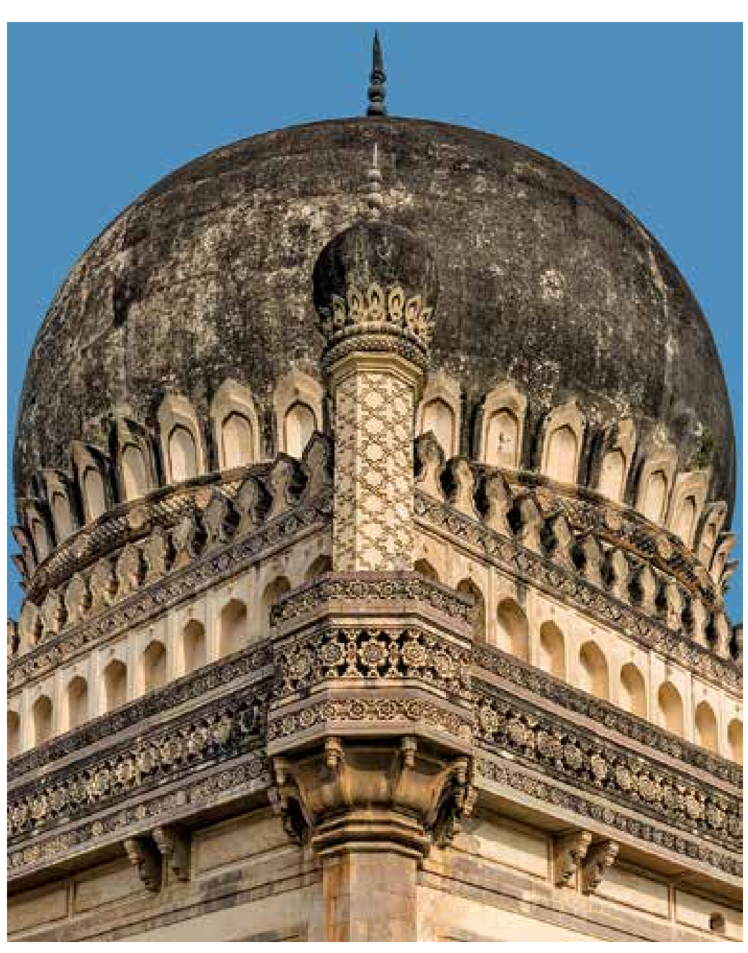


Fig. 68. Tomb of ʿAbdullah Qutb Shah, Golconda, ca. 1672

When ʿAbdullah Qutb Shah (reigned 1626–72) was proclaimed sultan, he was only fourteen years old, and during the first several years of his reign, his mother, the capable Hayat Bakshi Begum, acted as regent. In 1630, when the armies of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan (reigned 1628–58) inflicted a major defeat on Ahmadnagar, which had provided protection to the more southern Golconda, ʿAbdullah was forced to sign a deed of submission.

Rather than diminishing the Qutb Shahi dynasty, this action stabilized it and freed it from further threat. With the subsequent discovery of diamonds, the arrival of European trading companies, and the conquest of new lands in the south, the Qutb Shahis, in fact, found new footing. Golconda attained worldwide renown for its printed and painted textiles, which were a specialty of the kingdom's eastern coastal zone (cats. 160–65), and for its steel products, especially swords that were manufactured near mines such as Indalwai, northwest of the Golconda Fort. Forests near the port of Masulipatnam, where the Dutch Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (United East India Company) was based, also supplied a thriving shipbuilding business.

These outside contacts brought an altogether different style of painting to the region, still to be better understood within the context of Deccani traditions—works with European themes, such as the Holy Family, Madonna and Child, and a portrait with a marbled background of an English nobleman.[11] Although these paintings and drawings are among a number of European-style works loosely associated with the Deccan and there are direct quotations from European sources in Deccani textiles (cat. 164), this influence remains an area for further study.

ʿAbdullah had no direct heirs to his throne and eventually settled on Abu'l Hasan Qutb Shah (reigned 1672–87), the husband of his youngest daughter, to succeed him. This was an unusual choice given that Abu'l Hasan had little prior experience at the court and had chosen to reside as a sufi ascetic at a *khanqah* just outside the city. He did, in fact, turn out to be a weak leader, outmaneuvered by his ministers and unable to keep the Mughals at bay. In 1687, Emperor ʿAlamgir (reigned 1658–1707) captured Golconda, and Abu'l Hasan was taken prisoner to Daulatabad, where he died and was buried in 1699. MS

Fig. 69. Illuminated Frontispiece, *Divan of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah*, Golconda, ca. 1590–95. Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, folio: 10⅞ × 5¾ in. (27.7 × 14.5 cm). Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad (Urdu Ms. 153)

1. Minorsky 1955. For a detailed study of the dynasty, see Sherwani 1974, which synthesizes the author's many earlier publications. **2.** Yazdani 1925–26. For an extended discussion of these trends, see Eaton and Wagoner 2014, pp. 165–202. **3.** Gulchin Ma'ani 1969, pp. 190–200. **4.** Wagoner 2011, which includes a review of the Telugu literature of Golconda and previous scholarship on this topic. **5.** Legend relates that the city was called Bhagnagar, in honor of Muhammad Quli's favorite courtesan, Bhagmati, but this assertion has been proven to have little basis in fact. Bhagnagar may be a corruption of a seventeenth-century name for the city, Baghnagar (City of Gardens). **6.** Husain 2000. **7.** The complete corpus of his poems has been published in Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah 1940. **8.** Analyzed in Petievich 2007, in which the phenomenon is said to have grown out of North Indian Krishna *bhakti* poetry. **9.** Sherwani 1973, p. 460; Sherwani 1974, p. 388. **10.** For more information, see Maryam Ekhtiar, "Excerpts from the *Tarikh-i Muhammad Qutb Shah*," in this volume, pp. 344–45. **11.** The portrait is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (PDP 3447). See Jake Benson's discussion of the work in this volume on pp. 163–64.

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96 Frontispiece from the *Zakhira-yi Khwarazmshahi* (The Treasury of the Khwarazm Shah)

Calligraphy by Baba Mirak Herati
Golconda, A.H. 22 Sha'ban 980 (December 28, 1572)
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 12⅝ × 8¾ in. (32.2 × 22.2 cm)
Trustees of Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (In. 30)

To judge from the Persianate style of the few surviving manuscripts from the period of Ibrahim Qutb Shah (reigned 1550–80), one would imagine the early Golconda court to have been an outcrop of Iran.[1] However, Golconda's earliest known illuminated work, the frontispiece of the *Zakhira-yi Khwarazmshahi*, also shows a creative Deccani contribution to the tradition. Here, the formality of its Safavid-style decoration is enlivened by coral dragons, phoenix birds, and angels, whose wings form borders between areas of arabesque illumination in lapis and gold.

The text is a medical guide written for a governor of the Khwarazm province in Iran in 1110–11. In addition to the lavish frontispiece, the beginning of each of the ten books within the text is marked with *sarlauh*s (illuminated headpieces); and two subsections are also given this treatment. At the end of the manuscript is a colophon, providing the name of the calligrapher, Baba Mirak Herati, also known as Muhammad Sa'id, and the date and place of completion in Golconda. A partially defaced seal on folio 445 indicates the continued

presence of the manuscript in the Qutb Shahi library during the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580–1612).[2]

This is the first dated book to come out of Golconda, and it rests with a small group of manuscripts from the 1570s usually presented as evidence for the Golconda workshop's heavy debt to Persian and Khorasani models, and especially the manuscripts of Shiraz and Bukhara.[3]

Certainly, its illuminations draw directly from Persian models, but this would have made sense as the contents of the book were also coming from that cultural milieu. None of the known Telugu masterpieces associated with this era are illustrated, and so the question of whether those manuscripts would have received different treatment remains open. MS

1. Many of the texts produced in the Golconda workshops were the same as those made at Persian courts, including copies of the *Sindbadnama* (ca. 1575, cat. 97), Nizami's *Khamsa* (Quintet, 1575, Andhra Pradesh State Archaeology Museum, Hyderabad, Ms. P 1432), the *Anvar-i Suhaili* (1582, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, IS.13:116-1962), and the *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* (ca. 1625, cat. 120). Hatifi's *Khusrau and Shirin* (1568, Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna) is not included in this list, for which see the argument in Weinstein 2011, pp. 57–61. In addition, there are paintings from two different unidentified manuscripts, four around 1586–90, formerly bound in an unrelated 1643 copy of the *Divan* of Hafiz (British Museum, London, 1974,0617,0.6.1–.4). Another manuscript, perhaps Sultan Husain Mirza's *Majalis al-Ushshaq*, dated around 1590–1600, survives only in paintings pasted onto large cards, one in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Persian Ms. 228), and another that was sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 5, 1971, lot 113 (Skelton 1973, pp. 190–93). **2.** At least two other copies of this text were made in the Deccan, and both are now in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad. In its present condition the Chester Beatty manuscript is missing several pages and some pages are bound out of order. The pages have also been cut from their original support and attached to newer papers. Close observation of the opening illuminations reveals where the outline of the drawing has not been followed precisely when the page was cut, and where small details are now missing. **3.** Likely based on the important Persian manuscripts the Qutb Shahi rulers collected—Qutb Shahi seals are found, for instance, in a 1431 *Khamsa* made for the Timurid ruler Shah Rukh (Adamova 2001), and a copy of Jami's *Yusuf and Zulaikha* of about 1580 from Shiraz in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (13.228.8.1).

97 Manuscript of the *Sindbadnama* (The Tales of Sindbad)

Golconda, ca. 1575
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 9⅝ × 5⅞ in. (24.5 × 15 cm)
British Library, London (Persian Ms. 3214)

This manuscript is the only known copy of a literary work (composed in Iran in 1374–77) comprising rhyming couplets relating the story of a wise vizier named Sindbad and the coming-of-age of an Indian prince.[1] In the absence of a colophon, this manuscript has long been attributed to Golconda on the basis of an abraded impression, probably of a Qutb Shahi seal, on folio 1r and the presence of captions in the Kannada language within the margins of a number of early

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folios.[2] Further evidence in support of this attribution is the similarity of its paintings to illustrations in a manuscript of Nizami's *Khamsa* (Quintet) from 1575 that was represented in Golconda and bears the impression of a seal by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (reigned 1580–1612).[3] The popularity of the Sindbad stories in the Deccani sultanate of Golconda is further suggested by a manuscript containing a prose version of the same tales, which was copied in 1622 for Muhammad Qutb Shah (reigned 1612–26).[4]

Among the manuscript's 166 folios, a few of which are tinted blue,[5] there are 72 illustrations in addition to introductory pages bearing a *shamsa* (an illuminated rosette in the form of a stylized sun, folio 1r), a double-page illustration of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (folios 1v–2r), and an *'unwan* (an illuminated heading) at the start of the text (folio 2v). These illuminations and images are related in style to those commonly found in Persianate manuscripts during the first half of the sixteenth century, and indeed, the Solomon and Bilqis frontispiece closely follows those that appear at the beginning of many manuscripts created in Iran, and particularly in Shiraz between 1500 and 1565.[6] Certain features of the paintings, however, are distinct from or appear as modified versions of Shirazi pictorial traditions, and most notable among these features are a color palette emphasizing bright red and blue, as well as a range of paler tones, the prevalence of faces shown in three-quarter perspectives with sharply protruding noses, and the abundant and fantastic depictions of greenery.

There are ten notations in Kannada, which appear in the margins of the early pages of the *Sindbadnama*, attesting to the manuscript's circulation among different linguistic communities of the Deccan in the sixteenth century. Most of these notes summarize concisely the contents of illustrations, sometimes explaining a Persianate concept or image through the use of an Indic term, as when a group of viziers are described as "seven pandits" (folio 14v), or a king's prayers are called *tapa*s (a term meaning Hindu religious austerities, folio 11v). Most interesting for the study of this manuscript's production is the notation on folio 1r (the page with the *shamsa*) that reads *surya*. While this word in Kannada and in Sanskrit can refer to the sun or to the Hindu sun god, here it appears to be shorthand for this type of illumination that resembles a solar disk. These notes may have been added in Golconda by a Kannada-speaking member of the Qutb Shahi court. It is also quite possible that the manuscript was gifted to a Bijapuri noble and the notes were added later at the 'Adil Shahi court where Kannada and Persian were both widely used.

Manuscripts produced in Golconda seem to have been created through a process much like that of the Mughal workshops. Once selected for production, the text of a particular work was copied out by a scribe on blank folios with spaces left for illustrations. In the *Anvar-i Suhaili* (1582) a supervisor of the project then wrote out instructions for his artists to fill in these blank areas with paintings.[7] Traces of these inscriptions are seen on several pages of that manuscript, and they indicate the desired subject of the image by describing, in few words, a particular moment in the adjacent text. Neither the *Sindbadnama* nor the other surviving manuscripts associated with sixteenth-century Golconda bear evidence of a master's instructions to his artists, however, and it seems likely that they were made through a range of methods and under varying conditions, probably for various elite but not royal sponsors. LW

1. Clouston 1884. **2.** Losty 1982, pp. 54, 70–71. In Losty 1982 and in subsequent publications on Deccani painting, these captions were identified as Telugu. They were shown to be Kannada in Weinstein 2011, pp. 134–40. **3.** Andhra Pradesh State Archaeology Museum, Hyderabad (Ms. P 1432); Weinstein 2011, pp. 143–64. **4.** British Library, London (Or. 225); Rieu 1879–83, vol. 2, p. 748. **5.** A feature also found in another Golconda manuscript, an *Anvar-i Suhaili* (1582) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IS.13:116-1962). **6.** Uluç 2006, p. 300. **7.** Seyller 2000.

98 Manuscript of the Qur'an

Calligraphy by 'Abd al-Qadir al-Husaini al-Shirazi
Probably Golconda, ca. 1560–1600
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 21⅝ × 15 in. (55 × 38 cm)
Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait (LNS 277 MS)

A set of Qur'ans with the seals of the Bijapur or Golconda rulers allows us to understand the types of Qur'ans once found in Deccani collections.[1] While one can identify many examples made in Iran and some in India, there are several whose place of creation is unclear, so similar were the modes of production in the two places.

The calligrapher of this work, 'Abd al-Qadir al-Husaini al-Shirazi, has given rise to much speculation along these lines. There are ten manuscripts associated with him, including Qur'ans, copies of the Five Surahs, and the sayings of 'Ali.[2] One group of these manuscripts has Qutb Shahi or other Indian seals, including two that were donated to the shrine at Mashhad by Ibrahim Qutb Shah (reigned 1550–80) and his descendant 'Abdullah Qutb Shah (reigned 1626–72).[3] This may indicate that 'Abd al-Qadir had actually moved to Golconda from his native Shiraz,[4] and, in fact, several features of the manuscripts suggest they were made in India: the texture of the paper, the letter *'ayn* that marks every tenth verse,[5] and the illumination lavished on the Surat al-Baqara.[6] Other features point more directly to Golconda: there are marbled borders on several pages of the Qur'an donated by Ibrahim to Mashhad,[7] and the illumination is completed in the typical Golconda hues of bright orange and purple that are also found in the opening pages of the *Zakhira-yi Khwarazmshahi* (The Treasury of the Khwarazm Shah, cat. 96) and other

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works. On certain pages, the verses are written in different scripts and colored inks, or they are arranged in ruled compartments, features that are also seen in albums such as catalogue number 104. Finally, this Qur'an, along with another very similar one, is known to have once been in a Hyderabad collection.[8] It therefore seems likely that 'Abd al-Qadir moved to the Golconda court and found patronage under Ibrahim and Muhammad Quli (reigned 1580–1612), where he would have enjoyed high merit for his elegant hand.

This complete Qur'an is signed by the calligrapher on the final page and after the prayers inscribed in a white *thuluth*. The book includes thirty-four, fully illuminated, double-page spreads and preserves what is believed to be its original binding. Seal stamps on the flyleaves trace the Qur'an's ownership beginning in 1703. MS

1. The Golconda Qur'ans are discussed below; for the Bijapur Qur'ans, see Overton 2011b, pp. 102–15. M.532 in the Morgan Library and Museum, New York, is a similar Shiraz manuscript; see Schmitz 1997, pp. 102–3, no. 43, figs. 158–62. **2.** For a discussion of his career, see Bayani, Contadini, and Stanley 1999, p. 202. **3.** Gulchin Ma'ani 1969, pp. 190–200, no. 88, donated by Ibrahim on A.H. 1 Rabi 'al-Awwal 970 (October 29, 1562), and no. 89, donated by 'Abdullah in A.H. 1051 (A.D. 1641–42). **4.** This scribe is described in the treatise of Qadi Ahmad as an expert calligrapher from Shiraz; English translation in Minorsky 1955, p. 67. Qadi Ahmad does not mention him leaving Iran (discussing him with a group of other calligraphers from Shiraz), but Gulchin Ma'ani 1969, p. 199, and James 1992, p. 196, suggest he did move to Golconda. **5.** In at least two Qur'ans, one in the Khalili collection (QUR248; James 1992, pp. 196–99, no. 47) and the present manuscript; this feature may be true of the other Qur'ans, but they have not been examined by the present author. **6.** Noted in the present Qur'an, a Qur'an in the Khalili collection (QUR248; James 1992, pp. 196–99, no. 47), and the Mashhad Qur'ans (Gulchin Ma'ani 1969, nos. 89, 90). **7.** Mentioned but not illustrated in Gulchin Ma'ani 1969, p. 190. **8.** Terence McInerney, personal communication to Navina Najat Haidar.

Cat. 99

Fig. 70. Animals in Combat, near the Patancheru Gate, Golconda, ca. 1559

99 *Yali* with Elephants

Golconda, 16th or 17th century
Bronze, H. 6⅜ in. (16.2 cm), W. 2 in. (5 cm), D. 6½ in. (15.8 cm)
Ranros Universal, S.A., British Virgin Islands

100 Peacock-Shaped Incense Burner

Deccan, late 15th or early 16th century
Brass, H. 11⅞ in. (30 cm)
Collection of Bashir Mohamed, London

101 Steel Object, Possibly a Door Knocker or Catch

Probably Golconda, 16th–first half of 17th century
Cast and engraved steel overlaid with silver, H. 2 in. (5 cm), W. 1¾ in. (4.4 cm), D. 5⅝ in. (14.2 cm)
Ranros Universal, S.A., British Virgin Islands

Inscribed on the sides in *nastaʿliq* script: Pious inscriptions with names of the twelve Shiʿa imams

Metal zoomorphic objects were a specialty of the Deccan, revealing a more playful side of the decorative arts. An incense burner could be shaped like a peacock with a flowing tail of curlicued feathers or a door knocker might terminate in the head of a lion, whose bared teeth reveal a ram trapped inside. Echoes of these forms are seen in Iberian aquamaniles, vessels whose commanding shapes and symbolic value were felt across the Islamic world or closer to home, in the animal carvings found on many Deccani forts and palaces (fig. 70). When Ibrahim Qutb Shah (reigned 1550–80) extended the enclosed area of Golconda, adding new city walls with eight new gates in 1559, they were decorated with pictorial panels of royal peacocks and lions as well as beasts in combat (fig. 89). The small bronze *yali* (horned lion), possibly a weight used in commerce, may have been a portable version of that same talismanic symbol (cat. 99).[1] This mythical beast with powerful legs steps on four elephants, crushes another one in its jaws, and traps a sixth with its tail. Heraldic and auspicious birds and animals graced Deccani palace interiors as well, where they might have been carved in stucco or shaped in tile (fig. 71). A bird with a round belly and long tail that combines the features of a peacock with those of the *hamsa* (goose) of the Indic tradition is a common element of both wall decoration and three-dimensional objects. This peacock incense burner (cat. 100) would likely have had a curved *makara*-headed (mythical aquatic monster) extension in the back, serving as a handle and rest. The round shape of the head, high beak, wide-set eyes, and double string of pearls around the neck are attributes seen in a group of related works assigned to the early sixteenth century, although this one might be even earlier, from the late fifteenth century.[2]

Cat. 100

Cat. 101

Fig. 71. Stucco Birds, Rangin Mahal (Colored Palace), Bidar, mid-16th century

The "door knocker" remains an enigmatic object, variously thought to be a door attachment for a religious building, part of a gun carriage, or even a sampler of varied designs for a craftsman to show his skills (cat. 101).[3] Bearing rudimentary horse heads on one end and a lion head with a ram in its mouth on the other, the piece also contains calligraphy and etched floral designs. Inscriptions in praise of the twelve Shi'a imams are inscribed in *nasta'liq* on the sides, while the underside contains an inlaid trellis of leaves and dots. The lion's head, with its elevated broad nose and wide-set ears, and the simplified form recall the medieval Persian Seljuq style, long dead in Iran but whose ghost appears in this odd Deccani object. MS/NNH

1. Zebrowski 1997, p. 104, points out that zoomorphic weights were used in Arabia and Africa. **2.** Ibid., p. 94, pl. 87, p. 100, pl. 103. **3.** Rosemary Crill in *Indian Heritage* 1982, p. 148, no. 494.

Cat. 102

102 Tray with Animals and Birds amid Animated Floral Arabesques

Probably Golconda, ca. 1600
Chased, engraved, and gilt copper, Diam. 23⅞ in. (60.5 cm)
Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad (76.1442)

Inscribed in *thuluth* script: *la ilaha illa allah, muhammad rasul-ullah, 'ali wali ullah, nasrun min allah wa fathun qarib* (There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the messenger of God, Ali is the friend of God; help is from God and victory is near)

A herd of beasts fills the outermost band of this tray in an endlessly inventive pattern with no repeating elements. This type of decoration relates strongly to Persian prototypes, but the *hamsa* (goose) at the center of the tray and the inclusion of elephants are certainly Indian. The relationship of this ornamental style with manuscript illumination suggests that a drawing master would likely have created a pounce or outline for the decoration.[1] The *thuluth* inscription around the central medallion interweaves the words with the letters of the last word, *qarib*, appearing in two parts. MS

1. S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 310–13, nos. 209, 210.

Detail of cat. 103

103 Lidded Box with Running Animals

Probably Golconda, ca. 1600
Chased and worked silver with niello-type inlay, H. 1⅝ in. (4.2 cm), Diam. 3¼ in. (8.1 cm)
Private collection, London

Cat. 103

This delicate round box has an overhanging lid with a central boss knob. Both parts are decorated with lively running animals set against tightly wound flowering spirals. The animals are outlined with a black edging, possibly a type of niello inlay, which makes their treatment distinctive from other Deccani metal decoration, although niello is known through a few, rare, unpublished objects.

The formula of leaping animals set against foliate forms, particularly spiral vines, became characteristic of Deccan metalwork, although related styles with animals in foliage appear in northern India as well. On the carved metallic surface in the present work, the animals have been given vibrant texture, with the fur and faces carefully rendered, the flowers sensitively rounded, and the ornament masterfully layered, even within the very low relief. A lidded vessel attributed to the Burhanpur region is another example of the Deccan taste for leaping animal figures set against laterally scrolling vines (cat. 175). NNH

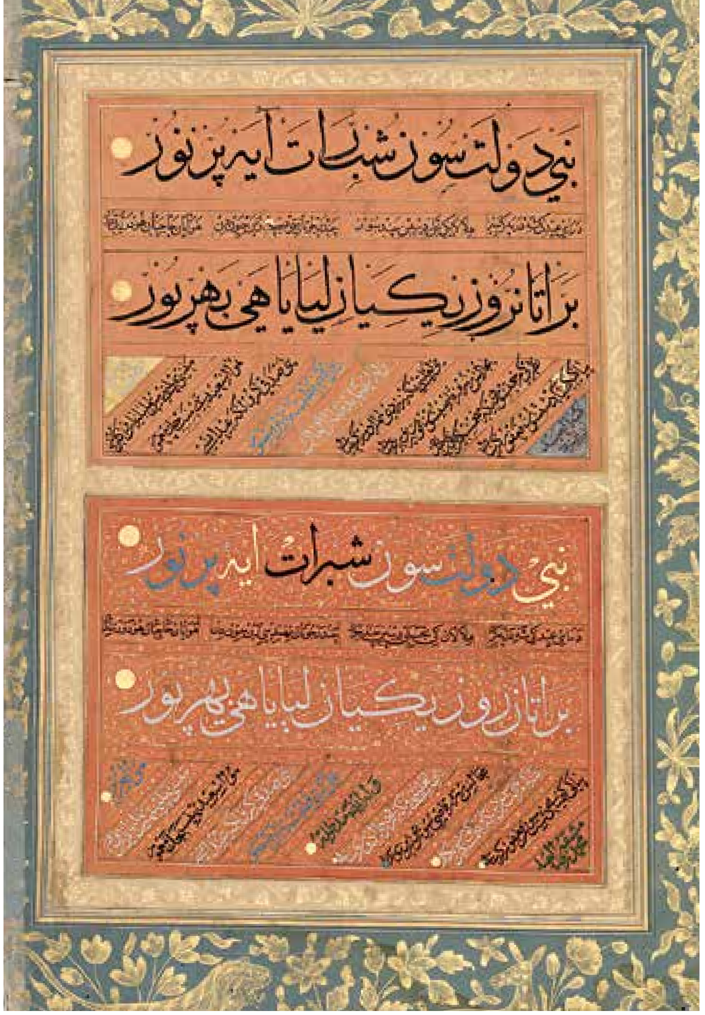
104 Folios from an Album of Calligraphy

Golconda and Hyderabad, late 16th–early 17th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 10⅞ × 15⅜ in.
(27.5 × 39 cm)
Trustees of Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Persian Ms. 225)

There are no contemporary portraits of Ibrahim's successor Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (reigned 1580–1612), but his vivid personality comes to life in his coquettish poetry, his grandiose vision for Hyderabad, and in the legends that surround him—including those that link him with a dancing girl named Bhagmati. Though the story is probably exaggerated, the fact that it was attached to him rather than any of the other Qutb Shahi sultans is revealing.[1]

Muhammad Quli's artistic sensitivities are especially apparent in the books that were made for him. The earliest is a collection of his Dakhni poetry (ca. 1590–95), the only illustrated copy of eight known anthologies. The lavish manuscript contains inventive flourishes, such as the use of tiny pieces of marbled paper to create different pictorial elements (fig. 72).[2] While that *divan* seeks to apply the conventions for illustrating Persian poetry anthologies to a collection of Dakhni verses,[3] other poetry compilations take a very different tack. Now preserved as fifteen individual folios are pages from at least one other Qutb Shahi album containing more of Muhammad Quli's verses as well as selections from other Arabic and Persian sources. To the eye accustomed to imperial Mughal albums, Deccani examples such as this and the Ahmadnagar album (cats. 18–19) are a revelation: their vibrant marbling, *découpé* writing, multihued inks, and arrangement of calligraphy in the *qit'ah* format[4] are found nowhere in northern India. These pages have the further distinction of being among the earliest evidence for the Indian practice of album making, preceded only by the book of about 1555–60 (the Fitzwilliam Album) made for the Mughal Emperor Akbar (reigned 1556–1605).

The folios in the Chester Beatty Library include calligraphies signed by earlier scribes such as Malik Dailami (folio 1v, signed at Nachchivan in 1554) and Sultan 'Ali al-Mashhadi (folio 5v), Qutb Shahi calligraphers writing in Golconda and Hyderabad; Hajji 'Abdullah (folios 2v and 3a); Murad Dhu al-Qadir (folio 3v); Zain al-Din 'Ali qutb shahi (folios 6v, 7v, 8v, 9r, 10r, 12r–v, 13r–v, 14v, and 15v); and Muhammad Riza (folios 7r, 8r, 9v, 10v, 11r–v, 12r, 13v, 14r–v, and 15r); as well as some unsigned pieces (folios 4v and 5r); and one work by Muhammad al-Shirazi, whose dates are unknown (folio 6r).



Cat. 104. Folio 13v

There is also a drawing (folio 4r), and it seems likely that a painting of a *yogini* (female ascetic) attributed to Bijapur purchased with this group, was once bound with it (cat. 30).[5] As they survive now, the folios bear evidence of interventions at many points in time. They have been assembled with varying degrees of skill and borders were added and then cut down.

Folio 6v, signed by the calligrapher Zain al-Din 'Ali, the scribe of Muhammad Quli's *divan*, is dated A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591–92), leading to the supposition that it came from an album made in this momentous year.[6] Additional Qutb Shahi folios in other collections also have this date,[7] but the material is diverse and varied in quality, making it hard to imagine them as belonging to a single album.

Folio 13v features a Dakhni poem of Muhammad Quli about Shab-i Barat, copied once by Zain al-Din 'Ali and once by Muhammad Riza at Hyderabad. Together with folios 7–15,

Detail of cat. 104. Folio 6v

they seem to form a more cohesive group of the sultan's Dakhni poetry, all having been copied by the same two calligraphers. Two of these works are dated A.D. 1605–6, which may help date the larger group.

Other single pages from Golconda albums, discussed in the following entries, demonstrate the pictorial material also included in Qutb Shahi albums. MS

1. Eaton and Wagoner 2014, p. 207, points to the validity of the story. **2.** For a discussion and illustration of the full pages, see Zebrowski 1983a, pp. 158–68; Khandalavala and Ali Khan 1986, pp. 40–47. **3.** Weinstein 2014. **4.** A horizontal composition of calligraphy combining lines in larger and smaller scripts, some oriented diagonally. **5.** James 1987. **6.** Ibid., p. 245. In this article (p. 247), it was claimed that folio 7r also had this date, but the reference in the text, as read by Abdullah Ghouchani, is to reading the accompanying prayer 1,000 times at the start of the new year. **7.** Two more pages from this album may be in the Khalili collection (CAL58 and CAL260); see Safwat 1996, pp. 140–41, nos. 72, 73, and for another connection to this album, pp. 194–96. See also K. M. Ahmad 1974.

Fig. 72. Marbled Phoenix, folio 53v (detail) from *Divan of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah*, Golconda, ca. 1590–95. Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, folio: 10⅞× 5¾ in. (27.7 × 14.5 cm). Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad (Urdu Ms. 153)

105 Page of Illumination in Gold

Golconda or Bijapur, ca. 1600
Gold leaf on colored paper, 6¾ × 4 in. (17.1 × 10.2 cm)
Kronos Collections, New York

The Deccan book arts featured techniques that were practically unknown elsewhere. Here a fine sheet of gold has been laid over a red folio with blue borders and worked into a forest of plants, trees, and arabesques containing leaping animals. The technique involved the use of a stencil and a resist-application method of the delicate gold leaf. The effect somewhat resembles the bookbinding practice of leather filigree (*munnabatkari*) seen at its most magnificent in the interior binding of the 1483 Herat manuscript of the *Masnavi-yi Ma'nawi* (Spiritual Masnavi) by Jalal ad-Din Muhammad Rumi.[1] In the present folio a similar idea of an imaginary world filled with lively creatures is realized, although on a smaller scale and with different materials. This sheet is one of a pair, each probably at either end of a small and precious book.[2] Several other works in this technique are known but are not as refined as this example.[3] NNH

1. Lentz and Lowry 1989, pp. 198, 199, 349, no. 99. Thanks are due to Steven Kossak for pointing this out. **2.** See Sotheby's 2011a, pp. 128–29, lot 102, for the other sheet forming the pair. **3.** Losty 2013, pp. 114, 116–19, nos. 25, 26.

Cat. 105

106 Tree on the Island of Waqwaq

Golconda, early 17th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 5¾ × 3¾ in. (14.6 × 9.5 cm)
Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
(I.4594, fol. 26)

The talking tree from the Alexander legend in Persian literature told the hero of his impending fate and was illustrated many times in Islamic painting. While conventional imagery depicts a tree with branches terminating in animal heads, this Deccan version shows much greater detail: the trunk is composed of snakes, the branches bear a large variety of heads, and the fruit takes the form of nude women. The Waqwaq theme extends to the overall setting, with animate rocks sprouting fish and flowers made up of masks with moth and butterfly leaves. This painting, along with several other Deccan works, was once in the collection of the late eighteenth-century Frenchman Colonel Antoine-Louis Henri de Polier (1741–1795) in Lucknow, where it was mounted in an album with Europeanized rococo borders. NNH

Cat. 106

107 Stone ʻ*Alam*

Golconda or Bijapur, ca. 1600
Relief-carved basalt, H. approx. 16 in. (40.6 cm)
Collection of Rina and Norman Indictor, New York

The ʻ*alam* (standard) in this architectural fragment is of a type dating to the late sixteenth century, in which a central teardrop shape with a calligraphic invocation to God, Muhammad, and ʻAli is surrounded by a spiraling band terminating in dragon heads with protruding tongues, furry muzzles, and bushy eyebrows. At the top of the ʻ*alam* are swordlike projections ending in cusped medallions, and at the base is a delicate lotus flower blossom just opening.

Assigning a place of production for this fragment is difficult. The reddish basalt is more common in the Bijapur realms than elsewhere in the Deccan, yet the ʻ*alam*s seen in Bijapur paintings are of a different form,[1] and their use in architecture or in processions is not nearly as well attested as in neighboring Golconda, where nearly identical ones are represented in tile and wood. This basic form is repeated throughout the Badshahi Ashurkhana, for instance, where the wood ʻ*alam*s decorating the building's arches also include the lotus-flower detail found in the stone example (fig. 73). MS

1. As seen, for example, in the portrait of Ibrahim ʻAdil Shah II in the Earl of Harrowby Collection; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 91, ill. no. 67. See also *Dervish Receiving a Visitor* (cat. 38).

Cat. 107

Fig. 73. Wood ʻ*Alam*, Badshahi Ashurkhana (Royal Mourning House), Hyderabad, 1591

108 Brass *'Alam*

Probably Hyderabad, late 16th–early 18th century
Brass with relief decoration, H. 40 in. (101.6 cm), W. 24 in. (61 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Terence McInerney, 2012 (2012.207.2a, b)

Inscribed on the central panel: *bi rahmatika ya arhamu al-rahimin* (By your mercy, the most merciful)

On roundels: Names of the Shi'a imams

On top panel: Later inscription with the *basmalah*

109 Brass *'Alam*

Probably Hyderabad, ca. 1700
Cast and joined copper alloy, H. 28½ in. (72.4 cm), W. 11¾ in. (29.9 cm), D. 1¾ in. (4.5 cm)
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Arthur and Margaret Glasgow Fund (1981.87)

Inscribed on central panel: Allah, Muhammad, 'Ali

110 Brass *'Alam*

Probably Hyderabad, ca. 1700
Brass, H. 38 in. (96.5 cm), W. 12 in. (30.5 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Friends of Islamic Art Gifts, 2013 (2013.37)
Inscribed on central panel and surrounding roundels: Allah, Muhammad, 'Ali

Cat. 108

Among the most evocative descriptions of the Golconda court are those concerning the religious observations of Muharram, the month of mourning for the deaths of the Prophet's descendants Hasan and Husain at the Battle of Karbala in 680. As soon as the moon that marked the start of the month was sighted, a somber atmosphere prevailed: music and dance came to a halt, meat was eschewed, and the people dressed in black. *'Alam*s representing the standards carried in the seventh-century battle were installed in *ashurkhana*s (meetinghouses used for the recitation of dirges and prayers), where they were raised on poles that were garlanded with rich cloths. Muharram is an event that the Hindus of Golconda have historically observed, and it remains a major part of the religious calendar of Hyderabad to the present day.[1]

During the Qutb Shahi period, the Badshahi Ashurkhana was the focus of a beautiful Qutb Shahi ritual enacted during Ashura, the ten-day period at the start of Muharram. Each night the sultan would light a row of one thousand lamps, so that on the final night a full ten thousand lamps blazed forth. The *'alam*s were then taken out of the building in procession.[2]

The earliest *'alam* of this group (cat. 108) has lost its surrounding edge and crest of splayed finials, but the heart of the monumental standard still remains. Its *thuluth* relief inscriptions would have stood out against the surrounding delicately pierced designs, through which pinpricks of light would have passed, decorating both the surface and the shadow of the *'alam*.

Cat. 109

Cat. 110

The other two examples are more similar: pierced inscriptions at their centers read "Allah, Muhammad, 'Ali," and in the Metropolitan Museum example (cat. 110), these names are repeated in roundels surrounding the main inscription. Dragons encircle the central section of each standard, which they grasp with their feet while their tails intertwine at the bottom. The dragons' bodies are pierced, and they have rounded scales on their backs.[3] These unusual features are also found on a sixteenth-century *'alam* that is now in the Shrine of Safi in Ardabil.[4] All of these types of *'alam*s are depicted in the tile representations in the Badshahi Ashurkhana (fig. 74). MS/CS

1. Sadiq Naqvi and Krishan Rao 2004. **2.** The *Hadiqat al-Salatin* of Mirza Nizamuddin gives a lengthy description of observances during the reign of 'Abdullah; see the English translation of pp. 45–53 in Rizvi 1986, vol. 2, pp. 335–38. **3.** The tips of the projections on the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts *'alam* are replacements, and the head of the proper-left dragon has been cast from the proper-right dragon, likely to replace a missing feature. Dye 2001, pp. 418, 521–22, no. 193. **4.** J. W. Allan 2012, p. 132.

Fig. 74. Tile *'Alam*s, Badshahi Ashurkhana (Royal Mourning House), Hyderabad, 1611

Cat. 111

Fig. 75. Wood Calligraphic Roundel, Badshahi Ashurkhana (Royal Mourning House), Hyderabad, 1591

111 Wood Roundel

Probably Hyderabad, late 16th century
Painted wood and gesso with gold and silver leaf,
Diam. 19⅞ in. (50.5 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Richard S. Perkins and Alastair B. Martin Gifts and Rogers Fund, 1991 (1991.233)

Inscribed: *ya hayy* (O, The Ever-Living) and *ya quyyum* (O, The Self-Subsisting)

In the buildings commissioned by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (reigned 1580–1612) for his majestic capital city, there is a penchant for rich detail in materials of contrasting texture and scale—their lime-plastered walls are replete with ornament in wood, stucco, and tile that lends depth and hue to the structure. Wood roundels similar to this example can still be found in buildings like the Badshahi Ashurkhana (fig. 75), but whereas the roundels in situ have recently been covered in washes of gold and white paint, this piece retains some of its original polychromy, subtly varied between the central area with writing and the surrounding sunburst pattern.

Mirror writing, a calligraphic specialty in the Deccan, became popular for architectural inscriptions and the decoration of objects in the seventeenth century, as found at the mosque of the Sheikhpet Sarai, near Golconda. In the eighteenth century, mirror writing was creatively deployed to make images such as lions and faces in compositions on paper. On this roundel, the phrases, invoking two of the ninety-nine names of God, are repeated around the central medallion in four units in which the inscription is written once forward and once mirror-reversed. The letters themselves are arranged around the repeated word *ya*, in which the letter *alif* provides a tall vertical stroke. MS

Cat. 112

112 Rider on an Epigraphic Horse

Golconda or Bijapur, late 16th or early 17th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 6⅝ × 10⅜ in. (16.7 × 26.5 cm)
Museum of Islamic Art, Doha (Ms. 816.2011)

Inscribed near the horse's leg: 4 *sahibuhu mir sahib* (4 Owned by Mir Sahib)

On the saddle cloth: *mashq-i kamtarin mir m . . . rmi*(?) (Work of the poor Mir M . . .[?])

One great talent of Golconda artists was to fashion calligraphy into zoomorphic forms, as in this fantastic horse, whose body is composed of the Arabic letters of the Throne Verse (Ayat al-Kursi, 2:255) of the Qur'an. These auspicious words speak of God's power over the universe, a message to be conveyed by the speedy and powerful horse. An appropriately grand choice for the sacred letters, the gold and lapis colors reference a traditional Qur'anic-manuscript illumination style. A few words from the verse, however, are inexplicably missing.[1] From the slightly awkward positioning and the insertion of reins and seat, it is evident that the rider atop the horse was probably added sometime after the animal's completion. This addition may have covered up some part of the original design. It is not clear whether the artist named in the saddlecloth was responsible for the original drawing of the horse or for the later addition of the figure. NNH/AG

1. The missing words, which are nonconsecutive, are *bayna aydi-him* (among their hands) and *min 'ilmihi* (from his knowledge).

Cat. 113

113 Calligraphic *'Alam* Finial in the Shape of a Dragon

Golconda, ca. 1650–1750
Cast brass, H. 7⅛ in. (18 cm), W. 4¼ in. (10.7 cm), D. 1¼ in. (3.1 cm)
Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, Purchased 1994 (EA1994.45)

Inscribed: Pious phrases and Qur'anic verses

114 Calligraphic *'Alam* in the Shape of a Falcon

Golconda, 17th century
Perforated gilt copper, H. 13¾ in. (34.9 cm), W. 8 in. (20.3 cm)
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IM.163-1913)

Most early Deccani *'alam*s (standards) derive from a type that had emerged in Iran in the sixteenth century: a central teardrop-shaped unit with a pierced inscription is flanked by dragon-head finials and has projections ending in multifoil finials at the top, as seen in catalogue numbers 109 and 110.[1] However, the surviving examples of zoomorphic *'alam*s with pierced inscriptions give proof of a wholly local development. These most unusual standards depict animals made entirely of writing. The falcon (cat. 114) is assumed to have been a freestanding object, while the dragon (cat. 113) is probably one of two such elements that would have been found on either side of a teardrop-shaped *'alam*, also presumed to have been entirely composed of openwork calligraphy. The falcon's body proclaims a prayer to 'Ali: "Call 'Ali, the locus of manifestations of miracles. You will find him a help in the vicissitudes of life. All grief and sorrow will pass thanks to your rule, O 'Ali, O 'Ali, O 'Ali."[2] The dragon's teeth spell the word "Allah," and the crest on top of his head is composed of the word "Muhammad." The rest of his face is made up of Qur'an 61:13: "Help is from God and victory is near." MS

1. J. W. Allan 2012, pp. 123, 130. **2.** As translated by Annemarie Schimmel in S. C. Welch 1985, p. 324.

Cat. 114

Cat. 115

Cat. 116

115 Inscribed Hardstone Mortar and Pestle

Golconda, early 17th century
Green hardstone with gold leaf, mortar: 4⅝ × 2⅝ in. (11.7 × 6.7 cm)
National Museum, New Delhi (59.236a, b)

Inscribed in *thuluth* script on the sides: *ya shafi* (O Healer); *banda-yi khaksar muhammad qutb shah* (Lowly servant [of?] Muhammad Qutb Shah)

116 Mortar with Six Sides

Golconda, 17th century
Black basalt, H. 6½ in. (16 cm), W. 15 in. (38 cm), D. 9 in. (23 cm)
Private collection, London

117 Mortar with Cusped Sides

Golconda, 17th century
Polished black basalt, H. 3⅞ in. (9.8 cm), W. 5⅞ in. (15 cm), D. 9½ in. (24 cm)
David Collection, Copenhagen (9/2004)

Elongated boat-shaped vessels form a distinct category in Indo-Islamic art; they are most often carried by sufi dervishes and can be made from metal, stone, or natural materials such as *coco-de-mer*.[1] Some large vessels of this shape are also known and remain in their original places at several sufi shrines and *dargah*s in the Deccan, where they are used for offerings of fruits and flowers by devotees, for the burning of incense, and as a receptacle for salt, which has associations of purity for pilgrims who touch it before entering the shrine. A vessel in the shrine complex of Sayyid Muhammad Husaini Gesu Daraz (1321–1422) at Gulbarga is an outstanding example and probably datable to the Bahmani period (fig. 76). Standing at more than two feet in height, the monumental vessel has relief ornament on the exterior that includes confronting fish, rampant lions over elephants, and bird terminals at the corners. These symbols no doubt had very specific meanings for devotees and likely referenced both sufi ideas as well as Indian tradition. The fish, in particular, is associated with the prophet Khizr and numerous Hindu deities, including Vishnu. The everted birds at the corners are typical of South Indian ornament, while the royal symbol of a semirampant lion attacking elephants is also seen in reliefs on Deccan forts.[2]

Another related type of stone vessel is simpler and smaller with plain sides. While in-situ examples are known, portable ones also exist, such as the black stone mortar with thick walls and strong lines (cat. 116) and a beautifully cusped basalt bowl (cat. 117).[3] Semiprecious hardstone was used for the smallest vessels, which are sometimes known as *havan dasta* (hand mortar) or *imam dasta* (hand of the imam). An inscribed example in the National Museum, New Delhi, offers evidence both of date and function (cat. 115). Boldly inscribed in *thuluth*, *ya shafi* (O Healer) and *banda-yi khaksar muhammad qutb shah* (lowly servant [of?] Muhammad Qutb Shah), the work can be attributed to the reign of that Golconda ruler (1580–1612).[4] The gold within the engraved letters might

Cat. 117

have been reapplied at a later date. The invocation to God as healer suggests that this vessel was used for the preparation of medicinal substances.[5] Qutb Shahi rulers encouraged their *hakim*s, or *Yunani* doctors (of Greek or Arabic medicine), to write treatises.[6] The *hakim*s, who were recognized as good cooks, used such sacred vessels for both medical and dietary purposes. Further reflecting the court's attention to the health of its people, in 1595 Muhammad Quli established the Dar al-Shifa Hospital in Hyderabad, where medicine and food were provided free of cost. NNH/AP

1. Melikian-Chirvani 1990–91 offers an interpretation of the shape. **2.** A less embellished but equally monumental vessel is found in the courtyard of the Abul Fadl shrine at Bidar. This information was obtained from Helen Philon and augmented with additional discoveries by Marika Sardar. **3.** At the shrine of Maula 'Ali in Hyderabad, an embedded example of the former type, about the same size and with relief inscriptions, dates to the eighteenth century. An example in the Dar al-Shifa, Hyderabad, is shaped as a leather pouch, a form associated with Hazrat 'Abbas, who was killed during the Battle of Karbala (680) while fetching water for the Prophet's family **4.** Simon Digby, in a personal communication, first identified this vessel. **5.** Another group of early eighteenth-century hardstone vessels remains in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad. **6.** M. Ali and S. A. Hussain 1990.

Fig. 76. Monumental Stone Vessel, Shrine of Sayyid Muhammad Husaini Gesu Daraz, Gulbarga, 15th–16th century

Cat. 118

118 Miniature Garnet Cup with Dragon-Head Handles

Deccan, probably late 16th–early 17th century
Carved star garnet, with gilt-silver mounts, H. 1¼ in. (3.2 cm), W. 2½ in. (6.4 cm), D. 1⅛ in. (3 cm)
Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait (LNS 119 J)

This cup is an extremely fine and rare example of a miniature vessel that was by no means uncommon. It most likely served wine, a deduction supported by two prominent examples: the small jade wine cup of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir (reigned 1605–27) and a small wine cup depicted in a painting of a couple savoring wine.[1] Interestingly, a small enameled cup in the Al-Sabah Collection, decorated with grapevines on the interior and poppy blossoms on the exterior, probably suggests that the cup was made to hold a concoction of wine and opium.[2] In any case, this vessel was most likely produced to hold special beverages to be consumed in limited quantities.

Carved from a large star garnet and mounted with a silver foliate rim and dragon-head handles, the cup nests in a silver cradle atop a stemmed foot. Although significantly scaled down, it evokes the form of wine boats–cum–sufi beggar bowls (*kashkul*).[3] A tinned copper *kashkul* in the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad, displays similar dragon-head handles with typical downward-curled snouts and is inscribed with the names of the twelve Shiʿa imams and that of Shaikh Muhyi ʾl-Din ʿAbd al-Qadir al-Gilani,[4] founder of the Qadiri sufi order whose followers reportedly landed in Bidar and Bijapur when they first settled in India and later formed an influential center in the fifteenth century.[5] Since most rulers of the Deccan were adherents of

the Twelver Shi'a sect and sufi orders were quite widespread in India, most particularly in the Deccan, it is more than likely that this beautiful cup was produced for a prince or nobleman of the Deccan courts.[6] SK

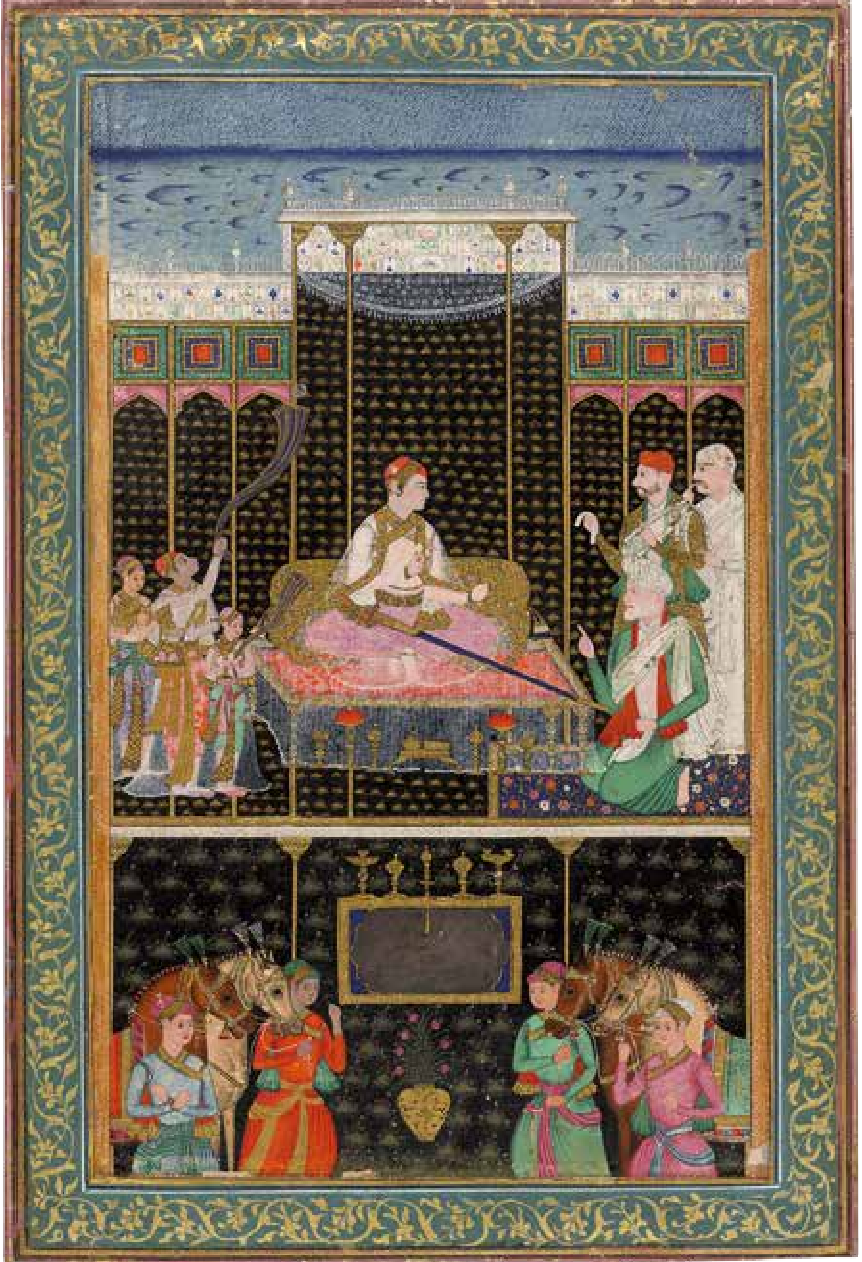
1. For Emperor Jahangir's wine cup, see Robert Skelton in *Indian Heritage* 1982, p. 117, no. 350. For the couple enjoying wine, see Skelton 2011a, p. 15, fig. 3. **2.** Numerous references are made to the consumption of wine and opium in both the *Baburnama* (Autobiography of Babur) and the *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri* (Memoirs of Jahangir). It is quite likely that since antiquity wine has been mixed with opium or other narcotic substances, as in, for example, *mithridatum*, a concoction of substances mixed with wine that was believed to be an antidote to poison. Furthermore, during his fourteenth regnal year (A.H. 1028 [A.D. 1619]), Emperor Jahangir spoke of inhabitants of the northwestern province of Pakhli (in modern-day Pakistan), who mixed the intoxicating beverage they called *sar* with *bhang* to increase its potency. Rogers and Beveridge 1978, vol. 2, p. 126; Thackston 1999, p. 324. **3.** Melikian-Chirvani 1990–91, pp. 3–42. **4.** Rosemary Crill in *Indian Heritage* 1982, p. 145, no. 492. **5.** Schimmel 1980, p. 59. **6.** It is worth noting that after Sultan Quli Qutb Shah, founder of the Qutb Shahi dynasty, conquered Golconda in the early sixteenth century, he immediately proclaimed his adherence to Twelver Shi'ism.

119 *Darbar* of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah

Golconda, ca. 1612–20
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 9⅞ × 6⅛ in. (25 × 15.5 cm)
Trustees of British Museum, London (1937,0410,0.1)

This painting is among the first examples of the mature Golconda style, free of the Persian influences evident in paintings of the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century. The Safavid-style turbans are gone, replaced by various types of Deccani headgear; the women appear in Indian garb; and the faces are more carefully realized portraits than the generic features used in paintings in Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's era (1580–1612). The ruler, probably Muhammad Qutb Shah (reigned 1612–26), sits enthroned within a columned hall and against a black wall hanging decorated with gold. He receives elite visitors, including a kneeling nobleman with a white beard and shawl. This figure, a key to the dating of the painting, is thought to be Shaikh Muhammad ibn-i Khatun, who was made ambassador to Iran in 1616, one of the court's most important diplomatic posts. This painting possibly depicts his send-off with the readied party of horsemen in the foreground.[1]

In an earlier interpretation, the scene was dated to around 1630 when the shaikh was reported to have been given the privilege of sitting in the presence of the king, who at that time would have been 'Abdullah Qutb Shah (reigned 1626–72).[2] However, the sovereign's style of dress—white *jama* (robe) with gold brocaded hems; a long straight, Deccani-style sword; and a caplike turban also with gold brocading—accords with the clothing seen in images of Muhammad Quli or Muhammad,[3] rather than the clothes adorned with neat rows of floral motifs, in which 'Abdullah typically appears.[4]


Cat. 119

Golconda is considered the source of numerous portrait sets, produced in volume in the mid- to late seventeenth century and preserved in places such as England, France, and the Netherlands, from where the foreign merchants purchasing them had come.[5] But the courtly portraits of

Golconda are less easy to find: no contemporary portraits of the rulers Sultan Quli, Jamshid, Ibrahim, or Muhammad Quli are known. If the subject of this painting can be identified as Muhammad, it would be the earliest portrait of a Golconda ruler. MS

1. Losty 1995, p. 312. Barrett 1958, p. 20, initially suggested the king was Muhammad Quli. He then revised it to Muhammad; see Barrett 1960, p. 9. **2.** Skelton 1973, pp. 184–86. **3.** Known through later copies, such as a Mughal version of a portrait of Muhammad by the painter Hashim in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IM.22-925). **4.** This said, the round, rather featureless face of the sultan in this painting does not match the square-jawed and cleft-chinned features of Muhammad any more than it does the swoop-nosed, mustachioed images of ʿAbdullah. **5.** Portraits sets include the Witsen Album in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-T-00-3186), Manucci Album in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Estampes (Rés Od 45 pet. fol.), and three albums in the British Museum, London (1974,0617,0.2; 1974,0617,0.4; and 1974,0617,0.11), among others.

120 Manuscript of the ʿ*Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* (Wonders of Creation) from the Library of Bari Sahib

Golconda or Bijapur, ca. 1625
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 15¼ × 9¾ in. (38.7 × 24.8 cm)
National Museum, New Delhi (58.48)

Seal on flyleaf with Persian inscription: *parisahib bint sultan muhammad qutb shah* (Pari Sahib, daughter of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah)

Bari Sahib (sometimes known as Pari Sahib) was the daughter of Muhammad Qutb Shah (reigned 1612–26), and a major political force at Bijapur (into whose royal house she married). For the first years of ʿAli ʿAdil Shah II's rule (1656–72), she was effectively in charge of state affairs.[1] Small traces

Cat. 120a

Detail of cat. 119

b

c

d

of her library remain, including this large copy of the medieval Persian author Qazvini's classical Arabic text, filled with more than four hundred lively images of the "Wonders of Creation" described therein, along with parts of al-Sufi's "Book of the Fixed Stars." A partially erased colophon provides a purchase date of 1565, which is likely inaccurate; however, the seal impressions on the flyleaf are certainly those of the Golconda princess.[2]

The painting style is vigorous and cheerful, somewhat removed from the refined courtly idiom as it is known and combining elements from both the Bijapur and Golconda styles. In some ways the paintings reflect the imagery of the *Nujum al-'Ulum* (Stars of the Sciences, cat. 22) manuscript and also that of the *Pem Nem* (The Laws of Love, cat. 29). Several folios toward the end remain incomplete.

Until the manuscript obtains the close study that the *Nujum* has received to fully understand its construction, text, and paintings, it can be enjoyed for its vivacity and imaginativeness. Among the many real and mythological creatures are demons, tigers, horned fish, dragons, flying horses, crickets, and snakes. The plants include palm trees, flowering vines, flowers such as poppies, and radishes and other vegetables. Within this magical world are starry constellations, demons, and djinns mixed in with episodes from traditional Persian tales and human figures playing music or performing rites. NNH

1. Weinstein 2011, p. 91. A small copper Deccan bowl is also inscribed with Bari Sahib's name; Sotheby's 2011a, p. 185, lot 153. **2.** Kruijtzer 2009, p. 50, provides a seventeenth-century drawing of the seal.

Cat. 121

121 Shaffron of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah

Golconda, A.H. 1026 (A.D. 1617–18)
Steel, H. 23⅞ in. (60.7 cm), W. 7¾ in. (19.6 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger Gift, 2008 (2008.197)

Inscribed: *abu'l-muzzafar sultan muhammad qutb sana 1026.*
(Abu'l-Muzzafar Muhammad Qutb year A.D. 1617–18)

Horse armor in India was usually made from a combination of metal, textile, and leather, the centerpiece of which was a steel shaffron such as this one, which protected the front of a horse's head from the muzzle to the ears. In addition to the date, the Arabic inscription seen near the top edge of this shaffron includes the name of Muhammad Qutb Shah (reigned 1612–26). Very few pieces of Indian horse armor can be dated so closely or associated with a specific ruler, making this example extremely rare.[1] NNH

1. Thanks are due to the Department of Arms and Armor at The Metropolitan Museum of Art for this information.

Cat. 122

122 Armored Shoes

Golconda, second quarter of 17th century
Gilt steel (*koftgari*), L. each 10 in. (25.5 cm)
Private collection, London

These shoes are made of steel, elaborately styled with gold *koftgari* decoration, a technique in which the craftsman files the surface of the metal before hammering on gold leaf. The uppers are pointed at the front and terminate in scrolled toe caps. The sides and backs have closely arranged flower heads in gold with chevron borders. The top and bottom rims are pierced for the attachment of fabric linings of either silk or cotton. The undersides of the toes have crenellated plates that are decorated further with various flowers within scrolled gold lines, and pierced borders originally held the leather—or fabric soles, now missing—to the heel.[1]

Steel shoes are very rare survivors from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although some pairs were known to have been made in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century for the Mirs of Sind by armorers' workshops in

Detail of cat. 122

Bhuj in Kutch, located in western India, to complete their suits of armor.[2] Different styles of shoes that were worn in the seventeenth-century Deccan can, however, be seen in miniature paintings. Shoes with upturned backs are worn by Murtaza Nizam Shah I (reigned 1565–88) in a painting of around 1575,[3] as well as by Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I (reigned 1535–58) in a Bijapur painting from around 1610–20 (cat. 39). The heelless slipper seems to have become fashionable by the mid-seventeenth century, as shown in a portrait of Sultan Muhammad 'Adil Shah (reigned 1627–56) of Bijapur[4] and in a painting of an African courtier (cat. 129).

There is every likelihood that these shoes were a special commission ordered from an armorer's workshop by a patron in need of either the extra height or to better engage the stirrups when riding. Only one and a half pairs in steel are known to have been decorated with brass borders around the plain-steel uppers, and which are flat-heeled.[5] The present pair is thought to be the only high-heeled steel shoes to survive from this period. HR

1. Such crenellated motifs appear in a carpet shown in a painting and in the border decoration of a miniature, dated to 1650–60; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 48, ill. no. 32, p. 141, ill. no. 108. **2.** Robinson 1967, pl. XIIIA, B. **3.** Zebrowski 1983a, p. 21, ill. no. 5. The author is uncertain of the identity of the sitter. **4.** Ibid., p. 126, ill. no. 94. **5.** One pair is illustrated in Mohamed 2008, p. 313, no. 301.

123 *Vambrace*

Deccan, mid-17th century
Steel overlaid with gold, H. 13¼ in. (33.5 cm), W. 5⅜ in. (13.5 cm)
Collection of Rina and Norman Indictor, New York

The art of *koftgari* required gold to be overlaid on a steel base, then carved away to reveal the darker surface below. The resulting design on this *vambrace* is that of medallions and cartouches on a floral ground enclosed within running arabesque borders. Scrolling vines, palmettes, lotuses, and leaves predominate in the field, while contrasting areas of bold and fine gold allow the clarity of the design to come through.[1] The vertical medallion arrangement is also reminiscent of Ottoman carpets. NNH

1. Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 233, fig. 171, liken the decoration to that of a Golconda textile of 1645.

Cat. 123

Cat. 124

Cat. 125

124 Crutch Dagger in the Form of a Serpentine Vine

Deccan, 17th century
Dagger: steel, hilt: gold; L. 14½ in. (36.8 cm)
Furusiyya Art Foundation

125 Dagger in the Form of a Bird Holding a Leaf

Deccan, early 17th century
Steel, L. 16 in. (40.5 cm)
Collection of Bashir Mohamed, London

Deccan artists brilliantly fused nature with fantasy through merging motifs or abstracting shapes, all while maintaining elegant and fluid lines. This phenomenon can be seen in these two daggers: one in the form of a serpentine vine, and the other a simplified bird head with an elongated crest and a curving leaf in its beak.

The crutch dagger (cat. 124) is the weapon of choice of a holy man, providing support during meditation or rest but concealing a deadly blade within its narrow stalk, if needed. The twisting vine terminates in a bud finial, while the iron surface is decorated with a pattern of gold lozenges recalling serpentine scales. The form evokes older South Indian Hindu traditions, in which snakes held a special place in worship and as a symbol.[1] A similar crutch dagger in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, helps secure a Deccan attribution for the piece, whose style was quite widespread in northwestern India.[2] The abstracted bird-head dagger (cat. 125) appears to have its original blade, demonstrating that the design concept extended from the tip of the bird's crest to the end of its outward-pointed tail. NNH

1. Mohamed 2008, p. 204, no. 194. **2.** Pant 1989, p. 254, no. 301/LIV-A.

Cat. 126

Cat. 127

126 Basin

Deccan, first half of 17th century
Cast and engraved bronze, H. 17¾ in. (45 cm), Diam. of top 35⅞ in. (91 cm), Diam. of foot 25¾ in. (65.5 cm)
David Collection, Copenhagen (53/1998)

127 Fountain

Deccan, first half of 17th century
Cast, joined, and engraved brass, H. 38½ in. (97.7 cm), W. 26⅝ in. (67.6 cm), D. 36¾ in. (93.2 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 (1997.150)

Water was an important part of Deccani palaces: buildings were set in or next to reservoirs, and fountains and ornamental pools were placed throughout palaces, including on the upper floors. These two pieces are among the few known fountain fixtures to survive. The lotus-petal forms and aquatic beasts located on the spouts of each piece refer to their placement in water, while other decorative features (the lappets, fluting, and zoomorphic forms) come from the larger repertoire of Deccani metalwork.

Both pieces consist of several separately cast and joined elements, and in each case, the spout on the bottom was the device through which water flowed in either to fill the basin or to rise inside the fountain and then trickle down from the top. It has been suggested that these two objects came from the same Deccani garden and would have been aligned within a water channel.[1]

MS

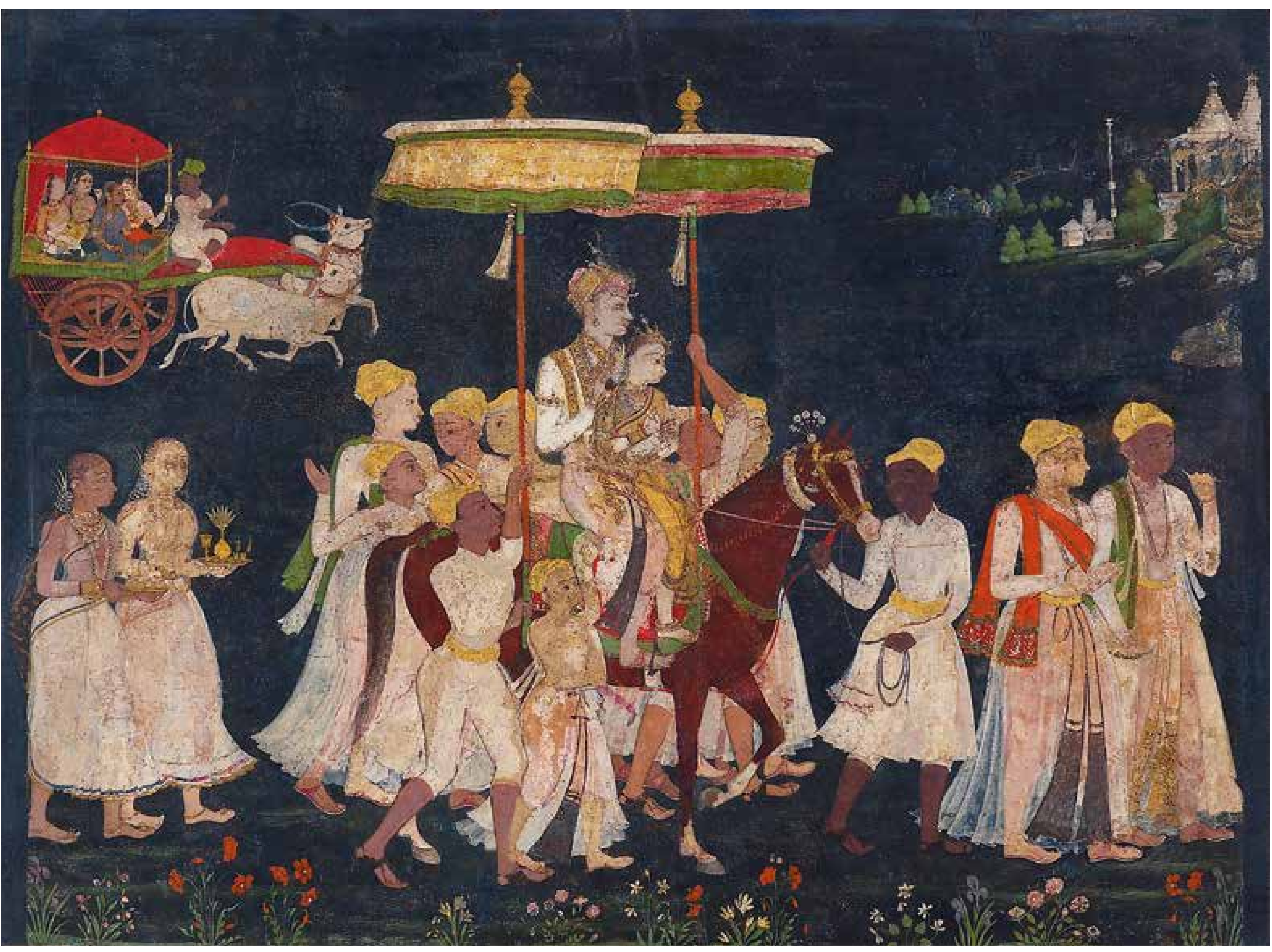
1. Observation of Terence McInerney.

128 Wedding Procession of Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah

Golconda, ca. 1650
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 9⅝ × 12¾ in. (24.3 × 32.3 cm)
Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaelogy, University of Oxford, Lent by Howard Hodgkin (LI118.15)

In one of Deccani painting's most romantically charged visions, a sultan carries his diminutive Hindu bride in a nighttime procession. The pair is thought to be Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (reigned 1580–1612) and Bhagmati, Golconda's legendary lovers. The clustered attendant figures glow against the dark ground as they carry royal umbrellas above the couple, who are seated together on a horse—a departure from Indian convention, in which a bride is typically brought to her new home in a *doli*, or separate litter, after the wedding. Perhaps the cart drawn by running cows in the background was meant to carry her; certainly her female attendants ride within it while others follow on foot in the procession.

Four outstanding works have been assigned to this anonymous master who worked during the reign of ʿAbdullah Qutb Shah (1626–72) and ushered in a realistic mode in Golconda painting imbued with a sense of movement and a mastery of color. They are a grand procession scene of ʿAbdullah in the Dorn Album in Saint Petersburg, a painting of yogis in the Saint Petersburg Album (where a portion of



Cat. 128

Detail of cat. 128

the painting is attributed to his hand), a portrait of an African nobleman (cat. 129), and the present wedding scene.[1] Reportage and documentation were among the artist's aims; thus several historical characters appearing in the Dorn Album procession scene can be identified.[2] Yet, in this work, we are perhaps seeing his imagination unleashed to evoke a scene from the past.[3] NNH

1. Zebrowksi 1983a, pp. 183, 185, discusses this artist's oeuvre. **2.** Ibid., p. 185. **3.** Sotheby's 1990, pp. 18–19, lot 32, shows this painting before the restoration of its background. The author is grateful to Terence McInerney for this reference.

129 African Courtier

Golconda, third quarter of 17th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 15½ × 10⅞ in.
(39.5 × 27.5 cm)
Private collection, London

The African courtiers of Golconda are not as well known as those of Bijapur or Ahmadnagar, and this particular figure has not been identified, although he may also appear in other court scenes.[1] His impeccable all-white costume is common to those of African servants at Golconda, but he has a confident gaze and pose that imply some social status. The artist has taken delight in depicting the details of the man's face and costume: every fold including the seams on the sleeves and the hems of the *jama* (robe) has been carefully rendered. On the reverse of this picture was once mounted a portrait of Muhammad Qutb Shah (reigned 1612–26), which is now in the Sarikhani Collection, London.[2] MS

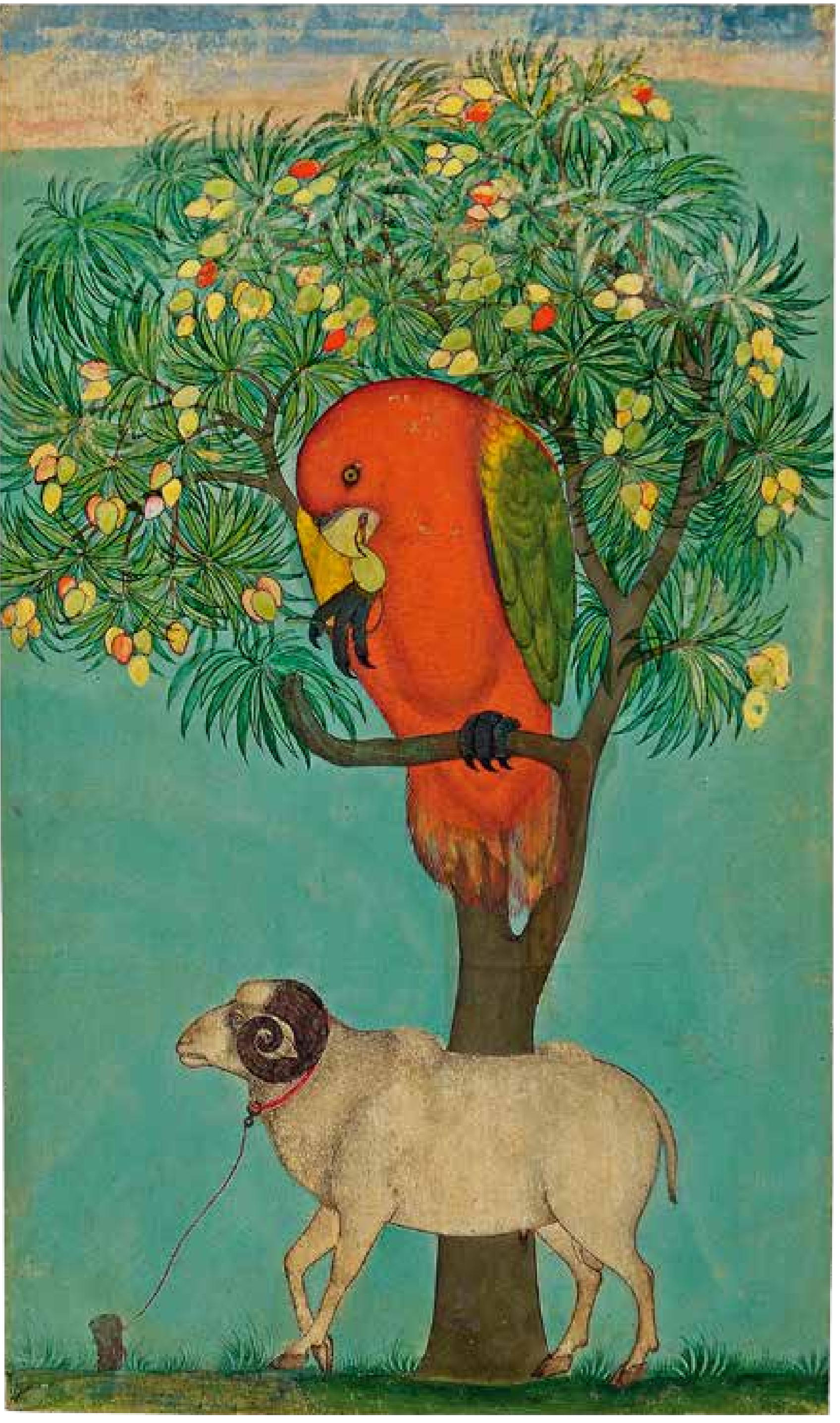
1. Zebrowski 1983a, p. 185. **2.** Ibid., p. 176, ill. no. 142. The border in which the painting is now mounted bears the stamp of *baha*(?) *khan*, *khanazad* (born to the royal household) of 'Alamgir, but the painting and this border may not be original to each other.

Cat. 129

Detail of cat. 129

130 A Parrot Perched on a Mango Tree, a Ram Tethered Below

Golconda, ca. 1630–70
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 9⅜ × 5½ in. (23.9 × 14.1 cm)
Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad (76.438)



Cat. 130

The oversize bird seen here was almost directly drawn, but mirror reversed, from a print by the Netherlandish artist Adriaen Collaert (1560–1618) (fig. 13).[1] The bird dwarfs a ram tethered below, perhaps as a result of the artist reading the distant sheep in the Collaert print as being on the same plane as the bird and therefore of much smaller scale.[2] Earlier, the Bodleian Painter had introduced the second bird on the right of the same print into the background of his famous sufi visitation scene of about 1610–20 (cat. 38). NNH

1. Robert Skelton first identified the print source. **2.** Thanks are due to Sheila Canby for pointing this out.

131 Sultan ʿAbdullah Qutb Shah

Golconda, ca. 1660
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 6⅝ × 4¼ in.
(16.9 × 10.7 cm)
Musée National des Artes Asiatiques–Guimet, Paris (MA 5026)

132 A Golconda Prince

Golconda, ca. 1660–70
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 8⅜ × 4¼ in.
(21.4 × 10.9 cm)
Musée National des Artes Asiatiques–Guimet, Paris (MG 9183)

Representing a different mode of production during the era of ʿAbdullah Qutb Shah (1626–72), the artist responsible for these two portraits was familiar with Mughal painting, as is evident in the finely delineated figures set against a green ground. However, he takes an unconventional leap in reducing the surrounding landscape and figures into a delicately miniaturized setting filled with trees, lake, deer, and hunters (cat. 132).[1] ʿAbdullah appears young in this image, more lithe than in later portraits in which he has aged into an older, paunchier man with jowls. But he is mature enough to have emerged from the shadow of his mother, Hayat Bakhshi Begum, who had steered the state for the boy-sultan in the early years of his reign. This fascinating woman negotiated with the Mughal Prince Aurangzeb in 1656, sparing Golconda from further siege;[2] she also founded the town of Hayat Nagar and was buried in a stately tomb that dwarfs those of the early Qutb Shahi sultans.

The prince remains unidentified. ʿAbdullah had no sons, and therefore this painting must represent another young member of the royal family. Both sultan and prince wear attire more northern Indian in style than that of their predecessors and are decked in jewelry of a type unseen in earlier Golconda

Cat. 131

Cat. 132

Detail of cat. 132

Cat. 133

portraits. By this time, diamonds of enormous size were being found in Golconda mines and were being made into beautiful ornaments studded with rubies and pearls in a kind of openwork setting unique to the Deccan (cats. 134–38). MS

1. Okada 1991, pp. 112–13. **2.** Sherwani 1974, p. 443.

133 Shah Jahan Diamond

Deccan, probably 17th century
Fancy, light pink, facet-cut, and drilled diamond, H. 1⅛ in. (2.9 cm); W. 1¾ in. (4.6 cm), D. 1⅛ in. (3 cm), Wt. 56.7 ct.
Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait (LNS 2156 J)

This large hololithic diamond of *ta'widh* (amulet) outline has a flangelike projection on the upper edge, which was drilled from front to back with two suspension holes.[1] Of a flattish and elongated octagonal plan, it is step-cut on the front with a large rectangular table and two rows of elongated sloping facets, and on the back with seven irregular facets converging to a narrow culet.[2] Its pale pink color is characteristic of many Golconda diamonds.

Sophisticated methods of stone cutting and faceting were practiced without interruption in the Indian subcontinent from as early as the third millennium B.C. What is more, lapidaries typically strived to maintain the integrity of gemstones and avoid wastage of precious material, which resulted in irregular shapes and forms that are often misinterpreted as a lack of command on the part of the craftsmen. The practice is exemplified in this diamond, which has lately been dubbed the Shah Jahan Diamond, owing to its close formal resemblance to the diamond set in the turban ornament he holds in a portrait of him at age twenty-five.[3] Since the diamond unquestionably hailed from mines of the Deccan, it is tempting to assume that the prince acquired it while campaigning in the region; however, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the Mughal court had access to large quantities of the finest Deccani diamonds.[4] SK

1. Keene 2001, p. 128, demonstrates that the evolution of this form stems from naturally occurring octahedrons in the original crystalline structures of particular gemstones. **2.** The table is the largest flat surface of a gem. **3.** Robert Skelton in *Indian Heritage* 1982, p. 37, no. 41, and front cover. **4.** Silva 2004a, p. 44, regarding the 259-, 180-, and 150-carat diamonds seen by the Flemish gem trader Jacques de Coutre on Emperor Jahangir's turban.

134 Quatrefoil Pendant

Deccan or Mughal dominions, probably first quarter of 17th century
Gold worked in *kundan* technique and set with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, H. 1⅞ in. (4.7 cm), W. 1¾ in. (4.5 cm)
Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait (LNS 341 J)

This quatrefoil pendant, so elegant in its simplicity, is among a group of exquisite floral pendants characterized by the *à-jour* or unbacked settings of their diamond petals (cats. 134–38). When worn, they would have glowed beautifully, owing to the effects of light transmitted through the gemstones. In subtle contrast with the transparent diamond petals, all the pendants feature subsidiary floral configurations of rubies and emeralds set back-to-back in their centers. Ever since this type of setting became known, it immediately shed light on the pendants and forehead ornaments worn by the ladies represented on a Deccani *kalamkari* wall hanging of around 1640–50 (cat. 163), which unquestionably give the impression of being transparent, thus set with such diamonds. While the rubies and emeralds in these pendants were imported to India, the diamonds were all mined in Golconda, the only place on earth where one could find diamonds until the eighteenth century.

This pendant is set with flat, unpolished natural diamonds as petals and a cut and polished pyramid-shaped diamond in the center.[1] In contrast to the diamonds, and adding to the subtlety of this superb jewel, the rubies and emeralds surrounding the central stone are set back-to-back: the main diamond is framed with rubies on one face and the small petals are set with emeralds, while on the other face the position of the rubies and emeralds is exchanged. The lower tip of the pendant features a small loop that would have suspended a gemstone. SK

1. Interestingly, the Mughal Emperor Jahangir appears to wear such a pendant in the painting *Jahangir Preferring a Sufi Shaikh to Kings* (Freer and Sackler Galleries, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., F1942.15a).

Cat. 134

135 Octagonal Rosette Pendant

Deccan or Mughal dominions, probably first half of 17th century
Gold worked in *kundan* technique and set with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, with pearl pendant and enameled cap, H. including pendant 2 in. (5.2 cm), W. 1⅛ in. (3 cm)
Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait (LNS 955 J)

Essentially in the form of an octagonal rosette, the outer petals of this pendant vary slightly, depending on the shape of the natural diamonds within, and are separated by bands of abutted rubies. On the front the gold settings of the petals and the floral configuration of ruby and emerald petals are all lobed, and a gold band detailed with lotus petals borders the central rectangular diamond. On the back the outer petals are detailed with lobes, and the center of the floral configuration is set with a ruby in a beveled rectangular setting. The pendant pearl is capped with four petals covered with red enamel. SK

137 Floral Pendant with Drooping Petals

Deccan or Mughal dominions, probably first half of 17th century
Gold worked in *kundan* technique and set with diamonds and rubies, with pearl pendant, H. including pendant 1⅞ in. (4.8 cm), W. 1⅛ in. (2.7 cm)
Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait (LNS 1211 J)

Virtually identical in overall form to catalogue number 136, this pendant has eight curling petals set *à-jour* with natural diamonds of varying outlines in detailed settings. In the center, the large bud-shaped ruby is surrounded by rubies in cusped settings that are pronouncedly curled in counterchanging orientation in relation to the tips of the diamond petals. On the back, the decoration is identical to the front of the pendant, except the center is set with a diamond. The gold settings are as detailed, presumably allowing the owner to wear it, displaying either the ruby or the diamond to the front. SK

136 Floral Pendant with Upswept Petals

Deccan or Mughal dominions, probably first half of 17th century
Gold worked in *kundan* technique and set with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, with emerald bead pendant, H. including pendant 2⅝ in. (6.7 cm), W. 1½ in. (3.9 cm)
Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait (LNS 1210 J)

The eight lively, curled petals of this magnificent pendant are set *à-jour* with natural diamonds, and the overall goldwork of the settings is distinctly detailed. As in the catalogue number 135, the form of the natural diamonds dictated the outline of the petals, which are separated by small gold, chiseled trefoils and ruby petals in trilobed settings. In the center a large ruby is set in an octagonal bezel surrounded by a corolla of ruby petals gently curling on their tips, in between which are small emeralds in trilobed settings of a different ilk but recalling the small rubies set between the diamond petals. On the back of the pendant, an emerald in a beveled rectangular setting is bordered by a multitude of ruby petals. The gold cuboctahedral loop is set on the front and back with a small ruby. SK

138 Floral Pendant in the Form of an Eight-Pointed Star

Deccan or Mughal dominions, probably first half of 17th century
Gold worked in *kundan* technique and set with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, with emerald bead pendant, H. including pendant 2½ in. (6.4 cm), W. 1½ in. (3.9 cm)
Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait (LNS 1212 J)

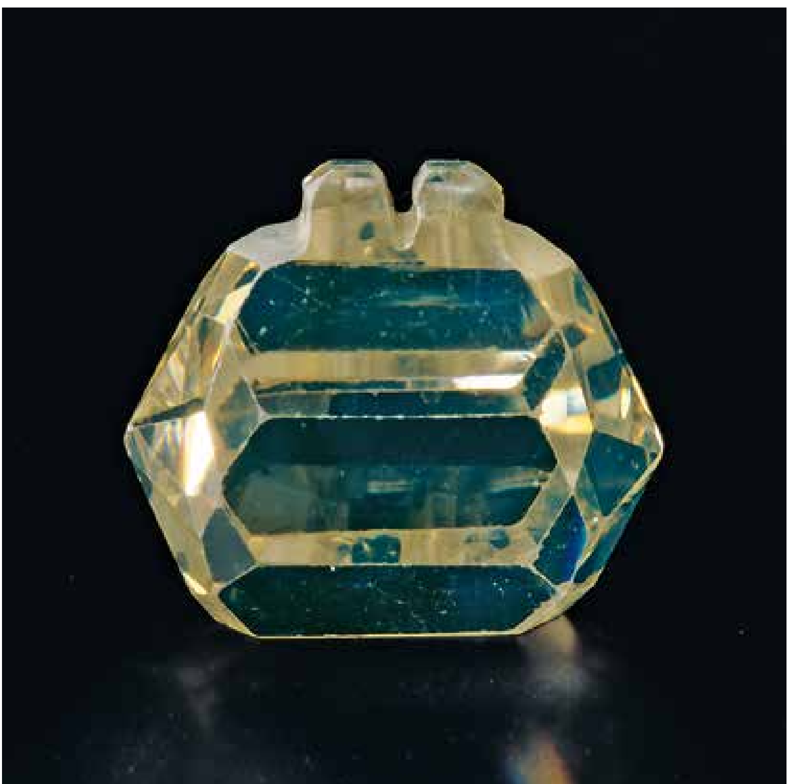
This pendant presents several analogies with other *à-jour* pendants in this volume (cats. 134–37), but whereas they are of generally fluid appearance, this one takes the form of a rosette with an intricate eight-pointed star configuration. On the front the gold settings are detailed with lobes along the outer edges of the diamond star branches and around the large emerald, and with chiseling on the small gold fan-shaped petals between the inner corolla of ruby petals. On the back, the emerald is nearly flat and displayed, as on the front, in an irregular pentagonal setting enfolded by lively upswept gold petals detailed with chiseling that also serve as backing for the rubies on the front. More gold-chiseled petals support the rubies on the outer edge of the pendant. SK

Cat. 135

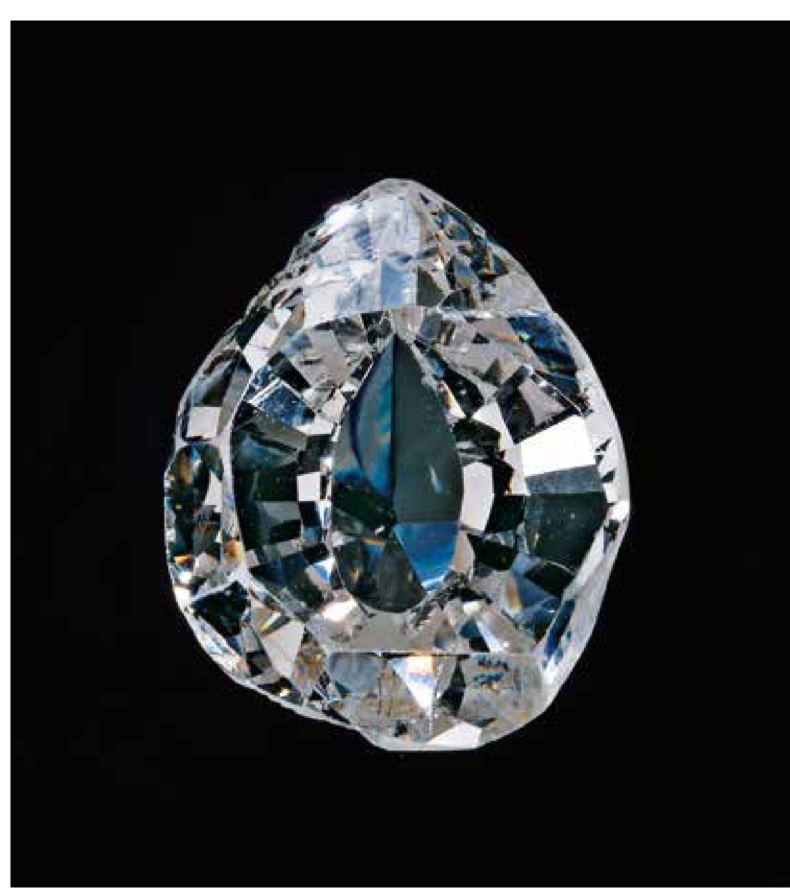
Cat. 136

Cat. 137

Cat. 138



Cat. 139



Cat. 140

139 Diamond Pendant of Amulet Case (*Ta'widh*) Form

Deccan or Mughal dominions, probably 17th century
Facet-cut and drilled diamond, H. ⅝ in. (1.5 cm), W. ⅝ in. (1.7 cm), D. ⅜ in. (1.1 cm), Wt. 28.3 ct.
Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait (LNS 1804 J)

This diamond pendant, fashioned as an octagonal prism with two integral lugs for suspension and terminals featuring eight radiating facets, was cut in the shape of a *ta'widh*, or amulet case. The type ultimately took its form from the faceted biconical beads produced in West and Central Asia for millennia, which were most likely inspired by the shape of natural crystals.[1] Although a great number of prismatic beads and pendants, while flat on their ends, can be seen adorning sculptures of Bodhisattvas in Gandhara from the first to second century A.D., it is uncertain at which point in history such forms evolved into this type.[2] A large number of examples are extant from the early medieval Islamic period that were carved from semiprecious stones or fabricated from bronze, silver, or gold, the latter type most often had a removable end affording the insertion of a scroll with inscriptions to avert evil from the wearer (hence the name *ta'widh* or amulet).

SK

1. The author is grateful to her colleague Manuel Keene for drawing her attention to the analogies between faceted biconical beads and double-terminated crystals. **2.** See, for example, Hallade 1968, pp. 91–93, pls. 66–68.

140 Diamond *Pendeloque*

Deccan or Mughal dominions, probably 17th century
Fancy, light orange-pink, facet-cut diamond, H. ¾ in. (2 cm), W. ⅝ in. (1.6 cm), D. ⅜ in. (1.1 cm), Wt. 24.8 ct.
Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait (LNS 2223 J)

The *pendeloque*, of timeless form, was cut from a very pure Golconda diamond; it is of deep proportions and displays a high degree of transparency. Given the prevalent extant examples, it is clear that Indian lapidaries appreciated the natural forms and qualities of gems, and any cutting of diamonds was done in flat facets to bring out the stone's brilliant luster and a sparkling play of colors in its reflections. This *pendeloque* is cut with a large irregular table, adjoined by small trapezoidal facets on the front and two rows of facets on the back. The drop-shaped top consists of five facets meeting in a point, joined by eighteen steep facets suggesting gabled arches that radiate to the middle. SK

141 Sultan 'Abu'l Hasan Qutb Shah Standing

Golconda, ca. 1675
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 8¾ × 5⅝ in. (22.1 × 14.2 cm)
San Diego Museum of Art, Edwin Binney 3rd Collection (1990.491)

A final set of Golconda paintings is associated with 'Abu'l Hasan Qutb Shah (reigned 1672–87). Large-scale paintings on cloth such as portraits as well as scenes of assemblies and processions, including many made for display in architectural settings, became the norm during this period.

In his portraits, this, the last Golconda sultan, appears as a confident and serene man, although he was a reluctant sovereign, forced to take the throne. He stands in profile in a magisterial pose with a halo and the sun shining all of their glory on him. With his hand posed on his hip, his luxurious clothing, and the number and size of the jewels he wears, he assumes a stereotypical image of royalty with a long lineage in northern Indian and Deccani portraiture.

The tendency to depict the body as a large mass, with the full skirt of the robe billowing out, is a convention of late Golconda painting, particularly the portrait sets produced there by the dozen. The appearance of unshod feet, apparently a court custom (cat. 119), is another feature of portraits of this school. The painting does seem to be of a higher level of production; the gold paint has been applied lavishly, and the texture of the fur collar and the contrasting patterns of the sultan's garments are meticulously detailed. However, other elements, especially the sultan's *pyjamas* and the flowers of the lower landscape, are more informally executed. MS

Cat. 141

Cat. 142a–h (left to right)

142 Palanquin Finials

Golconda, ca. 1650–80
Cast, pierced, chased, and gilt copper, and brass, dimensions variable
a, b: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Friends of Islamic Art Gifts, 1995 (1995.258a, b); c, d, f: Private collections, New York; e: Collection of Terence McInerney, New York; g, h: Collection of Patricia Phelps de Cisneros, New York; i: Collection of Bashir Mohamed, London

Golconda paintings depicting grand processions indicate that such occasions were a frequent occurrence in the Qutb Shahi capital at this time. In addition, written descriptions also convey the spectacle of these events, as Abbé Carré, a seventeenth-century observer, noted: “It was a great pleasure and most interesting each morning to watch the pomp and magnificence of the princes and nobles of this place, who display their riches, jewels and precious stones, to excite the envy of the others. Some adorn their elephants; some the harness

of their horses and their arms; while others decorate their palanquins with rich ornaments, and above all wear splendid clothes, which lend great brilliance to their assemblies."[1]

Finials, such as this group, were used as ornaments on the ends of poles that supported palanquins carrying their elite riders.[2] Paintings and surviving finials demonstrate that lotus flowers and pinecone shapes were popular decorative motifs on these gilt-copper objects.[3] While historically the lotus has special meaning in Buddhism and Hinduism,[4] in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Mughal and Deccan art, lotus imagery seems to have been used in a decorative rather than symbolic way. As a plant associated with water, however, perhaps the royal palanquin was conceived as a resplendent gondola, gliding on the bearers' shoulders as if through a pool full of blossoms.

Two Deccani miniature paintings from the early eighteenth century suggest an interesting gender divide during this period, as evidenced among different styles of finials.

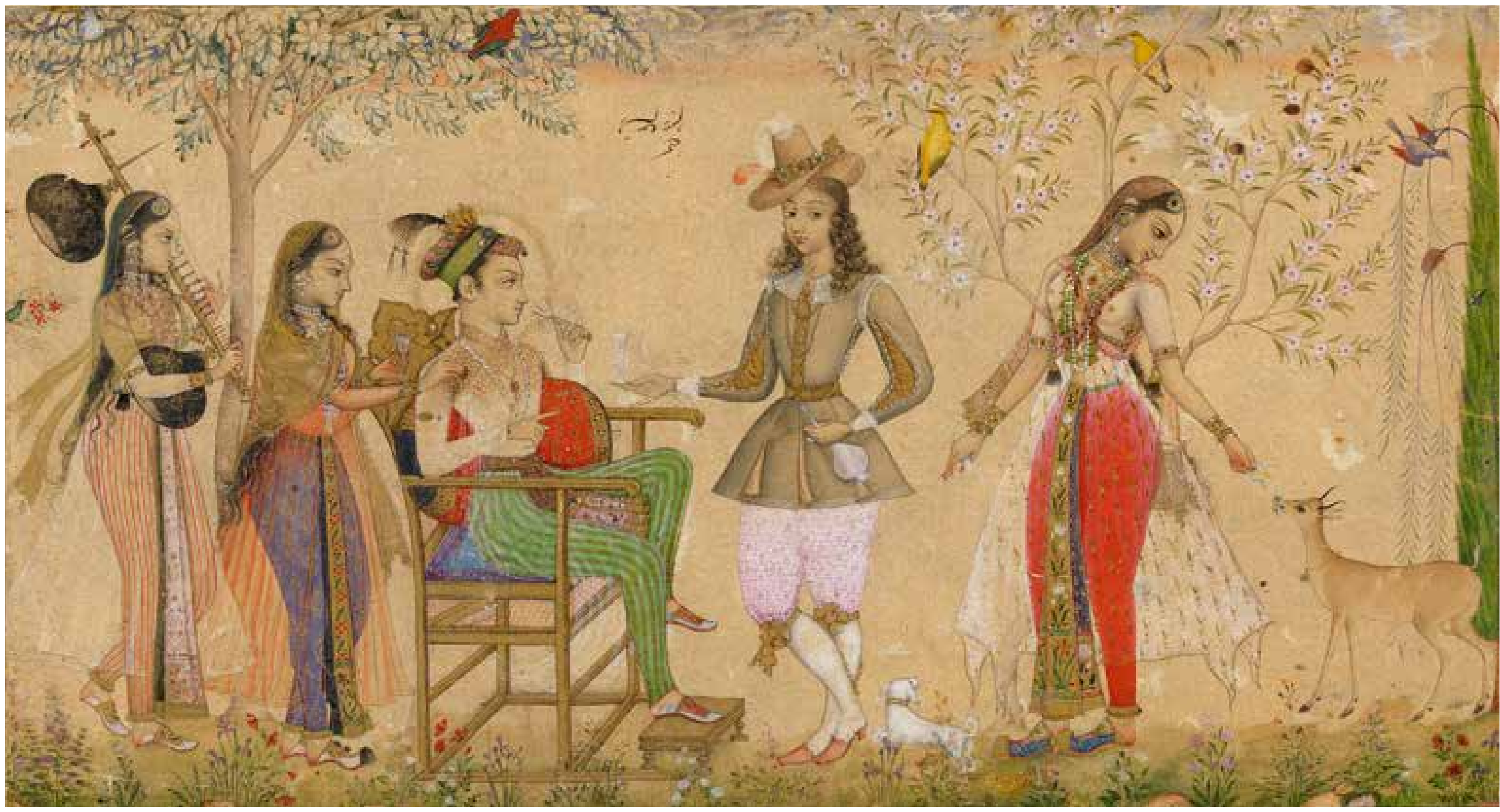
Cat. 142i

In a depiction of a woman's palanquin, indicated by closed curtains, the finials of the lotus type are seen (fig. 77). In the man's procession, however, the finials are ornamented with a fierce group of animal figures (fig. 78).[5] The finials in this group with undulating lotuses were once part of the same private collection assembled by a Hyderabad nobleman in the 1920s. They may have been produced in the same workshop or perhaps even adorned the same palanquin used by the Hyderabadi royalty. CS

1. M. E. F. Fawcett and C. Fawcett 1947, vol. 2, pp. 327–28. **2.** The pinecone- and lotus-shaped finials may also have been used to ornament the tops of imperial umbrellas, canopies, or tents. See *Wedding Procession of Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah* (cat. 128) and *Sultan Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II in Procession* (cat. 47). Thanks to Keelan Overton for pointing this out. **3.** They were used into later periods and spread beyond the Deccan. See Chitarman II, *Emperor Muhammad Shah with Falcon Viewing His Garden at Sunset from a Palanquin*, ca. 1750, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (26.283). An example attributed to nineteenth-century Rajasthan is published in S. C. Welch 1985, p. 436, no. 288. **4.** Ward 1952. **5.** For other zoomorphic finials, see the elephant with a lotus growing from its trunk and the lion-headed finials in *Mughal Silver Magnificence* 1987, pp. 70, 71, nos. 55, 57. See also the dragon finials in *Emperor Farrukhsiyar Being Paraded in a Palanquin* in the collection of Gursharan and Elvira Sidhu, Seattle; Jorrit Britschgi in Guy and Britschgi 2011, p. 139, no. 70.

Fig. 77. *Processional Scene* (detail), Hyderabad, early 18th century. Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, approx. 10 × 7 in. (25.4 × 17.8 cm). Private collection, New York

Fig. 78. *Processional Scene* (detail), Hyderabad, early 18th century. Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, approx. 10 × 7 in. (25.4 × 17.8 cm). Private collection, New York



Cat. 143

143 Prince Seated in a Garden

By Rahim Deccani
Probably Golconda, late 17th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 8½ × 12¾ in.
(21.5 × 32.5 cm)
Trustees of Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (66.1)

Inscribed at top center, upside down: *raqam-i banda rahim deccani*
(Work of the slave Rahim Deccani)

The late seventeenth century witnessed a renewed phase of artistic exchange in painting between Deccan India and Safavid Iran, through which a distinctive, tinted drawing style arose on paper or lacquer boxes, often depicting Indian courtly couples, sometimes seated together on a lobed-back chair, or feminine figures with cascading locks.[1] Six Persian artists were particularly enchanted by such Indianized motifs and styles: Shaikh ʿAbbasi, his sons ʿAli Naqi and Mir Taqi, Bahram Sofrakesh, Muhammad Zaman, and ʿAli Quli Jabaddar. Indian influences also extended into Safavid architectural decoration; for example, a wall painting in the Chihil Sutun palace at Isfahan depicts a *sati* (immolation) scene from the Persian writer Nau'i's Indian romance the *Suz u Gudaz* (Burning and Melting).[2]

Conversely in the Deccan, a reimportation of motifs and styles took place. Mughal princes and Indian courtesans returned to their original shores but, under a Persian hand, changed into more effete creatures, with a greater degree of lyricism and a subtle foreign touch. In fact, the result of these crosswinds was that such romantic imagery ended up with an exotically foreign feeling in both the Persian and Indian worlds.

Rahim Deccani's delicate painting is characteristically poetic. An Indian prince receives an offering from a Portuguese visitor, who wears his hat at a rakish angle over long curls and is followed by a dog, a customary appendage to European figures in Indian painting. The seated prince is attended by women in a garden filled with flowering trees, birds, and deer. The unusual pale yellow ground against which the figures are set loosely evokes the color of lacquer boxes, to which the painting is closely related.[3] NNH

1. The author explored this subject in greater detail in Haidar 2004.
2. Babaie 1994. **3.** Another painting, seemingly based on this one, recently passed through the art market; Losty 2014, pp. 17–19, no. 8.

Cat. 144

The lacquered casket attributed to Rahim Deccani was probably intended for jewels, its cinched and curved shape reflective of the gaiety of its decoration (cat. 144). Its evocative scenes depict a sleeping princess dreaming of her absent lover whose image appears above, a European gallant fluting, an enthroned prince with attendants, and a dancing courtesan with singers.[1] Also included is a woman in a diaphanous robe in the Indian *salabhanjika* pose, grasping the branch of a tree.

The casket came into the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, in 1889 from the collection of Jules Richard, a Frenchman who had acquired it in Iran.[2] Its Iranian provenance implies that Rahim may have been working outside India, possibly in Iran.[3] A pen box, signed by the little-known artist Manohar (cat. 145), contains scenes almost identical to those on Rahim's box, which indicate that the jewel casket must have been in India at some point. One side of Manohar's pen box shows men carrying an oversize bunch of grapes, taken from the allegorical depiction of summer of about 1660 by French artist Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665).[4] NNH

1. Other works attributed to Rahim Deccani include a pen box in the Freer and Sacker Galleries, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (F1959.5); a Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, painting (cat. 143); two boxes sold at auction (Zebrowski 1983a, p. 201); and a painting of a youth seated on rocks below a willow tree in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Zebrowski 1983a, p. 204, ill. no. 175). **2.** Victoria and Albert Museum records. **3.** Zebrowski 1983a, p. 201. **4.** Haidar 2004, p. 183.

144 Casket with Painted Scenes

Attributed to Rahim Deccani
Probably Golconda, late 17th century
Painted and varnished papier-mâché with pierced ivory-base molding, H. 3¾ in. (9.6 cm), W. 5⅜ in. (13.6 cm), D. 3⅝ in. (9.2 cm)
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (851-1889)

145 Lacquered Pen Box (*Qalamdan*)

By Manohar
Probably Golconda, late 17th century
Painted, gilt, and lacquered papier-mâché, H. 9⅛ in. (23.3 cm), W. 1⅛ in. (3 cm), D. 1½ in. (3.8 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Cynthia Hazen Polsky and Leon B. Polsky Fund, 2002 (2002.416a, b)

Inscribed: '*amal-i manohar* (Work of Manohar)

146 Lacquered Pen Box (*Qalamdan*)

Attributed to Rahim Deccani or a close follower
Probably Golconda, late 17th century
Colors, ink, and gold on papier-mâché and wood, H. 2⅛ in. (5.5 cm), W. 13¼ in. (33.5 cm)
Collection of Bashir Mohamed, London

This large pen box or *qalamdan* shows a parrot and a hoopoe, each perched on flowering branches while insects buzz about. The subject matter is a variation on the popular *gul-o-bulbul* (rose and nightingale) theme in Persian painting. The parrot, however, is very much within India's artistic vocabulary, while the hoopoe evokes the famous Persian poem *Mantiq al-Tair* (Conference of the Birds) by Farid al-Din 'Attar, where it serves as a spiritual guide. NNH

Cat. 145

Detail of cat. 146

Cat. 146

Cat. 147

147 Dancing Girl

Golconda, late 17th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, image: 4 × 2⅞ in. (10.3 × 7.3 cm)
Collection of Dr. Daniel Vasella, Risch, Switzerland

148 Sleeping Maiden and Maid

Golconda, last quarter of 17th century
Ink on paper, 10¼ × 14¼ in. (26 × 36.2 cm)
Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Box J4589, F. 4589, fol. 1)

Although the image is fragmentary, the *tribhanga* (triple bend) pose of the bejeweled dancing girl suggests that the painter had a feeling for classical Indian sculpture (cat. 147).[1] In a second delicate drawing (cat. 148), both mistress and maid have fallen asleep in the heat of a Deccan afternoon. Nature is alert, though: lively parrots flit between mangoes on a tree while kittens watch with close attention.

Nearly identical feminine figures occur in a large painting on cloth depicting the Mughal Prince Azam Shah (1653–1707) on horseback approaching a fort, suggesting that the main patrons for such images may have been Mughal nobles in the Deccan.[2] While the feminine type might have found favor with Mughal patrons, their tinted drawing style, shadowy effects, and pronounced sweetness relate to the languid style developed by Rahim Deccani and his followers.

NNH

1. Mark Zebrowski first pointed this out in S. C. Welch 1973, pp. 136–37, no. 81. **2.** Zebrowski 1983a, p. 201; K. Desai 2002, pp. 164, 165, no. 157.

Cat. 148

149 *Sarinda*

Probably Golconda, ca. 1700 or later
Ivory, hide, rubies, other precious stones, gold, and traces of pigment, H. 26½ in. (67.3 cm)
Collection of Bashir Mohamed, London

Cat. 149

The *sarinda* is a musical instrument most often associated with North Indian folk tradition. This example has been attributed to the Deccan on the basis of its material (ivory) and ornate decoration that incorporates fantastic creatures and other Deccan motifs, carved in low relief and inlaid with rubies and other gems set in gold.[1] A group of ivory panels from a box attributed to Vishakhapatnam of around 1700 is carved with similar figures and motifs, and it includes an image of a musician playing a *sarinda* (fig. 79). The Qutb Shahis ruled Vishakhapatnam on the eastern Andhra coast in the late seventeenth century.

The crowned and winged male figure (possibly a *kinnara*) holding a shield and sword at the top of the *sarinda* flies above a group of interlocked figures, in which a dragon-headed being grasps elephants and bites down on a tiger, which in turn pounces on a deer. The back of the instrument is carved with the image of a bird of prey attacking an elephant with its beak (comparable to the underside view of a double-headed bird in a Golconda textile, cat. 165), while clutching two *kinnara*s bearing Shaivite *tilak*s (forehead marks). The sides contain images of two pairs of lovers, one where a man in Mughal dress holds a falcon in a gloved hand, and the other where the woman is depicted as a *yogini* (female ascetic) in courtly costume. The concave front sections on each side are carved with the image of a tigress and her cubs, one suckling and the other playing with the mother's tail.

A later and smaller copy of the instrument in the Tareq Rajab Museum, Kuwait, substitutes a *gaja-simurgh* for the male figure above and alters other features as well.[2] The present *sarinda* is said to have been acquired in India by Lieutenant Colonel John M. MacGregor (1745–1822).[3] NNH

1. Bor 2003, pp. 118–19, no. 60; Bor et al. 2003, p. 8. **2.** Tareq Rajab Museum 1990, no. 21. **3.** Bor 2003, p. 118. Cokayne 1906, p. 303, lists him as having been the military auditor general of Bengal.

Fig. 79. Panel from a Box, northeastern Deccan, ca. 1700. Carved ivory, overall: 11¾ × 5¼ in. (29.8 × 13.4 cm). Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of George P. Bickford (1969.229)

150 Calligraphic Shield

Probably Deccan, first half of 17th century
Hide, lacquer, gold, copper alloy, and enamel, Diam. 17¾ in. (45 cm)
Furusiyya Art Foundation

The phrase "There is no hero like 'Ali, and there is no sword like Dhu'l Faqar" refers to the legendary sword of 'Ali, and it is inscribed on the shield, twice in the correct orientation and twice in mirror reflection. The intertwined *lam* and *alef* of the words *la* and *illa* in this phrase form a diamond shape inside of which the words are positioned. MS

Cat. 150

Cat. 151

151 Multiple-Niche Prayer Carpet (*Saph*)

Probably Warangal, 18th century
Cotton foundation and wool pile, 48 in. × 16 ft. 2 in. (121.9 × 492.8 cm)
Collection of Marshall and Marilyn R. Wolf, Toronto

After conquering cities throughout the Deccan, the Mughal Emperor ʿAlamgir (reigned 1658–1707) is said to have refurbished their congregational mosques, adding towering minarets and domes and repaving their floors with rows of inlaid niches to indicate individual spaces for prayer. The type of carpet, known as a *saph*, replicates those rows of niches and was made in flat-weave and pile versions.

This *saph* has a wool pile and preserves six contiguous niches, each filled with a different repeating pattern. Columns support the arches of the niches and rosettes decorate the spandrels, while vines and blossoms fill the rectangular borders.

After nearly three decades of research, it is now accepted that carpets were produced in the Deccan, although few early examples are known. Carpets are mentioned in historical records as palace furnishings. The appearance of carpets in paintings and the existence of a historical collection of carpets in Bijapur (shared between the Asar Mahal and the Bijapur Archaeological Museum, Gol Gumbaz) imply that carpets had been both made in and imported to the region.

A set of criteria, including technical and visual markers, now exists for identifying Deccani carpets. Features that in combination indicate a Deccani provenance are warps made up of as many as ten cotton threads; a high alternate warp displacement; the use of mustard yellow, orange, tan, and deep red with a preference for a *ton-sur-ton* color palette; and the appearance of angular border elements and raceme motifs.[1]

The earliest Deccani carpets can be dated to the seventeenth century. This group, including grand carpets at Boughton House, Kettering, England, and the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha, is Persianate in design, like the carpets depicted in contemporary Deccani paintings.[2] Another, more modest group was made for the foreign market. These carpets are smaller and have broadly executed, angular designs; popular in the Netherlands, the Dutch also sold and gifted them to the Japanese.[3] Many more carpets survive from the eighteenth century, when other types, including *saph*s like this one and a variety with trellis patterns (cat. 183), became more common. MS

1. Key publications include S. Cohen 1986; Walker 1997; Sindermann 1999–2000; S. Cohen 2011; Kamada 2011. **2.** Walker 1997, pp. 171–72, no. 33, figs. 119, 120, pp. 173–74, no. 42, figs. 140, 141. **3.** This type is depicted in European, primarily Dutch, paintings beginning in the seventeenth century, but the only surviving carpets of this type are from the eighteenth century. See Ydema 1991.

Inscribed Sacred Vessels

An accomplished metalworking technique of the Deccan is the decoration of vessels with inscriptions that are found in relief on their exterior and, most impressively, on their interior surfaces. The most common types of these vessels are curved *kashkul*s (beggars' bowls), round dishes or trays, stemmed cups, and small bowls with everted rims containing Arabic *thuluth* inscriptions that generally evoke God, Muhammad, 'Ali, and Fatima, indicating that they were made in a Shi'a milieu. They also frequently contain the Nadi 'Aliyan (call to 'Ali) phrases from the Qur'an and Arabic poems such as the *Qasida al-Burda* (Poem of the Scarf).[1] Some vessels have sacred inscriptions associated with curing the sick and, therefore, may have been intended for medicinal use.

Certain epigraphic anomalies characterize this group of vessels.[2] One concerns the treatment of the *shahada* (declaration of faith)—*la ilaha illa allah muhammad rasul-ullah* (there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is his messenger)—followed by the Shi'a supplement of *'ali wali ullah* (and 'Ali is his regent). In some instances the inscriptions are composed in a manner that if read in a straight line appear to state *la illaha illa 'Ali*, rather than *la ilaha illa-llah*. This would imply that 'Ali has the status of God, an unlikely assertion even for pious Shi'as. These phrases either are composed as three stacked lines or appear in a straight-line arrangement.[3] Calligraphers, it seems, interwove the inscriptions to be read in a flexible manner (up, down, or across) by an educated audience schooled to understand any esoteric meaning contained therein.

Another peculiarity of inscribed vessels from the Deccan is the treatment of certain words that are divided or broken up with some letters appearing far from one another, or with letters intentionally reversed back to front, likely owing to compositional balance or artistic license. One example is a tray from the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad, which arranges the word *qarib* (close) in two separate parts (cat. 102). Another example is a bowl from the David Collection, Copenhagen, that includes the word *murtaza* (an epithet of 'Ali) written backward as *taza-mur*.[4]

Yet another observation has centered on the Arabic letter *dal* occasionally appearing after the word *qul* (recite) in some dishes. It has been suggested that the letter *dal* stands for the word *da'iman* (forever).[5] Alternatively the letter can be read as part of the phrase *ya 'ali madad* (O 'Ali, help) or just *madad*.[6]

The bowl in the David Collection reputedly dated A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591–92) and a tray in the Bijapur Archaelogical Museum, Gol Gumbaz, allegedly dated A.H. 1084 (A.D. 1673–74) were thought to provide a time frame for the production of these vessels, but this conclusion cannot

Detail of cat. 155

be confirmed upon our reexamination.[7] Meanwhile, it appears that a *kashkul* from the Indictor collection in New York may contain a date of A.H. 1055 (A.D. 1645) (cat. 157). Another vessel recently seen at auction and reputedly inscribed to Bari Sahib, mother of ʻAli ʻAdil Shah II (reigned 1656–72), is dated to that period.[8] Therefore, most of the group may belong to the mid- to late seventeenth century. AG/MS/NNH

Since the inscription content of these vessels is discussed in the body of each entry, it is not fully transcribed as in other objects in this volume. **1.** On an unpublished vessel in the collection of Jagdish Mittal, Hyderabad. **2.** This set of features was identified in Zebrowski 1997, pp. 337–38. **3.** The three-line composition is seen on a dish in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (cat. 155); another unpublished dish in a private collection, London; a *kashkul* in the collection of Rina and Norman Indictor, New York (cat. 157); and a *kashkul* in the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad (Zebrowski 1997, p. 344, pl. 566). The straight-line composition is seen in the following objects: on the rims of two spouted vessels, one in The Metropolitan Museum of Art collection (cat. 159) and the other formerly in the Welch collection (Sotheby's 2011a, p. 176, lot 141); on the inner rim of a bowl in the Indictor collection (cat. 158); and at the center of the large round *thali* in the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad (cat. 102). **4.** Zebrowski 1997, p. 339, pl. 554. **5.** David Collection, Copenhagen (11/1992; ibid.), as read by Ralph Pinder-Wilson; see also Melikian-Chirvani 1982, pp. 349–50, no. 164. **6.** This phrase occurs on these objects: the Indictor collection *kashkul* and bowl (cats. 157–58), the David Collection *kashkul* (cat. 156), and an unpublished dish in the collection of Jagdish Mittal. **7.** Zebrowski 1997, p. 339, pls. 554, 555. **8.** Formerly in the Welch collection; Sotheby's 2011a, p. 185, lot 153.

Cat. 152

152 Incantation Cup and Tray

Deccan, 17th century
Cast and engraved bronze; cup: H. 3 in. (7.5 cm), Diam. 4⅜ in. (11.1 cm), tray: H. ⅜ in. (1 cm), Diam. 6¾ in. (17.2 cm)
Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait
(LNS 823 M ab)

Incantation vessels inscribed with magic formulas spiraling or in concentric bands around their inner walls have served since pre-Islamic times as a means to heal various afflictions and ward off evil. The practice of drinking concoctions prepared in such bowls while reciting devotional prayers endured in the Muslim world and most probably continues up to the present. Incantation bowls and trays from the Islamic period inscribed with magic numbers and letters, astrological signs, and esoteric symbols together with pious phrases are extant, but in a few cases, such as the present example, inscriptions were restricted to verses from the Qur'an.[1] This leads one to assume that these two vessels were commissioned by a pious individual to secure healing of a strictly spiritual nature; whatever the case, the verses clearly rendered them more licit.

In terms of ornament, the cup is decorated on the exterior with floral medallions and is bordered, just below the rim, by a band of lotus petals. The interiors of the cup and tray are inscribed in *thuluth* style against a hachured ground with two chapters from the Qur'an that proclaim belief in the oneness of God and reject polytheism. They include the Surat al-Kafirun (chapter 109), which was reportedly revealed when the Muslims were persecuted in Mecca, and Surat al-Ikhlas (chapter 112), revealed when the Prophet Muhammad was taunted by polytheists.

At first glance, other than being beautifully inscribed, the cup and tray seem rather commonplace, but on closer examination, one is struck by how skillfully the inscription layout was planned. On both the cup and tray, the bands bordering the outer edges start with the *basmalah* (invocation of faith) and the Surat al-Kafirun, which is interrupted in the middle of

verse five but continues to the end of verse six in the adjacent band. In the second band from the edge, the Surat al-Ikhlas likewise starts with the *basmalah*, is interrupted at the very beginning of verse three, and concludes in the last concentric band that centers on the roundel with the invocation "O God." Both roundels on the cup and tray that enclose the invocation are identical in style and size, and the direction of the script that surrounds them is featured in counterchanging orientation. Thus, when viewed from above, when the cup is on the tray, the effect of a spiraling inscription becomes even more dynamic, encouraging a rhythmic, repeated recitation. SK

1. Savage-Smith 1997.

153 Epigraphic Bowl

Deccan, 17th century
Cast, engraved, and tinned bronze, H. 2⅞ in. (7.2 cm), Diam. max. 6⅛ in. (15.6 cm)
David Collection, Copenhagen (8/1991)

Like the Al-Sabah Collection, Kuwait, cup (cat. 152), this bowl has verses on the interior only; at the center are the names Allah, Muhammad, and ʿAli; the statement "There is no youth but ʿAli, no sword but Dhu'l Faqar"; and verse 2:255 from the Qur'an, associated by Hadith with the ability to heal. The exterior has a band of lappets around the rim and the foot, while the body is decorated with floral motifs and escutcheons bearing blossoms on filets. The small handles that curve in opposite directions from the lip of the bowl are unusual and give the object its unique profile. MS

Cat. 153

Cat. 154

Cat. 155

154 Inscribed Dish

Deccan, 17th century
Cast and engraved copper alloy, Diam. 7½ in. (19 cm)
Private collection, London

155 Inscribed Dish

Deccan, ca. 1600
Cast copper alloy, H. ¼ in. (0.6 cm), Diam. 5⅞ in. (14.9 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Wendy F. Findlay Gift, 1983 (1983.227)

On catalogue number 154, the composition of concentric bands of text surrounding a single name, ʿAli, is similar to the arrangement and function of the verses on the Al-Sabah Collection, Kuwait, tray (cat. 152), and it is likely this was also a tray for a small cup from which to drink healing water. The center of the dish is surrounded by two inscribed bands with verses from the Qur'an (2:196): "And do not shave your heads until the sacrificial animal has reached its place of slaughter. And whoever among you is ill or has an ailment of the head must offer a ransom of fasting or charity or sacrifice." The phrase begins in the lower left of the outer band and continues into the second circle, ending with the names of Allah, Muhammad, and ʿAli at the center.

The phrase at the center of the dish from The Metropolitan Museum of Art (cat. 155) was intended to convey the message, "There is no god but God, Muhammad is the messenger of God, ʿAli is the regent of God." Read line by line, however, the words state: "There is no god but ʿAli/God, Muhammad is the regent of God/The messenger of God." These central inscriptions interweave the two phrases in a manner seen in several other vessels, likely to intensify their esoteric qualities. Around the rim of the dish are the verses, "And we reveal of the Qur'an that which is a healing and a mercy to the believers, and it adds only to the perdition of the unjust" (Qur'an 17:82); "Peace, a word from the Lord of mercy" (Qur'an 36:58); "Peace, it is until the break of dawn" (Qur'an 97:5); and "finished" (*tammat*).[1] Another unpublished dish in a private collection contains virtually the same design and was likely issued from the same rubbing. AG/MS

1. The inscriptions were read by Annemarie Schimmel, 1986.

Cat. 156

156 Beggar's Bowl *(Kashkul)*

Deccan, ca. 1600
Cast, engraved, and tinned bronze, H. 6⅝ in. (16.7 cm), W. 15⅛ in. (38.5 cm), D. 6¼ in. (16 cm)
David Collection, Copenhagen (61/1998)

These begging bowls, or *kashkul*s, may have been donated to a sufi shrine, and therefore, may have had a slightly different function from the previous objects in this group (cats. 152–55). Nonetheless, their decorative elements place them in the same metalworking tradition. In the example from the David Collection, Copenhagen (cat. 156), the bold inscriptions proclaim invocations to ʿAli, prayers to the Prophet Muhammad and his daughter Fatima, and excerpts from the Qur'an.[1] Escutcheons filled with floral arabesques and lappets complete the decoration.

The *kashkul* in the Indictor collection (cat. 157) also includes prayers and Qur'anic verses. It is further inscribed with the date A.H. 1055 (A.D. 1645), which appears in two parts across the inner base; the name of a later owner, Saadullah Shah; and the dates A.H. 1161 (A.D. 1748) and A.H. 1162 (A.D. 1749). MS/AG

1. The inscriptions were read by Manijeh Bayani in 1999 (files, David Collection, Copenhagen).

157 Beggar's Bowl *(Kashkul)*

Deccan, A.H. 1055 (A.D. 1645)
Copper alloy, H. 5 in. (12.7 cm), W. 14½ in. (36.8 cm), D. 4 in. (10.2 cm)
Collection of Rina and Norman Indictor, New York

Inside of cat. 157

Cat. 157

Cat. 158

158 Epigraphic Bowl

Deccan, ca. 1600
Cast and engraved copper alloy, H. 2½ in. (6.4 cm), Diam. 4½ in. (11.4 cm)
Collection of Rina and Norman Indictor, New York

The condition of this bowl reveals that it was made in two parts that were joined together; several elements of restoration are also visible. It contains the phrases *nasrun min-i allah wa fathun qarib* (victory from Allah and an imminent conquest) and *wa bashshir al-mu'minin* (give good tidings to the believers) (Qur'an 61:13). It also quotes the Surat al-Ikhlas (Qur'an 112). NNH

159 Spouted Vessel with Qur'anic Verses and the Names of the Shi'a Imams

Golconda or Bijapur, 17th century
Chased and worked copper alloy, H. 5⅛ in. (13 cm), Diam. 4½ in. (11.5 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Friends of Islamic Art Gifts, 2014 (2014.689)

Set into one of only two known spouted vessels of this baluster shape, the inscriptions in the roundels provide the names of the Shi'a imams.[1] Other inscriptions quote the Qur'an while the spout declares the Shi'a credo of the Nadi 'Aliyan (call to 'Ali). NNH

1. See Sotheby's 2011a, p. 176, lot 141, for the other spouted vessel, which was decorated with bands of calligraphic ornament.

Cat. 159

The Courtly Tradition of *Kalamkari*s

THE PICTORIAL AND written evidence suggests the Deccani courts were swathed in fabric. Among the clothing shown in portraits are gold brocaded *patka*s and *odhani*s (sashes and scarves), and sheer *jama*s and *choli*s (robes and blouses) of particularly fine manufacture. While these were likely made domestically, fabrics from abroad were also readily available, including Chinese silks, Kirman rugs, Kashmir shawls, and bolts of metal-threaded brocades from the workshop of Khwaja Ghiyath, such as those sent by Shah 'Abbas I (reigned 1587–1629) of Iran to Muhammad Qutb Shah (reigned 1612–26). On special occasions, architectural spaces were decorated with textiles of all sorts—*zarbafts* (gold brocades with vegetal designs), *atlasi* (silk satin), velvet, and *milak-kar* (textiles from Ramshir, Iran)—which together evoked "paradise."[1]

Aside from a small group of seventeenth-century carpets preserved in the Asar Mahal, Bijapur, and elsewhere, none of these fabrics are known. Instead, we have *kalamkari*s, a kind of dyed textile created through a complicated process involving the separate application of mordants, resists, and dyes for each color in the composition.[2] The coastal zone of the eastern Deccan has long been associated with the production of these textiles. This region was particularly suited for *kalamkari* manufacturing because the water contained the mineral content necessary for developing the dyes, and the required dyestuffs were locally grown, most notably the chay plant, whose root produces the rich red that characterizes these cloths. The creation of *kalamkari*s is presumed to have started long before the seventeenth century, but no surviving textiles are dated earlier than this era, which is supported by records from European travelers and trading companies listing cities and ports along the Coromandel Coast as the source for dyed textiles of various designs.[3]

The *kalamkari*s in this exhibition, therefore, represent the beginning of the known tradition, reflecting the tastes of the Deccani courts before production was transformed in the service of foreign markets in Europe and Asia.[4] These textiles were made primarily in three formats, including small rectangular cloths with figures arranged against floral backgrounds (called *rumal*s; cats. 160–62); large hangings, possibly tent panels, with figures and animals arranged within arched niches (cats. 163–65); and floorspreads with a central field surrounded by decorative borders.[5]

Animals and courtly figures are the primary subjects of these textiles. The animals appear in the backgrounds of several *rumal*s and the hangings, but as in the case of the tent panels from the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (cat. 165), or the "Tapis Moghol,"[6] they may also take over the entire decorative field of the textile. Aside from straightforward depictions of leopards, hares, birds, or sheep, there are fantastic composites that appear in Deccani paintings or that are typically associated with southern India.

Detail of cat. 163

The depiction of people also points to the textiles' rootedness in the particular artistic world of the Deccan. The men's dress is generally Persianate in style, but some wear costume more typical of the seventeenth-century Safavid realms: turbans of a long cloth bound with the ends protruding from the top, rather than the Indian caplike turban with a band across the front; and coats fastened by buttons or frogging down the center of the garment, rather than the Indian *jama* that crosses over the chest and secures under one arm. Heavy-hipped women wearing South Indian-style saris and holding jewels in a type of openwork setting associated with the Deccan (cats. 134–38) also populate the textiles, as well as European figures, some quoted directly from known print sources. Other links, specifically to Deccani architecture and wall paintings, are suggested by the depiction of buildings and the use of floral garlands in the backgrounds of the large figural hangings.[7]

*Kalamkari*s of this type did find favor, however, well beyond the Deccan, with strong evidence for their circulation throughout India, particularly to the north. An English agent noted in 1636 that no stock was available to him, because of its requisitioning by the Qutb Shahi ruler for sale to the Persian and Mughal markets.[8] In addition, several textiles have a Rajasthani provenance from the treasury of the Kachhwaha kings at Amber, with stamps indicating their location in this collection beginning in the 1650s (cats. 160–62, 181).[9] MS

1. *Tarikh-i Muhammad Qutb Shah*, written by an anonymous author in A.H. Sha'ban 1026 (July–August 1617). Translated by Maryam Ekhtiar from a manuscript copy in the India Office Records, British Library, London (I.O. 179 [Ethé 456]). **2.** For an illustrated description of the process, see Gittinger 1982, pp. 24–26. **3.** Some of the European sources are surveyed in Baker 1921; see also the contemporary account of William Methwold in Methwold 1931, p. 35. **4.** The foundational text on this group is Irwin 1959. **5.** John Irwin has suggested that these different types were made in places along the Coromandel Coast, associating the *rumals* and floorspreads with the cultural sphere of the Golconda court of the northern Deccan and the hangings, in which he states "Hindu elements" predominate, with the southern Deccan, particularly the towns of Madras, Pulicat, and San Thome; Irwin and Brett 1970, pp. 13–15. Among the various issues with this division, the notion of separating the *rumal*s from the large hangings is particularly problematic in light of the many details they share. Maintaining the larger group of figural textiles, whether or not they can be assigned to a specific place of production, seems wiser. **6.** Musée de l'Impression sur Étoffes, Mulhouse (986.50.1); Crill 2004. **7.** Varadarajan 1981. **8.** India Office Records, British Library, London, Official Correspondence, no. 1552, quoted in Irwin 1959, p. 15. **9.** Several others, including the so-called Brooklyn Curtain (Brooklyn Museum, 14.719.1–.7) and the Cincinnati *rumal* (Cincinnati Art Museum, 1962.465), were purchased in North India through the dealer Imre Schwaiger, who is known to have assisted the Jaipur royal family in selling works of art from their collection, suggesting yet another point of connection to Rajasthan. Ellen Smart has taken this evidence to indicate that the textiles were made in northern India, suggesting possible production centers such as Broach, Sironj, Sanganer, and Delhi; see Smart 1986; Ellen S. Smart in Losty 2013, pp. 100–105, no. 11. While the authors stand by the Deccan attribution for the group of textiles published here, they do not dismiss the likelihood of some *kalamkari*s with their own distinct characteristics having been produced in northern India—for instance, a summer carpet that recently came on the market; Smart in Losty 2013, pp. 100–105, no. 11.

160–162 *Kalamkari Rumal*s

Golconda region of Coromandel Coast, ca. 1640–50
Mordant-painted and -dyed and resist-dyed plain-weave cotton; cat. 160: 24 × 36 in. (61 × 91.4 cm), cat. 161: 25¼ × 36 in. (64.1 × 91.4 cm), cat 162: 32 × 35 in. (81.3 × 88.9 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1928 (28.159.1–.3)

Inscribed on cat. 160: Amber inventory mark on reverse with date of A.H. 1084 (A.D. 1673–74)

Inscribed on cat. 161: Amber inventory mark on reverse with date of A.H. 1101 (A.D. 1689) and A.H. 1113 (A.D. 1701)

Inscribed on cat. 162: Amber inventory mark on reverse with date of A.H. 1061 (A.D. 1650) and A.H. 1062 (A.D. 1651)

Within the group of mid-seventeenth-century *kalamkari*s with figural decoration are eight smaller pieces with a central rectangular field surrounded by borders of varying widths.[1] The central field is typically filled with scenes capturing intimate interactions (a music performance, a look between lovers) or mundane activities (sewing, hunting). Though unrelated, the individual vignettes are united by the application of pattern to all elements of the textile and a busy background of trees, plants, rocky outcrops, and animals in action.

Such textiles have been called *rumal*s, a word literally meaning "face wiping" and used to designate cloths employed not only as handkerchiefs and towels, but also as

Cat. 160

Cat. 161

coverings for trays.[2] It is this last context that has been proposed for the *kalamkari rumal*s, and it has been speculated that they were used specifically in the presentation of gifts.[3] Paintings of court scenes do not depict gifts being presented under such cloths, but that does not rule out such an identification; we might also propose their use as furnishings, covering cushions, or laid on the floor as a small *sofra* (spread) for an individual.

Though produced by artisans outside the court workshop system, the imagery on the early seventeenth-century *kalamkari*s shows an awareness of the latest trends in paintings, and they may have been made from designs provided by court artists.

These three *rumal*s are among a set of *kalamkari*s bearing inventory marks from the Amber storehouse, dated between 1650 and 1701; perhaps these were purchased by or presented

Cat. 162

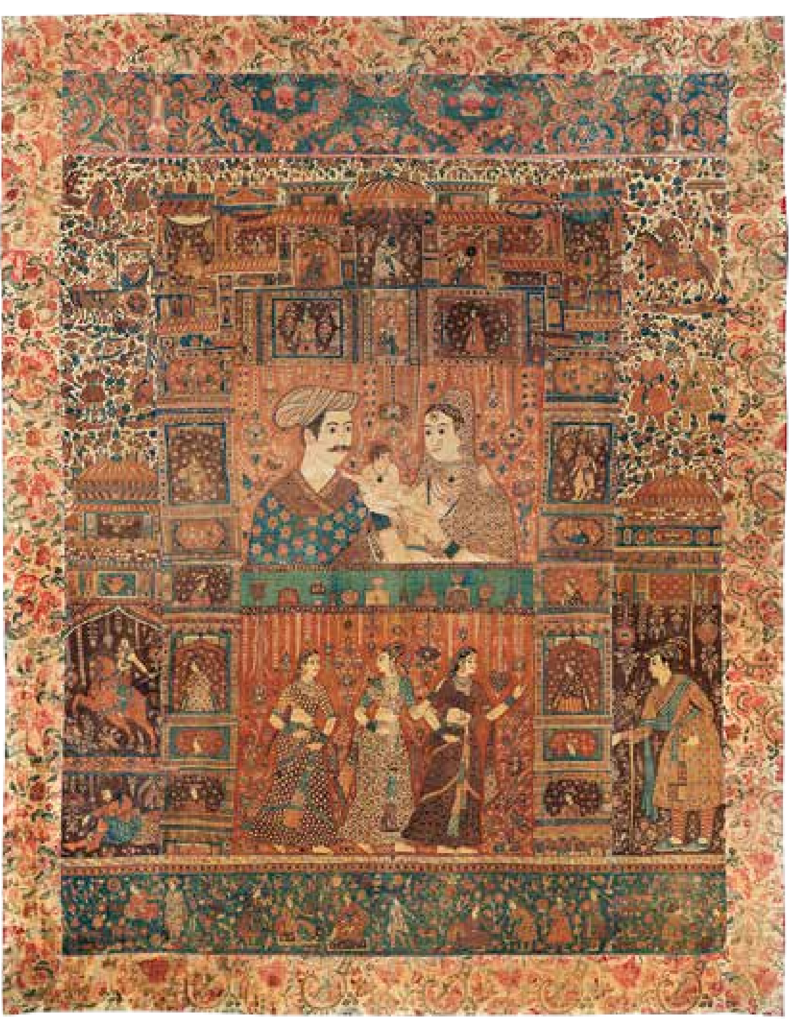
to Mirza Raja Jai Singh I (reigned 1622–67) of Amber, who served in the Deccan and died at Burhanpur.[4] MS

1. One in each of the following collections: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (66.230), Cincinnati Art Museum (1962.465), and Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IS.34-1969); two in the National Museum, New Delhi; and the three in the present entry. **2.** Yule and Burnell 1903, p. 769; *Indian Heritage* 1982, p. 171. **3.** Ellen S. Smart in Smart and Walker 1985, p. 90. **4.** The amassing of fine textiles during his reign has been studied by Smart 1986.

163–164 *Kalamkari* Hangings

Golconda region of Coromandel Coast, ca. 1640–50
Mordant-painted and -dyed and resist-dyed plain-weave cotton; cat. 163: 8 ft. 4 in. × 78 in. (254 × 198.1 cm), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mrs. Albert Blum, 1920 (20.79); cat. 164: 8 ft. 6 in. × 59⅞ in. (259 × 152 cm), Victoria and Albert Museum, London (687-1898)

The figures on these two panels, once part of the same large hanging, include men and women in an array of fashions indicating their origins in Armenia, India, Iran, and western Europe.[1] The somewhat naive depiction of figures and architectural features is quite different from that displayed in court painting of the time, but this can be explained by the fact that, similar to carpets and arms, these dyed textiles were not direct products of the court but rather created in places where the necessary materials were available. Yet, they provide interesting evidence for the circulation of European art in the Deccan, in addition to what can be gleaned from works on paper: the equestrian figure in The Metropolitan Museum of Art hanging (cat. 163) directly quotes an English portrait type of the 1620s and 1630s; while the men in the Victoria and Albert Museum's hanging (cat. 164) appear from their clothing to be Dutch of the same era and reproduced from an as-yet-unidentified source.[2]



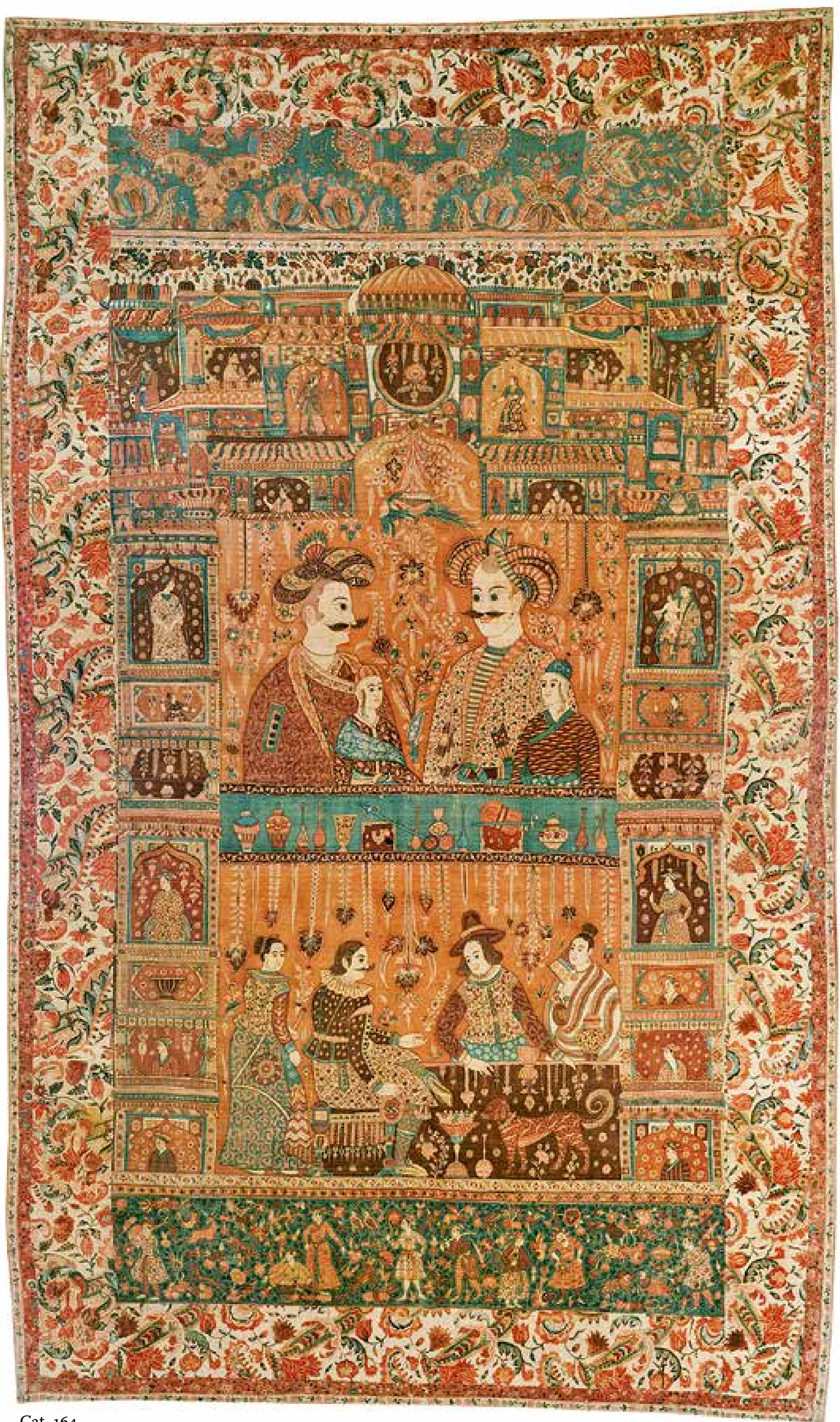
Cat. 163

These panels, now in New York and London, were cut apart and framed with blue- and white-ground chintzes sometime in the nineteenth century.[3] Using a textile of similar scale and layout from the Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad, as a guide, one can reconstruct the original textile to which these fragments belonged: a grand hanging of approximately twenty-five feet in length with several panels like these flanking a central panel with figures on a larger scale. It was likely used to create an outdoor enclosure of the type used on special occasions in Hyderabad. A precursor to this type of tent lining in the Brooklyn Museum, dated to the 1620s, consists of seven adjoining panels, each with figures of a different ethnicity.[4]

The effect of the enclosed space created by the hangings, in which viewers would have been surrounded by an array of figures from Indian, Persian, and European worlds, must have been overwhelming but seems to relate to an aesthetic that was widespread in the Deccan for covering the walls of palaces with paintings or textiles in a medley of subjects—great rulers, literary figures, angels, musicians, and dancers. Comparable works were also made for use in the Vijayanagara realms,[5] and they also found a market in northern India. While neither of these panels has Amber inventory marks, the Calico Museum example includes such a mark.

MS

1. See the more detailed discussion in Sardar 2011. **2.** Both as identified by Irwin 1959, pp. 36–37. **3.** Further fragments of this hanging or a related hanging may be identified in other museum collections, for example, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (39.8.1), and Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IS.16-1956). **4.** Nina Gwatkin in Gittinger 1982, pp. 89–108. **5.** One, formerly in a Japanese collection (Irwin 1959, pp. 32–33, fig. 1), the other now held by the Association pour l'Étude et la Documentation des Textiles d'Asie, Paris (2221).



Cat. 164

165 Panel from a *Kalamkari* Tent Hanging

Golconda region of the Coromandel Coast, ca. 1640–50
Mordant-painted and -dyed and resist-dyed plain-weave cotton, 91 × 76 in. (231 × 193 cm)
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IS.19-1989)

Cat. 165

Unknown until its fairly recent acquisition by the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, this section of a tent lining has expanded the repertoire of Deccani *kalamkari*s in fascinating ways. The bold imagery of a swooping, double-headed eagle and snarling birds of prey is quite unlike that found on the *kalamkari*s with courtly figures, although the range of colors, subsidiary motifs, and style of drawing suggests they all came from a similar place and era of production. Another panel from the same tent is in the National Museum, New Delhi (fig. 80).

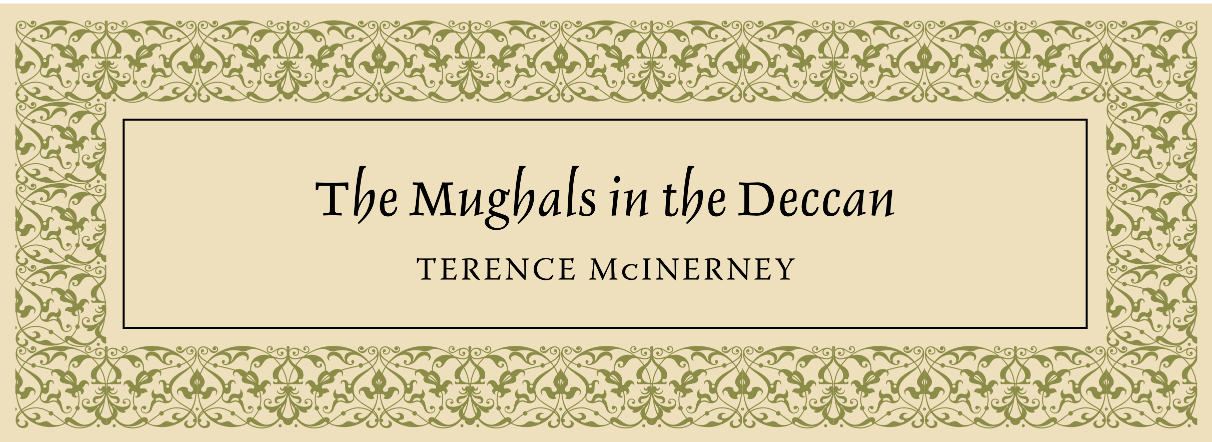
This piece can be connected to a smaller subgroup of the mid-seventeenth-century *kalamkari*s that feature fantastic and composite animals. While the two other examples appear to have been used on the floor, the format of this textile—a repeating length with cusped arches separated by floral borders—suggests it was used as a tent lining, and its imagery accords well with a setting in an army encampment. A group of daggers with zoomorphic hilts similarly depict pairs of animals in combat (cats. 25, 63), as do carvings on several gateways to forts in the Deccan (such as Golconda, Kaulas, Koyilkonda, and Gavilgarh). In the latter context, in particular, one can also find the *gandaberunda*, the double-headed eagle grasping elephants in its claws, which was a symbol of royalty in southern India. The difference in this textile is that the eagle is shown flying downward rather than in the more conventional upright posture. MS

Fig. 80. *Qanat* with Five Niche Panels, Deccan, mid-17th century. Painted cotton, 87¾ in. × 14 ft. 9½ in. (223 × 451 cm). National Museum, New Delhi (48.7/29)

Detail of cat. 161

Drawn to the Deccan

MUGHALS AND EUROPEANS IN THE DECCAN



The Mughals in the Deccan

TERENCE McINERNEY

The Mughals of Central Asia were the last of the Muslim invaders from the northwest to create an empire in India. Established in 1526 by the emperor Babur (reigned 1526–30), a descendant of Timur (Tamerlane) on his father's side and Genghis Khan on his mother's, the Mughal Empire endured until it was replaced by the new British overlords of India in 1857. The empire was placed on firm footing by the great Emperor Akbar (reigned 1556–1605), who conquered most of the Hindu and Muslim regions of North India in the late sixteenth century. It reached its greatest territorial extent during the reign of his great-grandson, Emperor 'Alamgir (reigned 1658–1707, born Prince Aurangzeb, cat. 166), whose kingdom stretched from Afghanistan in the west to Burma in the east, from the mountainous Himalayas in the north to just short of Cape Comorin in the south. By the late seventeenth century, almost all of the subcontinent had submitted to 'Alamgir's haughty will.

Akbar, in wishing to expand his empire beyond an eight-hundred-mile radius of Agra, Delhi, and Lahore—the principal cities of Mughal India—faced an impenetrable barrier south of the Narmada River: the three (originally five) Islamic kingdoms of the Deccan—Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golconda—the steadfast guardians of peninsular India against northern encroachments. Thus, from the time of Akbar, it became a cardinal goal of Mughal foreign policy to advance southward, destroy or weaken the Deccani kingdoms, and absorb their populations and wealth into the Mughal realm. In the roughly one-hundred-year, epic struggle that ensued, the two sides were unevenly matched, the Mughals having much greater resources and manpower along with the strategic cleverness to exacerbate the mutual mistrust among the Deccani kingdoms. Akbar ordered an invasion of the Deccan in 1595 and withdrew in 1596 after having conquered the Islamic sultanate of Khandesh and much of Ahmadnagar, including the former kingdom of Berar. These territories were conjoined to become a Mughal viceroyalty (the traditional perquisite of the monarch's son) with its capital at Burhanpur. Despite the shrewd machinations of the Ethiopian-born general Malik 'Ambar (1548–1626), the remnants of Ahmadnagar eventually fell to the Mughals, if only nominally, during the rule of Emperor Jahangir (reigned 1605–27), who was not otherwise particularly aggressive in his Deccani policy. Restive elements in Ahmadnagar limped on, it seems, but only for nine more years.

Fig. 81. Door, Bibi ka Maqbara (Queen's Tomb), Tomb of Dilras Banu Begam, Aurangabad, 1661

Pages 278–79: (left) Detail of cat. 169b; (right) Floral Motif, Exterior, Bibi ka Maqbara (Queen's Tomb), Aurangabad, 1661

Jahangir sent his son, Prince Khurram, the future Emperor Shah Jahan (reigned 1628–58), to Burhanpur, one of the empire's largest and wealthiest cities, to serve as viceroy. (Its prosperity lasted until about 1670.) Located in one of India's great cotton-producing regions, it had become famous for its painted, printed, and embroidered textiles. A locus of exchange and production, this cosmopolitan city was replete with merchants from abroad and all over India, as well as sophisticated craftsmen of every description. Prince Khurram arrived in 1616, remained for about a year, and returned in 1621 to conclude another series of mostly ineffective treaties. This time, however, he stayed in the Deccan until court machinations caused him to rebel against his father in 1622. During the uprising, Prince Khurram fled Burhanpur and, along with his family and a dwindling group of followers, was given sanctuary for several months in the neighboring city and great fort of Golconda. At the end of his revolt in 1625, he agreed to stay in the Deccan, where he served as viceroy once again, until Jahangir's death in 1627.

By then, the boundaries of the Mughal Deccan had not changed much. Ahmadnagar was more or less finished, but Bijapur and Golconda were still fully independent, and the Mughals remained confined to the north and northwest in their viceroyalty centered on Burhanpur. During this period of relative peace and political standoff, the art of the Deccani sultanates reached its greatest florescence. At the same time, the Mughals continued their grand architectural patronage, embellishing Burhanpur with palaces, pavilions, walled gardens, tombs decorated with wall paintings, and *hamam*s (public baths), also replete with wall paintings dating from Prince Khurram's term as viceroy. Notably, as far as one knows, no branch of court painting was ever produced there, only textiles, works of decorative art, and architecture.

This period of Mughal laissez-faire could not last forever. During the reign of Shah Jahan, who, of course, knew the local population very well, the days of Deccani independence came to an end. Shah Jahan was of two minds about conquering Bijapur and Golconda. The strict, religious conservatives in his realm believed that one Muslim state should never wage war against another. The imperialists and non-Muslims, whom Shah Jahan also wished to placate, believed the declared faith of a desired territory was of no concern to an expansion-minded emperor. As Shah Jahan vacillated, his foreign policy was inconsistent, but the gist of his actions from 1627 onward was to emasculate the two kingdoms but leave them intact.

Shah Jahan put this policy into full effect in 1636, when at the head of a vast army, he invaded the Deccan, as emperor. Golconda, instead of being vanquished, agreed to become a Mughal vassal state, guarding the southern boundary of his empire. Later that year, Shah Jahan compelled the ruler of Bijapur, Muhammad 'Adil Shah (reigned 1627–56), to sign a similar treaty. Also in 1636 Shah Jahan appointed his third son, Prince Aurangzeb, as viceroy, in part to oversee compliance with the treaties. During his eight-year term (1636–44), the future "hammer" of the Deccan moved the capital in 1636 from the city of Burhanpur to the small town of Khirki, which he renamed Aurangabad after himself, and continued the rebel Malik 'Ambar's previous architectural improvements on a much grander scale. Aurangzeb built palaces, gardens, and various edifices in this new capital, which was strategically much closer to the great fort at Daulatabad as well as to Bijapur and Golconda. From the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century, Aurangabad was the principal city and administrative center in the region, a distinction it held

until 1763, when Hyderabad (near Golconda) became the capital of the revived Deccani state ruled by the Asaf Jahis.

Aurangzeb's rule as viceroy ended in 1644, but in 1653, he was reappointed to the position, which he occupied until he became Emperor ʿAlamgir in 1658. Aurangzeb could have destroyed the sultanate of Golconda in 1656 and that of Bijapur in 1657, but his archenemy, his older brother and Shah Jahan's favorite, Prince Dara Shikoh (1615–1659), convinced the emperor to redeploy Aurangzeb's vast armies; consequently Aurangzeb's push to destroy the remaining Deccani kingdoms was put on hold. During his second term as viceroy, Aurangzeb, who was not known for his artistic appreciation, quite unexpectedly became a patron of the arts, creating in his palace a painting atelier composed of artists from both the Deccan and North India. Aurangabad was emerging as a major center of patronage, in keeping with other places in the Mughal Deccan.

Like Akbar, Aurangzeb was a man of action. He spent the second half of his long reign, indeed from 1683 on, in the Deccan, concentrating almost single-mindedly on local affairs. In meticulously prepared military campaigns and with the full resources of the empire at his command, he invaded, besieged, and vanquished Bijapur in 1686 and Golconda in 1687, sending the ruling families to prison or into permanent exile. The resolute emperor gave both territories to Mughal governors, who answered to a dominant viceroy, and amalgamated them into the newly enlarged Deccani viceroyalty. For the first time since the fourteenth century, the Deccan and North India were reunited under a single ruler.

During the seventeenth century, the works of art that the Mughals sponsored in the Deccan and the Deccani art that was influenced by their culture were not slavishly derivative or qualitatively inferior.[1] After 1687, what remained of the Deccan was absorbed into the Mughal Empire and the new, mixed Mughal-Deccani culture (particularly in painting and language) became the high culture for the entire region. After 1687, and under Mughal and later Hyderabadi leadership, art from the Deccan flourished once again.

Yet, as Aurangzeb was to soon learn, the components of his vast empire, post-1687, would never walk in lockstep with one another: regional ambitions and tastes would always rise to the surface, destroying the uniformity he desperately craved. In the end, did the Mughals conquer the Deccanis or did the Deccanis—with their happy-go-lucky inclinations—conquer the Mughals? The marvelous Mughal-Deccani paintings and lifestyle that resulted from all of the bloodshed suggest that each side learned something from the other.

1. The masterpieces of this Mughal-Deccani style include a portrait of Aurangzeb (cat. 166); the double-page composition shared by the Barlow Collection (John Seyller in Mason 2001, pp. 114–15, no. 42) and the Cincinnati Art Museum (Ellen S. Smart in Smart and Walker 1985, pp. 47–48, no. 25); *Prince Azam Shah Galloping across a Rocky Meadow* in a private collection (Zebrowski 1983a, p. 214, ill. no. 183, p. 229, colorpl. XXI); and the early eighteenth-century *ragamala* series said to be from Bidar (Zebrowski 1983a, pp. 226–28, 231, 232, ill. nos. 199–203).

Fig. 82. Arabic-Sanskrit Foundation Inscription and *Qibla* Wall, Jami Masjid (Congregational Mosque), Burhanpur, 1588

Fig. 83. Mughal-Period Baths, Shahi Palace, Burhanpur, 1630s

Burhanpur and Aurangabad

The architecture of Burhanpur and Aurangabad, the two major Mughal settlements in the Deccan, bears witness to their extended presence in the region. These cities were not merely a camping ground for the Mughals, but a home-away-from-home, where royal families were born and raised, where princes and princesses were buried, and where, eventually, victory over the Deccan was sealed.

Burhanpur was established around 1400 as the capital of Khandesh, ruled by the Faruqi dynasty (1382–1601). There the Faruqi sultans erected many fine monuments, including the 1588 Jami Masjid (Congregational Mosque) with its bilingual Arabic-Sanskrit foundation inscription (fig. 82) and stone-construction style typical of the northern Deccan. Emperor Akbar (reigned 1556–1605) added his own inscription to the mosque upon capturing Burhanpur in 1601, and in 1615, his brilliant general ʿAbd al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan sponsored construction of a still-functioning *qanat* (underground channel) to supply water to the city and its surrounding farms.

Further additions to the city were classically Mughal in style, transplanting northern building methods, quite directly it seems, to the middle of the country. During his Deccan campaign of the 1630s, Shah Jahan (reigned 1628–58) occupied the former Faruqi palace (later the Shahi Palace) on the Tapti River (fig. 84). His most notable additions to these buildings are the baths, which retain some of their seventeenth-century painted decoration (fig. 83). It is likely that at these palaces Shah Jahan received the conciliatory envoys of Golconda's ʿAbdullah Qutb Shah (reigned 1626–72), who came bearing gifts of horses, elephants, and a payment of 30,000 *hun* in February 1631.[1]

Across the river and away from the city was the Ahukhana (Deer House), a palace set in the middle of a deer preserve. Its *bangla*-style pavilion, with a curving roof, faces a picturesque pool with a water channel leading onto an open-sided pavilion. Shah Jahan's wife, Mumtaz Mahal, resided there, and after she died in childbirth in 1631, she was initially interred on the grounds until the Taj Mahal, her tomb at Agra, was complete. The following year, Shah Jahan's son Shah Shujaʿ would tragically lose his wife, Bilqis Begum, in the same circumstances. Her melon-shaped tomb, the Kharbuza Mahal (ca. 1632), with its original wall paintings of flowering plants set in lobed niches (fig. 18), still stands at Burhanpur.

On his first appointment as viceroy of the Deccan in 1636, Aurangzeb moved the Mughal headquarters from Burhanpur to Khirki, the city founded by the Nizam Shahi general Malik ʿAmbar in 1610. Renaming it Aurangabad, Aurangzeb oversaw additions to Malik ʿAmbar's congregational mosque,[2] as well as the construction of a walled citadel with palaces, audience halls, and a mosque, all completed in 1659.[3] Aurangabad's most famous Mughal monument was the Bibi ka Maqbara (Queen's Tomb, 1661), built by one of Aurangzeb's sons for his mother, Dilras Banu Begam (died 1651). Modeled on the Taj Mahal, the Bibi ka Maqbara is a white building with

Fig. 84. Shahi Palace on the Tapti River, Burhanpur, 15th–17th century

painted and carved floral decoration, and is set in a Persianate garden (fig. 4). Unlike the Taj Mahal, however, the Bibi ka Maqbara is constructed primarily from stucco, and marble only appears in the tomb interior. Aurangzeb himself would also be buried in the Deccan, but in a simple, uncovered grave in Khuldabad, near the tombs of the sufi *pir*s (spritual guides) and saints that had been there since the fourteenth century.

It is said that fifty-four suburbs once surrounded central Aurangabad, established by military commanders of the Mughal armies. Many of these men were stationed in the Deccan for years and developed deep bonds with this captivating territory. Mirza Raja Jai Singh I (reigned 1622–67) collected all kinds of Deccani textiles, which were carefully stored and inventoried in the storerooms of his palace at Amber (cats. 160–62). Sadly, he was not fated to return to this northern idyll; he died at Burhanpur, where a memorial was erected for him near the Tapti River (fig. 85). Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur (reigned 1629–78) spent seven years in the region, where his philosophical discourses were written out in a decorated manuscript that blended Mughal, Rajput, and Deccani styles (cat. 169). It is also likely that Muhammad Riza Nau'i (died 1610 at Burhanpur) penned the influential *Suz u Gudaz* (Burning and Melting, ca. 1604) in the Deccan.[4] Among the other manuscripts attributed to the area are a handful of *ragamala* sets, a *Gita Govinda* (Song of Govinda), and a *Rasamanjari* (Bouquet of Delights) made for a Mewar king in 1650.[5]

Fig. 85. Raja ki Chhatri (King's Memorial), Tomb of Mirza Raja Jai Singh I, Burhanpur, 1667

After the last of the Deccani sultanates finally fell to Aurangzeb in 1687, Deccani artists left the region, and their works commenced their travels around India, to Lucknow, the Pahari hills, and the Rajput courts of Mewar, Kishangarh, Jodhpur, and Bikaner. Aside from Jai Singh of Amber, two Bikaner kings, Raja Rai Singh, governor of Burhanpur between 1604 and 1611, and Maharaja Anup Singh, governor of Adoni between 1689 and 1698, were conduits northward for many important works of art. The peregrinations of paintings, weapons, textiles, and other decorative objects can be traced from the handwritten notes, inventory seals, and later mounts of their subsequent owners (cat. 28).[6] The impact these arts had on their new homes extended the legacy of the Deccan's greatest era of artistic production well beyond the seventeenth century. MS

1. Nizam ud-Din Ahmad 1961, pp. 92–93. **2.** Aurangzeb made additions to the Bijapur and Hyderabad congregational mosques after defeating these cities. **3.** S. H. Bilgrami and Willmott 1883–84, vol. 2, pp. 307–15, 329–30. Little survives of the Mughal-era architecture, but eighteenth-century drawings and watercolors of those buildings are preserved in the British Library, London, and other collections. **4.** N. A. Faruqi 1990. **5.** Zebrowski 1983a, pp. 48–59; Doshi 1972. **6.** Elgood 2004a, p. 120.

166 Prince Aurangzeb

Probably Aurangabad, ca. 1653–55
Opaque watercolor and gold on cloth, 14¾ × 10¾ in. (37.3 × 27.2 cm)
Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, Lent by Howard Hodgkin (LI118.88)

Hindi inscription on reverse identifying subject

Prince Aurangzeb (later Emperor ʿAlamgir, reigned 1658–1707), third son of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan (reigned 1628–58), was the most hardheaded and savvy of the emperor's four sons. He detested his elder brother and Shah Jahan's favorite, Prince Dara Shikoh (1615–1659), whom everyone assumed would inherit the Mughal throne. Aurangzeb, who was twice appointed viceroy of the Mughal Deccan, in defiance of his brother, established an alternate power base at Aurangabad, living in the palace he built for himself—the ʿAlamgiri Mahal—with his own officers and nobles housed on allotted lands nearby. He held court at his palace. Indeed, it can be asserted that to buttress his claim to the Mughal throne, this "art-hating" prince quite unexpectedly became a grand patron, establishing a painting atelier in his palace at Aurangabad and creating departments for musicians, singers, and dancers, in the fashion of any self-respecting prince of the royal house who wanted to be emperor.

Likely painted during Aurangzeb's second term as viceroy (1653–58), this glorious portrait can be assigned to the same patron and workshop as a tiny portrait of the prince and a copy of the *Khamsa* (Quintet) of Nizami, illustrated with four miniatures in which Aurangzeb himself appears, both in the Khalili Collections.[1] These works would have been made in the Aurangabad palace workshop, an institution probably composed of refugee artists from Ahmadnagar; enterprising artists from Bijapur, Golconda, and other places in the Deccan; and senior artists from Delhi and other areas in the Mughal Empire.[2] Aurangzeb would likely have maintained this workshop until about 1657 or 1658, when he moved north to defeat his royal brothers in the bloody civil wars of those years.

In this extremely fine head-and-shoulder portrait, Aurangzeb, who appears to be about age thirty-five, is depicted in profile, wearing full court dress, heavy jewelry, and a lavish turban surmounted by an aigrette, with a draped balcony before him and a plain green background behind.[3] This rich yet restrained format is a common arrangement for depicting the imperial family. The prince appears in his *jharoka* window (a perch for the ruler), dispensing judgment, alive and well as all the world can see. This otherwise conventional Mughal-style painting has a number of unusual features: its cloth support, florid treatment of woven flowers and arabesque, and sumptuous yet astringent color combinations, all of which suggest the artist was a native of the Deccan. This artist adapted Mughal conventions but could not altogether mimic the style of his classicizing, northern cousins.

The use of cloth is a very common Deccani feature. A cotton support was also used in the large scroll depicting the *Procession of Sultan ʿAbdullah Qutb Shah* (fig. 90), now in the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya, Mumbai, and the large painting of Prince Azam Shah (1653–1707), son of Aurangzeb, and his retinue formerly in the collection of Sir Akbar Hydari, among other examples.[4] At one time, this painting had a narrow red and yellow border, typical of paintings once owned by the royal house of Bikaner in Rajasthan. Indeed, it might have been Aurangzeb's gift to Karan Singh, the Bikaner maharaja who had served with him in the Deccan. TM

1. Leach 1998, pp. 96–109, no. 30, p. 220, no. 64. **2.** Artists from other places in the Deccan include the Bijapur-trained ʿAli Riza (ibid., p. 220, no. 64). ʿAli Riza, an artist with a very common name who was active from about 1625 to 1695, and the anonymous master called the Bodleian Painter, an early seventeenth-century Bijapuri artist, were not in this author's opinion one and the same man, despite Keelan Overton's suggestion to the contrary. See Overton 2011a. **3.** Probably more paintings from Aurangzeb's Aurangabad palace workshop have survived, yet without a datable portrayal of the prince, it is very difficult to identify them. **4.** For the procession scene, see K. Desai 2002, pp. 162–63, no. 156. For the painting of Azam Shah, see Kramrisch 1937, pp. 176–80, pls. XXII, XXIII; K. Desai 2002, pp. 164, 165, no. 157.

Cat. 166

Cat. 167

Fig. 86. "Birds in a Jungle," folio 17 from *Nal Daman*. Dated A.H. 1110 (A.D. 1698). Ink and opaque watercolor on paper, 9⅝ × 6⅛ in. (24.3 × 15.4 cm). Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya, Mumbai, Sir Rata Tata Collection

167 Birds in a Silver River

Probably Aurangabad, late 17th century
Ink, opaque watercolor, and silver on paper; image: 11 × 7⅛ in. (28 × 18.2 cm), folio: 12½ × 8¾ in. (31.5 × 22 cm)
Aga Khan Museum, Toronto (AKM148)

The landscapes of the Deccan burgeon with bird-filled rivers and green hills after the monsoon season. A silver stream (now partly oxidized) winds across the page, containing a group of white ducks flanked by four red-headed *sarus* cranes—a coloristic marvel of restrained hues that conveys an evocative mood. The *sarus* crane (*Grus antigone*), the only resident breeding crane in India and Southeast Asia, is also the world's tallest flying bird. These birds are famous for their

lifelong coupling, and this image may depict two pairs of cranes. The presence of the ducks in the water plays the useful function of providing a sense of the cranes' height, which can reach more than six feet.

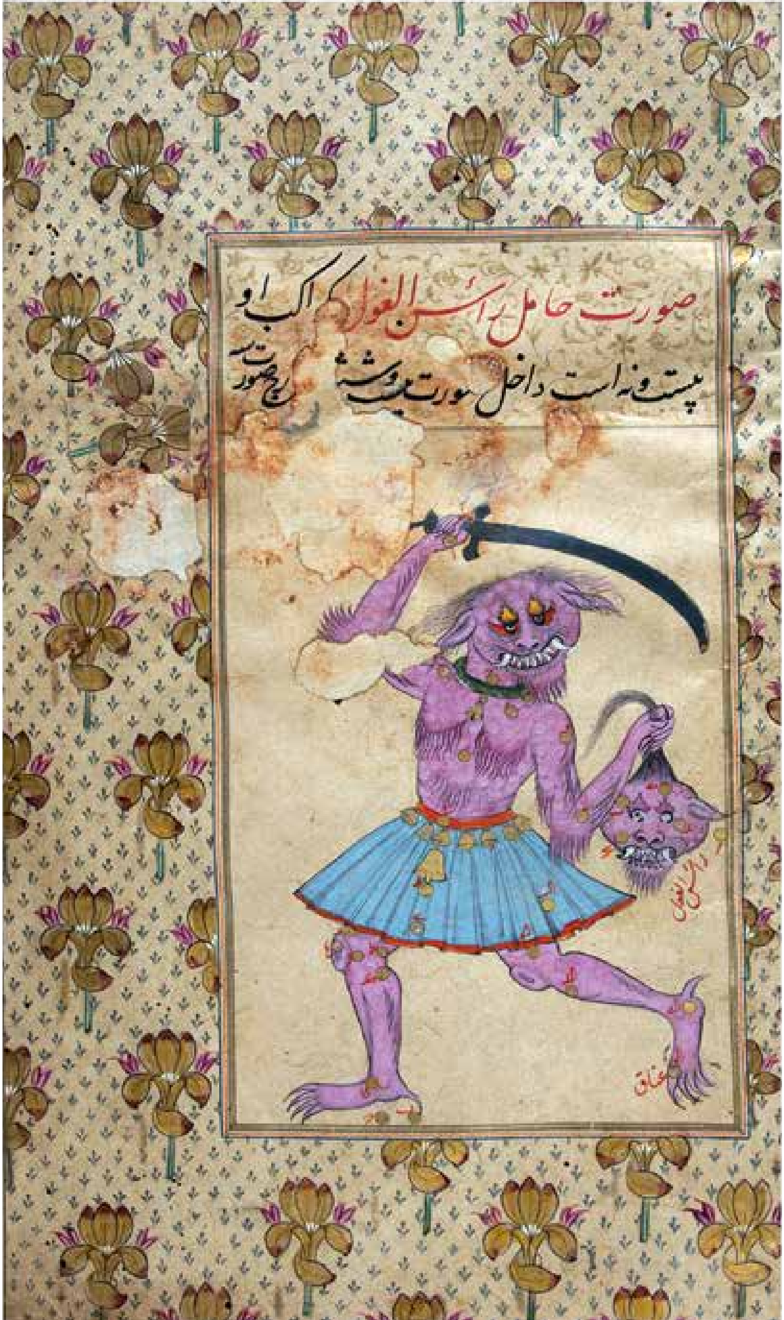
The composition was possibly inspired by a more complex river view with birds found in a manuscript of the *Nal Daman* attributed to the northern Deccan and dated to 1698 (fig. 86).[1] One folio shows a jungle landscape with a large variety of avian life, incorporating several pairs of *sarus* cranes, including one bird with flapping wings, possibly in a mating pose. The crane is a favorite subject in Chinese art, and perhaps a remote influence from imported Chinese porcelain gave rise to the washy blue ground in the Aga Khan painting. The grass, now mostly blue, may also have had some green at one time, and some of this pigment is still visible at the edges of the water.[2] NNH

1. Zebrowski 1983a, p. 218, ill. no. 188; K. Desai 2002, p. 142, no. 13.
2. Terence McInerney, personal communication, points out that yellow pigment is often fugitive in Indian painting. Of course, green is a mixture of yellow and blue.

168 Manuscript of the *Nihj al-Balagha* (The Way of Eloquence) and Other Texts

Northern Deccan, A.H. 1075 (A.D. 1664)
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper; folio: 11½ × 6⅞ in. (29.1 × 17.3 cm), binding: 11⅞ × 7¼ in. (30.1 × 18.5 cm)
National Museum, New Delhi (58.20/14)

Considered a masterpiece of Shi'a literature, the *Nihj al-Balagha* is a set of sermons, sayings, and commentaries attributed to 'Ali, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, compiled in the tenth century by the scholar Sharif Razi. In the Shi'a Deccan, it was no doubt an honored text. In this manuscript, a section of the *Nihj al-Balagha* is joined with descriptions of stars and constellations, possibly from the *Kitab Suwar al-Kawakib al-Thabita* (Book of the Images of the Fixed Stars) by the tenth-century scholar 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi. A smiling walrus or lion, a Deccani crown, and a running *div* (demon) are among the lively images found in the illustrations. The borders, filled with a repeating pattern of bold flowers, are in the style of late seventeenth-century manuscripts from the northern Deccan, which became even more popular in eighteenth-century Hyderabadi albums. NNH



Cat. 168

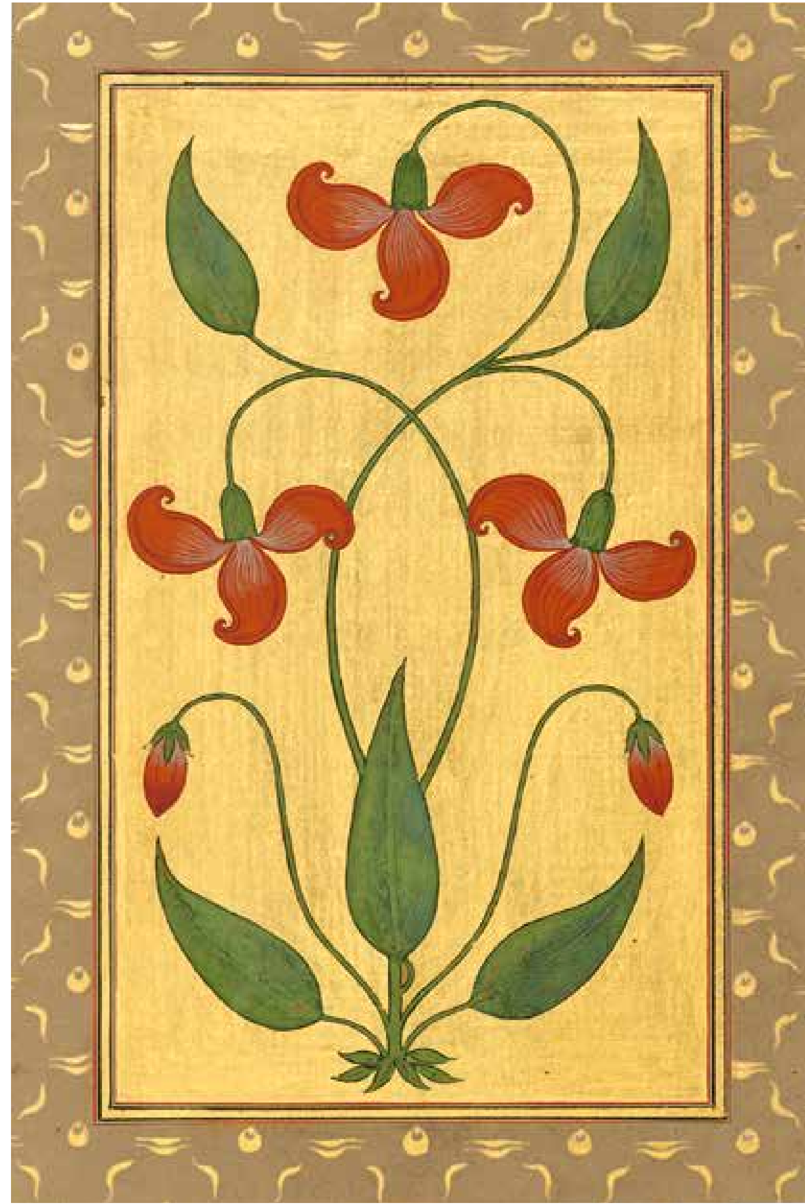
Cat. 169a

169 Folios from a Manuscript of Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur's *Siddantha-sara*, *Siddantha-bodha*, and *Aporaksha-siddantha*

Aurangabad, v.s. 1726 (A.D. 1669)
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper; a: 12 × 14⅝ in. (30.5 × 37 cm), b: 12¼ × 7½ in. (31.1 × 18.9 cm), c: 19⅞ × 17¼ in. (50.4 × 43.8 cm)
Private collections, London, and Ticino, Switzerland

These pages come from one of the few dated manuscripts from Aurangabad, and they exhibit the expected style—a cosmopolitan blend of Deccani, Mughal, and Rajput

b

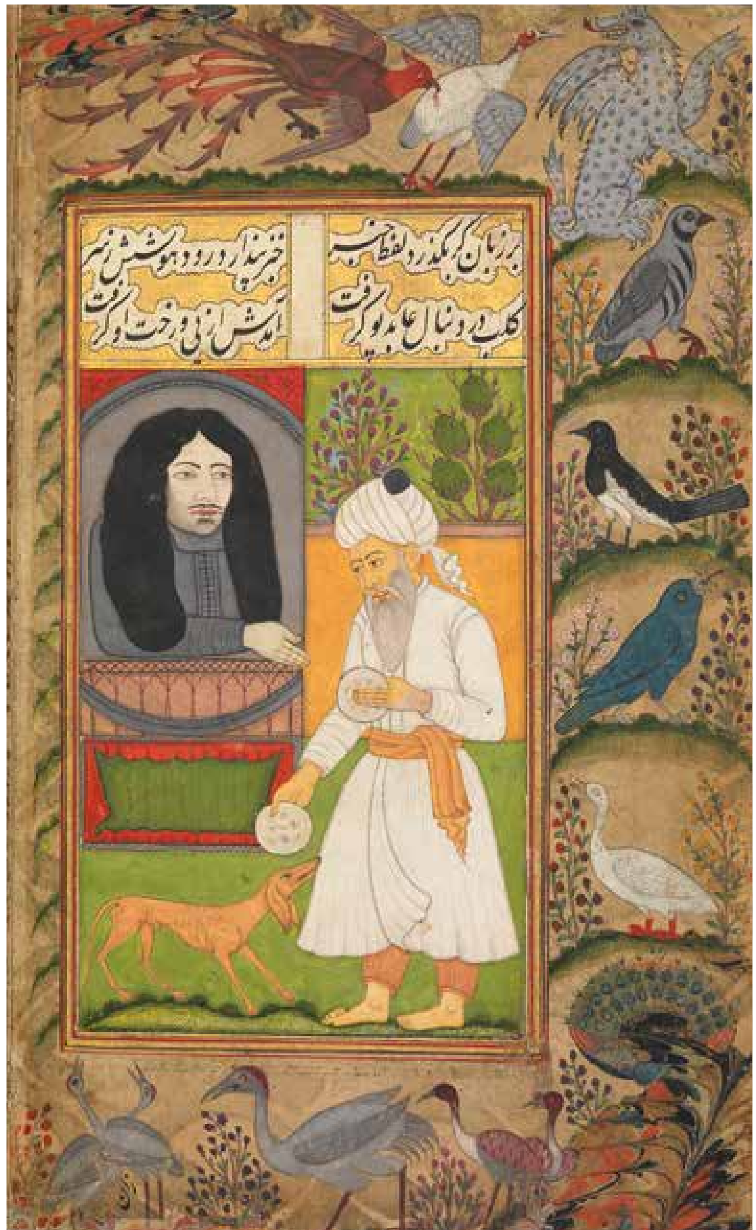

c

elements.[1] The text contains several philosophical works by Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur (reigned 1629–78). During his seven-year period of service in the northern Deccan, his treatise was copied in *devanagari* script by the scribe Vyasa Madhava and set within Ottoman-style *chintamani* (auspicious jewels) borders. Mughal-style flowers on a gold background complete the embellishment of the folios. Their lively profiles recall the decoration of the Bibi ka Maqbara (Queen's Tomb, fig. 81) in Aurangabad. Through the presence of Rajput rulers, such as Jaswant Singh, Deccani objects made their way into Rajasthan. Mehrangarh Fort, for example, has a number of inscribed Deccani cannons. NNH

1. *Indian Miniatures and Works of Art* 2000, p. 60.

170 Manuscript of the *Nan va Halva* (Bread and Sweets)

Probably Aurangabad, ca. 1690
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, with leather binding, 9¼ × 5½ in. (23.5 × 14 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Friends of Islamic Art Gifts, 1999 (1999.157)



Cat. 170

While few dated or firmly ascribed painted works from Aurangabad are known, a body of material attributed to that center has nevertheless come together. One style exhibits a strong Rajput sensibility as seen in a few large *pichwai*s (painted backdrops) with rows of women in gold against a red ground;[1] in a grand, forty-foot-long painted scroll from a Jain *bhandar* (repository) in Nagpur;[2] and in a couple of manuscripts, one a dispersed *ragamala* (garland of songs) series with Hindu deities and lively patterned textiles.[3] In another strain of Aurangabad painting, a simplified Mughal style predominates, which includes quizzical and amusing figures often drawn with curved lines and filled with areas of flat color rather than modeled with stippled contours.[4] This style was a favored idiom for courtly caricatures and also Islamic texts, including the present example.

The *Nan va Halva* manuscript opens with a calligraphic face composed of auspicious names, a characteristically Deccani feature. This page is followed by four charming illustrations of the parables of Baha' al-Din al-'Amili (died 1621), which are written out on cheerful text pages in bright ink. Among the paintings depicted is the story of a hungry recluse who accepts bread from an infidel, but is then reproached by a dog for this lack of piety. The infidel is shown here as the "merry monarch" Charles II of England (reigned 1660–85). The three other paintings similarly illustrate the moral lessons of 'Amili, who was also the author of *Shir va Shikar* (Milk and Sugar) and *Nan va Panir* (Bread and Cheese).

Some pages of this manuscript are enclosed in silver borders filled with a trellis of lotus flowers and stems. This decoration recalls the openwork-lotus designs on the finials of a palanquin from Golconda (cat. 142). Other borders are filled with boldly rendered animals or birds, as on the present folio, in which missing areas in the corners have been repaired with marbled paper. Other copies of *Nan va Halva* in collections in Mashhad, Taskhkent, and London (Victoria and Albert Museum) await further investigation.[5]

NNH

1. S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 328–29, no. 223. **2.** Doshi 1978. **3.** Zebrowski 1983a, p. 49, ill. no. 33; Sotheby's 2011b, pp. 34–35, lot 15. For another manuscript, see Doshi 1972. **4.** S. C. Welch 1994a, p. 92, fig. 12. **5.** Musayev and Karimov 2012, p. 50. Thanks are due to Vivek Gupta for his research and this information.

Cat. 171

171 Nobleman at Repast

Probably Aurangabad, ca. 1700
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper, approx. 9½ × 11 in. (24.1 × 27.9 cm)
Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad

Tempting dishes of fresh fruit and *pan* (betel nut) are laid out on a delicate white sheet to be inspected and enjoyed by a languid nobleman, whose ample girth attests to his appreciation of such delicacies. This figure can be identified as Farrukh Fal (Omen of Fortune), a Mughal officer in Agra in the second half of the seventeenth century.[1] Although his name appears obliquely in various historical accounts of the period, the most interesting mention comes from the Italian physician Niccolò Manucci: "In the days when I was at Agrah I went to pay my respects to the brother of Shaistah Khan, who was called Faracfal . . . , which means 'The Diviner.' He was a very ugly man, and never appeared at court for fear the people would joke at his odd physiognomy. This gentleman had a magician who . . . raised his head and voice, saying that apples, pears, peaches, and several other fruits would fall. Accordingly, . . . they began at once to fall."[2] Despite his reported reticence, four other images of Farrukh Fal are known, two of which are versions of this composition.[3] The subject evidently also became known at Aurangabad where officers were coming and going from many parts of India.

NNH

1. This identification has been made by Robert Skelton in a personal communication. Farrukh Fal is mentioned in the *Ma'athir al-Umarah*; Beveridge 1979, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 215. He received a rank of 900 in 1656–57 and 1657–58; see Athar Ali 1985, p. 310, no. S6940, p. 335, no. S7745. **2.** Manucci 1907, vol. 3, p. 202. **3.** Other versions are in the following collections: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (21.1674); Khosla collection, London, which has the additional figure of a servant in the picture; Red Fort Museum, New Delhi (99); and the collection of Bashir Mohamed, London, which is inscribed *pisar-i farrukh fal* (son of Farrukh Fal) but may refer to Farrukh Fal.

Cat. 172

Fig. 87. *A Beauty at a Window with a Bird*. Golconda, ca. 1675. Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 10 × 6⅝ in. (25.5 × 16.7 cm). San Diego Museum of Art, Edwin Binney 3rd Collection (1990.489)

172 Bejeweled Maiden with a Parakeet

Hyderabad, ca. 1670–1700
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 12½ × 8¾ in. (31.8 × 22.2 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Cynthia Hazen Polsky, 2011 (2011.585)

Inscribed: *tasvir-i zib al-nisa dukhtar-i ʻalamgir* (Portrait of Zib al-Nisa, daughter of ʻAlamgir)

Seen through a cusped arch, this young beauty holding a parakeet in her jeweled hand is perhaps an allegory for the *gul-o-bulbul*, or the rose and nightingale. In Persian mystical poetry, the nightingale was the traditional lover of the rose, symbolized here by the beautiful girl.[1] Pink roses cover the golden cloth under the maiden's left arm, and her trousers are adorned with pink flowers on a gold ground, further reinforcing this symbolism. An inscription identifies her as Zib al-Nisa, daughter of Emperor ʻAlamgir (reigned 1658–1707), but this is likely a later addition.

In a comparable, mirror-reversed composition in the San Diego Museum of Art (fig. 87), the woman does not wear garments ornamented with roses, but her transparent blouse is rose-colored. These two works belong to a larger group of similar compositions, including an example in the Cincinnati Art Museum and one in a private collection.[2] CS

1. Zebrowski 1983a, p. 201. **2.** See *Seated Lady Holding a Flower*, Cincinnati Art Museum (1991.139); for the work in a private collection, see Kramrisch 1986, p. 37, no. 32.

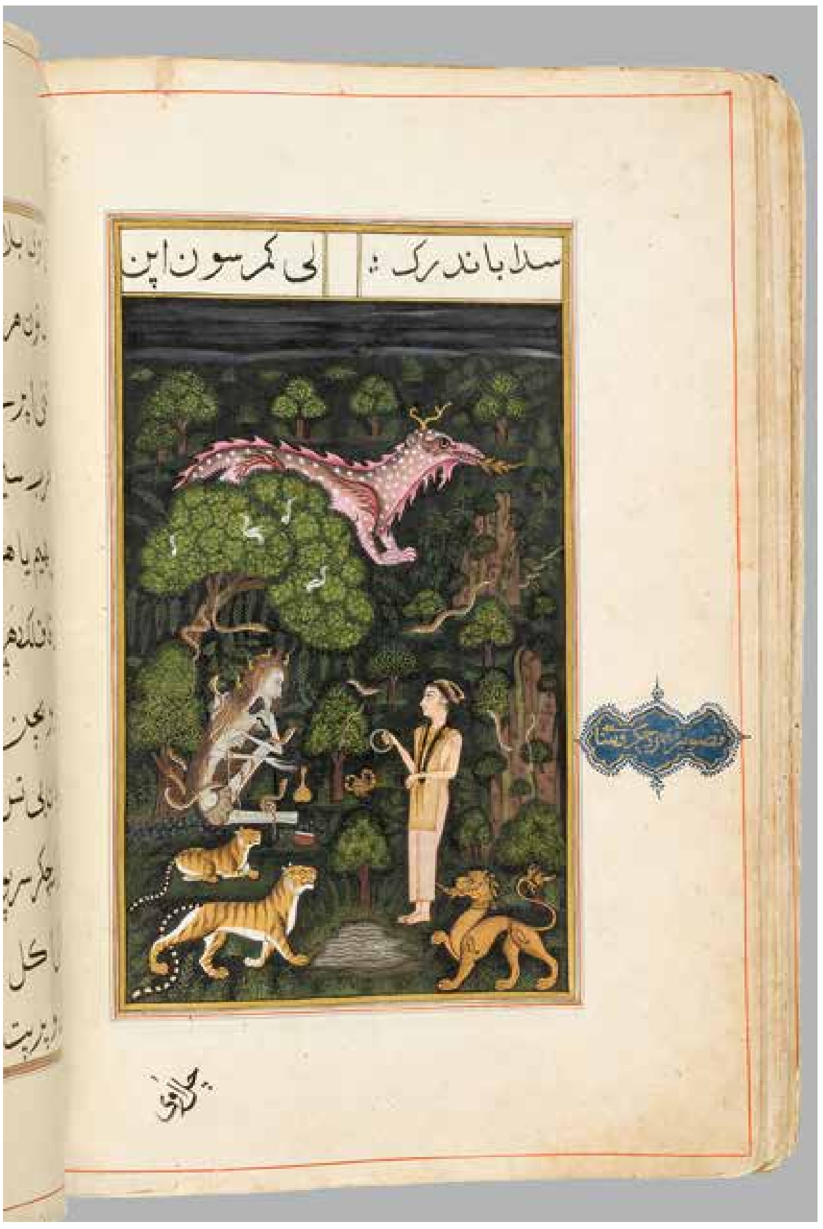
173 "Fairies Descend to Manohar's Palace," Folio from a dispersed *Gulshan-i 'Ishq* (Flower Garden of Love)

Probably Hyderabad, ca. 1710
Ink, opaque watercolor, gold, and silver on paper; image: 8¾ × 5⅝ in. (22.3 × 14.4 cm), folio: 15½ × 9¼ in. (39.5 × 23.5 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Friends of Islamic Art Gifts, 2011 (2011.183)

Cat. 173

174 "Manohar Meets a Dervish in the Forest," Folio from a *Gulshan-i 'Ishq* (Flower Garden of Love)

Calligraphy by Ahmad ibn Abdullah Nadkar
Probably Hyderabad, calligraphy dated 1742, paintings dated 1743
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, and leather binding with embossed gilding, folio: 14 × 10 in. (35.6 × 25.4 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Philip S. Collins Collection, Gift of Mrs. Philip S. Collins in memory of her husband, 1945 (1945-65-22)



Cat. 174

The *Gulshan-i ʿIshq,* composed at Bijapur in 1657–58 by Mullah Nusrati, remained popular through the ages, with a grand illustrated copy produced around 1710 (cat. 173), followed by a later close copy in 1742 (cat. 174). The folios of the earlier manuscript are now dispersed, but the later volume remains in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art and contains more than two hundred folios and ninety-seven paintings.[1] An early handwritten English notice within indicates it was once in the *zenana* (female apartments) of Tipu Sultan at Seringapatam.[2]

Belonging to the genre of sufi romances, the *Gulshan-i ʿIshq* tells the tale of Prince Manohar's quest to attain Madhumalati, with whom he fell in love in a dream.[3] The paintings illustrate the main events of the story, as the hero has many adventures and encounters fantastical creatures, places, and mystical figures. The central poetic metaphor of the garden as the setting for romantic and spiritual union is important to the style of the paintings. They have a good deal of floral imagery and color symbolism, while the figures and landscapes retain a flavor of the late Golconda style, moving toward the more simplified yet strong idiom favored at Hyderabad.

The page from the earlier manuscript (cat. 173) shows Manohar asleep in his chambers with his *dai* (attendant) resting on the ground beside the bed, while a group of fairies passing overhead descend to transport him to Madhumalati's palace. Later in the narrative, Manohar encounters a dervish in a dark forest who gives him a magic wheel. The folio from the Philadelphia manuscript represents this important spiritual moment (cat. 174). A subtle radiance emanates from the holy man's body, and fierce animals are tamed in his presence. In the lower right corner, a feline appears with a raised front paw—this unusual sculptural element recalls the metalwork-inspired leonine forms on the seven-stepped *chakravartin* throne in an earlier Bijapur manuscript of the *Nujum al-ʿUlum* (Stars of the Sciences, cat. 22). Its presence here may be to reference the leonine symbol of worldly power.

NNH

1. Leach 1998, pp. 240–47, discusses the early manuscript; the present author has explored the subject of both manuscripts in greater depth in Haidar 2014. **2.** C. Stewart 1809, p. 179. It later became part of the collection of Philip S. Collins, whose *ex libris* is found on its inner cover and whose widow donated the manuscript to the Philadelphia Museum of Art. **3.** Devare 1961, p. 121, gives a short account of Nusrati and his place in Bijapur literary tradition. See also Eaton 1978, pp. 188–89.

Cat. 175

175 Covered Pot (*Degcha*) with Poetic Inscriptions

Probably Burhanpur, 17th century
Copper, H. 20 in. (51 cm), Diam. of base 14½ in. (36.7 cm), Diam. of cover 12⅝ in. (32 cm)
National Museum, New Delhi (83.356)

Inscribed in *nastaʿliq* script in nine cartouches on the outer lid: nine verses including one with *sahibahu ghiyas ud-din* (owned by Ghiyas ud-Din), two in praise of the *sarposh* (lid), and six from the story of *Khusrau va Shirin* from the *Khamsa* (Quintet) of Nizami

On the inner lid: Persian verses in three bands

In eight cartouches on the inner rim of the base: verses from the *Sharafnama* of the *Khamsa* (Quintet) of Nizami

On upper band around the outside: Persian verses from the *Sharafnama* of the *Khamsa* (Quintet) of Nizami

On lower band around the outside: phrases giving an account of battles, lineages, and names of the Mughal ancestors, including the date A.H. 905 (A.D. 1484), referring to the capture of the city of Aadar

In *thuluth* script on the inner base of the pot: two bands of Persian verses from the late fourteenth-century Kashmiri poet Pir Muhammad Qari; at center, a roundel interweaving the words *padshah* (king), *jahan* (world), *ghazi* (conqueror), and *ʿadil* (justice)

Festivals are an integral part of Indian culture, in which fasting and feasting are significant aspects of life. The special preparation of food is common to both of these practices. The material and size of vessels reveal interesting information about the kind of cooking for which they were used, the people for whom this food was made, and the occasions for which it was prepared. Many times, these vessels exhibit traces of a patron's taste as well as his name and date.

One such cooking vessel is a copper *deg*, or *degcha*, which has been used to prepare food for feasts in India since the ancient period.[1] The Hindu Shastras consider copper pots to be the purest.[2] Such pots appear in a detailed description of a Buddhist monastery and its monastic objects as recorded in the *Vinaya Pitaka* treatise, in a donor inscription at Kanheri and Junnar, and in early cave architecture.[3] On an architrave of a gateway from the Kushana period (1st–3rd century) is a depiction of a Buddhist refectory with twin *degcha*s.[4] A number of similar literary, epigraphic, and visual references from the medieval period are also reported. A folio from the famous cookbook *Ni'matnama* depicts a palace kitchen garden in which twin *degcha*s are used for cooking.[5]

This large copper *degcha* is a beautiful example of Deccani metalwork. It has a dome-shaped lid surmounted by a knob in the shape of a flower bud.[6] The two scrolling, interlacing patterns in the form of trilobed arches repeat on the outer body, neck, base, and lid. The illustration of split-leaf palmettos is similar to a Deccani line drawing on paper with black ink and to the vase motif on the colophon page of the *Kitab-i Nauras* (Book of Nine Essences, cat. 45).[7]

The *degcha*'s body, neck, inner rim, and lid have elongated horizontal panels with Persian calligraphy in *nasta'liq* script. One panel contains the date A.H. 905 (A.D. 1484), which refers to a historical event mentioned in the verses, not the date of the vessel. The stylized-deer design, located in the cusped arch between the two calligraphic panels, is similar to a deer motif on a bronze ewer in a private collection that is signed Nayyim and was produced in either Iran or the Deccan around 1600.[8] The base is decorated with an interlacing pattern with foliage and star motifs interspersed at regular intervals. The two circular plates with calligraphy fixed to the inner base and lid are possibly a later addition. The workmanship, date, and calligraphy indicate that this vessel probably belonged to Deccani royalty or the social elite.[9] AP

1. Tamarind-flavored dishes were formerly cooked in earthenware pots only, and other cooking was done in copper or silver pots; Roger 1994, p. 221. **2.** Watt 1903, p. 53. **3.** Donor inscription at Kanheri and Junnar, in Lüders 1912, nos. 998 and 1182, respectively; see also Dutt 1988, p. 152. A refectory setting appears in architecture at Bhaja, Maharashtra; Dutt 1988, p. 151. **4.** On the architrave, bhikku (Buddhist monks) are depicted assembled for food, in the surroundings of a *vedika* (small railing), *torana* (gateway), and bodhi trees, with one of them serving boiled rice from a large vessel with a ladle. The shape of both these vessels resembles the form of the *degcha* from the National Museum, New Delhi. This architrave is in the Mathura Museum, Uttar Pradesh (M.1). **5.** Jeremiah P. Losty in *Art and Culture* 1992, p. 137, no. 50; Titley 2005, colorpls. 21, 43, 47, and 51, illustrates comparable vessels from the *Ni'matnama*. **6.** The *degcha* is made from a sheet of copper, hammered on a stake, tinned, engraved, and inlaid with a black composition. Watt 1903, p. 58. **7.** Jagdish Mittal in S. C. Welch 1985, p. 313, no. 210, illustrates a line drawing in the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad; also reproduced in Zebrowski 1997, p. 153, pl. 199. For the colophon, see also *Kitab-i Nauras*, National Museum, New Delhi; Haidar 2011b, p. 40, fig. 22. **8.** Zebrowski 1997, p. 152, pl. 198. **9.** Inscriptions were read by Dr. Naseem Akhtar, former curator, Manuscript Department of the National Museum, New Delhi, and also Abdullah Ghouchani. For Pir Muhammad Qari, see Riyaz 1972.

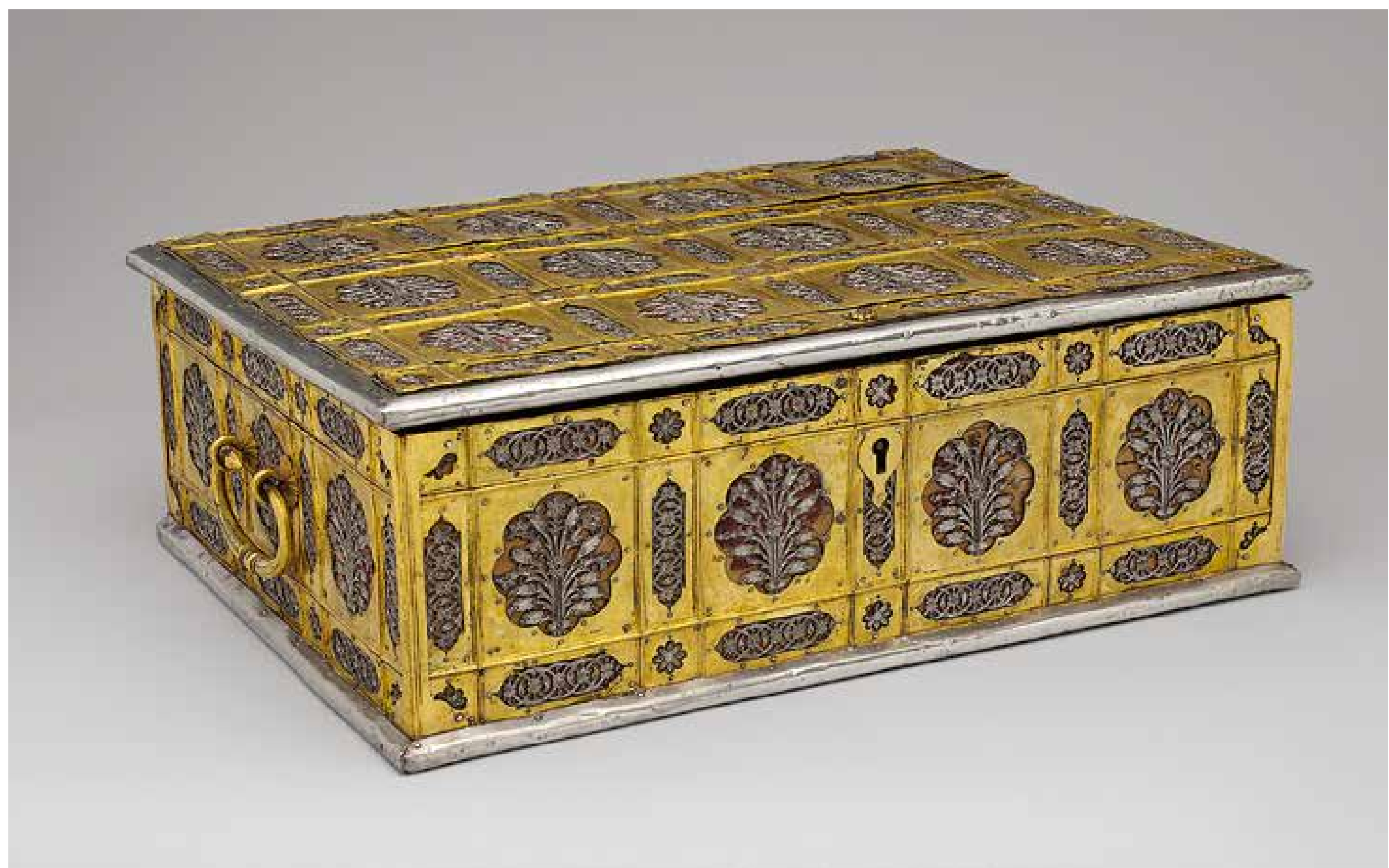
176 Writing Box Clad in Gilt and Silver

Aurangabad or Burhanpur, mid-17th century
Pierced and chased silver and gilt-copper plaques on wood overlaid with dyed wool, H. 5⅜ in. (13.6 cm), W. 16⅜ in. (41.5 cm), D. 12⅝ in. (32 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Gift of Dr. Mortimer D. Sackler, Theresa Sackler and Family, 1998 (1998.434)

This box is one among a group of similarly decorated objects formerly in the collection of the Rajas of Bobbili, a small state in the eastern Deccan, near the port of Vishakhapatnam.[1] Included in the group is an elegant seat, probably part of a palanquin, which remains in a private collection (fig. 88).

Divided into internal compartments beneath its hinged top, the box most likely was designed as a portable desk and would have held writing implements and other valuable objects. Its interior is made from a hardwood, probably from the *shisham*, which is indigenous to the Deccan. The silver plaques were originally set against a plain-weave wool textile, now largely lost, which was tinted red with madder lake, a dye derived from the roots of the *Rubiaceae* plant family native to the region.[2]

The exterior of the box is ornamented in the classic Mughal lattice-and-flower style, with formal blossoms incorporated into lobed compartments. Its flat top and recessed sides recall the profile and elevation of Mughal buildings, with their flat roofs, overhanging cornices, raised plinths, and symmetrical columns.[3] Metal overlay is known in the architecture of the Deccan, as seen in brass-clad doors embossed with floral and stellar patterns on the Bibi ka Maqbara (Queen's Tomb, 1661, fig. 81).[4] Furthermore, the rounded petals on the box's floral



Cat. 176

Fig. 88. Palanquin. Deccan, 17th century. Gilt copper, silver, wood, and dyed wool, H. 5 in. (12.7 cm), W. 34½ in. (87.6 cm). Private collection, Hong Kong

motifs are akin to architectural ornamentation at Golconda, found on the Hira Masjid (1668), on the facade of the mosque atop the Charminar (Four Towers, 1591), and within the mosaic designs in the Badshahi Ashurkhana (Royal Mourning House, 1611).[5] Additionally, the flowering plant motif in the lobed cartouche is reminiscent of colored stuccowork recovered from the inner fort of Golconda.[6] CS

1. Thanks are due to Terence McInerney for providing this information. **2.** See de Lapérouse 2003. **3.** For example, the Itimad al-Daula or Salim Chishti's tomb at Fatehpur Sikri. **4.** Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 134, fig. 99. **5.** Nayeem 2006, p. 166, fig. 2, p. 192, fig. 1(a); Safrani 1992b, p. 74, ill. no. 3. **6.** Nayeem 2006, p. 318, fig. 17.

177 Dagger (*Kard*) with Jade Hilt

Probably Aurangabad, ca. 1650–60
Hilt: jade set with rubies and gold, blade: steel, L. 14⅝ in. (37 cm)
Private collection, London

This remarkable dagger was probably a special commission. The hilt is made of grayish-white jade, which at the time was considered a talismanic stone thought to cure digestive complaints; more important, among the Ottomans, it was believed to ensure victory in battle.[1] Consequently, jade is commonly found in princely weapons.[2] The hilt is strikingly decorated with three horizontal bands of flame motifs, shown bursting with an explosion of fiery heat, expressed in paved, flat-cut rubies within gold settings. This repeated motif may be symbolic, as fire was sometimes considered a means to avert the evil eye, and it may have been understood to offer the owner even greater protection.[3] In the previous century, the Mughal Emperor Akbar (reigned 1556–1605) venerated fire and lamps "since they are to be accounted rays of the greater light," meaning God.[4] Furthermore, anyone working with elephants at this time would know that fire and sometimes fireworks were the best ways to control these royal animals.[5]

The single-edged blade has two fullers and is inlaid in gold at the forte with line and dot motifs. The steel ferrule, which attaches the grip to the blade, is richly gold plated and set with rubies.[6] The grip's backstrap is covered with rubies held in diamond-shaped settings in a style reminiscent of gold mounts on rock-crystal objects from Goa, such as the salt holder now at Burghley House in England.[7] It is hard to pinpoint the exact place of manufacture of jeweled hardstone objects from this period in the Deccan owing to an almost complete absence of inscriptions. One of the very few documented pieces is a dagger, made around 1633, with an inscription on the blade giving the ownership to Husain Nizam Shah III (reigned 1631–33) of Ahmadnagar.[8] Although the sultanate of Ahmadnagar had fallen to the Mughals when the present dagger was made, it may have been produced in a workshop in the northern part of this state, perhaps around Aurangabad, where the patrons for princely pieces like this one would have been Mughal courtiers or members of affluent Rajput families. HR

1. Lentz and Lowry 1989, p. 353, no. 121. **2.** Pinder-Wilson 1992, p. 35. **3.** Gladwin 1885, p. 1075 (note). **4.** Ibid., p. 127. **5.** Egerton 1896, p. 24; Gladwin 1885, p. 190. **6.** The plating is similar to that of a small group of unpublished *talwar*s in a private collection probably from the northern Deccan and dating to the 1650s or 1660s. **7.** *Countess' Gems* 1985, p. 24, no. 26. **8.** This dagger is in a private collection and unpublished.

Cat. 177

Cat. 178

Cat. 179

178 Miniature Manuscript of the Qur'an

Aurangabad, A.H. 1085 (A.D. 1674–75)
Folios: ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper; binding: nephrite jade inlaid with gold and set with rubies and emeralds in *kundan* technique; spine: leather with gold paint, 3¾ × 2¼ in. (9.4 × 5.7 cm)
Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait (LNS 373 HS)

179 Enameled Pendant Case

Probably Aurangabad, ca. 1674–75
Champlevé enameled gold set with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, 3⅛ × 4 in. (7.9 × 10 cm)
Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait (LNS 2201 J)

This miniature manuscript and enameled pendant case fit together perfectly and were in all likelihood made in conjunction with each other. The Qur'an manuscript begins with a lavishly illuminated double frontispiece and contains 199 folios, with 19 lines to a page in black *naskhi* script and chapter headings in gold *thuluth* script. It is dated A.H. 1085 (A.D. 1674–75) below chapter 114 (Surat al-Nas).

Following the Qur'an manuscript are three pages in Persian inscribed in black *nasta'liq* script with the Divination table (*fal*) of the sixth Shi'a imam, Ja'far al-Sadiq, and more pages inscribed in Arabic in *naskhi* with a prayer to be read upon completion of the Qur'an (*du'a' khatm*). On the last folio of the manuscript, a seal impression dated A.H. 1212 (A.D. 1797–98) indicates that it was once in the library of Aristu Jah, a prime minister to Sikandar Jah, Nizam of Hyderabad (reigned 1803–29).

The manuscript binding is composed of two jade slabs held together by a leather spine. Both sides feature a ruby rosette with an emerald center issuing gold vines bearing large ruby blossoms and buds with emerald calyces and leaves. The red leather spine is decorated in gold paint with a central flower issuing vegetal scrolls.

The pendant case has four large cuboctahedral suspension loops set with diamonds and rubies. It opens by sliding one of the side panels, using the small green enameled knob atop the panel. A red enamel ground that enlivens a lattice of gold vines enclosing stemmed diamond flowers with ruby centers covers the front of the pendant, which has a large conical diamond in the center. Emerald leaves overlap the vines, and emerald quatrefoils punctuate the lattice intersections. Gold vines, issuing diamond flowers with ruby centers and emerald leaves, scroll along the edges of the pendant. On the back, staggered rows of stemmed poppies, detailed with opaque white and green enamel, are set against a white enamel ground. SK

Cat. 180

180 *Mahi-maratib* (Fish Standard)

Northern Deccan, ca. 1700
Gilt copper alloy, iron, and rope, L. 26 in. (66 cm)
Furusiyya Art Foundation

From a large cloth painting depicting ʿAbdullah Qutb Shah (reigned 1626–72) in procession (fig. 90), it is evident that *mahi* standards were used in the Deccan. It is not clear, however, whether Deccani rulers adopted them for themselves, or if they were obliged to use them as symbols of loyalty to the Mughals after a certain date. The *mahi-maratib* was one among the Mughal sovereign's many royal ensigns, some of which were also given out to vassal states.[1]

Several *mahi* forms are known from surviving examples and depictions in painting. They include whole metal fish in a naturalistic style, rigid fish profiles with symbols such as crescents attached, fish banners made entirely of cloth (as seen in the procession scene), and metal fish heads, like this one, which would have had billowing cloth bodies.[2] The latter variety became especially prevalent at the Rajput courts, and several eighteenth-century examples are known from royal collections in Rajasthan.[3] The distinctive curling flames at the temples, serrated-edge fin, etched ornament, and gilt-copper body suggest that this fierce fish head came from either the Qutb Shahi world or the northern Deccan. A gateway in the Golconda Fort has plasterwork decoration with fierce fish attacking animals (fig. 89). The style of the flower-head bosses on the sides is also similar to that of motifs seen on a Deccani shield, indicating that the same workshops must have produced such embellishments for objects used in the many parades and military events of the period.[4] NNH

1. Irvine 1903, pp. 31–33. Other important ensigns of royalty—the first four for the sovereign alone—were the *aurang* (throne), *chhatri* (ceremonial umbrella), *sayaban* or *aftabgir* (sunshade), *kaukaba* (a polished steel ball suspended from a long pole), *'alam* (standard), *catr-tok* (yak tail), *tuman-tuk* (another type of yak tail), and *jhanda* (Indian flag). **2.** Jagdish Mittal in S. C. Welch 1985, p. 324, no. 219; Keene 2001, p. 106, no. 8.30. **3.** *Gods, Kings and Tigers* 1997. **4.** Mohamed 2008, p. 368, no. 350.

Fig. 89. Stuccowork, Habshi Kamans (Ceremonial Gates), Golconda, mid- to late 16th century

Fig. 90. *Procession of Sultan 'Abdullah Qutb Shah* (detail). Golconda mid-17th century. Colors and gold on cloth, 11 ft. × 2 ft. 11 in. (336 × 89 cm). Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya, Mumbai, Sir Akbar Haydari Collection (43.50)

181 Panel from a Tent Lining with a Fantastical Flower

Burhanpur, 1665 or earlier
Mordant- and resist-dyed and painted plain-weave cotton, 8 ft. 7 in. × 50 in. (261.6 × 127 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1931 (31.82.1)

Burhanpur figures in the mid-seventeenth-century reports of many foreign merchants as a center for good-quality textiles. As French diamond dealer and traveler Jean-Baptiste Tavernier wrote, "There is a large trade in this town, and both at Burhánpur itself and in all the province an enormous quantity of very transparent muslins are made, which are exported to Persia, Turkey, Muscovie, Poland, Arabia, Grand Cairo, and other places. Some of these are dyed various colours and with flowers."[1]

This tent panel is typical of the products of Burhanpur, and its ornamentation derives from the Mughal floral style that also spread to designs for *bidri* ware, carpets, and other decorative objects. Linking this piece most strongly to Burhanpur is the central flower, similar to the one in Tavernier's description, and the flowering plants painted in the niches of the tomb of Bilqis Begum (fig. 18). But a strong element of Deccani fantasy still prevails. The plant sprouts different blossoms on each stem, including an iris and a Chinese lantern, a flower mentioned in poetic descriptions of Deccani gardens.[2]

A defaced inscription on the back of the panel is illegible but has long been thought to be an inventory note from Amber, the northern Indian palace of Mirza Raja Jai Singh I (reigned 1622–67).[3] This suggestion was confirmed by the discovery of an inscription on another panel from the same tent lining that states the textiles were inventoried at Amber on A.H. 16 Jumada al-Thani 1076 (December 23, 1665).[4] The inscription not only links this panel to the collection at the Amber palace but also places its production prior to 1665, and therefore closer in date to the construction of Bilqis Begum's tomb around 1632. MS

1. Tavernier 1889, vol. 1, p. 51. **2.** Ali Akbar Husain, personal communication to Navina Najat Haidar, 2011. **3.** Smart 1986, p. 14. **4.** This panel is in the Doris Duke Foundation of Islamic Art (83.13). Inscription as found and read by Rahul Jain; personal communication to Navina Najat Haidar, February 21, 2014.

Cat. 181

182 Man's Robe (*Jama*) with Poppies

Burhanpur, 18th century
Painted cotton with applied gold leaf, and silk tassels, 80 × 55 in. (203.2 × 139.7 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1929 (29.135)

The production of cotton textiles at Burhanpur included not only dyed cottons but also painted fabrics like the one used to make this eighteenth-century robe. The pink poppies were created using a method more akin to painting on paper than the resist- and mordant-dyeing process employed to produce *kalamkari*s. First, the decoration was painted onto the fabric with pigments and gold leaf combined with adhesive, after which the surface of the textile was covered with starch and burnished. Silk bands now form the robe's underarm ties and define the hem, wrists, and collar. These seem to have been added when the garment was retailored to fit a new owner, and probably replaced elements that had become worn.[1]

While the robe is quite Mughal in design and tailoring, its provenance connects it to the Deccan.[2] It is also similar to a robe in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, which is said to have come from the collection of the Nizam of Hyderabad.[3] Furthermore, the pattern of the fabric and style of the robe match those of garments depicted in northern Deccani paintings of the late seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century, the period of Mughal rule in the region.[4] The extra-long sleeves, worn bunched at the wrists, and the full skirt, which reaches the ankles, are the most notable features of this robe style. MS

1. Observations made by conservator Nobuko Kajitani; see Kajitani 1995. **2.** The dealer who sold this *jama* to the Metropolitan Museum stated that it came from Warangal; Imre Schwaiger, invoice, October 21, 1929, curatorial files, Department of Islamic Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. **3.** Victoria and Albert Museum (IM.312-1921). **4.** For example, see *Abdul Ghaffar Khan Bahadur* (Zebrowski 1983a, p. 210, ill. no. 181); *Muslim Nobleman Smoking on a Verandah* (Zebrowski 1983a, p. 219, ill. no. 190); or *Allah-wirdi Khan Receiving a Petition* (Zebrowski 1983a, p. 236, ill. no. 209).

Cat. 182

183 Carpet with Lattice Pattern

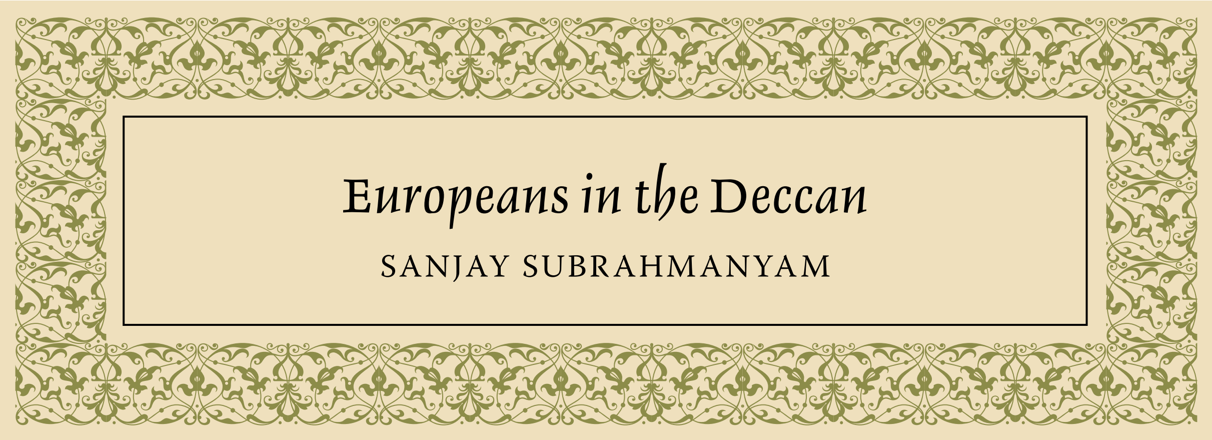
Probably Warangal, ca. 1800
Cotton and silk foundation and silk pile, 83⅜ × 45¼ in. (211.7 × 114.9 cm)
Collection of H. E. Karim Khan, Zurich

The Mughal penchant for orderly rows of flowering motifs also came to be reflected in Deccani carpet design. This silk-pile carpet has a central field with a lattice connecting flowers with blue, yellow, green, and salmon-pink petals. Guard stripes with a reciprocal merlon pattern in yellow and red are found on either side of the main border, which encloses a meandering vine with red flowers on a blue ground. The carpet was once thought to date to the seventeenth century, but it may have been produced closer to around 1800.[1]

Both this carpet and the multiple-niche prayer carpet (cat. 151) have been associated with Warangal, a town about ninety miles east of Hyderabad. Several other nineteenth-century carpets shown in exhibitions in England during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries also originated in Warangal.[2] MS

1. Steven Cohen, personal communication, February 22, 2013. **2.** Primary among these are silk carpets in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (0744 [IS] and 0739 [IS]); S. Cohen 2011, pp. 114–15.

Cat. 183



Europeans in the Deccan

SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM

European engagement with the Deccan between 1500 and 1700 took a variety of forms. The principal modalities that need to be accounted for are trade, warfare, medicine, and artistic exchange. To these a fifth aspect, which is religion, can be added in the sense above all that missionaries had a role to play in the interactions, even if it was a minor one. Further, while some of these dealings can be properly classified as interstate relations, there were also many forms of circulation and exchange that more or less entirely escaped the control of the states in the region. This essay briefly explores all of these dimensions while acknowledging that the Deccan courts were engaged in a vast web of inter-Asian exchanges, whether with the Mughal Empire to the north, the Safavids and Ottomans to the west, the Vijayanagara Empire and its offshoots to the south, or across the Bay of Bengal to Aceh, the Malay world, Thailand, and Burma to the east.

The first Portuguese voyage to India of Vasco da Gama in 1498 already saw some sketchy contacts with the Deccan, especially when the Portuguese made a brief halt at Angediva Island (near Karwar). Before that some Europeans, such as the Italian Nicolò de' Conti and the Russian horse merchant Anafasy Nikitin, had had some experience of the Bahmani sultanate in the fifteenth century; Nikitin visited during the period when the great trading vizier Khwaja Mahmud Gawan Gilani (died 1481) dominated political affairs. The Portuguese quickly became aware that political affairs in the Deccan were in a phase of rapid evolution at the moment of their arrival. As the Bahmani sultanate moved toward dissolution, several successor sultanates emerged in its place. Since they were largely based on the west coast, the Portuguese tended first to deal with the ʻAdil Shahis of Bijapur (whom they termed Idalcão or Idalxá) and the Nizam Shahis (Nizamaluco) of Ahmadnagar. It was only in the middle decades of the sixteenth century that they had more direct experience of the Golconda-based Qutb Shahis (Cotamaluco), the Berar-based ʻImad Shahis (Madremaluco), and the Bidar-based Barid Shahis (Veridio).

The tenor of official Portuguese dealings with Bijapur was frequently hostile, primarily as a result of the conquest of Goa by Governor Afonso de Albuquerque in 1510. An initial attack in the early part of that year was countered by Bijapur forces, but in November the Portuguese managed to conquer the port definitively, despite the presence among its defenders of a number

Fig. 91. Interior, Church of Saint Francis of Assisi, Goa, 1661

of Italian renegades and other mercenaries from the Middle East. From Goa, the Portuguese proceeded in 1521 to seize Chaul from the Nizam Shahis, and these two ports became their principal points of access to the Deccan in the years that followed. Eventually, they also maintained factories in other west-coast centers such as Dabhol, and by midcentury, they established semi-agrarian settlements in the area of Bombay (now Mumbai), notably Bassein (now Vasai), which Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat had reluctantly ceded to them. In schematic terms, therefore, the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* remained perched limpet-like on the coast, while the Deccani sultanates periodically tried to dislodge this unwanted presence with little success through attacks on Chaul, Goa, and other settlements in the 1540s, 1570s, 1590s, and so on. The sultans also stayed in contact with Safavid Iran through the Persian Gulf, and with the ports of the Red Sea and South Arabia. Iranian and other West Asian migrants continued to come into the Deccan through the sixteenth century and played a major role in elite politics. Some like Shah Tahir Husaini or Mustafa Khan Ardistani even maintained relations and a correspondence with the Portuguese.

In this process, the Portuguese came to know quite a lot about the Deccani sultanates, as one can gather from their official correspondence as well as the chronicles of writers like Diogo do Couto or António Pinto Pereira. They followed the twists and turns of Deccani politics by a variety of means, notably through unofficial go-betweens. Sometimes they even tried to intervene in succession struggles, as in the episode of the exiled Prince ʿAli bin Yusuf Khan (or Mealecão), son of the founder of the Bijapur dynasty, in the 1550s. One can summarily list the categories of those who mediated these dealings. First of all, from early on, there were Portuguese renegades and mercenaries, who worked for the Deccani sultans, such as João Machado in the 1510s and Gonçalo Vaz Coutinho and Sancho Pires later in the century. Some of these men converted to Islam, whether as a matter of convenience or of conviction, but they continued to keep the lines of communication to the Portuguese world open. Do Couto noted, for example, that he was well informed regarding the famous Battle of Talikota in 1565, in which Vijayanagara opposed the Deccani sultans, because of "some Portuguese who were present at this battle."[1] Second, there were the traders and the occasional envoys who shuttled between Goa and Chaul and the interior centers, mainly in order to buy Deccani textiles (*roupas do Balagate*) as well as precious stones, in particular diamonds. The same traders sometimes imported exotic goods from Goa, including Portuguese wine, for which there was apparently a market at the inland courts. The important account (or *Vida*) of the Flemish jewel merchant from Bruges, Jacques de Coutre, is a valuable source of information for these matters in the early seventeenth century. Third, Portuguese and even Italian and French doctors could be found at the Deccani courts. An early example was the New Christian physician Garcia da Orta, who worked for the Nizam Shahis for a time in the mid-sixteenth century. In the 1590s, the Mughal poet laureate Faizi reported the presence in Ahmadnagar of an important European physician named Borges. When the Mughals expanded into the Deccan, many Mughal governors and princes also brought such *firangi* physicians in their entourages, as one learns from the Italian doctor Niccolò Manucci, who wrote from Daulatabad in the later seventeenth century.

Though European contacts with the Deccan initially concentrated on its western part, by the later decades of the sixteenth century, one can also find more and more dealings with the east, in

particular with the Golconda region. Again, the lead was taken by mercenaries and renegades, but during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580–1612), there were unofficial Portuguese trading settlements in east-coast ports, such as Masulipatnam and Nizamapatnam. Officially, Goa disapproved of this presence, and occasionally Portuguese fleets even conducted raids on ships going from Masulipatnam to Aceh and Burma. But into the seventeenth century, an uneasy entente emerged between Goa and the Qutb Shahis, though elements of tension remained ever present. While major nobles like Mir Jumla had trade relations with the *Estado*, the Golconda sultans played the Dutch and the English against the Portuguese, allowing the northern Europeans substantial trading privileges. The Dutch, in particular, assumed a role of some importance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, all along the Coromandel Coast. They arrived as early as 1605 in Masulipatnam from Aceh and soon consolidated a presence in several other ports and commercial centers. Their main interest was South Indian textiles, which they initially used in their spice trade in Southeast Asia and later brought back in some quantities to Europe as well. These included excellent examples of *kalamkari*, produced by the textile painters of the coast, which sometimes portrayed traditional or mythological themes and at other moments even depicted the Europeans themselves in all their exoticism. Dutch relations with Golconda and other regional powers were frequently tense, and they used their sea power to threaten local and regional commercial interests on a regular basis. Late in the seventeenth century, they even sought to capture and fortify Masulipatnam itself but were forced to abandon this project once the Mughals had consolidated their presence in the area after about 1690. The Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC, United East India Company, more commonly known as the Dutch East India Company) not only established factories on the coast, but even regularly sent their agents inland to the great cotton-weaving centers of Telangana, such as Khammam, Penuganchiprolu, and Nagulavancha. They also took in villages through revenue farming, especially in the Godavari delta region.

The English, who were initially more modest in their activities, nevertheless obtained an important grant (the so-called Golden Phirmaund of 1634) from Sultan ʻAbdullah Qutb Shah (reigned 1626–72), which helped consolidate their trade on the east coast. They too participated extensively in the textile trade and maintained a regular factory at Masulipatnam as well as subsidiary operations both on the coast and in the interior. A more fragile presence was that of the Danes, whose main base was at Tranquebar in the Thanjavur region. The Ostindisk Kompagni (East India Company) in the 1630s and 1640s was often staffed by renegade Dutchmen and acquired an unsavory reputation for piracy after attacks on Masulipatnam shipping. But the Danes were never more than a distant third to the Dutch and English. With regard to the British East India Company, their presence in the western Deccan remained limited until the 1660s, when its eventual acquisition of Bombay from the Portuguese brought it into far closer contact with that region, as well as with the emergent political power, the Marathas under Shivaji Bhonsle (reigned 1674–80).

By the latter half of the seventeenth century, there was a complex official and unofficial European presence in the Deccan, largely on the coast and even in a variety of interior centers and garrison towns. This is what the French Compagnie des Indes Orientales (East India

Company) found when it entered the region for the first time in the 1660s. The French could count for support on physicians, such as Antoine Destremau, long stationed at Golconda; well-informed jewel traders like Jean-Baptiste Tavernier; and a host of others (including the resourceful physician Niccolò Manucci) to help them in their dealings. There were certainly some French mercenaries and gunners in various armies in the Deccan by then, as even a quick survey of Mughal salary papers from the period shows. But there are also clear signs of artistic exchanges. Manucci himself collected a Mughal portrait album in Hyderabad, and the same was done by the wandering Dutch artist Cornelis de Bruijn on behalf of various patrons in Europe. Earlier still, it is possible that the famous Laud *ragamala* album was acquired by the British East India Company's agents through their contacts at Burhanpur in the early 1630s.[2] Also in the Deccan were a handful of European artists, of whom Cornelis Claesz. Heda (active 16th–17th century) at Bijapur has received the most recent attention. Heda worked for Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627), but he also continued to be a source of strategic information for his Dutch compatriots in the 1610s and 1620s. In sum, even if the great centers of the Mughal north, such as Delhi, Agra, and Lahore, may have attracted a greater number of such figures, there is little sense in seeing the Deccan as a terra incognita for these wandering Europeans of the seventeenth century.

In all of this, religion and interreligious dealings had a relatively small role to play. While a certain number of Europeans converted to Islam, very few converts to Christianity were seen outside the European coastal settlements, and few Jesuit or Dominican missionaries ventured into the interior. In the absence of a strong religious flavoring to the interactions, frontiers and boundaries remained relatively porous, a fact that later nationalist historiography (focusing on the role of the Marathas) has tended to distort. Shivaji's own father, general Shahaji Bhonsle, was referred to by the Bijapur Sultan 'Ali 'Adil Shah II (reigned 1656–72) as a "pillar of [my] victorious state" (*rukn al-daulat al-qahirah*) and as his son (*farzand*), when Shahaji Bhonsle was employed in campaigns to the south.[3] As it happens, the Deccan was also the region where the first major European attempts at territorial conquest in India occurred in the eighteenth century. This relatively brief and eventually unsuccessful adventure, masterminded by the French warlord Charles de Bussy (1718–1785) between the late 1740s and the mid-1750s, has been overshadowed in history by the subsequent British conquests in Bengal and elsewhere. Nevertheless, it is instructive to see how de Bussy could penetrate the political system of Hyderabad on the death of Nizam al-Mulk, Asaf Jah I (reigned 1724–48), in May 1748 and then deftly play off Mughals and Marathas as he tried to cleave off a new state under French protection in the east-central Deccan. Taking on Mughal titles and honors such as the fish standard (*mahi-maratib*), de Bussy attempted to profit from the long European familiarity with the Deccan. His failure thus closed a cycle that had begun in 1510, with Albuquerque at Goa.

1. Cited in Subrahmanyam 2012, p. 63. **2.** The album is in the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. **3.** Khan 1963.

Cat. 184

Cat. 185

184 Filigree Casket with Sliding Top

Probably Goa, 17th century
Parcel-gilt silver filigree, H. 5⅛ in. (13 cm), W. 5⅛ in. (13 cm), D. 3 9/16 in. (9 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Friends of Islamic Art Gifts, Elizabeth S. Ettinghausen Gift, in memory of Richard Ettinghausen, and Ralph D. Minasian, and The Irene Diamond Fund Inc. Gifts, 2014 (2014.253)

185 Filigree Casket with Barrel Top

Probably Goa, 17th century
Silver filigree, H. 3⅜ in. (8.6 cm), W. 4⅞ in. (12.4 cm), D. 2¾ in. (6.9 cm)
Hispanic Society of America, New York (LR 2321/1)

From at least the late sixteenth century, the so-called Golden Goa was a major center for the introduction, production, and trade of precious objects and rarities, including new animals and plants, styles of music, European engravings, fine furniture, gemstones, and goldworking. Many imported goods were presented as diplomatic gifts to the Mughal and Deccani courts, while others stimulated the local production of new designs to suit Portuguese taste. Fine objects were regularly made for the palaces, churches, and forts of the viceroys. For example, the Fortaleza Palace in Goa was refurbished with new textiles and carved and inlaid wood furniture for every viceroy, and the old furnishings were sent off to Lisbon.[1] Precious objects, such as embellished boxes and jewels, thus moved easily between courtly worlds and farther-flung centers. Deccani craftsmen were exposed to objects through trade, and documentary evidence indicates exchange among craftsmen in Portugal and India. Raul Xamtin, son of a famous Goan jeweler, was recorded to have enjoyed a long stay in Lisbon during the reign of Manuel I (1495–1521).[2]

In Goa, advances in techniques were made in gold- and silverwork, notably in objects with gold filigree, in both open and closed styles. One spectacular filigree casket from Goa was commissioned by Viceroy Matias de Albuquerque around 1597, while a group of silver-filigree objects in Saint Petersburg show the same technique still in use in the mid-seventeenth century.[3]

The technique of filigree involves drawing wires through a series of holes in a steel plate, which gradually diminish in diameter. The use of wire lengths of differing thickness and the alternation of plain wires with twisted ones enable craftsmen to vary the designs of scrolling palmettes and *buti* or *buta* (flame or feather) motifs.[4] This art form was transmitted to craftsmen across the Deccan, and filigree came to

be made in such centers as Karimnagar in Andhra Pradesh and Cuttack in Orissa, as well as Goa, where these two caskets were likely produced.[5] Filigree objects produced in India were held in the same esteem as examples produced in Europe.[6]

The filigree technique seen on these boxes also spread throughout Europe and across the globe, with similar high-quality pieces produced in Italy, Spain, China, Malta, South America, Persia, and other centers.[7] Filigree became especially popular in England toward the end of the seventeenth century, following the marriage of Charles II (reigned 1660–85) to the Portuguese Catherine of Braganza in 1662. As part of her dowry, Catherine brought many precious objects from India to England, including caskets such as these, and jewelry made of silver and gilt-silver filigree.[8] These objects undoubtedly influenced the English production of filigree.[9]

NNH/CS

1. Dias 2004, p. 68. **2.** *Mughal Silver Magnificence* 1987, p. 153, no. 227. **3.** *Encompassing the Globe* 2007, pp. 260, 264, 265, nos. I-28, I-32, I-33. **4.** *Mughal Silver Magnificence* 1987, p. 101, nos. 127, 128. **5.** Zebrowski 1997, p. 49. **6.** George Birdwood, quoted in Watt 1903, pp. 37–38: "The silver filigrain work, in which the people of Cuttack in Orissa have attained such surprising skill and delicacy, is identical in character with that of Arabia, Malta, Genoa, Norway, Sweden and Denmark, and with the filigrain work of ancient Greece, Byzantium and Etruria." **7.** A comparable casket with elements similar to both the Metropolitan Museum and the Hispanic Society caskets is attributed to Venice; see *Art of Filigree* 1990, n.p. (collection of the Order of Lenin State History Museum [now the State Historical Museum], Moscow). For a comparable casket made in China, see *Silver Wonders from the East* 2006, pp. 44, 102, no. 1. A filigree casket with very similar shape and feet to the example in the Hispanic Society (cat. 185) is in the collection of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (384); *Mughal Silver Magnificence* 1987, p. 153, no. 227. Another is in the collection of Pádua Ramos, Matosinhos; Nuno Vassallo e Silva in *Heritage of Rauluchantim* 1996, p. 214, no. 27. **8.** *Mughal Silver Magnificence* 1987, p. 152, no. 225. **9.** For comparable seventeenth-century English filigree examples, see The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1974.28.157, .158); Impey 1998, pp. 119, 120, nos. 34a, b, 35a, b.

186 Rock-Crystal Knife with a Jeweled Parrot

Probably Goa, ca. 1600
Hilt: gold set with rubies and emeralds and rock crystal, blade: steel
L. 8½ in. (21.5 cm)
Private collection, London

The rock-crystal pommel of this knife is carved into the form of a parrot, a motif also found in Hindu and Deccani metalwork, painting, and architectural details from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On this piece, the bird is looking over its shoulder and once held a pearl, now lost, in its beak. It is heavily jeweled with a band of rubies centered with emeralds edging its wings, a ruby-set beak, and emerald-set eyes. It is perched on a plinth with three bands of rubies set in gold.

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The lower part of the hilt, which tapers toward a scrolled quillon block, has strapwork in gold filigree and is chased with a foliate trellis pattern within beaded borders. The shield motif at the back of the hilt resembles a Portuguese coat of arms. The single-edged blade is steel with a black patina.

The form of this knife is related to the Indian *kard* (dagger), commonly used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Only someone of high social standing would have owned such an excellent-quality, all-purpose knife, and it was probably made for ceremonial rather than everyday use. It would have been worn suspended on a cord strung from a belt and was designed to fit almost completely into its sheath, with only the figure of the parrot protruding to make it easy to grip.

This knife seems to be the only known Indo-Portuguese example from Goa with a hilt carved out of rock crystal. However, parallels for the knife's ornamentation can be found in the goldwork and gemstone settings employed on other Goan objects. In the very early seventeenth century, Goa was an important trading center for hardstone objects and gemstones, and many Indo-Portuguese goldsmiths and lapidaries occupied its streets, creating works in their own distinctive style.[1]

Out of the small group of extant mounted rock-crystal objects from Goa dating to around 1600, this knife is perhaps closest in goldsmith technique to a ceremonial whistle made for a captain-general of a Portuguese fleet that stopped at Goa, now preserved in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.[2] A second jeweled captain-general's whistle from Goa, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, displays similar gold filigree and raised stone settings arranged in a diamond-shaped pattern.[3] This style of stone setting is also found in a rock-crystal figure of the Good Shepherd, probably made in Goa around 1600 and now in the Wallace Collection, London.[4] HR

1. Silva 2004b, p. 120. **2.** Silva 1995, p. 61, fig. 5. **3.** Silva 2004b, p. 125. **4.** Silva 1995, p. 61, fig. 4.

187 Shell-Shaped Pomander with a *Makara* Head and Birds

Probably Goa, 17th century
Cast, embossed, and engraved gold inlaid with turquoise and rubies, H. 1⅞ in. (4.8 cm), W. 1⅛ in. (2.9 cm), D. ⅝ in. (1.6 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Louis E. and Theresa S. Seley Purchase Fund for Islamic Art, A. Robert Towbin Gift, funds from various donors, and Josephine L. Berger-Nadler Gift, 2009 (2009.148a, b)

The cap of this pendant unscrews and the hinges on the bottom allow it to be opened, revealing a small compartment with traces of red residue, thought to be the remains of an aromatic substance. The pendant, probably made in the western Deccan, might have been a pomander, a European

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accessory with a perforated case used to carry a mixture of scented spices and perfumes that the wearer could sniff when in the presence of offensive odors.

The cap is in the form of a fantastical aquatic beast, the *makara*, with turquoise-set eyes and a ruby in the center of its head. The two birds flanking the *makara* are similar to those found on other kinds of Deccani jewelry, especially rings. The pierced filigree work, with flowers and leaves on a vine, is loosely related to motifs in local textiles and manuscript illumination. The lines of the flowers, which turn and curve in a lively, inspired manner, are particularly Deccani in spirit. MS

188 Ring with Lobed Bezel and Birds

Deccan, 16th–17th century
Gold, max. Diam. 1⅛ in. (2.9 cm), Diam. of bezel ¾ in. (1.9 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Louis E. and Theresa S. Seley Purchase Fund for Islamic Art, 2008 (2008.565)

The bezel on this ring may once have held a jeweled bird or been filled with a gemstone. The lotus-shaped center and addorsed birds are familiar elements in the art of South India and the Deccan. The back stud at the base, however, is a feature of Ottoman rings from as early as the fourteenth century.[1] NNH

1. Wenzel 2003, pp. 125, 129, 131, nos. 389, 401, 409.

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189 Goa Stone and Container

Goa, ca. 1700
Container and stand: pierced and repoussé gold, with cast legs and finials, H. 2⅝ in. (6.7 cm), Diam. 5⅝ in. (14.4 cm); stone: compound of organic and inorganic materials, Diam. 1⅛ in. (3 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 2004 (2004.244a–d)

190 Goa Stone with Case and Stand

Goa, late 17th century
Container and stand: pierced, chased, and mercury-gilt silver, H. 2 in. (5.2 cm), Diam. 1¾ in. (4.4 cm); stone: mercury-gilt compound of organic and inorganic materials, Diam. 1¼ in. (3.2 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Gordon S. Haight, 1980 (1980.228.1; .2a, b; .3)

Goa stones are talismanic objects named for the location where they are believed to have been manufactured by Jesuits in the late seventeenth century. Like bezoar stones (natural gallstones of ruminants), Goa stones were known for their medicinal and prophylactic powers, though they were manmade. The stone usually consists of a paste of bezoar, clay,

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silt, crushed shell, amber, musk, resin, narwhal tusk (believed to be unicorn horn), and crushed precious and semiprecious stones, all pressed into a ball and then gilt. Scrapings from the ball were ingested as an antidote to poison and melancholy, as well as to prevent illness. A pharmaceutical treaty published in Goa in 1563 by physician Garcia da Orta, *Colóquio dos simples, e drogas e coisas medicinais da Índia* (Conversations on the Simples and Drugs and Medical Things of India) devotes several pages to the use and history of bezoar stones.

The ornate gilt containers for these stones were believed to enrich the medicinal effects of the stone. In a letter of 1580, Filippo Sassetti, a Florentine merchant, wrote that Goa stones were customarily mounted in gold to enhance their powers.[1] The Portuguese exported these objects to Europe, and the elaborate containers reflect the sophisticated filigree styles popular in Portugal (cats. 184–85).[2] Goa stone holders are recorded in European treasuries and Kunstkammers from the early seventeenth century.[3] The gold example contains European animals within an ogival trellis resting on a bed of floral arabesques. The smaller silver Goa case has a more typical allover scrolling pattern. CS

1. See Nuno Vassallo e Silva in *Exotica* 2001, p. 152, no. 48. **2.** See also Impey 1998, p. 118, no. 33. **3.** Silva in *Exotica* 2001, p. 151, no. 47.

191 Carved Panel from a Casket

Deccan, late 16th century
Teak, 15⅜ × 50¼ in. (29 × 127.5 cm)
Private collection, Seattle

This rectangular panel is one of four remaining sides from a large wood casket.[1] It appears that a metal plate was once attached to the uncarved area in the center of the top of one panel (fig. 92), which suggests the box once had a locking lid. Perhaps the casket was a piece of church furniture, such as a tabernacle or Bible box, which required this kind of security.

The fantastical beasts, sea creatures, and spiraling vegetal patterns depicted on all four panels recall motifs on other

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Fig. 92. Carved Panel. Deccan, late 16th century. Teak, 15⅜ in. × 50¾ in. (39 × 129 cm). Musée des Arts Décoratifs de l'Océan Indien, Saint-Louis, La Réunion (MO 997-1053b)

types of Indian crafts made for the Portuguese market, such as the embroidered textiles from Bengal that blend elements of classical and Indian mythology with biblical narratives. Like the textiles, the wood panels capture the convergence of European and Indian imagery. The panel's snarling double-headed sea creatures are akin to the fierce dolphins rendered in the woodwork of European Renaissance churches and to the fish found in carved plaster ornaments on Deccani palaces. The addorsed birds are similar to the mythical double-headed *gandaberunda* of South Indian iconography and the heraldic birds in northern European imagery. The bunches of grapes could be likened to those hanging from twisting trees on Bijapur ceramic tiles as well as to the grapes that appear in the carved wood altars of Goan churches. The resonance with the motifs on objects from the central and southern parts of the Indian peninsula suggests that the wood box was manufactured in the Deccan. Carved wood furniture, often made from ebony, was also produced on the Coromandel Coast.

MS

1. The four were still together when sold at Sotheby's, New York, in 1993 (see Sotheby's 1993b, lot 180) and when at Spink & Son, London, in 1994 (see Mark Zebrowski in *Treasures of the Courts* 1994, pp. 32–33, no. 22). Aside from the two panels illustrated here, another is now in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs de l'Océan Indien, Saint-Louis, La Réunion (*Route des Indes* 1998, p. 108, no. 36), and the fourth is in the Art Institute of Chicago (2001.107).

192 Christ Child as the *Bom Pastor* (Good Shepherd)

Goa, ca. 1700
Carved ivory, H. 10½ in. (27 cm), W. 3⅛ in. (9 cm), D. 2¼ in. (5.5 cm)
Hispanic Society of America, New York (LD2109)

Beginning in the sixteenth century, ivory sculptures of Christian subjects were commonly produced in India, especially Catholic Goa, for export to Europe. Dense white ivory, particular to African elephants, was exported from the coasts of Mozambique and Congo to the Gujarati ports of Surat and Cambay.[1] The Christ Child as the Good Shepherd was the most popular iconographic subject for ivory carvings produced in Goa. His role as a shepherd is identifiable by the sheep surrounding him, as well as his ensemble, including sandals, a satchel across his shoulders, and a woolen or sheepskin garment tied around his waist with a cord. This ivory depicts the Christ Child seated, with his eyes closed in sleep or meditation. His right palm gently supports his face, and his left hand holds one of his flock, as another sheep rests on his shoulder. He is enthroned on a sacred mountain composed of figures flanking the fountain of youth and pairs of symmetrical sheep, both grazing and sleeping. The woman at the very bottom, reclining in a mountain cave and reading from her book of prayers, is Mary Magdalen, who represents conversion and repentance.[2] In comparable examples, a canopy of extended branches envelops the Christ Child and the scene is ornamented with iconography of God the Father and a dove representing the Holy Spirit.[3] It is possible that this object once had a similar extension attached on the back.[4]

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It has been suggested that these depictions of the Christ Child as the Good Shepherd can be read as hybrid cultural objects that were influenced by the stories of Krishna, an incarnation of the Hindu god Vishnu, who was a cowherd as a child and is often depicted as such in pastoral scenes surrounded by calves. In addition, the blissful and enlightened expression on Christ's face has been likened to that of the Buddha.[5] CS

1. Carvalho 2008, p. 57. **2.** Maria Helena Mendes Pinto in *Vasco da Gama et l'Inde* 1998, pp. 144–45, no. 88. **3.** See *De Goa à Lisboa* 1991, p. 76, no. 25, pp. 78–79, no. 26; Pinto in *Vasco da Gama et l'Inde* 1998, pp. 143–44, no. 87. **4.** For other examples without an arboreal canopy, see *Arte do Marfim* 1993, pp. 64, 65. **5.** Ibid., pp. 61–62, 79–80 (English translation).

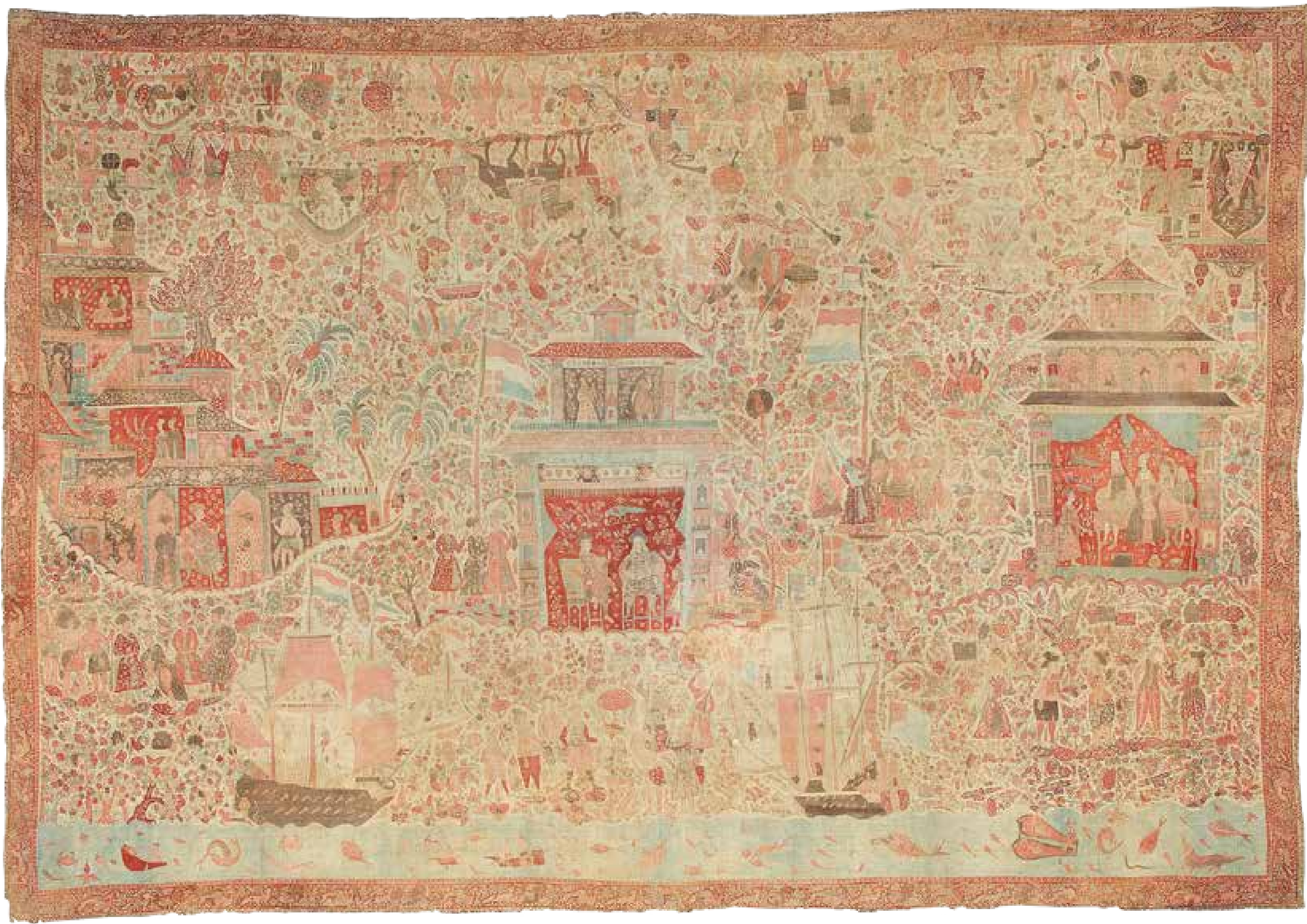
193 Reception of a Dutch Ambassador

Coromandel Coast, ca. 1654
Mordant-painted and -dyed and resist-dyed plain-weave cotton, 76½ × 108 in. (194 × 274 cm)
Musée de la Mode et du Textile, Les Arts Décoratifs, Paris (12132)

Impelled to find direct trade routes to Asia after access to the entrepôt of Lisbon was blocked owing to the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648), Dutch trading companies launched exploratory voyages across the Indian Ocean in the 1590s. For the century prior to the Dutch entry into the Asian market, Portuguese traders had operated in this arena with little competition; the Dutch, however, broke that monopoly by employing superior ships and providing local rulers with an attractive alternative to dealing with the Portuguese. Following the success of the initial Dutch voyages, the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC, United East India Company) was formed in 1602, and the Dutch governing body, the States-General, granted the company the right not only to trade but also to wage war, build forts, and make treaties with Asian potentates.[1] The Dutch would eventually establish their base of operations in Batavia in Indonesia, but Indian textiles were the main commodity sold within their intra-Asian network. Their factories in India, particularly those along the Coromandel Coast, played a significant role in the larger Dutch enterprise. These factories were located at Masulipatnam (fig. 93) and Petaboli in the Deccan proper, and at Pulicat and Negapatnam farther south.[2] Dutch officials also resided at Hyderabad from the 1660s to 1680s in order to maintain good relations with the Qutb Shahi sultans. Unlike the impressive Portuguese establishment at Goa, with its florid Gothic churches, the humble and utilitarian Dutch settlements reflect their uncertain tenure in the Deccan.

The Dutch presence led to a range of artistic interchanges. On a commercial level, they bought textiles as well as carved wood and ivory goods. On a personal level, they purchased portrait sets of the great Deccani and Mughal rulers.[3] This was clearly part of a larger Dutch interest in Indian history and culture, as demonstrated by the efforts of VOC employee Daniel Havart, who in 1688 translated Sa'di's *Bustan* (The Orchard, ca. 1500–1503) while stationed at Masulipatnam.[4]

Conversely, there was a growing awareness of European art in India, and Deccani artists began to experiment with subject matter found in European prints and paintings. In the realm of textiles, European influence can be seen in the direct quotation of English and Dutch imagery (cat. 164). The



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present work, a large *kalamkari*, depicts ships arriving at a bustling port, a procession with a dignitary in a palanquin, and a ceremonial meeting between European figures. These scenes are arranged facing the edge of each of the four sides, in a manner much like that of the decoration on *kalamkari* summer carpets from Golconda. The present *kalamkari* was possibly laid on a table in the Dutch company's meeting hall, as Turkish and Persian carpets were commonly displayed in European interiors at the time.

The identifiable Dutch and Danish flags suggest that a specific event is depicted on the textile. Perhaps it portrays a meeting of 1654 when the Dutch, feeling insecure at their factory in Karikal (near Negapatnam), proposed to buy from the Danes their fort of Dansborg (close to the port of Tranquebar). If interpreted this way, the Dutch ships are shown sailing to Tranquebar and dropping anchor next to Danish shipping vessels; we see the Danes welcoming the Dutch, and the negotiations being conducted. It has been further suggested that the building on the right is the home in Pulicat of Laurens Pit, a patron of the textile industry and governor of the Dutch settlements on the Coromandel Coast.[5]

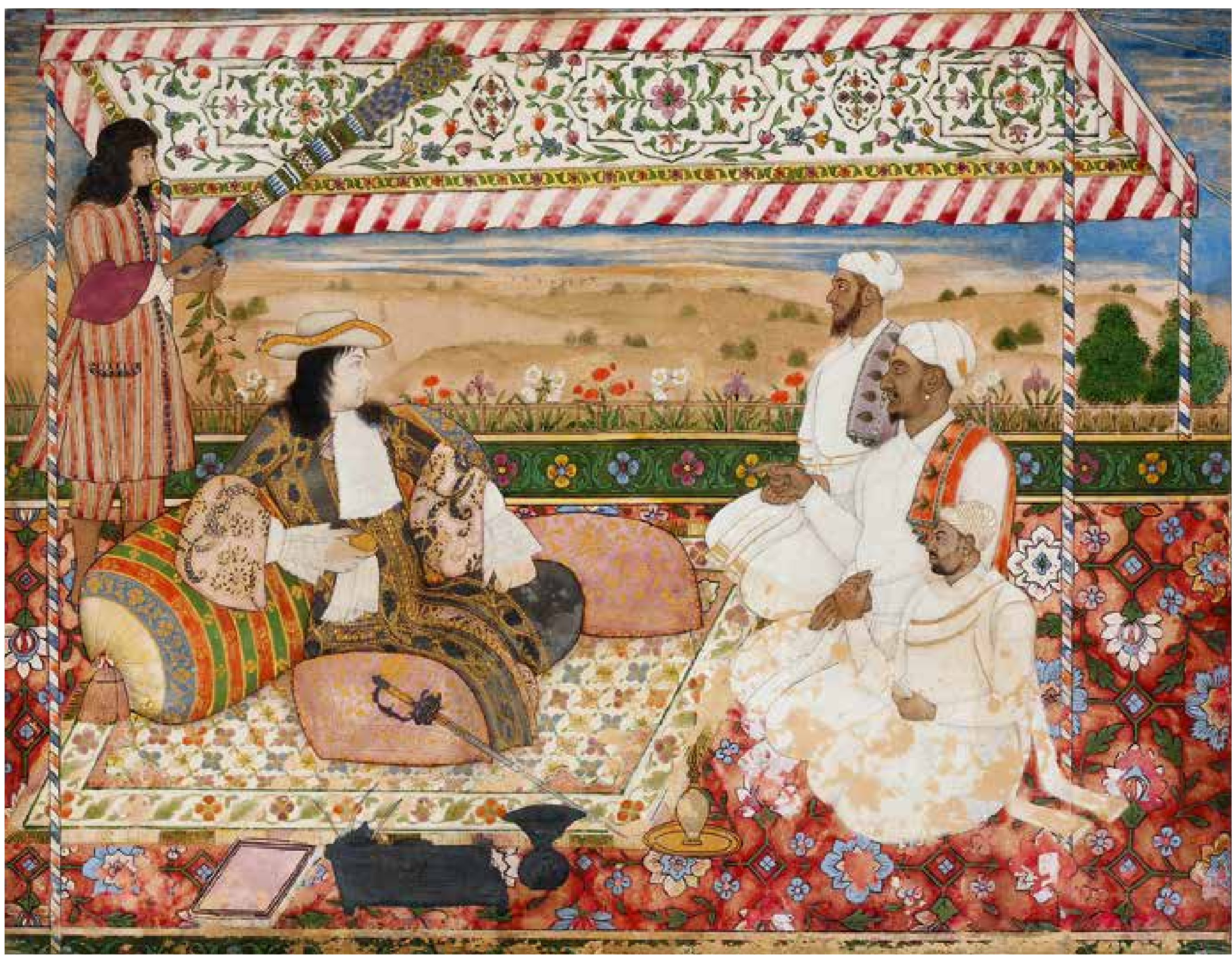
Although an unusual subject for a commission, the event, whatever it may be, has been recorded using elements often found on *kalamkari*s. The multigabled, open-fronted buildings in the center (see detail on p. 321) and at the right are also present on a *rumal* in the National Museum, New Delhi.[6] The structure on the left, with several stories of domed pavilions, echoes the buildings that frame the figures in the large

hangings at the Metropolitan Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum, London (cats. 163–64). Inside these structures, men and women appear against garlands or other kinds of floral backgrounds. Small vignettes of animals set among rocky outcrops and flowering bushes complete the scene. This textile was made in a spirit of hope for the future of Dutch ventures in India. MS

1. Kail 1981, pp. 11–14; Prakash 1998, pp. 72–73. **2.** For information on the physical remains of the latter settlements, see Rea 1897. **3.** The Witsen Album in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, is among the most important of these sets; see Lunsingh Scheurleer 1996. Lunsingh Scheurleer 1996, pp. 189–93, dates the album to the mid-1680s; Kruijtzer 2010, pp. 163, 180, n. 13, says it is from late 1677. **4.** *Den Persiaansen bogaard*, Amsterdam, 1688 (copy in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, 895J66). **5.** Hartkamp-Jonxis 2005, pp. 46–47. **6.** See Irwin 1959, pp. 46–47, fig. 19.

Fig. 93. Dutch Factory, Masulipatnam, established 1605

Detail of cat. 193



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194 *Darbar* of Cornelis van den Bogaerde

Golconda, ca. 1687
Opaque watercolor, gold, and silver on paper, 8 × 10⅜ in.
(20.2 × 26.2 cm)
David Collection, Copenhagen (43/2008)

195 Procession of Cornelis van den Bogaerde

Golconda, ca. 1687
Opaque watercolor, gold, and silver on paper, 6⅝ × 9 in.
(16.8 × 22.8 cm)
David Collection, Copenhagen (42/2008)

Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC, United East India Company) records document in detail the careers of its youthful employees, but, despite our knowledge of their salaries and dates of services, the individuals who set off for the Indies, leaving behind all that was familiar to them, are lost to us. These paintings of a self-important Dutchman put a face to the dry administrative facts of the Dutch presence in India. The man in both paintings has been identified as Cornelis van den Bogaerde, a VOC chief agent stationed in Hyderabad between late 1686 and the defeat of the Qutb Shahi sultanate in the autumn of 1687. The clues to this identification are the Dutch flags borne by his attendants in the procession scene, which point to his nationality, and the branch of a fruit tree held by his servant in the *darbar* scene, which suggests his surname, *boegaerde* or *boogard,* meaning "orchard."[1]

Van den Bogaerde chose to have himself represented in the style used to portray a local ruler. Like any Deccani royal, he is shown receiving guests, whose subservience is expressed in their posture and position. As is typical for

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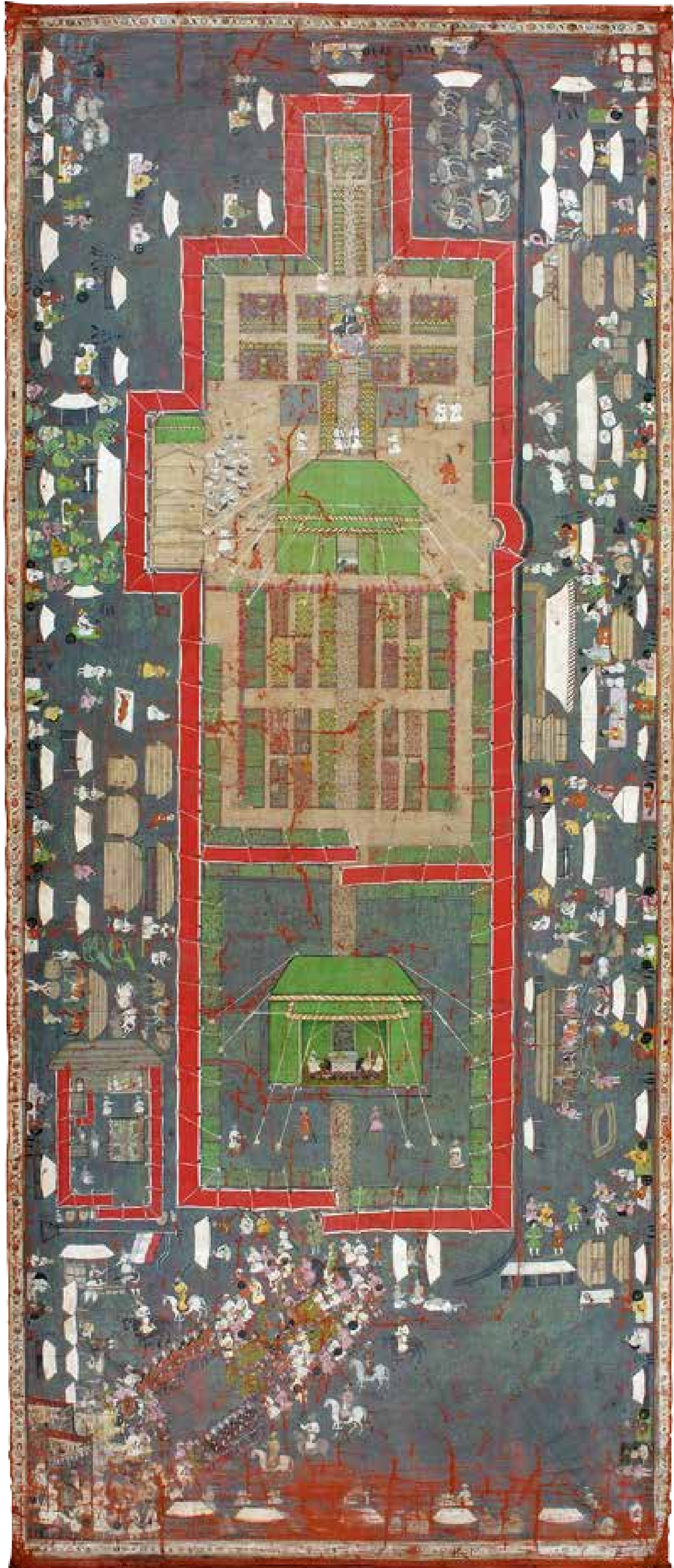
this type of portrait, a sword, a spittoon, and a *huqqa* (water pipe) are displayed before Van den Bogaerde in the *darbar* scene. He also appears to hold a mango,[2] an emblem of mid- to late seventeenth-century royal portraits.[3] Deccani sultans typically appear on elephants rather than on horseback, but some equestrian portraits are known (cats. 7, 128, 132). The equestrian pose, the horizontal format of the paintings, and their pale palette all show the influence of Mughal portraiture at this point in time in the Deccan.

The paintings might appear rather self-aggrandizing, but there is much evidence to suggest that the Dutch agents stationed in South and Southeast Asia paraded around town in a regal fashion. When Adriaan Moens, commander of the major port city Cochin, paid state visits, he was accompanied by armed Dutch troops and rode war elephants draped with silver and gold trappings. More extravagantly, Indian standard bearers, trumpeters, and other musicians as well as Dutch and Indian armed guards attended the chief agent of Tegnapatam during his public appearances. Competition among the Dutch reached such a state that the Council of the Indies was forced to issue the Order of Precedence, which contained 131 articles regulating the types of clothing and jewelry that were worn, the furniture and parasols that were used, and the number of attendants that could be owned by each rank of official within the company.[4] In this context, Van den Bogaerde's commission makes sense, and he seems to have found himself a capable painter, one who captured the nuances of his patron's unusual features and dress, even if he struggled with details such as the hands. MS

1. Kruijtzer 2010. **2.** Identified by Kruijtzer, however, as a *koban*, a kind of coin; ibid., p. 173. **3.** See Navina Najat Haidar's discussion of Bijapur paintings in this volume. **4.** Kail 1981, pp. 152–56.



Cat. 196

196 Embassy of Johannes Bacherus en route to the Court of Aurangzeb

Golconda, late 17th century
Painted cotton, 96½ × 42⅝ in. (245 × 108.3 cm)
Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam (A-9584)

This impressively sized painting on cloth depicts the large Indian encampment of a European figure, who appears in the upper part of the central enclosure and again at the bottom of the painting, carried in a palanquin. His red-tented enclosure, which includes formal gardens and two small pavilions, is surrounded by the bustle of numerous subsidiary tents housing servants, animals, and Dutch agents. These men are shown at work, receiving Indian supplicants and taking breaks, with their hats doffed and clay pipes lit.

The main subject and patron of this painting is likely Johannes Bacherus, a Dutch emissary from the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC, United East India Company) who traveled from northern India to the Deccan to meet with the Mughal Emperor ʻAlamgir (born Prince Aurangzeb, reigned 1658–1707) in the late 1680s. VOC records of Bacherus's expenditures, which include gardeners, seem to corroborate this identification, as does the list of his possessions, which mentions a large painting showing him "in the camp of the Great Mughal."[1] Bacherus made this journey in order to secure the trading rights that the Dutch had enjoyed under the Qutb Shahis, but which were threatened with their defeat in 1687. His audience with the emperor was successful; the privileges were confirmed, and Bacherus proceeded to the Dutch port of Masulipatnam, where he lived until his death in 1693.

The style of the painting recalls Rajput traditions, and it might have been made by a Rajput painter stationed in the Deccan. However, other works of this size, also on red-dyed cotton, were made in Golconda, and this type of painting seems to be a late seventeenth-century development.[2] Might they have been inspired by Dutch oil paintings? MS

1. Lunsingh Scheurleer and Kruijtzer 2005, p. 52. **2.** These include the Andhra Pradesh State Archaeology Museum, Hyderabad, portraits of ʻAbdullah Qutb Shah, ʻAbu'l Hasan Qutb Shah, and Mah Laqa Bai Chanda, as well as another painting in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam (A-9585), showing a hunting scene.

Diamonds of the Deccan

Until the discovery of Brazilian and African diamonds in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, nearly all diamonds, including those of the ancient world, were sourced from alluvial mines in the Deccan and southern regions of India. During the late medieval and Sultanate periods, the mines were under the control of various local powers in three main areas: Berar and Ahmadnagar in the north, Vijayanagara in the south, and, most famously, Golconda, primarily in the region between the Krishna and Kaveri Rivers. These areas produced some of the world's most famous gems, such as the Koh-i-noor, Agra, and "Idol's Eye" diamonds, which became the fascination of European royalty as much as that of India.

A good deal of our knowledge of diamond mining, cutting, and trading in the Deccani Sultanate period comes from the accounts of European gemstone merchants in the region, who traded at both the mines and the port of Goa. Possibly the best-known source is the account of French trader Jean-Baptiste Tavernier.[1] Also important are the writings of Jean Chardin, Elihu Yale, and Nathaniel Cholmley, traders who interacted with the Golconda court and established a variety of arrangements to allow them to develop this industry.[2] Within the Islamic world, medieval sources mention diamonds, but the gemstone never held the status it enjoyed in India and Europe, until the seventeenth century. By that time, diamonds were often sent as diplomatic gifts from the Deccani courts.

Diamonds are alluded to in a variety of Indian classical texts and had powerful royal and symbolic associations, although very little documented evidence survives from before the fifteenth century about specific diamonds, their setting styles, or how they were used in ritual contexts. However, the status and role of diamonds in India were doubtless important factors in the European reception of this gemstone. An appreciation for diamonds had likely been fostered in the medieval courts of South India preceding the establishment of the Deccani sultanates. The early history of the Koh-i-noor diamond is one telling example. The stone may have first belonged to the Kakatiya rulers of Warangal (ca. 1163–1323), from whom it was wrested by the sultans of North India. The style of its original setting is not known, but its large, unfaceted, domed shape, as recorded by Tavernier, must have inspired its moniker Koh-i-noor, or Mountain of Light.

While the Mughal rulers, most famously Shah Jahan (reigned 1628–58), were known for their personal appreciation of precious gemstones, the Deccani sultans in their portraits appear more restrained in their use of earrings, pearls, and necklaces. They are also rarely depicted holding gemstones until after Mughal style began to influence Deccani painting in the later part of the seventeenth century. At Ahmadnagar, a gold belt set with gemstones and a distinctive hanging element was part of court costume, as were gold amulets worn across the upper body and arms.[3] At Bijapur, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627) wore little precious jewelry, except for a distinctive large pendant (*urbasi*). Diamonds and other gemstones appear more

often in the jeweled belts of ʿAbdullah Qutb Shah (reigned 1626–72) and other members of the ruling family of Golconda. Female figures, however, both royal and nonroyal, appear heavily bejeweled in paintings, and women's *à-jour*-style pendants contained translucent diamonds held in place by a border of gold.

With the expansion of trade routes from the late medieval period, European treasuries came to be filled with diamonds. Over the following centuries, diamond cutting developed in European centers such as Bruges, Paris, London, and Antwerp, and also to some extent in India, and in styles influenced by European taste. European gem cutters probably introduced the faceting of diamonds in India, although Indian craftsmen and lapidaries are believed to have had the skills and technology to cut hardstones since ancient times.[4] Diamond cutting and polishing with any degree of sophistication required a combination of diamond powder and an iron wheel, the latter with even and continuous rotation, a European technological development dating from the late fifteenth century.[5] Many diamonds from Indian mines were thus transformed into glittering shapes and passed down through European royal collections. Whereas the early history of such gems is wrapped in legend, fairly detailed records of their later ownership remains. NNH

1. Tavernier 1676–77; English translation, Tavernier 1889. **2.** Nayeem 2008, p. 73, describes Yale's visit to the sultan; Ogden forthcoming discusses a letter attributed to Cholmley. Forsyth 2013, pp. 163–69, also gives evidence. **3.** Keene 2001, p. 48, no. 3.9, illustrates round jeweled elements that may be surviving pieces from an Ahmadnagar belt. **4.** Ibid., pp. 128–29. **5.** Tavernier 1676–77, vol. 2, pp. 293–96; English translation in Tavernier 1889, vol. 2, pp. 53–59.

Cat. 197

197 "Agra" Diamond

Golconda, 16th century
Cut-cornered, rectangular mixed-cut, fancy intense pink diamond, H. ¾ in. (1.8 cm), W. ¾ in. (1.7 cm), D. ⅜ in. (1.1 cm), Wt. 28.2 ct.
Al-Thani Collection

The most detailed and ancient Indian text on gems, the *Ratnapariksa* of Buddhabhatta, which may date to the sixth century, explains that pink diamonds were appropriate for only the most important kings. This assertion fits with the legend, as recounted by the late Lord Balfour, that the first Mughal Emperor Babur (reigned 1526–30) obtained this extraordinary pink diamond, now known as the Agra diamond, after taking the city of Agra in 1526.[1] It is said the family of the defeated Raja of Gwalior presented the gemstone to Babur in gratitude for sparing their lives, and thereafter Babur wore the diamond in his turban. As with many such legends, the truth of the events is impossible to corroborate.[2] It has also been suggested that the Agra diamond might be the same as the fabulous rose-colored diamond owned by French adventurer Major General Claude Martin, who in the late eighteenth century held positions of considerable influence within the courts of the Nawabs of Oudh.[3] It may also be an otherwise unidentified pink diamond that passed through a London auction house in 1807.[4] The diamond is almost certainly from mines in Golconda, but the first definite reference to the stone dates to its presence in Victorian London. In 1844, the Agra diamond was sold by London-based diamond dealers Blogg and Martin to the flamboyant and eccentric Duke of Brunswick, the displaced eldest son of Frederick William, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg. In the catalogue of the duke's collection published in 1860 is a note saying that it was taken by Babur at Agra in 1526.[5] This is the first known mention of the Babur connection to the gemstone.

After the Duke of Brunswick's death in 1873, the Agra diamond passed through various hands. It briefly returned to India in 1877 and was displayed at the Imperial Assemblage in Delhi to celebrate Queen Victoria's being proclaimed Empress of India.[6] In 1895, it was the subject of a court case at which its sale was voided when the stated history of the gem was judged fanciful.[7] The diamond later acquired a certain scientific celebrity when Sir William Crookes used it in his experiments to determine the transparency of diamonds to X-rays.[8] Following its auction at Christie's in London in 1905, it belonged to various illustrious dealers and collectors, including Louis Winans, a member of a Baltimore family that had made its fortune in American and Russian railroads, and Abdul Hamid II, the ill-fated thirty-fourth Ottoman sultan (reigned 1876–1909).[9] The early history of the Agra diamond may be hard to unravel, but the more recent history of what has been called "the most lovely rose-pink diamond in the world" has been anything but uneventful.[10] JO

1. See the description of the diamond in Gemological Institute of America, Carlsbad, Calif., Colored Diamond Grading Report, no. 10381293, June 3, 1998; see also Balfour 2009, p. 31. **2.** For a detailed history of the Agra diamond, see Jack Ogden in *Beyond Extravagance* forthcoming. **3.** Obituary of Major General Claude Martin in *European Magazine* 31 (May 1801), pp. 329–33. **4.** Reported in the *Times* (London), January 22, 1807, p. 4. **5.** *Catalogue de brillants* 1860, p. 57. **6.** *Times of India* (Bombay), January 25, 1877, p. 3. **7.** Trasker v. Streeter, 1895; extensively reported in the *Times* (London) (February 23, pp. 7, 9; February 26, p. 13; February 27, p. 13; February 28, p. 7; March 1, p. 14) and other newspapers at the time. **8.** Crookes 1899. **9.** Christie's 1905, p. 10, lot 127; the history of the Agra diamond in the twentieth century is covered in detail by Balfour 2009, p. 31. **10.** "Smuggled Diamonds" 1905.

Cat. 198

198 "Idol's Eye" Diamond

Probably Golconda, early 17th century
Antique triangular modified brilliant-cut light blue diamond,
H. 1 in. (2.6 cm), W. 1⅛ in. (2.8 cm), D. ½ in. (1.3 cm), Wt. 70.2 ct.
Al-Thani Collection

The "Idol's Eye" is a rare light blue diamond, and at 70.2 carats, it is the largest cut blue diamond from India.[1] The blue coloration is due to the presence of minute amounts of the element boron. Unlike most historical diamonds, it is still in the form in which it was first recorded in Britain a century and a half ago. When the Mughal Emperor Jahangir (reigned 1605–27) encountered a blue diamond from an Indian mine, he commented in his memoirs that he had never seen one like it and described it as looking like a sapphire.[2] The diamond mentioned by Jahangir must have been darker than the "Idol's Eye," and it may even have been the famous stone now known as the Hope Diamond.[3] Although little is known of its origins, the history of the "Idol's Eye" connects it to the diamond mines of the Deccan, which have produced a handful of blue diamonds. Its name is related to the romantic idea that a diamond had formed the eye of a temple statue in India, a concept that appears in nineteenth-century literature. Several other famous diamonds, including the Nassak and the Orloff, have similar legends attached. The first record of the "Idol's Eye" and its moniker date to an auction in London in 1865, when the stone was sold as part of the collection of jewels and art belonging to Edward Strutt Hallum.[4] Little is known of Hallum or how and where he acquired the "Idol's Eye." A couple of years after the auction, a journalist suggested that the gem might have been looted in India during the Mutiny of 1857 against the British, an origin that could account for the lack of records of the diamond's earlier provenance.

Soon after the 1865 auction, the stone was sent on approval to the Ottoman court in Constantinople (now Istanbul), and briefly returned to Europe when it was exhibited at the 1867 Exposition Universelle, Paris. The "Idol's Eye" later passed into the collection of Abdul Hamid, the thirty-fourth Ottoman sultan (reigned 1876–1909).[5] After Hamid was deposed in 1909, the "Idol's Eye," along with eight other diamonds from his collection, including the Agra diamond (cat. 197), were sold in Paris.[6] Where the "Idol's Eye" went after this sale is unclear, but following World War II, it was purchased by Harry Winston, and then passed through various owners, including jewelry aficionado May Bonfils Stanton, Chicago jeweler Harry Levinson, international diamond dealer Laurence Graff, and Imelda Marcos, wife of the former Philippine president.

JO

1. Gemological Institute of America, Carlsbad, Calif., Colored Diamond Grading Report, no. 5141553727, April 4, 2012. **2.** Rogers and Beveridge 1978, vol. 2, p. 38. **3.** The Hope Diamond is in the collection of the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. **4.** Christie's 1865, p. 7, lot 87. **5.** For its presence in Turkey in 1866, see *Sussex Advertiser*, February 28, 1866, p. 2; for its display at the 1867 Paris exposition, see Sala 1868, p. 217. **6.** For the full story of the "Idol's Eye," see Jack Ogden in *Beyond Extravagance* forthcoming; see also Balfour 2009, p. 144.

199 Diamond Bodkin of Charles II for His Mistress Nell Gwynne

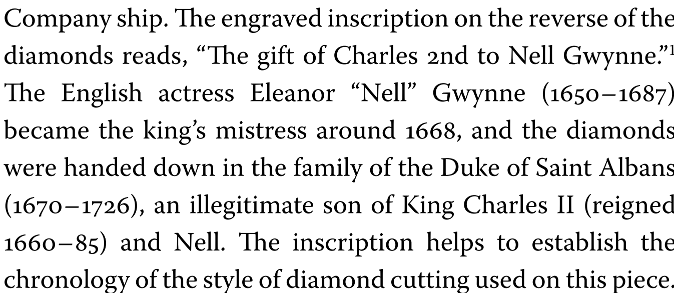
England, 17th century
Diamonds and gold, H. 4 in. (10.2 cm), W. ⅝ in. (1.6 cm), D. ½ in. (1.4 cm), Wt. 44 ct.
Private collection, New York

Inscribed on reverse: The gift of Charles 2nd to Nell Gwynne

This circular, diamond-set element was once the bezel of a ring, converted in the nineteenth century into a bodkin, or hairpin. The diamonds themselves came from Golconda and were traded from India to London probably in the seventeenth century, most likely aboard a British East India

Cat. 199

Detail of cat. 199



Company ship. The engraved inscription on the reverse of the diamonds reads, "The gift of Charles 2nd to Nell Gwynne."[1] The English actress Eleanor "Nell" Gwynne (1650–1687) became the king's mistress around 1668, and the diamonds were handed down in the family of the Duke of Saint Albans (1670–1726), an illegitimate son of King Charles II (reigned 1660–85) and Nell. The inscription helps to establish the chronology of the style of diamond cutting used on this piece.

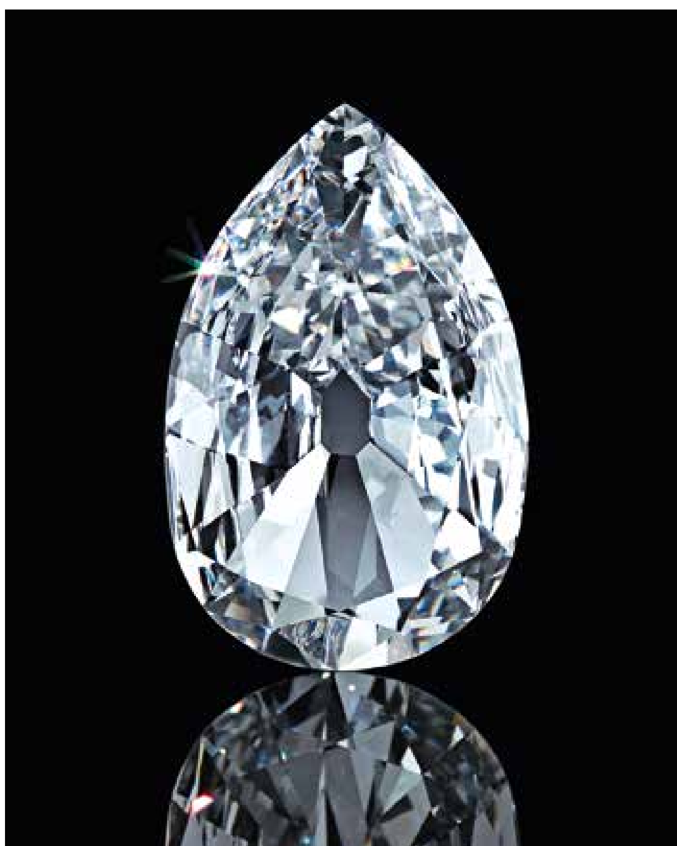
In 1669, a French diamond dealer and traveler sold to King Louis XIV of France (reigned 1643–1715) a selection of fine diamonds he had purchased in India. One of these was the famous French Blue diamond, now known as the Hope Diamond. Jean Pitau, the court jeweler, cut this stone in 1673 into a brilliant cut, and it is one of the earliest examples of this style. The fashion for the brilliant cut spread quickly and soon reached London, where, according to later reports, it was perfected. If the diamonds in the present bodkin maintain the same form that they had when presented to Nell Gwynne, they must have been cut before the mid-1680s and are thus among the earliest surviving examples of brilliant-cut diamonds in English jewelry. JO

1. Scarisbrick 2007, p. 192, nos. 257, 258.

200 "Arcot II" Diamond

Golconda, late 18th century; modified 1959 and 2011
Pear-shaped, brilliant-cut diamond, H. 1 in. (2.6 cm), W. ⅝ in. (1.6 cm), D. ¼ in. (0.6 cm), Wt. 17.2 ct.
Al-Thani Collection

Few high-quality diamonds in private hands have as well documented a history as the "Arcot II" diamond.[1] The city of Arcot was established by the Mughal Emperor ʿAlamgir (reigned 1658–1707) as the capital of the Nawabs, who controlled a large area of southern India that included important diamond mines. The strategic position of Arcot attracted conquerors, such as the Marathas and the Europeans, and the city was taken by the English in 1751. A small British force under the leadership of Lord Robert Clive then held out heroically against the combined Mughal and French forces in that same year. Muhammad ʿAli Khan Wallajah (reigned 1752–95), the Nawab of Arcot, was keen to retain the support of King George III (reigned 1760–1820). Wallajah sent many gifts to the British monarch, including one to the king's consort, Queen Charlotte, consisting of "two diamond drops worth twelve thousand pounds," one of which was the "Arcot II."[2]



Cat. 200

These were couriered by none other than Lord Clive, "Clive of India," the defender of Arcot, on his final visit back to Britain in 1767. A copy of the queen's thank-you letter to the nawab survives, and reads, "Lord Clive did not fail to acquit himself of the commission you charged him with, by delivering into Our Hands the Present you Entrusted him with and for which We return you our best thanks."[3]

When Queen Charlotte died in 1818, the diamonds were treated as personal rather than Crown possessions and sold. In 1837, they were purchased by the Marquess of Westminster, Robert Grosvenor, and remained in the Westminster family until the 1950s. They were then purchased by Harry Winston, who had the pair repolished and then sold them separately. The "Arcot II" diamond was sold to an American-born member of British society and then obtained for the present owner.

JO

1. See the description of this diamond in Gemological Institute of America, Carlsbad, Calif., Diamond Grading Report, no. 1132471891, December 21, 2011; Gübelin Gemlab, Lucerne, Diamond Report, no. 12020074, February 28, 2012. For a fuller account of the diamond's history, see Jack Ogden in *Beyond Extravagance* 2013, pp. 380–81, no. 125. **2.** Horace Walpole to Horace Mann, July 20, 1767, in Walpole 1843, pp. 353–54. **3.** Queen Charlotte to Muhammad 'Ali Khan Wallajah, February 6, 1768, India Office Records, British Library, London, Home Misc. Series, 99, p. 11.

201 *Bazuband* (Upper Armband) or *Guluband* (Choker Necklace)

Hyderabad, late 18th century
Diamonds, pearls, gold, and enamel, L. 10¼ in. (26 cm)
Private collection, New York

202 Square Diamond Pendant on Pearl Necklace

Hyderabad, late 18th century
Diamonds, pearls, gold, and enamel; overall: L. 13½ in. (34.3 cm), pendant: H. 1⅝ in. (4.1 cm), W. 1⅝ in. (4.1 cm), D. ⅜ in. (1 cm)
Private collection, New York

203 String of Pearls

Hyderabad, late 18th century
Pearls, diamonds, gold, and enamel, L. of strands, min.: 18 in. (45.7 cm), max: 24¼ in. (61.6 cm), W. 2¼ in. (5.7 cm), D. ⅜ in. (1 cm)
Private collection, New York

204 Diamond Earrings and Pearl Supports

Hyderabad, late 18th century
Diamonds, pearls, gold, emeralds, and enamel; earrings: H. 3¾ in. (9.5 cm), W. 1⅜ in. (3.5 cm), D. ¾ in. (1.9 cm), supports: H. 2 in. (5.1 cm), W. 1 in. (2.5 cm), D. ⅜ in. (1.1 cm)
Private collection, New York

205 Two *Sarpech*es (Turban Ornaments) for a Boy

Hyderabad, late 18th century
Diamonds, gold, and enamel; left: H. 2⅛ in. (5.4 cm), W. 1¼ in. (3.2 cm), D. ½ in. (1.3 cm), right: H. 2 in. (5.1 cm), W. 1⅛ in. (3 cm), D. ½ in. (1.3 cm)
Private collection, New York

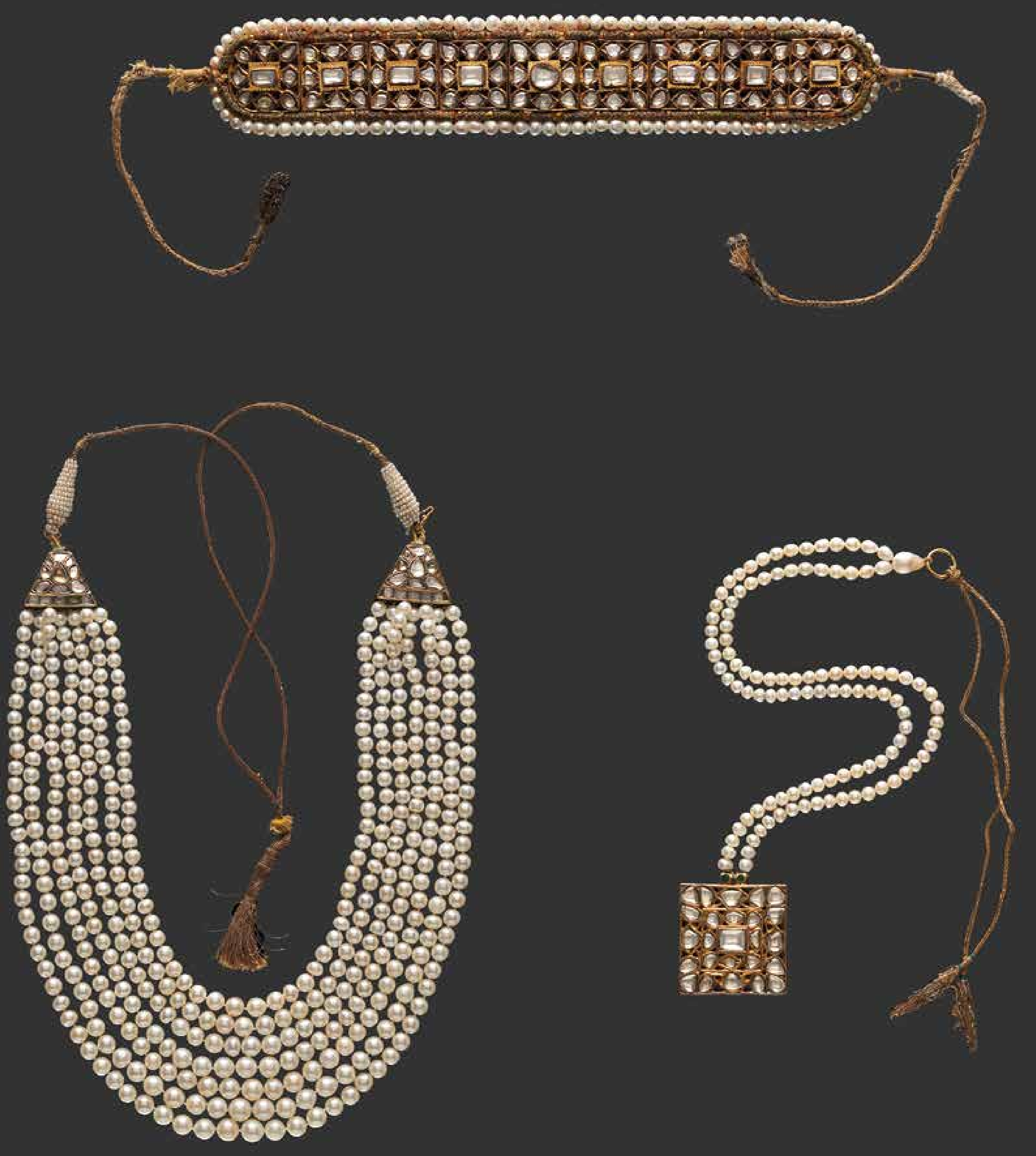
206 Diamond Stud Earrings

Hyderabad, late 18th century
Diamonds, pearls, gold, foil backing, and enamel, Diam. 1 in. (2.5 cm), D. ½ in. (1.4 cm)
Private collection, New York

207 Crescent-Shaped Pearl and Diamond Earrings

Hyderabad, late 18th century
Diamonds, pearls, gold, and enamel; left: H. 3 in. (7.6 cm), W. 2½ in. (6.4 cm), D. ½ in. (1.4 cm), right: H. 3⅛ in. (7.9 cm), W. 2½ in. (6.4 cm), D. ⅝ in. (1.6 cm)
Private collection, New York

Cats. 201–3 (clockwise from top)



This group of jewelry comes from the collection of the Hyderabadi royal family, who inherited several gemstones and jewels from earlier rulers in the Deccan, many of which were remounted into new forms. At its peak, the Asaf Jahi dynasty (1724–1948) was one of the wealthiest and most extravagant in the world. The nizams had a vast estate with numerous family members, servants, and other dependents.[1] In the decades following the merger of Hyderabad into the Indian state, however, power, titles, and assets were heavily taxed and gradually stripped from the royal families. To combat the loss of his family fortune, the last nizam, Osman 'Ali Khan, Asaf Jah VII (reigned 1911–48), created a series of trusts to sustain the wealth of his household. These trusts stipulated that the nizam's jewels could be sold only after the death of his son, Azam Jah, Prince of Berar (1907–1970), and provided specific details to the order of the objects to be sold. Some works were dispersed from the collection, while another substantial group was ultimately sold to the Indian government, where it remains in a vault at the Reserve Bank of India.[2]

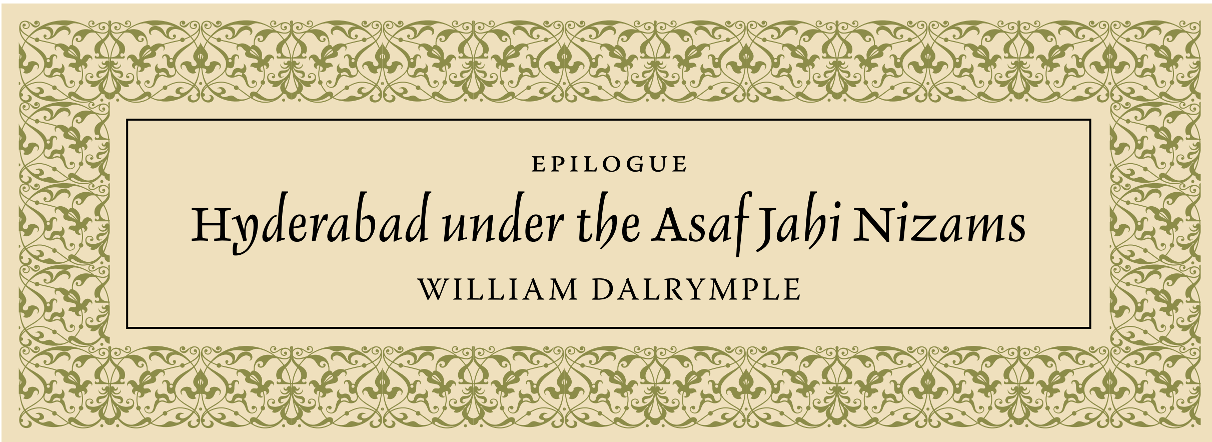
In the Asaf Jahi period, as earlier, Indian jewelry served to ornament the whole body from head to toe, and many types were worn together. Ear ornaments designed to hang on the front side of the ear were worn in tandem with other earrings (cat. 204).[3] It was also popular for women to pierce their ears in five places and to adorn each piercing with a different ornament.[4] Crescent or fan-shaped (*pankhiyan*) ear jewels were traditionally attached to the scapha (the top outer edge of the ear), but a pair in this catalogue (cat. 207) have been adapted to a form that would suit an earlobe.[5] The extravagant drop earrings with old Golconda diamonds (cat. 204) resemble an embellished version of a classic *lu lu* ear pendant known to have been worn at the court of the Nizam of Hyderabad.[6] The claw setting of the large Golconda diamonds in these earrings betrays a European influence, but the big stones are surrounded by eighteen smaller, traditionally *kundan*-set diamonds.

Necklaces, too, were worn en masse, and while each piece may be magnificently opulent on its own, wearing several together created a most extravagant effect. Square pendants, like the diamond example here (cat. 202), replicate the form of amulet boxes, which typically held verses from the Qur'an and were worn to deflect the evil eye.[7] Other types of necklaces (cat. 203), known as *chavlada, panchlada,* and *satlada*, are dominated by a mass of gradient pearls and take their names from the number of strands of pearls in each piece: *char, panch,* and *sat*, meaning four, five, and seven, respectively.[8] Though pearls feature prominently in Indian jewelry from the Deccan, they are not native to India. Pearls were fished from the Persian Gulf by professional divers and then shipped to Bombay (now Mumbai) for redistribution to other parts of the subcontinent.[9]

Other types of jewelry in this group may be less familiar to a Western eye, including the *bazuband,* or upper armband (cat. 201).[10] Made up of nine identical square panels with foiled diamonds, the length of the *bazuband* could be increased or decreased to fit the arm of the wearer. Turban ornaments known as *sarpech*es (cat. 205) were awarded to and exchanged among princes as royal gifts. These two small examples, dominated by large Golconda diamonds, would have been worn on the headdress of a young boy, an opulence befitting the Hyderabadi royal court. CS

1. Bala Krishnan 2001, p. 25. **2.** Ibid., pp. 28–37. **3.** See the painting of Bani Thani as Radha in Untracht 1997, p. 10. **4.** Nigam 1999, p. 30. **5.** A similar pair is illustrated in Bala Krishnan 2001, p. 162 (NJ 95.127/1-2). The *Yogini* from the Chester Beatty Library (cat. 30) also sports similar earrings. **6.** For a pair of *lu lu* ear pendants, see Bala Krishnan 2001, p. 163 (NJ 95.138/1-2). **7.** Ibid., p. 132. **8.** Nigam 1999, p. 30; Bala Krishnan 2001, p. 135. **9.** Carter 2005, p. 143; see also Brickell 2012, p. 105. **10.** This shape is sometimes identified as a *guluband* (choker necklace) and differs only by the lack of a suspended pearl fringe, which ornaments most *guluband*s from the Deccan. For more information, see Brijbhusan 1979, p. 48 and pl. XXXIV; Latif 1982, p. 151; Bala Krishnan 2001, pp. 176 (NJ 95.113/1-2), 178 (NJ 95.39/1-2); Nayeem 2006, p. 280, fig. 10.

Cats. 204–7 (clockwise from top left)



EPILOGUE

Hyderabad under the Asaf Jahi Nizams

WILLIAM DALRYMPLE

In 1984, a year before The Metropolitan Museum of Art opened its celebrated "India!" exhibition, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis visited Hyderabad for the first time. She was working as an editor with Doubleday & Company and was planning to publish a book by Naveen Patnaik entitled *A Second Paradise* about India's courtly culture to coincide with the show.[1] She therefore took the opportunity to visit the great art collections of India with the exhibition's curator, her friend Stuart Cary Welch, who then ran the Metropolitan's Department of Islamic Art. She was already familiar with Delhi and the tourist destinations of Rajasthan from other visits, but, she wrote, "I never knew what the Deccan was, just large letters in the middle of the map of India."

The trip proved a revelation, and on her return, she wrote a remarkable letter to the art historian Mark Zebrowski, a pupil of Welch, thanking him for his book on Deccani painting, which, she said, had opened up a whole cultural world for her. "We had an evening with the old noblemen of the old nizam's court," she recalled,

> men with long white hands transparent like alabaster. They recited Urdu poetry; one of them, a former ambassador still sends me translations of his poems in English. The hereditary prime minister of the nizam has his own lime grove, such inbred trees that their leaves are translucent and the *pan* made with them is unlike any other. To see them making it from a beautiful case and offering it to you. There were three ancient classical musicians playing in the moonlight and they, the noblemen, were speaking of how all that was disappearing, that the youth didn't appreciate the ways of the old culture, the great chefs were being taken by the Emirates—etc. This over-civilized, rarefied world—you could feel it—but you knew it was too rarefied to survive—you felt so fortunate to be able to sense for those hours what it had been.

She described how this precious, fragile world was falling apart in front of her even as she reached out to touch it:

> That evening was profoundly sad, my son John told me the next day that the sons of the house had taken him to their rooms, because they couldn't stand the classical music. . . . They wore tight Italian pants and open shirts, and all the while, their fathers, on the terrace in beautiful *sherwani*, were speaking of how sad they made them. 'Ali Pasha's son had disappeared a year before, on a motorcycle, because he didn't like the marriage that had been arranged for him.[2]

Fig. 94. Khilwat (Audience Hall), Chowmahalla (Four Halls) Palace, Hyderabad, ca. 1780

The world Onassis saw in 1984 was the last remnants of a mixed Indo-Islamic Deccani culture that first came into being in the thirteenth century with the southern conquests of the Delhi sultans. Much that was best about it had been preserved into the twentieth century, thanks to the survival in the middle of India of a large, detached fragment of the Mughal Empire. This was the state of Hyderabad, the mightiest and richest of the semi-independent Indian princely states that made up nearly a third of the Indian landmass under the hegemony of the British Raj. Under the Asaf Jahis (1724–1948), Hyderabad had for more than two hundred years kept alive a last flickering light of Indo-Islamic arts and culture that elsewhere had been eroded by first the onslaught of British colonialism, and then encroaching modernism.

The founder of Hyderabad was an austere Mughal warlord, Mir Qamar al-Din Khan, who was awarded the title Nizam al-Mulk when he first became the governor of the Deccan. Nizam al-Mulk (reigned 1724–48) was a puritan in the mold of his hero, the Mughal Emperor ʻAlamgir (reigned 1658–1707), formerly Prince Aurangzeb: he never drank or smoke, and he disapproved of showy dress.[3] Nor was Nizam al-Mulk a great enthusiast of the arts: although he liked poetry and left two Persian language *divan*s (albums) under his pen names Shakir and Asaf, he had a deep suspicion of painting, music, and dancing.[4] A close watch was kept on his nobles, and spies reported on those who held illicit parties during Muharram. Permission for dance displays and nautches had to be sought from the *darbar* and was granted only on the occasion of festivals and marriages.[5]

Partly for this reason, Nizam al-Mulk never saw eye to eye with his emperor, Muhammad Shah (reigned 1719–48). Known as Rangila (the Colorful), the shah was a major patron of the arts and an aesthete, given to wearing a lady's *peshwaz* and shoes embroidered with pearls.[6] Long mocked as the effete degenerate who presided over the conquest of Delhi by the Persian adventurer Nadir Shah, he is now recognized as a major cultural catalyst, responsible for reviving the miniature atelier in Delhi and for important innovations in Hindustani music. It was under his patronage, for example, that the tabla, previously regarded as a rustic Punjabi folk drum, became a court instrument, that the sitar reached its modern form, and that the *khayal* and *tappa* forms of Hindustani music reached their artistic climax.[7]

Nizam al-Mulk, in contrast, saw this interest in the arts as contrary to all the principles he had grown up with, and in his writings he describes himself as following "the discipline of emperor ʻAlamgir," which he was determined to emulate: he proudly claimed "I exercise all the necessary restraint."[8] It was therefore only under one of Nizam al-Mulk's successors, Nizam ʻAli Khan (reigned 1761–1803), an illegitimate younger son who came to the throne in a coup d'etat in 1761, that the puritanical strictures of Aurangzeb were thrown aside, and a great revival took place in the arts.

On Nizam ʻAli Khan's accession, Aurangzeb's old barrack town of Aurangabad was abandoned and Hyderabad was again made the capital of a domain that now embraced a far wider slice of central and southern India than the old Qutb Shahi sultanate of Golconda had ever done. Despite intermittent warfare, the city quickly began to recover its former wealth and splendor. The ruins of the Qutb Shahi palaces and public buildings were restored, the mosques rebuilt, the gardens replanted, and the city walls patched up. By the 1790s, Hyderabad, with a population of

Fig. 95. *Hunting Party of Nizam ʿAli Khan*. By Rai Venkatchallam. Late 18th century. Opaque watercolor on canvas, approx. 48 × 72 in. (122 × 183 cm). Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad

around a quarter of a million, was once again both a major center of commerce and the unrivaled seat of the hybrid Indo-Islamic civilization of the Deccan.

If Nizam al-Mulk had a Department of the Scrutiny of Morals, his successor Nizam ʿAli Khan instead had one to oversee the business of dancing and music, known as the Daftar Arbab-i-Nishaat, or the Office of the Lords of Pleasure.[9] Two of the nizam's leading nobles, Tajalli ʿAli Shah and Rai Venkatchallam, were both remarkable painters, and one noblewoman, Mah Laqa Bai Chanda, was a courtesan, dancer, and celebrated poet, whose works were collected as far away as Delhi and Lucknow. She commissioned the *Mahanama*, a major new history of the Deccan, and later became an important patron of poets.[10] She built a library filled with books on the arts and sciences and commissioned the construction of the Naqqar Khana (Drum House), the gateway for the principal Shiʿa shrine in Hyderabad, the hill of Maula ʿAli. At its base, in a magnificent garden tomb, she laid her mother, Raj Kanwar Bhai, to rest and she too left instructions that she should be buried here. She remains there still, under a Persian inscription that describes her as a "cypress of the garden of grace and rose-tree of the grove of coquetry."[11]

Such was Nizam ʿAli Khan's reliance on Mah Laqa's wisdom that she was the only woman given the rank of a senior *omrah*, so that she could attend the *darbar* and advise the nizam on

state policy.[12] She also accompanied him to war, dressed in male clothing, and gained a reputation for her riding skills and her accomplishments with the bow and even the javelin. A Venkatchallam canvas depicting the nobility of Nizam 'Ali Khan's court hunting (fig. 95) shows Mah Laqa at the top right, sitting in a stately palanquin, the only woman in a landscape filled with men. No wonder that John Malcolm, the British assistant resident at the turn of the nineteenth century, called her "an extraordinary woman" or that the Hyderabadi sage Qadrat Ullah Qasim wrote that she was "a unique combination of body and soul."[13]

The atmosphere of languid sensual courtliness in Mah Laqa's poetry is also found in miniatures of Rai Venkatchallam and Tajalli 'Ali Shah. As with the work produced in Delhi under the reign of Muhammad Shah a generation earlier, we are in the enchanted world of the pleasure garden: water drips from fountains, flowers bend in the breeze, peacocks call from overladen mango trees. Women smoke *huqqa*s (water pipes) and swim in long garden pools, drink wine, and play with pigeons, or while away the moonlit monsoon nights on swings, listening to music and carousing in marble pavilions. There are some fine portraits in similar cultivated arcadian settings, and the fountains and ranked cedar trees of the irrigated garden became the standard background to portraits of the period.[14]

The famous Venkatchallam image of Aristu Jah's son Ma'ali Mian shows him sitting in a garden sniffing a flower and admiring a tame hawk as five small fountain jets play amid the roses and dragonflies at his feet, and as clouds of rosy parakeets fly to roost in the banana trees and toddy palms that frame the scene.[15] The *darbar* and battle scenes of high Mughal art have disappeared. As one rather surprised art historian has commented, "it is difficult to account for their absence from the painters' list of themes, but it shows that women and not hunting or war were important for their patrons."[16] Nothing about these charmed garden scenes indicates that the Marathas, the Hyderabadi's mortal enemies, might ride into the outskirts at any minute, burning and pillaging. As with the art under Muhammad Shah in Delhi, the painting feels like an almost willful escape from the harsh politics of the time.

But the flourishing of the arts under Nizam 'Ali Khan did not long survive him, and his late nineteenth-century successors inhabited a world increasingly in awe of the West, all too ready to drop their own cultural forms in favor of those of Europe. The encroachment of colonialism, and the loss of confidence in indigenous artistic forms that so often accompanied it, had already taken root during the reign of Nizam 'Ali Khan. Ironically, the man who started the rot was the British East India Company's most thoroughly Mughalized diplomat, James Achilles Kirkpatrick, who converted to Islam on marrying the Hyderabadi Princess Khair un-Nissa. In 1798, Kirkpatrick persuaded the nizam to sign an alliance with the British that effectively preserved the Hyderabad state until the end of the British Raj, but in the months that followed, he imported craftsmen from Madras to begin work on a vast Palladian villa almost identical to the White House in Washington, D.C. (fig. 96). Within a couple of years, the style had become all the rage in Hyderabad. Several buildings were being constructed in imitation of his architectural innovations, including the Chowmahalla (Four Halls) Palace, which became the principal palace of the nizams from the early nineteenth century onward (fig. 94).[17]

This boom in Western architectural style accelerated when, in June 1805, as part of his famine relief program, Nizam Sikandar Jah (reigned 1803–29) and his prime minister Mir 'Alam embarked, per Kirkpatrick's recommendations, on a grand program of construction as a way of providing employment and money to the refugees from the countryside who now flooded into Hyderabad. As James Kirkpatrick explained:

> By the much admired style of my improvements at the Residency, I have awakened a passion for architectural improvement in the Meer [Alam] and Secunder Jah, both of whom I have persuaded to lay out little of their enormous hoards in public and private works, both within and without the City. . . . [These are] of considerable extent and some degree of Taste.
>
> Among other works carrying on, and which are imitated on a humbler scale by rich Mussulman and Hindoo individuals, Meer Allum has completed a neat square of upstairs houses in front of his own mansion with a stone tank in the centre and a wide and long street of shops with upper apartments leading to this square, the *tout ensemble* effect of which is striking enough.
>
> Secunder Jah has begun something on a similar plan, besides having a large Garden House in hand, partly European and partly Asiatic.[18]

Until the end of the nineteenth century, there were members of the Hyderabadi aristocracy who continued to patronize precolonial Deccani architectural styles, notably *deori*s (mansions) with courtyards and three-sided wood pavilions. Increasingly, however, first Palladian, and later Westernized Indo-Saracenic, styles began to dominate.[19]

After the British crushed the 1857 rebellion—the largest anticolonial revolt against a European power during the nineteenth century—systematically destroying the Urdu-speaking civilization of Delhi and Lucknow, the importance and uniqueness of Hyderabad only increased. Though the Urdu poets of the north once looked down on what they saw as the provincial world of Hyderabadi Urdu, they were quick enough to seek the shelter and patronage of the nizams after their own nests were irreparably destroyed at the Ghadr (Catastrophe of 1857). One after another, often on foot, in disguise, and using the most meandering routes, the surviving intellectuals from the shattered courts of Delhi and Lucknow limped in the late 1850s and early 1860s into Hyderabad, where the nizams gave them positions, honors, and crucially, safety.

The most important was probably Dagh Dihlavi (1831–1905), the greatest *ghazal* writer of his generation. Dagh was the son of Nawab Shams al-Din Khan, who had been hanged in 1835 for the murder of the Delhi resident, William Fraser. Nizam Mahbub 'Ali Khan (reigned 1869–1911), who recognized his genius and based his own often erotic compositions on those of Dagh, gave him a huge monthly salary of 1,500 rupees. Other refugees who came from Delhi included the memoirist Sarvar al-Mulk and the learned divine Maulvi Abdul Haq Khairabadi, and from Lucknow came the great poet Munshi Amir Ahmad Minai.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Hyderabad began to see itself as the leading center of Urdu learning. In 1918, Osmania University made Urdu its official language and became the first Western-style university in India to teach in a language other than English. There was also patronage of traditional Deccani forms of music and storytelling, and it was common as late as

the early twentieth century for noblemen to fall asleep to the sound of singers or storytellers declaiming the deeds of the Qutb Shahi kings from behind a screen.[20]

There was still some continuity in court manners and *adab* (etiquette). Although the nizams and their elite began to sit on Western furniture and eat their meals in the Western manner, forms of etiquette remained specifically Deccani. The nizams maintained the old Deccani tradition of recruiting courtiers from the Middle East, and as late as 1949, they were defended by a Yemeni bodyguard. Moreover, like their forebears in the Deccani sultanates, they still patronized scholars not just from North India but much farther afield: Bukhara, Samarqand, and Arabia.

Nevertheless, traditional architecture and the visual arts were not supported in the same way. By the early twentieth century, all new palaces in Hyderabad, such as Iram Manzil (ca. 1900), Falaknuma (1884), and Mahbub Mansion (ca. 1896), were being constructed in a European style, and commissions for painting and portraits were given to artists working in a Western style adapted to Hyderabadi tastes and needs.[21] Although Nizam Mahbub ʻAli Khan was a notable patron of photography, he seems to have viewed painters of miniatures as passé.[22]

In this culturally mixed form, Hyderabad entered the twentieth century. By the 1940s, the state had an income and expenditure equal to Belgium's and exceeding those of twenty member states of the United Nations. The nizam's personal fortune was more remarkable still. According to one contemporary estimate, it amounted to at least £100 million in gold and silver bullion, and £400 million in jewels. Nizam Mahbub ʻAli Khan also owned one of the Islamic world's great art collections, with libraries full of Mughal and Deccani miniatures, illuminated Qur'ans, and esoteric Indo-Islamic manuscripts. In February 1937, Osman ʻAli Khan (reigned 1911–48) was featured on the cover of *Time* magazine as the "Richest Man in the World," with his total wealth estimated at $1.4 billion.[23]

Partly because of this extraordinary fortune, the nizam was feted by the British as the most senior prince in India, and given clear precedence over all his rivals. After all, for more than three centuries, his ancestors had ruled a state the size of Italy (82,700 square miles of the Deccan plateau) as absolute monarchs, answerable—in internal matters at least—to no one but themselves. Within this area, the nizam could claim the allegiance of some fifteen million subjects.

Nor was his reputation limited to India; during the years leading up to World War II, the nizam was regarded by many as the leading Muslim ruler in the world. A few years earlier, in 1921, the nizam's two sons, Azam Jah and Moazzam Jah, had been sent to Nice, where they married, respectively, the daughter and the niece of the last Ottoman caliph, Abdul Majid II, who had recently been expelled from the Topkapi Palace by Kemal Atatürk and sent into exile in Provence. As part of the marriage arrangements, the caliph had nominated Azam as heir to the caliphate, so uniting the supreme spiritual authority of the Muslim world with its greatest concentration of riches. To many, the Asaf Jahi dynasty seemed unassailable.

Other observers were, however, all too aware of their fragility. A small Urdu-speaking Muslim nobility ruled a population that was 85 percent Hindu and spoke mainly Telugu. By the 1930s, the Indian Freedom Struggle was gaining momentum, and Hyderabad, firmly aligned to British interests, was looking increasingly like an anachronism. "He [Osman ʻAli Khan]

was as mad as a coot, and his [chief] wife was raving," I was told by the historian and biographer Iris Portal, who had worked in Hyderabad before Independence.

> It was like living in France on the eve of the Revolution. All the power was in the hands of the Muslim nobility. They spent money like water and were terrible, irresponsible landlords, but they could be very charming and sophisticated as well. . . . They would take us shooting . . . talking all the while about their trips to England or to Cannes and Paris, although in many ways Hyderabad was still living in the Moghul Middle Ages and the villages we would pass through were often desperately poor. You couldn't help feeling that the whole great baroque structure could come crashing down at any minute.[24]

The end, when it came, was both sudden and extremely messy. A full four months after British rule had come to an end in the rest of India, Osman 'Ali Khan was still refusing to sign up to the newly formed Indian union. He firmly believed that there was no reason why Hyderabad should be forced to join either India or Pakistan and, rather than negotiating with the Indian government, entered into correspondence with the Portuguese to see if he could buy Goa from them.

After months of stalled negotiations, India invaded Hyderabad in 1948, replacing the nizam's autocratic and despotic rule with parliamentary democracy. Indian casualties amounted to 7 killed and 9 wounded, as against 632 Hyderabadis killed and 14 wounded. What happened next was much worse. According to the report commissioned by Indian Prime Minister Pandit Nehru from Pandit Sunderlal on the communal rioting that followed, 200,000 died in the death throes of the Hyderabad state.[25]

Twenty-six years later, Indira Gandhi abolished the nizam's title—along with those of all the other princes—removed their privy purses, and made them subject to crippling new wealth taxes and land-ceiling acts, thus forcing them to sell most of their property. Mukarram Jah, Osman 'Ali Khan's grandson who succeeded him in February 1967, quickly found himself enmeshed in debts and financial chaos. He had inherited a ridiculously inflated army of retainers: 14,718 staff members and dependents, including no fewer than 42 of his grandfather's concubines and their 100-plus offspring. The Chowmahalla Palace complex alone had 6,000 employees; there were around 3,000 Arab bodyguards from Sudan and Yemen, and 28 people whose only job was to bring drinking water; 38 more were employed to dust the chandeliers, while several others were retained specifically to grind the nizam's walnuts. Everything was in a state of severe disarray: the nizam's garages, for example, cost £45,000 for gasoline and spare parts for 60 cars, yet only 4 vehicles were in working condition, and the limousine that was supposed to take Jah from his coronation broke down on the way to the reception. Officially, 2,000 people a day were fed from the royal kitchens, yet several local restaurants were also secretly being supplied with food at the nizam's expense.[26]

Most debilitating of all was the legal wrangling initiated by the several thousand descendants of the different nizams, almost all of whom claimed part of Jah's inheritance. By 1973, 476 legal heirs of the sixth nizam and 1,945 descendants of the fifth had filed suits or claims of various sorts. Even getting the smallest sum to live on proved difficult for the new nizam. His vast inheritance had been distributed between 54 different trusts, the control of which was disputed. From

Fig. 96. Double-Curve Staircase, British Residency, Hyderabad, 1803–6

the beginning, despite nominally inheriting one of the world's greatest fortunes, he was forced to sell jewelry and other family heirlooms to stay solvent.

Eventually in 1973, frustrated and disgusted by the weight of litigation and the bitterness of the family infighting, Jah relocated to a sheep farm in Perth. There His Exalted Highness, the Rustam of the Age, the Aristotle of the Times, the Victor in Battles, and the Leader of Armies donned blue overalls and spent his days tinkering under the hoods of his cars or driving bulldozers, backhoes, and heavy earth-moving equipment around the Australian bush. As his biographer, John Zubrzycki, memorably put it in *The Last Nizam*: "His grandfather composed couplets in Persian about unrequited love. To Jah's ears there was nothing more poetic than the drone of a diesel engine." Visitors frequently mistook him for a sheep shearer, but Jah was not bothered: "Abu Bakar [his ancestor, the first caliph] was a shepherd," he told one interviewer, "so I see no reason why I shouldn't be one too."[27]

In his absence, the nizam's unsupervised Hyderabad properties were looted and his possessions dispersed by a succession of incompetent or unscrupulous advisers. Many palaces were

sealed by orders of different courts. Others were quietly sold off or encroached upon: between 1967 and 2001, the Chowmahalla shrank from fifty-four acres to twelve, as courtyard after courtyard, ballrooms, whole stable blocks, and even the famous mile-long banquet hall were acquired by real-estate developers, who demolished the eighteenth-century buildings and erected concrete apartments in their place.

With the last nizam went much of the ruling class, taking with them their love of culture and their artworks. Some went to the Persian Gulf and Pakistan, others to London and New York. Few remained in the new Hyderabad, where the capable Reddy business caste from the coast became the new elite. Even in academia, the Deccan was a subject that seemed to interest few scholars. For every book on the Deccan sultanates, there were one hundred on the Mughals; for every book on Hyderabad, there was a shelf on Lucknow. The old Hyderabad, as Onassis noted, seemed doomed.

Yet in the last decade, the heritage of Hyderabad has made something of a comeback. Mukarram Jah remains in exile in Turkey, where he now lives in a two-room apartment in Antalya, but his first wife, the indomitable Turkish Princess Esra, has recently overseen a major restoration of the principal city palace, the Chowmahalla complex, while the Falaknuma has been turned into a luxury hotel. Meanwhile, a center of Deccani studies has opened at Maulana Azad National Urdu University, Hyderabad, and an excellent scholarly magazine, *Deccan Studies*, acts as a forum for discussion of history and culture. There has recently been a flood of new publications on its art and architecture, while Hyderabad itself has slowly realized that development and prosperity need not come at the expense of conserving heritage and wrecking the environment. Much has been lost, but the future of Hyderabad's past seems brighter than it has been for many decades.

1. Patnaik 1985. **2.** Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, letter to Mark Zebrowski, February 10, 1986, private collection, London. **3.** Lala Mansaram, *Masir-i Nizami*; English translation in Rao 1963, pp. 82, 97, 123. **4.** Saksena 2002, p. 199. **5.** Nayeem 1985, p. 87. For the reporting of illicit parties, see Lala Mansaram, *Masir-i Nizami*; English translation in Rao 1963, p. 112. **6.** Dalrymple and Sharma 2012, p. 4. **7.** Bor et al. 2010, pp. 19, 24; Delvoye 2010, p. 48; Trivedi 2010, pp. 83–85. **8.** Lala Mansaram, *Masir-i Nizami*; English translation in Rao 1963, p. 102. **9.** For the moral police, see Rao 1963, p. 209. The author learned about the Office of the Lords of Pleasure from a conversation with Dr. Zebunissa Begum, who studied its records, which are now in the Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Hyderabad. **10.** See her entry in Balkhi 1956. **11.** See S. A. A. Bilgrami 1927, p. 13. **12.** For Mah Laqa's poetry in the Nawab of Avadh's library, see Sprenger 1854; for Mah Laqa's status in the *darbar*, see Begum 1978, p. 114. See also Kugle 2010. **13.** Handwritten inscription by John Malcolm in a book of Mah Laqa's poetry, *Divan-i Chanda*, presented to him by Mah Laqa in 1799 (British Library, London, I.O. Islamic 2768). For Qadrat Ullah Qasim's description of Mah Laqa, see Azmi 1998, pp. 34, 48–49. **14.** Mittal 1963, p. 44. **15.** This fine image, which James Achilles Kirkpatrick's assistant and successor, Thomas Sydenham, said he "procured with much Difficulty from the Archives of the [nizam's] Family," is illustrated in Zebrowski 1983a, p. 265, ill. no. 242. **16.** Mittal 1963, p. 44. **17.** Dalrymple 2002, pp. 369, 378. **18.** James Achilles Kirkpatrick to William Kirkpatrick, June 4, 1805, India Office Records, British Library, London, Kirkpatrick Collection, F228/59, p. 40. **19.** Mackenzie Shah 2010, pp. 98–101. **20.** Dalrymple 1998, p. 196. **21.** Mackenzie Shah 2010, p. 99. **22.** Jacob 2009. **23.** "Hyderabad" 1937; B. B. Cohen 2007, p. 1. **24.** Iris Portal, quoted in Dalrymple 1998, pp. 197–98. **25.** Bawa 1992, p. 282; Khalidi 1988, p. x. Operation Polo and its aftermath have recently been the subject of a controversial new book; see Noorani 2013. **26.** Zubrzycki 2006, pp. 233, 286. **27.** Ibid., p. 258.

APPENDIX

Excerpts from the *Tarikh-i Muhammad Qutb Shah*

MARYAM EKHTIAR

The *Tarikh-i Muhammad Qutb Shah* (History of Muhammad Qutb Shah) was completed in Hyderabad in A.H. Sha'ban 1026 (July–August 1617). Its unnamed author traces the history of the Qutb Shahi dynasty from the family's origins in Iran through the early part of the reign of Muhammad Qutb Shah (1612–26). The chronicle has long been known to historians, and John Briggs appended lengthy sections of the text to his translation of the *Tarikh-i Firishta*.[1] This and other partial translations have focused on the historical facts that the manuscript contains. The text, however, also provides rich insights into the material culture of Hyderabad and Golconda in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Drawn from the final chapter, the excerpts below focus on court rituals and festivities, religious observances, and the patronage of art and architecture during the reigns of Muhammad Quli (1580–1612) and Muhammad and have been chosen for their descriptions of objects, textiles, and gifts. These summaries are based on a copy of the manuscript made by Shaikh 'Abd al-Hakim "for the treasury of books of his Highness Ray Dawarkadas" in 1676.[2]

Folios 247–51: Account of Preparations for a *Bazm* (Feast) of the *Khaqan* (Emperor) of the Times, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah

Muhammad Amin, Mir Jumla Shahi, had the interiors decorated with *zarbaft* (gold brocades with vegetal designs), *atlasi* (silk satin), velvet, and *milak-kar* (cotton textiles from Ramshir, Iran) that evoked paradise.[3] Carpets were unrolled, and the guards and servants lined up in rows to greet the shah on his arrival. Poets surrounded the court like jewels and recited both poetry and prose. Rosewater, amber, and musk were sprinkled around the interior. Jeweled saddles and harnesses for twenty elephants and thirty Arabian horses with fourteen multi-jeweled medallions were given as gifts to the sultan (*pishkish*). Other presents included a porcelain double-sided mirror, jeweled trappings for the trunks of the elephants, fourteen beautifully penned Qur'ans with jeweled bindings, jewel-studded perfume sprinklers, two hundred Kashmir shawls, fourteen carpets from Jaushaqan in Iran, and twenty *namad* floor coverings (matted wool rugs) from Kirman as well as two hundred large *ghuri* trays full of gold, emeralds, diamonds, rubies, and tigereye. Slaves were also given as gifts. A variety of food, fruit, and drink was served. This feast was worth more than 50,000 *hun* and weighed an equivalent of 150,000 *man*. The *bazm* included storytellers, *nadim*s (close companions), poets, singers, and angel-like beauties. The sultan's own horses and elephants were adorned with jewels. The area was decorated with an array of decorative objects and Chinese silk textiles (*murasa' alat va qumsha-ha-yi khata'i*). The artisans were busy filling the trays with jewels.

In return, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah gave Mir Jumla his own robe, five elephants, and five Arabian horses.

Folio 250b: *Bazm* (Feast) Commemorating the Birth of the Prophet Muhammad

Every year on A.H. 17 Rabi' al-Awwal (the third month of the Hegira calendar), there were twelve days of unimaginably grand celebrations. The guards and workers laid down the cloths (*mandil*) of Chinese silk satin and unrolled the carpets from Rum (Turkey). Many objects inset with rubies and pearls were displayed. Poets and angelic beauties attended the feast as musicians and singers performed in the *hijaz* mode. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's workers sprinkled the grounds with musk, amber, and rosewater and served fruits, sweets, and drinks to the guests.

The celebration extended to the four sides of the square (*maidan*) of Hyderabad. The platforms and other areas of the *ivan* were decorated with a variety of decorative objects and Chinese silk textiles with designs of lions and elephants.[4] At each corner of the *ivan* were one thousand moon-faced singers and dancers. The most luxurious textiles, such as gold and silver brocades (*zarbaft*), velvets, and *milak-kar*, were used as *pay-andaz* (runners) in preparation for the shah's arrival. On the ninth day, the *khaqan* Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah entered with his entourage. One *lakh hun* was spent on the incense and essences used alone.

Folios 253–54: Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's Buildings and Expenditures

The sultan constructed buildings, gardens, portals, mosques, madrasas, *khanqah*s (spiritual centers), and hospitals. The treasurer Mir Abu Talib Nazim al-Mulk provided a detailed account of various buildings: Bagh-i Muhammadi Mahal, Imarat-i Elahi Mahal, Imarat-i Koh-i Tur, Nadi Mahal, and the *Langar* (soup kitchen) of the twelve Shi'a imams.

Ashura ceremonies during the month of Muharram were given great prominence. According to the court treasurer, the shah spent over 70 *lakh hun*, equivalent to 600,000 *toman*, and each year spent 60,000 *hun* on staff and 12,000 *hun* for Muharram ceremonies. Black was worn during these occasions. The sultan had the administrative buildings illuminated and invited the ulema, the learned, government officials, and important men of the times to attend. He sent substantial amounts of money and textiles to Mecca, Medina, Karbala, Mashhad, and other holy places. Every year he also spent 60,000 *hun* to pay the staff of the *Langar* of the twelve imams. He also gave 12,000 *hun* yearly to charity during the month of Muharram (*zar-i ashuri*).

Folios 257–67: Description of the Accession of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah

Muhammad Qutb Shah ascended the throne at age twenty-one.

*Qasida*s (odes) were composed, describing his accession, and some verses liken Hindustan to Iran. Among the guests who visited and brought gifts for the new king were officials from the courts of Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (reigned 1580–1627) and of the Nizam Shahis such as Mir Muhammad Taqi and Mir Abu'l Fath.

Gifts from the emperor of Iran Shah 'Abbas (reigned 1587–1629) were sent through the envoy Husain Baig Qubjaji-bashi, who stayed for two years and four months and returned to Iran in A.H. 1025 (A.D. 1616–17). Shah 'Abbas sent a jeweled crown, a saber, a dagger inset with rubies and pearls, a jeweled harness, and fifty horses as gifts. The emeralds and pearls were unparalleled in size and opulence. Lavishly dressed attendants offered [the sultan] patterned, gold-brocade garments and three hundred bolts of gold brocades by the workshop of Khwaja Ghiyath, *milak-kar*, and other gifts.

In return, extravagant gifts such as jeweled objects and silk textiles were sent to the Safavid court through Burhanpur. Fourteen thousand *hun* was spent on Husain Baig's trip back to Iran.

1. The translation was published as "The History of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah" in Briggs 1966. **2.** The copy is in the India Office Records, British Library, London (I.O. 179 [Ethé 456]). **3.** The royal *bazm* was prepared by Muhammad Amin, who was appointed chief advisor (*mir jumla*) to Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah in A.H. 1011 (A.D. 1602–3) and was responsible for most state affairs until Muhammad Quli's death in 1612. **4.** An *ivan* is a vaulted chamber that is walled on three sides with the remaining side opening onto a courtyard.

Rulers of the Deccan Sultanates

THE DECCAN: A GOLDEN AGE

Bahmanis of Gulbarga and Bidar

Hasan, 1347–58
Muhammad I, 1358–75
Mujahid, 1375–78
Da‘ud I, 1378
Muhammad II, 1378–97
Shams al-Din, 1397
Da‘ud II, 1397
Firuz, 1397–1422
Ahmad I, 1422–36
Ahmad II, 1436–58
Humayun, 1458–61
Ahmad III, 1461–63
Muhammad III, 1463–82
Mahmud, 1482–1518
Ahmad IV, 1518–20
‘Ala al-Din, 1520–23
Waliullah, 1523–26
Kalimullah, 1526–38

AHMADNAGAR AND BERAR

Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar

Ahmad, 1496–1510
Burhan I, 1510–53
Husain I, 1553–65
Murtaza I, 1565–88
Husain II, 1588–89
Isma‘il, 1589–91
Burhan II, 1591–95
Ibrahim, 1595
Bahadur, 1595–1600
Murtaza II, 1600–1610
Burhan III, 1610–31
Husain III, 1631–33
Murtaza III, 1633–36

‘Imad Shahis of Narnala Gavilgarh and Elichpur

Fathullah, 1490–1510
‘Ala al-Din, 1510–30
Darya, 1530–62
Burhan, 1562–74

The list of rulers is organized by dynasty and respective capitals.

BIJAPUR

‘Adil Shahis of Bijapur

Yusuf, 1490–1510
Isma‘il, 1510–34
Mallu, 1534–35
Ibrahim I, 1535–58
‘Ali I, 1558–80
Ibrahim II, 1580–1627
Muhammad, 1627–56
‘Ali II, 1656–72
Sikandar, 1672–86

BIDAR

Barid Shahis of Bidar

Qasim I, 1487–1504
Amir I, 1504–43
‘Ali, 1543–80
Ibrahim, 1580–87
Qasim II, 1587–91
Amir II, 1591–1601
Mirza ‘Ali, 1601–9
Amir III, 1609–19

GOLCONDA

Qutb Shahis of Golconda and Hyderabad

Sultan Quli, 1496–1543
Jamshid, 1543–50
Subhan, 1550
Ibrahim, 1550–80
Muhammad Quli, 1580–1612
Muhammad, 1612–26
‘Abdullah, 1626–72
‘Abu’l Hasan, 1672–87

EPILOGUE

Asaf Jahis of Aurangabad and Hyderabad

Mir Qamar al-Din Nizam al-Mulk, Asaf Jah I, 1724–48
Mir Ahmad Khan, Nasir Jang, 1748–50
Muzaffar Jang, 1750–51
Salabat Jang, 1751–61
Nizam ‘Ali Khan, Asaf Jah II, 1761–1803
Nizam Sikandar Jah, Asaf Jah III, 1803–29
‘Ali Khan Nasir al-Daula, Asaf Jah IV, 1829–57
‘Ali Khan Afzal al-Daula, Asaf Jah V, 1857 – 69
Nizam Mahbub ‘Ali Khan, Asaf Jah VI, 1869–1911
Osman ‘Ali Khan, Asaf Jah VII, 1911–48

Literature for Objects in the Exhibition

COMPILED BY COURTNEY A. STEWART

THE DECCAN: A GOLDEN AGE

Cat. 1, Coins of the Bahmani and Vijayanagara Empires
Unpublished

Cat. 2, Spherical Container with Spiraling Radials
Mittal 2007, p. 207, no. 94; *Jagdish Mittal* 2014, p. 35, fig. 11

Cat. 3, Footed Ewer with Elephant-Headed Spout and Bird-Shaped Terminals
Unpublished

Cat. 4, Qur'an Manuscript Scroll
Unpublished

Cat. 5, Bowl in the Shape of a Ten-Pointed Star
Christie's 1985a, p. 163, lot 382; Zebrowski 1997, p. 176, pl. 254a–c; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 237, fig. 175

Cat. 6, Brazier
Zebrowski 1997, p. 122, pl. 142

AHMADNAGAR AND BERAR

Cat. 7, Sultan Husain Nizam Shah I on Horseback
Daniel S. Walker in Smart and Walker 1985, pp. 43–45, no. 22, and ill. following p. 11; Elgood 2004a, p. 88, no. 8.28; Elgood 2004b, p. 79, fig. 4; Ricketts 2014, p. 150, fig. 2

Cat. 8, Manuscript of the *Ta'rif-i Husain Shahi* (Chronicle of Husain Shah)
Kramrisch 1937, pp. 136–38, 140, pls. XII, XIII; Barrett 1958, p. 6; Barrett and Gray 1963, p. 116; S. C. Welch 1963c, p. 9; Mittal 1974, pp. 218–19; Krishna Chaitanya 1979, pp. 72, 79, 81, 83, pl. 60; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 18, ill. no. 1, p. 33, colorpl. 1; Aftabi 1987; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 146, fig. 108

Cat. 9, Helmet
Splendeur des armes orientales 1988, p. 84, no. 140

Cat. 10, Peacock in a Rainstorm at Night
Zebrowski 1983a, p. 41, ill. no. 24, p. 51, colorpl. III; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 154, fig. 114

Cat. 11, *Gauri Ragini*: A Maiden Picking Blossoms from a Tree
Binney 1973, p. 141, no. 118, colorpl. p. 150; Ebeling 1973, p. 157, no. 14; Hughes 1973, p. 73; S. C. Welch 1973, pp. 126–27, no. 75; A. Welch 1975, fig. 1; Binney 1979, p. 803, fig. 19; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 42, ill. no. 25, p. 52, pl. IV; Pal 1993, pp. 352–54, no. 112; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 155, fig. 115; Skelton 2011b, p. 23, fig. 7; Goswamy 2014, pp. 420–23

Cat. 12, *Dhanasri Ragini*: A Woman Drawing a Portrait on a Tablet
Gangoly 1948, pl. M; Goetz 1950, p. 55, pl. IV; Gray 1951, pp. 8–9, pl. I; W. G. Archer 1960, pl. 14; Ebeling 1973, p. 156, no. 12; Krishna Chaitanya 1979, p. 75; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 46, ill. no. 29

Cat. 13, *Nat Malhar*: A Woman Splashing Water on Her Lover from the River
Goetz 1950, p. 102; Ebeling 1973, pp. 155–58; Georgina Fantoni in *Indian Paintings and Manuscripts* 1999, pp. 46–47, no. 28

Cat. 14, Portrait of an Ahmadnagar Ruler
Blochet 1926, pp. 153–54, 159, pl. CIX; Goetz 1934, pl. 3, no. 6; Barrett 1958, pp. 14–15, pl. 5; "Ahmadnagar" 1963, p. 27; Sherwani and Joshi 1973–74, vol. 2 (1974), pl. Ia; Krishna Chaitanya 1979, pl. 74; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 20, ill. no. 4, p. 22, ill. nos. 6–9, p. 34, colorpl. II; S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 286–87, no. 190; Zebrowski 1986, p. 92, fig. 1; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, colorpl. 2

Cat. 15, Portrait of an Ahmadnagar Ruler Reclining beneath a Covered *Takht* (Seat)
Zebrowski 1983a, p. 21, ill. no. 5

Cat. 16, Royal Elephant and Rider
S. C. Welch 1963b, p. 225, pl. 5, fig. 8; S. C. Welch 1963c, p. 11; S. C. Welch 1975, pp. 76–77, no. 36; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 28, ill. no. 16; Beach 1985, p. 39, no. 26; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 150, fig. 111; *Indian and Islamic Works of Art* 2011, pp. 130–33, no. 57, and frontispiece; Sotheby's 2011a, pp. 122–23, lot 98

Cat. 17, Royal Picnic
Falk and M. Archer 1981, pp. 221, 499, no. 401; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 29, ill. no. 17; V. N. Desai 1985, pp. 60, 63, no. 50; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 152, fig. 112

Cat. 18, Young Prince
Unpublished

Cat. 19, Young Prince and Princess
Sotheby's 1961, p. 15, lot 77; Binney 1973, pp. 142–43, no. 120; S. C. Welch 1975, p. 68, no. 29; Binney 1979, p. 785, fig. 1; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 31, ill. no. 19; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 153, fig. 113; Goswamy and Smith 2005, pp. 166–67, no. 66; Overton 2011b, p. 365, fig. 21

Cat. 20, Malik 'Ambar
Coomaraswamy 1927, p. 8, fig. 5; Coomaraswamy 1930, p. 48, pl. LXXVII; Khandalavala 1955–56, pl. III, fig. 3; Krishna Chaitanya 1979, p. 72; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 37, ill. no. 21; Alderman 2006, p. 111, fig. 97

Cat. 21, "Jahangir Shoots the Head of Malik 'Ambar," Folio from the *Minto Album*
Arnold and Wilkinson 1936, vol. 1, pp. 31–32, vol. 3, no. 15, pl. 62; Gray 1949, pp. 156–57, no. 705; Gascoigne 1971, p. 153; A. K. Das 1978, pl. 65; Skelton 1988, p. 189, fig. 2; Leach 1995, vol. 1, pp. 398–400, 405, no. 3.25; Bailey 2001, p. 56, fig. 6; Stronge 2002, p. 162, pl. 125; Eaton 2005, pl. 9; Alderman 2006, p. 106, fig. 93; Ramaswamy 2007, p. 763, fig. 3; Susan Stronge in Wright 2008, pp. 344–46, no. 50

BIJAPUR

Cat. 22, Manuscript of the *Nujum al-'Ulum* (Stars of the Sciences)
Arnold and Wilkinson 1936, vol. 1, pp. 2–4, vol. 2, pls. 3–5; Kramrisch 1937, pp. 120–34, pls. X, XI; Gray 1949, p. 173, no. 805; Barrett 1958, pp. 8–9, pl. 2; Barrett and Gray 1963, p. 120; Krishna Chaitanya 1979, pp. 73, 83, 85; Marshall 1981, p. 138, fig. 148; Losty 1982, pp. 71–72, no. 50; Leach 1995, vol. 2, pp. 819–89; Elgood 2004a, app. 1, pp. 205–16, figs. AP.1–11; Hutton 2005 p. 74, fig. 15; Hutton 2006, pls. 3–7; Flatt 2011, pp. 223–44; Diamond 2013a, p. 153, fig. 11.3; Diamond 2013b, pp. 125, 294, no. 3e

Cat. 23, Battle-Ax with Openwork Decoration and Hidden Blade
Unpublished

Cat. 24, Sultan 'Ali 'Adil Shah I
Sotheby's 1975, p. 36, lot 85; *Persian and Islamic Art* 1977, p. 22, no. 37; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 65, ill. no. 48; Lowry 1988, p. 316, no. 367; Elgood 2004a, p. 115, fig. 11.9; Sotheby's 2013, pp. 72–73, lot 80; Ricketts 2014, p. 148, fig. 1

Cat. 25, Dagger with Zoomorphic Hilt
Christie's 1996, p. 71, lot 131; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 231, fig. 169; von Folsach 2001, p. 342, no. 568; Elgood 2004a, p. 114, no. 11.7; Blair and Bloom 2006, p. 81, no. 21; Joachim Meyer in Calza 2012, pp. 166–67, 259, no. IV.19; Ricketts 2014, p. 158, fig. 17

Cat. 26, Hilt of a Gauntlet Sword (*Pata*)
Unpublished

Cat. 27, Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II
Hôtel Drouot 1973, lot 5; Soustiel and David 1974, pp. 30–31, fig. 25; Zebrowski 1981b, fig. 412; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 54, pl. VI, p. 74, ill. no. 49; S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 290, 291–92, no. 193; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 165, fig. 121; Jeremiah P. Losty in *Royal Courts of India* 2008, pp. 52–53, no. 20; Rosemary Crill in Crill and Jariwala 2010, pp. 110–11, pl. 31; Overton 2011b, p. 360, fig. 14, p. 473, fig. 177

Cat. 28, Procession of Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II
Goetz 1950, pl. VIII; W. G. Archer 1951, p. 12, fig. D, and front cover; M. Chandra 1951, front cover; Gray 1951, pp. 12–13, pl. III; Skelton 1958, p. 101, fig. 2; *Mārg* 16, no. 2 (March 1963), p. 29; Sherwani and Joshi 1973–74, vol. 2 (1974), pl. VIa; Soustiel and David 1974, p. 78; Krishna Chaitanya 1979, p. 73, pl. 64; Zebrowski 1981b, fig. 418; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 75, ill. no. 50; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 166, fig. 122

Cat. 29, Manuscript of the *Pem Nem* (The Laws of Love)
Barrett 1969, pp. 142–59, figs. 91–102; Pinder-Wilson 1976, p. 90, no. 171; Losty 1982, p. 73, no. 52, colorpl. XVII; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 104, ill. no. 81; Knížková 1986, p. 121, fig. 7; Losty 1986, p. 55, no. 48; Seyller 1995, p. 332, fig. 16; Hutton 2006, pp. 73–78, pls. 8–15, pp. 81–83, figs. 3.2, 3.3; Nayeem 2008, pp. 264–71, figs. 8–15; Hutton 2011, pp. 44–63

Cat. 30, *Yogini* with a Mynah Bird
Arnold and Wilkinson 1936, vol. 1, pp. 49–50, vol. 3, no. XXXI, pl. 93; Kramrisch 1937, p. 143; Gray 1949, p. 174, no. 808; Skelton 1957, p. 399, pl. 8, fig. 16; Barrett 1958, pp. 18–19, pl. 7; "Ahmadnagar" 1963, p. 28; Krishna Chaitanya 1979, pp. 76, 80, pl. 65; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 105, ill. no. 82, p. 108, pl. XII; S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 292, 294–96, no. 196; James 1987, p. 254, fig. 6; Leach 1995, vol. 2, pp. 912–15, no. 9.641, colorpl. 126; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 175, fig. 129; Glynn 2000, p. 66, fig. 1; Hutton 2006, pl. 16; Diamond 2013a, p. 149, fig. 11.1; Diamond 2013b, pp. 126, 127, 294, no. 3f; Goswamy 2014, pp. 111, 514–17

Cat. 31, Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II Riding the Elephant Atash Khan
Gray 1938, pp. 74–76; Zebrowski 1981b, fig. 415; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 97, ill. nos. 71, 72; S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 291, 292, no. 194; Knížková 1986, p. 119, fig. 4; Zebrowski 1986, p. 98, fig. 7; Seyller 1995, p. 323, fig. 4; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 172, fig. 126; Beach 2011, p. 190, no. 24, p. 208, fig. 18; Guy and Britschgi 2011, p. 65, no. 22; Haidar 2011b, p. 36

Cat. 32, Royal Horse and Groom
Pinder-Wilson 1976, p. 90, no. 172; Zebrowski 1981b, fig. 417; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 99, ill. no. 74, p. 107, pl. XI; Topsfield 1984, p. 24, no. 15; Guy and Swallow 1990, p. 112, ill. no. 91; Seyller 1995, p. 322, fig. 5; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 174, fig. 128; Komaroff 2011, p. 293, no. 230

Cat. 33, Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II Playing the *Tambur*
Hájek 1960, no. 8, pls. 10–14; Barrett 1969, p. 158; A. K. Das 1978, pl. 24; Krishna Chaitanya 1979, p. 81; Zebrowski 1981b, fig. 414; Robert Skelton in *Indian Heritage* 1982, p. 38, no. 44; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 90, colorpl. X, p. 94, ill. no. 70; Khandalavala 1986, pl. 90; Knížková 1986, p. 116, fig. 1, p. 117, fig. 2; Seyller 1995, p. 322, fig. 3; A. K. Das 1998, p. 25, fig. 4; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 171, fig. 125; Hutton 2006, pl. 21; Stronge 2010, p. 128, pl. 93; Beach 2011, p. 189, no. 12, p. 198, fig. 9; Overton 2011b,

p. 348, fig. 2, p. 493, fig. 199, p. 495, fig. 201, p. 508, fig. 217; Overton 2014, p. 248, fig. 10.5

Cat. 34, "Suhrab Slain by Rustam," Folio from a *Shahnama* (Book of Kings)
Overton 2011b, p. 443, fig. 138

Cat. 35, "The Death of Farud," Folio from a *Shahnama* (Book of Kings)
Unpublished

Cat. 36, "Piran Stays the Execution of Bizhan," Folio from a *Shahnama* (Book of Kings)
Unpublished

Cat. 37, "Kai Khusrau Crosses the Sea," Folio from a *Shahnama* (Book of Kings)
Marie Lukens Swietochowski in *Arte islámico* 1994, pp. 92–93

Cat. 38, Dervish Receiving a Visitor
Zebrowski 1983a, p. 79, ill. no. 54, p. 70, colorpl. VII; Michell 1986, p. vi; Topsfield 1994, pp. 30–31, no. 12; Nayeem 2008, p. 274, fig. 20; Overton 2011a, p. 376, no. 12, p. 378, fig. 1; Overton 2011b, p. 352, fig. 6; Overton 2012, pp. 37–60, 255, ill. no. 3.5

Cat. 39, Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II Holding Castanets
Gray 1937, pl. LIIIa; Gray 1938, pp. 74–76, p. 77, pl. B; M. Chandra 1951, p. 23, pl. I; Skelton 1958, p. 117, fig. 5; Barrett and Gray 1963, p. 127; Skelton 1963, p. 37, ill. no. 5; Pinder-Wilson 1976, p. 91, no. 176; Marshall 1981, p. 139, fig. 149; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 83, ill. no. 59, p. 72, colorpl. VIII; S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 292, 293, no. 195; Zebrowski 1986, p. 100, fig. 9; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 15, fig. 2; Hutton 2006, pl. 22; Nayeem 2008, p. 263, fig. 7; Overton 2011a, p. 376, no. 6, p. 381, fig. 5; Overton 2011b, p. 355, fig. 9; Goswamy 2014, pp. 310–13

Cat. 40, Stout Courtier
Gray 1938, pp. 74–76, p. 77, pl. C; Barrett and Gray 1963, p. 126; Pinder-Wilson 1976, p. 91, no. 174; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 80, ill. nos. 55, 56; S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 296, 297, no. 197; Zebrowski 1986, p. 101, fig. 10; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, colorpl. 6; Overton 2011a, p. 376, no. 9, p. 383, fig. 8; Overton 2011b, p. 519, fig. 228

Cat. 41, A Mullah
Gray 1949, p. 175, no. 813, pl. 145; Pinder-Wilson 1976, p. 91, no. 175; Falk and M. Archer 1981, pp. 222, 500, no. 402; Zebrowski 1981b, fig. 420; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 82, ill. nos. 57, 58; Losty 1986, p. 58, no. 52; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 169, fig. 123; Overton 2011a, p. 376, no. 10, p. 384, fig. 9; Overton 2011b, p. 401, fig. 78

Cat. 42, Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II Standing
Binney 1973, p. 143, no. 121; Sherwani and Joshi 1973–74, vol. 2 (1974), pl. VIb; Pinder-Wilson 1976, p. 90, no. 173; Binney 1979, p. 788, fig. 4; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 86, ill. no. 63; Overton 2011a, p. 376, no. 8, p. 383, fig. 7; Overton 2011b, p. 353, fig. 7

Cat. 43, Siesta
Kühnel 1922, fig. 104; Barrett 1958, pp. 16–17, pl. 6; Krishna Chaitanya 1979, pp. 72, 87, pl. 63; Hickmann 1979, no. 17; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 110, ill. no. 85, p. 117, colorpl. XIII; Zebrowski 1986, p. 99, fig. 8; Zebrowski 1995, p. 169, fig. 12; Zebrowski 1997, p. 147, pl. 190; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, colorpl. 4; von Gladiss and Haase 2008, pp. 48–49; Overton 2011b, p. 572, fig. 298

Cat. 44, Ascetic Visited by a *Yogini*
Hickmann 1979, no. 37; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 111, ill. no. 86, p. 118, colorpl. XIV; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, colorpl. 5

Cat. 45, Folios from a Manuscript of the *Kitab-i Nauras* (Book of Nine Essences) of Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II
Krishna Chaitanya 1979, p. 74; Robert Skelton in *Indian Heritage* 1982, p. 37, no. 43; Schimmel 1984, pp. 70, 186, n. 262; Haidar 2011b, pp. 30–33, figs. 5–12, p. 40, fig. 22

Cat. 46, Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II Venerates a Sufi Saint
Robert Skelton in *Indian Heritage* 1982, p. 42, no. 55; Khandalavala 1986, pl. 92; Zebrowski 1997, p. 116, pl. 135, p. 180, pl. 256, p. 201, pl. 305; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 176, fig. 130; Canby 2005, pp. 43, 48, 49; Hutton 2006, p. 104, fig. 3.8; Overton 2011a, p. 376, no. 2, p. 387, fig. 12; Overton 2011b, p. 357, fig. 11, p. 550, figs. 268, 269, p. 553, fig. 273; Hutton and Tucker 2014, p. 225, fig. 9.5

Cat. 47, Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II in Procession
Sotheby's 1988, p. 14, lot 40, p. 64, pl. I; Overton 2011b, p. 358, fig. 12; Christie's 2012a, pp. 2, 118–19, lot 201

Cat. 48, Royal Hunting Falcon (*Baz*)
Hôtel Drouot 1960, lot 38 and front cover; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 85, ill. no. 62; Okada 1991, p. 111, fig. 3

Cat. 49, Incense Burner in the Shape of an Octagonal Shrine
Zebrowski 1997, p. 120, pl. 139; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 239, fig. 178

Cat. 50, Ewer with Dragon Heads (Butler Ewer)
Harari 1939, p. 2513; Pope and Ackerman 1939, pl. 1378A; J. W. Allan 1982, p. 48, pl. 48; Zebrowski 1995, p. 160, fig. 1; Zebrowski 1997, p. 147, pl. 189, p. 314, pl. 521

Cat. 51, Spittoon or Incense Burner
Unpublished

Cat. 52, Portrait of a Ruler or Musician
Unpublished

Cat. 53, Sultan Muhammad 'Adil Shah
Zebrowski 1983a, p. 124, ill. no. 92; Zebrowski 1986, p. 102, fig. 11; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, pl. 7; Overton 2011a, p. 377, no. 13, p. 388, fig. 13; Overton 2011b, p. 521, fig. 230

Cat. 54, Album Page with *Découpé* Vase, Insects, and Birds
Bonhams 2011, lot 236

Cat. 55, Album Page with *Découpé* Calligraphy
Bonhams 2011, lot 235; Topsfield 2012, pp. 106–7, no. 42

Cat. 56, A Floral Fantasy
Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 184, fig. 134

Cat. 57, Illumination in the Form of a Vase
Milo Cleveland Beach in Topsfield and Beach 1991, pp. 34–35, no. 8; Filippi 1997, p. 119, no. 66; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 185, fig. 135; Topsfield 2012, pp. 108–9, no. 43

Cat. 58, Pair of Book Covers
Sotheby's 1992, p. 248, lot 527; Filippi 1997, pp. 116–17, nos. 63, 64; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 209, fig. 155; Topsfield 2012, pp. 110–13, nos. 44, 45

Cat. 59, Sultan Muhammad 'Adil Shah and Ikhlas Khan Riding an Elephant
Pinder-Wilson 1976, p. 92, no. 179; Zebrowski 1981b, fig. 429; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 132, ill. no. 100; Topsfield 1984, p. 25, no. 17; S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 300–301, no. 200; Milo Cleveland Beach in Topsfield and Beach 1991, pp. 38–41, no. 10; Filippi 1997, p. 103, no. 54, and front cover; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 180, fig. 132; Alderman 2006, pp. 114–15, fig. 101; Rosemary Crill in Crill and Jariwala 2010, pp. 112–13, no. 32; Topsfield 2012, pp. 94–95, no. 36

Cat. 60, Ikhlas Khan with a Petition
Binney 1973, p. 159, no. 133; Binney 1979, p. 793, fig. 9; Zebrowski 1981b, fig. 425; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 129, ill. no. 96; Alderman 2006, p. 113, fig. 100

Cat. 61, Manuscript of the *Qasida* in Praise of Sultan 'Abdullah Qutb Shah of Golconda
Sotheby's 1974, p. 48, lot 308; Losty 1982, pp. 109, 132–33, no. 103

Cat. 62, Hilt of a Sword
Keene 1985, no. 39; Keene 2001, p. 31, no. 2.3

Cat. 63, Dagger with Zoomorphic Hilt
Haidar 2011c, p. 17; Sotheby's 2011a, pp. 8–9, 130–33, lot 103, and back cover; Canby 2012, p. 89, ill. no. 13

Cat. 64, Fish-Shaped Waterspout from the Asar Mahal
Nayeem 2008, p. 335, fig. 34

Cat. 65, Inscribed Panel
Sotheby's 1993a, lot 216

Cat. 66, Sultan 'Ali 'Adil Shah II Slays a Tiger
Barrett 1960, p. 13 and frontispiece; Christie's 1980, p. 27, lot 55; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 142, ill. no. 110; S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 306–7, no. 205; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 188, fig. 138; Sotheby's 2011a, pp. 152–53, lot 113; Topsfield 2012, pp. 96–97, no. 37

Cat. 67, *Darbar* of Sultan 'Ali 'Adil Shah II
Zebrowski 1983a, p. 140, ill. no. 107; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 187, fig. 137

Cat. 68, Princely Deer Hunters
Blochet 1930, pl. L; Mark Zebrowski in S. C. Welch 1973, pp. 130–32, no. 78 and front cover; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 147, ill. nos. 115, 116; S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 308–9, no. 207; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 188, fig. 139; Nayeem 2008, p. 281, fig. 29

Cat. 69, Carpet Weights (*Mir-i Farsh*) with Domed Profiles
Unpublished

Cat. 70, Manuscript of the *Futuh al-Haramayn* (Description of the Holy Cities)
Unpublished

Cat. 71, House of Bijapur
Stuart Cary Welch in Metropolitan Museum of Art 1983, pp. 12, 14, 15; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 151, ill. no. 118a, p. 145, pl. XVII; S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 310, 311, no. 208; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1987, pp. 158, 159, pl. 121; Kossak 1997, pp. 68, 69, no. 36; Haidar 2011a, p. 341; Haidar and Sardar 2011, front cover, frontispiece; Navina Najat Haidar in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2011, pp. 380–81, no. 269; Overton 2011b, p. 570, fig. 296; Goswamy 2014, pp. 176–79

Cat. 72, Marbled Papers with an Accession Note at Mandu
Unpublished

Cat. 73, Ascetic Riding a Nag
C. Weimann 1983, p. 165, no. 4; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 136, ill. no. 105; Kossak 1997, p. 68, no. 35; Hutton 2006, pl. 33; Seyller 2011a, p. 68, fig. 5; Mittal 2013, p. 137, fig. 10.1

Cat. 74, Ascetic Riding a Nag
F. R. Martin 1912, pl. 231; C. Weimann 1983, p. 165, no. 5; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 137, ill. no. 106; Beach 1985, p. 40, no. 27; Schmitz 1997, pp. 167–69, pl. 39; Hutton 2006, pl. 34

Cat. 75, Marbled *Begum*
S. C. Welch 1975, p. 75, no. 35; C. Weimann 1983, pp. 135, 165, no. 7; Jagdish Mittal in S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 296, 298–99, no. 198; Porter 1988, p. 25; Mittal 2013, p. 140, fig. 10.5; *Jagdish Mittal* 2014, p. 37, fig. 13

Cat. 76, Man with Captive Lion
C. Weimann 1983; Mittal 2013, p. 143, fig. 10.9

Cat. 77, Folio from an Album of Calligraphy with Marbled (*Abri*) Borders
Unpublished

Cat. 78, Elephant Trampling a Horse
Sotheby's 1999, pp. 19–20, lot 28; C. Weimann 1983; Topsfield 2012, pp. 104–5, no. 41

Cat. 79, Dervish Seated in Contemplation
Binney 1973, p. 153, no. 128; C. Weimann 1983, p. 165, no. 6; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 135, ill. no. 103; Goswamy and Smith 2005, pp. 176–77, no. 71; Mittal 2013, p. 138, fig. 10.2; Goswamy 2014, pp. 510–13

Cat. 80, Lady Carrying a Peacock
C. Weimann 1983, p. 166, no. 10; Kramrisch 1986, p. 34, no. 29

BIDAR

Cat. 81, *Bidri* Incense Burner (*Dhupdan*) in the Shape of a Tomb
Susan Stronge in *Indian Heritage* 1982, pp. 142–43, no. 484; Zebrowski 1997, p. 124, pl. 149

Cat. 82, Pear-Shaped *Bidri* Ewer (*Aftaba*) with Flowering Trees
Zebrowski 1997, p. 156, pl. 208

Cat. 83, *Bidri* Ewer (*Aftaba*)
Crill 1982, p. 57, no. 23; Susan Stronge and Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani in *Indian Heritage* 1982, p. 140, no. 469, p. 159, no. 16d; Stronge 1985, p. 40, no. 2; La Niece and Graham 1987, p. 97, fig. 1; Guy and Swallow 1990, p. 118, ill. no. 97; Zebrowski 1997, p. 162, pl. 225, p. 253, pl. 432; Craddock et al. 1998, p. 72, pl. 22

Cat. 84, *Bidri* Box with Sloping Walls
Zebrowski 1983b, p. 39, ill. no. 13; Zebrowski 1997, p. 265, pl. 448a, b, p. 297, pl. 496; Parodi 2014a, p. 274, fig. 11.5

Cat. 85, *Bidri* Carpet Weight (*Mir-i Farsh*) with Trellis Pattern
V. N. Desai 1985, p. 137, no. 115; Zebrowski 1997, p. 133, pl. 161

Cat. 86, *Bidri Huqqa* (Water Pipe) Base with Lotuses Emerging from a Pond
Zebrowski 1997, p. 231, pl. 375, p. 304, pl. 507

Cat. 87, *Bidri Huqqa* (Water Pipe) Base with a Meandering Riverside Landscape
Zebrowski 1997, p. 229, pl. 371, p. 306, pl. 509; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 240, fig. 179; Parodi 2014a, p. 273, fig. 11.3

Cat. 88, *Bidri Huqqa* (Water Pipe) Base with Tall Flowers in Arches, and Associated Ring
Zebrowski 1997, p. 224, pl. 360, p. 302, pl. 504

Cat. 89, *Bidri Huqqa* (Water Pipe) Base with Poppies against a Pointillist Ground
Sotheby's 1983, p. 96, lot 228; Zebrowski 1997, p. 233, pl. 382, p. 309, pl. 513

Cat. 90, *Bidri Huqqa* (Water Pipe) Base with Irises
Stuart Cary Welch and Carolyn Kane in Metropolitan Museum of Art 1985, p. 9; S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 322, 323, no. 218; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1987, p. 152, pl. 117; Walker 1997, p. 118, fig. 117; Zebrowski 1997, p. 234, pl. 389; Haidar 2011a, p. 341; Marika Sardar in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2011, p. 386, no. 274

Cat. 91, *Bidri* Tray with Lotuses and a River
Markel 1992, p. 47, fig. 2; Zebrowski 1997, p. 258, pl. 440a, b, p. 305, pl. 508; Parodi 2014a, p. 275, fig 11.6

Cat. 92, *Bidri* Tray with Flowering Plants
Islamic Art from India 1980, p. 13, no. 7; Zebrowski 1997, p. 248, pl. 422, pp. 290–91, pl. 487

Cat. 93, *Bidri* Tray with Flowering Plants in Arches Radiating from a Central Medallion
Zebrowski 1997, p. 254, pls. 433, 434, pp. 302–3, pl. 505

Cat. 94, *Bidri* Tray with Petals
von Folsach 1990, p. 212, no. 357; *Sultan, Shah, and Great Mughal* 1996, no. 348; Zebrowski 1997, pp. 308–9, pl. 512; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 241, fig. 180; von Folsach 2001, p. 332, no. 538; Blair and Bloom 2006, p. 126, no. 56

Cat. 95, *Bidri* Basin (*Sailabchi*)
Zebrowski 1997, p. 170, pls. 241, 242

GOLCONDA

Cat. 96, Frontispiece from the *Zakhira-yi Khwarazmshahi* (The Treasury of the Khwarazm Shah)
Sotheby's 1928, p. 31, lot 235; Skelton 1973, p. 188, fig. 152; Sherwani and Joshi 1973–74, vol. 2 (1974), pl. IXa; Losty 1982, p. 70, no. 47; Leach 1995, vol. 2, pp. 886, 887, colorpls. 122, 123, pp. 889–91; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 157, ill. no. 120; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 192, fig. 141

Cat. 97, Manuscript of the *Sindbadnama* (The Tales of Sindbad)
Falconer 1841; Clouston 1884; Losty 1982, pp. 54, 70–71, no. 48; Weinstein 2011, pp. 134–40

Cat. 98, Manuscript of the Qur'an
Sotheby's 1994, pp. 20–24, lot 18; Melikian-Chirvani 2007, pp. 448–49; Overton 2011b, pp. 102–15

Cat. 99, *Yali* with Elephants
Zebrowski 1997, p. 102, pl. 106; Christie's 2011b, p. 86, lot 336

Cat. 100, Peacock-Shaped Incense Burner
Zebrowski 1997, p. 94, pl. 87; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 234, fig. 172

Cat. 101, Steel Object, Possibly a Door Knocker or Catch
Rosemary Crill in *Indian Heritage* 1982, p. 148, no. 494; Zebrowski 1997, p. 105, pl. 116a, b; Christie's 2011a, p. 227, lot 226; *Indian and Islamic Works of Art* 2011, pp. 56–57, no. 25

Cat. 102, Tray with Animals and Birds amid Animated Floral Arabesques
Jagdish Mittal in S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 310, 311–12, no. 209; Mittal 1986, p. 248, fig. 6; Zebrowski 1997, p. 334, pl. 546, p. 353, pl. 580; Z.-D. A. Desai 1999, p. 82, fig. 2; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, pp. 175–76, 238, fig. 176; Mittal 2007, pp. 212–13, no. 97

Cat. 103, Lidded Box with Running Animals
Unpublished

Cat. 104, Folios from an Album of Calligraphy
James 1987, pp. 243–54, pls. XIV, XV; Weinstein 2014, pp. 182, 200–201, nn. 12, 18

Cat. 105, Page of Illumination in Gold
Unpublished

Cat. 106, Tree on the Island of Waqwaq
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1937, no. 15; Skelton 1973, p. 194, fig. 160; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 172, ill. no. 137, p. 163, colorpl. XIX; Michell 1986, p. vii; Christine Gayraud in *Étrange et le merveilleux en terres d'Islam* 2001, pp. 168–69, no. 118; Museum für Islamische Kunst 2001, p. 146; Goswamy 2014, pp. 112, 164–67

Cat. 107, Stone *'Alam*
Unpublished

Cat. 108, Brass *'Alam*
Unpublished

Cat. 109, Brass *'Alam*
Dye 2001, p. 418, no. 193

Cat. 110, Brass *'Alam*
Unpublished

Cat. 111, Wood Roundel
Annemarie Schimmel in "Recent Acquisitions" 1992, p. 16; Marika Sardar in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2011, pp. 390–92, no. 278B; Soucek 2011, p. 8

Cat. 112, Rider on an Epigraphic Horse
S. C. Welch 1963a, p. 31; S. C. Welch 1975, p. 70, no. 31; A. Welch 1979, pp. 180–81, no. 77; Sotheby's 2011a, pp. 124–25, lot 99

Cat. 113, Calligraphic *'Alam* Finial in the Shape of a Dragon
Zebrowski 1997, p. 330, pl. 544

Cat. 114, Calligraphic *'Alam* in the Shape of a Falcon
Wheeler 1956, p. 63; *Mārg* 26, no. 2 (March 1973), n.p. (advertisement for Tata Enterprises); S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 324, 325, no. 220; Zebrowski 1997, p. 289, pl. 485

Cat. 115, Inscribed Hardstone Mortar and Pestle
Pathak and Sharma 2013–14, p. 145, fig. 2

Cat. 116, Mortar with Six Sides
Unpublished

Cat. 117, Mortar with Cusped Sides
Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 243, fig. 183; *Indian Miniatures and Works of Art* 2003, p. 36, no. 17

Cat. 118, Miniature Garnet Cup with Dragon-Head Handles
Keene 2001, p. 133, no. 11.10

Cat. 119, *Darbar* of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah
Sotheby's 1937, lot 589; Gray 1938, pp. 74–76, p. 77, pl. A; Barrett 1958, pp. 20–21, pl. 8; Skelton 1973, p. 185, fig. 149; Krishna Chaitanya 1979, p. 77; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 180, ill. no. 145; Losty 1995, p. 296, fig. 6; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 198, fig. 146; Sardar 2010, p. 86, fig. 9

Cat. 120, Manuscript of the *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* (Wonders of Creation) from the Library of Bari Sahib
Unpublished

Cat. 121, Shaffron of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah
Unpublished

Cat. 122, Armored Shoes
Unpublished

Cat. 123, *Vambrace*
Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 233, fig. 171; Elgood 2011, p. 219, fig. 1

Cat. 124, Crutch Dagger in the Form of a Serpentine Vine
Mohamed 2008, p. 204, no. 194

Cat. 125, Dagger in the Form of a Bird Holding a Leaf
Unpublished

Cat. 126, Basin
von Folsach 2001, p. 336, no. 549

Cat. 127, Fountain
Daniel S. Walker in "Recent Acquisitions" 1998, p. 13; Marika Sardar in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2011, pp. 386–88, no. 275

Cat. 128, Wedding Procession of Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah
Sotheby's 1990, pp. 18–19, lot 32; Safrani 1992a, p. 10, ill. no. 7; Filippi 1997, p. 59, no. 15; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 201, fig. 148; Topsfield 2012, pp. 100–101, no. 39

Cat. 129, African Courtier
Zebrowski 1983a, p. 187, ill. no. 155, p. 164, pl. XX; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 203, fig. 150; Alderman 2006, p. 118, fig. 104; Rosemary Crill in Crill and Jariwala 2010, pp. 116–17, pl. 34

Cat. 130, A Parrot Perched on a Mango Tree, a Ram Tethered Below
Mittal 2007, pp. 120–21, no. 30, and front cover

Cat. 131, Sultan 'Abdullah Qutb Shah
Okada 1991, p. 113, fig. 7

Cat. 132, A Golconda Prince
Okada 1991, p. 114, fig. 8

Cat. 133, Shah Jahan Diamond
Jobbins, Harding, and Scarratt 1984, pp. 1–7, figs. 1–11; Christie's 1985b, lot 423; Balfour 1987, pp. 244–46; *Islamic and Hindu Jewellery* 1988, no. 48; Khalidi 1999, pp. 71–73; Keene 2001, p. 129, no. 11.3; Bharadwaj 2002, pp. 86–89; Stronge 2010, p. 169, pl. 130

Cat. 134, Quatrefoil Pendant
Keene 2001, p. 26, no. 1.18; Keene 2004b, p. 194, fig. 3

Cat. 135, Octagonal Rosette Pendant
Keene 2001, pp. 26–27, no. 1.20

Cat. 136, Floral Pendant with Upswept Petals
Keene 2001, p. 27, no. 1.21; Schimmel 2004, p. 180, ill. no. 62

Cat. 137, Floral Pendant with Drooping Petals
Keene 2001, p. 28, no. 1.22

Cat. 138, Floral Pendant in the Form of an Eight-Pointed Star
Keene 2001, p. 26, no. 1.19

Cat. 139, Diamond Pendant of Amulet Case (*Ta'widh*) Form
Keene 2001, p. 129, no. 11.2; Silva 2004a, p. 46, fig. 5

Cat. 140, Diamond *Pendeloque*
Christie's 1999, pp. 156–57, lot 255; Keene 2001, p. 129, no. 11.1; Stronge 2010, p. 169, pl. 129

Cat. 141, Sultan 'Abu'l Hasan Qutb Shah Standing
Binney 1973, p. 162, no. 137, colorpl. 166; Mark Zebrowski in S. C. Welch 1973, pp. 132–33, no. 79; Binney 1979, p. 800, fig. 16; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 190, ill. no. 156; Perriot 1987, p. 382, fig. 7; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 204, fig. 151; Goswamy and Smith 2005, pp. 170–71, no. 68

Cat. 142, Palanquin Finials
Cat. 142a, b: Daniel S. Walker in "Recent Acquisitions" 1996, p. 18. Cat. 142c–h: Unpublished

Cat. 143, Prince Seated in a Garden
Gray 1949, pp. 176–77, no. 819A, pl. 147; Barrett 1958, pp. 3, 24, pl. 10; Krishna Chaitanya 1979, pp. 82, 87, pl. 73; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 204, ill. no. 176; Christopher Alan Bayly in Bayly 1990, pp. 47–48, no. 19; Leach 1995, vol. 2, pp. 948, 951, no. 9.681, p. 952, colorpl. 137; Haidar 2004, p. 181, fig. 8

Cat. 144, Casket with Painted Scenes
Kramrisch 1937, p. 223, n. 96, pl. XXI; Gray 1949, p. 176, no. 819, pl. 147; Victoria and Albert Museum 1969, pl. 52; Zebrowski 1981a, p. 181, fig. 197; Robert Skelton in *Indian Heritage* 1982, p. 159, no. 16b, p. 162, no. 548; Zebrowski 1983a, pp. 202, 203, ill. nos. 169–74; Guy and Swallow 1990, p. 122, ill. no. 104; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 208, fig. 154; Jaffer 2002, p. 60; Haidar 2004, pp. 179, 180, figs. 5–7; A. Jackson and Jaffer 2004, p. 194

Cat. 145, Lacquered Pen Box (*Qalamdan*)
Navina Najat Haidar in "Recent Acquisitions" 2003, p. 10; Haidar 2004, pp. 176–89, figs. 1–4, 10; Topsfield 2004b, pp. 234–35, no. 96

Cat. 146, Lacquered Pen Box (*Qalamdan*)
Christie's 1990, p. 87, lot 113

Cat. 147, Dancing Girl
Schroeder 1947, pl. XVIII, fig. 6; S. C. Welch 1963c, p. 13; Mark Zebrowski in S. C. Welch 1973, pp. 136–37, no. 81; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 205, ill. no. 177; Patnaik 1985, p. 57, ill. no. 10; Sotheby's 2011b, pp. 24–25, lot 9

Cat. 148, Sleeping Maiden and Maid
Zebrowski 1983a, p. 200, ill. no. 168; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 207, fig. 153

Cat. 149, *Sarinda*
Christie's 1977, pp. 20–21, lot 90; Rosemary Crill in *Indian Heritage* 1982, p. 164, no. 562; Bor 2003, pp. 118–19, no. 60; Bor et al. 2003, p. 8

Cat. 150, Calligraphic Shield
Mohamed 2008, p. 377, no. 357

Cat. 151, Multiple-Niche Prayer Carpet (*Saph*)
Sotheby's 1984, p. 78, lot 210; S. Cohen 1986, p. 122, fig. 6; Walker 1997, p. 173, no. 38, pp. 136–37, figs. 132, 133

Cat. 152, Incantation Cup and Tray
Unpublished

Cat. 153, Epigraphic Bowl
Zebrowski 1997, p. 346, pl. 568a, b; von Folsach 2001, p. 337, no. 552

Cat. 154, Inscribed Dish
Unpublished

Cat. 155, Inscribed Dish
Zebrowski 1997, p. 339, pl. 553; Overton 2011b, p. 372, fig. 34

Cat. 156, Beggar's Bowl (*Kashkul*)
Zebrowski 1997, p. 345, pl. 567a, b; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 239, fig. 177; von Folsach 2001, p. 337, no. 551; Blair and Bloom 2006, p. 101, no. 36

Cat. 157, Beggar's Bowl (*Kashkul*)
Unpublished

Cat. 158, Epigraphic Bowl
Unpublished

Cat. 159, Spouted Vessel with Qur'anic Verses and the Names of the Shi'a Imams
Unpublished

Cat. 160, *Kalamkari Rumal*
Breck 1928, p. 6, fig. 3, p. 7, fig. 4; Irwin 1959, pp. 44–45, pl. XIII, fig. 17; Veronica Murphy in *Indian Heritage* 1982, p. 93, no. 241; Smart 1986, p. 21, no. 11

Cat. 161, *Kalamkari Rumal*
Breck 1928, pp. 8–11, figs. 5–8; Dimand 1944, p. 278, fig. 185; Wheeler 1956, p. 58; Irwin 1959, pp. 44–45, pl. XIV, fig. 18; Zebrowski 1981a, p. 188, fig. 213; Gittinger 1982, pp. 110–11, no. 101; *Indian Heritage* 1982, p. 70, no. 7, p. 92, no. 240; Smart 1986, p. 12, fig. 14, p. 21, no. 12; Aimée Froom in *Arte islámico* 1994, pp. 280–81

Cat. 162, *Kalamkari Rumal*
Breck 1928, p. 4, fig. 1, p. 5, fig. 2; Irwin 1959, pp. 43–44, pl. XII, fig. 16; Carolyn Kane in *Islamische Kunst* 1981, pp. 326–27, no. 141; Smart 1986, p. 13, fig. 15, p. 21, no. 13; Guy 2011, p. 167, fig. 5

Cat. 163, *Kalamkari* Hanging
Irwin 1959, pp. 37–38, pl. V, fig. 5; Irwin and Brett 1970, p. 14, fig. 2; S. C. Welch 1985, pp. 315–17, no. 212; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1987, pp. 154, 155, pl. 119; Haidar 2011a, p. 341; Marika Sardar in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2011, pp. 392–94, no. 279; Sardar 2011, pp. 150, 151, 153, figs. 1, 2, 4

Cat. 164, *Kalamkari* Hanging
Irwin and Brett 1970, pp. 64–65, no. 2, pl. 2; Nina Gwatkin in Gittinger 1982, pp. 112–13, no. 103; Guy and Swallow 1990, p. 161, ill. no. 138; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 227, fig. 166; Crill 2008, p. 20, fig. 14; Sardar 2011, p. 152, fig. 3, p. 154, fig. 4

Cat. 165, Panel from a *Kalamkari* Tent Hanging
Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 227, fig. 166

DRAWN TO THE DECCAN: MUGHALS AND EUROPEANS IN THE DECCAN

Cat. 166, Prince Aurangzeb
Topsfield 2012, pp. 56–57, no. 17

Cat. 167, Birds in a Silver River
Aimée Froom in *Spirit & Life* 2007, p. 78, no. 49

Cat. 168, Manuscript of the *Nihj al-Balagha* (The Way of Eloquence) and Other Texts
Akhtar et al. 2002, p. 78

Cat. 169, Folios from a Manuscript of Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur's *Siddantha-sara*, *Siddantha-bodha*, and *Aporaksha-siddantha*
Cat. 169a, b: Unpublished. Cat. 169c: *Indian Miniatures and Works of Art* 2000, pp. 60–61, no. 28

Cat. 170, Manuscript of the *Nan va Halva* (Bread and Sweets)
Georgina Fantoni in *Indian Paintings and Manuscripts* 1999, pp. 56–57, no. 35; Navina Najat Haidar in "Recent Acquisitions" 2000, p. 16; Marika Sardar in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2011, pp. 383–84, no. 271; Haidar 2012, p. 115, ill. no. 15

Cat. 171, Nobleman at Repast
Unpublished

Cat. 172, Bejeweled Maiden with a Parakeet
Jeremiah P. Losty in Topsfield 2004b, pp. 322–23, no. 142

Cat. 173, "Fairies Descend to Manohar's Palace," Folio from a dispersed *Gulshan-i 'Ishq* (Flower Garden of Love)
Christie's 1979, pp. 54, 55, lot 187; Zebrowski 1983a, p. 224, ill. no. 195

Cat. 174, "Manohar Meets a Dervish in the Forest," Folio from a *Gulshan-i 'Ishq* (Flower Garden of Love)
Philadelphia Museum of Art 1973, p. 30; Kramrisch 1986, p. 39, no. 34; Gaeffke 1987a, pp. 224–45; Gaeffke 1987b, pp. 309–11; Leach 1998, pp. 240–47; Manjhana 2000, front cover; Haidar 2014, p. 310, fig. 12.11

Cat. 175, Covered Pot (*Degcha*) with Poetic Inscriptions
Unpublished

Cat. 176, Writing Box Clad in Gilt and Silver
Daniel S. Walker in "Recent Acquisitions" 1999, p. 11; Haidar 2011a, p. 341; Navina Najat Haidar and Jean-François de Lapérouse in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2011, pp. 388–89, no. 276; Soucek 2011, p. 8

Cat. 177, Dagger (*Kard*) with Jade Hilt
Sotheby's 1967, p. 46, lot 161

Cat. 178, Miniature Manuscript of the Qur'an
Sotheby's 1996, p. 20, lot 10; Keene 2001, p. 76, no. 6.33a; Schimmel 2004, p. 182, ill. no. 65

Cat. 179, Enameled Pendant Case
Sotheby's 1996, p. 20, lot 10; Keene 2001, p. 76, no. 6.33b; Schimmel 2004, p. 182, ill. no. 65

Cat. 180, *Mahi-maratib* (Fish Standard)
Unpublished

Cat. 181, Panel from a Tent Lining with a Fantastical Flower
Wheeler 1956, p. 47; Smart 1986, p. 14, fig. 18, p. 21, no. 19

Cat. 182, Man's Robe (*Jama*) with Poppies
Ettinghausen 1975, p. 46; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1987, pp. 146, 147, pl. 112

Cat. 183, Carpet with Lattice Pattern
Unpublished

Cat. 184, Filigree Casket with Sliding Top
Unpublished

Cat. 185, Filigree Casket with Barrel Top
Unpublished

Cat. 186, Rock-Crystal Knife with a Jeweled Parrot
Splendeur des armes orientales 1988, p. 82, no. 135

Cat. 187, Shell-Shaped Pomander with a *Makara* Head and Birds
Unpublished

Cat. 188, Ring with Lobed Bezel and Birds
Unpublished

Cat. 189, Goa Stone and Container
Bonhams 2003, pp. 144–47, lot 349; *Encompassing the Globe* 2007, p. 261, fig. I-29; Haidar 2011a, p. 341; Navina Najat Haidar in Metropolitan Museum of Art 2011, pp. 389–90, no. 277

Cat. 190, Goa Stone with Case and Stand
Unpublished

Cat. 191, Carved Panel from a Casket
Sotheby's 1993b, lot 180a; Mark Zebrowski in *Treasures of the Courts* 1994, pp. 32–33, no. 22

Cat. 192, Christ Child as the *Bom Pastor* (Good Shepherd)
Unpublished

Cat. 193, Reception of a Dutch Ambassador
Clouzot 1912, pp. 290, 291; Clouzot 1921, fig. 19; Irwin and Brett 1970, p. 14, fig. 1; Hartkamp-Jonxis 2005, pp. 61–71, ill. nos. 1–7, 9–11; Labrusse 2007, p. 210, no. 223

Cat. 194, *Darbar* of Cornelis van den Bogaerde
Olivier Coutau-Bégarie 2008, lot 245; Kruijtzer 2010, p. 160, fig. 1, p. 162, fig. 2

Cat. 195, Procession of Cornelis van den Bogaerde
Olivier Coutau-Bégarie 2008, lot 245; Kruijtzer 2010, p. 164, fig. 3; Scarisbrick and Zucker 2014, p. 37, ill. no. 9

Cat. 196, Embassy of Johannes Bacherus en route to the Court of Aurangzeb
Lunsingh Scheurleer 1996, p. 200, fig. 31; A. Jackson and Jaffer 2004, pp. 80–81; Lunsingh Scheurleer and Kruijtzer 2005, pp. 48–60, ill. nos. 1–3, 6–14; Kruijtzer 2010, p. 166, fig. 4, p. 167, fig. 5

Cat. 197, "Agra" Diamond
Catalogue de brillants 1860, p. 57; Christie's 1905, p. 10, lot 127; Balfour 1987, pp. 28–33; Khalidi 1999, pp. 68–69; Bharadwaj 2002, pp. 108–9; Jack Ogden in *Beyond Extravagance* forthcoming

Cat. 198, "Idol's Eye" Diamond
Christie's 1865, p. 7, lot 87; Balfour 1987, pp. 138–39; Khalidi 1999, pp. 61–62; Bharadwaj 2002, pp. 70–72; Jack Ogden in *Beyond Extravagance* forthcoming

Cat. 199, Diamond Bodkin of Charles II for His Mistress Nell Gwynne
Scarisbrick 2007, p. 192, ill. nos. 257, 258; Scarisbrick and Zucker 2014, p. 169, ill. no. 83

Cat. 200, "Arcot II" Diamond
Balfour 1987, pp. 42–45; Khalidi 1999, p. 67; Bharadwaj 2002, pp. 90–95; Jack Ogden in *Beyond Extravagance* forthcoming

Cat. 201, *Bazuband* (Upper Armband) or *Guluband* (Choker Necklace)
Unpublished

Cat. 202, Square Diamond Pendant on Pearl Necklace
Unpublished

Cat. 203, String of Pearls
Unpublished

Cat. 204, Diamond Earrings and Pearl Supports
Unpublished

Cat. 205, Two *Sarpeche*s (Turban Ornaments) for a Boy
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Cat. 206, Diamond Stud Earrings
Unpublished

Cat. 207, Crescent-Shaped Pearl and Diamond Earrings
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