Sultans of the South

Arts of India's Deccan Courts, 1323–1687

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia

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Edited by
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and
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Contents

Foreword

The study of Mughal art has dominated the art history of later India. While the monolithic and expansive nature of the Mughal dynasty may explain this emphasis, our understanding of Indian art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is incomplete without consideration of the Deccan, the south-central region of India. The present volume represents a major advance in the analysis of the arts of the Deccan, not only in the relatively well researched area of painting, but also in architecture and decorative arts.

The essays in this volume were first presented at a symposium entitled "The Art of India's Deccan Sultans." The symposium, underwritten by The Hagop Kervorkian Fund, was held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in October 2008, and dealt with Deccan history, architecture, epigraphy, painting, textiles and carpets, metalwork, and arms and armor. This book, a collaborative editorial project of Navina Hajat Haidar and Marika Sardar of the Department of Islamic Art at the Museum, introduces us to each of the major sultanates of the Deccan through different aspects of its art, while offering new insights and information on this most attractive and mysterious field of Indian art. The authors have an impressive list of publications on Deccani art to their name, raising the reader's expectations of gaining access to the latest research. The reader will not be disappointed.

Richard M. Eaton provides a limpid introduction to the history of the Deccan, elucidating the profound impact of Timur's invasion of India on society and the arts. The resulting mix of immigrants and native Deccanis informed the art, literature, and politics of the region. Each section of this book further illuminates the effect on Deccani art of the movement of peoples and ideas. Robert Skelton brings a lifetime of scholarly work to the artist Farrukh Beg, analyzing this master's style in light of new evidence, while Navina Hajat Haidar discusses a collection of devotional songs credited to the great patron of art and music, Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah of Bijapur. Deborah Hutton's discussion of the *Pem Nem*, a mystical poem from the sixteenth century, is accompanied by the first publication of all the folios of this work. John Seyller demonstrates the movement of Deccani artists to the north and the influence this movement had on Pahari painting. Ali Akbar Husain's essay concerns a poetical work of the 'Adil Shahi court at Bijapur, while Phillip B. Wagoner deals with the linguistic variety and intertwined worlds of Indian and Persianate imagery in poetry of the Qutb Shahi sultanate. Michael Barry traces the origins of certain fantastic Deccani beasts in the art of Central Asia.

In the second section, the Deccan's most distinctive product, textiles, and their international distribution are the subjects of essays by Marika Sardar, Yumiko Kamada, and John Guy, while Steven Cohen seeks to identify what is characteristic of carpets, now widely dispersed, that have not been not previously understood within the context of the Deccan. In the third section, Richard Eaton and Helen Philon demonstrate the changing uses to which architecture has been put. Klaus Rötzer and Robert Elgood examine the less investigated history of

weaponry and warfare in the Deccan, including the influence of European imports and contacts. The final section focuses on one of the most remarkable monuments of Bijapur, the Ibrahim Rauza. In addition to an analysis by George Michell of the Indic elements of the building complex, Bruce Wannell offers an interpretation of the monument's Arabic and Persian inscriptions, which he and Abdullah Ghouchani have succeeded in reading and translating. A postscript by Kurt Behrendt brings the reader back to the continuum of Deccani style, founded in history, geography, and trade.

The fresh material and concepts presented here prove that the arts of the Deccan, in addition to being a garden of visual enchantment, are fertile ground for some of the most original, yet painstaking, research of today. This broader investigation of a significant period of later Indian art reminds us of the complex relationships and historical links that are the foundation for the development of the Deccani styles.

Sheila R. Canby
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Preface

A symposium on the arts of India's Deccan sultanates, organized by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in October 2008, and the present volume represent the fruits of ongoing scholarly research at the Museum and in the wider, growing field of Deccan studies. The Department of Islamic Art is about to unveil a major new wing for the permanent collection, which, for the first time, will have a section within the South Asian galleries dedicated to the arts of the Deccan, including several new acquisitions. Thus, Deccan textiles and other objects at the Museum have come under special scholarly or technical study, some of which is reflected in this volume. An earlier, related project, an independent volume on the sultans of Bijapur, has been absorbed here with several essays devoted to this rich subject.

The volume reflects four areas of Deccan scholarship. *Painting and Literary Traditions* contains seven essays that develop existing knowledge on known painters, patrons, or calligraphers. While offering fresh interpretations of important works and their wider connections, they also bring new material to light. This section provides for the first time a complete reproduction of the illustrations of the British Museum's *Pem Nem* manuscript (Add. Ms. 16880) and also introduces new Dakhni and Telugu literary sources for the Deccan. *Carpets, Textiles, and Trade* contains four essays. These expand the known corpus of carpets and textiles, introduce new categories of material, and bring a special focus on works of art in the Museum's collection. *Architecture, Fortifications, and Arms* also has four papers, which, besides advancing technical knowledge of this relatively underexplored material, offers new readings of sites in the light of historical contexts. *The Ibrahim Rauza* includes the first complete photographic record of the Ibrahim Rauza tomb in Bijapur, carried out by Amit Pasricha, in addition to a full transcription, translation, and interpretation of its inscriptions and decorative scheme. The introduction by Richard Eaton provides a historical and cultural framework for the papers.

The symposium was made possible by the generous support of The Hagop Kevorkian Fund, and we extend grateful thanks to the Trustees of the Fund and, in particular, to Ralph Minasian. Museum director Thomas P. Campbell lent his support to this first Museum symposium under his institutional leadership, for which we are grateful. The symposium was also the first to be organized in the Museum's newly renovated Ruth and Harold D. Uris Center for Education by our colleagues in the Education Department. In particular our thanks go to Joseph Loh, who was ably assisted by Nicole Leist, for his organization of the event. Christopher Noey helped with the filming of the symposium and its preparation for iTunes U, another first for the Museum.

Our thanks are also due to our department head, Sheila R. Canby, who has been a strong supporter of this volume and our ongoing research on the Deccan, and to our chairman at the time of the symposium, Michael Barry, who was an enthusiastic supporter of the event. Our helpful moderators at the symposium were Kurt Behrendt (who has contributed the postscript to this

Note to the Reader

This publication follows a modified version of the IJMES (*International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*) system for the transliteration of Persian, Arabic, Dakhni, and Urdu. Diacritical marks have not been used. The letters "ayn" and "hamza" are marked.

For the transliteration of Telugu in Phillip B. Wagoner's essay a simplified system of transliteration has been used. Vowel length is not indicated, and retroflex and dental consonants are not distinguished. The vocalic "r" is represented by ri, the c (i.e., unvoiced unaspirated palatal) by ch, and the palatal and retroflex sibilants are both represented by sh.

Where available, dimensions for objects have been provided.

India circa 1400

LEGEND

· City   ∘ Major modern city

0 — 400 mi

0 — 400 km

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

Samarqand

Herat
Kabul
Kandahar

Srinagar
KASHMIR
Basohli Chamba
Nurpur Kangra PAHARI STATES
Mandi
Lahore Bilaspur
Multan

PUNJAB

Panipat
Delhi Rampur
Bikaner

RAJASTHAN
Amber Agra
Jaipur Fatehpur Sikri
Jodhpur
Ajmer
MARWAR
Jaunpur
MEWAR
Udaipur Varanasi (Benares)

MALWA
BUNDELKHAND
Ahmedabad
GUJARAT

DECCAN
GONDWANA

Surat
KHANDESH
Burhanpur
Diu
Berar
Daulatabad Aurangabad
Mumbai (Bombay)
Ahmadnagar Golconda
Bidar Bidar Warangal
Golconda
Gulbarga Hyderabad
Bijapur Ellore
Goa Bijapur Masulipatnam
Vijayanagara

Himalayas

Indus Chenab Jhelum Ravi Beas Sutlej
Jumna Ganga
Chambal
Brahmaputra
Mahanadi
BENGAL
Hooghly
Kolkata (Calcutta)
Narmada Tapti
Aravalli Range
Vindhya Range
Godavari Krishna

Lepakshi
Bangalore
Chennai (Madras)
Thanjavur (Tanjore)
Madurai

Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Indian Ocean

Western Ghats
Eastern Ghats
Kaveri
Coromandel Coast

60°E   75°E   90°E

30°N

15°N

The Deccan in the 17th century

LEGEND

D Dutch East India Company holding

E English East India Company holding

F French East India Company holding

P Portuguese holding

⸱⸱⸱ Approximate borders of Deccan sultanates ca. 1600

Approximate extent of Mughal empire

0 — 200 mi

0 — 200 km

Ahmedabad D E
Indore
Cambay D E
Vindhya Range
Tapti
Surat D E
Burhanpur
Elichpur
Berar
Daulatabad
Aurangabad
Bombay (Mumbai) E
Ahmadnagar
Bhima
Ahmadnagar
Bidar Bidar
Warangal
Naldurg
Kalyana
Gulbarga
Golconda Hyderabad
Firuzabad
Nauraspur Bijapur
Golconda
Kumatgi
Talikota
Godavari
Mudgal Raichur
Krishna
GOA P
Bijapur
Adoni
Masulipatnam D E
Vijayanagara (Hampi)
Petaboli
Krishna
Tungabhadra
Penner
Western Ghats
Eastern Ghats
Pennar
Pulicat D
Madras (Chennai) E
San Thome P
Kaveri
Pondicherry F
Cochin D
Negapatam D

Arabian Sea

Bay of Bengal

70°E   75°E   80°E
25°N
20°N
15°N
10°N

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia

Sultans of the South

Richard M. Eaton

A Social and Historical Introduction to the Deccan, 1323–1687

The Deccan plateau, which occupies the Indian peninsula's broad mid-section, witnessed the production of some of India's finest works of art and architecture between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. Renowned for their distinctively rich palette of colors, Deccani miniatures comprise only one dimension of the region's extraordinary artistic legacy. The courts of the Deccan also patronized stupendous works of monumental architecture, as well as works in such media as bronze, silver, stone, glass, lacquer, and both cotton and silk textiles. Although one can see affinities between the Deccan's visual arts and the better-known art of contemporary north India—especially that of the Mughal empire (1526–1858)—it would be wrong to view the artistic production of the Deccan as merely derivative of northern traditions. The distinctive artistic and architectural traditions of the Deccan stand very much in a class of their own. The reasons for this distinction and for the burst of artistic creativity in the early modern period—the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—lie in the region's cultural, social, and political history.

The Deccani courts, and the cultural values they espoused and patronized, were largely shaped by the actions of several famous conquerors operating outside the region. One was Genghis Khan (d. 1227), whose conquests catalyzed the founding of

Perso-Islamic civilization on the Deccan plateau. Although the Mongols had invaded India no fewer than seventeen times between 1221 and 1365—while also conquering most of Asia and the Middle East—they never conquered any part of the subcontinent. But the Asia-wide upheavals triggered by Genghis Khan and his successors drove thousands of uprooted Central Asian Turks to India. There they found refuge and employment in the Delhi Sultanate, which had been established just several decades earlier, in 1206. Because these refugees had grown up in Central Asia or Iran amidst the flowering of the Persian renaissance—a vibrant literary and cultural movement then in progress in those regions—they brought with them the entire spectrum of cosmopolitan Persian culture, which soon took root in north India. In the early fourteenth century this tradition began to diffuse down to the Deccan after the Delhi sultans, seeking plunder to finance their defenses against repeated Mongol invasions, started raiding Hindu kingdoms south of the Vindhya mountains.

What had begun as raids by the Delhi sultans on the Deccan, however, ended with the overthrow of three dynastic houses that for several centuries had dominated the plateau—the Yadavas of the Marathi-speaking northwest, the Kakatiyas of the Telugu-speaking east, and the Hoysalas of the Kannada-speaking south. By 1323 the Delhi Sultanate had annexed the northern half of the Deccan plateau. Four years later Devagiri, the former Yadava capital, was renamed "Daulatabad" and made the new co-capital of Delhi's sprawling empire. As part of this scheme, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq (r. 1325–51) compelled a tenth of Delhi's Muslim population to migrate to the Deccan as colonial settlers, most of whom inhabited the rebuilt and enlarged

Fig. 1. Gateway to palace, Firuzabad, ca. 1400

city of Daulatabad. The sultan also established imperial mints in both Daulatabad and "Sultanpur," formerly the Kakatiya capital of Warangal. In the plateau's southern half, meanwhile, imperial officials assimilated into their service Kannada-speaking chieftains formerly loyal to the Hoysala house. Such chieftains were named *amir*s (regional commanders) and were required to make annual tributary payments to the sultanate. In sum, from 1327 the entire northern Deccan was brought under Delhi's direct rule, and the southern Deccan under its indirect rule, with the Krishna River dividing the plateau's two halves.

Only two decades after these measures were implemented, however, colonists transplanted to the Deccan, embittered over their forced relocation and further disaffected by Muhammad bin Tughluq's highhanded policies toward his southern colony, rebelled against Delhi. After wresting their independence from northern rule in 1347, the rebels established a new state covering the northern Deccan—the Bahmani kingdom, named after their revolutionary leader, Hasan Bahman Shah (r. 1347–58). In the same year, tributary *amir*s in the southern Deccan also rebelled against Delhi and established the kingdom of Vijayanagara, a vast realm that would eventually stretch from the Krishna River to the

southern tip of India. Significantly, the founders of both new states styled themselves "sultan," indicating their conscious adoption of the Delhi Sultanate's Persianized model of kingship.

By the end of the fourteenth century, the entire eastern Muslim world had fallen under the spell of another brilliant world conqueror—Timur or "Tamerlane" (d. 1405). From his capital in Samarqand, this powerful Turk conquered a great swath of territory that included Iran, Iraq, and eastern Anatolia, in addition to his native Central Asia. In 1398 he turned to India, defeating the armies of the Delhi Sultanate and sacking Delhi itself. But the Deccan was spared Timur's sword. In fact, despite his renown in the West as a ruthless pursuer of raw power—think of Christopher Marlowe's play *Tamburlaine* (1590)—in the Deccan he was hailed as a hero. When Timur sacked Delhi, Firuz (r. 1397–1422), the reigning Bahmani sultan, sent him a congratulatory letter and offered his humble services. In return, the Central Asian prince generously bestowed upon Firuz the province of Gujarat—a grandiose but hollow gift, since Timur had never conquered the region in the first place. He also addressed Firuz as his son (*farzand*) and sent him a belt, a gilded sword, four royal robes, a Turkish slave, and four splendid horses.[1]

No doubt relieved that Timur returned to Samarqand rather than turning toward the Deccan, Firuz nonetheless emulated the Turkish prince, who represented the acme of courtly patronage, not to mention the greatest success story in world conquest since Alexander or Genghis Khan. In 1399, within months of Timur's invasion of north India, Firuz began building a new city, Firuzabad, just south of the Bahmani capital of Gulbarga. Here, in the Deccan's earliest planned palace city, Firuz incorporated elements of Timur's own style—enlarged portals, an overall layout emphasizing axial alignments of different elements, and the use of a tiger or lion motif in the spandrels of the gateway leading to the palace area (fig. 1).[2] Firuz thus inaugurated the trend of importing Timurid architecture into the Deccan, although the full spectrum of that tradition would not appear in the region until somewhat later.[3]

Timur's imperial vision also stimulated a demand in the Deccan for administrators, soldiers, artists, and literati steeped in the prestigious Persian culture that the Central Asian conqueror had so lavishly patronized. Consequently, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a steady stream of so-called Westerners (Pers. *gharbian*) from the Arab and Persian worlds, attracted by offers of favored status, flowed toward Deccani courts. There were other reasons that Deccani rulers looked westward for manpower. Because relations between the Deccan and north India had been severed since 1347, Bahmani rulers had to look elsewhere to recruit military and civil talent to run their kingdom. To this end, Sultan Firuz annually sent ships to the Persian Gulf.[4] By the time his successor and brother Sultan Ahmad Bahmani (r. 1422–36) shifted the capital from Gulbarga to Bidar in 1424, Timurid ideals—including notions of statecraft and aesthetic sensibilities—had been thoroughly absorbed by a large section of the dynasty's ruling class. Indeed, the influx of so many Persian-speaking Westerners virtually transformed the kingdom into a

settler colony. As the Russian horse merchant Afanasy Nikitin (d. 1472) wrote, referring to the Bahmani kingdom that he visited in the 1470s, "the rulers and the nobles in the land of India are all Khorassanians"—that is, people from northeastern Iran and Central Asia.[5]

Among the many foreign merchants who flocked to the Deccan was Mahmud Gawan, an aristocratic Iranian whose career in Bidar epitomized Bahmani efforts to transplant Timurid Central Asian culture into the heart of the Deccan plateau. Like Nikitin, Gawan had been a long-distance horse merchant; even before reaching India in 1453, he had plied his commercial enterprise through Khurasan, Turkistan, Iraq, Egypt, Syria, and Iran. Well educated, having studied in Cairo and Damascus, Gawan was also well connected politically, having declined the offer of the post of chief minister by rulers in both Khurasan and Iraq.[6] Within five years of his arrival in India, the Bahmani court promoted him to the office of chief minister. But he was best known by the title *malik al-tujjar*, or king of merchants, suggesting the high regard that the Bahmani court attached to long-distance trade, its umbilical cord with the outside world. Toward the end of his life, Gawan made his mark as an exporter of textiles, as he had done earlier as an importer of horses. In this enterprise, his son served as his agent in Iran, while other agents transacted his business in Samarqand, Arabia, Egypt, western Anatolia, and even the Balkans.[7]

Gawan aimed to use his commercial and political capital for turning his adopted home into a dazzling center of Persian culture and Islamic scholarship. To this end he patronized the building of one of the most architecturally impressive madrasas, or schools, in all of India (fig. 2). Completed in 1472, this stunning monument (now damaged) consisted of a large central courtyard flanked on four sides by three-storied wings containing two large lecture halls, a library that originally held 3,000 manuscripts, a mosque, and thirty-six suites of

Fig. 2. Mahmud Gawan madrasa, Bidar, 1472

rooms intended to accommodate more than a hundred students and at least twelve teachers. Just standing before this soaring monument, with its brilliant glazed tiles covering the eastern façade and minaret, one could easily have imagined oneself in Herat, Bukhara, or Samarqand—so closely did Gawan's architects adhere to Timurid building techniques and aesthetic sensibilities.[8] To populate his splendid madrasa, Gawan personally invited the best and brightest stars in the Persian-speaking world to join him in Bidar.

However, the influx of foreign-born Western recruits like Gawan to the Bahmani realm, and the official favors granted them, caused considerable resentment among Muslims born in the Deccan, many of whom were descendants of the original Muslim settlers who had migrated from north India in the previous century and who had in fact

launched the Bahmani state. These were the "Deccanis," people who were just as proud of their local origins as the Westerners were of their foreign origins. It was the deep and intractable Deccani–Westerner rift, and the poisonous intrigues and destructive civil wars it spawned, that ultimately undermined the state's stability. Indeed, Mahmud Gawan himself was one of its victims. In 1481 a group of Deccani Muslims conspired to trick Sultan Muhammad Bahmani III, while drunk, into believing that the foreign-born Gawan had committed an act of treason, which led directly to his execution by be-heading.[9] The Deccani–Westerner conflict only grew more deadly; within twenty years of Mahmud Gawan's execution, the Bah-mani state had effectively disintegrated.

Such inter-Muslim strife played a far greater role in undermining the security of the Bahmani state than did its perennial wars with Vijayanagara, the vast kingdom that extended over the southern Deccan plateau. Although their mutual conflicts actually resulted from competition over control of territory, in particular the agriculturally rich Raichur Doab region that separated the two states, considerable scholarship has characterized their wars as titanic civiliza-tional struggles waged over religion. In this earlier view, Vijayanagara was construed as a "Hindu" state dedicated to defending south India from the advancing tide of "Islam."[10] More recent scholarship has shown, how-ever, that an exceptional amount of culture—ideas and modes of governance, courtly etiquette, architecture, sartorial habits, etc.—freely trafficked between the two states, as did thousands of opportunistic mercenaries and even high-ranking nobles.[11] Indeed, the exchange of ideas and artisans between Vijayanagara and the Bahmani sultanate—and later that sultanate's succes-sor states—greatly enriched the artistic and architectural traditions of all the courts of the Deccan.

Throughout the Bahmani period and extending far beyond it, both Westerners and Deccani Muslims revered the Deccan's

most prominent Sufi saint, Sayyid Muham-
mad Husaini Gesu Daraz (d. 1422), whose
tomb-shrine in Gulbarga was lavishly
patronized by Muslim rulers. These rulers
also endowed lands for the support of
the saint's descendants, as witnessed by a
mid-sixteenth-century royal document in
The Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 3).
However, the Deccan's geopolitical profile
changed dramatically around the turn of the
sixteenth century, when the Bahmani sul-
tanate disintegrated, leaving behind five suc-
cessor states. Although the founders of these
states initially paid lip service to the fiction
of loyalty to the Bahmani sultan, they had
all asserted their complete independence by
the 1520s. Each ruled from core cities of the
former Bahmani territory. (See list of rulers
of the Deccan on page 306–7.) In the far
north were the 'Imad Shahi sultans of Berar,
with their capital at Elichpur. Occupying
the northwestern plateau were the Nizam
Shahi sultans of Ahmadnagar. To the east lay
the Qutb Shahi realm of Golconda, and to
the west ruled the 'Adil Shahi sultans of
Bijapur. Occupying the center of the pla-
teau, ruling from the former Bahmani capi-
tal of Bidar, were the Barid Shahi sultans.

For the first half of the sixteenth century,
this fracturing of the northern Deccan play-
ed into the hands of Vijayanagara, which
during the brilliant reign of Krishna Raya
(r. 1502–29) consolidated its control over
the entire peninsula south of the Krishna
River, conquered the Raichur Doab (1520),
and boldly seized territory from the two
largest Bahmani successor states, Bijapur
and Golconda. Some time after Krishna
Raya's death, the late king's ambitious and

Fig. 3. *Firman* (official decree) with illuminated heading. Bidar,
A.H. 957 (A.D. 1550). Ink, opaque watercolors, and gold on paper,
25¼ × 7⅝ in (64.2 × 19.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York, Persian Heritage Foundation, Rogers Fund, and
Louis E. and Theresa S. Seley Purchase Fund for Islamic Art,
1998 (1998.260)

arrogant son-in-law, Rama Raya (fl. 1542–65), seized the reins of Vijayanagara's government and shrewdly exploited rivalries between the three largest sultanates to the north—Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golconda—such that for some time he, Rama Raya, held the balance of power over the entire plateau. But ultimately the northern sultanates, exasperated with Rama Raya's excesses, formed a league and challenged their powerful southern neighbor to a military contest. In the ensuing battle of Talikota in 1565, Vijayanagara's army was utterly annihilated, Rama Raya executed, and the great metropolitan capital of Vijayanagara sacked. Politically, this outcome led to the southward expansion of Bijapur and Golconda, which annexed, respectively, the western and eastern portions of Vijayanagara's former territory. Bijapur, especially, benefitted at the expense of its defeated foe, as Sultan ʻAli ʻAdil Shah (r. 1558–80) used his newfound wealth to construct a new circuit of walls around his capital. In Bijapur he also patronized the construction of the largest *jamiʻ masjid*, or congregational mosque, ever built in the Deccan.

Culturally speaking, the century following the battle of Talikota—from 1565 to the 1680s—saw something of a golden age, as the principal Deccani sultanates enjoyed an era of unprecedented peace, prosperity, and artistic florescence. This lasted until the late 1680s, when the emperor Aurangzeb (r. 1658–1707), after years of relentless campaigning, conquered first Bijapur (1686) and then Golconda (1687), annexing both territories to the Mughal imperial domain. A very special era had come to a close; indeed, most of the artistic and architectural works discussed in this volume were produced between the battle of Talikota and the Mughal conquest of 1687. Politically, that period saw the number of sultanates shrink, with the result that the survivors acquired more territory, more wealth, and hence greater wherewithal to patronize the arts. The first state to disappear was the ʻImad Shahi sultanate of Berar, absorbed by Ahmadnagar in

1574. The next was the Barid Shahi sultanate of Bidar, which Bijapur annexed in 1619. Then, in 1636, the Nizam Shahi sultanate of Ahmadnagar, lying between an expansive kingdom of Bijapur to the south and an equally expansive and much larger Mughal empire to the north, vanished, as its former territory was divided between those two states. What remained were two surviving Bahmani successor states, Bijapur and Golconda, which governed the western and eastern sides of the Deccan, respectively. The great wealth of both sultanates astonished European travelers. In the Western imagination "Golconda," in particular, became synonymous with fabulous wealth, owing to the presence of diamond fields in the eastern Deccan.[12]

It was not just peace and prosperity that fostered the burst of distinctive artistic traditions in the principal courts of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Deccan. Equally important was the cosmopolitan character of those courts, in turn a function of the Deccan's cultural and ethnic diversity. This diversity is especially apparent when juxtaposed with the more homogenous culture of the imperial Mughals. Consider a recorded conversation between Mughal officers and representatives of the northernmost Deccani sultanate, Ahmadnagar, in the context of a Mughal siege of Ahmadnagar fort in 1596. While the siege was still in progress, officers from both sides sat down to discuss a cease-fire, in the course of which Ahmadnagar's diplomats challenged the Mughals' right to make demands on Deccani territory. With Prince Murad, the son of the emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605), at his side, a Mughal officer exploded in rage. "What nonsense is this?" he exclaimed. Then, noting 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, whom he contemptuously dismissed as "crows and kites of the Deccan, who squat like ants or locusts over a few spiders."[13]

Who were these peoples who boldly confronted the mighty Mughals? What were the components of the Deccan's ethnic and cultural amalgam? There was, first, the legacy of long-defunct but still-remembered imperial grandeur. Between 974 and 1190 the entire plateau had been ruled by one of India's greatest empires, the Kalyana Chalukyas, whose memory was cherished by rulers of Bijapur and Vijayanagara, both of whom strategically incorporated reused Chalukya structural and sculptural material into their public monuments. In the early fourteenth and fifteenth century, émigrés from north India or Central Asia had brought with them Perso-Islamic aesthetic traditions, which were absorbed by all the courts of the Deccan, including Vijayanagara. While Westerner Muslims continued to cultivate Persian literary and aesthetic traditions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as had Mahmud Gawan in the fifteenth century, Deccan-born Muslims became ever more confident and assertive of their own cultural identity. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Deccanis had already evolved their own vernacular speech, an early form of Urdu known as "Dakhni." By the sixteenth century, and more so by the seventeenth, Deccani poets were confidently composing literature in that language.[14] By then, literary Dakhni had attained such respectability that even rulers—notably Bijapur's sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (r. 1580–1627) and Golconda's sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (r. 1580–1612)—were composing poems in that language. These courts also patronized the indigenous vernacular traditions of their respective regions. In the east, the Qutb Shahi rulers of Golconda enthusiastically supported the production of Telugu literature, while in both Bijapur and Golconda rulers found it expedient to employ local brahmins in their bureaucracies. As early as 1535 Bijapur switched the language of its revenue and judicial accounts from Persian to Marathi; Golconda would do the same with Telugu.[15]

Another dimension to the sultanates' multicultural nature is seen in their military systems, as both Ahmadnagar and Bijapur depended heavily on indigenous warrior clans of the western plateau, the Marathas. Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I (r. 1535–58) hired 30,000 Maratha cavalry; by 1624 Ahmadnagar had enlisted 40,000 into its service.[16] Such figures reveal the extent to which the sultanate system of governance, initially alien to India, had meshed with the Deccan's local society. In a pattern stretching back to the Bahmani era, *deshmukh*s, the hereditary territorial chiefs in the western Deccan 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.[17] Indeed, many leading Maratha clans rose to prominence in tandem with the rise of the sultanates themselves.[18] It was precisely the presence of Marathas in Ahmadnagar's armed forces—together with Africans, Deccanis, and Westerners—that provoked that patrician Mughal officer to dismiss them all as "crows and kites of the Deccan."

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. On its western side Surat, Chaul, Dabol, and Goa connected the Deccan to the Middle East via maritime routes, while on its eastern side Masulipatnam connected it to Southeast Asia. Thus, from the fifteenth through the seventeenth century, when empires based in Delhi blocked access to Central Asian labor markets, the Bahmani sultans and later both Bijapur and Ahmadnagar recruited thousands of Ethiopians (*habshi*s) to serve as military slaves. Many of these rose to high rank and brought African sensibilities to the works of art or architecture they patronized.[19] In the early sixteenth century, Portuguese conquistadors and merchants reached the Deccan's west coast and, after wresting the port of Goa from Bijapur

in 1510, engaged with the Deccan's inland kingdoms as merchants, as soldier-mercenaries, and as Jesuit priests. Soon thereafter English and Dutch merchants would reach both coasts, initially in a commercial capacity only. (See map on page xiv.) In the early sixteenth century newly emerged Bahmani successor states, owing to north Indian hostility, reached out overseas to Iran just as a revolution carried the Safavid dynasty (1502–1735) to power there. Being zealous Shi'is, the Safavids established close ties with several Deccani dynasties, some of whose rulers declared Shi'ism their state religion.

All of these varied influences—Maratha and Telugu warrior elites, Sunni and Shi'i immigrants from Central Asia or Iran, African military slaves, brahmin and non-brahmin service castes, native-born Muslim nobles, European merchants, warriors, and missionaries—contributed to making the Deccan one of the most dynamic, diverse, and cosmopolitan societies in the early modern world. Enjoying relative security and great wealth generated, in part, by the export of its renowned textiles, the Deccan provided for almost three centuries an atmosphere exceptionally conducive for artistic creativity.

1. Firishta 1864–65, vol. 1, p. 312; Briggs 1966, vol. 2, p. 234.

2. Michell and Eaton 1992, pp. 80–83. The tiger or lion motif at Firuzabad is the earliest known use of an animal motif in Indo-Muslim architecture. Timur himself had revived the pre-Islamic Persian motif of a lion and sun on the spandrels of his Aq Saray palace (1379–96) near his capital of Samarqand. Even though the entire arch of Timur's palace is now destroyed, the lion and sun motif was described by a Spanish ambassador who saw it in 1403. Lentz and Lowry 1989, pp. 42–43.

3. Timurid architecture was further characterized by free-standing monuments built on a colossal scale, achieved by high drums and new vaulting techniques that enabled arches and domes to soar upward. Exterior surfaces were lavishly covered with mosaics of brilliantly colored glazed tiles. Intended to be seen from afar, these monuments made bold and powerful visual statements. See Golombek 1992.

4. Firishta 1864–65, vol. 1, p. 308; Briggs 1966, vol. 2, p. 227.

5. Nikitin 1970, p. 12. Commercial ties also connected Bidar and the Middle East, since the Bahmanis needed overseas trading partners to whom to sell textiles produced in the Deccan. In turn, they needed to purchase war horses 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 Nikitin, who mentioned one market near Bidar where 20,000 horses were sold.

6. Firishta 1864–65, vol. 1, p. 358; Briggs 1966, vol. 2, p. 315.

7. Inalcik 1960, p. 141.

8. The structure finds plenty of models in Central Asia and Iran, which Gawan would certainly have seen during his travels before settling in the Deccan. Perhaps the closest model is the madrasa of Khargird, in eastern Iran near the present Afghan border, which was completed in 1444; or Ulugh Beg's madrasa in Bukhara, completed in 1417. The building's tiled minaret also finds antecedents in Iran and Central Asia, such as the one at the madrasa of Gawhar Shad in Herat, built in 1432.

9. Firishta 1864–65, vol. 1, pp. 356–57; Briggs 1966, vol. 2, pp. 311–14.

10. The historian Robert Sewell, writing in 1900, captured this sentiment by characterizing Vijayanagara as "a Hindu bulwark against Muhammadan conquests." See Sewell 1980, p. 1. Sewell wrote during the heyday of Orientalist scholarship, which tended to portray non-Western religions in essentialized and mutually hostile terms, in this way indirectly serving British imperial interests of divide-and-rule.

11. See Wagoner 1996.

12. The founding fathers of Golconda, Illinois (named in 1817), probably hoping to strike it rich, certainly made this association. As its website declares, "Golconda sparkles like a diamond on the banks of the mighty Ohio River."

13. Directly addressing the Ahmadnagar diplomat, himself a Westerner from Iran, the general continued, "You, who are men of the same race as ourselves [*ibna-yi jins-i ma*], should not throw yourselves away for no purpose." Tabataba 1936, pp. 629–30. Extracts are translated by Haig 1923, pp. 343–45.

14. Faruqi 2001, pp. 95–104.

15. Alam 2003, p. 157. See Firishta 1864–65, vol. 2, p. 27; Briggs 1966, vol. 3, pp. 47–48. Firishta called the new language "Hindavi," the term that Westerners like Firishta used in referring to any Indian vernacular.

16. Grant Duff 1971, vol. 1, p. 36; Foster 1968, p. 138.

17. Gordon 1993, p. 34.

18. Eaton 2005, p. 188.

19. See Robbins and McLeod 2006.

Painting and
Literary Traditions

Robert Skelton

Farrukh Beg in the Deccan: An Update

In September 1954 I was sitting with another junior curator in the students' room of what, until 1880, had been the old East India Company's India Museum in South Kensington and then became a department of what is now the Victoria and Albert Museum. As we chatted the door opened, and W. G. Archer, the Keeper of the Museum's Indian Section, stalked in. Almost sixty years later I can still remember the exact manner of his enquiry: "What are you doing, young Robert?" It required a quick reply, which was provided by the open copy of Arnold and Wilkinson's catalogue of Sir Chester Beatty's Mughal paintings on the desk in front of me. Pointing to a picture of a young page boy (fig. 1), which Farrukh Beg had painted "in his 70th Year," I said that changes from the artist's rather distinctive version of the Mughal style may have resulted from a trip to Bijapur in the Deccan. The idea of Farrukh's connection with the Deccan may have been sparked by a stray remark by Stella Kramrisch in her *Survey of Painting in the Deccan* that I had recently acquired. She had written the following, not completely accurately:

> The group of paintings from Bijapur with a marked assimilation of Western elements is distinguished by a firm and ponderous splendour. The illusion of three dimensional volume as well as atmospheric perspective sink into the coloured surface and widen its range. To this aspect of Deccani painting in

Bijapur belongs a portrait on gold ground of a personage enthroned and accompanied by three attendants, one a boy offering pan [fig. 2]. A peculiar mannerism of showing the pupil as a vertical line is possibly a misunderstood way of making it a small dot according to the work of Farrukh Beg, in the Mughal manner of the late sixteenth century.[1]

The painting to which she referred was published by Percy Brown in his pioneering study of Mughal painting in 1924.[2] Brown, it might be noted, had little to say about Mughal painting with "its mixture of good and bad qualities"—those were his words—when, as a young, newly arrived art teacher, he assisted Sir George Watt with the Delhi Exhibition catalogue of 1903.[3] At that time, the study of any kind of Indian miniature painting had scarcely begun, but in 1917 he wrote the very first general book on Indian painting.[4] For the beginner in the field that I was, encountering him as an elderly man in April 1954 can be compared to a European art historian meeting Vasari or Winckelmann. This encounter underlines how close we were in the 1950s to the founders of the subject as it was beginning to take off, with the recent independence of India in 1947 and the publication of the Royal Academy's exhibition catalogue in 1950, the year I entered the field.[5] In those days we had far fewer publications to read and confuse us, and we had seen very few of the vast mass of paintings and other documentary evidence that has come to light subsequently.

In April 1955, less than a year after reading Stella's comments, I saw the painting to which she referred and noticed that some inscriptions on the back had been covered up. Soon after this trip, when Douglas Barrett

was planning to use the picture in *Painting of the Deccan*, I told him about the inscription. He obtained an infrared photograph, from which we thus learned that the ruler in Stella's "Bijapur" painting was identified as "Burhan Nizam al-Mulk" of Ahmadnagar.[6]

The exact nature of the cultural connections between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur are not fully understood, but we know that the poets Malik Qumi and his son-in-law Nur al-Din Muhammad Zuhuri stayed at the court of Burhan Nizam Shah at Ahmadnagar before moving to Bijapur. On present evidence one cannot easily infer anything about the manner in which a somewhat Persian-tinged style of Mughal painting could have affected the small number of works that we associate with Ahmadnagar at that time, but the argument I made in 1957—that Zuhuri was likely to have been a friend of Farrukh Beg who could perhaps have followed the same route to Bijapur— was not received with approbation. I had begun to draft this argument in October of 1954 already, but it was Bill Archer who challenged me to put it in writing and Richard Ettinghausen who generously offered to publish it in *Ars Orientalis*.[7] Apart from those two senior colleagues, there was no support for my suggestions, although gradually one or two close friends, who originally had doubts, began to change their minds. If I remember correctly, Pramod Chandra appears to have done so after seeing my slide of a painting in the Topkapi Saray (fig. 3), which Mark Zebrowski attributed to the "Dublin painter," i.e., the painter of the Chester Beatty *yogini*, previously attributed by me to Farrukh Beg.[8] This is not to suggest that either of us has at any time attributed *The Kiss* to Farrukh Beg.

Cary Welch, in whose honor we hold these proceedings, also changed his mind after acquiring Farrukh Beg's copy of the engraving of *Dolor* by Marten de Vos (fig. 4) with its important inscription, which confirmed that Farrukh Beg had reached his seventieth year in 1615 and that the year of his birth, as I had postulated in 1957, was 1547.[9]

Fig. 1. Farrukh Beg, *Page Boy*, 1610–15. Ink, colors, and gold on paper, 7⅛ × 4¼ in. (18.2 × 10.8 cm). Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Ms. 7A, fol. 18)

Fig. 2. *Burhan al-Mulk of Ahmadnagar.* Ca. 1575. Ink, colors, and gold on paper, 9¼ × 8⅛ in. (23.5 × 20.5 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Supp. Persan. 1572, fol. 26)

In the Metropolitan Museum's catalogue of its India exhibition, Welch also drew attention to one of Farrukh Beg's greatest unsigned works (fig. 5), now in St. Petersburg.[10] Zebrowski, however, did not include this picture in the discussion of Deccani painting in his invaluable pioneering survey

of the subject. It evidently represents Abu al-Ghais al-Yamani making the lion carry his wood after it had killed his ass, based on Jami's story in the *Nafahat al-Uns.* It is also clearly from Farrukh Beg's Deccani, rather than his Mughal, phase, as Welch was apparently alone among my colleagues

Sultans of the South: Arts of India's Deccan Courts, 1323–1687

in recognizing. In 1957 I dated it to about 1601–1604, based on Farrukh's participation in the *Akbarnama* in the V&A, which current opinion then placed about 1600.[11] Thus, I sent the artist to Bijapur, along with the political mission of Khwaja Husain al-Din Inju, which arrived in that city in March 1601. It later became clear that Farrukh did not participate at all in major projects of manuscript illustration in Akbar's studio during one of its most productive periods, the 1590s, when we might have expected to find his work in at least one of the manuscripts produced for the royal library.[12] Some years later I realized that the true date of the V&A *Akbarnama* manuscript must have been earlier, nearer to the beginning of the final decade of the century. Susan Stronge has now advanced very good arguments for a date of about 1590–95.[13]

The problems caused by my earlier acceptance of what was then considered to be the date of the V&A *Akbarnama*, i.e., about 1600, became obvious when Lubor Hajek published the Prague page from the Gulshan album (fig. 6) in 1960.[14] Although some critics of my 1957 speculations saw this as a Mughal copy, by Farrukh Beg, of a Bijapuri original, it is the real thing. Zebrowski recognized this, but, since he wanted to attribute it to Farrukh Husain, he thought that the writer of the inscriptions above and below had made a mistake.[15] It is impossible to accept, however, that neither Muhammad Husain Kashmiri nor Jahangir, their royal patron, would have failed to know the truth of the authorship of the painting. The two Persian colleagues in the *kitabkhana* must have known each other well, and, despite our suspicions about the conceited way he expressed it, Jahangir was not boasting when he claimed to know his library staff well.[16] As a teenager, under the title "Shahzada-yi 'Alamiyan," he had himself worked among them in the *kitabkhana* on the great *Razmnama* project, completed for his father about 1582–86.[17] Not many works of art of any age could have been

Fig. 3. *The Kiss*. Early 17th century. Ink, colors, and gold on paper, 7⅝ × 4⅞ in. (19.3 × 12.3 cm). Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul (H. 2138, fol. 37b)

Fig. 4. Farrukh Beg, *Old Sufi*. 1615. Ink, colors, and gold on paper, folio 15 × 10⅛ in. (38.2 x 25.6 cm); painting 7⅝ × 5½ in. (19.4 × 14.1 cm). Inscribed, top right: "the work of *nadir al-'asr* [wonder of the age] Farrukh Beg in his seventieth year . . . " Museum of Islamic Art, Doha.

better designed to please a patron more effectively than did this portrait, in which we see Ibrahim, a young and talented ruler whose love of music put him on a par with the professionals. Here he is portrayed as their master, to whom, according to appropriate hierarchical scaling, they pay humble deference. How on earth, however, did Farrukh manage to take it from Bijapur to the Mughal court? That secret died with him, but he also had the problem of what to do about presenting it to Jahangir.

Good friends are essential in difficult situations, and clearly Muhammad Husain Kashmiri was such a friend. The inner border of the picture contains a sneering description of Ibrahim, in Persian, hinting that the ruler rather fancied himself a master musician: "*God is great. The likeness of Ibrahim 'Adil Khan of the Deccan, ruler of Bijapur, who, in the knowledge of the music of the Deccan, considers himself superior to the masters of that art*." But then in solving Farrukh's second problem, the calligrapher created one for us, as can be seen in the inscription at the bottom: "*And [it is] the work of Farrukh Beg, in the fifth regnal year [i.e., of Jahangir] corresponding to the year 1019 [A.D. 1610–11], written by the humble servant Muhammad Husain [of the] Golden Pen [in the service of] Jahangir Shah*."[18]

It took me a very long time to understand the trick that Muhammad Husain had played on behalf of his friend. The inscription contained a lie, but such a subtle and discreet one that it manifested itself by being unwritten. The void can sometimes be extraordinarily useful, as Indian mathematicians discovered many centuries earlier. Jahangir himself would obviously have known that the inscription was a lie, but it was a way out for him as well as for Farrukh. Such situations can be perfectly well understood in court circles. The date, which we are meant to believe is the date of the picture, was in fact the date when the great calligrapher penned the inscription. Shifting the date a little to the right and connecting it with Farrukh's name,

rather than with his own, also created a more symmetrically arranged line of text. This, coupled with a revised date for the *Akbarnama*, permits us to date the picture a few years earlier than 1600 and it thus helps to explain Ibrahim's youthful appearance.

There remain other problems about Farrukh's trip to the Deccan. In 1957 things seemed easy, but the publication since then of new material and diverse scholarship on the artist has rendered such clarity obsolete. One thing that now puzzles me most is not Farrukh Beg and his paintings, but other Bijapuri artists, including his relationship with the artists of the *Pem Nem*.[19] Hana Knizkova has pointed out the compositional connection between the portrait of Ibrahim in Prague and folio 87 of that Dakhni Urdu manuscript. (See fig. 10 in the essay by Deborah Hutton.) Assuming that the date of *Pem Nem*'s authorship was also that of the manuscript's completion, Knizkova took the view that Farrukh Beg had been influenced by the Bijapuri artist's composition.[20] However, as Zebrowski pointed out, there are references in that text indicating that the manuscript must have been completed subsequently, thus after Farrukh's arrival in Bijapur.[21] Certain stylistic elements in the *Pem Nem*, including the treatment of foliage, suggest that its artists had become aware of elements in Farrukh's style as it was before his arrival. The slightly later dating for the manuscript's production permits us to ask whether he might have influenced their style. Nevertheless, the influence was not solely one way; Farrukh himself responded very quickly and dramatically to his new cultural environment. For this reason Zebrowski resisted Hajek's view of the Prague picture, as well as Barrett's idea that it was simply a Mughal copy.

Zuhuri claimed that Farrukh was among the sultan's elite circle, and certainly the best of Farrukh's work deserves very high praise. He was, when at his best, a great master, but Zuhuri was clearly a friend. The other painters of the period, who remain anonymous, include one or two really impressive
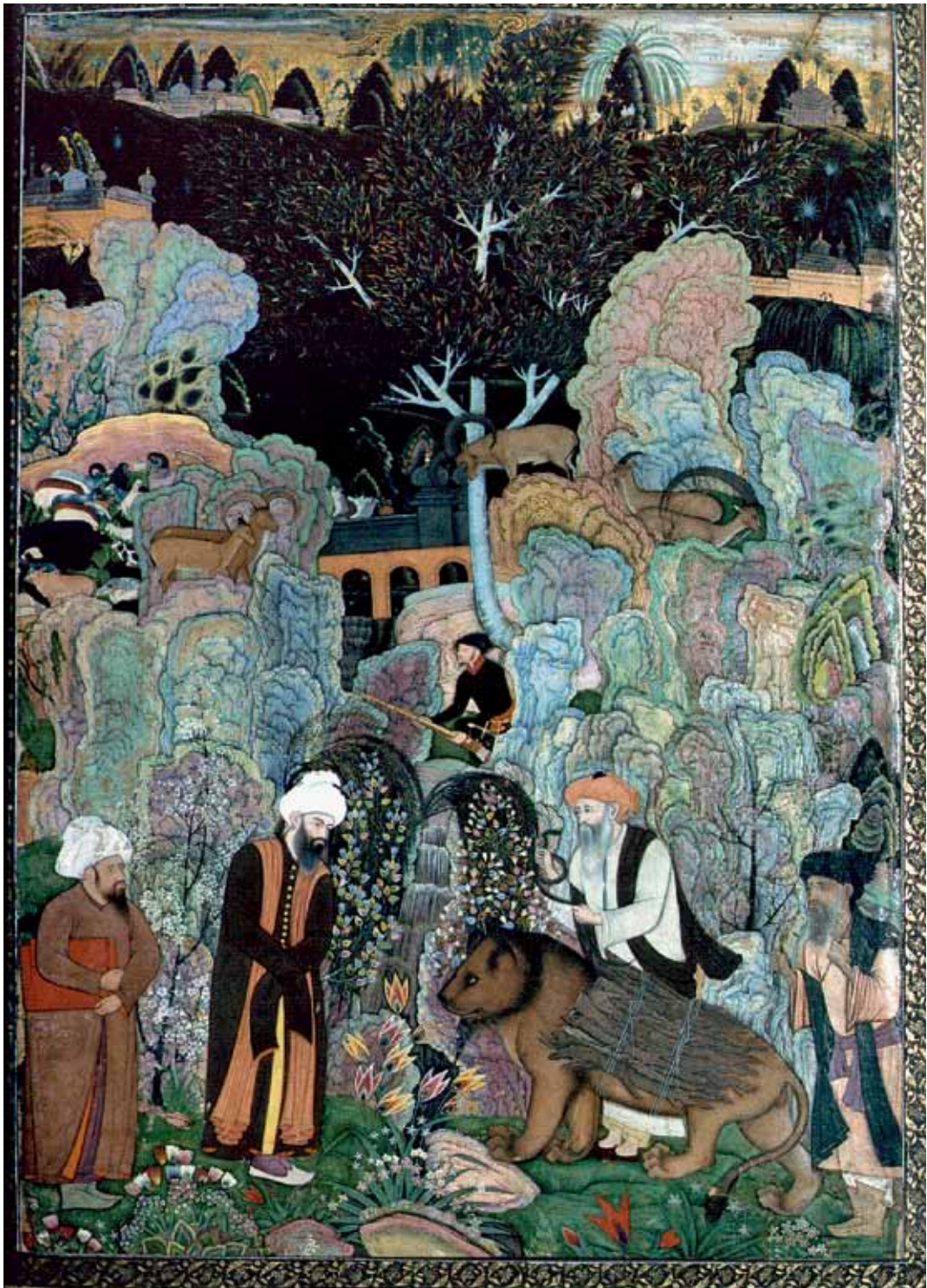
Fig. 5. Farrukh Beg, *Sufis in a Landscape*. Ca. 1600–1604. Ink, colors, and gold on paper, 13½ × 9½ in. (34.3 × 24.2 cm). National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg (Dorn 489, fol. 24b)

masters. Zebrowski, using Berensonian terminology, categorized them according to the places where their works are found,[22] thus including a man he designated as the "Leningrad painter." Two years earlier, in the article published in the volume honoring Rai Krishna Dasa, he had no doubt that the St. Petersburg painting of Ibrahim hawking (fig. 7) and related works were by none other than Farrukh Husain, particularly in view of what Ellen Smart and I had told him about her discovery of the minute inscription in its upper right corner containing the name "Farrukh."[23] Later, after learning from me that two works briefly on the London art market, inscribed as the work of Farrukh Husain, were in fact modern fakes,[24] he decided to re-designate the creator of the St. Petersburg picture as the "Leningrad painter." Neither Ellen Smart nor I had been able to fully read that blurred image of the tiny inscription on the painting, but in due course John Seyller managed to recognize the title "Beg" after the name Farrukh and thereupon published his very thoughtful paper on the artist in 1995.[25] The only slight amendment that can now be made to his reading is that the word *'amal* (or perhaps *kar*) has been cut off by the marginator. A year earlier, in 1994, Oleg Akhimushkin, viewing the actual painting, correctly published what Seyller had seen as part of the letter *lam*, as *ye* followed by *nun*, but unaccountably completed the word as Husain instead of *kamtarin*, for which precedents do exist in some of Farrukh's inscriptions.[26] As a result of these readings—and in his last words on the subject—it appears that Mark finally recognized the possibility that Farrukh Beg had in fact painted the works that he himself had correctly conjectured as being by Farrukh Husain fourteen years earlier.[27]

Was it only due to Zuhuri's "propaganda," in his introduction to the *Kitab-i Nauras*,[28] that several other, perhaps equally talented, Bijapuri painters were overshadowed? More than one writer has held that there was something in the Bijapuri environment

Fig. 6. Farrukh Beg, as ascribed by Muhammad Husain Kashmiri. *Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II Playing the Tambur.* Bijapur, 1595–1600. Ink, colors, and gold on paper, 5½ × 5⅞ in. (14 × 14.8 cm). Náprstek Musuem of Asian, African and American Culture, Prague (A. 12182)

that made its impression on Farrukh Beg, just as he must have influenced others there. In 1957, I had already hinted that Ibrahim's court environment had proved a great stimulus to Farrukh's creativity. I would like to conclude by showing (and perhaps, again, making some wild, and as yet unsubstantiated, speculations) that, before going to Bijapur, he was also capable of displaying major stature. The job of providing proof is a tediously hard one—so I have decided to share the task with any others who care to join in.

When a group of us, under Milo Beach's leadership, spent a week in the library of the Gulistan Palace a few years ago, I was

bowled over by a great unsigned painting (fig. 8) that could only have been done by one man.[29] It shows 'Ali and his two young sons standing in grief near the Prophet's bier after his death. Apart from being a work of considerable quality and craftsmanship, it also shows Farrukh to be a man of deep sensitivity. It is one of a group of pages that survive from what is otherwise a mysterious, unidentified manuscript. Many of the pages had text that had, in virtually every case, been scrubbed out, but enough remains to show that the words were in prose.[30] Most of these pages had long ago been dispersed, but some of the best pages did not suffer this fate, while several were appropriated by Prince Salim for incorporation in his great personal *muraqqa'*, now known as the Gulshan album.[31] Why was this manuscript project abruptly halted and abandoned?

It is easy to guess the nature of the text. There simply had to have been at least one copy of Bal'ami's *Takmila wa Tarjuma-yi Tarikh-i Tabari* in Akbar's vast library of 24,000 volumes, and indeed it must have been an important source for another illustrated work that had suddenly acquired a great significance for Akbar. In the last decades of the tenth century, the end of the first millennium (coinciding with A.D. 1591–92) was fast approaching, the political significance of which was obvious. This, I believe, prompted the cancellation of work on an illustrated copy of Bal'ami's translation of Tabari's great history of the earliest centuries of Islam so that the library staff could concentrate on the more politically expedient task of completing a copy of the *Tarikh-i Alfi* (Thousand Year History) in time for the millennium.[32] Unfortunately the resulting product was less exciting in pictorial terms and ended up suffering the same fate as the finer one that it displaced.

Let me turn to something else that could possibly have a bearing on Farrukh's decision to leave Akbar's court for the Deccan when he did. It concerns Farrukh's relationship with another Iranian painter at the Mughal court, one of several examples of

painters or illuminators who appear to have fallen under Farrukh's spell. The most obvious case is the Shirazi illuminator Muhammad 'Ali, two of whose works I had misguidedly attributed to Farrukh in those early days, when Muhammad 'Ali was only known through one attribution (fig. 9). In 1950 this attribution had been dismissed by Basil Gray, who attributed the work to 'Abu'l Hasan, while admitting the possibility that it was a masterpiece of Bija-puri painting.[33] Muhammad 'Ali returned to Shiraz in about 1611, after what may have been quite a short spell at the Mughal court.[34] It is understandable that someone such as Muhammad 'Ali, who was primarily an illuminator (*muzahhib*) rather than a painter, might have leaned heavily on a senior colleague's mature style, but we know of nothing in the relationship that is likely to have significantly affected Far-rukh's own career. By contrast there was another more famous and prolific painter, with his own stylistic manner, whose actions may well shed light on those of Far-rukh Beg. This was Aqa Riza Jahangiri, who appears to have been associated with Farrukh over many years, in Khurasan, Kabul, and Agra. Without detailing the entire connection between them, let me focus on three pictures.

One is a famous portrait of a seated prince (fig. 10) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which A. K. Coomaraswamy mistakenly thought was of the emperor Jahangir.[35] I would argue that this is a portrait of Akbar's half-brother Muhammad Hakim, who was Farrukh Husain's patron until his death in 1585. Unlike Farrukh, Riza is not men-tioned in the list of those who went to Akbar's court at Rawalpindi, but we know that he entered the service of Prince Salim before 1588–89, when his son 'Abu'l Hasan was born and thus gained the title *Khanazad*.[36] Thanks to Abolala Soudavar, we now have images of Muhammad Hakim that Farrukh Husain/Beg made shortly before he left Kabul for the Mughal court.[37] Among other Mughal paintings in
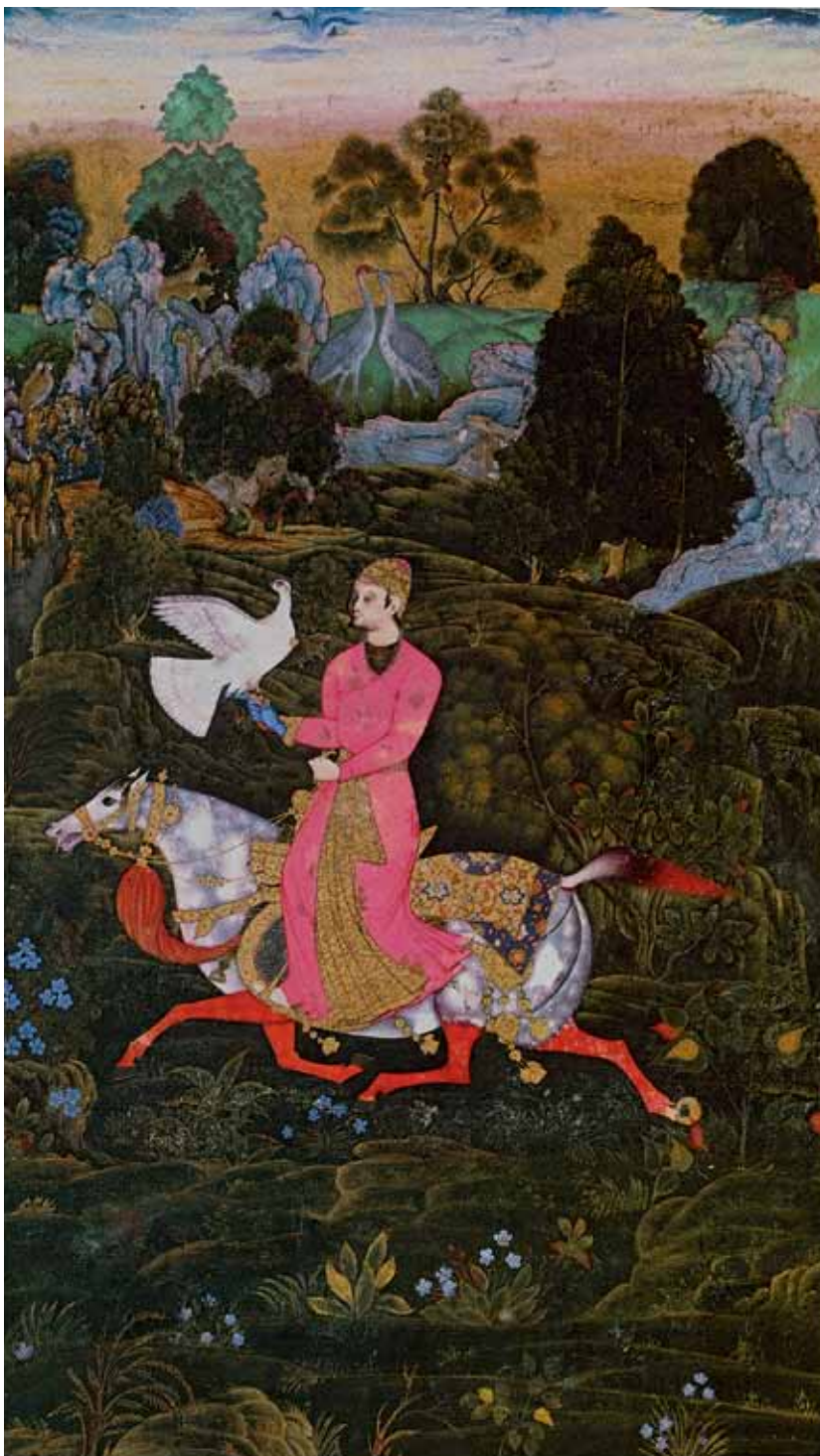
Fig. 7. Farrukh Beg, *Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah Hawking.* Bijapur, ca. 1590. Ink, colors, gold, and silver on paper, 11¼ × 6⅛ in. (28.7 × 15.6 cm). Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg (Ms. E. 14, fol. 2)
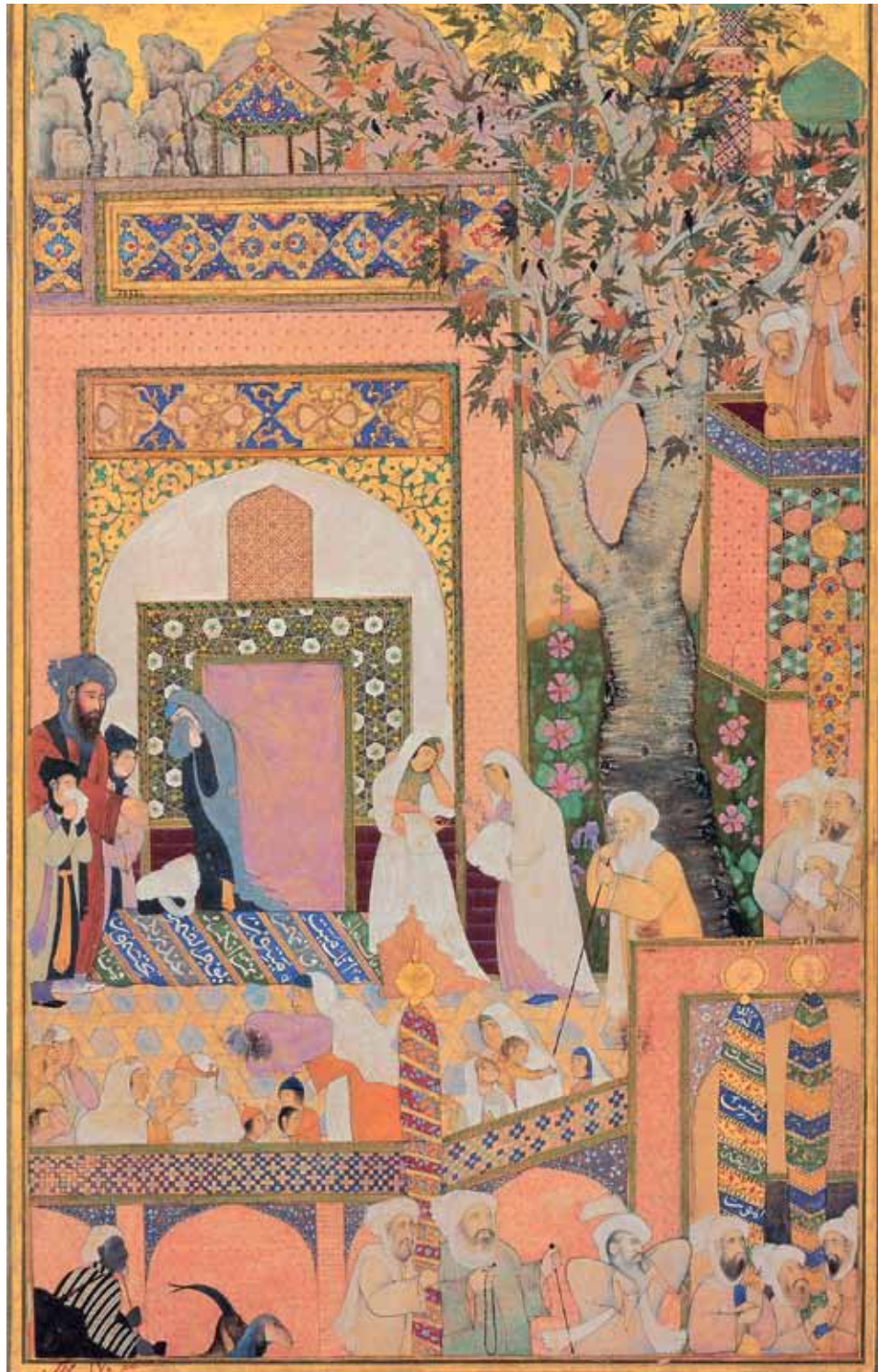
Fig. 8. Farrukh Beg, *The Prophet's Bier.* First half of 17th century. Ink, colors, and gold on paper. Gulistan Palace Library, Tehran (Gulshan album, 1663, fol. 170)

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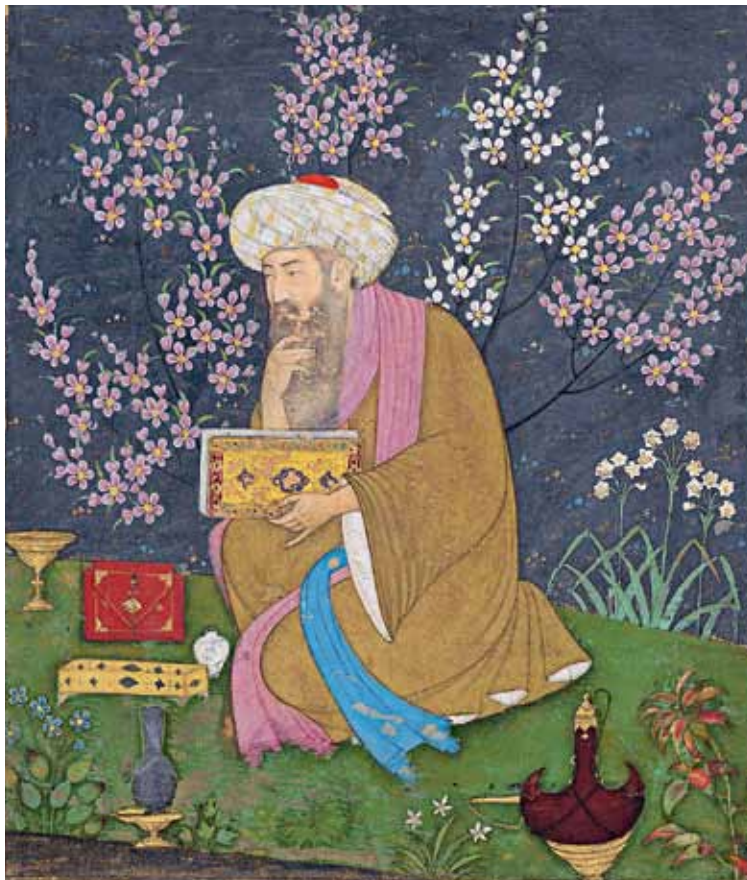
Fig. 9. Muhammad 'Ali, *Poet in a Flower Garden*. Ca. 1610–15. Opaque water-colors and gold on paper, 5⅞ × 6⅛ in. (15 × 15.7 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund (14.663)

Fig. 10. Aqa Riza, *Portrait of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Ruler of Kabul*. Northern India, ca. 1590. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 5¾ × 3¼ in. (14.7 × 8.2 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund (14.609)

which we can recognize the ruler of Kabul, one (fig. 11) has been reasonably associated with Riza, but, for some mysterious reason, has always been published as a portrait of Akbar's grandfather Babur.[38] Riza worked largely in his own distinctive manner, but there is a miniature in Tehran (fig. 12), now separated from the Gulshan album, where, in his sixtieth year, he emulated the post-Bijapuri manner of Farrukh.[39] To my mind this emulation in part favors the view

that the two artists were friends over a long period. One therefore wonders what Farrukh's position was in the years leading up to Salim's rebellion against Akbar. Riza went with the prince to Allahabad, where he led Salim's studio during the revolt.

If Farrukh had been in some way impli-cated in the tensions at court that led to the rebellion, he followed a different course from that of Riza. When in 1957 I sought an explanation for his departure to the Deccan

Fig. 11. Aqa Riza(?), *Portrait of Mirza Muhammad Hakim With a Notebook of Verses*. Late 16th or early 17th century. Ink, colors, and gold on paper, British Museum, London (1921-10-11-03)

Fig. 12. Aqa Riza, *The Sincere Disciple in the Presence of the Ascetic*. Dated A.H. 1030 (A.D. 1620–62). Ink, colors, and gold on paper. Gulistan Palace Library, Tehran

from Akbar's court, I saw him as an orthodox Muslim dissatisfied with Akbar's religious innovations.[40] This view would have been reinforced had I then seen his sensitive rendering of events following the death of the Prophet (fig. 8).[41] I used the same argument in relation to Ibrahim II's somewhat similar unorthodox tendencies to explain Farrukh's return to the North after Akbar's death. However, the artist's rendition of the

Hindu goddess Saraswati in the masterpiece discussed in the important contribution by Navina Haidar in this volume shows that Farrukh Beg was by no means as blinkered as I had supposed. It seems more likely that his closeness to Aqa Riza, a friend dangerously associated with Salim and his circle, may have suggested the advisability of removing himself from the imperial court as tensions arose prior to Salim's rebellion.

After Jahangir had become firmly established as emperor, the way would then have been clear for his return and he clearly did so without any loss of favor.

1. Kramrisch 1937, p. 144 and nn. 55 and 56.
2. Brown 1924, pl. XXXIII.
3. Watt 1903, p. 455.
4. Brown 1917.
5. See Gray 1950, pp. 85, 195.
6. Barrett 1958, p. 14 and pl. 5.
7. Skelton 1957.
8. Zebrowski 1983, pl. 109; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, pp. 169–73; Skelton 1957, fig. 16.
9. Welch 1985, pp. 211–15.
10. Ibid., p. 224, and Skelton 1957, fig. 15.
11. Skelton 1957, p. 405.
12. For a list of these manuscripts, see Beach 1981, pp. 223–28. This issue is also discussed in Skelton 1996a.
13. Stronge 2002, pp. 42–45.
14. Hajek 1960, pp. 70–74 and pls. 10–18.
15. Zebrowski 1981, pp. 170–71.
16. Rogers and Beveridge 1914, vol. 2, pp. 20–21.
17. Beach 1981, p. 217.
18. A slightly different translation of the inscription can be found in Zebrowski 1981, p. 173.
19. Barrett 1969, pp. 142–59.
20. Knizkova 1986, pp. 121–22.
21. Zebrowski 1983, p. 103. See also Hutton 2006, p. 73.
22. For attributions to these painters, see Zebrowski 1983, pp. 92–96 and 103–4.
23. Zebrowski 1981, p. 172 and n. 12, states that it was "hastily scrawled on the border." The inscription is actually located in a very small black linear cartouche drawn over the gold sky and partially trimmed by the right-hand margin just above the green hillside. It can be faintly seen under strong magnification in the facsimile in Akhimushkin 1996, pl. 95. For an enlarged illustration and discussion, see Soudavar 1999, pp. 59–66.
24. Zebrowski 1983, p. 100, figs. 76 and 77, Figure 77 is copied from an original by Subhan 'Ali in the

25. Seyller 1995, pp. 319–41.
26. Akhimushkin [Milan] 1996, f. 2a, pp. 29, 97; vol. 2, p. 83.
27. Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 170.
28. Ghani 1929–30, Appendix C, *Khvan-e Khalil*, vol. 3, pp. 462–63.
29. Rad et al. 2005, p. 444.
30. The dispersed pages are discussed in Leach 1998, pp. 32–33. For Bal'ami's description, which closely matches Farrukh Beg's painting, see *Tarikhnameh-ye Tabari gardanideh-i mansub bih Bal'ami*, edited by Muhammad Rowshan (Tehran: Nashr-i Naw, 1989), vol. 1, p. 347.
31. See also Rad 2005, p. 460, attributable to Farrukh Chela, and p. 565, attributable to Farrukh Beg. It is likely that the illustration of a decapitation in the Berlin portion of the album is from the same dispersed manuscript. See Kühnel and Goetz 1926, p. 16b. See also pls. 128b and 128c in Soudavar 1992, which are also likely to have been made for this manuscript and can be considered as within Farrukh Beg's oeuvre.
32. The command was given by Akbar in A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582). See Lowe 1899, vol. 2, pp. 310 and 406–7. For a list of dispersed pages, see Beach 1981, pp. 97–99.
33. Skelton 1957, pp. 399–400, referring to Coomaraswamy 1930, vol. 6, p. 35, no. LV, pl. XXV; Gray 1950, p. 154, no. 688.
34. Skelton 2003, p. 259.
35. Coomaraswamy 1930, vol. 6, p. 30, and pl. XL.
36. Gray 1950, p. 140, no. 665.
37. Soudavar 1999, pp. 49–66, pl. XXX, and Soudavar 2002, p. 112, fig. 5. For catalogue entries quoting the inscriptions, see Atabai 1974–75, p. 307, no. 199, and p. 358, no. 234.
38. Stchoukine 1929, pl. XXXVb; Pinder-Wilson 1976, p. 66, no. 102; Suleiman 1969, pl. 1.
39. Rad et al. 2005, p. 456. See also Riza's portrait of Mirza Kamran in the Chester Beatty Library (Leach 1995, vol. 1, p. 412), which echoes some aspects of Farrukh's later work.
40. Skelton 1957, p. 402.
41. Rad et al. 2005, p. 456.

Salar Jang Museum. See Khandalavala 1983, p. 15, pl. 14.

Navina Najat Haidar

The *Kitab-i Nauras*: Key to Bijapur's Golden Age

Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (r. 1580–1627) has been portrayed by both contemporary and later sources as a religiously unorthodox and inspired patron of art and music who drew many talents to his court at Bijapur. Contemporary portraits appear to confirm the sultan's reported passions. For instance, in the famous painting formerly in the Bikaner collection, Ibrahim is portrayed with four strands of *rudraksha* beads around his neck, dried berries associated with Shaivite practice (fig. 1).[1] In another portrait in the British Museum he is shown holding castanets of the type used to accompany the singing of *bhajan*s, or devotional hymns, in Hindu temples (fig. 2).[2] Together the works acknowledge Ibrahim's musicality and closeness to Hindu customs and also stand as testament to the distinctive Bijapuri painting style that developed in his time. Ibrahim seems to have surpassed the Mughals as a patron of music in his highly personal devotion to the art, the route for his devotion to the goddess Saraswati as symbol of music and learning, which won him the popular epithet of *jagat guru* (teacher of the world).

At about the turn of the sixteenth century Ibrahim is credited with having composed the *Kitab-i Nauras*, a collection of fifty-nine devotional songs and seventeen couplets, which takes its title from the prevailing Indian aesthetic theory of nine "juices" (*rasa*) or essences.[3] This essay explores the importance of the *Kitab-i Nauras* at court through a newly identified imperial copy of the manuscript written out by the royal calligrapher and courtier Khalilullah. In addition, it examines a previously unknown masterpiece of Bijapur painting also associated with the text, depicting the goddess Saraswati and signed by the master painter Farrukh Husain (see fig. 13).

Aside from being the earliest musical work in Dakhni Urdu,[4] the *Kitab-i Nauras* exemplifies the rich syncretism of the period in an engaging text that is, in parts, highly visual in its imagery and metaphors. There are also many interesting allusions to Ibrahim's domestic and personal world, including to his wife and mother, Chand Sultan and Bari Sahib, and to his favorite elephant, Atash Khan, as well as his attachment to his musical instrument, Moti Khan. Ibrahim's somewhat eclectic religiosity is expressed from the opening dedication, which brings together references to Islamic and Hindu divines.[5] Thus we find the goddess Saraswati, the Prophet Muhammad, and the Sufi saint Gesu Daraz all invoked in the first song and *dohra* (couplet) and throughout the course of the text as well.[6] While little is known of the actual performances of the songs themselves, the Mughal emperor Jahangir remarked upon Ibrahim's reported ability in the *dhrupad* singing style.[7]

Of the approximately ten early manuscripts of the *Kitab-i Nauras*, the earliest copy, in the Salar Jang Museum,[8] dates to A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582), although there remains some disagreement about the precise reading of the date (fig. 3). This fairly spare copy written out by Abdul Rashid is executed in fine *naskh* calligraphy, with headings enclosed in gold-ruled compartments,

Fig. 1. *Procession of Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II*. Bijapur, ca. 1595. Private collection, London

Fig. 2. *Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II Holds Castanets*. Bijapur, ca. 1610–20. 6¾ × 4 in. (17 × 10.2 cm). The British Museum, London (1937 4–1002)

similar to that of other manuscripts produced at the court in the period.[9] Reportedly Ibrahim's own preference for the *Kitab-i Nauras* was in *naskh*-style calligraphy, with each page containing seven lines of text.[10] Ibrahim is understood to have been accomplished in at least three styles of calligraphy, although thus far no surviving specimens of his hand are known.[11] The prevailing taste in calligraphy at Bijapur is further confirmed by evidence in the

Muraqqa'-yi 'Adil Shahi in the Salar Jang Museum (fig. 4).[12] This album, which is comprised of works almost entirely from the Ibrahim period, including by several copyists of the *Kitab-i Nauras*, is overwhelmingly filled with examples of *naskh* and *raihan* calligraphy within its Ottoman-inspired swirling marbled borders.[13]

The majority of the manuscript copies of the *Kitab-i Nauras* that follow appear largely to take after the earliest model. They tend

Fig. 3. Abdul Rashid, calligrapher, folio from a manuscript of the *Kitab-i Nauras*. Bijapur, dated 1582(?). Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad

to be executed in *naskh* or *raihan* calligraphy (one, exceptionally, contains interlinear *devanagari*) with bold and sometimes over-sized letters in compartments placed on fairly sizable pages, with generally seven lines of text per page, and without accompanying illustrations.[14] None of these manuscripts shows evidence of large-scale illumination either, although there are some illuminated head pieces and minor decorative elements. On the basis of these various copies, which

differ slightly from each other in the internal arrangement and number of songs, Nazir Ahmad, the principle investigator of this material, has derived the total number of songs (fifty-nine). His numeration system is cited here. Ahmad's survey has also given us the names of contemporary copyists of the manuscript: Ismatullah, Abdul Latif Mustafa, and Abdul Halim, among others.[15]

In addition to these known copies, intriguing references have been made to another unusual and lavishly illuminated copy of the *Kitab-i Nauras*, written out in *nasta'liq*-style calligraphy by the Bijapur royal calligrapher Khalilullah *but-shikan* ("idol-destroyer"). It was presented to Sultan Ibrahim in A.H. 1027 (A.D. 1617), almost twenty years after its composition, who reportedly gave the calligrapher the title of *badshah-i qalam* ("king of the pen") as a sign of his pleasure.[16] It was therefore an exciting revelation when six pages (figs. 5–10) of this now dispersed royal-level manuscript copied by Khalilullah recently came to light in the National Museum, Delhi. Along with a double-sided folio in the Benkaim collection (fig. 11),[17] this group can definitively be identified as such, especially since the colophon page (fig. 10) is among the folios.[18] Furthermore, each folio is distinguished by high quality illumination, mainly in gold, which consists of a virtual forest of plants, animals, birds, and arabesques. The colophon mentions the name of Khalil-ullah in a Perso-Arabic formula recognizable from some of his other works: *kamtarin sh... akir khalilullah ghafar Allah dhunubahu wa satara 'uyubahu* ("work of [the grateful?] Khalilullah, may God forgive his sins and conceal his failings"). The fact that the colophon follows the end of *dohra* 16, before the final known song and another final *dohra*, bears out the observation that the text was continually added to with differences in arrangement and number of songs even in contemporaneous versions. The colophon page also contains one of the most original and influential motifs of Deccani

Fig. 4. Double folio from the *Muraqqaʿ-yi ʿAdil Shahi*. Bijapur, first half of 17th century. Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad

illumination, that of a flowering vase covered in springing arabesques in red and gold (see figs. 10 and 22).

Mention of Shah Khalilullah Khushnavis occurs in several of the primary sources on Bijapur and also in some major treatises on calligraphers. Most of these references have been discussed in the only modern article on the calligrapher.[19] He achieved such favor at court as to have been included in a list of the sultan's six closest companions by Bijapur's poet laureate, Nur al-Din Muhammad Zuhuri.[20] Khalilullah, who was descended from a Sayyid family of Barkharz (in present-day Afghanistan) arrived in Bijapur in 1596 after an early training in Khurasan.[21] Like Zuhuri himself, Khalilullah was formerly associated with the court of Shah ʿAbbas I (r. 1587–1629) in Iran, reportedly leaving after finding inadequate patronage

and interest from the Persian sovereign. At Bijapur Khalilullah acted not just as calligrapher but also as erstwhile ambassador at large, returning to Shah ʿAbbas's court possibly twice as part of an ʿAdil Shahi embassy.[22] His status as court official is confirmed by the fact that he was entrusted with delivering an important letter requesting help against the threat of Mughal incursions from the north.[23] In Zuhuri's description of Khalilullah, however, it is his calligraphy that takes first mention.

Occurring significantly enough in Zuhuri's celebrated preface to the *Kitab-i Nauras*, the *Seh Nasr*, Khalilullah is listed third among the six companions of the king and described as a master of *nastaʿliq*-style penmanship.[24] In his classically metaphorical manner Zuhuri says of Khalilullah: "If he wrote the word *thorn*, it pricked into the

Fig. 5. Khalilullah, calligra-
pher, folio from the *Kitab-i
Nauras*. Bijapur, ca. 1618. Ink,
gold, and color on paper,
h. 5¼ in. (13.5 cm). National
Museum, New Delhi

Fig. 6. Khalilullah, calligra-
pher, folio from the *Kitab-i
Nauras*. Bijapur, ca. 1618. Ink,
gold, and color on paper,
h. 5¼ in. (13.5 cm). National
Museum, New Delhi

Fig. 7. Khalilullah, calligra-
pher, folio from the *Kitab-i
Nauras*. Bijapur, ca. 1618. Ink,
gold, and color on paper,
h. 5¼ in. (13.5 cm). National
Museum, New Delhi

Fig. 8. Khalilullah, calligra-
pher, folio from the *Kitab-i
Nauras*. Bijapur, ca. 1618. Ink,
gold, and color on paper,
h. 5¼ in. (13.5 cm). National
Museum, New Delhi

Fig. 9. Khalilullah, calligrapher, folio from the *Kitab-i Nauras*. Bijapur, ca. 1618. Ink, gold, and color on paper, h. 5¼ in. (13.5 cm). National Museum, New Delhi
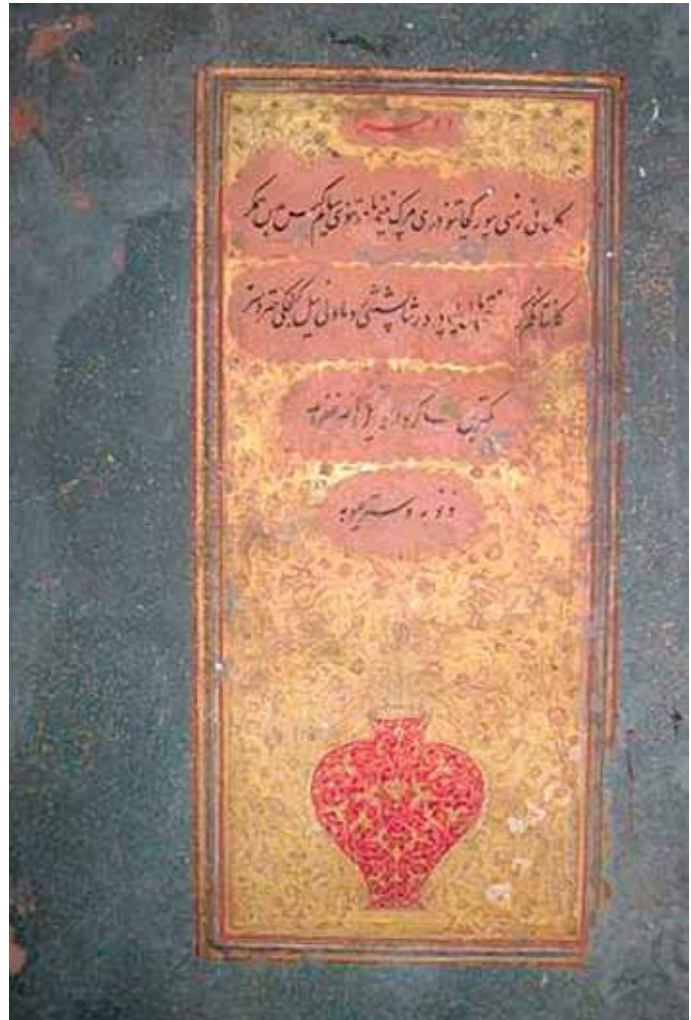
Fig. 10. Khalilullah, calligrapher, colophon page from the *Kitab-i Nauras* with vase illumination. Bijapur, ca. 1618. Ink, gold, and color on paper, h. 5¼ in. (13.5 cm). National Museum, New Delhi
INSCRIBED: *kamtarin sh . . . akir khalilullah ghafar Allah dhunubahu wa satara ʻuyubahu*

heart of the enemy. If he wrote the word *flower* it blossomed on the face of a friend." Closer to a stylistic description is the following: "His writing looked so thin that it seemed as if a book was written on every page thereof, but in reality it was so bold that it could be read on the forehead of the sky." For all his renown as a calligrapher there remain only a few works that can be attributed to Khalilullah in his Deccan period of which the copying of the *Kitab-i Nauras* is the most illustrious.[25] His courtly roles as an eminent émigré and erstwhile diplomat may have enhanced the standing

Fig. 11. Khalilullah, calligrapher, folio (*left*, front; *right*, reverse) from the *Kitab-i Nauras*. Bijapur, ca. 1618. Ink, gold, and color on paper, 5¼ × 2¼ in. (13.4 × 5.6 cm). Benkaim collection, California
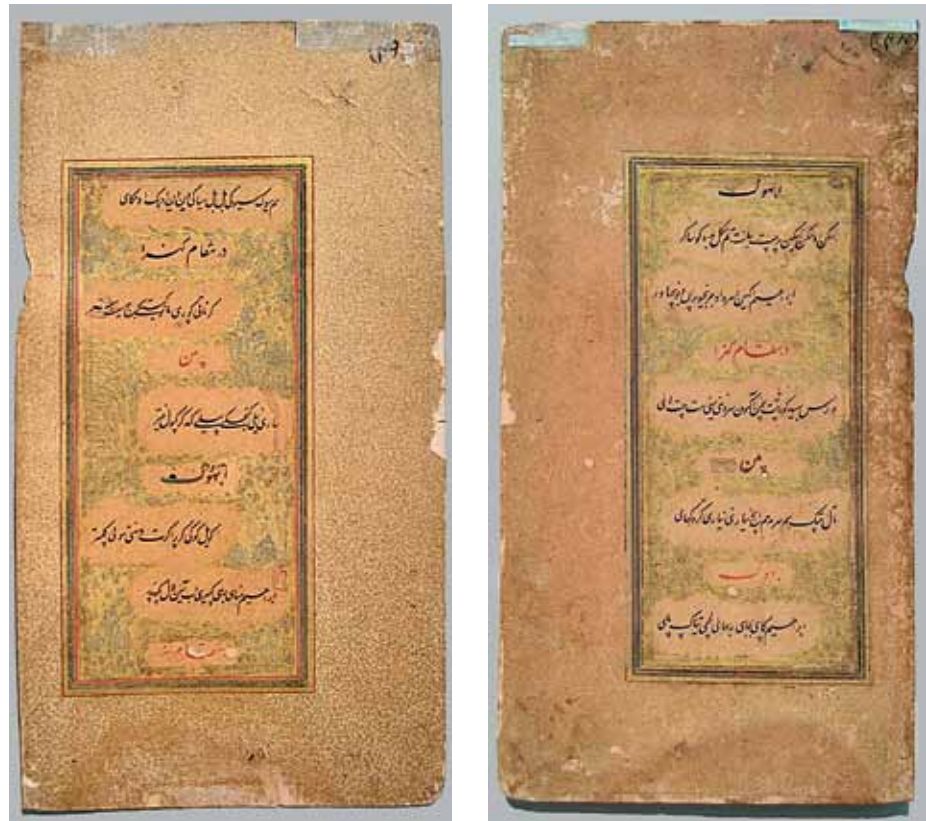
of his calligraphy, which, while of good quality, has an overall less formal character than is seen in the polished precision of the *nasta'liq* of such contemporaries as Muhammad Husain *Zarin Qalam* at the Mughal court.

The Khalilullah pages of the *Kitab-i Nauras* are small, less than than 5½ inches (13.5 cm) high, and are mounted within gold-sprinkled borders that show signs of having been patched up over the years. Each folio contains usually nine lines (a deviation from the usual seven) of slightly uneven letters with internal section headings, such as *maqam*, *abhog*, or *ven*, distinguished in colored ink. Songs spill over from one page to the next, and spellings of the same word can vary.[26] The bare support paper is visible

around each line of text in a manner similar to that of the earliest *Kitab-i Nauras* manuscript written out by Abdul Rashid (fig. 3).

The illumination itself, which occurs on all seven known pages, is of remarkably high quality and distinctive character. Executed primarily in gold with very fine drawing etched in black, the pages are filled with tiny birds, animals, fish, clouds, and flowers. In the Benkaim page (figs. 11, 12), for example, it is possible to detect eight different species of birds and twelve types of plants, some of which are fantastical: among the birds and animals are foxes, cranes, ducks, hovering birds, and crested fowl. Similarly, the plants include varieties of prunus, palm trees, reeds, and irises. Integrated into the foliage are

Sultans of the South: Arts of India's Deccan Courts, 1323–1687
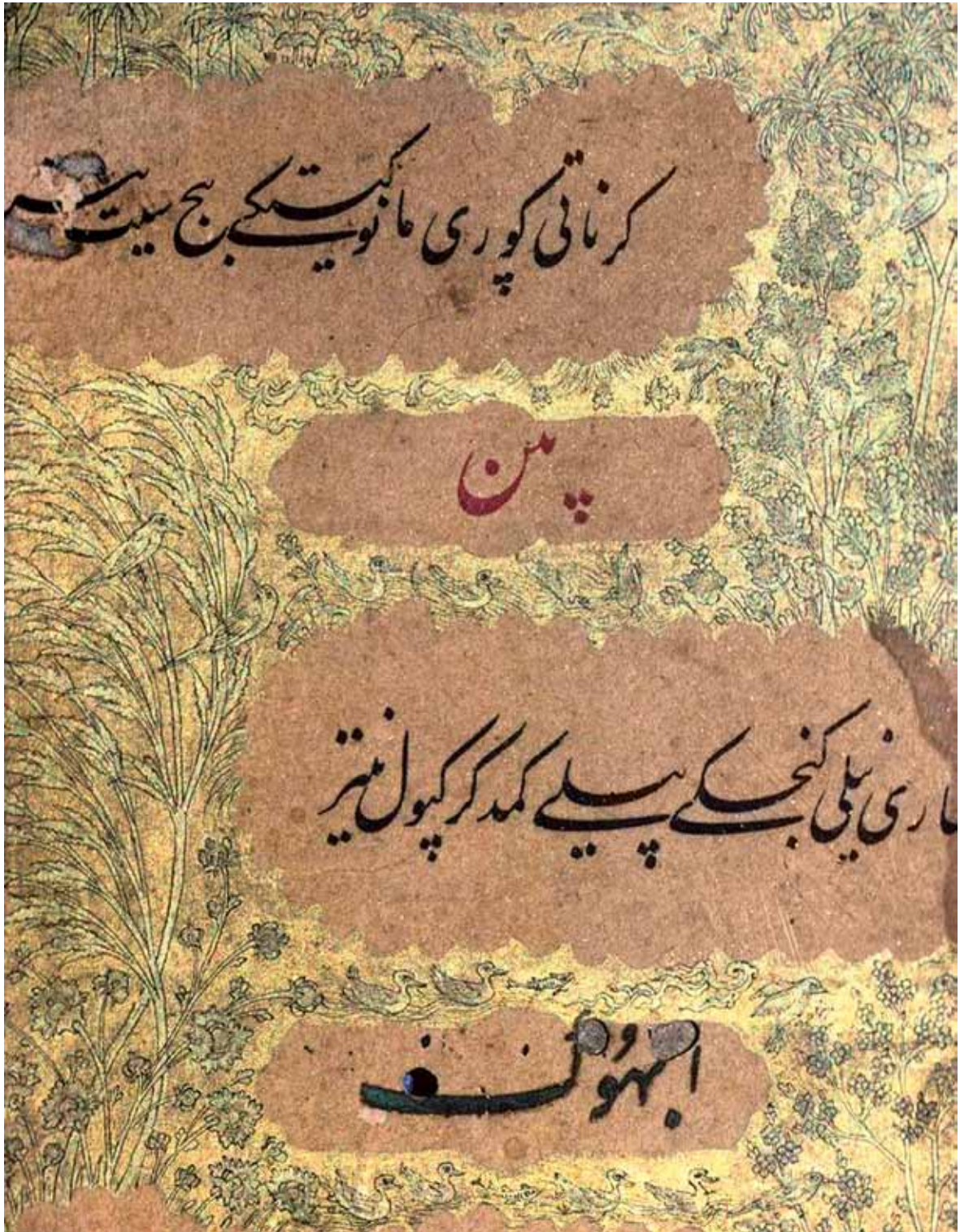
Fig. 12. Illumination with details of birds, fish, and plant (detail of fig. 11)

Turkman-style blossoms and other stylized plants that come from a wider repertoire of Islamic painting. Chinese-style cloud bands occur frequently; more rare are tiny fish and even a monkey climbing a tree. In its character the illumination, although far more naturalistic, appears to be partly drawing inspiration from earlier Persian styles of the Timurid period.[27] Close details from the same page (fig. 12) reveal some of the richness of the imagery: at the top are two herons near palm trees, while in the water below are ducks and fish; chinoiserie clouds are seen nearby; hovering birds and woodpeckers are in the flowering bush on the right; Turkman-style blossoms spring out between the stalks of reeds on the left. The opulent use of gold and an illumination-like effect of black and gold patterning are also seen on fine courtly objects of the period, such as a vambrace of steel overlaid with gold. (See fig. 1 in essay by Robert Elgood.)

As mentioned above, no illustration has previously been known to have accompanied the *Kitab-i Nauras*, but an important painting that has recently come to light incorporates part of the text of song 56, thus making it the first identifiable work of this kind (fig. 13). This major work from the royal collection at Jaipur portraying the goddess Saraswati is ascribed to Bijapur's leading artist, Maulana Farrukh Husain (who has also been identified by some scholars as Farrukh Beg) and who also figures in Zuhuri's list of Ibrahim's six companions, ranking fourth, right after Khalilullah.[28] Representing artistic merit and complex imagery of a high order, this painting can arguably be regarded as the apex of Bijapur painting and a pinnacle of Indian art as a whole, as well as an extraordinary innovation for the formerly Mughal- and Persian-trained painter Farrukh Husain.[29]

The painting depicts Saraswati dressed in white, symbol of her purity, and seated upon an ornate golden walled throne of hexagonal shape based on a type seen in representations of imperial thrones of the sixteenth century.[30] Her four arms each hold one of her attributes, her multiple symbols as goddess of learning and music: the *vina*, a book, a rosary, a conch, and, additionally, a lotus. Her *vahana* or vehicle, a peacock,[31] is shown below the throne, while oversized blue and white vases decorated with painted foxes and containing round bunches of flowers are on either side. An attendant on the right appears to be pouring an offering from a jeweled ewer. Birds seated on finials on each side of the throne may also be symbols associated with the goddess.[32] The stairs leading up to the throne contain an inscription (the placement of which ties in with Mughal examples) giving the name of Farrukh Husain as the painter: *kamtarin farrukh husain musavvir-i ibrahim 'adil shahi* ("the humble Farrukh Husain painter of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah"; the words *ibrahim* and *shahi* are placed above).[33] Two Persianate angels hold up a tassled brocade; between their wings, on an illuminated panel in gold in *nasta'liq*, are the words from song 56 of the *Kitab-i Nauras*[34] establishing the subject of the composition and its link with the text: "Ibrahim whose father is guru Ganapati [Ganesh], and mother the pure Saraswati" (*Ibrahim ko got pita dev guru ganapati mata pavitra sarsuti*).

Further still: the framed central section at the top of the Saraswati painting integrates a masterful composition depicting a figure riding upon a heavily jeweled elephant in a landscape with another elephant in the background (fig. 14). Almost certainly the rider is Ibrahim himself mounted upon his favorite elephant Atash Khan (with his mate Chanchal in the background), who is mentioned liberally in the text of the *Kitab-i Nauras* and also referred to in this very verse as his vehicle (*vahan hati*).[35] It is apparent that this elephant and rider composition is an almost mirror-reversed version in miniature of another well-known painting attributable to Farrukh Husain showing the same subject (fig. 15). Both compositions depict Ibrahim riding Atash Khan, with Chanchal appearing as a demure and shadowy presence in
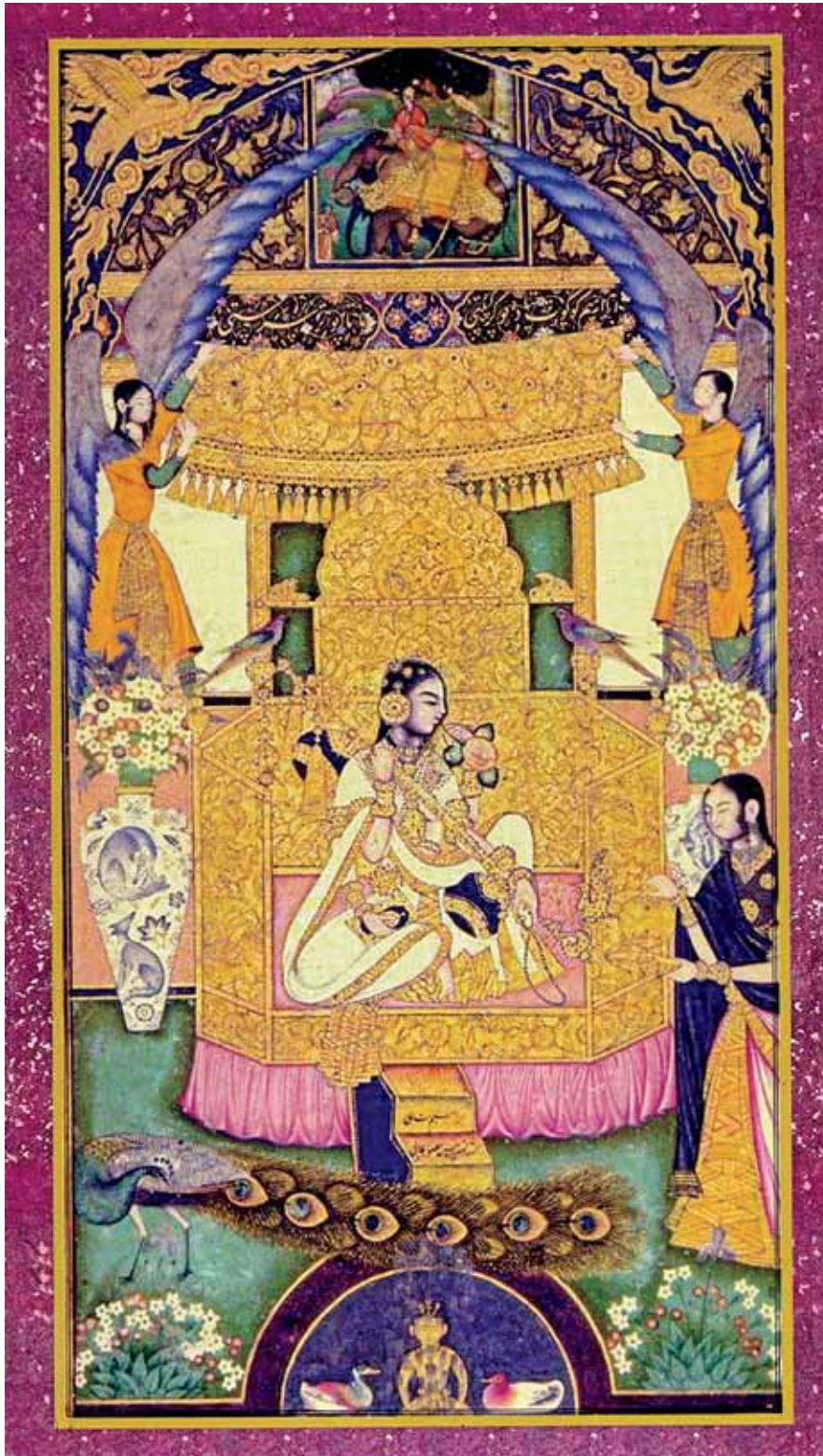
Fig. 13. Farrukh Husain, *Saraswati Plays on a* Vina. Bijapur, ca. 1604. Ink, opaque colors, and gold on paper, 9¼ × 6¼ in. (23.6 × 15.8 cm). Brig. Sawai Bhawani Singh of Jaipur, City Palace, Jaipur (JC–1/RJS.1326–RM 177) INSCRIBED: On stairs*, kamtarin farrukh husain musavvir-i ibrahim 'adil shahi* (humble Farrukh Husain, painter of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah); on panel, *Ibrahim ko got pita dev guru ganapati mata pavitra sarsuti* (Ibrahim, whose father is guru Ganapati [Ganesh], and his mother pious Saraswati)

Fig. 14. Elephants and rider in a landscape (detail of fig. 13)

Fig. 15. Attributed to Farrukh Husain, *Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II Riding an Elephant*. Bijapur, ca. 1604. Ink, opaque colors, and gold on paper, 5½ × 4⅛ in. (14.1 × 10.5 cm). Private collection

the background. From the account of the Mughal envoy to the Deccan, Asad Beg, we learn that Chanchal was sent by Ibrahim under some duress to the Mughal emperor Akbar in 1604. Therefore both this and the Saraswati painting can be dated to sometime before the departure of the sultan's elephant, as can another celebrated painting of the same subject (fig. 16).³⁶

An analysis of this complex Saraswati image (fig. 13) reveals many of the primary themes that dominated Ibrahim's Bijapur and that are reflected in the *Kitab-i Nauras* and its related artistic traditions. The central importance of music to Ibrahim and of Saraswati as a potent symbol for the period is apparent from the name of the state—Bijapur being derived from the word Vidyapur, or city of

learning—to the culture of music that is reported to have been at the very core of Ibrahim himself.³⁷ Most strikingly, the hybridity of references and styles, from Hindu and Islamic spheres, combined with the sultan's own presence in the painting, along with his elephants and the highly personalized textual reference to the *Kitab-i Nauras*, show Farrukh Husain's masterful visualization of the idealized vision of self, state, and culture that Ibrahim espoused.³⁸

In terms of Farrukh Husain's work, this painting represents both a development and a departure from his accomplishments thus far. The subject matter, interior setting, feminine figure, and juxtaposition of mixed elements are rare in his oeuvre. In addition, passages of illumination-like decoration, for

Fig. 16. Attributed to Farrukh Husain, *Portrait of an Elephant, either Atash Khan or Chanchal*. Bijapur, ca. 1600–1604. Ink, colors, and gold on paper, 5½ × 4⅛ in. (14.1 × 10.5 cm). Formerly in the Sitaram Sahu collection (now missing)

instance, on the throne or textile, are somewhat unusual for him, perhaps indicating collaboration with another master. The figure style, however, is familiar from his hand, especially the small shadowy heads with a dark corona along the edge, slender forms somewhat stylized and sometimes with a recognizable forward-leaning stance.[39] The treatment of the flowering plants in the foreground is another familiar element, but also one that was adopted by several later followers.[40] The figure of Saraswati itself follows no known established pictorial model (and deviates from more common sculptural versions that usually show the goddess standing as an attendant to Vishnu) and appears to be closely based on descriptions in the text, specifically song 53, which mentions her white dress, her four hands, her vehicle, her throne, her jewels, and her abode;[41] song 37, which describes her as a "fully blossomed white flower";[42] and *dohra* 17, where she is described as robed in a white dress, holding a book in one hand, a garland or rosary in another, a conch in a third, and a lotus flower in the fourth.[43] At the same time, however, in what remains his only known feminine subject, Farrukh Husain has evoked the bejeweled Saraswati in the form of a royal Deccan princess.[44] The angels in the picture may also be drawn from the text of song 17 in praise of the shrine of Gesu Daraz, which

Fig. 17. Farrukh Beg, as ascribed by Muhammad Husain *Zarin Qalam*. *Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah Playing the Tambur*. Bijapur, 1595–1600 (painting). Ink, colors, and gold on paper, 5½ × 5⅞ in. (14 × 14.8 cm). Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Culture, Prague (A. 12182)

Fig. 18. Sultan Ibrahim's red fingernails (detail of fig. 17)

is described as being attended on by angels (*bihisht darvaz firishta khidmatgari*). The small size of the painting in its folio (9¼ × 6¼ inches [23.6 × 15.8 cm]) and the presence of *nasta'liq* writing suggest a relationship with Khalilullah's manuscript, even though there may be fifteen years between them. It is tempting to imagine that Khalilullah's hand executed the *nasta'liq* inscription on the Jaipur painting at an earlier stage in the calligrapher's career.

A subtle connection between the Jaipur Saraswati painting (fig. 13) and a famous picture in Prague of Ibrahim playing his favorite musical instrument, Moti Khan (fig. 17, which is inscribed as being the work of Farrukh Beg), has also become evident. The Prague picture appears to shows awareness of song 56, the same song of which the Jaipur painting is an illustration: "In one hand he has a musical instrument, in the other a book from which he reads and sings songs related to 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 god Ganesh and mother the pious Saraswati has a rosary of crystal round his neck, a city like Vidyapur, and an elephant as his vehicle." While the Prague composition is not an exact illustration of the verses, certain key elements do correspond, such as the description of Ibrahim holding a musical instrument, which is often mentioned in the *Kitab-i Nauras*. The reference to blackened teeth probably refers to the use of *missi*, a beautification technique similar to the application of kohl around the eyes.[45] Most striking, however, is the reference in the text to the sultan's red nails, which appear in the painting itself (fig. 18).[46] This highly unusual feature, visible in close-up, is not seen in other paintings of Ibrahim. Here, the heavily jeweled fingers are tipped with red nails, clearly not hennaed fingertips, as are sometimes seen in Indian painting. Robert Skelton's speculation that the coloring of nails in this manner may be connected in some way to the world of music or musicians is borne out

Fig. 19. Asar Mahal, Bijapur, completed 1647
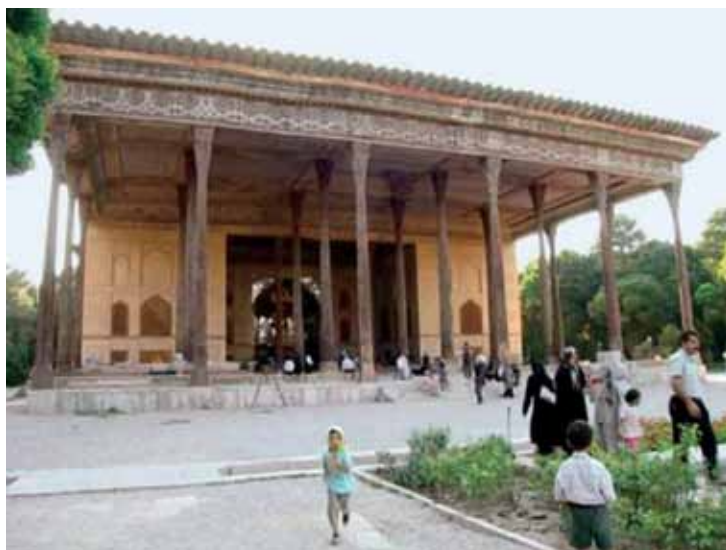
Fig. 20. Chihil Sutun, Isfahan, completed 1648

by similar features in other comparative works.[47] This small but significant detail adds one more piece of evidence supporting the longstanding speculation over the possibility that Farrukh Husain and Farrukh Beg are the same artist.[48] The related content of the two works, which stylistically are quite
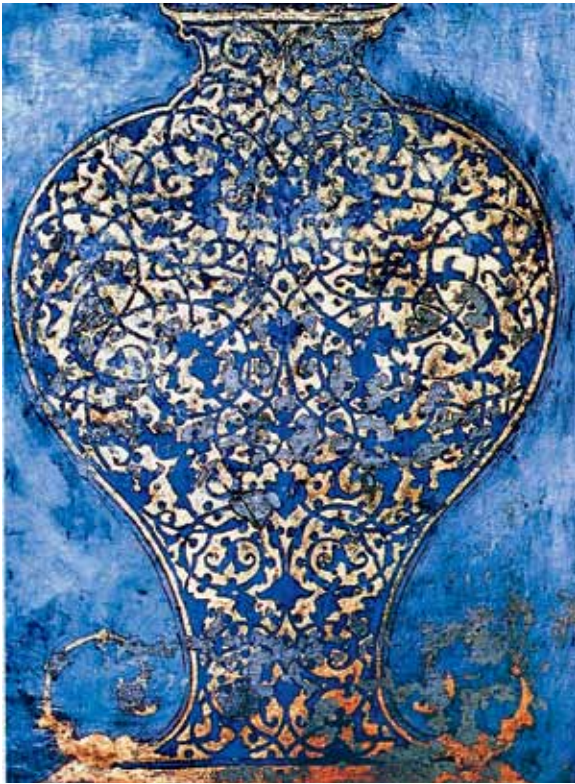
Fig. 21. Arabesque vase motif, detail of wall painting. Interior upper chamber of Asar Mahal, Bijapur

Fig. 22. Arabesque vase motif (detail of fig. 10)

different, does suggest, however, that the artist had a sustained interest in these particular verses (song 56).

The reception of Khalilullah's copy of the *Kitab-i Nauras* can be partially judged by the impact key elements of the manuscript had upon Bijapur architectural decoration, particularly in the case of the Asar Mahal (fig. 19).[49] This pleasure palace built by Muhammad 'Adil Shah, possibly as an expansion of a smaller structure from the time of his father, Ibrahim, was completed in 1646, at practically the same time as the Chihil Sutun in Isfahan (fig. 20), with which it shares several similarities, including a tall porticoed entrance way. Like the Chihil Sutun, the Asar Mahal (and other buildings

at nearby Nauraspur) had figural wall paintings in some of its inner chambers, possibly the work of a European artist at court.[50] Within its interior, one particular central chamber in the Asar Mahal is painted with non-figural decoration on the walls that takes the form primarily of long leafy vines bearing blossoms and niches containing flowering vases. While a certain amount of modern retouching is evident, the basic elements do not appear to have been changed in form, judging from drawings of the murals prepared by Henry Cousens in the early part of the twentieth century.[51] Most strikingly, a painted mural (fig. 21) on the walls of the Asar Mahal is virtually identical in design to the central illuminated vase motif

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on the colophon page of the Khalilullah *Kitab-i Nauras* manuscript (fig. 22, detail).[52] Quite possibly this indicates a recognition in its own time of the work of the great, and as yet anonymous, illuminator of Khalilullah's imperial copy. The connection between illumination and wall painting is further demonstrated in another painted vase on the walls of the Asar Mahal (fig. 23). This time, in contrast to the slender springing arabesques of the first example, the motif is articulated in broad blue and gold bands, powerfully interlocking to form its body. Clearly the scheme is a reference to the lapis and gold illumination that is almost ubiquitous in Islamic manuscripts at this time and may have also occurred in another folio of Khalilullah's copy of the *Kitab-i Nauras*.[53]

The coming together of major court figures around the *Kitab-i Nauras* is no accident. From Zuhuri we learn that the sultan imposed an obligation on scholars toward the *Kitab-i Nauras*,[54] indicating that the *Kitab-i Nauras* project was not merely the personal passion of the sultan but rather part of a wider court engagement. We have seen that at least three of the six figures listed by Zuhuri—Farrukh Husain, Khalilullah, and Zuhuri himself—had a direct role to play in connection with this grand project. And the application of the term *nauras* in matters of statehood (insignia, coinage, and city name) underscores the importance of the concept to the court and the wider, related artistic traditions of Bijapur. The new evidence presented here is fresh indication of the central importance of the *Kitab-i Nauras* as a key to court art and culture during Bijapur's golden age.

Fig. 23. Lapis and gold vase motif, detail of wall painting. Interior of upper chamber, Asar Mahal, Bijapur

1. Goetz 1950, p. 127, pl. VIII; Zebrowski 1983, p. 75, no. 50.
2. Zebrowski 1983, p. 72, pl. VIII.
3. The translations here are largely taken from the only existing monograph on the text by Dr. Nazir Ahmad, which includes a transliteration in both Persian and *nagari* script and a concise translation of each song (Nazir Ahmad 1956). The principal attribution to Ibrahim as author of the *Kitab-i Nauras* is found in the preface to the text, the *Seh*

Nasr, written by the courtier Maulana Nur al-Din Zuhuri (Ghani 1929–30, vol. 3, pp. 339–40). Rogers and Beveridge 1909–14, vol. 1, p. 272, indicate that Jahangir also accepted Ibrahim's authorship. Nazir Ahmad 1956, pp. 47, 85, questions and challenges the date inscribed in Abdul Rashid's manuscript, which, if accurate, would mean that Ibrahim was about eleven years old at the time of composition. Devare 1961, pp. 94–96, accepts authorship and offers extensive discussion of the text and its context. Matthews 1993, p. 93, accepts the authorship and discusses Ibrahim's individualistic writing

style, pointing out that it stands apart from the existing poetic and bardic traditions of the court. The *rasa* theory in Indian art is explored in Goswamy 1986. Thackston 1999, p. 164 n. 8, points out that the Persian word *nauras*, meaning "newly arrived," is often applied to fresh and verdant gardens. This interpretation also ties in with Zuhuri's description (Ghani 1929–30, p. 339)—"just the freshness of the meaning gives freshness to words, so the newness of the tunes that are associated with these verses, pearls be showered upon them . . ."—which implies, of course, that the term had many rich connotations for the audience.

4. The *Kitab-i Nauras* also stands as a book of music, with each song assigned a particular *raga* (melody) and musical structure. The assigned *raga* appears under the heading of *maqam*, or station, and at least two songs display structures that are derived from Persian rather than Indian music. The songs are interspersed with smaller *dohra*s. The multi-part form has headings indicating a division into sections called *ben*, *antara*, and *abhog*.

5. Nazir Ahmad 1956, p. 32. The *Kitab-i Nauras* is highly visual in parts, so much so that it is argued here that the tradition of *ragamala* painting may have evolved from the graphic descriptions of the musical modes, which are personified as deities with details of attributes, costume, and posture given in great detail. Gayani 1945, pp. 147–49, also discusses *ragamala* descriptions in the text.

6. The convention of invoking multiple deities at the beginning of a text is also seen in the contemporary genre of Sufi romances of the Deccan, such as the *Gulshan-i 'Ishq*.

7. Nazir Ahmad 1956, p. 32. Asad Beg (see Elliot and Dawson 1953, vol. 6, pp. 150–74) described ca. 1604 a musical soiree at court.

8. Nazir Ahmad 1956, pp. 84–86, describes this manuscript and several others and includes illustrations of them in black-and-white plates at the beginning of the book. Nazir Ahmad 1954 has some of the same information.

9. See previous note.

10. Nazir Ahmad 1956, pp. 35–36 and the unnumbered plate on the first page of illustrations; Abdul mentions (see ibid., p. 93) that the sultan wished that *naskh* be used for the copying of this text and that each page bear seven lines.

11. Devare 1961, pp. 90–91, mentions Ibrahim's skill in *naskh*, *thuluth*, and *nasta'liq* styles.

12. Nazir Ahmad 1956, opening plate, illustrates a folio from this album.

13. This album contains valuable seals and signatures of practically all the major court calligraphers, including several copyists of the *Kitab-i Nauras*. It still awaits scholarly attention.

14. Nazir Ahmad 1956 illustrates folios from various copies in his unnumbered plates.

15. Ibid., pp. 35–39.

16. Ibid., p. 37, mentions the existence of this copy, referring to the *Tazkira-i Khushnavisan*. Ahmad further mentions (p. 92) that a splendid version of the manuscript was possibly the same one as was bought by a Dr. Abdul Haq for 450 rupees. Devare 1961, pp. 91, 110, mentions Khalilullah as a leading calligrapher at the court. Slightly confusingly, Devare quotes (p. 1 n. 3) Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi (1892–93) as describing Sultan Ibrahim as *badshah-i qalam*.

17. Skelton 1982, p. 37, no. 43. I am grateful to Cathy Benkaim for providing images of excellent quality for my study. Welch 1985, p. 314, no. 211, illustrates a similar page from a related, but as yet unidentified, manuscript.

18. The songs on each page have been identified, as per Ahmad's numbering, as follows:
Fig. 10: Folio with colophon from the *Kitab-i Nauras*, dohra no. 16
Colophon: *Kamtarin sh... akir khalilullah ghafar Allah dhunubahu wa satara 'uyubahu*
"Work of [the grateful?] Khalilullah, may God forgive his sins and conceal his failings"
Fig. 9: Lines 1–7, song no. 54 (could not be correctly deciphered by Dr. Ahmad, p. 146); last 2 lines, song no. 55
Fig. 8: Lines 1–7, song no. 31, starting from the second line of the song (i.e., minus the first); line 8–9, song no. 30 (*maqam* followed by first line)
Fig. 7: Line 1, song no. 22 (second line of *ven*); lines 2–4, song no. 22; lines 5–9, song no. 21
Fig. 6: Lines 1–6, song no. 43 (minus heading); lines 7–9, song no. 42
Fig. 5: Lines 1–6, not identified; lines 7–9, *dohra* no. 17 (not translated by Ahmad)

19. Nazir Ahmad 1970a, pp. 35–55.

20. Ghani 1929–30, vol. 3, p. 460.

21. Interestingly, this region, particularly the village of Zara, contributed a number of artists to the Mughal court of Akbar.

22. Nazir Ahmad 1969, pp. 158–59, and Nazir Ahmad 1970a, pp. 46–48. Later in his Bijapur career, Khalilullah was sent back to Shah 'Abbas's court at Qazvin as part of an 'Adil Shahi embassy in A.H. 1018(?) and A.H. 1022–23. Khalilullah may in fact have made more than one trip to Iran. He subsequently left Iran in A.H. 1029–30 and returned to Bijapur, where he remained until his death, reportedly in A.H. 1035.

23. Nazir Ahmad 1970b, pp. 145–54.

24. Ghani 1929–30, vol. 3, pp. 461–62.

25. A calligraphic specimen by Khalilullah is in an album in the Islamisches Museum, Berlin.

26. The spelling variations may be due to the early stage of development of Deccani Urdu at this time.

27. Lentz and Lowry 1989, p. 164, fig. 53.

28. Literature on Farrukh Husain / Farrukh Beg includes Skelton 1957; Beach 1978; Welch 1985, pp. 221–25; Seyller 1995; and Soudavar 1999. See

also the essay on Farrukh Beg in this volume by Robert Skelton.

29. This work has not been seen or photographed in many years; the present image is derived from a recent publication (Singh 2004, no. 1326JC, pl. C) that has reprinted old existing negatives. I would like to thank Dr. Chandramani Singh and Bipin Shah for their assistance in obtaining a high-quality reproduction of the painting in the Lalit Kala Akademi Portfolio ("From the Collection of Maharaja of Jaipur"), undated but recently printed by the Jaigarh Charitable Trust.

30. Eaton 2005, p. 63, mentions the Turquoise Throne of the Bahmanis. As in the Mughal sphere, Deccan thrones were important symbols of authority.

31. In some traditions Saraswati's vehicle is a swan.

32. Nazir Ahmad 1956, p. 146 n. 1, points out that song 53 describes her holding a parrot, which, however, is not one of her traditional symbols.

33. Comparable Mughal inscriptions are generally placed low, below thrones or seats, as a sign of respect.

34. Nazir Ahmad 1956, pp. 146–47. .

35. Mention of Atash Khan occurs frequently in the *Kitab-i Nauras*, expressing Sultan Ibrahim's admiration and attachment to the great beast. For example, in song 7 the animal is evoked as a "shrewd and cunning hunter . . . striking his tusk against the earth and creating a triumphal sound." In song 45 Atash Khan is described besmeared with red powder as resplendent as the sun (*lal kor mukh kiye rang sendur aftab*), as speedy as eyesight (*uski jaldi bahut kar sake ko nazra*), and with sides like a lancet and tusks as sharp as spears (*baju dono aniyan dant sanin aab*). Nazir Ahmad 1956, pp. 132–33, song 9: "Having separated from Atash Khan [chief elephant] 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." Atash Khan appears to have died some time earlier, perhaps during the composition of the *Kitab-i Nauras*. Song 9 speaks of Ibrahim's pain at his separation from him, which possibly refers to his passing (Ahmad speculates about his drowning).

36. Mehta 1926, facing p. 106, pl. 47.

37. Hutton 2006, p. 70. Previously the name of the city was Vijayapur, or City of Victory, until changed by Ibrahim to Vidyapur in 1603–4.

38. Devare 1961, p. 105, mentions that some state *firman*s may have been inscribed with "*pujjya sri saraswati*" (honor of Saraswati).

39. Figure 8 in the essay by Robert Skelton illustrates a comparable work showing a similar figure style and shadowy modeling.

40. Canby 1998, p. 138, no. 102, illustrates a painting attributed to Muhammad 'Ali, an artist whose work is associated with Farrukh's style.

41. Nazir Ahmad 1956, p. 146.

42. Ibid., p. 141.

43. Ibid., p. 64. Independent images of Saraswati are generally rare in sculpture. She tends instead to appear as a subsidiary figure as part of a larger composition, usually showing Vishnu and together with the standing figure of Lakshmi.

44. The jewelry is south Indian in style, particularly the round gold disks in the hair.

45. I would like to thank Prashant Keshavamurti of McGill University for pointing out this practice.

46. These close-up details of the painting have been provided by Robert Skelton, whom I would like to thank, not only for providing images otherwise hard to find, but also for advice in shaping the material of this essay.

47. Topsfield 2004, p. 256, fig. 9. This later image of ca. 1715 from Udaipur shows the musicians Kan, Chand, and Piro in performance, with red nails clearly visible on one musician. Thanks to Adela Qureshi and Robert Skelton for this reference.

48. See note 29 above.

49. Michell and Zebrowski 1999, pp. 140–44, pl. 12.

50. Hutton 2006, p. 116.

51. Cousens 1889; Cousens 1890; Cousens 1976.

52. I am grateful to Robert Skelton for providing some of these images. Welch (1985, p. 307) suggests a possible hand for these wall paintings. The Asar Mahal has housed a relic of the Prophet Muhammad since the late seventeenth century and has consequently been inaccessible to women.

53. Such illumination designs were often transferred to the depiction of textiles, as shown on a tent panel from a sixteenth-century illustrated manuscript of Jami's *Haft Awrang* in the Freer Gallery in Washington (Welch 1978, p. 113, pl. 41), but less so to wall painting. The particular shape of this vase motif, which was popular in Mughal design as well, may have evolved from West Asian precedents. See Zebrowski 1997, pp. 194–95, figs. 293–296.

54. Ghani 1929–30, vol. 3, p. 339.

Deborah Hutton

The *Pem Nem*: A Sixteenth-Century Illustrated Romance from Bijapur

The *Pem Nem*, translatable as "The Laws of Love" or "The Rule of Love," is a unique, illustrated Sufi romance created at the 'Adil Shahi court of Bijapur between about 1591 and 1604. While the Dakhni Urdu manuscript comes with interpretive challenges, the *Pem Nem* and its innovative imagery are crucial pieces of evidence for an understanding of Bijapur's artistic development, as this essay will explore. First, the manuscript's thirty-four illustrations feature early versions of stylistic elements and visual motifs found in later, more celebrated single-page paintings from the Deccan kingdom and, thus, afford us with a larger context in which to situate such works. Second, the romance's images, when considered together with the text, highlight the close relationship between painting and Sufi concepts, as well as between visual and poetic metaphors, within 'Adil Shahi courtly culture. These close relationships, in turn, offer one explanation for the distinctive visual qualities that art historians have come to associate with Bijapuri painting specifically, and Deccan painting more generally. Finally, the *Pem Nem*'s illustrations prompt some intriguing questions regarding gender and audience.

Currently housed in the British Library (Add. 16880) and containing 239 folios, the *Pem Nem* belongs to the *Prem Marg*, or Path of Love, genre of Sufi literature. Works of this type employ the *masnavi* format, a narrative poem in rhyming couplets, to tell a love story that mirrors the quest of the Sufi for union with God. While illustrated *masnavi*s were fairly common throughout the early modern Persianate world, the *Pem Nem* is one of a kind; no other copies of the exact story, illustrated or not, survive.[1] Moreover, no other works by the *Pem Nem*'s author, Hasan Manjhu Khalji, are known.

The manuscript's attribution to 1590s Bijapur is based on information given in the *masnavi*'s prose introduction by Khalji, who adopted the pen name Hans. He does not specifically identify the manuscript's patron, but he does devote considerable space to praising both Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (r. 1580–1627) and the city of Bijapur, thereby making the place of production clear. The author further asserts that he completed the *Pem Nem* in A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590–91). The year 999, however, was probably chosen as much for its symbolic power as for its factual accuracy. Like the rest of Bijapur's court during the reign of Ibrahim II, the poet Hans seems to have reveled in the number nine: he begins the introduction by listing the 99 names of God and later states that the body of the *masnavi* contains 199 *doha*s, or couplets, and 999 *chaupai*s, or quatrains.[2] The fixation on the number nine directly related to the popularity of the poetic term *nauras*, which during Ibrahim's reign referred to the nine *rasa*s (essences) of Indian music and art as well as to the idea of a new flavor or fashion. In the introduction Khalji even specifically mentions Ibrahim's love of *nauras*.[3] While the year 999 cannot, then, be taken as certain, the author's reference to Ibrahim's elephant Chanchal means that the

manuscript had to be completed (or at least begun) by 1604, the year Ibrahim gifted the elephant to the Mughal emperor Akbar on the occasion of the marriage of Ibrahim's daughter to Akbar's son.[4] Thus, the *Pem Nem* is securely datable to about 1591–1604.

The *Pem Nem*'s paintings (generally ink, opaque watercolor, gold, and silver on paper) date to about 1591–1604 as well, although this dating comes with caveats. The thirty-four, mostly full-page illustrations, done by three distinct artists of varying talents, were not painted directly on the manuscript's folios (9½ × 6¼ in. [24 × 16 cm]). Rather, they were painted on separate pieces of paper that were then pasted onto the folios (see, for example, fig. 31 and detail, p. 46: the edges of the pasted paper are visible where the handles of the palanquin extend beyond the borders).[5] Because of this structure, it is impossible to know with certainty whether all the paintings were completed with the text. Additionally, a few of the illustrations contain over-painting (see, for example, the curtain and tops of the trees painted in red atop the gold in fig. 35), the date of which is unknown. Nonetheless, based on close stylistic affinities with other Bijapuri paintings from the late sixteenth century, the bulk of the painting can be assumed to correspond with the date of the text.[6]

That text is penned in elegant, clear calligraphy, with the lines well spaced on the page and framed with a simple gold and blue border (see, for example, fig. 1, the page of text directly preceding the *Pem Nem*'s first illustration).[7] Yet, despite the clarity of the script, the poem is very difficult to read today. Hans composed the *masnavi* in an obscure, early form of Dakhni Urdu that seems to contain a large number of words from Marathi and other local dialects of the period. The linguist David Matthews, who has extensively analyzed the *Pem Nem*, has concluded that it is unlike other Dakhni writings from the period, apart from a few verses from the *Kitab-i Nauras*, the book of poems attributed to Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II.[8]
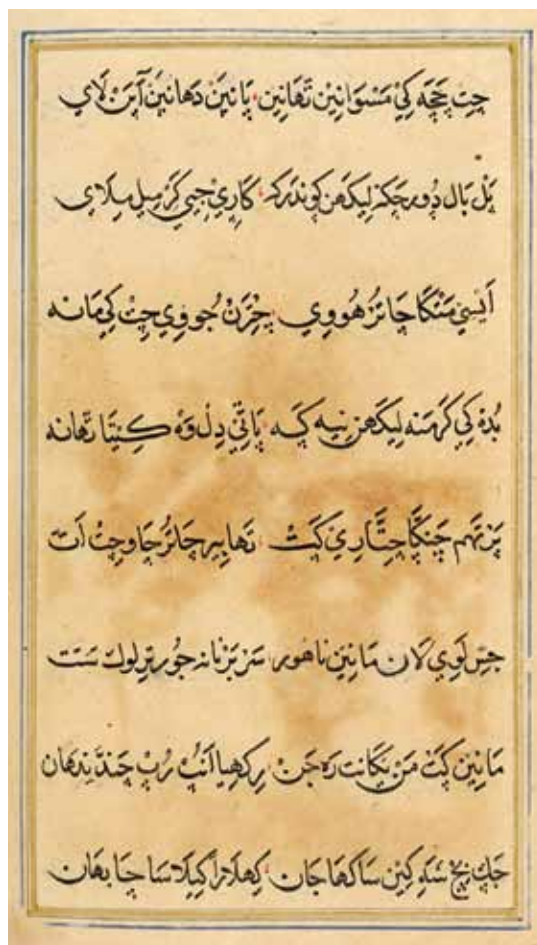
Fig. 1. Page of calligraphy from the *Pem Nem* (fol. 45v). All folios British Library (Add. 16880)

Edges of the pasted paper are visible around the extended handles of the palanquin (detail of fig. 31)

Adding to the difficulty, periodically Hans includes a line containing a series of one-syllable rhyming words, such as "*shah jal bal bal pal tal mal*," that seem to defy interpretation and may have been a type of wordplay.

While we do not have a complete line-for-line translation of the text, we do have a solid understanding of the story, which follows the general pattern of the *Prem Marg* genre. In this case, the lover is a prince named Shah Ji, and the beloved for whom he searches is a princess named Mah Ji—the names Shah Ji and Mah Ji reflecting the author's predilection for short rhyming words.[9] According to Matthews' interpretation of the text, the two fall hopelessly in love when a tortoise mysteriously conveys their portraits to one another.[10] The tortoise incident is not illustrated. Instead, the manuscript's first illustration, which appears on folio 46, depicts Shah Ji listening to a *yogini*, a female Hindu ascetic, play music (fig. 2). The *yogini*'s role in the story is

unclear; based on the jewelry she wears and her refined appearance, however, she is most likely a noblewoman, perhaps even Mah Ji, disguised as a *yogini*. The noblewoman taking on the guise of a *yogini* to go off in search of her beloved is a common trope in later *Prem Marg* literature and also frequently appears in later single-page paintings from the Deccan.[11]

Shah Ji soon leaves the kingdom of Kuldip in the north where he lives and sets off on his quest to find his beloved. Eventually he crosses the ocean to reach the island of Sangaldip, where Mah Ji lives.[12] Once again, the details of the journey, including the crossing of the ocean, are not illustrated. In fact, unlike many *Prem Marg* works, such as an eighteenth-century Deccani manuscript of Nusrati's *Gulshan-i 'Ishq* in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, in which the artists take delight in depicting the twists and turns of the journey,[13] the search portion of the *Pem Nem* is illustrated in rather formulaic ways. Shah Ji is repeatedly shown simply

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sitting or wandering through the countryside, depicted as a verdant landscape with a white palace in the background (figs. 3–6). Occasionally pairs of animals are shown around him, as if to highlight his solitary, lonely state (see, for example, fig. 3).

Eventually Shah Ji reaches the island, coincidentally ruled by his paternal uncle. After meeting his uncle, the king (fig. 7) and traveling to the royal palace (fig. 8), Shah Ji finally finds his beloved. Upon seeing her, he faints (fig. 9). He then takes up residence at the palace (figs. 10–11), but sadly, as the poet Hans explains and as translated by Matthews, Shah Ji has come to see the image of her that he carries in his heart as reality and the Mah Ji before him as a mere reflection.[14] After deliberation, he leaves the palace, in order to go off and seek the truth through contemplation (figs. 12–13). Mah Ji, then, is left to go through a *Dara Kaan*, a period of longing and lament covering the twelve months of the Hindu calendar; Hans, thus, in this section of the *masnavi* employs the Indic tradition of *baramasa*, songs or poems describing the twelve months of love's pain as experienced by the heroine pining for her beloved.[15] The period is visually depicted by three charming paintings showing the princess and her female companions taking part in activities corresponding with various times of the year: they play board games and attend to pet birds (fig. 14), celebrate the Hindu festival of Holi (fig. 15), and set off fireworks—perhaps in celebration of Diwali (fig. 16).

Finally, Shah Ji realizes his error and returns to the palace (figs. 17–23). The lovers are reunited (fig. 20), and an auspicious date is set for the wedding.[16] The *masnavi* ends with a lengthy description of their wedding, which is also the most heavily illustrated portion of the manuscript. Twelve of the thirty-four illustrations, over one-third, depict the wedding festivities in great detail (figs. 24–35).[17] Everything from the wedding procession, with Shah Ji on horseback accompanied by dancing girls, musicians,

and an elephant (fig. 27), to Mah Ji putting on her wedding jewelry with the assistance of her female attendants (fig. 29), is depicted. The final two illustrations show the newly married couple washing their hands together in a golden basin (fig. 34) and the bride presenting her bridegroom with *pan* (fig. 35).

A close analysis of the manuscript's paintings reveals that they were done by three different artists, labeled by art historians as Hand A, Hand B, and Hand C. Hand A appears to have been the most accomplished of the group and was responsible for fifteen of the thirty-four illustrations (figs. 2–5, 7, 9, 13, 24–25, 27, 30–33, and 35).[18] This artist has been stylistically linked to several important single-page paintings from early seventeenth-century Bijapur, including the celebrated *yogini* image now housed in the Chester Beatty Library.[19] Hand A's Mah Ji (fig. 9) and the Chester Beatty *yogini* display the same distinctively elongated face and torso, while the dress of the *yogini* encountered by Shah Ji (fig. 2) is nearly identical to that of the Chester Beatty *yogini*: bright orange *shalwar*, long golden scarf, rows of necklaces, hair in a topknot. Moreover, both female ascetics have oversized pink flowers sprouting from the ground near them, as if their extraordinary natures are mirrored in the plants' astonishing growth. Likewise, in the image of Mah Ji meeting Shah Ji by Hand A (fig. 9), an oversized white, pink, and blue plant appears on the hill directly behind her, as if providing a visual clue that she is indeed his beloved. It is not only that the same artist seems to have created these images but also that the *Pem Nem*'s female figures and settings appear, in fact, to be the inspiration for the later single-page *yogini* painting.[20]

Like Hand A, Hand B also seems to have been responsible for fifteen of the *Pem Nem*'s illustrations (figs. 8, 12, 14, 16–23, 26, 28–29, and 34). Hand B's figures tend to lack prominent chins, and the images often feature a lavender background with a delicate gold floral design. Hand C seems to have completed only four of the illustrations,

The image of Mah Ji consistently appears on Shah Ji's heart (detail of fig. 3)

Mah Ji, enflamed by love, is doused with water by an attendant (detail of fig. 15)

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Shah Ji weeps a stream of tears (detail of fig. 12)

A golden spray emerges from Shah Ji's mouth as he speaks to Mah Ji (detail of fig. 13)

identifiable by the figures' conspicuously large, round heads (figs. 6, 10–11, and 15). Moreover, Hand C is the only one of the manuscript's artists to employ hierarchical, rather than proportional, scaling.

As is apparent in even a cursory comparison of the three painters' work, the artistic variations are wide. Indeed, the main characters fluctuate in appearance from image to image to such an extent that it would be difficult to recognize them if they were not the central figures in the scene. We might interpret these striking inconsistencies as reflecting the amount of care, or lack thereof, devoted to the execution of the manuscript, except that the artists did coordinate two noteworthy aspects of the illustrations: one was the use of innovative visual metaphors, and the other was the paintings' settings, which seem to mirror the stages of the Sufi's quest.

The most prominent of the *Pem Nem*'s visual metaphors is the face of Mah Ji, which appears in every single depiction of Shah Ji on his heart (visually depicted as her head peeking up from the v-neck of his robe; see detail opposite, above). This detail clearly embodies a central aspect of the text; that is, when Shah Ji finally found his beloved, he believed that the picture of her he carried in his heart was reality and the Mah Ji before him was only a reflection of this reality. In general, the idea of the lover's heart being attached to an image of the beloved is a fairly common sentiment in *Prem Marg* literature,[21] but it is rarely, if ever, visually depicted, underscoring the innovative quality of the *Pem Nem*'s images.

The paintings share other notable visual metaphors. For example, in the illustration of the court women celebrating Holi, Mah Ji sits in the middle of the scene, not taking

part in the festivities, but, instead, thinking about her lover (fig. 15 and detail, p. 48). Flames, symbolizing her passion and longing, rise from the princess, despite being doused with water by an attendant. The flames of longing also appear in an image of Shah Ji listening to musicians, but clearly thinking about his beloved (fig. 10). In another scene, Shah Ji's tears form a stream (fig. 12 and detail, p. 49), and in another image, when the two speak alone in the palace just before the year of separation, Shah Ji is shown with a golden spray coming from his mouth (fig. 13 and detail, p. 49). These visual metaphors, which express emotions of love and longing, are exceptional and rarely found in South Asian painting.[22] Of course, both Persianate and Indic painting traditions are filled with visual allusions to poetic metaphors.[23] One can easily recall a plethora of examples of moonfaced beauties and intertwined flowering trees in Persian painting, reflecting common poetic tropes.[24] Likewise, the storm clouds and peacocks symbolizing the longing of the rainy season abound in northern Deccan and Rajput *ragamala* paintings.[25] The *Pem Nem*'s comparatively unusual visual metaphors testify to the cultural innovation going on in the Deccan at the time, including developments in linguistics and literature, of which the *Pem Nem*'s text is also a prominent example.

The second facet of the illustrations apparently coordinated by the artists was the sense of spatial progression; the settings move from open spaces to more and more confined ones in a way that mirrors the stages of the Sufi's quest.[26] In the first five illustrations (figs. 2–6), which comprise the prince's search, Shah Ji is in an open, rugged landscape, and the only architecture is a distant white hilltop palace in the background of each image.

The next group of paintings is a transitional one, depicting Shah Ji moving from one space and one segment of his quest to another. In some of these seven illustrations, he remains in the countryside, but other

figures now fill the scenes (figs. 7 and 9). Then, in further images, the prince, again accompanied by other figures, is just outside of the palace, which takes up a large portion of the composition (figs. 8 and 11). Eventually he moves inside the palace, and in those images the architecture dominates the backdrop (figs. 10 and 13). When he leaves the palace to seek truth through contemplation, the setting once again becomes an open landscape with distant white hilltop palaces, and Shah Ji is alone, save for a single male attendant (fig. 12).

The next three paintings depict the princess with her female attendants during the twelve months of longing and lament (figs. 14–16). All three are set outside, but not in the countryside with the palace in the distance; instead, the space represented is a garden, apparent through such details as the well and fountain in figure 15.

When Shah Ji realizes Mah Ji is not an illusion, the setting returns to the palace (figs. 17–23). In six of the seven images in this section, all of which feature Shah Ji, alone or with various other characters, he is inside the palace; only one illustration, in which Shah Ji kisses the feet of the king, is set in an open landscape (fig. 19).

The final twelve paintings depict the wedding ceremony, which is set, for the most part, in extremely intimate, confined spaces. The background of many of these images is blank except for a canopy depicted by a "V" shape (e.g., fig. 34) or a straight line across the top of the page from which tassels hang (fig. 30). The illustration of Mah Ji putting on her wedding jewelry is set under a curtained archway (fig. 29), while another painting shows the newly married couple seated under a multilobed archway with floral decoration (fig. 35). Only two of the wedding illustrations are in open spaces: one depicting the wedding procession (fig. 27), which includes a large number of people and therefore could not fit in a confined space, and the other showing Shah Ji placing Mah Ji in a covered palanquin (fig. 31), the palanquin also implying an intimate space.

When we consider the illustrations as a whole, it is apparent that the settings emulate different aspects of the story. Overall, they move from broad, outer spaces to increasingly confined, interior spaces to mirror the Sufi's inward spiritual journey. Movement from the outer world (*zahir*) to an inner essence or truth (*batin*) was the goal of the mystical path, and was also at the heart of what was being symbolized in the *Prem Marg* genre of literature.[27] The juxtaposition between the palace and the landscape visually conveys this progression from outer to inner. Perched on a far-off hill, the palace is only a distant view in the first few paintings. As the hero moves closer to his goal, he moves closer to the palace as well, which takes up more and more of the painting. Eventually, after many obstacles and setbacks (in which he returns to the countryside), he crosses into the most confined space—under a canopy or archway within the palace, where he is finally united with his beloved.

The settings also seem to correspond with the three stages of *'ishq*, or love, as frequently laid out in Sufism: longing, proximity, and intimacy.[28] The open landscape—through which the prince travels in search of his beloved and to which he returns when he needs to ponder the truth of the image in his heart versus the reality before him—corresponds with longing. The palace symbolizes the next stage, proximity, while the very confined spaces of the wedding correspond with intimacy. Interestingly, during the period of lament, Mah Ji does not inhabit the palace, which would have suggested proximity. Rather, she retreats with her ladies-in-waiting to the garden. In this context, the garden acts as a space of longing and thus parallels the countryside of Shah Ji's journey.

What we see, then, when we closely analyze the paintings, are, on the one hand, elements that display a very sophisticated approach to, and understanding of, visual representation, and, on the other hand, aspects, particularly as related to technical execution, that seem less developed and less refined. This mixture is what makes the *Pem Nem* useful for understanding not just the stylistic development of Bijapuri painting but also its function within 'Adil Shahi courtly culture. The primary function of the *Pem Nem*'s paintings seems not to have been to present unified visual representations of the main characters' physical forms or even to illustrate key details of the plot, such as the tortoise conveying the lovers' portraits. Instead, the illustrations seem to have had three main functions within their original cultural context. Foremost among these was visually to denote the emotions felt by the lovers in the story. Another important aspect was to convey the stages of the Sufi's journey. Both of these functions, evident in the artists' use of innovative details and spatial progression, served to give visual form to emotions and mystical philosophies. The third function seems to have been to link the *masnavi* directly to the courtly lives of the intended viewers, which is achieved by the Bijapuri dress and architecture in the paintings as well as by the artists' choice of which parts of the story to emphasize. Specifically, I refer here to the decision to allot so many paintings to Shah Ji and Mah Ji's wedding. This aspect is particularly noteworthy because, in many manuscripts, the beginning tends to be more heavily illustrated, with the paintings lessening in number, and sometimes even in quality, toward the end.

Beyond the emphasis on the wedding (weddings forming a central and important aspect of courtly life), the *Pem Nem*'s images display an unmistakable emphasis on women's life at court. The most detailed scenes by far are those showing the princess and her ladies-in-waiting in the garden and during the wedding. Of all thirty-four illustrations, an equal number (if not more) of female characters populate the *Pem Nem*'s scenes. Could this emphasis tell us something about the audience of the *Pem Nem*? Clearly the Philadelphia *Gulshan-i 'Ishq*, also of the *Prem Marg* genre, was intended for a royal, primarily female, audience.

The colophon of that eighteenth-century manuscript records the patron as a woman named Sajidah Mahtaram, while another inscription, this time in English and added slightly later, states that the book was taken from Tipu Sultan's *zenana* after the British siege of Seringipatnam in 1799.[29] Could the *Pem Nem* also have been intended for an audience of royal women? Moreover, would this gendered audience perhaps explain the obscure version of Dakhni in which the *Pem Nem* was written? David Matthews, when considering the "rustic" language of the *Pem Nem*, posed the following question: "If we are right in assuming that the *Pem Nem* was composed for the royal court of Bijapur—and the care lavished upon the manuscript by the unknown scribe and artists suggest that this was the case—then what sort of audience would have read or listened to such obscure lines?"[30] Could the *Pem Nem*'s version of Dakhni, one that contained a large number of words from local dialects, perhaps reference the language spoken in the royal harem, thereby providing an answer to Matthews' question?[31]

Alternatively, perhaps the feminine emphasis of the *Pem Nem*'s images simply reflects the larger feminine emphasis in Deccani culture at the time. For example, the poems of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, the ruler of Golconda, Bijapur's neighbor to the east, which were composed at approximately the same time as the *Pem Nem*, also focus on the rituals and pleasures of daily life at court, particularly those experienced by courtly women.[32] Although the poet Hans did not assume a female voice, Carla Petievich has shown in her studies of Urdu poetry that, during this period in the Deccan, male poets, including the likes of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, often composed *ghazal*s expressing the joys of love in female/feminine voices.[33] The use of the female voice probably derived from Hindu traditions of *bhakti* (devotion), reflecting the active synthesis of religious traditions going on in the Deccan at the time.

When we consider the *Pem Nem* within the larger context of Bijapuri painting during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, what we find are a number of artistic innovations and developments, some of which are limited to this manuscript and some of which are carried on in later works from the sultanate. The face on Shah Ji's heart, the flames of longing, and other visual metaphors are as confined to this manuscript as are the author's strings of one-syllable rhyming verses. But the verdant, lush landscapes with white hilltop palaces in the distance, the beautiful bejeweled *yogini* flanked by oversized flowers, and the pairs of animals that highlight the loneliness of the lover searching for the beloved are recurring images in Bijapuri painting. We can see those elements in single-page paintings datable to the same decade as the *Pem Nem*, such as the Victoria and Albert Museum's painting of a prince sitting in an open landscape and the British Library's image of a wandering *yogini*.[34] These elements are employed again in increasingly polished and refined forms throughout the first decades of the seventeenth century, particularly in works attributed to the artist here identified as Hand A. These paintings include the Chester Beatty *yogini*, as well as an image of a prince taking a nap under a tree and another of an ascetic visited by a *yogini*, both in the collection of Berlin's Islamiches Museum.[35] The *Pem Nem* provides us with a way of contextualizing these single-page paintings and, moreover, underscores just how embedded in Sufism and mystical poetry was the visual vocabulary of Bijapur's court artists.

When the eminent art historian Stuart Cary Welch spoke or wrote about Deccani painting, he often employed a variety of eloquent adjectives and metaphors to describe the otherworldly quality that seems to pervade many of the works from this region of India.[36] Perhaps the enigmatic quality he described stems from the role that painting played in the courtly culture of the Deccan kingdoms, particularly at

Bijapur. As evidenced in the *Pem Nem*'s illustrations, the paintings' primary purpose seems to have been to embody emotions and poetic ideals and to tie mystical themes found in literature to life at court. In contrast, recording the specificities of an event or representing the visage of a particular person was not a central concern. When we speak about "the arts of the book," it is, no doubt, a truism to say that words and images are closely related. What makes Bijapuri painting distinctive, then, is the particular way in which the relationship between text and image takes form, and in that regard, the *Pem Nem* provides us with an unmatched piece of evidence.

1. For more information on the *Prem Marg* genre, particularly its role in Dakhni Urdu literature, see Behl and Weightman 2000, pp. xiii–xvii. See also M. Khan 1973–74, vol. 2, p. 24.
2. Matthews 2002, pp. 170 and 173. Additionally, the calligrapher numbered each of the 199 *doha*s; when extracted and taken together, these verses give a summary of the entire poem. Ibid., pp. 173–74.
3. For more information on the term *nauras* and the court's embrace of it, see Nazir Ahmad 1953, p. 142; Hutton 2006, pp. 107–19.
4. Barrett 1969, pp. 143–45. Ibrahim arranged a marriage alliance between his daughter, Begam Sultana, and Akbar's son, Daniyal, as a way to put off the growing threat of the expanding Mughal empire. The Mughal ambassador Asad Beg, who went to Bijapur to oversee the arrangements, records the gifting of the elephant in his account of the trip. Joshi 1950.
5. Blumhardt, in his early study of the manuscript, asserted (1932, p. 57) that it originally contained three more illustrations, now missing, which would have brought the total to thirty-seven. From my study of the manuscript, it is not apparent where those images, if they did originally exist, would have been placed.
6. For earlier discussions of the illustrations' artistic styles and dating, see Barrett 1969, pp. 146–58; Losty 1982, p. 73; Zebrowski 1983, p. 103; Hutton 2006, pp. 73–76 and 181 n. 13. The last illustration (fig. 35) is one painting in particular for which I have reservations about its dating.
7. Matthews 2002, p. 170, identifies the calligraphy style as *nasta'liq*; however, Navina Haidar and Marika Sardar regard the script as closer to *naskh* or *thuluth*. I thank them for their helpful analysis.
8. Matthews 2002, pp. 171–72.

9. Blumhardt concluded (1932, p. 57) that the main characters' names were Ratan Sen and Padmavati, the accepted interpretation (including by me; see Hutton 2006, pp. 73–83) before Matthews' re-analysis of the *masnavi*. Matthews (2002, p. 170) cogently argues that, despite the repeated appearance in the text of the two words *ratan khan* (translatable as "jewel mine"), the characters' names are, in fact, Shah Ji and Mah Ji.
10. Matthews 2002, p. 174.
11. For an example of a *masnavi* that employs the trope of a noblewoman disguising herself as a *yogini*, see Hasan 1871. For a discussion of *yogini* imagery in Deccani paintings, see Nigam 1988. For a discussion of *yogini* imagery specifically in Bijapuri painting, see Hutton 2006, pp. 83–96.
12. Matthews 2002, p. 174.
13. Nusrati was the court poet to 'Ali 'Adil Shah II (r. 1656–72). He wrote the *Gulshan-i 'Ishq* (Rose Garden of Love) in a more developed version of Dakhni Urdu than that employed in the *Pem Nem*. Several illustrated manuscripts of the *Gulshan-i 'Ishq* survive. The version in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (1945-65-22) dates to 1743 and contains ninety-seven richly detailed illustrations. The artist seems to have taken particular delight in illustrating the various adventures encountered by the prince as he searched for his beloved. The manuscript's illustrations are viewable on the museum's website: (www.philamuseum.org/collections/permanent/49733.html?mulR=14024). See also Kramrisch 1986, cat. nos. 34 and 35; Gaeffke 1987; and Haidar forthcoming.
14. Matthews 2002, p. 174.
15. Ibid. See also Matthews 1976, p. 80.
16. Matthews 2002, p. 175.
17. Similarly, the wedding festivities are also depicted at length and in great detail in the Philadelphia Museum of Art's *Gulshan-i 'Ishq* manuscript. See Haidar forthcoming.
18. See note 6 above, particularly in regard to figure 35.
19. The artist is also sometimes referred to as the "Dublin painter." For further discussion of this style and attributed images, see Zebrowski 1983, pp. 103–12. The Chester Beatty *yogini* (MS. 11A, no. 31) has been reproduced and discussed in a number of publications. In addition to Zebrowski, see Welch 1985, p. 296, and Hutton 2006, pl. 16.
20. Additionally, in both *yogini* images the distant white palace is similarly depicted flanked by a rocky outcropping and dark green trees. Clearly, however, the Chester Beatty *yogini* is a much more polished and artistically accomplished image, indicative of a more mature artist. For further discussion of the links between the paintings as well as the meaning of the Chester Beatty *yogini* and its specific landscape elements, see Hutton 2011.

21. For example, in one verse of Malik Muhammad Jayasi's Urdu romance *Padmavati*, composed in 1540, Ratan Sen says to Padmavati, "O lady, this heart is so attached to thee / that both during the day and throughout the night it is by thy side." Dhar 1949, p. 168.

22. While unusual, two of the *Pem Nem*'s visual metaphors can be found in a few other key examples of Indian painting. The flames of longing appear in an illustrated folio in the Mughal *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau ca. 1597 depicting a bathhouse keeper being consumed by the flames of his passion for the king. See Seyller 2000 pp. 48–49. The stream of tears can be found in similar, though not identical, form in some later Rajasthani paintings. See, for example, the eighteenth-century Kishangarh drawing *Chaitanya at Bhakti*, in the collection of the National Museum, New Delhi, reproduced and discussed in Welch 1976, pp. 122–23. I would like to thank Navina Haidar for bringing this work to my attention.

23. See the essay in this volume by Michael Barry concerning such allusions.

24. See Grabar 1999, pp. 127–37; Yarshater 1962, pp. 62–63.

25. See Ebeling 1973.

26. In a similar vein, several literary scholars have analyzed Deccani poets' use of different types of gardens to symbolize different stages of the quest. Gaeffke 1987; A. Husain 2000. See also Behl and Weightman 2000, pp. xxxvi–xlix, for an excellent discussion of the use of allegory and spatial symbolism to convey *prema-rasa*, the essence of love, as well as the stages of the Sufi's quest.

27. Schimmel 1991, p. 177.

28. Islam 2004, p. 173.

29. The colophon and later inscription are discussed in Gaeffke 1987, p. 224 n. 1, and Haidar forthcoming.

30. Matthews 1993, p. 88.

31. As pointed out by Nishat (2000, p. 204), the role of women in the development of Dakhni, while neglected by scholars to date, is worthy of our consideration: "Whether it was the Arab tradesmen or the kings from the north, who came to the Deccan, they married Hindu women after converting them to Islam . . . The women within the four walls of the houses and the harems were not familiar with Persian or Arabic. They could only communicate with their husbands in their mother-tongues, which was either Telugu or Marathi. An accented language of Dakhini was the result of this communication." It is perhaps also worth noting that the only other verses Matthews has identified as close in language to those of the *Pem Nem* are from the *Kitab-i Nauras*, presumed to have been written by Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II himself, who was, of course, raised in the royal harem.

32. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (r. 1580–1612) wrote poetry in both Persian and Dakhni. His Dakhni poems were collected in the *Kulliyat-i Quli Qutb Shah*. See Asher and Talbot 2006, pp. 170–72. See also Sherwani 1967; Matthews 1993, pp. 95–99.

33. Petievich 2007.

34. The British Museum's *Yogini Holding a Peacock Fan* (1943-10-0-073) is reproduced and discussed in Hutton 2006, pp. 84–87. For a discussion and reproduction of the Victoria and Albert Museum's *Princely Figure Seated on a Golden Throne in a Landscape* (IS 2-1969), see Hutton 2011.

35. For the Chester Beatty *yogini*, see note 19 above. For reproductions and a discussion of the Islamisches Museum's *Ascetic Visited by a Yogini* (T. 4596, fol. 4a) and *Siesta* (T. 4595, fol. 36), see Zebrowski 1983, pp. 109–12. For further analysis of the three works, including their landscape settings, see Hutton 2011.

36. For example, see Welch 1985, p. 296. Likewise, in his seminal work, *Deccani Painting* (1983), Zebrowski described Bijapuri paintings as displaying "lush romanticism" (p. 12), and, in his discussion of the Chester Beatty *yogini*, he extolled "the picture's dark ambiguities" (p. 104).

Fig. 2. (left) Shah Ji listens to a *yogini* playing music, while thinking about his beloved (fol. 46)
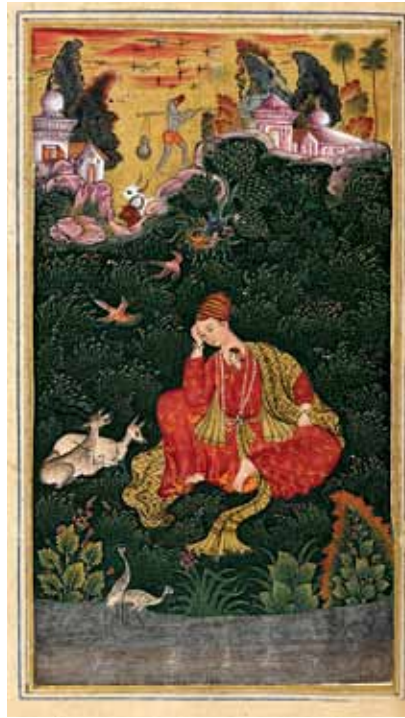
Fig. 3. (right) Shah Ji leaves his home in search of Mah Ji, wandering through the countryside with an image of her on his heart (fol. 47)

Fig. 4. (left) Shah Ji sits in a rocky, isolated landscape (fol. 49v)
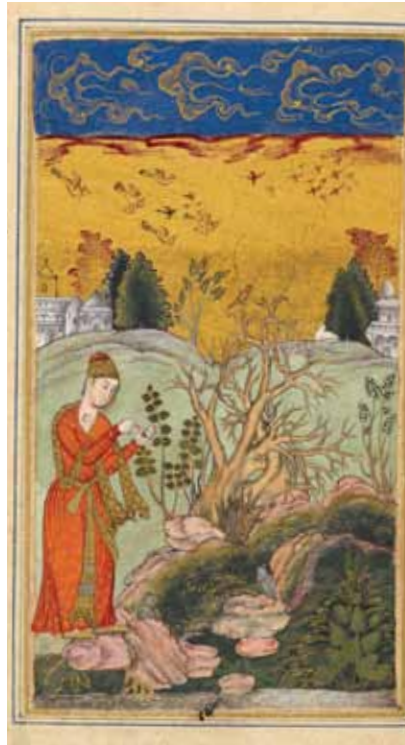
Fig. 5. (right) Shah Ji appears to write on a leaf that he has plucked from a nearby tree (fol. 69)

Fig. 6. (left) Shah Ji
in a lush landscape
(fol. 70v)

Fig. 7. (right) Shah Ji
arrives on the island
of Sangaldip and
meets the king, his
uncle (fol. 75v)

Fig. 8. (left) Shah Ji
travels to the palace,
where Mah Ji is
waiting (fol. 80)

Fig. 9. (right) Shah Ji,
on a carpet with the
king, faints at the sight
of his beloved (fol. 82v)

Fig. 10. (left) While listening to musicians, Shah Ji is surrounded by flames of passion for Mah Ji (fol. 87)

Fig. 11. (right) Outside the palace, Shah Ji converses with the king (fol. 89v)

Fig. 12. (left) Shah Ji, believing that Mah Ji is only a reflection of the image on his heart, weeps a stream of tears and leaves the palace (fol. 90v)

Fig. 13. (right) Shah Ji speaks to Mah Ji, a golden spray emerging from his mouth (fol. 119)

Fig. 14. (left) Abandoned, Mah Ji enters a period of longing and lament; she and her attendants play games and attend to pet birds to pass the time (fol. 135)

Fig. 15. (right) Mah Ji's attendants celebrate Holi, but flames rise from the princess as she pines for her beloved (fol. 138)

Fig. 16. (left) The ladies of the court set off fireworks for the festival of Diwali (fol. 147)

Fig. 17. (right) Shah Ji realizes that Mah Ji is not an illusion and returns to the palace, where he faints (fol. 166)

Fig. 18. (left) Shah Ji with male and female attendants in the palace (fol. 168)

Fig. 19. (right) Shah Ji kisses the king's feet (fol. 171)

Fig. 20. (left) The joyous reunion of Shah Ji and Mah Ji (fol. 172)
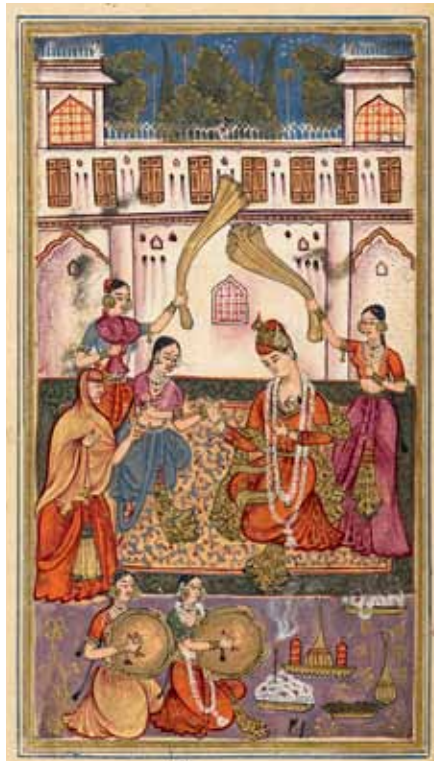
Fig. 21. (right) Shah Ji and Mah Ji together again (fol. 176)

Fig. 22. (left) Shah Ji, in the palace with attendants, weeps while thinking about his beloved (fol. 177v)

Fig. 23. (right) Shah Ji sits on a throne in the palace courtyard, as he listens to musicians (fol. 178v)

Fig. 24. (left) Shah Ji's feet are anointed as he listens to musicians (fol. 181v)

Fig. 25. (right) Shah Ji's arms are pressed, while wedding preparations continue (fol. 183)
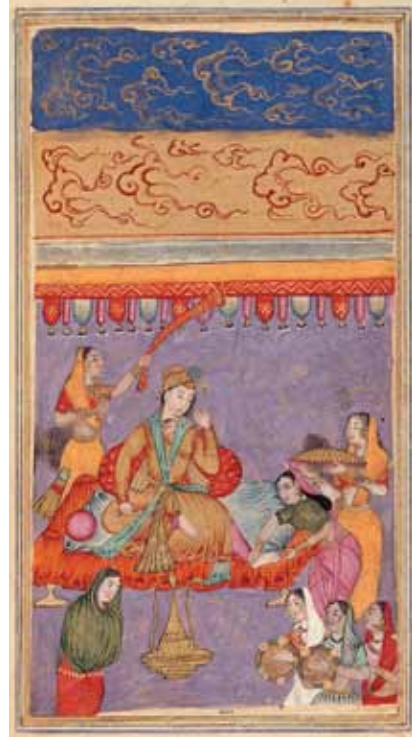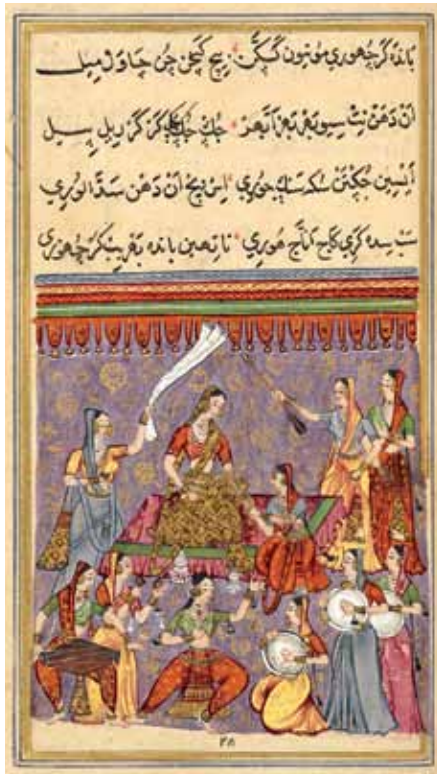
Fig. 26. (left) Dancers enter-
tain Mah Ji, as her arms are
beautified (fol. 184)

Fig. 27. (right) Shah Ji
approaches on a horse as
the bride's party greets
him with song and dance
(fol. 197v)

Fig. 28. (left) Shah Ji, seated
with an elder, watches court
dancers (fol. 202)

Fig. 29. (right) With the
help of her attendants, Mah
Ji puts on her wedding
jewelry (fol. 206)

Fig. 30. (left) Shah Ji waits
to glimpse Mah Ji, who is
hidden behind a curtain
(fol. 210)

Fig. 31. (right) Shah Ji lifts
Mah Ji into the bridal
palanquin (fol. 213v)
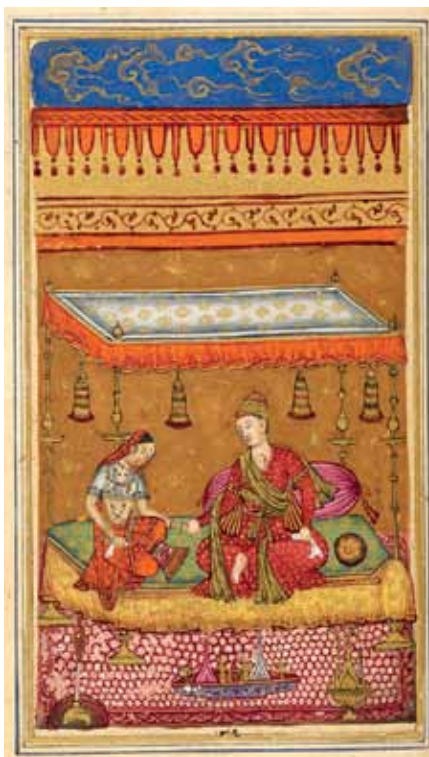
Fig. 32. (left) Shah Ji sits
with his new bride under a
canopy (fol. 215)

Fig. 33. (right) Shah Ji and
Mah Ji hold hands (fol. 219)

Fig. 34. (left) Shah Ji and Mah Ji wash hands together in a basin (fol. 224v)

Fig. 35. (right) Mah Ji offers Shah Ji *pan* (betel leaf) (fol. 232)

John Seyller

Deccani Elements in Early Pahari Painting

The notion that Deccani art and artists played a role in the development of early Pahari painting was first entertained in scholarly circles in the late 1970s.[1] A stylistic connection between the Deccan and the Punjab Hills, two regions separated by a vast distance, was subsequently ventured in print by Raj Kumar Tandan[2] and Stuart Cary Welch.[3] Briefly, both authors note that in the aftermath of the Mughal conquest of Bijapur and Golconda in the 1670s and 1680s, Deccani artists moved on to courts in Aurangabad and Rajasthan. They then suggest that the diaspora of Deccani painters led to the formation of new painting workshops in the Punjab Hills, where they had an immediate impact on prevailing styles in that region. The two authors subsequently describe Deccani features in the work of at least two artists associated with early Basohli-style painting. These proposals have generally been met with indifference or outright resistance.[4] My goal here is to amplify and refine those prescient theories with evidence that demonstrates that Deccani works were known and copied at various centers in the Punjab Hills from the 1670s through 1720 and that Deccani traits were incorporated by Pahari artists into the architecture and ornament of two major documents of Basohli-style painting.

One motif identified with Islamic tradition is the composite animal, which is manifested in Mughal painting as early as 1595 and in Deccani art frequently thereafter. A lively example depicting a composite elephant led by a demon is assigned here to Bijapur by virtue of its figure style and turban type, the pronounced linear quality of the various elements, and the use of marbleized paper (fig. 1).[5] From the Mughal and Deccani courts the motif of the composite animal spread across India, a development seen most notably in Rajasthan, where Rajput nobles serving in the imperial armies employed painters capable of emulating Mughal themes.[6] More unexpected is the appearance of the composite beast in the Punjab Hills, where, with the exception of Nurpur, local courts did not have the close political alliances with the Mughal court that fostered routine cultural imitation. Several elements place a drawing of a composite elephant in the Punjab Hills, specifically at Chamba (fig. 2). Foremost is the general style, which has the quality of line seen in early Chamba painting. Among the tangle of intertwined creatures in the hindquarters are several bears, which abound in the Pahari region but are otherwise unknown in composite creatures. The thick paper, too, is consistent with that used in paintings made at Chamba. Finally, there is the provenance of this drawing, which was acquired by Jagdish Mittal in Chamba about 1950 from one Hiralal, a descendant of a local family of painters. It is, in fact, one of a number of drawings formerly in the collection of this painter family that appear to be local copies of Deccani and Mughal works. Fully painted versions were also generated from such drawings, as is evidenced by a Chamba painting of about 1710 (fig. 3) based upon an elaborate design known from an original mid-seventeenth-century Golconda painting of the Buraq, the magical winged steed of the Prophet Muhammad (fig. 4).[7] The Pahari artist has added a demon escort, found commonly

Fig. 1. *Composite Elephant*. Bijapur, ca. 1620–30. Ink, colors, and gold on paper, painting 4⅛ × 5¼ in. (10.5 × 13.4 cm). Princeton University Art Museum, Gift of Harold K. Hochschild (x1979–56)

Fig. 2. *Composite Elephant*. Chamba, ca. 1700–1710. Ink on paper, folio 6 × 9⅝ in. (15.4 × 24.3 cm). Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad

Fig. 3. *A Composite Animal Led by a Demon*. Chamba, ca. 1710. Ink, colors, and gold on paper, painting 9¼ × 9½ in. (23.5 × 24.1 cm). Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Gift of A. Cameron Middleton (97.134)

Fig. 4. *The Buraq.* Golconda, ca. 1660–80. Ink, colors, and gold on paper, painting 11 × 8⅜ in. (27.9 × 21.3 cm); folio 14¾ × 10⅝ in. (37.3 × 27 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Rogers Fund and Elizabeth S. Ettinghausen and Ehsan Yarshater Gifts, 1992 (1992.17)

before composite creatures, and has once again substituted bears for lions.[8] The presence of these works—filled with the kinds of exotic objects that artists habitually seek out to enrich their creative stock—in Chamba suggested to Mittal the likelihood that Pahari artists operating there prior to 1700 had limited but fruitful access to other Indian painting styles.

This hypothesis is supported by other examples of direct Pahari copies of entire Deccani compositions as well as by Pahari works that adopted discrete elements of the Deccani tradition. Although the European-derived motif[9] of the emaciated nag and ascetic rider was first known in Mughal art, it enjoyed much greater popularity in Bijapur, where it was rendered with a pronounced linear quality, often in combination with marbleized paper (fig. 5).[10] Spread through the use of pounces, the motif also found its way to Chamba about 1700 (fig. 6).[11] Once again the drawing is recognized as a regional copy, for it lacks the calligraphic quality that characterizes original Deccani works. The Pahari artist has modified the rider's appearance, retaining the outlines of his spindly physique, but dressing him in a tunic and turban and outfitting him with bow and quiver. At the bottom of the sheet is an unrelated stock figure of Deccani art, an aged duenna with a typically Deccani coiffure.

A painting of a mahout struggling to control an elephant exemplifies the Bijapuri style in the early seventeenth century (fig. 7). The artist envisions a beast more lithe than massive, and indulges his own decorative proclivities in the rendering of the head, ear, and mouth. Such a painting was the source of a Pahari version of an enraged elephant shaking a tree in which a man cowers (fig. 8).[12] The elephant's head and body are similarly mannered, notably in the ear and leg, anatomical parts so misunderstood that they betray an utter unfamiliarity with the species. The copyist is intrigued by the model's grisaille technique, especially where the highlights and shadows of the folds of the mahout's *jama* become so

pronounced that they read as stripes on a flat surface. He thus exaggerates a grisaille effect originating from the translation by Deccani artists of the shading seen in European woodcuts.[13] A variant of this technique, which was otherwise unknown in the Punjab Hills before 1700, appears in a few other works, especially at Jammu.[14] An effaced Takri inscription at the top of the drawing provides further evidence of its Pahari provenance.

A Pahari artist took interest, too, in a Deccani version of the motif of a young woman reaching up to clutch the branch of a flowering tree as she raises one heel to kick its trunk, an ancient fertility ritual. One example in a mixed Mughal–Deccani style includes a band of low, dark undergrowth along a slightly jagged shoreline and a high-waisted woman wearing a silver *paijama* (fig. 9). While the former feature may be the source of the treatment of the foreground in the early *Rasamanjari* series,[15] the latter gives rise to many permutations in the Punjab Hills, notably one from Mandi, a provenance indicated by the rough facial features of the woman and the coarse paper (fig. 10).[16] As in many similar Pahari *ragamala* scenes, the flowering tree is transformed into a willow. That feature and the butterfly's oversized scale point to a Deccani prototype.[17] A later Mandi artist moves further away from this semi-exotic model, tempering the elegance of the woman's face and body, altering her stance and gesture, and replacing the incongruously huge butterfly of the Persian tradition with a normal-sized partridge.[18]

A drawing of a princess being instructed by a governess (fig. 11) demonstrates how features adapted from Golconda-style images (e.g., fig. 12) entered into the mainstream of painting at Chamba, where it was acquired from the same painter family. The princess and two of her maids wear a low cap with an outwardly turned and scalloped brim and a full plume, a Persian-inspired fashion alien to the Punjab Hills. A third female attendant has inexplicably short hair

Fig. 5. *Ascetic on an Emaciated Nag.* Bijapur, ca. 1620. Ink and gold and marbling on paper, painting 4 × 4⅝ in. (10 × 11.6 cm); folio 4⅝ × 7⅞ in. (11.6 × 20 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1944 (44.154)

and a lightly plumed turban tied and decorated in a male fashion worn at Golconda. Her clothing, particularly the narrow, arabesque-adorned sash running slightly past the hem of her outer garment, also takes after Deccani fashion. The princess's long hair falls loosely over the front of her shoulders, an indecorous hairstyle for someone of her station, but one seen occasionally in Deccani examples. Her sloping profile and almond-shaped eye accord well with known Chamba facial features, but the overall face relates closely enough to a variety of Deccani figures that it seems evident that this facial type originated in the Deccan. The governess is depicted in three-quarter view, a rendering of the face prevalent in the Deccan, where Persian conventions remained in vogue. More important is the modeling of the cloak, which consists of formulaic gray streaks, a manner of translating crisply

outlined and deeply shadowed European-style folds into Deccani terms.

These examples demonstrate that artists at assorted courts in the Punjab Hills had sporadic contact with Deccani paintings and drawings and that some Pahari artists adopted elements and incorporated them for a time in their own work. What remains to be established are the pervasiveness of Deccani features in early manifestations of the Basohli style and the process that best explains their appearance.

A key document of early Basohli-style painting is the ca. 1670 *Rasamanjari* (figs. 13–15), whose artist, previously identified as "The Master of the Early *Rasamanjari* Series," has tentatively been identified as Kripal,[19] the father of Devidasa of Nurpur, the artist named in the colophon of a closely derived *Rasamanjari* series dated January–February 1695 (fig. 16).[20] Most illustrations

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Fig. 6. *Rider on an Emaciated Horse.* Chamba, ca. 1700. Ink on paper, painting 7⅝ × 5¾ in. (19.3 × 14.5 cm); folio 7⅞ × 3¾ in. (20.1 × 14.5 cm). Museum Rietberg, Zurich (RVI 1677)

of the first *Rasamanjari* series have an open rectangular building, broader than it is tall because of the series' horizontal format. The loggia is inevitably aligned with the picture plane, its plinth almost always flush with the frame. In a number of paintings, the plinth terminates in an animal head, which is typically an outgrowth of scrollwork or an undulating decorative element; this terminal element assumes the features of various creatures ranging from a stylized *makara* to a lupine beast to a quite naturalistic elephant (fig. 13).[21] The motif is then taken up, albeit less frequently, by Devidasa in the later *Rasamanjari* (fig. 16), where in one case it assumes the form of a parrot.[22] Long regarded as one the most inventive details of the series, this marvelous element signals that the artist is somehow acquainted with the rich visual vocabulary of the Indo-Islamic tradition, in this case applying the idea of assorted fully colored animal heads issuing from scrollwork to an unexpected architectural

form. The ultimate source might be either Deccani or Mughal, for the feature appears both in the margins of two Golconda manuscripts dated about 1590–1600 and 1630 (fig. 17)[23] and of the Jahangir Album of about 1599–1620,[24] as well as on a type of Mughal carpet produced in Lahore about 1610–20.[25] While it is almost certain that none of these served as a direct model, the tradition that they embody is one easily conveyed to acquisitive artists by preliminary drawings or even verbal description.

The Indo-Islamic tradition accounts for the representation of many other architectural features in the two *Rasamanjari* series. One is the frequent appearance of the domed *chhatri* (an open rooftop pavilion), which had no structural counterpart in the Pahari region until the nineteenth century.[26] While painters working in wholly indigenous styles in the seventeenth century are content to align their buildings with the picture plane, both Kripal and Devidasa

Fig. 7. *Elephant and Mahout.* Bijapur, ca. 1620–30. Ink, colors, and gold on paper, painting 6⅜ × 4⅝ in. (16.3 × 11.8 cm); folio 16⅜ × 11¼ in. (41.5 × 28.7 cm). British Library, India Office Collections, London (J.A. 67, no. 16)

make a modest nod to Mughal and Deccani art by occasionally imparting a modicum of three-dimensionality to their representations of *chhatri*s and their supporting structures. In one curious example, Kripal keeps the body of the porch entirely flat but wrests the structure's parapet and eaves into an incongruous pentagon.[27] Devidasa shows a slightly better grasp of the spatial logic of this attempt at three-dimensionality, as he makes the porch rhomboid and the *chhatri* overhead octagonal (fig. 16). Both artists regularly enlist purely ornamental elements, such as the trefoil cresting or parapet and elaborately perforated window screens, common features in both Mughal and Deccani architecture (figs. 15 and 16).

More revealing are adaptations by these two painters of details found exclusively in Deccani painting or architecture. Framing the loggia's interior in this series are paired columns with ornate capitals whose complex curving form follows the shape and proportions of the corner supports found on a representative Bijapuri cenotaph.[28] The centrally divided, voluminous swag (fig. 14) hung across the top of the chamber and inside its columns is clearly based upon the depiction of curtains in several varieties of late sixteenth-century Deccani painting rather than upon Mughal art.[29] Seemingly fantastic elements that grace the buildings in the *Rasamanjari* series also correspond to distinctive features found in architecture of

Fig. 8. *An Elephant Attacks a Man Cowering in a Tree*. Punjab Hills, ca. 1700. Ink and touches of color on paper, 9⅛ × 4⅝ in. (23.2 × 11.6 cm). Museum Rietberg, Zurich (RVI 1064)

Fig. 9. *Woman Standing beneath a Tree.*
Mughal–Deccani style, ca. 1670. Ink,
colors, and gold on paper, painting
5¾ × 3 in. (14.5 × 7.7 cm). Museum
Rietberg, Zurich (RVI 1808)

Fig. 10. *Woman under a Willow Tree with a Large Butterfly.* Mandi, ca. 1720. Ink and colors on paper, painting 7⅛ × 4⅜ in. (18.1 × 11.1 cm); folio 8½ × 5¾ in. (21.5 × 14.6 cm). Museum Rietberg, Zurich (RVI 850)

the ʿAdil Shahi kingdom. For example, the hitherto unexplained beaded forms that hang prominently from the eaves of *chhatri*s and that end in pendants made of beetle-wing cases[30]—seen in paintings from both *Rasamanjari* series—are certainly inspired by the regional feature of stone chains that are suspended from the eaves of various build-ings and terminate in stone medallions (fig. 16).[31] Likewise, the sculpted struts sup-porting the main eaves and those of the *chhatri*s in a 1695 *Rasamanjari* illustration[32] have actual counterparts on Bijapuri monu-ments.[33] Even the oddly upswept eaves on some *chhatri*s in the *Rasamanjari* series

(fig. 13)[34] are a loose approximation of the profiles formed by circular or segmented balconies and their corbels on some mina-rets or decorative towers in Deccani architecture.[35]

A more complicated creative process lies behind the intriguing rosettes in the spandrels of one illustration from the 1695 *Rasamanjari* (fig. 16). Although this basic composition appears frequently in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Indo-Islamic architecture, especially in the Deccan, the rosettes here are not the customarily precise circular shapes with a lotiform or inscriptional fill. Instead, they

Fig. 11. *A Governess Instructs a Princess on a Terrace.* Chamba, ca. 1710–20. Ink and touches of color on paper, folio 8⅛ × 6½ in. (20.8 × 16.4 cm). Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad

have a sawtooth profile with a schematic *kirttimukha*, or monster face, centered within a stylized mane, its leafy tongue protruding over a meandering vine. This motif never appears on actual Indian spandrels, but it is common on certain types of Mughal carpets, especially those produced in Lahore, which Devidasa or his family might have known from personal experience or from design patterns preserved in artist sketchbooks.[36] To all appearances, then, the artist transposed a frontal animal face onto the rosette in the spandrel, an inventive creative decision probably driven by the inability to fill the rosette with an inscription in Arabic script or by his recognition of the negligible appeal of such a feature in a Pahari court. In another illustration, Devidasa looks to the same type of carpet border to adorn the porch walls flanking an open doorway with

a series of outward-springing, fan-shaped colored forms strung along a regularly looping vine.[37] Two telltale signs of the motif's origin in textiles are the flickering white edge of its three concentric forms and the minuscule blossoms set at measured intervals within an extremely narrow ruled border. Thus, Devidasa appropriates motifs from one medium and applies them to a wholly different context, a process that indicates that he is enriching his artistic repertoire rather than perpetuating an exotic aesthetic.

Several illustrations of the ca. 1670 *Rasamanjari* include an architectural appendage to the rectangular loggia, that is, a small porch or annex with a minimal thematic function (figs. 14 and 15). Astonishingly, its seemingly fanciful detailing is informed by actual elements of Deccani architecture. The twin *guldasta*, or lotus-bud finials, and

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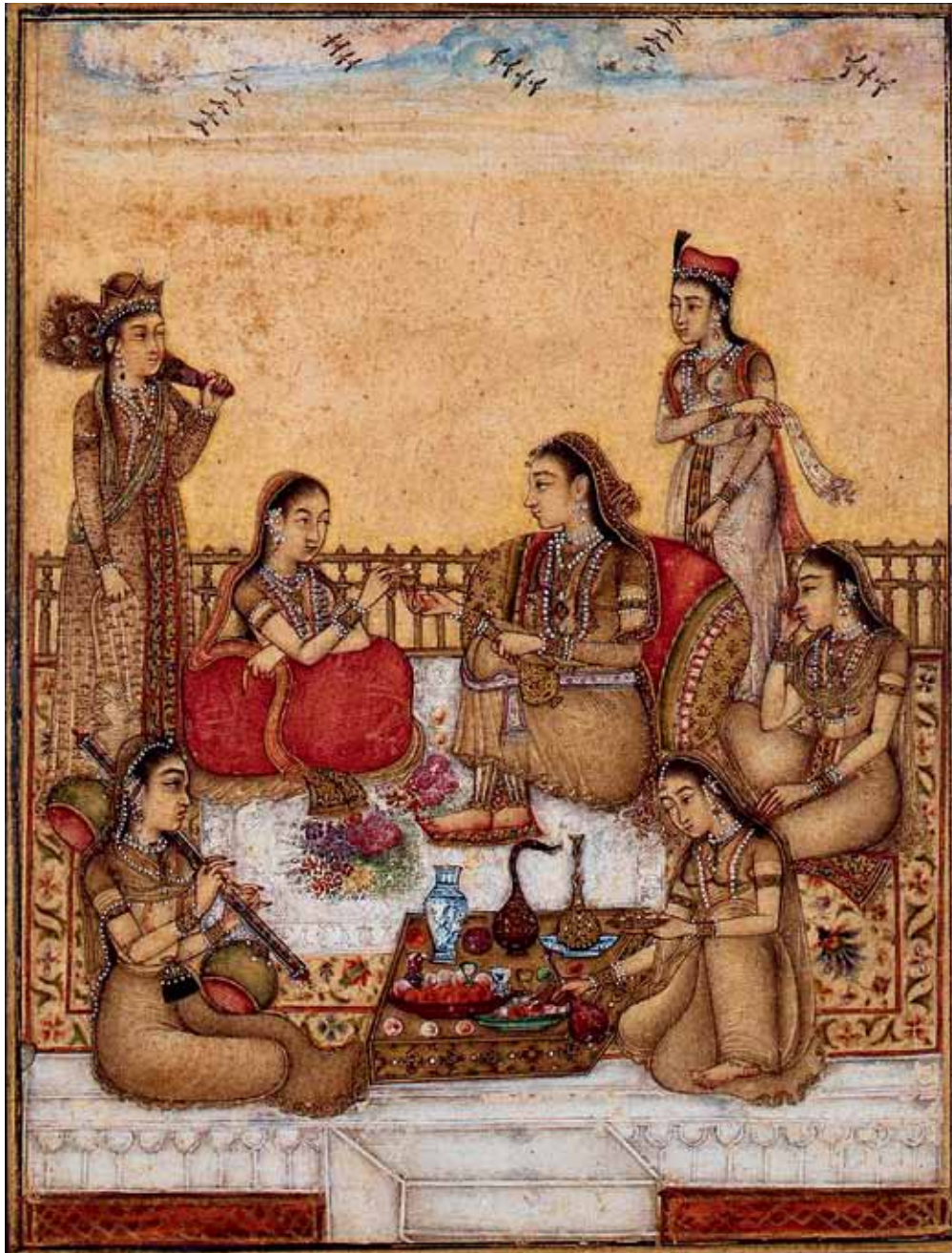
Fig. 12. *Two Princesses Seated on a Terrace*. Golconda, ca. 1675. Ink, colors, and gold on paper, painting 6¼ × 4⅝ in. (15.8 × 11.9 cm). Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Paris (1973–T.53)

Fig. 13. *Chesta Chatura Nayaka (The Hero Who Is Clever in Action).* Attributed to Kripal. *Rasamanjari* series. Basohli or Nurpur, ca. 1670. Ink, colors, gold, and beetle wing on paper, folio 9 × 12⅞ in. (22.9 × 32.6 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection (17.2785)

Fig. 14. *Vaidudhak Sakha (Krishna and the Jester).* Attributed to Kripal. *Rasamanjari* series. Basohli or Nurpur, ca. 1670. Ink, colors, gold, silver, and beetle wing on paper, painting 7⅛ × 10⅝ in. (18.1 × 27.1 cm); folio 8½ × 12⅞ in. (22.7 × 32.5 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IS 121-1951)
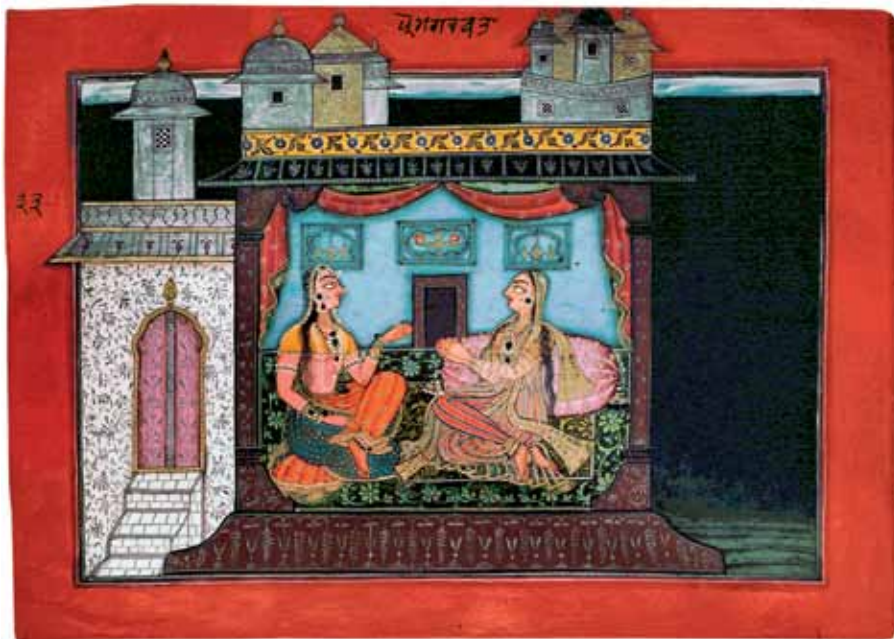
Fig. 15. *Prem Garivata (Proud Love).* Attributed to Kripal. *Rasamanjari* series. Basohli or Nurpur, ca. 1670. Ink, colors, gold, and beetle wing on paper, painting 7¼ × 10½ in. (18.3 × 26.6 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IS 49-1953)

Fig. 16. *Praudha Adhira Nayika (The Mature Heroine without Self-Control).* Attributed to Devidasa. Basohli or Nurpur, 1695. Ink, colors, and gold on paper, painting 8⅜ × 12¼ in. (21.4 × 31 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection (17.2779)

Fig. 17. *Sulayman Enthroned.*
Diwan of Muhammad Quli
Qutb Shah. Golconda,
ca. 1590–1600. Ink, colors, and
gold on paper, painting 6¼ ×
3⅞ in. (16 × 9.8 cm); folio 10⅞ ×
5¾ in. (27.7 × 14.5 cm). Salar
Jung Museum, Hyderabad
(Ms. 82, fol. 286)

the five merlons just below the roofline in figure 15, for example, are inventive reformulations of the finials and projecting gallery over Deccani gateways.[38] The position and form of the bud motif crowning the apex of the arch (see figs. 14 and 15) mimic the use of that motif in low-relief ornament at Bijapur and Golconda.[39] Most unexpectedly, even the silver scrolling vines on the façade and the unusual spiral markings scored on the uprights of the porch of figures 14 and 15 simulate the effects of painted plasterwork and carved string courses, both features found on Deccani and Mughal architecture.[40]

Even the way in which the porch is rendered reflects conventions of Deccani painting. The oblique set of steps leading up to the porch introduces to the composition a discrete spatial device that was previously unknown in Pahari painting and can be traced back to Deccani or Mughal painting. One bit of evidence to support this connection is the analogous appearance of an oblique staircase in the *Kishkindhakanda* of the Jagat Singh *Ramayana*, the volume executed by a small group of Deccani painters at Udaipur about 1653.[41] Conversely, in volumes produced under the direction of the Mewari masters Sahibdin or Manohar, with no contributions by Deccani artists, the staircases are either shown in strict profile or omitted altogether.[42] The bearded guard occasionally depicted sitting on the staircase is a further quotation of a Deccani or Mughal motif.[43]

Several strands of the Deccani style run throughout the early phase of Pahari painting, that is, the last three decades of the seventeenth century and the first of the eighteenth. The catalyst seems to have been a limited assortment of Deccani paintings brought to the Punjab Hills and probably dispersed through the courts at Chamba and Nurpur. The initial replication of a few Deccani compositions in their entirety eventually led to the dissemination of degenerated Deccani motifs throughout the Pahari region. The situation in the early

Rasamanjari series is somewhat different. In this case, the variety and distortion of Deccani architectural and ornamental features indicate that Kripal's knowledge of Deccani art was again the result of second-hand exposure, albeit probably to a larger sampling of original examples, rather than representing a sustained encounter with a practicing Deccani artist. At the same time, Kripal's familiarity with some specific architectural features that do not appear in actual Deccani paintings suggests that he and his family might have become acquainted with those features from conversations with or sketchbooks of descendants of the artisans involved in building or decorating temples, perhaps the Krishna temple at Nurpur, who purportedly came from outside the Pahari region, possibly from Gujarat, central India, or even the Deccan itself.[44] Yet no matter what the means of transmission, Kripal had a fundamentally different creative response to Deccani art and architecture than did his contemporaries. Paraphrasing only selected elements, such as domes, animal heads issuing from scrollwork, and the use of silver, he seamlessly integrated them into one emerging painting style of the Punjab Hills. More important, he recognized the inherent appeal of the greater technical precision and decorative elaboration of the Deccani visual tradition and implemented those qualities in the early *Rasamanjari* series. That the use of Deccan-inspired traits subsided substantially in the 1695 *Rasamanjari* further suggests not only that the exotic Deccani tradition had lost something of its novelty by that date, but also that local or familial painting styles at Nurpur or Basohli were no longer in that critical moment of formation, when the mixture of elements was most fluid.

This unexpected phenomenon of long-distance influence has many parallels in the history of Indian art: the influence of Persian art on the figure types and marginal decoration in western Indian manuscript illustrations in the fifteenth century;[45] the galvanizing impact of European prints on

Mughal painting before 1595;[46] and the seminal effect that a few Mughal-trained artists had on painting at Mandi and Nurpur in the mid-seventeenth century.[47] In fact, in comparison with the considerable attention devoted to the absorption of Mughal elements in emerging regional styles, little serious work has been done yet on the impact of the the diaspora of Deccani artists and the dispersal of Deccani paintings, the major exceptions being studies of the contributions of Deccani-trained artists to the Jagat Singh *Ramayana* in mid-seventeenth-century Mewar[48] and Deccani themes in Bikaneri painting.[49] Other schools of painting, especially Bikaner, Bundi/Kotah, and Amber, are ripe for further investigation of their manifold connections with the Deccan in the seventeenth century.[50] More generally, we often lapse into a habit of thinking of Indian painting styles as discrete and abstract entities, conceived fully formed and epitomized by works of great refinement. What we lose sight of in this schematic conceptual framework is the happenstance circumstances by which individual artists created new effects or adapted old ones in unpredictable and strikingly innovative ways.

1. Jagdish Mittal reportedly raised this issue in discussion at the September 1977 colloquium on Pahari painting at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.
2. Tandan 1981, pp. 189–91 and figs. 440–45; and Tandan 1982, pp. 77–82.
3. Welch 2004, pp. 440–46.
4. McInerney 1999, pp. 131–34.
5. The Deccani drawing is a copy after a Mughal work of ca. 1595, with minor changes in the many animals and the single figure composing the elephant, as well as substantial alterations to the lead demon and the setting. The work, now in a private collection, is published in Ehnbom 1985, no. 9, where it is correctly attributed to Dharmdas.
6. See, for example, *Peri on a Composite Camel*, Rajasthan, ca. 1660. Collection of Catherine and Ralph Benkaim, Beverly Hills, published in Del Bontà 1999, p. 71, fig. 2.
7. Another contemporary Deccani version of this motif with a half-length male figure inserted into

the same configuration of components is published in Galloway 2003, no. 4.
8. See the essay in this volume by Michael Barry on such composite creatures.
9. The connection to a Northern European source is discussed in Schmitz 1997, pp. 168–69. To me, the most plausible source of the motif is the figure of Death in Albrecht Dürer's ca. 1497–98 woodcut, *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*. The great scooping depression in the horse's body after the ribcage is occasioned by the omission of the motif of jaws of hell, and what is taken for an S-shaped brand on the haunch of the Morgan Library horse is an altered rendering of a protruding bone.
10. *Emaciated Nag and Groom*, ascribed to Basawan, ca. 1595. Indian Museum, 307/581, published in Beach 1992, fig. 84.
11. *Ascetic on an Emaciated Nag*, Bijapur, ca. 1620–35. The Israel Museum, O.S. 4070.10.77, published in Hutton 2006, fig. 4.19.
12. Another contemporary version of this scene associated with the state of Mankot in the Punjab Hills is published in Hodgkin and McInerney 1983, no. 30. It is interesting to note that this motif is also found on sculpture on the sixteenth-century Patancheru gate at Golconda; this is published in Michell and Zebrowski 1999, fig. 82.
13. See, for example, images of a female saint and the Madonna and Child published, respectively, in Schmitz and Desai 2006, pl. 27; and Beach 1981, fig. 44.
14. See, for example, a drawing of musicians published in Mittal 2007, no. 46, and Seyller and Mittal forthcoming.
15. This feature appears in figure 13 and in many other paintings from this series. See, for example, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IS 20–1958, 50–1953, and 53–1953), published, respectively, in Archer 1973, vol. 2, Basohli, nos. 4v, vii, and xiv.
16. Two particularly fine Basohli-style paintings with this motif are in the N. C. Mehta Collection, published in Khandalavala 1982, fig. 1; and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (17.3203), published in Cummins 2006, pl. 92.
17. Depictions of willow trees are rare in seventeenth-century painting produced outside the Deccan. One exception to this is the British Library *Kishkindhakanda* (Add. MS 15296 (2)), f. 74a, which was painted by a Deccani artist working at Udaipur. The painting is reproduced in Losty 2008, pl. 63.
18. *Lady with a Garland*, Mandi, ca. 1730–40. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IS 43–1954), published in Archer 1973, vol. 2, Mandi, no. 14.
19. Goswamy and Fischer 1992, p. 30.
20. Ibid., pp. 60–71; A. Das 1998, pp. 17–27.
21. For comparative details of this process, see Goswamy and Fischer 1992, p. 34, figs. 13–14. For other

illustrations with this feature, see Randhawa and Bhambri 1981, figs. 8, 23, 25, 29, 33, 58, 63, and 72.

22. This feature is found on the 1695 *Rasamanjari* illustrations published in Goswamy and Fischer 1992, no. 23; and Randhawa and Bhambri 1981, figs. 32 and 33.

23. In addition to figure 17, see Salar Jung Museum's *Ikhtiyarat-i Qutb Shahi* (Tibb 13, described in Ashraf 1991, vol. 10, no. 4035). I am grateful to Laura Weinstein for this reference and an image of the manuscript.

24. Colored fish, a *qilin*, profile heads of a wolf, cheetah, and fox, and frontal heads of a lion in a triple surround of vegetation appear among the foliate borders of f. 8a of the portion of the Jahangir Album (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Libr. Pict. A.117), published in Srivastava 2000, fig. III, 48.

25. Walker 1997, no. 16a–c.

26. Ohri 1991, p. 16.

27. Dogra Art Gallery, no. 367, published in Goswamy 1987, p. 125.

28. Hutton 2006, figs. 4.12–4.13.

29. For a Bijapuri example, see the ca. 1590–1604 British Library *Pem Nem* (Add. 16880), f. 206 (also fig. 29 in the essay by Deborah Hutton in this volume; also Hutton 2006, fig. 3.3); for Golconda ones with half, full, and looped curtains, see the ca. 1575 British Library *Sinbadnama* (Persian MS. 3214), ff. 35b, 45a, and 154a; and the Victoria and Albert *Anwar-i Suhayli*, ff. 150b, 211a, 296b, 327b, 397b, and 402b. Mughal examples are typically gathered up on one side, are more fully modeled, and are entirely red rather than being lined in material of a different color.

30. See, for example, Goswamy and Fischer 1992, nos. 13, 16, 19, and 21; and A. Das 1998, fig. 7.

31. For illustrations of this feature on the Kali mosque, Lakshmeswar, dated 1617, see Merklinger 1981, figs. 69 and 173; and Hutton 2006, fig. 4.9; for its occurrence on the Ibrahim Rauza at Bijapur, see Merklinger 1981, fig. 172; and Hutton 2006, pls. 27–28.

32. Goswamy and Fischer 1992, no. 23.

33. See, for example, the ca. 1620 Mihtar-i Mahal gateway at Bijapur, which is illustrated in Hutton 2006, figs. 4.15–4.17; and Merklinger 1981, fig. 68.

34. Goswamy and Fischer 1992, no. 13; Randhawa and Bhambri 1981, fig. 72.

35. See, for example, the ca. 1626–33 Ibrahim Rauza complex at Bijapur and the ca. 1590 Bibi-ki-Masjid at Burhanpur, published, respectively, in Hutton 2006, pls. 25–29, and in Brown 1956, pl. LIII, fig. 2.

36. Walker 1997, p. 41, fig. 31.

37. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi (no. 394), published in color in A. Das 1998, fig. 5, and discussed in Archer 1973, vol. 1, Basohli, no. 5(ii).

38. In addition to the Mihtar-i Mahal in Bijapur (see note 32), see also the entry gate of the fort of Sholapur, published in Michell and Zebrowski 1999, fig. 15.

39. Particularly good comparisons can be drawn to the forms above the arches on the *mihrab* of the 1608 Anda mosque and above a window and the doorways of the Ibrahim Rauza; these are published in Hutton 2006, figs. 4.10 and 4.4–4.5, respectively. See also fig. 7 in the essay by George Michell in this volume.

40. For the former, see Michell and Zebrowski 1999, pl. 16 and figs. 92–93. See ibid., pp. 121–22, for a discussion of spiral string courses on Bahmanid tombs in the vicinity of Bidar that imitate the spirals executed in plaster or glazed brick in such Timurid monuments as the madrasa of Ulugh Beg at Samarqand and the Jami' Masjid at Kirman. One example from the tomb of 'Ala' al-Din Shah Bahmani is published in Merklinger 1981, fig. 175.

41. See British Library Add. MS 15296 (2), ff. 24a and 33a, published in Losty 2008, pls. 53 and 55. It is noteworthy that these Deccani-style paintings also depict stone chains (rendered as a beaded fringe) hanging from *chhatris*, upswept balconies with flamboyant corbels, and arches articulated with leafy forms. The last of these features appears in two *Rasamanjari* paintings in the Dogra Art Gallery published in Goswamy 1987, pp. 58 and 156–57.

42. For examples, see Losty 2008, pls. 20, 31, 32, and 35.

43. Compare *Rasamanjari* paintings illustrated in Goswamy and Fischer 1992, no. 16, and Randhawa and Bhambri 1981, fig. 13, with f. 11a of the Golconda manuscript of the *Diwan* of Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah published in Zebrowski 1983, fig. 123; and Seyller 2002, nos. 136 and 149. In the latter, the guards sit rather than stand, which is more usual.

44. Goswamy and Fischer 1992, p. 129, reproduce two details of stone reliefs from this ruined temple and discuss the putative presence of artisans from Gujarat in Nurpur and Chamba at the end of the sixteenth century.

45. The prime example of this phenomenon, the ca. 1475 Devasano Pado *Kalpasutra*, is discussed in Losty 1982, no. 30; and Doshi 1985, p. 50, fig. 8, pp. 54–55, fig. 6.

46. An excellent account of the European influence on Mughal painting appears in Bailey 1998a.

47. Glynn 1983, and Glynn 1995.

48. Losty 1995.

49. Glynn 2000.

50. For a stimulating discussion of how the Kotah Master absorbed motifs and visual qualities drawn from a wide swath of Islamic traditions, including the Deccan, see Welch 1997, pp. 24–30.

Deccani Elements in Early Pahari Painting

Ali Akbar Husain

The Courtly Gardens of 'Abdul's *Ibrahim Nama*

The *Ibrahim nama* is a poetical work illustrative of the early seventeenth-century culture of the sultanate of the 'Adil Shahs centered at Bijapur in peninsular India. Its author—'Abdul—was a poet at the 'Adil Shah court and lived at a time of prosperity and stability, the high point of cultural activity at Bijapur. Little else is known of him. Written in Dakhni, a form of old Urdu that came into literary use in the Deccan primarily in the seventeenth century,[1] 'Abdul's *Ibrahim nama* is an extended *qasida* (panegyric) in praise of Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II using the poetical framework of the Persian *masnavi* (verse narrative).[2] The *Ibrahim nama*, edited by linguist and scholar Masud Husain Khan, was first published in the original Dakhni in 1969, as a special issue of *Qadim Urdu*, a journal devoted to scholarship in Old Urdu literature.[3] Khan's edition is based largely on one of two known manuscripts of the *Ibrahim nama*.[4] In his extensive foreword Khan observed that the *Ibrahim nama* is the first literary *masnavi* to be written in Bijapur in Early, or Old, Urdu, which would make 'Abdul the founder of Bijapur's Dakhni school of poetry.[5] Surprisingly, the poet neither figures in contemporary histories of the Deccan (*tawarikh*) nor in literary compendia of Urdu poets (*tazkirat*). The omission may be due to the poet's own admission of his origins in Delhi[6] and his failure to express any sense of belonging to the Deccan, which could not have endeared him to the poets of the Dakhni school, who were Deccani by

birth and rooted in the soil. Indeed, the poet laureate of Bijapur's Dakhni school, Mulla Nusrati, makes no reference to him in his own *masnavi* about Sultan 'Ali 'Adil Shah II, the *'Ali nama*, which was written in 1666, half a century later, although he acknowledges the poets of the Golconda school and even their commentators.[7]

As narrated by 'Abdul in the *Ibrahim nama*, when Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah invited him to compose a book of verses, 'Abdul asked the sultan what medium of communication he could possibly use, as he is merely a Dehlavi (that is, of Delhi) who knows nothing of Arabo-Persian poetry and whose language is merely Hindavi, that is, of India (not Persian, we might add).[8] In other words, 'Abdul professes that he has no claims to fame, unlike the renowned poets, for instance, Zuhuri, at the sultan's court. However, by referring to his medium of poetic expression as Hindavi, 'Abdul associates himself indirectly not only with such poets as Amir Khusrau, of north India, but also with the Sufi writer Burhanuddin Janam of Gujarat, who called his language both Hindavi and Gujjari.[9]

It appears that at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when 'Abdul composed his *Ibrahim nama*, there were no substantial differences between the languages in circulation in north India and peninsular India. These various languages were commonly influenced by the literary dialects: Braj Bhasha for devotional poetry composed by *Krishna bhakti*s (Krishna worshippers) and Khari boli of the *nath panti*s (wandering ascetics) for communicating the message of *Wahdaniyat* (Unity of Being). Marathi also came to be assimilated in everyday speech and literature, which accounts for the abundance of Sanskrit words in Dakhni.[10] Although some key identifying characteristics of the Dakhni idiom are

missing in the *Ibrahim nama*, the grammatical structure and base vocabulary are recognizably the same as that of the *Qutb Mushtari* a *masnavi,* by 'Abdul's contemporary Wajhi, in Goloconda, and that of another *masnavi, Qissa-yi Benazir,* of Sana'ti Bijapuri, written thirty years later in 1645,[11] when the term "Dakhni" was used for the first time to describe the language of a poetical work. Therefore, it may be added that not only was 'Abdul's Hindavi acceptable as a language for a poetical work at the sultan's court, but also that the language of his *masnavi* was recognized as Dakhni, the local form of old Urdu.

That an obscure "Hindavi-speaking" poet should be elevated to the Persian-influenced court of one of the Deccan's principal sultanates speaks both for Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II's patronage of the local idiom and for his encouragement of 'Abdul and other promising poets, facts borne out by the *Ibrahim nama* itself. In 1611, when the sultan commissioned 'Abdul to compose a poetical work on a "new subject," the Persian poets at the sultan's court (such as Zuhuri and Malik Qummi) were past their prime. The sultan wished to inject new life in his court by replacing them with those who were familiar with the local language.[12] According to 'Abdul, these newer poets were the "budding flowers of the Sultan's literary *majalis* [assemblies], on each of whom the Sultan's gaze would linger to savor the unique fragrance and *rasa* [essence], rather in the manner of a *bhanvara* [bumblebee] hovering about a flower."[13]

As the *Ibrahim nama* records, 'Abdul's patron encouraged him to compose his poetical work in the local idiom, arguing that it is poetry that brings *rup* (form) to a language; moreover, that poetry has as many faces, as many forms of expression, as does love, and must be enjoyed in its variety of forms, in various languages, rather than in Persian alone.[14] He further reasons with 'Abdul, telling him that the poet's use of "his country's language" would go a long way in promoting it as a medium of literary expression. In effect, the sultan urges the poet to work toward "his country's" Deccani identity. At the same time, by commissioning 'Abdul to compose a poetical work on a "new subject,"[15] the sultan is clearly telling 'Abdul that it is this "new subject" that in fact will win him glory.

Of course, the "new subject" for a poetical work commissioned by the sultan was none other than the sultan himself. Master of the "sixty-four arts of Indian music," as 'Abdul's panegyric records,[16] the sultan had been accorded the title of "Universal Teacher" (*jagat guru*) by his Hindu subjects.[17] 'Abdul also remembers him as *Shah Nauras* (The King of the Nine Essences):[18] the word *nauras*, from *rasa*, a key concept of Indic aesthetics, had a special fascination for the sultan. Thus, *nauras* figured in Nauraspur, the town that the sultan had founded in 1603 as the sultanate's new capital (much like the Mughal emperor Akbar founded Fatehpur Sikri almost contemporaneously in north India). The sultan's favorite palace in Nauraspur came to be called Nauras Mahal for its assemblies of music. And, among various other things, *nauras* also appears in the title of an anthology of songs, the *Kitab-i Nauras* (The Book of the Nine Essences) authored by the sultan, which was based on the melodic modes of Indian classical music.[19]

'Abdul's *masnavi* is divided into twenty-eight sections, eight of which form an elaborate introduction, and one a formal conclusion to the book. The introductory sections, in characteristically Sunni fashion, begin with praise of God and of the Prophet Muhammad and his Four Companions, and follow with praise of the poet's *murshid* (spiritual mentor) and the Deccan's patron saint, Gesu Daraz (Of the Long Locks), as well as with a poem in praise of Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II. The introduction also serves to highlight the significance of Indic aesthetics for the author and its imprint on his work: it includes sections on verse composition (where 'Abdul records the advice of the sultan, his *ustad*, or teacher), on the relation between "word" and "meaning" in literature, and on the art of writing (titled

the "pen and paper"). A formal beginning to the book then commences with another, longer, poem in praise of the sultan. Subsequent sections focus on the sultan's generosity, which are succeeded by poetical snapshots in praise of Bijapur (or Bidyapurnagar, City of Learning, as the poet calls it, the new name it was given during Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II's time).

'Abdul builds up his collection of images, beginning with the might and splendor of the ramparts and bastions girdling Bijapur's citadel, *ark qila*, the teeming life of the capital's bazaars,[20] and the glittering palaces of Nauraspur.[21] He points to the mountain-like elephants outside the palace portals, whose tusks are like bolts of lightning; the sea of camels and horses, each one from a different corner of the world; the throngs of princes from *chappan de*s (lit. thirty six countries); the lines of courtiers, army chiefs, and soldiers.[22] 'Abdul also draws attention to the more personal aspects of the sultan's life, to Moti Khan, the sultan's musical instrument (*tanbura*), to Atash Khan, his favorite elephant, and to Chand Bibi, his beloved aunt and guardian and once a princess of the sultanate of Ahmadnagar. The sultan's reverence for the protectors of his City of Learning—Saraswati, goddess of music, and Ganapati, god of learning—is noted, and the reader is told that the sultan's world is peopled, importantly, too, with singers and dancing girls from various parts of his sultanate. These, the flowers of his music assemblies (*majalis*), grace these occasions with the fifty-two fragrances of *kadam* (*kadam bas bavan*)[23] and are wholly acquainted with the "sixty-four arts" described in the *Kamasutra*,[24] knowledge of which was traditionally considered to be an important social accomplishment, especially for women. There is a section on preparations for the royal hunt, including the announcements, with cannons, heralding this occasion. The ornamentation of the court for music assemblies and the costumes and jeweled ornament of the dancing girls at these assemblies are described in the greatest

detail. For instance, the sultan's throne on a raised *takht* (dais), which is the centerpiece of a hall laid out with jeweled floorspreads, is animated with the imagery of surrounding jeweled trees. The description includes the glimmer of candles on golden trays, resembling lotus in a golden lake;[25] lamps and torches hung about the palace *angan* (terrace) scattering ruby and musk; and the haze of incense in the *angan* when the lamps there appear to be star clusters and the palace itself resembles the moon.[26]

'Abdul's description of the advent of spring, which ushers in a feast and celebration in a forest grove, highlights the harmony of man and nature that is emphasized in both Persian and Sanskrit literary traditions. The allegory chosen by 'Abdul to express such harmony may be linked via Sanskrit narratives and Puranic literature to a mythical event, the return to life of Kamadeva, the Indian god of desire, who was sent by Brahma to penetrate Shiva's ascetic discipline and fill him with passion for Parvati. Reduced to ashes by Shiva's fury, Kama returned to life in spring, albeit formless, when his wife, Rati, pleaded with the great god.[27] The Indian festival of spring, *Vasantotsava* (also known as Basant), is a celebration of desire centering on the worship of Kama through rituals involving trees.[28] However, the "formless" Kama (eclipsed by the sultan's beauty, "like the moon made formless by the sun's light"[29]) does not figure in 'Abdul's account of spring. Instead, 'Abdul recalls Kama's companion, Vasanta, who, according to Indian Puranic tradition, runs ahead of the god of desire, causing flowers to bloom and gently scented breezes to blow, thereby preparing men and women for Kama's assault on their senses with his beautiful and sharp arrows.[30] 'Abdul calls him Basant Rao and Banpat Rao, the Chief or Raja of Spring.

'Abdul initiates his account of the spring feast with an elaborate commentary on his patron's greatness as a ruler of Deccan. He compares the sultan to a tree with eight branches that links heaven and earth.

The tree's extensive canopy is said to shelter gardens where flowers of the intellect, filled with the *rasa* of wisdom, are to be found. The tree is a blessing for man, bird, and beast and a sanctuary for an entire community.[31] The fragrance of the sultan, of his generosity and goodness, is savored by the angels, and it is this fragrance, carried by the wind to a forest grove, that awakens the forest trees from their winter slumber, creating a restlessness that can only be stilled by the *didar* (vision) of the Deccan's shah. As the forest trees fling away their clothes and cast off their ornaments, the Raja of Spring, Basant Rao (the Vasanta of the *Bhavisya Purana*), sends his physician bees (*tabib bhanvar*) to examine the trees, to feel each pulse and vein, and to ascertain the cause of their distress. The "physicians" report that the withered trees are suffering from the affliction of Love, the cure for which is not *daru* (medicine), but *didar* (vision). Accordingly, Basant Rao summons his messenger, the *koel* (Indian cuckoo), to announce a visit to the Deccan's shah. Each forest tree thereupon leaps up with joy, its flag and banner flying.[32]

There follows an account of the traveling army of the Spring raja, which describes a collection of garden trees, both a delight to the senses and an enjoyable presence. There are swaying, elephant-like *amb jhar* (mango trees, *Magnifera indica*) decorated with flowers and *ghungru mala* (bell-strings, a reference to their fruit), while the elephant riders appear to be the swarms of nectar-hungry *bhanvare* (bumblebees) hovering above the flowers. Close upon these are trains of camels, the *tar jhar* (fan-tailed palms, *Borassus flabbelliformis*), as well as rows of horses, the *mar jhar* (fish-tailed palms, *Caryota urens*). The *nalir jhar* (coconut palms, *Cocos nucifera*) wave their green parasols (*chhatriyan*), and their fruit clusters appear like the pompoms (*phundne*) decorating these parasols. The *phannas jhar* (jackfruit trees, *Artocarpus integrifolia*), their feet firmly planted, appear to be holding *kuzdan* (jars). The *kele ke jhar* (banana trees, *Musa paradisiaca*), their foliage

flying in the wind, are flags and banners, and the lines of *sarv ke jhar* (upright cypresses, *Cupressus sepervirens*) are lines of lances and spears. Also to be seen are swaying *khajur jhar* (date palms, *Phoenix dactylifera*), and the *imbliyan* (tamarinds, *Tamarindus indica*) likewise appear in rows, their pods resembling the *ankush* (twisted iron goads) held by the elephant riders. Dispersed among these rows and ranks are the *paidal jhar* (Indian trumpets, *Stereospermum suaveolens*). The *anar jhar* (pomegranates, *Punica granatum*), with their wind-scattered red and gold petals, seem like the *nalle* (fire fountains) announcing a royal procession. Laden thus with all variety of trees and redolent with *bas bavan phulan* (lit.: the fifty-two floral fragrances), Basant Rao arrives at the feast hosted in his honor by the Deccan shah.[33]

The feast is laid out on *makhmali* (velvet) and *zarbaf* (gold-woven) *kanduriyan* (floorspreads) in a palace garden. Each tree at this reception is surrounded with a golden *rattan ala* (basin) filled with *khushbui pani* (perfumed water), a reference to the practice of making earthen basins around trees and shrubs that were filled with perfumed water to cause scent in the blossoms and fruit.[34] The food samplers are the *chashmi gir mali* (gardeners), who hurry about sampling each basin and adding *pani sokhan* (perfumed flavorings). Nourished and revived, the trees arise in trains and rows and, adorned in silken array, they assemble before the shah to present him *khila't* (robes of honor). Ringed around *hauz khana kadam* (fragrant pools), their boughs rising and falling, the trees appear to perfume themselves. Each fragrance-filled *hauz khana*, lined with slender trees and reflecting the ball of the sun and the white of the sky, is an image of the eye, as it were, and, as the wind sets the water surface in motion, it is as if the senses are illuminated by ten thousand fragrances.[35]

For an account of the private enjoyment of Vasantotsava, 'Abdul shifts the scene to the forest grove. According to several Sanskrit sources, most importantly the *Ratnavali*,

written in Harsha's time, in the seventh century,[36] this is the traditional venue for a royal spring celebration in the Indic tradition. The shah and his ladies are assembled at one end of the forest grove, and Basant Rao and his trees take up the other end. The poet points to the similarities between the shah's ladies, who are arrayed in gold and adorned in jeweled ornament, and the blossoming spring trees: in fact, he adds, the trees in their flush of foliage and opening blossoms are as if dyed in the colors of the ladies, who clearly outrival their cousins.[37] Implicit in this account is the merriment of song and dance that would have accompanied such a Basant celebration, as is suggested in the iconography of *ragamala* subjects, such as in the painting *Raga Basanta* (fig. 1), which is animated with the blossoms of the mango (recalling Kamadeva) and the flush of new foliage. Red, it may be added, is the color of passion. It may also be noted here that the connection of women with trees, "alternately laden with buds, blossoms, and ripening fruit," is a theme widely celebrated in Indian literary and pictorial traditions.[38] In such traditions, trees are depicted as conscious beings and objects of worship. They are also believed to crave contact with women, whereby their buds may open and burst into flower.[39] In this way, according to popular belief, the productivity of the trees comes to be transferred to the women with whom they are in contact.[40]

'Abdul does not dwell on such beliefs, nor does he provide an explicit account of the festivities heralding spring, limiting himself to a description of the season's sensory delights. Being a poet at the royal court, he would of course have witnessed all such events that testified to his patron's pursuit of *srngara* (pleasure) with *kamini* and *tanbura* (beautiful women and song).[41] The *Ibrahim nama* concludes with the birthday celebrations of the sultan and songs from *Bud Parkash*, another collection of songs to be sung in court, to which 'Abdul refers in one of his couplets.[42]

Bijapur's grandeur in the time of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II is well documented in the *Ibrahim nama*, and 'Abdul's observations of cultural life in the capital are borne out by the accounts of various travelers at the turn of the sixteenth century, including the Mughal envoy, Asad Beg. Commenting on the *Ibrahim nama*, the Dakhni Urdu scholar Sayyada Jafar observes (in agreement with Masud Khan) that 'Abdul's imaginative rendering of historical truths lends a fictionlike charm to his narrative, providing, as Ibrahim probably wished, many insights into the life and activities of the Bijapur. She considers 'Abdul's descriptive ability to be his particular strength and believes that it is largely because of this ability that his portrayal of early seventeenth-century Bijapur has been preserved for posterity.[43]

Following upon the *Kitab-i Nauras* of his patron and *guru*, to which reference was made earlier, 'Abdul's *masnavi* is inevitably influenced by the language and style of that work—by the novelty of simile and metaphor in it, the allusions to Indian mythology, and the emphasis on theories of Indic (Sanskrit) aesthetics.[44] Like his patron, 'Abdul acknowledges the central significance of "word" and "speech" (*bachan*) in the creative arts in the Indian tradition. He calls *bachan* the "fragrance of the flower of Intellect"[45] and elaborates on the relation between *bachan* (word) and *artha* (meaning), using the analogy of a tree whose branches represent the "word" and the fruit they carry its "meaning."[46] He recounts his discussion with the sultan on the subject, adding that his *guru* would have him strive for meaningful expression in his poetical work with words that are filled with meaning as the pomegranate is with seeds.[47] Combining brevity with meaning was the essential instruction— 'Abdul was being asked to develop a sense of word-pictures—more, a sense of phraseology designed to please the ear and mind, rather in the manner of *riti kal*,[48] a type of court poetry that put essential emphasis on delivering *rasa*.

Sultans of the South: Arts of India's Deccan Courts, 1323–1687

Fig. 1. *Vasanta Ragini, Second Wife of Dipak Raga.* Rajasthan, Amber, ca. 1700. Folio from a Ragamala. Ink, colors, and gold on paper, folio 11⅝ × 8¾ in (29.5 × 22.2 cm); painting 9½ × 6⅝ in. (24.1 × 16.8 cm). Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of Paul F. Walter (M.79.191.28)

To conclude, it could be said that, despite its excessive use of hyperbole, the *Ibrahim nama* remains a realistic portrayal of Bijapur in the early seventeenth century. Even the allegory of Basant Rao's visit to the sultan, serving to emphasize the admiration the sultan inspired in all (including the Raja of Spring), takes place in what appears to be an actual garden setting composed almost entirely of Indian trees in ranks and rows, in the way perhaps that gardens were laid out in early seventeenth-century Bijapur.[49]

'Abdul's focus on court festivities, particularly music assemblies and the attire and ornament of women, is in keeping with Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II's love of music and beautiful women. In listing the colors of the attire of the various dancing girls of the music assemblies and bazaars, and

the fragrances and jewels they wear, 'Abdul is, as it were, describing a garden full of flowers; indeed, the analogy of a flower garden is used for the literary assemblies of the sultan, while resemblances are noted between the jeweled trees of the palace terrace, their foliage shaken by the breeze, and the slender girls in ornament and finery waving handkerchiefs.[50]

In his consideration of nature, the poet notes both the symbolic and the sensory aspects of Indian trees. In his analogy of Ibrahim as the eight-branched tree linking heaven and earth, 'Abdul is clearly thinking of the "verticality" and "centrality" of canopy-forming Indian trees and their associated shade and *shanti* (tranquility). Such a symbolic association with large Indian forest trees may be traced to the cosmic tree of Vedic mythology that propped up heaven at the dawn of Creation.[51]

'Abdul conveys a sense of enjoyment of nature for its own sake, a delight in the sensory qualities of trees and the accompanying flow of *rasa*. The role of trees as markers of the seasons, a stock subject of Sanskrit court epic, is well understood. Finally, 'Abdul's account of spring's advent and celebration speaks of the harmony that becomes manifest at that time of year between nature and man. The poet draws parallels between women and trees toward the end of this account, suggesting that the sultan's merriment with his ladies in the forest grove, reflecting that of Basant Rao with his legion of trees, is a natural response of man to nature's productivity in spring, a time when "humans become subject to the laws of nature and nature comes to be viewed in wholly human terms."[52] Though such an idea may derive from the Sanskrit rather than the Persian tradition, it is nevertheless a reflection of the time in which this work was composed, a product of the patronage of Deccani and local culture in the sultanate of the 'Adil Shahis in the early seventeenth century.

1. In his foreword Khan writes (M. Khan 1969, p. 47) that Dakhni is the local name for Early, or Old, Urdu and that, linguistically, Dakhni does not have a separate identity.
2. Ibid., p. 15. Jafar and Cand 1998, vol. 1, p. 418.
3. This journal, according to Matthews 1993, p. 94, maintains a "high standard of textual criticism." Khan notes (M. Khan 1969, pp. 60–61) that the *Qadim Urdu* publication was made possible by the support of H.E.H. The Nizam Charitable Trust and the efforts of Sayyid Sabir Ali Hashmi, the Trust's Secretary.
4. According to Khan (M. Khan 1969, pp. 60–61), the older of the two is housed in the Directorate of Archives of Maharashtra State, Mumbai, previously known as the Department of Archives and Historical Monuments, Bombay; the other is in the Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad. The edition consists of an extensive *muqadimma* (foreword), pp. 1–67, and the *masnavi* itself, pp. 1–135, which is numbered separately. The older manuscript, on which Khan's publication is largely based, came from a private collection in the Aundh district of the state of Maharashtra. It consists of eighty-three pages, 6 x 4 inches with nine lines on each page, and is written in *naskh* script. The name of the transcriber is entered as Sayyid 'Abdur Rahim ibn-i (that is, son of) Sayyid Yusuf. Sayyid Yusuf is known to have been a royal scribe at the court of Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, and Khan presumes that the manuscript was ordered by the sultan himself. The manuscript was made public for the first time in January 1932 by Sri Bhagwat Dyal Varma in *Risala Hindustani*, a discontinued journal published in Allahabad. The second manuscript, in the Salar Jung Library, consists of sixty-two pages, 8 x 5 in., with nine lines per page. It is written in *nasta'liq* script. Though it is believed to date from the nineteenth century, it is not considered to be a copy of the Aundh manuscript.
5. M. Khan 1969, p. 36. Earlier *masnavi*s, such as Nizami's *Kadam Rao Padam Rao*, Ashraf's *Nau sar har*, and Burhanuddin Janam's *Irshad nama*, are said to be religious, moralistic, or Sufic in tone, without any literary merit in terms of style or subject matter.
6. *Ibrahim nama*, p. 19 (98). Khan proposes that 'Abdul may have arrived in Bijapur from the region around Delhi at a very early age, or that he was born in Bijapur of parents who migrated from the Delhi region; in either case, he was not a native of the Deccan, but had lived long enough in the Deccan to assimilate the local vernacular. Page numbers immediately following references in notes to *Ibrahim nama* are to the

page of the Dakhni edition (M. Khan 1969); numbers in parentheses are to the verses of the *masnavi*. The English translations are by the author of this essay.

7. M. Khan 1969, p. 40.

8. *Ibrahim nama*, p. 19 (98).

9. M. Khan 1969, p. 51.

10. Khan relates (ibid., p. 50) that, according to Asad Beg, the Mughal envoy whose impressions of Bijapur are on record, Sultan Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II spoke fluent Marathi with his courtiers.

11. Ibid., pp. 40, 57. Khan notes that there are many commonalities in the languages used by Janam, Wajhi, Sana'ti, and 'Abdul. *Qissa-yi Benazir of Sana'ti Bijapuri*, edited by 'Abdul Qadir Sarwari (Hyderabad: Osmania University, 1938), p. 26.

12. M. Khan 1969, p. 22; Jafar and Cand 1998, vol. 1, p. 211.

13. *Ibrahim nama*, p. 65 (378–380).

14. Ibid., p. 20 (100–103).

15. Ibid., p. 18 (94).

16. Ibid., pp. 32–33 (175, 182).

17. Ibid., p. 18 (91).

18. Ibid., p. 15 (76).

19. Ibid., p. 155. For more on the *Kitab-i Nauras*, see the essay by Navina Haidar in this volume.

20. Ibid., pp. 41–47 (225–278).

21. Ibid., pp. 55–59 (312–346).

22. Ibid., pp. 53–54 (296–311).

23. Ibid., p. 63 (381).

24. Ibid., p. 51 (288).

25. Ibid., pp. 60–61 (347–359).

26. Ibid., pp. 66–67 (392–395).

27. Anderson 1993, p. 60, referring to the *Bhavisya Purana*. See also Nugteren 2005, p. 103.

28. Anderson 1993, p. 51. According to Anderson, "the specific ritual with which Kama is associated is known as *dohada*."

29. *Ibrahim nama*, p. 65 (383).

30. Benton 2006, p. 32.

31. *Ibrahim nama*, pp. 80–81 (484–492).

32. Ibid., pp. 83–87 (493–526). Anderson 1993, p. 39, makes note of the references to *koel*, *bhanwara*, and mango in the *Ratnavali*.

33. *Ibrahim nama*, pp. 87–90 (527–546).

34. This practice is mentioned in Indian horticultural texts, which have been examined by the author in his studies of Deccani gardens: A. Husain 2000 and A. Husain 2011b.

35. *Ibrahim nama*, pp. 91–93 (547–566).

36. Anderson 1993, pp. 15, 29.

37. *Ibrahim nama*, pp. 94–95 (567–578).

38. Nugteren 2005, p. 103.

39. Anderson 1993, p. 51.

40. Nugteren 2005, p. 105.

41. Reference is made here (M. Khan 1969, p. 16) to one of the songs in the *Kitab-i Naurus*, where the sultan expresses his desire for "only two things in this world—song and beautiful women."

42. *Ibrahim nama*, p. 99 (606).

43. Jafar and Cand 1998, vol. 2, p. 414; M. Khan 1969, p. 37.

44. *Ibrahim nama*, p. 38.

45. Ibid., p. 22 (117).

46. Ibid., p. 26 (143).

47. Ibid., p. 26 (144).

48. Ibid., pp. 39–42.

49. These have been illustrated in the author's studies of the gardens of the Deccan (A. Husain 2000 and A. Husain 2011b) and at the various symposia on the art of the Deccan's sultanates that have been held, in Hyderabad (2007), Oxford (2008), and New York (2008).

50. Many such analogies are to be found in the *Gulshan-i 'Ishq* (Flower Garden of Love) of Mulla Nusrati. See A. Husain 2011a and A. Husain forthcoming.

51. Nugteren 2005.

52. Ingalls 1968, p. 112.

Phillip B. Wagoner

The Multiple Worlds of Amin Khan: Crossing Persianate and Indic Cultural Boundaries in the Qutb Shahi Kingdom

In the town of Patancheru, northwest of Hyderabad, there is a little-known tomb of the Qutb Shahi period with an elegant Persian inscription recording the circumstances of its foundation (figs. 1–3). We learn from the inscription (see appendix 1 of this chapter) that the tomb was commissioned by one 'Abd al-Qadir Amin Khan—implicitly, to serve as his own final resting place—and that it was completed in the year A.H. 976 (A.D. 1568).[1]

Who exactly was this Amin Khan? We learn very little about him from the tomb's Persian inscription, apart from the names of five generations of his male ancestors, the names of his five sons, and the additional detail that he was a disciple of Shah Muhammad al-Qadiri al-Multani, a Sufi *shaikh* of the Qadiri order. Although he must have been a wealthy member of the landed elite in order to have undertaken the construction of a monumental tomb, the inscription is silent about his political identity and the particular nature of his

relationship with the Qutb Shahi state. Nor does he appear in the pages of any of the contemporary Persian historical works relating to the Qutb Shahi period. As long as we rely solely on the evidence of Persian source material, Amin Khan remains a shadowy figure on the margins of history.[2]

But why restrict our consideration to Persian sources alone? The temptation to do so is merely the result of deeply entrenched historiographic habit. The logic runs something like this: since the Qutb Shahi sultanate is part of the Persianate Islamic world, its history is properly the preserve of historians trained to work with "Islamic" languages, such as Persian, Arabic, and Urdu. But the sultanate of the Qutb Shahis—like all of the other sultanates of the Deccan—was just as undeniably also a part of the Indic world, where such "non-Islamic" languages as Telugu and Sanskrit continued to thrive. Clearly, then, it might prove useful to take into consideration sources written in these "Indic" languages, and this is especially true of Telugu, the local Indic vernacular that was spoken everywhere in the Qutb Shahi domains—not just by the majority population, but even by members of the Qutb Shahi royal family itself and by members of their Persianate administrative elite. Indeed, there are a number of literary works in Telugu that were produced in the context of the Qutb Shahi court and that have survived down to the present (see appendix 2 of this chapter).

In Amin Khan's case, we find that a directly relevant Telugu source does in fact exist. This is *The Story of Yayati* (*Yayati Charitramu*), a literary work written by the poet Ponnikanti Telaganarya under Amin Khan's patronage.[3] It is Telaganarya's only known work, while our knowledge of the poet himself is derived from the minimal information he gives about himself in the colophon to each chapter. He states that

he belongs to the Ponnikanti family and is the son of Bhavana Amatya, adding that "through his scholarship, which he won through the grace of initiation by Shri Madana Gopala, he had earned the praise of good poets who held his speech worthy of emulation."[4]

Following established literary practice, Telaganarya prefaces his work with an account of his patron, thus adding considerably to our knowledge of Amin Khan. The preface not only clarifies the nature of Amin Khan's involvement in the Qutb Shahi state, but it also sheds light on the varied social networks through which he interacted with his contemporaries. Most strikingly, it reveals Amin Khan interacting with individuals from a wide variety of other social groups, with little regard for the cultural boundaries that supposedly divided the Deccan into two distinct spheres of interaction, one Persianate, the other Indic. As we will see, the social networks in which Amin Khan participated linked him not only with Sufi *shaikh*s and Qutb Shahi sultans, but also with Telugu-speaking brahmins from many different walks of life—including those working in the sultanate's administration, pursuing traditional scholarship in brahmin villages (*agraharam*s), or standing in the vanguard of Telugu literature.

Fig. 1. Tomb of Amin Khan from the south, Patancheru (Medak District, Andhra Pradesh), completed A.H. 976 (A.D. 1568)

AMIN KHAN AND HIS FAMILY

From Telaganarya's preface, we learn that Amin Khan was a ministerial advisor and confidant of Ibrahim Qutb Shah (A.H. 957–88; A.D. 1550–80) and that he enjoyed as his estate the district of Kasalnadu (roughly equivalent to the present Medak district), which he oversaw from his headquarters at Patancheru.[5] We learn also that the family had been established in Patancheru since at least the time of Amin Khan's grandfather, "Huma Miya" (Shaikh Humayun in the Persian inscription).[6] This important detail underscores the family's rootedness in the locale and helps make sense of Amin Khan's patronage of Telugu literature. Taking this evidence, together

with the testimony of the tomb inscription and its demonstration of Amin Khan's devotion to the Sunni-affiliated Qadiri Sufi order, we may safely conclude that, with Amin Khan, we are dealing not with an immigrant Persian and Shi'i, but, rather, with a member of the established Deccani class, which was overwhelmingly Sunni in its religious affiliation.

From Telaganarya's preface, we also gain a far richer understanding of Amin Khan's family structure and its dynamics. Telaganarya corroborates much of the genealogical information contained in the tomb inscription, giving the names of Amin Khan's father and grandfather, as well as the names of his

Fig. 2. Interior of tomb of Amin Khan, showing cenotaphs

sons was born to which wife, as well as of the existence of Amin Khan's half-brother Babanu Miya born of Sarabana Bibi.[7] Most intriguingly, Telaganarya also devotes some attention to describing and praising the public actions of some of these women. For example, he notes that Amin Khan's senior wife, Bade Bibi, distributed free milk daily to all the needy children of the town of Patancheru.[8] These details constitute a significant and much-needed addition to the androcentric view of the Persian inscription, which remains entirely silent on the women of Amin Khan's family.

AMIN KHAN AND THE SUFIS

Telaganarya's preface also agrees with the Persian tomb inscription in suggesting the importance of Sufism to Amin Khan. In the inscription, Amin Khan presents himself both as a pious Muslim—describing himself as a "humble, lowly, and insignificant servant"—and as a devoted disciple of Shah Muhammad al-Qadiri al-Multani, a contemporary Sufi saint of the Qadiri order. It is also significant that, in recording the completion of his tomb, Amin Khan does not take personal credit for the commission; instead, he states that it was only accomplished "by the grace of God, Almighty," and with the spiritual help of the twelfth-century founder of the Qadiri order, Shaikh Muhi al-Din 'Abd al-Qadir.[9]

Further, Amin Khan presents himself not only as a disciple of Shah Muhammad al-Qadiri al-Multani, but also as a grand-disciple of the latter's master, Shaikh Ibrahim Makhdum Shah-ji Muhammad Qadiri, who had died in 1564 and was entombed at Bidar.[10] Telaganarya's preface agrees with the inscription in presenting Amin Khan and his family as disciples of Shaikh Ibrahim Makhdum Shah-ji, whom Telaganarya calls "Hazrat Makhdum-ji Qadiri" (*Hajarati Mokhidumji Khadiri*) and describes as "the abode of all shining fortune." Telaganarya also makes it clear that Amin Khan's fourth son, Shaikh Ibrahim, was named after the Qadiri saint.[11]

five sons—all as they would have been pronounced in the Telugu of his day (see fig. 4). But whereas the Persian tomb inscription is entirely silent on the identities of Amin Khan's female relatives—as is typically the case in public inscriptions in Persian—Telaganarya follows Telugu literary conventions and identifies the names of six female members of the family, from Amin Khan's grandmother Chadu Bibi, his mother, Silaru Bibi, and her co-wife Sarabana Bibi, to his own three wives, Bade Bibi, Sekkera Bibi, and Semma Bibi. We also learn which of his

Fig. 3. Inscription on outer eastern wall, tomb of Amin Khan, dated (upper slab) A.H. 976 (A.D. 1568) and (lower slab) *Shahur san* 984 (A.D. 1583)

AMIN KHAN AND THE QUTB SHAHI COURT

Amin Khan's status as an intimate of Sultan Ibrahim Qutb Shah would have necessitated frequent trips back and forth between his seat at Patancheru and the capital at Golconda, some thirteen miles to the southeast. There, at the Qutb Shahi court, he would have attended meetings of the sultan with his assembled ministers, in which matters of state were discussed and administrative business was transacted. On such occasions, he would have interacted not only with other Deccanis like himself, but also with prominent "Westerners"— such as the recently arrived Iranian immigrant Mustafa Khan Ardistani, who had been appointed prime minister (*mir jumla*) in 1563—as well as with leading members

of the old Hindu military aristocracy— such as the *naikwari* commander Jagadeva Rao, who had been instrumental in raising Sultan Ibrahim to the throne.[12] Amin Khan would also have interacted with members of the brahmin administrative class, for instance, Nebati Kamalanabha Amatya, who was then governor of the strategic fort at Pangal and whose ancestors had been serving as administrators at sultanate courts since the time of the Bahmani sultanate in the mid-fifteenth century.[13] Given this intensely multiethnic and multilingual environment, we must assume that discussions among the assembled advisors would constantly have switched back and forth between Persian, Dakhni, and Telugu. Indeed, there is evidence suggesting that it was not at all unusual for Qutb

Shahi officers to be fully literate in all three of these languages.[14]

Beyond these official meetings, Amin Khan would also have had occasion to attend more informal courtly gatherings, such as those devoted to the performance of poetry and demonstrations of scholarly learning. These literary gatherings were devoted not only to poetry in Persian and Dakhni but also to literature in Telugu, as we learn from the preface to another Telugu poetic work, *Tapati and Samvarana* (*Tapati-Samvaranamu*), composed at Ibrahim Qutb Shah's behest by Addanki Gangadharakavi.[15] As he describes it in the work's preface, Gangadharakavi received the sultan's commission on the occasion of one such literary gathering, in which Ibrahim was presiding over an assembly of scholars, poets, ambassadors, and military leaders, listening to recitations of the Mahabharata epic in its classical Telugu version.[16] Delighting in these recitations, Ibrahim soon found himself, in Gangadharakavi's words,

floating on waves of bliss
as he savored the foaming nectar
churned from the Bharata*'s Ocean of Milk*
with its countless stories of virtue.[17]

In response to this aesthetic rapture, Ibrahim selected one of the episodes he had heard—the romantic story of the Pandava ancestor Samvarana and his love for Tapati—and commissioned Gangadharakavi to produce an extended adaptation that would serve as a vehicle for developing the aesthetic mood of erotic love, *shringara-rasa*. As an attendant at such literary gatherings, it would have been quite natural for Amin Khan to follow Ibrahim's example by commissioning his own *Story of Yayati*. Like *Tapati and Samvarana*, this, too, is an extended adaptation of one of the Mahabharata's substories, in which *shringara-rasa* is the dominant mood.

Amin Khan and the Poets
To communicate his commission to Telaganarya, Amin Khan relied on Maringanti

Appana, an influential Shrivaishnava brahmin whom he employed as his chargé d'affaires or personal secretary (*rayasam*). Appana appears to have been a well-known public figure at the Golconda court and is said to have been respected by three rulers, which seems to indicate that he began working in the Qutb Shahi administration as early as the reign of the dynasty's founder, Sultan Quli (r. A.H. 901–50; A.D. 1496–1543).[18] In the *Yayati* preface, Appana is described as someone who "always bowed to Amin Khan in service, a great and wise man who caused prosperity to bloom by always showering attentive glances on his master's affairs."[19] When Amin Khan decided to commission a poem from Telaganarya, it was to his trusted advisor Appana that he turned, instructing him to go to the poet and propose the work to him. Appana was evidently well acquainted with Telaganarya, since both men not only shared the same Shrivaishnava sectarian identity, but, more importantly, moved in the same Telugu literary circles. Indeed, Appana was one of eight brothers from the famed Maringanti family, several of whom were key players in the Telugu literary scene during the reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shah.[20]

One curious aspect of Amin Khan's commission is that he explicitly requested Telaganarya to compose the poem in *acca-telugu*, that is, a highly contrived form of "pure Telugu" in which all direct Sanskrit loanwords (*tatsama*s) have been artificially purged.[21] This was the first time in the history of Telugu literature that a poet had used *acca-telugu* for an entire composition—as opposed to within the bounds of a single verse or two—but it would not be the last. Since ordinary Telugu literary language of the sixteenth century relied so heavily on Sanskrit-derived vocabulary, writing in *acca-telugu* was challenging not only for the poet, but also for the reader, who was required to expend extra effort in order to comprehend a text replete with arcane vocabulary.[22] Evidently, many Telugu poets after Telaganarya seem to have appreciated

Qāzī Quṭb Bābā al-Qarshī

|

Qāzī Amjad

|

Qāzī Khwājan

|

Shaikh Humāyūn

|

Shaikh Baṛe

|

'Abd al-Qādir Amīn Khān

(*According to* Yayāti Charitramu*preface*)

Humā Miyā = Cādu Bībī

|

Silāru Bībī = Baḍe Miyā = Sarabana Bībī

|

Baḍē Bībī = Amīnu Khānu = Sekkera Bībī = Semma Bībī

Gatāta Khānu   Abdulallī   Abdul Karīm

Fājīla Khānu   Ṣēkibharām

Khaṭṭaṭ Khān   'Abd al-'Alī   'Abd al-Karīm

Fāzil Khān   Shaikh Ibrāhīm

Fig. 4. Genealogy of Amin Khan, according to Ponnikanti Telaganarya's *Yayati Charitramu* (left) and according to Patancheru tomb inscription (right)

this effect, since they followed suit by writing *acca-telugu* literary works of their own. In attempting to account for this convention of artificially "purifying" Telugu, V. Narayana Rao has suggested that Telaganarya and his followers were influenced by the conventions of Persian poetry.[23] In particular, there was the classical model provided by Firdausi's *Shah nama*, the epic history of the pre–Islamic kings of Iran, in which Firdausi deliberately chose to use Persian wherever possible, instead of Arabic loanwords, thus attempting to recapture the ethos of Persian culture as it existed before the arrival of Islam. Thus, the creation of *acca-telugu* may well represent a form of stylistic accommodation in which certain values and practices of the classical Persian poetic tradition were extended to Telugu for the benefit of the Persianate patron.[24]

Returning to Appana's seven brothers, little is known about five of them, but two—Jagannatha Suri and Singara Acharya—are remembered for their scholarly and literary accomplishments. In fact, both Jagannatha Suri and Singara Acharya were singled out for praise a generation later by the poet Nebati Krishnaya Amatya, whose father Kamalanabha Amatya had served as the governor of Pangal during Ibrahim's reign, as we have seen above.[25] Krishnaya lauds Jagannatha Suri as "an expert in the philosophy of the Tamil Veda [*Dravidamnaya-tattva-rasajnun*]," a reference to the *Divya-prabandham*, the collected Tamil devotional poetry of the Alvar saints of the Shrivaishnava sect. He adds that, on one occasion, he was "showered with a rain of gold from clouds gathered by the Qutb Shahi sultan."[26] Clearly, Ibrahim Qutb Shah was greatly impressed by this poet-scholar's learning, and one suspects he would also have found intriguing the resonant parallels between the conventions of Persian mystical love poetry and those of the devotional poetry of the Shrivaishnava tradition. One even wonders if subsequent Dakhni romances, such as Wajhi's *Qutb Mushtari*,

dating to the reign of Muhammad Quli (A.H. 988–1020; A.D. 1580–1612) might possibly have been informed by an awareness of such Shrivaishnava lyrics.[27]

As for Appana's brother Singara Acharya, Krishnaya praises him for having "shouldered the task of writing an entire Telugu poetic composition without using any labial sounds."[28] This is a reference to one of Singara Acharya's two surviving works, *The Story of King Dasharatha's Son* (*Dasharatha-raja-nandana-charitra*), a retelling of the epic story of Rama.[29] In composing this work, Singara Acharya applied to Telugu the Sanskrit literary convention of *niroshthya-kavya*, in which the poet is not permitted to use the entire class of labial vowels and consonants—*u, ū, o, ō, au, p, ph, b, bh, m*, and *v*. In fact, since the name "Rama" happens to contain the letter "*m*"—one of the proscribed labial sounds—Singara Acharya employed instead the odd circumlocution "King Dasharatha's son" to refer in the title to the hero of his work.

Just one year after writing *The Story of King Dasharatha's Son*, Singara Acharya paid double poetic homage—both to his friend Telaganarya and to his brother's employer, Amin Khan—by being one of the first to emulate the new style of *acca-telugu* that Telaganarya had created at his patron's request. But in so doing, Singara Acharya went a step further, additionally subjecting his friend's "pure Telugu" to the extra strictures of his own *niroshthya* style, as if the "pure Telugu" style alone was not already difficult enough. Thus was born *The Marriage of Sita, in Pure Telugu without Labial Sounds* (*Shuddhandhra Niroshthya Sitakalyanam*), written when Singara Acharya was just twenty. Clearly, Amin Khan's literary interests and activities were already exercising a powerful effect on the larger world of Telugu poetry.

Amin Khan and the Brahmins of Aminpuram

The preface to *The Story of Yayati* is also quite informative on the close relationships that linked Amin Khan to the brahmins

of his locale. Telaganarya tells us that Amin Khan established a tax-free brahmin village within his domain, constructing a large irrigation tank (*cheruvu*) to ensure the productivity of the village's lands, and remitted the village's taxes for the financial support of its brahmin inhabitants.[30] These would not have been members of the more cosmopolitan administrative class of brahmins, like Nebati Kamalanabha Amatya or Maringanti Appana, or of the Shrivaishnava litterateurs like Telaganarya and Maringanti Singara Acharya. Rather, they would have been members of the more traditional class of *vaidiki* brahmins, who would thereby have been enabled to devote themselves full-time to the study and teaching of the Veda and its ancillary literature. Following customary practice in the region since the twelfth century, this brahmin village was named after its donor to commemorate his generosity. Interestingly, both the village of Aminpuram and its tank are still preserved, just four miles to the east of Patancheru.

Telaganarya notes that Amin Khan did much more than establish a tax-free village for his brahmin neighbors, going so far in his support of the brahmins residing in his domain that he even helped them defray the costs of their marriage ceremonies.[31] Telaganarya also describes a charitable garden that Amin Khan established in Aminpuram, planted with more than thirty different species of edible fruits, nuts, and medicinal plants, and provided with feeding houses and watering sheds, where the garden's products could be distributed to the needy as an act of charity.[32]

Conclusion

Amin Khan was clearly a very well connected man, who engaged in meaningful interaction with individuals from many other social groups. Although he was a Sunni Muslim and the disciple of Qadiri *shaikh*s, this by no means prevented him from interacting with traditional brahmins

or from making generous donations to support their religious undertakings. Similarly, although he was fully at home in the Persian and Dakhni languages and was able to appreciate the refined beauties of Persian calligraphy, he could also enjoy the complex subtleties of Telugu literature and even went so far as to commission a work from one of the most prominent poets of his day. His case is significant not because it is in any way unusual, but simply because it happens to be better documented than most.

Most importantly, the case of Amin Khan suggests that Deccani society was far more complex and internally variegated than it is usually thought to be. Although art historians have long recognized the vibrantly composite nature of Deccani art, and recent historical scholarship has begun to recognize the important roles played by brahmins and other classes of Hindus in the courtly life of the sultanates, there is still a tendency to see the courts of the Deccan as primarily Persianate and Islamic spaces, where it was generally "Westerners" from the Iranian world who set the cultural tone. To a great extent, this view is a by-product of the nature of our primary sources, which with few exceptions were written in Persian by court officials who themselves happened to be members of the "Westerner" class— men such as Firishta, Tabataba, and Shirazi. That these authors should tend to side with the "Westerner" point of view and minimize the importance of Deccanis and Hindus is hardly surprising. But if we wish to better understand the rich complexity of the social and cultural tapestry that is the Deccan, we must move beyond Persian sources alone and recognize as well the relevance of previously ignored sources in the local "Indic" vernaculars.

1. Yazdani 1935–36b. The date works out to 1568, not 1558, as erroneously appears in Yazdani's translation. It should be noted that the inscription of Amin Khan is actually two distinct inscriptions, engraved on two separate slabs of stone, but fitted together within the same arched niche on the east side of the tomb. The second inscription states that Amin Khan patronized the construction of a mosque in *Shahur san* 984/A.D. 1583; this likely refers to the mosque that stands a short distance northeast of the tomb and that is stylistically datable to the late sixteenth century.

2. Amin Khan's full name and titles are recorded in the inscription as *'Abd al-Qadir Amin Khan Quraishi al-Qadiri Shaikh Miyan*. For Amin Khan, see Sherwani 1974, pp. 183–85. For the tomb, see Nayeem 2006, pp. 206–7, 209, 218, and 229.

3. See Rangakrishnamacharyulu 1977. Hereafter cited as *Yayati Charitramu*.

4. Ibid., I.125, p. 33.

5. Ibid., I.15, 31, pp. 4 and 9.

6. Ibid., I.16, p. 5.

7. Ibid., I.16–68.

8. Ibid., I.43, p. 11.

9. Yazdani 1935–36b, p. 62.

10. Mulkapuri 1912–13, vol. 2, p. 842; Yazdani 1947, pp. 200–202.

11. *Yayati Charitramu*, I.67.

12. For Mustafa Khan Ardistani and Jagadeva Rao, see Briggs 1966 (1829), vol. 3, pp. 197–99 (Mustafa Khan), and 234–36 (Jagadeva Rao).

13. The activities of the members of the Nebati family are described in the preface to *The Ocean of Royal Policy* (*Rajaniti-ratnakaram*), a Telugu poetic adaptation of the Sanskrit *Panchatantra*. This work was composed by Kamalanabha's son, Nebati Krishna Amatya, who served as minister and advisor to Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. The work, known from a single palm leaf manuscript (no. 616, Sanskrit Academy Collection, Osmania University), remains unpublished. Some twenty-seven verses from its 100-verse preface have been excerpted and printed in Rama Raju 1962, pp. 97–112.

14. For example, Amin Khan's son Khattat Khan, who served Ibrahim Qutb Shah as a royal envoy, is said to have been proficient in Arabic, Persian, Gujarati, Marathi, Telugu, and Dakhni (*Yayati Charitramu* I. 47); his brother 'Abd al-'Ali is said to have known Arabic, Persian, Kannada, Turkish, Dakhni, and Telugu (*Yayati Charitramu* I.58).

15. Madhava Sharma 1972; Vasumati 1962, pp. 42–68.

16. Ibrahim seems to have developed this penchant for Telugu poetry in his youth, during a seven-year residence at the court of Vijayanagara, where he stayed as the personal guest of the regent Rama Raya. See Briggs 1966, vol. 3, pp. 197–98, 228–29.

17. *Tapati-Samvaranamu* I.14 See note 15 above and appendix 2 of this chapter.

18. In the preface to the *Dasharatha-raja-nandana-charitra*, written by his younger brother Singara Acharya, Appana is hyperbolically described as "like the Lord himself, for having seen three

19. *Yayati Charitramu* I.9.

20. According to the preface of *Dasharatha-raja-nandana-charitra* (I.30; see note 18), the eight brothers were Appana, Venkatarya, Shri-Nri-simha, Konetiraya, Jagannatha Suri, Singara, Rangappa, and Narasingarappa. For a discussion of the Maringanti brothers, see Arudra 1990, pp. 143–48.

21. *Yayati Charitramu* I.10–14.

22. A similar effect would be obtained by purging all French and Latin loan words from English and replacing them with Anglo-Saxon derivatives. A vivid example is provided by Joseph M. Williams, who "tongueturned" one of his own naturally written sentences to make the point: "Together-working with the outcome of the Norman Great-win was the Newbirth" (i.e., "Conspiring with the influence of the Norman Conquest was the Renaissance"). See Joseph M. Williams, *Style: Toward Clarity and Grace* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 4.

23. Narayana Rao 2003, p. 384 n. 1.

[first paragraph at top of left column, continued:]

[generations of] rulers bow before him" (I.30). Shrirangacharya 1970, p. 8. See appendix 2 of this chapter.

24. In view of a similar concern for lexical purity also documented in Kannada, in the work of the poet Andaiah (fl. 1217), who wrote well before the introduction of Persianate culture into the Deccan, Narayana Rao acknowledges the complexity of the issue and leaves open the question of where exactly lay the inspiration for this innovation of Amin Khan's and Telaganarya's. See also Nagaraj 2003, pp. 365–67.

25. Krishnaya served as a minister under Ibrahim's successor, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (r. A.H. 988–1020; A.D. 1580–1612), and was the author of a Telugu version of the *The Ocean of Royal Policy*. See note 13 above.

26. *Rajaniti-ratnakaramu* I.8; verse quoted in Rama Raju 1962, p. 99.

27. For Wajhi's *Qutb Mushtari*, see Sherwani 1974, pp. 327–30.

28. *Rajaniti-ratnakaramu* I.9; verse quoted in Raju 1962, p. 99.

29. See appendix 2 of this chapter.

30. *Yayati Charitramu* I.30. For *agraharam*s in the Andhra region, see Talbot 2001a, pp. 89 and 161.

31. *Yayati Charitramu* I.33.

32. Ibid., I.36–39; see also Wagoner 2011.

Appendix 1: Translation of the Patancheru Persian Inscription of Amin Khan[1]

And my guidance is from no one but from God, the High and Powerful.

The building of this heavenly vault and the foundation of this lofty edifice (happened) during the reign of His Exalted Majesty, the refuge of the world, the possessor of imperial dignity and divine authority, the shadow of God, the servant of the family of the apostle of God (Muhammad), the Sultān son of Sultān, the auspicious, the great, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, may God preserve his kingdom and sovereignty and extend to the people of the world his benevolence, justice and bounty! And by the grace of God, Almighty, and by the help of the triumphant soul of His Holiness the prince of saints, the chief of divines and god-loving persons, the axis of the earth and heaven, the most admired of the beautiful, and the chief of the beloved, Shāh Muhīu'd-Dīn Abū Muhammad Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Qādir al-Hasanī al-Husainī al-Jīlanī, may God be pleased with him, the humble and lowly (servant), called 'Abdu'l-Qādir, and entitled as Amīn Khān, Quraishī al-Qādirī, the disciple of His Grace, the

pivot of mankind, Shāh Muhammad al-Qādirī al-Multānī, the successor of his grace, the leader of mankind, Shaikh Ibrāhīm, *alias* Makhdūm Shāhjī, Muhammad Qādirī, may God sanctify the secrets of both of them, after having exerted himself to the full, completed and finished (this building) in the year 976 H. [A.D. 1568] from the *hijra* of the chosen prophet (Muhammad), may the peace of God and His most perfect blessings be upon him! It is earnestly hoped and sincerely believed that God, the Holy and Almighty, Whose glory is resplendent, Whose bounty is universal and Whose authority is sublime, will keep this lofty vault under His protection and care against the vicissitudes of time—through His bounty, benevolence and kindness. Amen! O Cherisher of the universe.

[Beginning of second slab] By the grace of Almighty God, by the help of the spiritual devotion of His Holiness, the prince of saints (Shaikh Muhīu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'l-Qādir), may God be pleased with him, and by his (Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir's) inspiration in the *in'ām* land of the above-mentioned vault a mosque with prayer-hall and an enclosure round the same mosque were also built of solid masonry. The latter building was completed in the month of Jumāda I, *Shahūr san* 984, of the *hijra* of the Chosen Prophet—may peace be upon him! (September 1583 A.D.) This inscription set up by the humble, lowly and insignificant servant,

'Abdu'l-Qādir, entitled Amīn Khān and known as Shaikh Mīyān, son of Shaikh Bare, son of Shaikh Humāyūn, son of Qāzī Khvājan, son of the pride of scholars, Qāzī Amjad, son of the chief of the holy men, Qāzī Qutb Bābā, al-Qarshī, al-Qādirī, was corrected by the noble descendants of the latter [i.e.,

progeny of the forbears of 'Abdu'l-Qādir], whose names are, Khattat Khān, Fāzil Khān, 'Abdu'l-'Alī, 'Abdu'l-Karīm, and Shaikh Ibrāhīm.

1. From Yazdani 1935–36b, pp. 60–62.

Appendix 2: Telugu Literature of the Qutb Shahi Period

This appendix provides basic information on seven important literary works in Telugu that belong to the Qutb Shahi period. It is not a comprehensive list of works from the period, but a brief overview of the most significant works by poets who were in some way associated with the Qutb Shahi court. All but one of the works are available in printed editions, but none has yet been translated into English. Few discussions of this material are available in English, but useful insights are provided in Sherwani 1974; see especially the discussions of Telugu literature during the reigns of Ibrahim (pp. 180–85) and of Muhammad Quli (pp. 321–23). See also the two chapters in English in Raju 1962: "The Qutb Shahis" by N. Venkata Rama-nayya (pp. 1–14), and "Ibrahim Qutb Shah and Telugu Poets" by E. Vasumati (pp. 28–42).

Most of the works described below are examples of the *prabandham* genre, which had by the sixteenth century become the dominant mode of Telugu courtly literature. In works in this style the narrative concerns are typically subordinated to the interests of elaborate description and of building up an aesthetic mood, usually one of erotic love (*shringara-rasa*). Metrically, these works take the *champu* form—that is, they alternate back and forth between brief sections of prose (*gadyamu*) and verse (*padyamu*), and the verses appear in an assortment of different meters. By the end of the sixteenth century, poets and their patrons were becoming increasingly interested in demonstrations of lexical virtuosity—such as employing a highly artificial dialect of "pure Telugu" (*acca-telugu*) purged of Sanskrit loan words or avoiding a particular class of phonetic sounds, such as the labials (*niroshthya* style). Interestingly, many of these strategies were first employed by poets working in the Qutb Shahi courtly milieu.

ADDANKI GANGADHARAKAVI
(FL. 1550–80), *TAPATI-SAMVARANAMU*
Tapati-Samvaranamu is a Telugu adaptation of an episode from the *Mahabharata* epic, telling the romantic story of the Pandava ancestor Samvarana and his love

for Tapati, the daughter of the sun god. It is a *prabandham*-style work in five cantos (*ashvasas*). The source for the story is the *Mahabharata* (Adiparvan, *adhyaya* 11a, 160–63; Van Buitenen 1973, vol. 1, pp. 324–29), via the eleventh-century Telugu translation of Nannaya (*Andhra-mahabharatamu*, Adiparvamu, seventh canto, vv. 67–95). The work was commissioned by Ibrahim Qutb Shah—who himself selected the episode to serve as subject matter—and is dedicated to him; it is the only such work to survive, although circumstantial evidence suggests that Ibrahim was an avid patron of Telugu poetry and must have received many other dedications that have not survived.

In the work's preface, Gangadharakavi identifies himself as the son of one Viraya Amatya and as the disciple of the Shaiva guru Kedara-shri; his family most likely hailed from Addanki in the present-day Prakasham district. B. Rama Raju believes that *Tapati-Samvaranamu* is, on one level, about a romantic exploit of Ibrahim Qutb Shah and that the work exercised an important impact on the development of allegorical poetry in Dakhni, such as Mulla Wajhi's *Qutb Mushtari*, written in the reign of Ibrahim's son and successor, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (Arudra 1990, p. 69).

Edition: Madhava Sharma 1972.
Bibliography: Arudra 1990, pp. 67–72; Vasumati 1962.

KANDUKURI RUDRAKAVI
(CA. 1500–CA. 1580), *SUGRIVA-VIJAYAMU*
Kandukuri Rudrakavi's *Sugriva-vijayamu* is a reworking of the *Ramayana*'s *Kishkindha Kanda* in the form of a *yakshagana*, a type of popular musical dance-drama. In fact, it is the earliest surviving *yakshagana* in Telugu, although literary references show that the genre had been developing since the eleventh century. Rudrakavi also wrote a *prabandham*-style work called *Nirankushopakhyanamu* and a collection of eight devotional stanzas in praise of Janardana (a form of Vishnu) called *Janardanashtakam*, both of which have survived. According to the preface of *Nirankushopakhyanamu*, Rudrakavi was a member of the Vishvabrahmana lineage—an Andhra caste of traditional artisans who claimed to be brahmins—and lived in the village of Renduchintala on the banks of the Paleru River. Both *Sugriva-vijayamu* and *Janardanashtakam* are dedicated to

the god Janardana of Kandukuru. Although Rudrakavi thus appears to have fit the mold of a "temple poet" (see Narayana Rao 1987), he may have had some connection with the Qutb Shahi court during the reign of Ibrahim: an inscription of 1558 records that Ibrahim granted him the village of Renduchintala for his maintenance. The similarities between Ibrahim's recent situation (a succession dispute with his older brother Jamshid had forced him to flee to Vijayanagara, where he took refuge with Rama Raya before being sent back to claim his throne after Jamshid's death) and that described in the *Sugriva-vijayamu* (the monkey prince Sugriva is locked in a succession dispute with his older brother Vali when Rama arrives and becomes his ally, enabling Sugriva to overcome Vali and ascend to the throne of Kishkindha) make it tempting to speculate that the work might have been performed at the Qutb Shahi court, and that it was in appreciation of this work that Ibrahim made his donation to Rudrakavi.

Edition: R. Ananta Padmanabha Rao, *Kandukuri Rudrakavi Sugriva-vijayamu* (Chennuru, Nellore District: Lakshmikanta Rao, 1981).

Bibliography: Divakarla Venkatavadhani, "Prathamandhra Yakshaganamu," in Rama Raju 1962, pp. 77–83.

MARINGANTI SINGARA ACHARYULU (FL. CA. 1550–80), *DASHARATHA-RAJA-NANDANA-CHARITRA*

This *prabandham*-style work is the first Telugu poem to be composed entirely in the *niroshthya* style: that is, without using any of the labial vowels or consonants (*u, ū, o, ō, au, p, ph, b, bh, m,* and *v*). It is an adaptation of the *Ramayana*; its circumlocutious title—"The Story of King Dasharatha's Son [i.e., Rama]"—results from the poet's avoidance of the name "Rama," with its labial "m." (Elsewhere, in the body of the work, Singara Acharyulu relaxes this rule and uses the name "Rama," in recognition of the salvific powers the name was believed to possess.) Singara Acharyulu's family name indicates that the family originally hailed from Marikallu, a village located in southern Telangana within the core area of Qutb Shahi power. Although he was not attached to the Qutb Shahi court, he did receive royal gifts from Ibrahim, including an elephant, a white parasol, pearl necklaces, horses, and palanquins, together with an *agraharam* grant (Arudra 1990, p. 147). He appears to have travelled widely, visiting the Vijayanagara and Gajapati courts and being similarly honored by their rulers.

Singara Acharya was one of eight Maringanti brothers who together dominated the Telugu literary scene during the reigns of Ibrahim and Muhammad Quli. According to the preface of *The Story of King Dasharatha's Son*, the eight brothers were Appala/Appana, Venkatarya, Shri-Nrisimha, Konetiraya, Jagannatha Suri, Singara, Rangappa, and Narasingarappa (I.30). The first-named is none other than Maringanti Appana, Amin Khan's chargé d'affaires, who

approached Telaganarya and requested him to write *The Story of Yayati* on his master's behalf. Another of his older brothers—Jagannatha Suri—was a well-known scholar in the so-called Tamil Veda or *Divya-prabandham*, the collected Tamil devotional poetry of the Shrivaishnava Alvars. He is praised as follows by Nebati Krishnaya Amatyulu (see below) in the preface to his *Rajaniti-ratnakaramu*: "I praise the famous Maruganti Vengala-Jagannatharya / First of teachers, a '*shatavadhani*,' knower of the essence of the philosophy of the Tamil Veda / Skilled in the writing of many Sanskrit and Telugu compositions / showered with a rain of gold from clouds gathered by the Lord of Horses [i.e., the Qutb Shahi sultan], honored in the assembly hall of the king of Karnata [i.e., the Vijayanagara king]" (I.8).

Edition: Shrirangacharya 1970.

Bibliography: Arudra 1990, pp. 143–48.

MARINGANTI SINGARA ACHARYULU, *SHUDDHANDHRA NIROSHTHYA SITAKALYANAMU*

This is the only other surviving work among the twenty that Singara Acharyulu is known to have composed. Shortly after he had written the first *niroshthya-kavya* in Telugu, and Telaganarya had written the first work in *acca-telugu*, Singara Acharyulu set out to write the first work that combined both of these compositional constraints. The result was *The Marriage of Sita, in Pure Telugu without any Labial Sounds*.

Edition: Shrirangacharya 1980.

Bibliography: Arudra 1990, pp. 143–48.

NEBATI KRISHNAYA AMATYA (FL. CA. 1580–1612), *RAJANITI-RATNAKARAMU*

This *prabandham*-style work in five cantos is a Telugu version of the Sanskrit *Panchatantra*—the book of political teachings in the form of animal fables— but recast as a Vaishnava work (thus, it is is set at the court of the king of Shrirangam, the major Shrivaishava pilgrimage center, and not at the fictional city of Mahilaropya as in the original). The author was a minister, confidant, and poet at the court of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (r. 1580–1612) and was governor of the town of Siddhaluru, some 70 kilometers west of Hyderabad. He was also a devotee of the god Narasimhaswamy of Anantagiri, a small pilgrimage center not far from Siddhaluru. The poem is formally dedicated to this god, although it dwells at length in the introduction on the intertwined histories of the families of the poet and of his ruler. Krishnaya states that his great-great-great grandfather Nagaraju was appointed as a *nebati* (from Per./Ar. *niyabat*) or diplomatic representative, by an unnamed Bahmani sultan at Bidar, and that it was because Nagaraju's immediate descendents continued to serve the Bahmanis in this capacity that they eventually assumed the family name of Nebati (I.59). Krishnaya's father, Nebati Kamalanabha

Amatya, had become renowned for "begetting the seven sons" (*sapta-santanamulu*, seven different benefactions that are deemed as meritorious, such as begetting a son) in his own town of Siddhaluru and had been named the governor of Pangal by Ibrahim Qutb Shah (I, 77 & 80). The poet's brother is identified as the minister Narasa Mantri, who was publicly honored by Sultan Muhammad Quli on account of his accomplishments in the sciences of poetry, drama, language, and politics (I.93).

Text: The work remains unpublished; a single 145-page palm-leaf manuscript (no. 616) is preserved in the collection of the Sanskrit Academy of Osmania University in Hyderabad.

Bibliography: Selected verses, mostly from the preface (*avatarika*), have been published and commented on in Rama Raju 1962, pp. 97–112.

PONNIKANTI TELAGANARYA
(FL. CA. 1568–83), *YAYATI CHARITRAMU*

This *prabandham* in five cantos is a Telugu reworking of the story of Yayati from the *Mahabharata* (Adiparvan, *adhyaya* 7c, 70–80; Van Buitenen 1973, vol. 1, pp. 171–94), via the eleventh-century Telugu translation of Nannaya (*Andhra-mahabharatamu*, Adiparvamu, third canto, vv. 94–225). The original story revolves around the marriage of Yayati to Devayani and the sons he begets upon her (Yadu and Turvashu) and upon her slave girl Sharmishtha (Druhyu, Anu, and Puru) and accounts for why Puru, the youngest of the five sons, is the one to become the dynast of the Paurava line in which the *Mahabharata* heroes are born. In his Telugu adaptation, Telaganarya has greatly abbreviated the story and introduced a number of changes in the interest of maximizing opportunities for rich description and the development of the erotic mood (*shringara-rasa*). Additionally, there is a long interruption to the main story when Yayati meets the sage Jabali while hunting, and the latter recounts the story of Rama (accounting for 105 verses out of the work's total of 737).

Telaganarya was commissioned to write the work by 'Abd al-Qadir Amin Khan, a Qutb Shahi officer during Ibrahim's reign (1550–80). Amin Khan relied on his chargé d'affaires, Maringanti Appana, to approach Telaganarya with his request for a poem on the story of Yayati. Amin Khan explicitly requested Telaganarya to write the poem in *acca-telugu*, a highly contrived form of "pure Telugu" artificially purged of any Sanskrit loan words. The poem is the first surviving one in Telugu to be written entirely in the *acca-telugu* style, which subsequently became quite popular. V. Narayana Rao has speculated that the choice to produce an *acca-telugu* work was "influenced by contemporary Persian poets who tried to eliminate all Arabic words from their works" (Narayana Rao 2003, p. 384 n. 1).

Edition: M. Rangakrishnamacharyulu 1977.

Bibliography: Nidudavolu Shivasundareshvara Rao, "Acca Tenugu Padusha—Aminu Khanu," in Rama Raju 1962, pp. 128–33; Arudra 1990, pp. 73–78; Narayana Rao 2003, p. 384 n. 1; Wagoner 2011.

SARANGU TAMMAYYA (FL. CA. 1580–1612), *VAIJAYANTI-VILASAMU* (A.K.A. *VIPRANARAYANA-CHARITRAMU*)

This *prabandham* in four cantos is a Telugu adaptation of the story of Vipranarayana, one of the twelve saintly devotees (Alvars) of the Tamil Shrivaishnava tradition. He was a celibate brahmin devotee of Ranganatha at Shrirangam, where his sole occupation was to make flower garlands for the lord. One day the courtesan Devadevi passes by Vipranarayana's garden with her sister and makes a bet that she can seduce Vipranarayana; she vows that, if she fails, she will give up her profession. After initially failing, she dresses humbly and returns, claiming that she is destitute and wishes only to be his servant girl. Gradually, she herself develops the spirit of pious devotion, while Vipranarayana finds himself seduced and falls in love with her. Although she has won the bet, she has no desire to resume her trade. When Vipranarayana follows her back to the courtesans' quarter, the madam will not accept the relationship and chases him away. Unable to bear the pain of separation, Vipranarayana takes a gold vessel from the temple and presents it to the madam in the hope that she will allow him to see Devadevi. Eventually the authorities arrive to investigate the theft. When Vipranarayana is about to be executed, God himself appears and exonerates the two exemplary devotees.

In the work's preface, Sarangu Tammaya states that he served in the capacity of city revenue officer (*nagari-karanam*) of Golconda during the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and that he was accustomed to being summoned by the sultan on a regular basis (I.30). Despite his official position, he dedicated his work not to the sultan, but to his family deity Shri-Rama.

Edition: Sarangu Tammayya, *Vaijayanti-vilasamu anu namantaramugala Vipra-narayana-charitramu* (Chennai: Vavilla Ramaswamy Shastrulu, 1966).

Bibliography: Arudra 1990, pp. 79–85.

Michael Barry

Diabolic Fancies and Composite Animals: Persian Poetry and the Grotesques of Deccani and Mughal Painting

In a painting held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 1), lilac and orange demons squirm in the foreground clawing a camel's torn-off paw. They are pictured against a green field under a horizon of twisted pink rocks resembling bestial snouts. These vivid contrasts are bold but typical of Deccani artists, the true Fauves of Islamic painting, and, in Deccani illuminations, they harmonize. But the three mysterious bejeweled damsels in this painting baffle—princesses or courtesans? They wander through the trees, balancing gold water pots on their heads. What story lies behind the ladies and the demons, their literary allusion that a painter might only suggest? What do they symbolize, if anything? Or is this glowing late seventeenth-century Indo-Islamic illumination only a visual equivalent of Deccani verse: deft imagery splashed with color, no more?

The subject of this gouache fantasy on paper has, in many ways, eluded analysis. Most of its visual elements are familiar, but oddly combined. In his 1997 study, Steven Kossak noted the bright Deccani palette, but the manner of the three ladies reminded

him more of the courtly style of Bikaner in Rajasthan, far to the north: "Probably the painting was made by an artist of that Rajasthani kingdom who had spent time in the Deccan and had been influenced by its art."[1] Unless the other way around: later seventeenth-century artists from Bijapur and Golconda scattered in search of princely patronage elsewhere in India as the Mughals hammered down the independence of the two Deccani Shi'i courts—which fell to Emperor Aurangzeb's armies in 1685 and 1686—and set up Mughal governorates (where some Deccani painters did find employment) in the ravaged Indian south. But this painting's hues, wherever geographically brushed, blaze unmistakably with Deccani fire.

As for the picture's fighting demons, Kossak wrote elliptically, but truly: "Fantastic creatures of this type originated in Central Asian manuscripts, which were copied in Persia and ultimately served as models for Islamic court ateliers elsewhere, including those in the Deccan."[2] Literary ideas do seem to underlie the pictorial composition considered here: demons in a wilderness, lovely ladies behind, rocks full of masks, a palace with a temple in the background. Many Mughal and Deccani paintings of the late sixteenth to the eighteenth century show such demons and demonic rocks and also "composite" fantasies of bodies made up of humans, animals, or demons, all intermingled to form strange shapes. These "grotesque" assemblages are so often repeated as to suggest conventional meaning, not individual artistic whim. Moreover, most Persian- and, later, Urdu-language poetry written in Islamicate India, whether in Delhi and the Mughal domains or in the Deccani kingdoms, remains steeped in mystical, deeply significant allegory, with Sufi conceits cascading in clusters of accepted
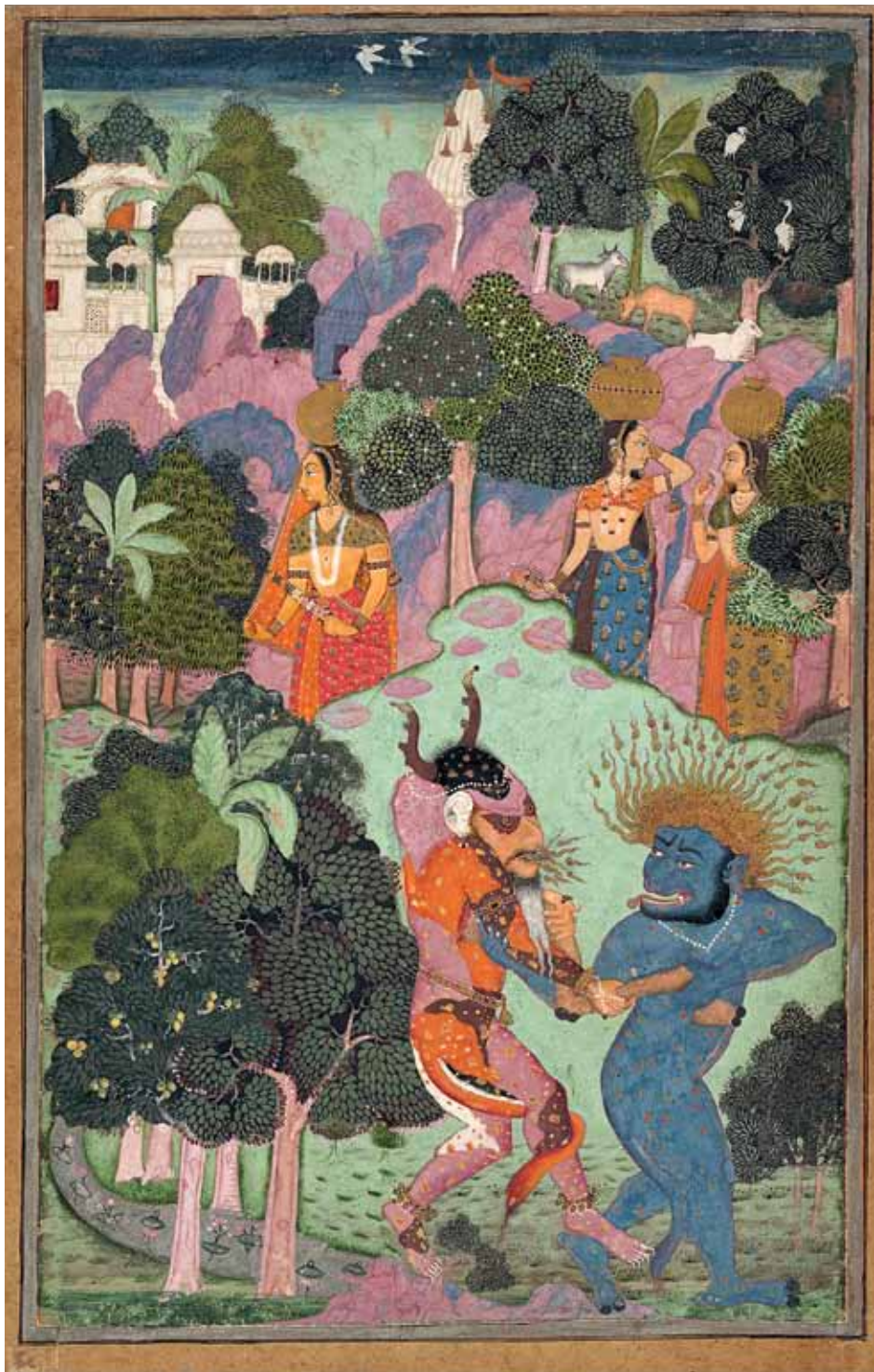
Fig. 1. *Demons Fight over a Camel's Paw.* Deccan or Rajasthan, last quarter of 17th century. Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, 11⅝ × 7⅜ in. (29.4 × 18.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Doris Rubin, in memory of Harry Rubin, 1989 (1989.236.3)

Fig. 2. *Elephant- and Boar-Headed Demons Tormenting Mahan*. Folio from the *Khamsa* of Nizami. Afghanistan, Herat, 1493. Gouache on paper. The British Library, London (Add. 25900, fol. 188r)

Sultans of the South: Arts of India's Deccan Courts, 1323–1687

images borrowed from Iran. Always there are the same similes, with a poet's creativity lying only in fresh, unexpected combinations. Connoisseurs of Islamic art today mostly stress dynastic and stylistic aspects, not literary or symbolic dimensions. But Indo-Muslim painters also sought to render the conceits of the Persian poems in vogue in their day and to illustrate tales of deep spiritual import. Classical Indo-Muslim poets were keenly aware that they, and the painters of their civilization, expressed similar images.

EASTERN ISLAMIC DIABOLIC IMAGERY AND THE POETRY OF NIZAMI

The meaning of the demons in this painting would seem to lie in the work of the Azerbaijani poet Nizami of Ganja (1141–1209), author of the most influential *literary* description of demons in eastern Islamic civilization, the Persian-language "Tale of the Turquoise Pavilion," part of the *Haft Paikar* or *Seven Icons*, a major narrative cycle of mystical initiation completed in A.D. 1197. It was read as a fundamental classic wherever Persian reigned as the language of culture and administration, and also throughout Islamicate India. Nizami's poems, with the earlier *Shahnama* (*Book of Kings*) by Firdausi, became one of the most illustrated Persian-language literary works of later centuries in India, no less than in Iran proper, serving as a treasury of wisdom for princes. Many rulers of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Iran, Central Asia, and India ordered their own portraits painted as Nizami's "King Bahram" in such manuscripts. Nizami's poetry in Delhi became the decisive aesthetic influence on all Indo-Islamic narrative literature when Amir Khusrau, Delhi's court poet, elected to write—in choicest Persian—a "mirror" (*'aina*) or "answer" (*jawab*) to each of Nizami's tales that, together, formed the older poet's *Panj Ganj* (*Five Treasures*) or *Khamsa* (*Quintet*), which in turn was closely reflected in Amir Khusrau's *Khamsa*.

In Nizami's text the story told by the Queen of the Turquoise Pavilion relates the tale of the pleasure-chasing Egyptian merchant Mahan, who is tormented by demons at night (fig. 2). He finds refuge in a beautiful oasis with lovely damsels, only to discover that they and the garden oasis are illusions. Their true demonic nature is revealed when the queen of the ladies transforms from princess to ogress, and the food, wines, and treats given to Mahan change into bones and carrion. Ultimately saved by the prophet Khizr, Mahan repents and finds a pure source in which to drink and cleanse himself before praying.

Whether the Metropolitan Museum's late seventeenth-century demon picture is a direct illustration of Nizami's "Tale of the Turquoise Pavilion" or of a story closely derived from this model can only be conjectured. The number of ladies differs: three in the picture, while Nizami mentions seventeen. But the combination of devils, ladies, and palace in the background offers such striking resemblance to Nizami's most famous demon story, itself a central part of the literary heritage of all traditional Indo-Muslim elites, that one can only suggest that the Metropolitan picture constitutes, at the very least, a close visual variation upon the theme of one of Nizami's most celebrated narrative compositions.

For the sources of his demon tale, Nizami tapped into deep cultural wellsprings, which too find their echoes in the painting, including Islamicized transformations of Manichaean stories that so often drew on Buddhist imagery. The main model for Nizami's "Tale of the Turquoise Pavilion," in its "Western desert" setting, was provided by the eastern Iranian philosopher Ibn Sina (980–1037) or Avicenna (the Hispano-Latinized form), in an Arabic-language Neoplatonizing narrative of mystical and cosmological initiation, in turn much paraphrased and glossed in Persian: *Hayy ibn Yaqzan*, "The Living One, Son of the Awakened One."[3] Avicenna's mystical fable elaborates Sura 18 of the Qur'an with

its evocations of the desert travels and spiritual experiences of Moses (*Musa*) and Alexander (*Dhu'l-Qarnain*).[4] Avicenna's story, of the soul's sunlike fall, from its original "Oriental" heaven of light into the diabolic veils of the dark "Occident" of material and illusory forms (i.e., this lower world) and of final redemption therefrom, inspired many Islamic adaptations. Popular renditions among sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Mughal and Deccani readers included Suhrawardi's twelfth-century "Tale of the Occidental Exile" (a version especially cherished by Emperor Akbar's minister and spiritual adviser Abu al-Fazl) and the fourteenth-century "Tale of the Purple Pavilion" by Amir Khusrau of Amir Khusrau of Delhi (in the *Hasht Bihisht*, "Eight Paradise-Gardens").[5] But vivid details like the following show why Nizami's "Tale of the Turquoise Pavilion" remained the most popular—and illustrated—of poetic allegories of the evil passions, in Iranian and Indian manuscript tradition alike:

> *Each devil's snout was a trunk! And each sported heavy horns as well: so that each showed like a bull and an elephant in one! And each one gripped his firebrand; each one, as foul as drunkard's tongue; flames darted from their gullets in demonic tongues that chanted ditties as they snapped their castanets of shoulder-bones—and such a jingle-jangle in a moment that it takes to breathe a breath, all the world alike they caused to dance!*[6]

After being tossed all night by his dragon-mount and buffeted by demons until dawn, Mahan crawls all day through a wasteland. Here is the description of his discovery, at dusk, of the beautiful oasis and palace among fruit trees:

> *He beheld a garden, no! Not a garden: paradise! Better than Iram's Garden fashioned and wrought, an orchard filled with a hundred wondrous forms, cypress, box-trees,*

> *countless trees all charged with fruit so heavy that they drooped down onto earth as if prostrate . . . As soon as Mahan found such paradise, his heart turned all away from thoughts of last eve's devil-realm . . .*

Mahan climbs a tree, whence he discovers sparkling lights, the candles held by beautiful maidens. Little does he suspect that this oasis is the devil's own garden and that these maidens are so many tempting ogresses:

> *Now that he took his rest, he looked about the garden and, of a sudden, saw, from afar, some twenty candles lit, and new brides bearing all these candles in their hand—the new king on his tree-top throne turned worshiper of all these brides! Some seventeen sultanas, now, from that path appeared, seventeen beauties that might shoot and put the very moon to shame (with their eyelashes' arrows). Each had adorned herself a different way, like unto sugarcane bedecked in roses, steeped in sweet.*

While the imagery of the soul's ordeal when attacked by diabolic illusions may be traced to Buddhist sources filtered through Manichaean transmission, such influences were camouflaged by the ninth century under Arabized or Islamicate coloring and would not have been recognized as Indic or Buddhic by post-tenth-century medieval Islamic writers and readers themselves. Yet oddly enough, fresh influences from Buddhist pictures of diabolic torments or Daoist pictures of demons to be quelled, flooding Iran in the wake of the thirteenth-century Mongol invasions, reinforced and, so to say, reinvigorated the fundamentally Indic-looking Manichaean appearance of devils in eastern Islamic art. Lamaist Buddhist paintings carried new lessons in Chinese modeling and shading that perpetuated classical Indian models. The royal workshop at Tabriz, capital of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Islamicized western Mongol "vassal lords" (*Il-Khan*) to whom so

Fig. 3. Style of Muhammad Siyah Qalam, *Four Captive Demons.* Iran or Central Asia, probably Tabriz, second half of 15th century. Watercolor and gold on silk, 13⅜ × 8 in. (34 × 20.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1968 (68.175)

many Lamaist scrolls were sent as gifts from their imperial overlords in Mongol China, could be said by the late fifteenth century almost to have relished exuberant demon pictures. Devils that leap straight out of Nizami's poem flourish, so to speak, in Tabriz under the patronage of the Turkoman Sultan Ya'qub of the White Sheep Clan (r. 1478–90). He was so fond of Nizami's romances that he commissioned depictions of his own person as "King Bahram under the Yellow-Gold Pavilion" and "King Bahram under the Green Pavilion,"[7] while living in a palace styled after Amir Khusrau's poem, the *Hasht Bihisht*, or "The Eight Paradise Gardens."

Many diabolic paintings from Turkoman Tabriz, now mostly preserved in Istanbul (but also in the Metropolitan and the Freer Gallery of Art), are identified by a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century Persian hand as "The Work of Master Muhammad

of the Black Stylus" (i.e., a master of black-and-white drawing, *kar-i Ustad Muhammad Siyah Qalam*) (fig. 3). Other pictures in these Ottoman-assembled albums are attributed to a certain Shaykhi, still active when Safavid rule began in Tabriz in 1501. Moreover the diabolic figures that populate the rocky landscapes by the Safavid painter Sultan Muhammad, master of Shah Tahmasp's *Shahnama* in Tabriz in the first decades of the sixteenth century, show obvious influence from earlier Turkoman devil fantasies (fig. 4). But even the "classicizing" school of Herat patronized by the late fifteenth-century Timurid princes, which continued into the sixteenth century under Safavid rule, was familiar with the demonic genre. A Herat master so courtly and restrained in his style as Bihzad (1465–1535), when called upon to illustrate Nizami's "Tale of the Turquoise Pavilion" in 1493,

depicts the same bangled elephant-headed or boar-snouted demons in a hellish wasteland, waving firebrands or torn animal limbs, as did his more ebullient colleagues in Tabriz (see fig. 2).

Of course, sixteenth-century Indo-Muslim painters, unaware of Manichaean or Lamaist sources for Iranian diabolic iconography, drew upon more immediately obvious founts of direct cultural pertinence. Illustrated manuscripts painted in Tabriz and carried to Hormuz reached the ports of the Shi'i kingdoms of the Deccan, always keen to cultivate overseas relations with the great Shi'i empire of Safavid Iran. But Safavid influence, including demons, prevailed no less in the workshops of the Mughal north; leading Safavid painters like Mir Sayyid 'Ali and 'Abd us-Samad, who flocked to profit from richer patronage offered by the mid-sixteenth-century Mughal court, themselves once worked on Shah Tahmasp's *Shahnama* with all its grimacing devils. And when these expatriate Tabriz masters employed by Emperor Akbar illustrated for their new sponsor the romance of the Islamic folk hero Amir Hamza in the 1570s, they represented every Arabian *jinn* as the Iranian-type demon that they had always drawn. Akbar's palace workshops followed in the 1590s with illustrated translations for the emperor of the Sanskrit epics, where, again, every *ashura* and *rakshasa* of Hindu lore looks like an Iranian devil (fig. 5). Indeed, in all Indian painting of the sixteenth to eighteenth century by Mughal, Deccani, or even Hindu artists, a "demon" could not be defined except as a hairy, semi-naked Persian *div*. Thus, in one of the paradoxes of world art history, the Hindu gods, degraded by late antique Eastern Iranian Manichaean illustrators into evil "demon-archons," were transformed into medieval Islamicate Persian devils, only to return unrecognized to late medieval India, even in the eyes of Hindu artists, as monsters. As with their Iranian prototypes, devils in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Indo-Islamic art often appear richly modeled

Fig. 4. Attributed to Sultan Muhammad, *The Feast of Sada* (detail). From the *Shahnama* of Shah Tahmasp. Iran, Tabriz, ca. 1525. Opaque watercolor, ink, silver, and gold on paper, painting 9½ × 9 in. (24.1 × 23 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Arthur A. Houghton Jr., 1970 (1970.301.2)

and shaded with thick superimposed layers of paint, whereas idealized "good heroes," by contrast, may be left upon the same page looking magically flat, impassive, and bright. The satanic is always rendered as colorfully, expressively, frightfully or funnily as the Persian or Indian artist might wish.

The Metropolitan's picture may be considered an iconographical variation, in the glowing tints and alert drawing of the seventeenth-century Deccani manner, of at least the broader narrative theme of Nizami's "Tale of the Turquoise Pavilion," set in a lush south Indian wilderness that here represents the sunset "Western"

Fig. 5. Attributed to Sultan Muhammad, *Tahmuras Defeats the* Div*s* (detail). From the *Shahnama* of Shah Tahmasp. Iran, Tabriz, ca. 1525. Iran, Tabriz, ca. 1525. Opaque watercolor, ink, silver, and gold on paper, painting 11⅛ × 7⅜ in. (28.3 × 18.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Arthur A. Houghton Jr., 1970 (1970.301.3)

CONCLUSION

The painting's meaning, so elusive when considered alone, becomes far clearer in light of the literature. Whether or not this Deccani artist directly illustrated the "Tale of the Turquoise Pavilion" or some very close variant, he exactly and very deftly caught that sharp and most piquant contrast between the courtly and the erotic, and the diabolic and the grotesque, in which Nizami so excelled, and in which Indo-Muslim readers so delighted.

1. Kossak 1997, pp. 66–67, cat. no. 34.
2. Ibid.
3. The Arabic text and medieval Persian paraphrase of Avicenna's *Hayy ibn Yaqzan* appear, with an introductory study, in Henry Corbin, *Avicenne et le récit visionnaire* (Paris and Tehran, 1954), and also in English in W. R. Trask's translation of Corbin, *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital* (Princeton, 1960).
4. The fundamental study on the Islamicized "Alexander" romances with the Khizr/al-Khadir figure remains Chaim Friedländer, *Die Chadirlegende und der Alexanderroman* (Leipzig, 1913).
5. The Arabic text and medieval Persian paraphrase of "the shaikh of Ishraq" Suhrawardi's *Tale of the Occidental Exile* appear in Henry Corbin, *Oeuvres philosophiques et mystiques de Shihaboddin Yahya Sohrawardi* (Paris and Tehran, 1952); in French in Henry Corbin, *L'archange empourpré* (Paris, 1976); in English in W. H. Thackston, *The Visionary Treatises: Suhrawardi* (London 1982). For Amir Khusrau's five great Persian-language narratives, the critical editions of the Soviet Academy of Sciences (Moscow, 1965–) remain the best and are constantly republished as such in Tehran.
6. Translation by the author from the edition of Nizami's *Haft Paikar* with the "Tale of the Turquoise Pavilion" [Afsana-yi Gumbad-i Feroza] by T.A. Magerramov (Baku, Azerbaijan, 1987), pp. 441–43. It is now the best collation of the many manuscripts. In the next quotation (Magerammov, pp. 449–50), the poet's clear allusion to "Iram" refers to the garden and palace that the arrogant pagan Arabian potentate Shaddad ibn 'Ad (alluded to in Koran 89:6–8) was said to have built to rival descriptions of Paradise. A sudden dust storm, sent by God, forever blotted the construction from the tyrant's view.
7. Topkapi H. 762/K. 412 folios 172 verso and 180 verso.

wasteland, the demonic stage of hell through which every soul must pass. In a symbolic reading the twin demons of wrath and gluttony fight over torn animal flesh—a camel's severed limb—in the foreground. In the center appear the lovely damsels, enticements to the third vice, lust; not yet recognizable as the she-devils that they are, they are dressed in elegant or courtly style, bearing the pots with which they will offer to quench the traveler's thirst. Beyond rises the "Iram"-like illusory garden, its palace identified as "pagan" by an attached Hindu temple.

Carpets, Textiles, and Trade

Steven Cohen

Deccani Carpets: Creating a Corpus

As a scholarly discipline, the study of Deccani carpets shares a history with the study of the paintings, metalwork, textiles, and architecture of the Deccan. Previously, art historians working on the more general topics of Indian carpets, Indian painting, Indian metalwork, and so on realized that the craftsmen and artists of the Deccan, though recipients of many of the same cultural and artistic influences, often produced objects that were distinctly "Deccani." With reference to carpets, however, most early attempts to differentiate "Deccani carpets" from the larger body of "Indian carpets" were thwarted because, as late as the 1990s, carpet collectors, dealers, and even museum curators were still arguing over the differences between Iranian and Indian carpets. By the end of the twentieth century, however, most notably after *Flowers Underfoot*, Daniel Walker's exhibition of Indian carpets at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1997,[1] a small but distinctive body of carpets displaying different designs, materials and woven structures, all labeled "Deccani," had been presented to the general public. For the first time the huge darbar carpets, multiple-niche *saf*s, silk-pile carpets, and even many unconventional survivals from Japanese collections were gathered together and assigned a common Deccani provenance.

Despite the importance of the 1997 exhibition, the "Deccani" label, in reference to other historic carpets, remains controversial because suspected candidates rarely conform to a single set of clear, unwavering guidelines. Visually, some closely resemble Persian counterparts. Others appear identical to North Indian contemporaries. And while many Deccani carpets are woven with structures indistinguishable from those of most North Indian examples, other "groups" of Deccani carpets display carpet structures identical to those used in Iran. This confusing situation is only mitigated by the recognition, during the last few years, of small but significant Deccani stylistic, structural, and aesthetic characteristics, minor features that allow us tentatively to assign a "Deccani" provenance to some carpets whose origins would otherwise remain unresolved. Because not everyone is aware of these recent discoveries, the controversy continues.[2]

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE
The history of knotted-pile carpet production in the Deccan before the nineteenth century remains unchronicled, with the exception of a few chance observations made in 1679 by Streynsham Master, agent in Madras of the English East India Company, when he passed through "Ellore," modern Eluru, on his tour of the Coromandel Coast.[3] Without his diary notations, we would be left with only ambiguous literary references from the earlier Bahmani and Sultanate periods. Even the most famous historian of the Deccan, Firishta, only once mentioned where any particular carpets had been produced. This was a gift of twenty-five Persian carpets from Shah 'Abbas to Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda in 1603, which at least confirms the high esteem of Iranian carpets imported into the Deccan.[4] Other than this citation, Firishta, like most of the historians of his time, never described carpets in enough detail for us to know what they looked like.

Knotted-pile carpets, flat-woven cotton durries, chintz floorspreads, and even cotton cloths embroidered with silk and metal-wrapped thread had always been used at the courts of the Deccan, but their presence was so common that contemporary historians, though sometimes mentioning that a "rich carpet" had been spread on such an occasion, did not bother to describe them or to state their origins.

Only in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, with a series of exhibitions that included examples of what were then modern Indian carpets, labeled as Deccani or South Indian, do we get some assistance in identifying traditional Deccani carpets. The first of these exhibitions was the Great Exhibition of 1851 at London's Crystal Palace, where several carpets were exhibited with a South Indian or Deccani provenance. No contemporary photographs of those carpets are known, but half a century later George Watt's catalogue of the Delhi Exhibition of 1902–03 still referred to the vivid impression the Deccani examples had made upon visitors.[5] George Birdwood's 1880 catalogue of the Paris International Exhibition of 1878 also contained no illustrations of its Deccani carpets. However, if one combines information and pictures from Watt, Birdwood, and John Forbes Watson's 1867 publication, *The Textile Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India*,[6] and supplements their work with illustrations of carpets labeled "Deccan" appearing in the many Indian art journals and official government monographs,[7] a small group of carpets with a secure late-eighteenth- to late-nineteenth-century Deccani or South Indian provenance emerges, with the most prominent carpet weaving centers from the former Deccani sultanates revealed to have been Warangal, Hyderabad (including the Nizam's factory at Golconda),[8] Masulipatnam, Eluru, Wala-janagar in North Arcot, and Salem and Ayyampet in modern Tamil Nadu.

By the time of the nineteenth-century exhibitions, the production of most traditional Deccani carpets had long ended, but,

in the absence of earlier carpets, one must begin with these late examples and subject them to intense structural and aesthetic examination in an attempt to define their basic characteristics. From these we can then work backward, reexamining the carpets that had previously been labeled "Iran," "North India," or "Deccan." If they possess all or most of the same physical and aesthetic characteristics as the securely identified nineteenth-century Deccani carpets, we would now have good reason to assign a "Deccani" provenance to them.

DISTINGUISHING CARPETS BY STRUCTURAL AND DESIGN FEATURES
We know of two examples in London's Victoria and Albert Museum that had been sent from Warangal to the Great Exhibition of 1851 (figs. 1 and 2). The most obvious material attribute of these carpets is their silk pile. Traditionally, silk was not used as a pile material for Indian knotted-pile carpets, at least not until the late eighteenth century, and even then its use was almost entirely restricted to the Deccan and South India.[9] Sheep's wool and fine imported Himalayan goat hair (pashmina) were the traditional pile materials used in North India, while in the Deccan only local sheep's wool had ever been used until quite late in the industry's history.[10] A cotton pile is found in some nineteenth-century Indian carpets, but this, too, seems to be another very late innovation. Thus, the presence of silk as a pile material in an Indian carpet almost always identifies that carpet as either nineteenth-century Deccani or South Indian; certainly it can date no earlier than the late eighteenth century.[11]

Even if we were not certain of their mid-nineteenth-century Warangal provenances, we would know that the V&A carpets could only have been produced on the Indian subcontinent because of a crucial structural feature: the composition of their warps. The warps are the mostly unseen vertical elements stretching outward from the seated weaver, while the carpet is still on the loom.

Fig. 1. Carpet. Deccan, 19th century. Z9S beige cotton warps, red silk wefts, x3 passes, silk pile, 7'7" × 4'6" (2.3 × 1.375 m). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (0744 (IS))

Fig. 2. Carpet. Deccan, 19th century. Z9–10S beige cotton warps, red silk wefts, x3 passes, silk pile, 6'4" × 4'6" (1.93 × 1.375 m). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (0739 (IS))

They form the unbound fringes emerging from both the beginning and end of all carpets, and it is the warps around which the pile is successively knotted, row after horizontal row. Each single warp is made of multistranded cotton. In both of the Deccani carpets nine or ten thin individual threads of cotton have been plied together to form each warp. The presence of such multistranded cotton warps—typically from six to ten or more individual threads, each twisted in a clockwise (what is known as a "Z") direction, before then being plied together in the opposite (an "S") direction—is typical of most Indian knotted-pile carpets with a woolen pile or, as is the case with these two Deccani carpets, even some Indian carpets with a silk pile (fig. 3). However, "classical-period" Iranian knotted-pile carpets, that is, those made before the nineteenth century, never have multistranded warps composed of so many individual cotton threads. Iranian carpets with cotton warps tend to be made of only two, three, four or, at the most, five individual "Z"-twisted threads, plied in an "S" direction (fig. 4). Thus, knowing the warp structure of a carpet can sometimes allow one to differentiate Indian carpets from Iranian examples, even if they share the same basic designs, because they will rarely also share the same materials and/or the same structural characteristics.

Another structural feature is alternate warp displacement. Depending on how forcefully the wefts (the continuous horizontal structural elements) of a carpet have been beaten down, the warps can become pushed out of a flat (0°) alignment. North Indian carpet weavers tend to beat their wefts down so hard (55°–85°) that every other warp ends up almost on top or below the warp next to it. Some Iranian and some Deccani carpets have their wefts beaten down almost as hard, while others are only lightly packed down (15°–30°), with their alternate warps only slightly depressed. Thus, while the angle of alternate warp displacement can help differentiate some

North Indian from some Iranian or Deccani carpets, it provides no assistance when those displacements are all high.

As we shall see, however, not all Deccani carpets were woven with typical "North Indian" warps, and, aesthetically, even these two silk-pile carpets (figs. 1 and 2) can easily be recognized as "different" from most North Indian examples. Note that not all of the borders are dominated by rich shades of red, as is seen in most North Indian carpets. The borders of Deccani carpets often rely upon shades of yellow, gold, mustard-yellow, orange, salmon, tan, or off-white. Two other design features to remember are the presence in the minor borders of simple red rose buds or blossoms (figs. 5 and 6). An additional characteristic is the extreme angularity of the thin meandering stems supporting the simple red floral elements.[12] North Indian carpet designers and weavers took great care to render stem meanders as curvaceous as possible and would have considered the intentional angularity of Deccani design a serious craft defect.

Both the general coloration of Indian carpets and the specific way groups of colors

Fig. 3. Typical north Indian multistranded cotton warps

Fig. 4. Typical Iranian cotton warps

Fig. 5. Border of fig. 1 (detail)

Fig. 6. Border of fig. 2 (detail)

Fig. 7. "Ilchester" carpet (detail) showing *ton-sur-ton* coloring and racemes. North India, Mughal, first half 17th century. Private collection

Fig. 8. Carpet (detail) showing *ton-sur-ton* coloring and racemes. Lahore, Mughal, 17th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.857)

are combined are also quite distinctive. Most Indian carpets, whether woven in the north or in the Deccan, have a tendency to display *ton-sur-ton* coloring, as shown in the details of two examples from North India (figs. 7 and 8). *Ton-sur-ton* coloring is the use of two closely related colors or shades of the same color directly next to one another, without separation by another color or outline: pink figures against a red ground, orange details next to a yellow figure, dark blue next to light blue, and so on. Although also known

from a small number of carpets from central and northern Iran, *ton-sur-ton* coloring is a design feature that remained historically underexploited by Persian carpet weavers and designers. They were aware of it, they occasionally used it, but it was never a significant component of Iranian carpet design.[13]

Another decorative element typical of Indian carpet design is the almost ubiquitous presence of "racemes" and raceme-like plant forms, also present in the North Indian examples just mentioned. A classic example

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is the profile of a wisteria, a graduated arrangement of small multiple blossoms grouped together in a curved, tapering outline. A bunch of grapes can assume that shape, as can a long, curving, serrated leaf. Again, though also known from a small number of Iranian carpets, racemes never assumed the same degree of prominence for Iranian designers that they acquired in India.

A Corpus of Deccani Carpets
To sum up, the presence of both multistranded white or off-white cotton warps and a design making use of *ton-sur-ton* coloring and racemes indicate without doubt that a carpet was woven in India. These features might also appear on a Deccani carpet, but Deccani carpets display even more varieties of structure, design, and coloring. How, then, can we be certain that a carpet is Deccani rather than North Indian or Iranian? Sometimes enough significant features are present to allow us to make that judgment, while at other times we can suspect their origins but cannot prove them. This inability to make absolute identifications in every instance remains at the heart of Deccani carpet studies. Nevertheless, using exhibition references and some of the features discussed above, it is now possible to place some carpets of previously uncertain origin more firmly within the ever-growing corpus of Deccani carpets.

We can begin with two Deccani carpets that have conventional woolen, rather than silk, piles. The first is from the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (fig. 9). It was probably produced at Warangal or another center in what was then the state of Hyderabad because an almost identical example, though knotted with a cotton pile, was illustrated by Forbes Watson in 1867 and labeled "Warangal."[14] A specimen with a woolen pile, even more closely resembling the V&A's carpet, was illustrated in the 1906 *Journal of Indian Art*, where it was labeled simply: "Woollen Pile Carpet. Hyderabad."[15] The multistranded Z7S cotton warps of the V&A carpet conform to general Indian

standards, but the choice of a mustard-yellow ground for its major border (fig. 10) is a conspicuously Deccani feature.

The second, also from the V&A, a very long carpet (fig. 11), worn but still attractive, has always been assumed by that museum to be from Warangal and possibly to date to the eighteenth century. Its major border (fig. 12), with its dominant mustard-yellow ground, is distinctly Deccani, as is the angularity of its dark blue-green meandering vine stem. In addition, there are small red buds alternating between the green leaves that fill the minor guard borders. The structure of this carpet's white cotton warps could never be found on a North Indian carpet. It is Z4S, a warp structure one ordinarily associates with classical-period Iranian carpets. And, yet, this carpet does not resemble known Iranian carpet types.

As more examples of carpets suspected of a Deccani provenance are introduced, it will become apparent that quite a few display standard Deccani aesthetic features, but lack typical North Indian multistranded white cotton warps. For that reason, accurately attributing Deccani carpets will always be more difficult than identifying North Indian examples, which tend to follow the "rules" of construction and design more consistently. The presence of more than one standard warp structure in the Deccan is not hard to understand. Since some carpet weavers working in the Deccan during the earlier Sultanate period undoubtedly migrated from Iran (with others possibly traveling from northern India or even as far away as the Ottoman Empire or Central Asia), it should not be surprising that a few continued to knot carpets with warps that were identical to those they and their ancestors had traditionally used before their migration, despite the fact that traditional Indian multistranded cotton warps would have been easier to acquire in the local market. Customers are unconcerned by such matters, but, aesthetically, many of the new Deccani clients would have demanded designs and color combinations typical of

Fig. 9. Carpet. Deccan, 19th century. Z7S off-white cotton warps, brown cotton wefts, x3 passes, wool pile, 5'10" × 4'7" (1.79 × 1.39 m). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (0770 (IS))

Fig. 10. Detail of border of fig. 9

the Deccan region. Thus, over time successful Deccani carpet weavers would have changed the appearance of their wares, but not necessarily the structures, to satisfy local market demands. Thankfully, because of the presence of typical Deccani colors and minor design features, our ability to correctly attribute many more carpets to the Deccan is improving. Again, we must accept that a carpet that otherwise exhibits no obvious structural or aesthetic distinctions and conforms entirely to Iranian traditions (as some must) can probably never be attributed with certainty to the Deccan.

We must now reconsider a historic document that has, unfortunately, distorted carpet studies for over a century. In 1902 George Watt borrowed ten carpets from Bijapur for the Delhi Exhibition of Indian Art. Nine were woolen knotted-pile carpets removed from the Asar Mahal, and one was a flat-woven multiple-niche cotton prayer durrie from the *jami' masjid*. Watt wrote that,

Fig. 11. (left) Carpet. Deccan, 18th century. Z4S white cotton warps, light brown cotton wefts, x3 passes, wool pile, 18'10" × 3'10" (5.73 × 1.16 m). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IM 50–1943)

Fig. 12. (right) Detail of border of fig. 11

according to an anonymous history of Bijapur, the *Haft Kursi-yi Padshahan*, the pile carpets arrived from Kashmir in A.H. 1067 (A.D. 1657) and that, in his opinion, the durrie was local and probably dated to the Aurangzeb period.[16] It seems that Watt's account conflates several unrelated events, because none of the carpets sent to Delhi from Bijapur in 1902, or that remain today in the Asar Mahal or the Archaeological Museum in Bijapur, are Kashmiri. Instead, most are Iranian, with a few from the Deccan.

Although Firishta says nothing about any gift of carpets, a Sufi *shaikh* and Kashmiri merchant prince of Iranian descent, a historical figure whom Firishta called "Meer Mahomed Saleh Humdany," donated two hairs from the beard of the Prophet to Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II of Bijapur around

1596,[17] an event that eventually caused the Asar Mahal to be transformed from a hall of justice to a relic shrine after the conquest of Bijapur by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb.[18] According to research of the late Simon Digby on the history of the family, from at least the sixteenth through the eighteenth century the Hamadani *shaikhs* maintained strong trading relations between their primary religious seat in Srinagar and their important trading centers in the Deccan.[19] Thus, instead of the carpets being a gift from one of the 'Adil Shahi rulers, as Watt presumed, these Kashmiri *shaikh*s might have been the source of the carpets donated to the Asar Mahal, their largesse surviving in local memory, to be transmitted to Watt in a mangled version which confused the donation from the Kashmiri *shaikh*s of the

Fig. 13. Fragment of Iranian "vase carpet." Kirman, late 16th–early 17th century. 6'7" × 5'5" (2 × 1.66 m). Asar Mahal, Bijapur

Fig. 14. Iranian "vase carpet." Kirman, late 16th–early 17th century. Asar Mahal, Bijapur (now possibly missing)

Fig. 15. Carpet. Iran, 17th century. Z4S white cotton warps, white cotton wefts, x3 passes, wool pile, 26' × 9'7" (7.94 × 2.91 m). Asar Mahal, Bijapur

Fig. 16. Carpet. Iran, 17th century. Z4S(?) white cotton warps, white cotton wefts, x3 passes, wool pile, 32'6" × 12'7" (9.91 × 3.83 m). Archaeological Museum, Bijapur (no. 750)

Prophet's hairs with Kashmiri carpets. Whoever the donor was, the carpets found in the Asar Mahal by Watt in the late nineteenth century were more likely purchased in markets closer to Bijapur than Srinagar, since distant Kashmir had little reputation as a carpet-weaving center in the seventeenth century,[20] the approximate date of most of the carpets sent to Delhi.[21]

Watt published only two black-and-white illustrations of knotted-pile carpets from the Asar Mahal, but Cousens' archaeological survey of Bijapur of 1916 included drawings of three, which expands our knowledge of the group.[22] After the Delhi exhibition, the Colonial authorities refused to return the nine woolen carpets to local *waqf* control. Those in the best condition were placed on permanent display in the Bijapur Archaeological Museum, where they remain today. Two examples (figs. 13 and 14) are known as "vase carpets," though the presence of vases is not the most distinctive feature of such carpets. Instead, all members of this central Persian carpet group share a complicated but easily recognizable structure.[23] These two examples, dating from the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century,

are definitely not Kashmiri, North Indian, or Deccani. Two others from Bijapur (figs. 15 and 16) are typical of standard seventeenth-century Iranian production, from the point of view of structure, design, coloring, and detail. We have no firm evidence confirming where in Iran such carpets were produced, but, with Z4S white cotton warps, conventional designs and colors, and an absence of *ton-sur-ton* coloring or racemes, there is no reason to consider them anything but Iranian.[24]

Two other very large carpets from this group also seem to be typically Iranian, except that the central field design is unconventional, though not unknown (figs. 17 and 18).[25] We are more used to seeing half of this strap-work design constrained within the major borders of classical Iranian carpets, rather than repeated as mirror images filling the center of a carpet. Unconventionality is also a feature of Deccani carpet design, so one cannot be absolutely certain of the origin of these two. Perhaps the carpet in the Archaeological Museum is an original Iranian import, while the carpet in the Asar Mahal might be a local Deccani copy? Although there is nothing exclusively Deccani about the second carpet, its color palette, favoring browns and tans rather

Fig. 17. Carpet with unconventional central field design. Iran(?), 17th century. 25'4" × 10'4" (7.73 × 3.15 m). Archaeological Museum, Bijapur (no. 748)

Fig. 18. Carpet with unconventional central field design. Deccan(?), 17th century. Z4S off-white cotton warps, 26'5" × 10'8" (8.04 × 3.26 m). Asar Mahal, Bijapur

Fig. 19. Carpet. Deccan, 17th century. Z6S white cotton warps, 12'2" × 4'11" (3.7 × 1.5 m). Asar Mahal, Bijapur

Fig. 20. Border of fig. 19 (detail), showing *ton-sur-ton* coloration and simple red buds

Fig. 21. Carpet. Deccan, 17th–18th century. Z4S white cotton warps, x3 passes light brown cotton wefts, wool pile, 15'11" × 7'1" (4.85 × 2.165 m). Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (1TP)

Fig. 22. Carpet. Deccan, 18th century. Z3S ivory cotton warps, 52'4" × 10'8" (15.96 × 3.25 m). Museum of Islamic Art, Doha (CA.17.1997.OL)

Fig. 23. Evidence for a Deccani origin of this carpet includes ton-sur-ton coloring, fish-headed leaves, and many unconventional decorative features (detail of fig. 22).

Fig. 24. Carpet. Deccan, ca. 1750 or earlier. Z10S white cotton warps, not alternately depressed, brown cotton weft, x3 passes, wool pile, 10'6" × 4'2" (3.19 × 1.27 m). Kita-Kannon-yama Association, Kyoto

Fig. 25. Carpet. Deccan(?), late 18th–early 19th century(?). Z9S white cotton warps, low alternate warp displacement, dull pink cotton wefts, x3 passes, wool pile, 12'2" × 5'10" (3.71 × 1.79 m). Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (53TP)

than the more traditional reds of Iran and North India, becomes an important feature of many later Deccani examples.

The final example in this group (fig. 19), with Z6S white cotton warps, must be Indian. The stem meander in the major border (fig. 20) is angular, typical of Deccani design, more so than most contemporary North Indian examples. In the detail we can more easily see *ton-sur-ton* coloring in the scrolls surrounding the half medallion, and, while we have no racemes, we do have many raceme-like leaves. Also note

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Fig. 26. Carpet. Deccan, Warangal, 18th–19th century. Z5S and Z6S white cotton warps, 60° alternate warp displacement, light brown cotton wefts, x3 passes, wool pile, 4'2½" × 2'6½" (1.28 × .75 m). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IM 148–1924)

Fig. 27. Border fragment. Deccan, Warangal(?), 18th–19th century. Z5S white cotton warps, 60° alternate warp displacement, light brown cotton wefts, x3 passes, wool pile, 1'11" × 7" (.575 × 19 m). Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (12TP)

the simple red buds in the major border. Though possibly an unconventional North Indian carpet, it is much more likely to be the product of local Deccani looms.

Having discussed carpets with structures, designs, and coloring characteristic of Deccani production, I will consider a few more examples in an attempt to broaden the range. Though it is listed in the museum's inventory as sixteenth-century Persian, one need only observe the palette of this carpet in Lisbon (fig. 21): mustard-yellow minor borders; yellow, pale green, blue, and white raceme-like leaves in the central field (also the favored palette of many early Deccani miniature painters); and *ton-sur-ton* coloring, in this case pale green stems on a dark blue ground in the major border. When combined, these features could only belong to a Deccani carpet, dating perhaps as early as the late seventeenth

century. It is also another example woven with Z4S white cotton warps.

The Z3S ivory cotton warps of an enormous carpet in Doha, over fifty feet in length (fig. 22), suggests an Iranian origin, yet its design encompasses a strange mixture of Kirman vase carpet features, Egyptian Mamluk borders, and wriggling "leaves" borrowed directly from the stylized fish carved in stucco on monuments at Bijapur and Hyderabad in the Deccan and even in Lucknow in North India (fig. 23). It has been considered to be "Indian" since 1966, but it was only published as Deccani by Daniel Walker in *Flowers Underfoot*. The carpet is most probably eighteenth-century Deccani.

Many museums (Victoria and Albert, London; Philadelphia; Cincinnati; Louvre, Paris; Frankfurt; Munich; and Istanbul) have fragments of a gigantic carpet, which as late

Fig. 28. Historical carpet. Deccan, dated A.H. 1247 (A.D. 1837). Z6S beige/white cotton warps, high alternate warp displacement (70°), gray cotton wefts, x3 passes, wool pile, 5'2" × 4'5" (1.6 × 1.34 m). Peter Pap, San Francisco

Fig. 29. Detail of fig. 28, showing that the date of A.H.1247 (A.D. 1837) has been changed to A.H. 1147 (A.D. 1725)

as the 1880s still lay scattered in pieces on the floor of the Chihil Sutun kiosk in Isfahan.[26] It is estimated to have been as large as 59 × 30 feet, and its original design was a crude variation of a seventeenth-century Mughal floral lattice carpet. The drafting is clumsy, however, and the individual parts are not well proportioned. The designer was no seventeenth-century Mughal master. The off-white cotton warps are Z5S, so both an Iranian or a Deccani origin is possible, but probably not a North Indian one. With a preponderance of orange, yellow, pale green, pink, and tan, an eighteenth-century Deccani provenance again seems the most likely choice.

Since the 1990s it has been impossible to discuss Deccani carpets without considering those preserved by trade guilds and noble families in Japan.[27] The Japanese treated their imported carpets with such care that, when these began to show wear, they were put in storage and only displayed on important occasions like the annual Gion Festival in Kyoto. In this way both high- as well as low-quality carpet types, now unknown from any other sources, have been preserved.[28] The carpet in Kyoto (fig. 24) has a typical Indian warp structure of Z10S cotton. Its design is also familiar, based on floral lattice carpets best known from examples in the Jaipur City Palace Collection dating to the second half of the seventeenth century. The knot count is coarser than any of the Jaipur originals, however, and the drafting has also become more simplified. Another clue to its Deccani origins lies in the angularity of the meandering stems on its off-white major border. Based on the same seventeenth-century North Indian model is a carpet in Lisbon, probably an even later eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century Deccani version (fig. 25). The fact that both lattice carpets have almost no alternate warp displacement eliminates North India and supports the Deccani attribution of both.

Let us now consider *saf*s, multiple-niche prayer rugs. The flat-woven cotton *saf* from

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the *jami' masjid* in Bijapur has been mentioned, but woolen knotted-pile carpets intended for congregational worship in mosques were also used in India, but only in the Deccan. Deccani *saf*s and *saf* fragments with at least seven different patterns have been identified, but the key to establishing the provenance of the entire group lies in a fragment in the V&A (fig. 26).[29] Its off-white cotton warps range from Z5S to Z6S, establishing a general Indian provenance. But with a low alternate warp displacement and a range of colors reflecting a typical Deccani palette of tan, beige, orange, and yellow, it bears little resemblance to most North Indian carpets. The meandering stems in the borders are angular, while the outermost border, better viewed from a related fragment in Lisbon, displays simple red flower buds (fig. 27). Based on the preceding factors, this *saf* fragment is typically Deccani in every respect. When purchased by the V&A in 1924, it was reported to come from the *toshakhana* of the Nizam of Hyderabad and was presumed to be from Warangal. Other more complete knotted-pile *saf*s exhibiting variations of related designs are known from collections in Lisbon, Washington, New York, Berlin, Qatar, Istanbul, and London, but none has Z6S cotton warps. They are either Z5S or Z4S. Thus, without the V&A fragment, one might have supposed them all to have originated in southern Iran, where knotted-pile *saf*s were more common.

Dating historical carpets has never been easy unless a reliable inscription or date has been knotted into its design, which was not a North Indian practice. However, there are at least two dated carpets that are assumed to be Deccani. Visually, one would have guessed that this example (fig. 28) might be a nineteenth-century Iranian carpet, since so many were woven at that time using a central field motif derived from Kashmiri *buta*s,[30] but its multistranded Z6S cotton warps confirm its Indian provenance. Its inscribed date was A.H. 1247 (A.D. 1837), but a crude attempt was made to change the "2" to a "1" (see fig. 29). The color

Fig. 30. Historical carpet. Deccan or South India, dated A.H. 1192 (A.D. 1778–79). Z9S and Z11S cotton warps, light brown and pink cotton wefts, x3 passes, silk pile, 432 kpsi, 5'3" × 3'3" (1.6 × 1 m). Cincinnati Art Museum (1985.398)

Fig. 31. This carpet (detail of fig. 30) has an inscribed date of A.H. 1192 (A.D. 1778–79), possibly changed from A.H. 1292 (A.D. 1875)

Fig. 32. Silk-pile carpet fragment. Deccan or South India, late 18th–early 19th century. Silk warps, goat hair wefts, silk knotted pile, 202 kpsi, 6'3" × 4'3" (1.9 × 1.3 m). Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait (LNS 20R)

Fig. 33. Painted floral ogival lattice on walls and ceiling of the Khas Mahal of the Red Fort, Delhi, 1639–48

palette of this carpet relies more upon yellows, oranges, and whites than on traditional North Indian reds. The Persian inscription also refers to a noble with the title "Jah," which is a common Hyderabadi title. It was most probably woven in the Deccan, perhaps at Warangal, Eluru, or Masulipatnam.

Another dated knotted-pile carpet from the Deccan (fig. 30) is in Cincinnati.[31] The multistranded Z9S and Z11S cotton warps clearly prove an Indian origin, while the silk pile places the carpet firmly within a Deccani context. Though damaged and re-woven in places, an inscribed date of A.H. 1192 (A.D. 1778–79), if original, would make this the earliest dated Deccani carpet. As in the previous example, however, there is a gap between the two middle numbers, the "1" and the "9." It is possible that the second number has also been changed from a "2" to a "1," unless the odd style of this second number is simply a feature common to Deccani calligraphy or if extra space was left between those numbers for the top of a nearby letter (see fig. 31). A.H. 1292 is equivalent to A.D. 1875.

This survey began with two late silk carpets from the Deccan. I would like to conclude by mentioning what are probably the earliest examples of silk-pile carpets from the Deccan. All examples from this group share the same basic repertoire of designs and colors, and the central field derives from a seventeenth-century North Indian Mughal floral lattice (fig. 32), a good comparison being the painted gold decoration on the marble walls and ceiling of the Khas Mahal at the Red Fort in Delhi, completed in 1648 (fig. 33).[32] Such a building and its decoration would have been familiar to former Mughal functionaries, such as Asaf Jah, the first Nizam of Hyderabad, who had been Aurangzeb's governor of Delhi before declaring his independence from the Mughals.

Today, carpets continue to be woven in the Deccan, but they are entirely different from those produced before 1851 and seen in England at the Great Exhibition. They are strictly modern commercial textiles made without regard for traditional or historical precedents. Such traditions did once exist, and it has been the goal of this paper to briefly chronicle their history.

1. Walker 1997.
2. See Kamada 2010.
3. "Records of Fort St. George: Diary and Consultation Book, 1679–80, Madras" (originally published 1912), as quoted in Irwin and Schwartz 1966, p. 41. Although Streynsham Master seemed ready to accept, without question, the accuracy of the stories told to him by the weavers regarding their origins, I would question the dates they provided.
4. A long list of items—horses, jewels, and valuable cloths—continues with: ". . . twelve pairs of Kirman carpets, and a Persian carpet twelve yards square." Briggs 1909, vol. 3, pp. 475–76.
5. Watt 1903, pp. 427, 441. The public in 1851 had been so impressed that a brief revival in Deccani carpet manufacturing began almost immediately and staggered on for the rest of the nineteenth century. In the long term, the pressure of this temporary popularity destroyed the industry, as small-scale, impoverished Indian carpet weavers unsuccessfully attempted to compete with the organized carpet weaving industries of Persia and the Ottoman empire. Already in 1880 George Birdwood wrote that even the best Indian carpets sent to the Paris International Exhibition of 1878 were inferior to those exhibited at the Crystal Palace only twenty-seven years earlier. Most of the Deccan's traditional carpet weavers had been poor for generations. They were unable to further reduce the cost of their labor, and so they lowered the quality of their raw materials. Naturally, demand declined even more rapidly, and the Deccani carpet revival, such as it was, ended. See Birdwood 1880, pp. 289–90.
6. Watson 1867, pp. 144–45.
7. Foremost among these must be Twigg 1907 and Andrews 1906. The latter issue contained one hundred black-and-white plates with minimal identification. These included plates 7 and 8, both labeled *Woollen Pile Carpet. Bangalore*; plate 10, *Cotton Pile Rug. Hyderabad, Deccan* (white ground in border and field, stiff leafy lattice, angular stems meanders); plate 11, *Woollen Pile Rug. Hyderabad, Deccan, 19th century* (another white ground central field with stiff angular floral lattice, dark borders); plate 12, *Woollen Pile Carpet. Hyderabad.* This last picture, almost identical to plate X in Watson 1867, pp. 144–45, which had been labeled as a cotton carpet from Warangal, then in the India

Museum, is most probably now the reduced example in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (here fig. 9). It would appear that these designs could be reproduced in either cotton, wool, or silk pile. Other identifications include plate 13, *Woollen carpet. Ellura*; plate 47, *Silk Pile Carpet. Madras*; plates 48 and 49, *Woollen Pile Carpet. Reproduced at North Arcot.* (Plate 49 has a white central ground supporting a floral lattice, while the dark border has stiff angular meandering stems supporting simple blossoms.) Further, plate 76, *Woollen Pile Carpet. Tanjore* (an Ayyampet-style animal carpet); plate 77, *Rug. Thana*; plate 78, *Woollen Pile Carpet. Vellore*; plate 79, *Woollen Pile Rug. Warangal, Deccan. 19th century*; plate 80, *Silk Pile Carpet. Warangal, Deccan* (here, fig. 1); plate 81, *Silk Pile Carpet. Warangal, Deccan. 19th century*; plates 82 and 83, both *Silk Pile Carpet. Warangal.* Harris 1908 includes a representative selection of poor-quality carpets produced in jails, schools of design, and local South Indian workshops at the turn of the nineteenth century.

8. Harris 1908, p. 60: "The *'talim,' 'ta'alim tereh,' 'raqsha kitab,'* or book of the pattern, was in general use amongst the carpet weavers of the Panjab. It does not appear to be known to the trade in South India or the Deccan (except perhaps in His Highness the Nizam's factory at Golconda, where the workmen are the descendants of Kashmiris)."

9. A few non-traditional commercial silk-pile Indian carpets from Kashmir and North India were made in the second half of the nineteenth and in the twentieth century in factories and jails, controlled by Europeans, for export to Europe. Traditional North Indian carpets, however, were never made with a silk knotted pile. Although European travelers often mentioned seeing silk carpets in India, in most cases these were not knotted-pile carpets, but were embroidered or drawloom-woven floor spreads. To add to the confusion, when pashmina knotted-pile carpets were encountered, they were almost always thought to be knotted with a silk pile since pashmina, a fine Tibetan goat hair, was a material almost entirely unknown to Europeans until the late eighteenth century. A discovery in Tibet and the publication of the earliest surviving Indian knotted-pile carpet must be noted. See Franses 2011.

10. Thurston (1898, p. 3) mentions that the best wool used in Deccani carpets came from the black-faced, white Coimbatore breed of sheep. Harris (1908, p. 12), quoting Alfred Chatterton, states that the wool used in the carpets of "Ellore" came from the Northern Circars, where it was collected by shepherds grazing their herds in the upland districts of both the Godavari and Kistna districts.

11. The silk-pile carpet in Cincinnati (see fig. 30), inscribed with a date corresponding to 1778–89, would be the earliest presently known dated example. See my comments below about the reliability of this date.

12. Watt 1903, p. 442. With reference to the carpets sent from the state of Hyderabad to the Delhi Exhibition, Watt mentions this peculiarity: ". . . that the floral scrolls have the stems of the veins angularly bent in the fashion seen and described above in the Aurangabad gold brocaded saris."

13. Two carpets in the Jaipur City Palace (C-4 and C-9) further underscore this point. Both display variations of the most popular carpet design ever invented: a central field design best described as the "in-and-out palmette" type but still referred to by many as "Indo-Persian," "Indo-Herat," or "Indo-Isphahan" designs. It is easy to determine that one of the carpets (C-9) is Iranian because it has Z4S white cotton warps, while the other (C-4) is Indian because it has Z8S white cotton warps. Significantly, *ton-sur-ton* coloring is present in the Indian example, but not in the Iranian one.

14. Watson 1867, p. 145, pl. X.

15. Andrews 1906, [unnumbered] plate 12.

16. Watt 1903, pp. 432, 433. The durrie is a standard mid-nineteenth century *saf*.

17. Briggs 1909, vol. 3, p. 187.

18. The most recent view, presented by Mark Brand in 2009 at a lecture at the School of Oriental and African Studies to the Indian Art Circle, was that the relics were originally placed in a casket housed in a pavilion, the Jalmandir, surrounded by an artificial pool that was visible from the royal palace. The casket containing the sacred hairs was only moved to the Asar Mahal after the conquest of Bijapur by Aurangzeb in 1687. Therefore, there would have been no reason to donate carpets to the Asar Mahal before that date.

19. Personal correspondence with Simon Digby in 2009.

20. The question of whether any of the famous pashmina pile carpets were actually woven in Kashmir in the seventeenth century is not relevant to this discussion. We are referring to ordinary woolen-pile carpets. Although such carpets might have been manufactured in Kashmir at that time, they were neither distinctive nor valued enough to justify exporting so far away.

21. After the presentation of my paper at the Deccan symposium in 2008, Simon Digby read the British Library's manuscript of the *Haft Kursi-yi Padshahan* and confirmed my suspicion. Watt was fluent in several Indian languages, but it is doubtful that he read the Persian text himself since no gift of carpets, from Kashmir or anywhere else, is mentioned in its text. My thanks to Mark Brand, London, who first located the manuscript (British Library, Ethe catalogue, 10 Islamic 3051; 46 folios), which had for some time been placed on the wrong shelf, making access impossible, and to Rosemary Crill who, with Mark Brand, attempted

to read the difficult *shikasta* Persian script of the *Haft Kursi-yi Padshahan*. But I would especially like to acknowledge my debt to Simon Digby, who read the document and confirmed that, in his opinion, it was a true manuscript copy of the *Haft Kursi-yi Padshahan*, quite possibly the late seventeenth-century copy that Watt had been told about, but that it did not mention anything about carpet donations to the Asar Mahal.

22. Cousens 1916, pl. LXXIX.

23. See Beattie 1976.

24. The most current and thorough review of many of the "Bijapur" carpets appears in Sindermann 1999–2000, pp. 23–34. My measurements have come from this article because I have been unable to locate my notes from the late 1970s. I disagree, however, with Dr. Sindermann's conclusion that all Iranian carpets display *ton-sur-ton* coloring. I assume that what he calls *ton-sur-ton* coloring in those examples are simply thin outlines in related colors. But thin outlines are not enough to satisfy the generally accepted definition. The editors of his article have also mixed up most of the illustration labels, so that they do not correctly correspond to the images. See also Sindermann and Bonani 2005, pp. 7–19, on radiocarbon dating of carpets from Bijapur and Jaipur.

25. One of the best known Iranian carpets displaying such strap-work field designs was formerly in the Clark Collection, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., until its sale at auction in New York in late 2009.

26. Many authors have discussed these fragments, but the best assessment is in Ellis 1988, pp. 228–33.

27. Since the early 1990s original work on the subject of Indian carpets in Japanese collections has been published by Nobuko Kajitani and Daniel Walker. See Kajitani and Yoshida 1992; and Walker 1992. See also Gion 1994 and Walker 1997, pp. 136–46.

28. My thanks to Nobuko Kajitanti, Kyoto. She convinced me that these carpets were not specially commissioned for the Japanese market. They represent instead a broad cross-section of the many qualities and types of Deccani carpets available on the commercial Indian market in the eighteenth century. For the most part, these disappeared from the rest of the world after wearing out and being discarded.

29. An as yet unpublished survey by this author on the subject of Deccani *safs*, in preparation for *Hali*, was presented in Stockholm on June 18, 2011, at the International Conference on Oriental Carpets.

30. See Cohen 2001, pp. 94–95.

31. Walker 1997, p. 149, fig. 144, cat. no. 44. My thanks to Daniel Walker for photographs that I was able to use for my lecture and that he has kindly allowed, once again, to be used in this essay.

32. (1) Musée historique de Tissues, Lyon (inv. no. 31.091). Deccan or South India, ca. late 18th–19th century(?). Cotton warps and wefts, silk knotted pile, 10' × 2'11" (3.25 m x .9 m). This fragment was first mentioned by F.R. Martin when still in his collection (see Martin 1908, pp. 93–94 and pl. XXVII). (2) Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait (LNS 20R; here fig. 32) has been published in Eskanazi 1982 (p. 95, no. 35; text pp. 48–49) and in Walker 1997, p. 148, cat. no. 43. (3) Museum of Islamic Art, Doha (CA.7.1997.OL; here fig. 22). The Kuwait (lower) and Qatar (upper) fragments most probably derive from another larger portion mentioned in Martin 1908, which was still owned by Julius Orendi of Vienna in the 1930s. It was eventually purchased by a London dealer who cut it into the parts now in Kuwait and Qatar. These fragments are not to be confused with similar Turkish pastiches produced in Kum Kapi, Istanbul in the early twentieth century.

Yumiko Kamada

The Attribution and Circulation of Flowering Tree and Medallion Design Deccani Embroideries

Although India is said to have had a long history of producing embroideries famous for both their variety and quality, the earliest extant embroideries date to the fifteenth–sixteenth century, before which time few Indian textiles of any kind survive. Much better documented are embroideries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which are usually attributed to either Gujarat or Bengal, generally recognized as the main centers of production in India during this period.[1] This essay, however, will discuss two types of embroidery, the "flowering tree type" and the "medallion type," which, because of certain technical features and decorative motifs, can be attributed to the Deccan in the eighteenth century. While some scholars have recently started to attribute embroideries to this region,[2] the Deccan is not usually considered a source of this type of textile, although this possibility is strongly suggested by similarities between the "flowering tree" and "medallion" type embroideries and the painted and printed cottons of the Deccan.

In addition, this essay will discuss the circulation of Deccani embroideries around the world. As is exemplified by chintz from the Coromandel Coast, textiles from the Deccan were not only used domestically, but were also traded by local Indian merchants and foreign traders, including European companies, and transported to various countries. This wide circulation is also the case with Deccani embroideries.

EMBROIDERIES OF THE FLOWERING TREE GROUP

A good example of an embroidery of the flowering tree type, still used by the Taishiyama, one of thirty-two floats, during the annual Kyoto Gion festival, was purchased in Japan in 1774 (fig. 1).[3] The main motif is two flowering trees that grow from rocky outcrops on which small animals frolic. The inclusion of a large peacock at the center of the textile is unusual, but other aspects of the hanging are more typical of the group. The corners of the field each contain a vase of flowers, a motif deriving from European prints,[4] the main border has an alternating flower and leaf motif, and the inner and outer guard borders are filled with a continuous floral scroll. These elements have been executed in silk in a satin stitch. This rare embroidery was first examined by Nobuko Kajitani and Kojiro Yoshida, who included an image of a reconstruction of the entire piece (fig. 2) and identified the embroidery as mid-eighteenth-century Indian, without specifying a more precise place of production.[5] Later, however, Nicholas Purdon classified it as eighteenth-century "Indo-Portuguese."[6]

A little-studied embroidery in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 3) shares the same layout of a flowering tree on a rocky hill with vases at the four corners and borders.[7] Other motifs in the Metropolitan textile, such as birds, flowers, leaves, and the inner guard border, are also similar to those in the

Fig. 1. Hanging. India, probably Deccan, mid-18th century. Cotton, plain weave, embroidered with silk and metal-wrapped thread (later Japanese addition), satin stitch, approx. 67 × 90⅝ in. (170 × 230 cm). Taishi-yama, Kyoto

piece in Kyoto (for details, see figs. 4 and 5). It too is executed with silk thread in satin stitch on a white cotton ground.

There are two more examples of this type. One is in Amerongen Castle in the Netherlands,[8] and the other is in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (fig. 6).[9] Both embroideries have a large flowering tree growing from a rocky hill in the field, as well as vases with flowers at the corners, and both have been completed in satin stitch with silk thread. The two are attributed

to northwest India or Gujarat and are dated to the eighteenth century. These attributions are probably based on the work of John Irwin, the first to study this group of embroideries in depth and who based his identification of Gujarat as their source on his study of the records of the European trading companies operating in India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[10] Because these records contain no references to the export of embroideries from the Coromandel Coast, Irwin discounted the

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Fig. 2. Reconstruction of Taishi-yama hanging, Kyoto, approx. 116½ × 92⅛ in. (296 × 234 cm)

commodity, which might have only been shipped in small quantities separately from the commercial goods. These records also mainly reflect production for the trade market and may exclude those textiles made primarily for domestic consumption.

Second, embroideries made in Gujarat for the European market in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries tend to be executed in chain stitch.[13] However, the four embroideries mentioned above share the satin stitch technique, executed with silk thread on a cotton ground. The technique is so similar in all cases that it seems likely that they belong to a different tradition from that of Gujarat. In fact, as we will see below, these embroideries and the one in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, which is said to have come from the Deccan (fig. 8), have technique and motifs in common.

Third, a comparison with eighteenth-century chintzes from the Coromandel Coast suggests that these embroideries were made in the same location because the main motif of a flowering tree is so strikingly similar to that on the embroideries. A chintz in the Metropolitan (fig. 7) and one in the V&A, both attributed to the Coromandel Coast and dated to the eighteenth century,[14] are good examples of such textiles. They both show a flowering tree growing from a rocky outcrop in the central field and sinuous branches with blossoms and leaves in the border. Some of the flower motifs and serrated leaves on the Metropolitan chintz, the Metropolitan embroidery, and the float cover in Kyoto are quite similar. The above-mentioned embroideries in the Royal Ontario Museum and Amerongen Castle also have two types of flower motifs in common with the Metropolitan chintz. Moreover, the border of the Metropolitan embroidery, which has a pattern of twisted branches with flowers and vegetables, is almost identical to the border of the V&A chintz. These are in fact so alike that they appear to derive from a very similar cartoon.

possibility that embroideries with the flowering tree design could have been produced in the Deccan.[11] His attribution, however, can be refuted on several counts.

First, employees of the English East India Company were allowed to engage in private trade in Asia from the 1670s. Dutch East India Company officials also received permission to conduct private trade in Asia from 1742.[12] Thus, an absence of references to embroidery in official factory records does not mean an absence of trade in this

Fig. 3. Hanging. India, probably Deccan, mid-18th century. Cotton, plain weave, embroidered with silk, satin stitch, 123 × 95 in. (312.4 × 241.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mrs. Jean Starr Untermeyer, 1960 (60.62)

Fig. 4. Detail of fig. 1

Fig. 5. Detail of fig. 3

For all of these reasons, it seems reasonable to attribute the embroideries in Amerongen Castle and the Royal Ontario Museum, along with those in Kyoto and the Metropolitan, to the Deccan, and to date them to the mid-eighteenth century.

Embroideries of Medallion Design Group

Another group of embroideries that may be attributed to the Deccan has a different decorative scheme, but an identical technical structure. The group is typified by an embroidery in the V&A, said to have belonged to Tipu Sultan of Mysore (r. 1782–99). Its field is dominated by a central medallion from which spread four flowering trees (fig. 8).[15] At the four corners are quarter medallions. Birds, rabbits, and tigers cavort in the main border, which is surrounded by flower-filled inner and outer guard borders. The same museum has another example of a medallion design embroidery with silk and metal-wrapped thread in satin stitch on cotton ground (fig. 9).[16] While the flowers are more sparsely arranged in the field between the central medallion and the four corner elements, some of the flower motifs, as well as the technique and material, are the same as those in the Tipu Sultan embroidery. To this group can be added embroideries from the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon (fig. 10),[17] the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (fig. 11),[18]

Fig. 6. Hanging. India, probably Deccan, early to mid-18th century. Cotton, plain weave, embroidered with silk, mainly satin stitch, 134 × 90 in. (340.3 × 228.5 cm). The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (958.17)

Fig. 7. Hanging. India, Coromandel Coast, early 18th century. Cotton; plain weave, mordant-dyed and resist-dyed, 111 × 79½ in. (281.9 × 201.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of George Blumenthal and Gift of Indjoudjian Freres, by exchange, and The Friends of the Islamic Department Fund, 1982 (1982.66)

the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts,[19] the Museum of Ethnography in Basel,[20] and the Textile Museum of Canada.[21] Several catalogues from auctions and galleries also include examples of the same type of embroidery, including figure 12.[22]

Finally, a little-studied medallion design embroidery in the Metropolitan (fig. 13), currently attributed to sixteenth- to seventeenth-century India, must also belong to this group. The central medallion and the corner motifs are executed in silk threads in satin stitch on a yellow silk ground. The inner and outer guard borders are quite similar to those on the Boston embroidery (fig. 11), while some flower motifs (see detail, fig. 14) are stylized versions of the Tipu Sultan embroidery in the V&A and the Metropolitan's flowering tree embroidery (fig. 15).

The current attribution of these textiles ranges widely. Rosemary Crill has suggested that the Tipu Sultan embroidery is from the Deccan, based on its Mysore provenance, and she also attributes the other V&A embroidery to the Deccan based on its similarity to the Tipu Sultan piece.[23] Marie-Louise Nabholz-Kartaschoff, however, attributes the embroidery in Basel to western or northern India on the basis of its similarity to the embroidery in the Calico Museum in Ahmadabad, which was attributed to northern India by John Irwin and Margaret Hall, though without any definitive evidence.[24] Meanwhile, Joseph Dye III has tentatively attributed the medallion design type to "possibly Goa or the Deccan" on the grounds that similar embroideries have been found in Spain and Portugal.[25] In fact, Sé Metropolitana Patriarcal in Lisbon has a related medallion design embroidery.[26] While its field is filled with many flowers and clouds, giving it a more packed impression than the other pieces, the border design is quite similar to the one in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. Lanto Synge also attributes this type to the Deccan, specifically Goa.[27]

It seems likely, however, that the entire medallion design group should be attributed to the Deccan. Several textiles in this group share floral motifs with the embroideries of the flowering tree type discussed above, especially the Tipu Sultan embroidery, whose leaves, birds, and flowers are similar to those on the Kyoto and Metropolitan flowering tree examples. In addition, all of the medallion group embroideries, like those with the flowering tree motif, are executed in satin stitch with silk thread on a cotton or silk ground, in marked contrast to embroideries from seventeenth- or eighteenth-century Gujarat and Bengal made for the European market, which were mostly executed in chain stitch. And again, like the flowering tree embroideries, the medallion group can be connected to other types of textiles being produced in the Deccan at this time. There is a group of chintz textiles with central medallions, corner cartouches, and wide borders, for instance, to which they can be compared.[28]

Finally, the frequent use of metal-wrapped thread may also tie the textiles of the medallion group to the Deccan, where the lavish use of gold and silver-wrapped thread is characteristic. Such textiles are depicted in paintings, as floorspreads (see frontispiece), and as clothing (see figs. 2 and 17 in the essay by Navina Haidar in this volume). A saddle cloth in the V&A embroidered with metal-wrapped thread, said to have come from Hyderabad, also attests to such a tradition.[29] The yellow silk ground of the embroidery in the Metropolitan (fig. 13) may have been a substitute for a background filled with metal-wrapped thread.

CIRCULATION OF DECCANI EMBROIDERIES

Both of the types of embroidery discussed above circulated widely within India and the numerous regions to which its textiles were exported. Medallion design embroideries lavishly adorned with metal-wrapped thread seem to have been used in local courtly settings. As depicted in a mid-seventeenth-century painting from Bijapur, these embroideries may have covered the dais of the ruler,[30] or they may have been

Fig. 8. Floor spread. India, probably Deccan, mid-18th century. Cotton, plain weave, embroidered with silk and metal-wrapped thread, satin stitch, 117 × 80⅜ in. (297 × 204 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (783-1864)

Fig. 9. Floor spread. India, probably Deccan, mid-18th century. Cotton, plain weave, embroidered with silk and metal-wrapped thread, satin stitch, 71⅝ × 59⅞ in. (182 × 152 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IM 2-1912)

used as summer carpets. Some were probably exported to Persia and Turkey. For instance, the embroidery with overall floral pattern with silk and metal thread in the Topkapi Palace Museum[31] was probably produced in the Deccan. The presence of medallion design embroideries in Sé Metropolitana Patriarcal and the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in (fig. 10) Lisbon indicates exports to Portugal.[32]

In contrast to medallion design embroideries, the flowering tree type discussed here appears to have been made primarily for the European market. These embroideries, which share their design with that of chintzes made on the Coromandel Coast in the eighteenth century for the European market, were, like those, probably used as hangings or bed covers. The presence of this type of embroidery in Amerongen

Fig. 10. Floor spread. India, probably Deccan, 18th century. Cotton, plain weave, embroidered with silk and metal-wrapped thread, satin stitch, 122 × 97¼ in. (310 × 247 cm). Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (2232)

Castle in the Netherlands attests that embroideries from the Deccan were brought to Europe by the Dutch East India Company to decorate the castle's interior.

Furthermore, the Dutch circulated Deccani embroideries to Asia, along with carpets and other textiles from the Deccan. Because of the seclusion policy of Japan, from 1639 to 1858, Dutch East India Company officials were the only Westerners allowed to come to Japan for trade. They regularly paid homage to Japanese rulers and high officials with such exotic gifts as Indian textiles and carpets. The embroidery of the flowering tree type in Kyoto (fig. 1) must originally have been brought to Japan by Dutch East India Company officials as an expensive gift for a high-ranking Japanese dignitary or as a commodity for private trade. Kyoto merchants living in Taishi-yama ward somehow acquired this embroidery in 1774 in order

Sultans of the South: Arts of India's Deccan Courts, 1323–1687

Fig. 11. Floor spread. India, probably Deccan, 18th century. Cotton, plain weave, embroidered with silk and metal-wrapped thread, satin stitch, 128¾ × 99 in. (327 × 251.5 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of John Goelet (66.862)

Fig. 12. Floor spread. India, probably Deccan, 18th century. Cotton, plain weave, embroidered with silk and metal-wrapped thread, probably satin stitch, 119 × 90⅝ in. (302 × 230 cm). Private collection

Fig. 13. Floor spread. India, probably Deccan, 18th century. Silk, plain weave, embroidered with silk and metal-wrapped thread, mainly satin stitch, 131 × 92 in (332.7 × 233.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1905 (05.25.2)

to cover their festival float for the Kyoto Gion Festival. This festival, which originated in 869, celebrates the Yasaka Shrine in Kyoto built to honor the god "Gion Tenjin," who was known for his power to protect people from plague. Currently, thirty-two floats decorated with domestic and foreign textiles take part in a parade during this annual festival in July.[33]

In order to cover both sides of the festival float, the embroidery was carefully cut in half, without damaging the peacock at the center, to make two rectangular pieces, then partially supplemented with

embroidery executed in Japan. A large number of local craftsmen were hired to fill the original cotton background with metal-wrapped thread, a task they finished in 1775.[34] Today, the Taishi-yama float is covered with this embroidery during the Gion festival, giving it an opulent look.

CONCLUSION

Based on a comparison with the chintzes produced in the eighteenth century on the Coromandel Coast, I suggest that the embroideries of the flowering tree type in Kyoto and at the Metropolitan, the Royal

Fig. 14. Detail of fig. 13

Fig. 15. Detail of fig. 3

Ontario Museum, and Amerongen Castle be attributed to the eighteenth-century Deccan. As for the medallion design embroideries, some have already been attributed to the Deccan. The present essay presents further evidence to support the attribution of this group to the eighteenth-century Deccan. In contrast to embroideries made in Gujarat, mainly from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, which were famous for their meticulously executed chain stitch, embroideries attributed to the Deccan in this article were executed in satin stitch.

These embroideries were for consumers not only in the Deccan, but also in Turkey, Portugal, the Netherlands, and Japan. They were made either in court workshops and used by domestic rulers or in several places close to trading centers (see map, p. xiv), such as on the Coromandel Coast, as trade objects for international trade. The design and material of these embroideries changed flexibly in accordance with their various uses and users. This diversity in users, tastes, and intended purposes led to the multiplicity of the designs and materials of Deccani embroideries.

1. See Irwin and Hall 1973; Cohen 1985; and Crill 2003.
2. Crill 2003 (p. 55, fig. 18) contains an example of a twentieth-century Deccani embroidery. Cohen 1985 mentions that fine embroideries were made for the court of the Deccan rulers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but does not show any examples. Crill 1999 includes an embroidery from the V&A (here fig. 8) said to have belonged to Tipu Sultan of Mysore and a related piece (IM 2-1912; here, fig. 9), which she attributes to the mid-eighteenth-century Deccan. Both are discussed below. Synge 2001b introduces an embroidery with a medallion design as an "Indo-Portuguese coverlet," attributing it to Goa ca. 1720.
3. Taishi-yama, Kyoto. Kajitani and Yoshida 1992, pp. 123–24. I would like to thank Haruo Nakano and Daihito Tahara, who kindly allowed me to examine this embroidery.
4. For an example, see Beck 1992, p. 95.
5. Kajitani and Yoshida 1992, pp. 123–24.

6. Purdon 1994, p. 94.

7. Not published. I would like to thank Navina Haidar for assistance in gaining access to textiles in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art and for the opportunity to present a paper at the Deccan symposium. In addition, I wish to thank Marika Sardar, Christine Giuntini, and Tae Smith, also of the Museum, who kindly assisted me in my research.

8. Hartkamp-Jonxis 1987, pp. 176 and 178, cat. no. 94.

9. Irwin and Brett 1970, p. 29, fig. 18b. The Royal Ontario example (958.17) also displays satin stitch with silk thread on a cotton ground.

10. For embroideries in Gujarat, see Irwin 1949 and Irwin and Hall 1973, pp. 29–34.

11. Irwin and Schwartz 1966, pp. 38–39.

12. Despite the prohibition of private trade by the Dutch East India Company, the Japanese government allowed the Company's officials in Japan to engage in private trade as early as 1685.

13. Irwin and Hall 1973, pp. 29–34; Crill 1999, pp. 23–28, pls. 1–6.

14. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IS 30-1966). See Crill 2008, p. 53, pl. 18.

15. Crill 1999, p. 35, pl. 16.

16. Ibid., p. 34, pl. 15.

17. Mendonça 1978, no. 16. I would like to thank Teresa Pacheco Pereira of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, who kindly allowed me to examine this textile and to reproduce an image of it.

18. V. Desai 1985, pp. 153 and 155, no. 137. I would like to thank Emily Banis, who kindly allowed me to examine this piece.

19. The Robert A. and Ruth W. Fisher Fund, 95.79. Satin stitch, silk and metal-wrapped thread on cotton ground. See Dye 2001, pp. 479–81, no. 232.

20. Satin stitch with silk and gold thread on cotton ground. See Nabholz-Kartaschoff 1986, pp. 196–97, pl. 52.

21. Textile Museum of Canada, Opekar/Webster Collection, T94.0829. Satin stitch with silk and metal-wrapped thread on cotton ground.

22. Yves Mikaeloff advertisement in *Hali* 51 (1990); *European and Oriental Rugs and Carpets*, sale cat. (Sotheby's London, April 26, 1995), lot 27, silk and metal thread; Spink advertisement in *Hali* 99 (1998); *Fine Rugs and Carpets Including Islamic Textiles*, sale cat. (Sotheby's London, April 30, 2003), lot 4, satin stitch with silk and metal thread; *Arts of India*, sale cat. (Christie's London, September 24, 2003), lot 109; here, fig. 12; *Indian and Islamic Works of Art*, sale cat. (Simon Ray, London, April 2005), no. 63, satin stitch with silk and metal-wrapped thread on cotton ground; *Asian Textiles*, sale cat. (Francesca Galloway, London, October 7–November 12, 2008), no. 20, satin stitch with silk and metal-wrapped thread on cotton ground. I would like to thank Steven Cohen, who drew my attention to the embroidery in the gallery of Francesca Galloway.

23. Crill 1999, p. 15 (and personal communication). I would like to thank Dr. Crill, who made it possible for me to examine these pieces.

24. Nabholz-Kartaschoff 1986, pp. 196–97, pl. 52; Irwin and Hall 1973, p. 12, no. 6. While these are quite stylized, they are also executed in satin stitch with silk and silver-wrapped thread on cotton ground.

25. Dye 2001, pp. 479–80.

26. Inv. no. 263. Satin stitch with silk and metal-wrapped thread on cotton ground. See Trnek and Vassallo e Silva 2002, pp. 185–87, cat. no. 74. This embroidery was still on display at the Sé Metropolitana Patriarcal during my visit in December 2009.

27. Synge 2001a, p. 322. An example of a medallion design embroidery with silk and metal thread is on p. 317, fig. 305. See also Synge 2001b, p. 92 (with a reproduction of the same embroidery on p. 90, fig. 6).

28. For instance, a textile in the Metropolitan (25.166.2) dated to the eighteenth century.

29. Inv. no. IM 68-1927. See Irwin 1951, p. 7, pl. 2.

30. *'Ali 'Adil Shah II in Private Audience*, Bijapur school, ca. 1660, collection of Dr. Moti Chandra, Bombay. V. Desai 1985, p. 153, no. 137; Barrett 1960, plate on p. 8.

31. Inv. no. 31/11. See Atasoy 1992, p. 6.

32. The Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga has a related embroidery (inv. no. 1926). While these two show neither a flowering tree nor a medallion design, the similar motif of blossoms surrounded by leaves can be found in the above-mentioned medallion design embroideries in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts and Sé Metropolitana Patriarcal in Lisbon. I would like to thank Denise Teece, who drew my attention to the embroidery in Turkey, and Teresa Pacheco Pereira, who kindly showed me the embroidery in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.

33. These textiles include Indian carpets from the Deccan. My dissertation (see Kamada 2011) discusses these Deccani carpets in Kyoto.

34. Kajitani and Yoshida 1992, pp. 123–24.

Marika Sardar

A Seventeenth-Century *Kalamkari* Hanging at The Metropolitan Museum of Art

In the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art is a large Indian textile whose decoration and form have long puzzled scholars (fig. 1). For its size (100 × 78 in.) and ambitious composition of multiple figures set within a complex architectural structure, this hanging is quite unusual in the corpus of the dyed Indian textiles known as *kalamkari*s, made through a special process of applying mordants, resists, and dyes to the surface of the cloth with a pen (*qalam* or *kalam*).[1] Only about fifteen other comparable pieces are known: six large hangings that are similar to the Metropolitan's in size and use of an architectural setting,[2] and nine smaller textiles known as *rumal*s, on which the figures float against a floral background.[3]

This type of figural textile appears to have been made for a short span of time in the early seventeenth century, thus predating the height of the foreign trade in Indian dyed textiles between the late seventeenth and eighteenth century. The format and subject matter of this group are also very different from the export cloths—fabrics with floral designs known in Europe as "chintz,"[4] those with repeating geometric and floral themes popular in Southeast Asia,[5] and the mats with niches and cypresses

often traded west to Iran.[6] While most scholars agree that these textiles were made in the Deccan region of India, probably on the Coromandel Coast,[7] many other questions about their iconography, function, and patronage linger.[8] This chapter, focusing on the Metropolitan's hanging, will attempt to address some of these issues.

First, in dealing with its iconography, it must be noted that the Metropolitan's hanging is made up of thirteen separate pieces joined together, six for the body and seven for the border (fig. 2). While it is possible that the scale of this hanging would have necessitated the joining of several small, individually dyed pieces (which, for instance, probably explains the join between the top and bottom halves of the central panel), close study reveals halved vases and phantom limbs, indicating that some of the individual pieces cut were reattached in new positions. The hanging, it appears, was once part of an even larger composition.

Additional parts can in fact be identified in museums in England and the U.S. The first such fragment, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, is identical to the Metropolitan hanging in terms of style, composition, and size (fig. 3).[9] It is also decorated with figures of different scales posed within an architectural setting and is bordered at the top and bottom by white and blue sections with additional human figures. The manner in which the people are drawn, the arrangement of garlands behind them, and the vignettes in the borders are the same. The hangings even share the same charming details of animals (fig. 4). These features all suggest that the V&A and the Metropolitan hanging were once connected.[10] Unlike the Metropolitan hanging, however, the V&A one is intact. Its only seam is between the bottom and top halves, and it is likely that two lengths of cloth

were joined here, as in the Metropolitan's hanging, in order to create a single piece of the desired dimensions.

The V&A has other fragments of the original hanging, which appear on an appliquéd textile made by cutting the figural elements out of the original and sewing them onto a cotton backing (fig. 5).[11] This textile includes part of the upper niche of what was probably a sixth panel from the original, with a garland suspended from its apex, and several small-scale figures on balconies that are comparable to those that flank the large figures in the larger Metropolitan and V&A textiles.

A similar appliquéd textile in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 6) must have also belonged to the original hanging. A recent description of this piece states that it is quilted, with the stitches following the outlines of each design element, although it is noted that "much of the background of the original has been removed or has fallen away."[12] Perhaps it too was made by cutting elements from the original and sewing them to a backing in the fashion of the V&A textile. In fact, it appears to have been part of the upper border of the original hanging, with figures on a white background. The vignettes in which the figures are engaged are similar in style to those on the Metropolitan and V&A hangings, and the field motifs surrounding the vignettes are identical, including the pairs of flying birds and the garlands of pink, red, and purple flowers.

It is likely that the original hanging to which the Metropolitan, V&A, and Virginia fragments once belonged was cut down in the nineteenth century in order to create smaller pieces more suited to European or American interiors. The two largest fragments have borders from the same chintz textiles, suggesting they were cut and refashioned at the same time. The V&A hanging was purchased in 1898 from the London-based dealer Vitall Benguiat, whose business also extended to New York; he may well have sold the second hanging to

Mr. and Mrs. Albert Blum, who donated it to the Metropolitan Museum in 1920.[13]

To determine the appearance of the original hanging, we can turn to a hanging in the Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmadabad, which in its current, reduced condition measures approximately seven feet in height by fourteen feet in length (fig. 7).[14] It has tiers of large figures in rectangular frames, separated by towers of small figures in balconies and medium-size figures in cusped frames. The medium-size figures in the top register are shown in static poses, while those in the lower register are engaged in different activities. Along the bottom of the hanging is a thin band filled with several figures set against a colored background, while at the top is a similar assortment of figures set against a white ground filled with flowers and plants. Each of these elements can be found on the Metropolitan and V&A hangings, but noteworthy is that this fragment preserves part of an additional central section containing figures of an even larger scale, standing as though in attendance on a royal personage, now missing.

With the Ahmadabad hanging as a guide, one can imagine that the original hanging to which the V&A, Metropolitan, and Virginia fragments belonged also had a central section with a very large figure in the middle and, on either side, domed towers of small figures within arches, slightly shorter tiers of cusped frames with medium-size figures, and additional tiers of large-size figures. At the top there would have been a white field with plants and additional small figures and, at the bottom, a band with a blue background. The hanging would have been approximately six and a half feet in height (the current height of the Metropolitan and V&A hangings without their chintz borders) and perhaps as much as twenty-five to twenty-eight feet in length.

The preserved parts of this hanging are shown here in a diagram (fig. 8). Of the different elements listed above, four complete panels of the large-scale figures survive, as

Fig. 1. Hanging. India, Deccan, ca. 1640–50. Cotton, plain weave, mordant painted and dyed, resist dyed, 100 × 78 in. (254 × 198.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mrs. Albert Blum, 1920 (20.79)
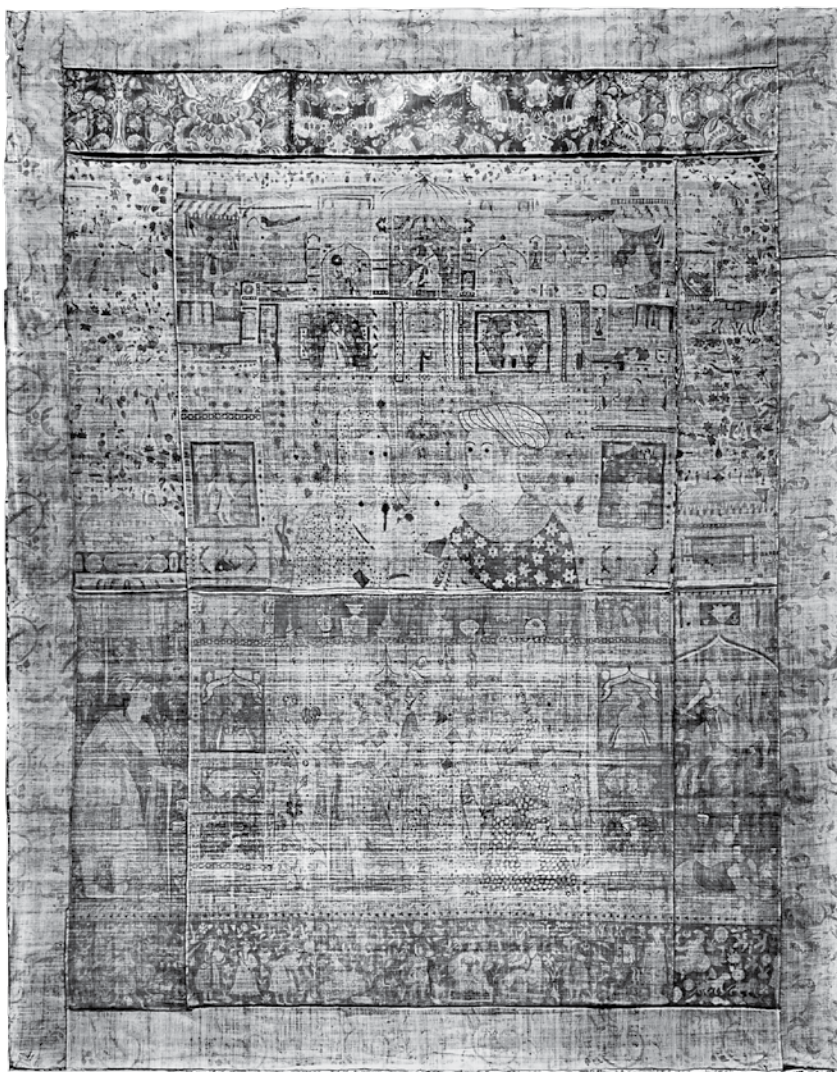
Fig. 2. Reverse of fig. 1, showing seams

do one panel with medium-scale figures, four towers with small-scale figures, and parts of the upper white field and the lower blue band. The section with a man resting on a sword, from the Metropolitan hanging, seems to have been part of a fifth large-scale panel (from the bottom row, since the section of blue at the bottom is contiguous to the frame around him). It was not possible to determine the exact arrangement of the surviving elements in relation to one another, but the joins might become apparent if one could open the seams and see the parts of the fabric now enclosed in them. It may, however, remain impossible to determine the original configuration of the hanging because so much has been lost. Apart from the fragments sold individually,[15] still other parts were used to repair the more intact elements of the hanging

Fig. 3. Hanging. India, Deccan, ca. 1640–50. Cotton, plain weave, mordant painted and dyed, resist dyed, 116⅛ × 59¹³/₁₆ in. (295 × 152 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (687-1898)
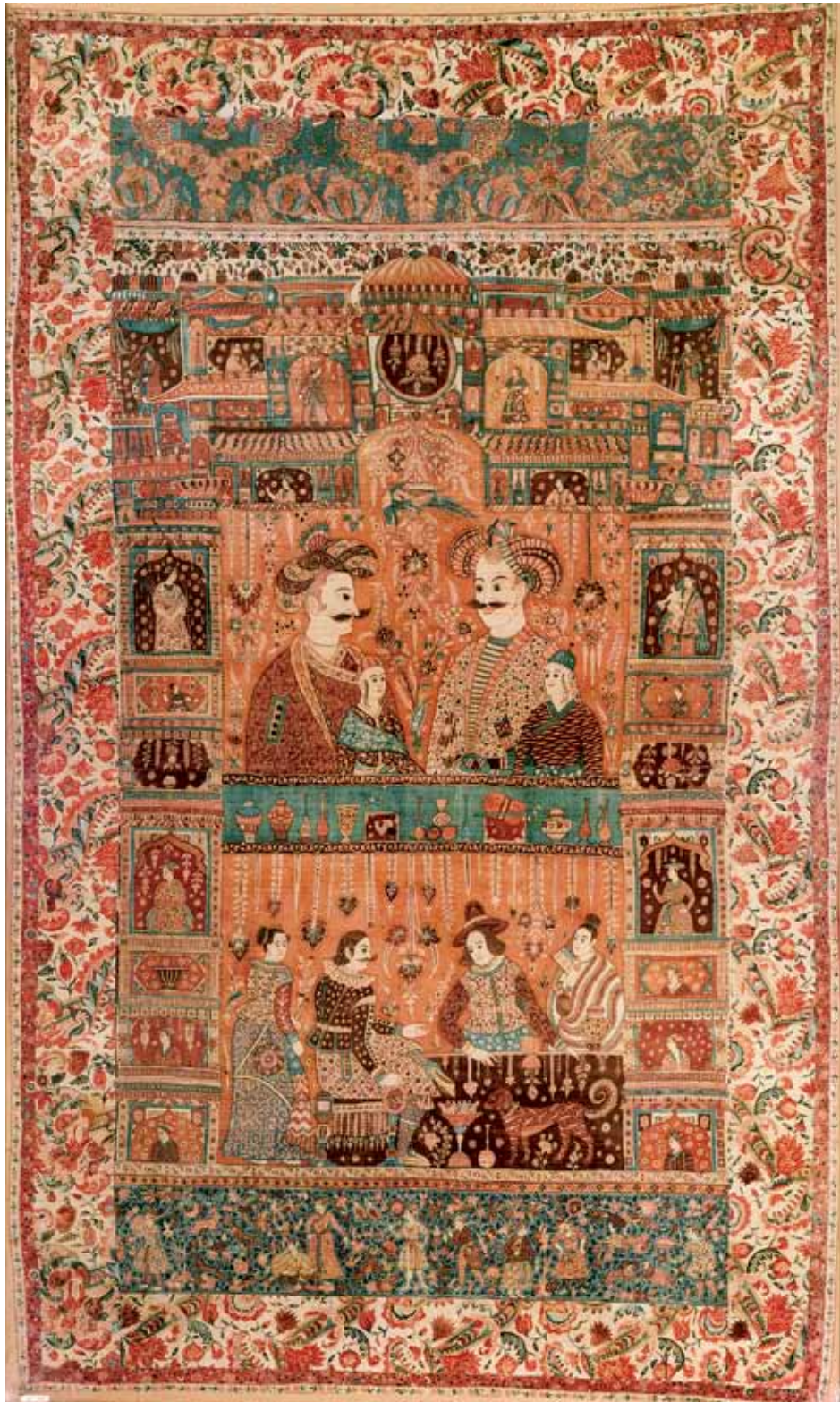
Fig. 4. Details of animals in lower border of Metropolitan (left) and Victoria and Albert (right) hangings

Fig. 5. Appliqué panel with *kalamkari* fragments. India, Deccan, ca. 1640–50. Cotton, plain weave, mordant painted and dyed, resist dyed, sewn onto a cotton ground and couched with silk thread, 38 9/16 × 49 5/8 in. (98 × 126 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IS 16-1956)

Fig. 6. Appliqué panel with *kalamkari* fragments. India, Deccan, ca. 1640–50. Cotton, plain weave, mordant painted and dyed, resist dyed, sewn onto a cotton ground and couched with silk thread, 5¼ × 29¾ in. (13.5 × 75.5 cm). Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Gift of Blythe W. Branch (39.8.1)
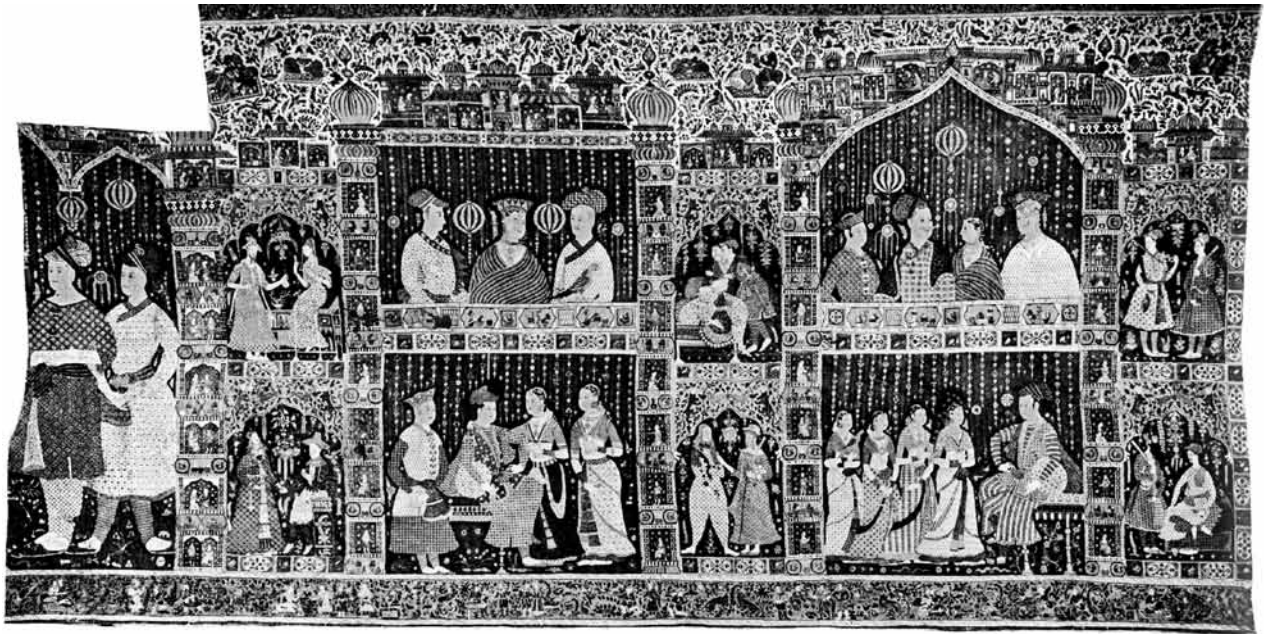
Fig. 7. Hanging. India, Deccan, ca. 1640–50. Cotton, plain weave, mordant painted and dyed, resist dyed, 85^1/₁₆ × 177^1/₆ in. (216 × 449.7 cm). Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad (647)

(such fragments show through holes in the fabric of sections of the Metropolitan's hanging), while others were probably discarded.

Admittedly, the reconstruction is not complete, but it does accomplish a few important things. First, it makes it explicit that the Metropolitan and V&A hangings are not in their original state. This fact is often glossed over in discussions of them, but should be considered when assessing

their function and iconography. Second, it suggests the general layout of the original, its different decorated sections, and the proportions of the sections in relation to one another. Third, it reorients the hangings: rather than being individual, vertical panels, we understand that they were part of a very long, horizontal composition.[16]

We might imagine that such a hanging was made for a royal patron, a suggestion
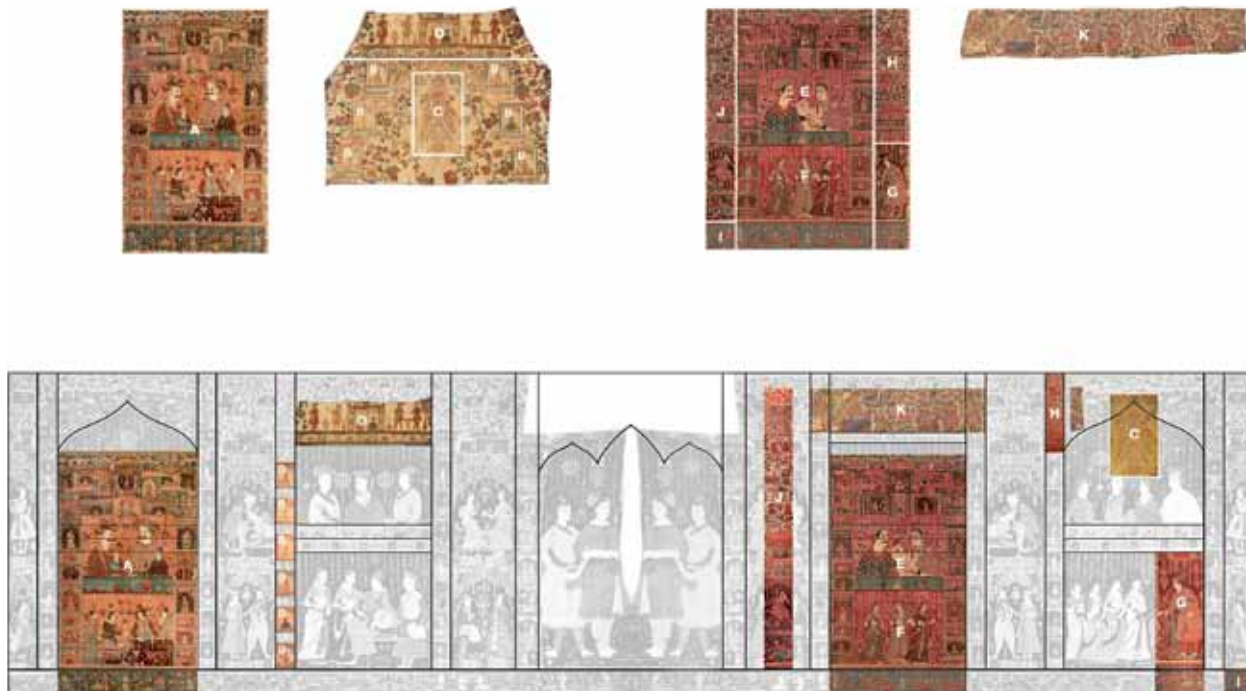
Fig. 8. Reconstruction of hanging to which the Metropolitan (fig. 1), V&A (figs. 3 and 5), and Virginia (fig. 6) fragments belong

supported by the fact that several seventeenth-century figural textiles, including the one in the Calico Museum, were found in the treasury of the Kachhwaha rulers of Jaipur, in northern India.[17] We do not know exactly how these hangings were used at the Jaipur court, but, from their grand size and the scale of the figures on them, they would have had a strong presence in the room where they hung, providing a very particular kind of backdrop for the ruler who appeared in front of them.

The popularity of large-scale figural programs in courtly settings is also attested in the Deccan, in the form of wall paintings. Little of the Deccani wall painting tradition survives today; the best preserved examples come from Bijapur, at the Asar Mahal and the Sat Manzil, and from a garden pavilion just outside the city at the site of Kumatgi (fig. 9).[18] These paintings show individual vignettes, such as courtly figures with attendants, fitted between and around the architectural elements of the rooms.

These scant remains are augmented by written accounts that describe a wealth of visual imagery now lost to us. Visitors to the court of Vijayanagara, the kingdom southwest of Golconda that also bordered the Coromandel Coast textile-producing zones, described ambitious mural programs in the palaces. There, some walls were hung with textiles, and others, according to a six-teenth-century account, were "designed in painting all the ways of life of the men who have been here even down to the Portuguese,

Fig. 9. Wall painting of two figures with an attendant, from a pavilion at Kumatgi, near Bijapur, 17th century

There is also a lengthy discussion, in the mid-seventeenth-century chronicle the *Hadiqat al-Salatin*, of the wall paintings at palaces of the Golconda monarchs, specifically in two residences built by 'Abdullah Qutb Shah (r. 1626–72) to whose reign and realms the Metropolitan and V&A cloths are attributed. This reference was first pointed out by Simon Digby,[21] but a fuller translation of the text here is helpful. The text describes the buildings formerly located on the south *maidan* of Hyderabad as being decorated with numerous motifs, including angels carrying fruit; likenesses of the kings of India, Iran, and other countries of the world, who were depicted in enough detail to be instantly recognizable to anyone who saw them; figures from literature, such as Solomon and Bilqis, Layla and Majnun, and Yusuf and Zulaykha; and the sultan himself, who was shown riding an elephant, hunting on horseback, and in processions.[22]

The range of figures and the juxtaposition of varied subjects mentioned in the written descriptions of the wall painting correlate well to what we see in the Metropolitan and V&A hangings. Another correspondence between the two traditions is the use of architectural features as a framing device.[23] The best preserved examples of this device happen to come from Deccani temples, which between the sixteenth and eighteenth century were also commonly decorated with mural programs. In a scene showing the marriage of Shiva and Parvati from the Virupaksha Temple at Vijayanagara, for example, the deities are placed within an architectural frame that mimics the actual buildings in which the paintings were viewed (fig. 10). Perhaps the structures depicted in the Metropolitan's hanging show a pavilion or other courtly structure similar to the one in which it was once displayed. The 1583 pavilion in the Farah Bakhsh Bagh of Ahmadnagar, for example, is an octagonal building the façades of which are composed of multiple arched openings. On each side the large central arch is flanked by a tiered arrangement of

from which the king's wives can understand the manner in which each one lives in his own country, even to the blind and the beggars."[19] This description has been compared to the hanging known as the "Brooklyn Curtain," which has several panels, each populated with members of a different social or ethnic group.[20]
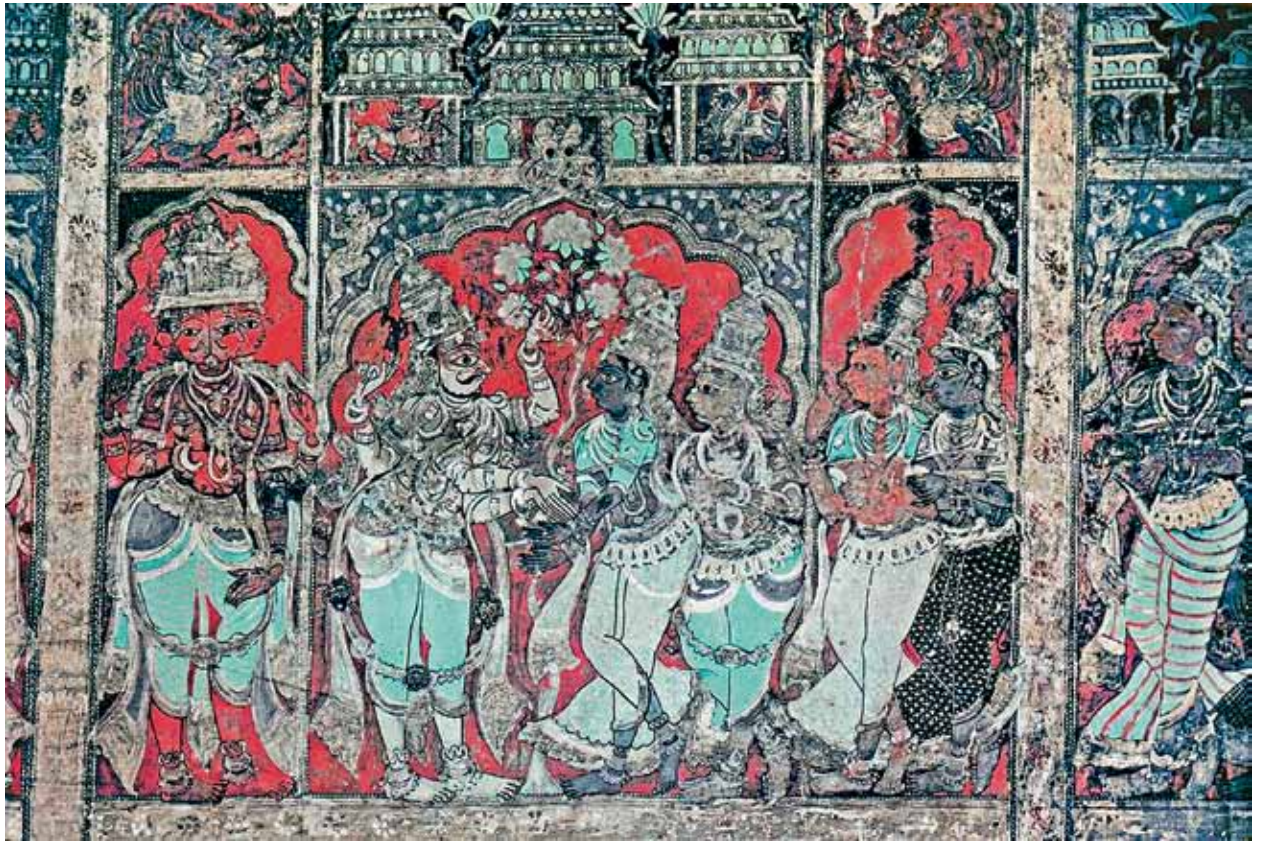
Fig. 10. Scene from an eighteenth-century wall painting in the Virupaksha Temple, Vijayanagara, showing Shiva and Parvati in an architectural frame

smaller stacked arches (fig. 11). If we imagine this structure unfolded and laid out flat, its three proportions (larger, medium, small) would match those shown on the reconstructed hanging (compare with fig. 8). Similarly, the arrangement of small balconies and niches with ewers and vases around the two largest panels on the Metropolitan and V&A hangings may correspond to the common treatment of Deccani palace walls (fig. 12), with arrangements of arched niches, some of which held decorative vessels like those that appear on the hangings.

While much of what is found on the New York and London hangings—combining a variety of figures in distinctive costumes with an architectural framework—accords with what is known of the Deccani wall painting tradition, the inclusion of obviously European figures in these hangings—for instance, the men and women on the bottom of the V&A hanging and the man on horseback on the Metropolitan hanging—may relate to the wider seventeenth-century fashion for including such types on the walls of Indian palaces. We know that images of Europeans were also a feature of Mughal architecture, where depictions of religious figures and contemporary heads of state adorned the walls. They are visible in

Fig. 11. Pavilion at Farah Bakhsh Bagh, Ahmadnagar, 1583, showing arches of different scales

paintings of the Mughal audience halls, and are mentioned in writing as well. Ambassador Thomas Roe stated that "pictures of the King of England, the Queene, my lady Elizabeth, the Countesse of Sommersett and Salisbury," given to Jahangir by Roe's predecessor, William Edwards, could be found in the *darbar* (audience) hall of Mandu, decorated for the celebration of the Persian new year in 1616.[24]

In the Metropolitan and V&A hangings, some of the men appear to be Dutch, sporting a Dutch style of doublets, breeches, and falling ruffs from the second quarter of the seventeenth century, while the equestrian figure on the bottom left of the New York hanging has been identified as English.[25] The tall headdress draped with a scarf worn by some of the women resembles sixteenth-century Armenian costume, such as is illustrated in an engraving held by the Centro Studi di Storia del Tessuto e del Costume, Venice.[26] The cylindrical caps and long forelocks of the small figures

on the upper panel of the V&A hanging are also not Indian, although these figures have yet to be identified with a specific ethnic group.

The popularity of the theme probably relates to the recent arrival of Europeans in India and their increasing presence from the early 1500s on. If, as has been suggested in various publications, the images on the hangings were meant to represent the cosmopolitan world of the Deccan and the range of people visiting the courts of the local sultanates, it would make sense for representations of the Dutch, French, English, Danish, or Armenians, all of whom were involved in the trade between the Deccan and East Asia and Europe in the seventeenth century, to also make an appearance. It seems that this new group or type was fitted into existing decorative conventions that showed a variety of historical, literary, and religious figures together. The models for depicting them may have been actual Europeans themselves

or, especially in the case of the women, who are not known to have been in the Deccan at this time, prints, paintings, books, or other visual material brought to India as diplomatic gifts. The equestrian figure on the Metropolitan hanging, for instance, has been identified with a type of English engraving known through many copies.[27] A copy of another equestrian portrait, pasted onto an album page with a marbled background, provides further evidence for the circulation of such images in the region.[28]

This suggests a close correspondence between the V&A, Metropolitan, and Calico Museum textiles and the wall painting tradition of the Deccan, in turn suggesting that the hangings were used in a similar way—to frame the ruler when he appeared in public. It still remains to be determined whether such large hangings were brought out for specific occasions or if they always hung in the palaces, as the only known reference so far to textiles in palaces is the case of Vijayanagara, in the text mentioned above. Their size and the fact that few if any royal buildings in the Deccan have twenty- or thirty-foot expanses of bare wall uninterrupted by niches or openings may indicate that these hangings were used as the walls of tents, comparable to the *qanat*s with arched niches so well known in the Mughal context.

After the mid-seventeenth century no more *kalamkari*s in this figural style and scale were made. Considering their size and labor-intensive decorative process, production must have taken weeks or even months. With the arrival of the Mughals in the Deccan and the drastically changed local political situation, the type of ceremonies at which such hangings would have been displayed came to an end. Although the transformation of the political scene in the Deccan did not put an end to textile production, the new markets for these textiles that arose as a result of the European presence in the Deccan demanded new styles and designs. Only one large figural *kalamkari*
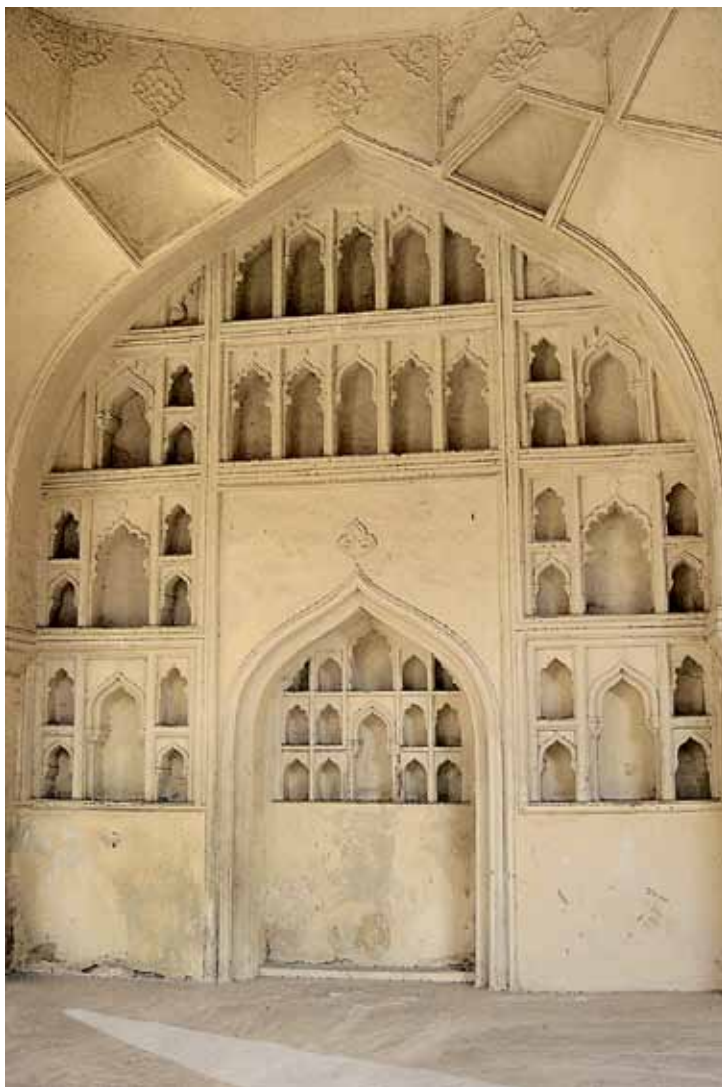

Fig. 12. Palace wall at Golconda, 17th century, showing arrangement of arched niches

from after the early seventeenth century is known, and it was made for a foreign patron. It has recently been shown that this hanging, held by the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris,[29] depicts the 1654 meeting of representatives of the Dutch and Danish East India Companies with administrators from the sultanate of Bijapur. After this time, the brilliant artists who were able to create such lively figural scenes—working, no less, with invisible mordants or drawing in reverse—set their talents to the challenges of catering to the tastes of their new European patrons.

1. An illustrated description of the process can be found in Gittinger 1982, pp. 24–26.
2. One is in the Brooklyn Museum (14.719.1-.7); the second is held by A.E.D.T.A. (2221); the third is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (687-1898); the fourth is in the Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmadabad (403); and the fifth is in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (12132). The location of the sixth, formerly in a Japanese collection, is unknown; for its publication, see Irwin 1959, pp. 32–33 and fig. 1. See also fig. 17 in the essay by John Guy in this volume.
3. Each of the following has one: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (66.230); Cincinnati Art Museum (1962.465); Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IS 34-1969); Rhode Island School of Design Museum, Providence (83.023). Two are in the National Museum, New Delhi (accession numbers unknown); and three are in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (28.159.1, 28.159.2, and 28.159.3).
4. There are numerous books on the subject of Indian textiles made for the European market. For the trade with France, see Jacqué and Nicolas 2008; for the Netherlands, see Hartkamp-Jonxis 1987. For England, see Irwin and Brett 1970; Crill 2008.
5. See, for instance, Guy 1998a; Maxwell 2003.
6. Although Maxwell has noted (2003, pp. 113–14 and 134–35) that types often associated with other regions, such as the floral palampores popular in Europe and the mats with niches and cypresses popular in Iran, have been recently found in Indonesia. For one study of the trade with Iran, see Floor 2010.
7. This area has always been traditionally identified as a production center for dyed textiles, based on the records and notices of foreign traders. See, for example, the account written by the English merchant William Methwold in the 1620s, which mentions the painted textiles of the Coromandel and their exemplary qualities (Moreland 1931, p. 35). In terms of modern scholarship on this topic, Irwin (1959) was the first to fully lay out the argument for identifying this part of India with the cloths found in so many museums: the local availability of the necessary dye-stuffs, the necessary commercial conditions, and the consistency of the "style and subject-matter" with local painting traditions. On further connections to local temple sculpture and frescoes, particularly to Vijayanagara-era examples, see Varadarajan 1981, pp. 68–69, and Irwin 1959, p. 26. Accordingly, from the time of its arrival at the Museum in 1920, the Metropolitan's hanging has been dated to the early seventeenth century, and its place of manufacture identified as the Coromandel Coast. See Morris 1925, pp. 143 and 149–52.
8. Only for the *rumal*s has a specific use been suggested. They are believed to have been placed over ceremonial gifts and "presented to the recipient with the scene facing towards him or her" (Smart and Walker 1985, p. 90).
9. The Victoria and Albert textile has been published many times; see, for instance, Irwin 1959, pp. 35–37, fig. 4; and Crill 2008, p. 20.
10. It has already been suggested that the two were attached, from the time of Morris 1925 to Crill 2008, p. 20, although a possible reconstruction of the original textile has never been proposed.
11. This textile is discussed and illustrated in Crill 2008, pp. 29 and 69.
12. Dye 2001, pp. 466 and 540, where it is identified as part of a *rumal*.
13. Albert Blum, a founder of the United Piece Dye Works, collected textiles from around the world and sponsored design competitions in which artists were asked to take their inspiration from Persian and other foreign works of art. This textile may have been displayed at his home at 20 East 73rd Street in New York City. (For information about Blum, see the article by M.D.C. Crawford in the *Daily News Record*, Oct. 21, 1936, and Blum's obituary of May 3, 1940, in the *New York Times*.) Rosemary Crill kindly provided me with the provenance of the Victoria and Albert textile. On the relationship of Vitall Benguiat to New York collectors, see Craven 2009, pp. 257–74. Among Benguiat's clients was architect-decorator Stanford White; White and Blum were both associated with the Metropolitan Museum and might have known each other.
14. Published in Irwin 1959, pp. 19–27, and Yamanobe 1978, pp. 253–54, colorpls. pp. 139–49.
15. In addition to the Metropolitan and the Victoria and Albert hangings, a fragment in a similar style, depicting a woman with a parrot on her shoulder, was offered for sale by Drouot, Paris, June 2, 1992, lot 89. Omana Eapen has also

mentioned to me that she had seen another fragment of a similar, possibly identical, hanging in the National Museum, New Delhi. Without examining them in person, however, it is difficult to determine whether they belong to the hanging under consideration here.

16. Examining the textiles from this vantage leads to a different conclusion from that of John Irwin, for instance, who compared the composition of the individual hangings held by the Metropolitan and the V&A to a type of Jesuit engraving in which two large panels with holy figures are surrounded by a border of smaller panels with additional religious scenes. He does not note any similarities to the Calico Museum hanging. See Irwin 1959, p. 23.

17. Ellen Smart has argued that this find indicates these were made in northern India, rather than in the Deccan. For a discussion of the textiles with Jaipur inventory marks, including several of the *rumal*s listed above, see Smart 1986, pp. 5–23. In this article she remarks that the Metropolitan hanging had not yet been examined for inventory marks, but photographs taken before this hanging was lined suggest that there were no such marks on it. See fig. 2 in this essay.

18. The figural decoration of the Asar Mahal may be dated later. It should be mentioned that there are tombs in the Deccan with mural programs: e.g., the tombs of Ahmad Shah I (ca. 1430) at Bidar, painted on the inside; and of 'Ali 'Adil Shah I (ca. 1550) and Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (ca. 1627) at Bijapur, both painted on the outside. These appear, however, to follow a separate tradition, most obviously in that they are strictly nonfigural.

19. From the account of the Portuguese traveler Domingo Paes, written probably in 1502–22, in any case before 1537, when the manuscript was sent to Portugal. A translation can be found in Sewell 1900, p. 286.

20. Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York (14.719.1–.7). See Gwatkin 1982, pp. 89–108.

21. Digby 1967, p. 55.

22. Nizamuddin Ahmad 1961, pp. 60–62. Abdullah Ghouchani very kindly provided assistance with this translation.

23. This similarity has been noted by Gwatkin 1982, p. 113, and by Varadarajan 1981, pp. 68–69. Interestingly, another element of the hangings—the flower garlands that hang behind the figures—can also be found in temple paintings and wall carvings (Varadarajan 1981, p. 69).

24. Quoted in Jaffer 2001, p. 111. Surviving examples of this wall painting tradition can be found in various buildings of the Lahore Fort (see, for instance, Bailey 1998b). European figures are visible in a painting by Payag, *The Emperor Jahangir's Final Encounter with Shah Jahan before the Latter's Departure for the Deccan*, ca. 1640, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, the Royal Collection, Windsor Castle. The fascination with this mode of decoration continued into the eighteenth century. See further examples discussed in Jaffer 2001, p. 111.

25. Irwin (1959, pp. 36–37) first identified the Dutch style of dress and the type of English equestrian portrait engraving that was copied in the Metropolitan Museum hanging. Both styles were popular in the 1620s.

26. See www.archiviodellacomunicazione.it/Sicap/ShowDialog.aspx?TITLE=VIEWERTITLE&TBL=S&ID=165832&Ext=jpg&Folder=&MODE=VIEW&OPAC=DEFAULT&WEB=MuseiVE (accessed May 5, 2010). This connection was first proposed to me by Layla Diba. Numerous contemporary accounts and modern studies based on these accounts discuss the role of Armenians as a go-between in the trade between India and Europe, e.g., Baladouni and Makepeace 1998. In addition, Shorey 1993 mentions an Armenian cemetery in Hyderabad, further indicating the presence of an Armenian community in the region where the hangings were made.

27. See Irwin 1959, pp. 36–37.

28. The subject has been identified as the Earl of Northampton. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (no. 3447), published in Bayly 1990, p. 76, cat. no. 72. Navina Haidar, who mentioned this drawing to me, suggested it might be Deccani rather than Mughal.

29. No. 12132. Hartkamp-Jonxis 2005, pp. 61–71.

John Guy

A Ruler and His Courtesans Celebrate Vasantotsava: Courtly and Divine Love in a Nayaka *Kalamkari*

A remarkable, and seemingly unique, painted pictorial cotton textile (*kalamkari*) from southern India (fig. 1) depicts a panorama of courtly pleasures being enjoyed during the celebration of Vasantotsava, an ancient observance of the powers of regeneration and rebirth associated with the transition from winter to spring.[1] In the Hindu

schema, spring is personified by the goddess Vasanta, identified as a companion (not a wife) of Kamadeva, god of love.[2] Their union represents the affectionate rather than the sexual dimension of desire. Vasantotsava is celebrated in prose and dramatic plays specifically written for performance at this festival, with the earliest, the *Ratnavali*, being composed in the seventh century. The *Virupaksha-vasantotsava-champu*, a fifteenth-century Sanskrit prose poem written by Ahobala, describes the performance of the Vasantotsava as part of the nine-day car-festival (*rathotsava*) of Virupaksha celebrated at the Vijayanagara capital of Hampi.[3] The last great Vijayanagara king, Krishnadeva-raya (r. 1509–29), was famed for his promotion of the use of Telugu for courtly poetry and elevated it to a major literary language, alongside Sanskrit.[4] His romance-drama *Jambavatiparinaya* (The Marriage of Jamba-vati), performed on the occasion of the spring festival of the tutelary deity of the kingdom, Virupaksa,[5] is set in a pleasure garden, a favored venue for romance and

Fig. 1. *A Ruler and His Courtesans Celebrating Vasantotsava.* Cotton, painted and resist dyed, 3'3" × 22'10" (1 × 7 m). Tapi Collection, Surat

dalliance, as witnessed also by the painted textile presented here. In the preface to his epic poem, the *Amuktamalyada*, the poet-king expressly referred to the performance of the Vasanta festival at the Vijayanagara court, an indication of its importance in Hindu court circles of the Deccan.[6] These sources make it probable that the intended client for this spectacular and ambitious cloth painting, a masterwork of the *kalam-kari* technique of mordanted, resist-dyed, and painted cotton cloth, was also a member of the Hindu elite in the Deccan or of the Telugu-speaking Nayaka court culture of Tamil Nadu that came to dominate artistic expression in southern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is both celebratory and festive, with explicit religious undertones. As shall be demonstrated, this textile may reasonably be dated to the late seventeenth or even the early eighteenth century, a high period in the mastery of *kalamkari*.

A Ruler and His Courtesans Celebrating Vasantotsava, measuring over three feet in height and nearly twenty-three feet in length (1 × 7 meters), is a pictorial tour de force. It depicts the celebration of the spring festival by a ruler of a Nayaka court and the women of his *zenana*. The festival takes place in the month of Magha (January–February) and is presided over by the goddess Saraswati, in whose honor the festival is celebrated.[7] It shares much with the festival of Holi, also celebrated at the full moon, the Ranga Panchami, in late February–March. In the Deccan and southern India, the preferred spring festival is Vasanta. This extravagant textile, which we may assume was produced to accompany the annual celebrations, brings into focus the continuity of the Hindu courtly tradition of religious observance in the politically dominant Muslim culture of the Deccan.[8]

Nayakas and Their World
With the loss of their traditional territories following the collapse of the Vijayanagara kingdom in 1565, the Telugu-speaking Hindu elite, the Nayakas ("Lords") had expanded south, integrating themselves through intermarriage into the Senji royal family of Tamil Nadu and by a restructuring of the land tax system. They had close links to the mercantile communities and especially the trade guilds, with whom they formed natural protective alliances.[9] As a result they were also linked to the international trade and exchange system that the Deccan merchant guilds had been

Fig. 2. A nobleman and the women of the *zenana* enact the *raslila* theme, their hair plaited with jasmine and holding syringes, celebrating the Vasantotsava festival (detail of fig. 1)

in ways that had not been done so clearly before in Indian court culture. The glorification of the *vira* (hero) and acts of valor, most especially of death in combat, had a long tradition in India, nowhere more strongly expressed than in the memorial-stone tradition of the Deccan.[11] The celebration of heroic sacrifice was given a new dimension in the Vijayanagara period (1336–1565),[12] so that the dignity of death in battle and its heavenly rewards assumed a distinctly sensual, indeed erotic, edge. This connection is made most explicit in devotional poetry, as seen in the sixteenth-century verses of the Srivaishnava Tamil brahmin Venkatadhvarin:

> *Standing, now, ablaze with light,*
> *in a heavenly chariot,*
> *the hero who sacrifices his life*
> *in the fire of battle*
> *fondles the breasts of the immortal*
>   *women*
> *who have come to welcome him, who*
>   *have wounded him*
> *with marks of passion*
> *from their fingernails.*

> *He looks down, full of joy*
> *at his own lackluster corpse*
> *left behind on the battlefield,*
> *pierced by a thousand arrows,*
> *a sword still firmly in its hand.*[13]

This is the world of the divinized king, united with his god in the heavenly sphere. On earth, the king is celebrated both as warrior-hero and as embodying something of the divine. The connection between the martial, the divine, and the erotic finds expression in *A Ruler and His Courtesans Celebrating Vasantotsava.*

Such large painted textiles, pictorial narratives on a grand scale that were at once both epic and yet rooted in place, were routinely displayed at festivals. These narratives celebrate local myths and pan-Indian legends so embedded in local geography and history that they are understood to

instrumental in creating.[10] Integration into the southern Hindu strongholds of Thanja-vur, Madurai, Kumbakonan, and elsewhere restored to them a power base that compensated for the losses of their Vijayanagara homeland territories.

Culturally the Nayaka elite displayed marked heroic and martial orientations within a social milieu dominated by an abiding interest in material success and worldly pleasures. The cultural values that this new Telugu-speaking elite came to express united the martial and the aesthetic

Fig. 3a. Left section of *kalamkari* (detail of fig. 1)

Fig. 3b. Center section of *kalamkari* (detail of fig. 1)

Fig. 3c. Right section of *kalamkari* (detail of fig. 1)

those who recite and listen to them as abso-
lutely belonging to their place and past.
This localization of myth is given its stron-
gest expression in southern India. The dis-
trict of the Vijayanagara capital at Hampi
is associated with Hanuman's role in the
Ramayana,[14] and the large painted temple
cloths of Tamil Nadu routinely depict epic
events set within local landscapes and iden-
tifiable temples.[15]

The Painted Cloth

This pictorial tableaux depicts a princely
lover celebrating the spring festival with the
ladies of the *zenana*. The scenes are por-
trayed as a continuous narrative, each
vignette flowing into the next like an
unbroken garland. The thirty-eight figures
depicted are set against an intense deep red
ground scattered with a white-reserved
four-petaled flower motif. Of the figures,
thirty-one are young women, and there are
seven repeat appearances of the dark blue
princely male. The latter is undoubtedly
intended to evoke the presence of Vishnu–
Krishna, the "dark lord," and the composi-
tion, in four variations of a circle dance,
the *raslila*, in which Krishna dances with all
the *gopi*s (cowmaids) simultaneously (fig. 2).
But rather than being a depiction of Vishnu–
Krishna, this composition appears to repre-
sent a nobleman and the women of his
zenana enacting these roles; that is, it rep-
resents a staged performance, such as that
referred to by King Krishnadevaraya in
his *Amuktamalyada*.

The action takes place on a red-ground
field, and the borders and end-panels
are decorated with circular and lozenge
motifs typical of painted clothes made in
coastal southern India in the seventeenth
century (figs. 1, 3a–c). The designs are quite
unlike the floral meanders favored in the
Mughal and European-inspired borders on
Golconda *palampore*s and *rumal*s.[16] Rather,
they may be compared to the designs of
Indian textiles depicted in a suite of oil
paintings of the Miracles of Frances Xavier,
commissioned by the Jesuits of São Roque,

Lisbon, from the painter Andre Reinoso
in 1619. These provide a unique dated
inventory of early seventeenth-century
southern Indian textile designs, which I
have discussed elsewhere.[17] The correspon-
dences of design suggest a shared tradition
and a reference point for comparison with
costume designs depicted in the Vasanta
painted cloth.

The red ground is uniformly decorated
with small white four-part flower motifs
painted to resemble *bandhini* (tie-dye), inter-
spersed with lotus buds. Scattered flowers
are a recurring motif in Hindu devotional
poetry, denoting the carpeting of god's path
and the divine fragrance of flowers closely
associated with devotion.[18] Floral infill
motifs are a routine feature of late Vijaya-
nagara mural painting, as witnessed by the
gopura (temple gate) paintings at the Sri
Narompunadaswami temple at Tiruppu-
daimarudur, Tirunellveli district, Tamil
Nadu. One of these murals replicates a
hanging textile with a stepped square and
floral repeat design.[19] The presence of a
mural depicting a ship with Arab horse
traders in the same *mandapa* strongly sug-
gests a seventeenth-century date, the heyday
of such trade.

The dark-skinned nobleman appears in
each scene, engaging flirtatiously with the
attending ladies, who hold aloft his cup and
flask or discharge a syringe. Both the lord
and some of his courtesans hold bottles.
Given the occasion they are celebrating,
these may hold *thandai*, the special intoxi-
cating brew containing *bhang* (*Cannibas
sativa*), often prepared for the spring
festival (fig. 4). Some participants use
long decorated syringes to playfully spray
each other with colored water, while others
hold a trowel-like tool for scooping and
throwing the powders. The syringes are
well understood to have erotic connota-
tions, adding to the sexual frisson of the
tableau. Both the syringes and bottles are
arranged in large broad-necked fluted ped-
estal bowls from which the players also
recharge their syringes.

Fig. 4. The nobleman and one of the women dancing whilst intoxicated (detail of fig. 1)

Fig. 5. *A Muslim Nobleman and a Courtesan Embracing.* Detail from a cover (*rumal*). Golconda, mid-17th century. Cotton, painted and resist dyed, textile 32 × 35 in. (81.3 × 88.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1928 (28.159.3)

The multiple appearances of the princely male echoes that most popular of Vaishnava legends, Krishna revealing himself in multiple forms so that he could partner (and love) each of the cowmaids individually. Here the artist has skillfully evoked that powerful *bhakti* sentiment, creating a panorama of pleasure as the prince and his courtesans

engage in their flirtatious encounters. To make the allusion to Krishna even more explicit, the king is depicted with a dark blue complexion, Vishnu–Krishna as the "dark lord," a favorite epithet in southern India.[20] The princely figure has undergone a "costume change" in each scene, to suggest that each woman's encounter is unique,

Fig. 6. *An Amorous Couple*. Detail from a jewelry or cosmetic box. Tamil Nadu, possibly Madurai, 17th century. Ivory backed with gilded paper, plaque 6 × 12⅜ in. (15.2 × 31.4 cm). Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Arthur and Margaret Glasgow Fund (80.171)

reflecting the *bhakti*-passion of Krishna's dalliances in the *raslila*. He displays a V-shaped *tilaka* mark on his forehead, denoting his sectarian allegiance to Vishnu.[21]

It is a scene of almost licentious abandon. We are witnessing here the celebration of the spring festival as a pretext for a pictorial essay on the overriding concern of Nayaka courtly life, the pursuit of pleasure (*bhoga*). The women wear variously patterned saris and bodices. Their costumes identify them as elite members of Nayaka court culture, and the patterning of the saris may give some clues as to the extent of cultural contacts enjoyed by this ruler. Some of the saris display a floral pattern on white ground typical of seventeenth-century Coromandel design, while diamond lozenge or circular patterns are suggestive of *bandhini* tie-dye techniques typical of Andhra. Others have stripes or a stepped square design often seen in Thanjavur District and elsewhere in Tamil Nadu.[22] It may well be that the differentiated designs are intended to denote the regional origins of the women of the *zenana*, thus graphically illustrating the territorial reach of the ruler they serve.[23]

The women wear scented jasmine woven into their plaited hair (Tam. *tirukuppu*), a pleasure device knowingly associated with the god of love, Kamadeva—he shoots flower arrows at his victims—and the hero wears a garland of the same sweet, fragrant flowers wound around his head to form a floral cap in the Nayaka manner. Scented flowers are one of the recognized ways of experiencing *kama* (desire) in the Indian *shastric* literature describing the rule of pleasurable living. Other such devices include the wearing of precious stones and fine clothing, cosmetics, sandalwood paste, garments smoked in incense, garlands, spiced betel leaf to perfume the mouth, rich food, liquor, and the celebration of festivals.[24]

In the pictorial treatment of these scenes on the *kalamkari*, we can arrive at an understanding of the process whereby Hindu Nayaka culture adapted Deccan Muslim pictorial conventions to give expression to a purely Hindu subject. Deccan Mughal influences can be seen in paintings of the seventeenth century and pictorial textiles, particularly in *kalamkari rumals*.[25] Striking parallels can be found on Golconda *rumals* of Muslim noblemen in fragrant pleasure gardens drinking and enjoying the company of female attendants (fig. 5). The women's manner of dress denotes the culture to

which each belongs. In both the Hindu and the Muslim version, the emphasis is on sensory pleasures—the fragrance of plants and flowers, wine, and women—enjoyed in a male world. In the Persianate rendering in the Golconda *rumal*, it is in a flowering pleasure garden; in the Hindu scene the whole tableaux is carpeted in tiny flowers and with a scattering of lotus buds.

DIVINE KING

Besides the context of Vasanta celebrations, when license is given for temporary indulgences and social transgressions, the artist has touched on another important dimension of Nayaka court attitudes to excess, notably the close identification of the king with godliness. The Tamil word for king, *iraivan*, for instance, contains the notion that a king is divine, not simply an agent of the divine.[26] Transgressions in social and personal behavior are allowed for the gods and for their agents, kings. That kingship brought with it an entitlement to enjoyment (*bhoga*) becomes a dominant theme in Nayaka artistic expression, both visual and literary.

In the courtly arts this sentiment found expression in the genre of erotic poetry, *shringara padam*, a secular literary stream that paralleled the devotional genre of *bhakti* verse represented by the so-called Tamil Vedas. The latter often used erotic and explicit sexual imagery to express the devotees' love for their god. Divinity and sexual activity, including promiscuity, are frequently linked in the epic and Puranic literature. Both Shiva and Vishnu are involved in sex outside of marriage. Shiva as Bhikshatana, the wandering mendicant, accepts the desire of the wives of the Pine Forest Sages, erotically depicted in the murals in the Shivakamasundari shrine (1643), at the Nataraja temple, Chidambaram.[27] The same excess is found in the Puranas, where Vishnu loves the 16,000 daughters of Agni, whose fall from grace meant that they were condemned to live as prostitutes thereafter (and hence are still invoked by

Fig. 7. The connoisseurship of aesthetic pleasure in Nayaka culture is portrayed in this scene of a nobleman enjoying the company of a courtesan, who holds a fragrant flower and a parrot, messenger of lovers. Detail from a jewelry or cosmetic box. South India, probably Madurai, 17th century. Ivory. Musée des Arts Asiatiques–Guimet, Paris (MA 5014)

prostitutes today in their appeals to the god to be reborn into a more honorable life).[28] Similarly, Krishna both loves Radha, who is married to another, and he simultaneously loves all the *gopis* in the *raslila* theme.[29] Krishna pleasing the *gopis* is most famously depicted in a large mural in the private chambers of Mattencheri Palace, Cochin.[30]

Fig. 8. The lower register of this mural depicts King Muthu Vijaya Raghunatha Sethupati and a courtesan in the roles of the god of love, Kamadeva and his wife, Rati, exchanging volleys of flower arrows. In the upper register is a bedchamber, showing seduction scenes. Ramalinga Vilasam Palace, Ramnad (Ramanathapuram), ca.1720

CONNOISSEURSHIP OF PLEASURE

The celebration of beauty and the pursuit of pleasure were central themes in Nayaka court culture, as can be witnessed in the visual arts, especially in the art created for private pleasure, for example, in the ivory panels designed for bed furniture or cosmetic boxes (figs. 6 and 7) and in murals painted in the private chambers of rulers (fig. 8). These all formed part of the connoisseurship of pleasure, which was matched by a tradition of erotic literature celebrating love in all its guises, from Vatsyanya's *Kamasutra* to the late sixteenth-century *Rasikapriya* of Keshavadasa (1555–1617), in which love moods and emotions of love and lovemaking are examined in exhaustive detail.[31] Underlying such

"pleasure sports" are the workings of the god of desire, Kamadeva, whose perfect marksmanship evokes passionate longing in his victims, for instance, the *mithuna* (loving couples) of temple sculpture programs. His role is made explicit in the palace murals at the Ramalinga Vilasam Palace of the Sethupatis, a lesser Nayaka feudatory clan in Ramnad, near the great pilgrimage center of Ramesvaram, datable to about 1720. Depicted here, the ruler and a courtesan play act the exchange of Kama's potent flower arrows as a prelude to lovemaking (as seen in lower register, fig. 8).

In this world the daily cycle of the life of a king has been ritualized to the extent that it resembles that of the daily cycle of

Sultans of the South: Arts of India's Deccan Courts, 1323–1687

Fig. 9. *A Nayaka Ruler Enjoying the Company of the Women of the* Zenana. Detail from a *kalamkari*. Tamil Nadu, probably Thanjavur or Madurai, second quarter of 17th century. Cotton, painted and resist dyed, textile 61 × 79½ in. (155 × 202 cm). Musée des Arts Asiatiques–Guimet, Paris (MA 5678)

*puja*s (worship) performed for the deity. Like the god's day, all is enacted in the public gaze, as witnessed by the startlingly explicit scenes of arousal and lovemaking in the king's bedchamber at the Ramalinga Vilasam Palace, Ramnad.[32] As these palace murals make explicit, much of court rituals focused on sensual enjoyment, be it bathing, eating, listening to music or watching a dance performance, or lovemaking. These private pastimes are displayed to the court precisely because they are assigned divine qualities.[33] Nonetheless one cannot escape the fact that much of Nayaka courtly art has a distinctly voyeuristic aspect to it.

The atmosphere of the Vasanta textile is essentially that which is evoked in the many celebrated poems of the age, such as the *Raghunathanayakabhudayamu* (A Day in the Life of Raghunatha Nayaka), concerning the Nayaka ruler of Thanjavur (r. 1612–34). In this story a king's day is chronicled, and his private pastimes—eating, entertaining, lovemaking—are laid bare for public predilection. He is described in his garden playing with his wives and courtesans, flirting and arousing in turn. The king is referred to by the literary title *srngaranayakashekhara*, or "crowned lord (*nayaka*) of love," emphasizing the Nayaka ideal of the cultivated aesthete-lover. No better description could be found for the ruler depicted in this extravagant Vasanta painting of Nayaka court celebrations.

A Ruler and His Courtesans Celebrate Vasantotsava:
Courtly and Divine Love in a Nayaka Kalamkari

Fig. 10. *Courtly Pleasures*. Detail from a textile. South India, probably Madurai, 18th century. Cotton, painted and resist dyed. Stylization of facial features and banding of color to denote body contours have parallels with the Vasantotsava *kalamkari*. Historical Sri Lankan collection

WHERE AND FOR WHOM

The Vasanta festival painted cloth does not provide any clues that would allow it to be linked with any readily identifiable person or place, but its extravagance indicates that it must have been destined for use in a courtly context. Stylistic parallels for the painting are difficult to identify; the murals of the late Vijayanagara and Nayaka periods are related but not closely.

Three other great painted pictures of Nayaka court life are known to the author. One is the famous Krishna Riboud collection *kalamkari*, now in the Musée Guimet, belonging in all probability to the court of Thanjavur in the seventeenth century (fig. 9).[34] Another, more directly related to the painted textile under discussion, is in a monastery collection in Sri Lanka (fig. 10).[35]

In the former textile, the daily life of a king, perhaps Vijayaraghava Nayaka, who ruled (1634–73) the Nayaka capital at Thanjavur, is set before the audience in a series of registers, some plein-air, others in cusped niches intended to evoke palace interiors. On parade, the equestrian ruler, wielding a sword, is celebrated as the warrior-ruler; inside the palace, he is fanned and pampered by his wives and courtesans. From around the same period, we have the portraits of the great Nayaka ruler of Madurai, Tirumula Nayaka (r. 1623–59), and his queens on a pillar in the Pudumandapa outside of the Minekshi–Sundaresvara temple in Madurai and in contemporary ivory sculptures.[36] Their aristocratic dress share many elements with those in the painted Vasanta celebration textile. Physiognomy

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Fig. 11. *A Ruler Enjoying the Company of Women*. Detail from a textile. South India, 17th century. Cotton, painted and resist dyed. Japanese historical collection, present location unknown

Fig. 12. Vishnu *avatar* Vamana, from an album of Vaishnava subjects probably commissioned by a French agent. Southern India, Andhra Pradesh, late 17th or early 18th century. Opaque watercolor on European paper. The painting style mirrors that seen in the Vasantotsava *kalamkari*. Warsaw University Library (Ms. 476)

and treatment of musculature also bear comparison.

The second painted textile, here called the *Courtly Pleasures* cloth, is composed of a long enclosure cloth, with a central register divided into ten compartments by pillars supporting cusped arches (fig. 10).[37] Above and below are narrow registers variously decorated with scenes of infantry above and celestial imagery below. While the compositional organization relates closely to the

Riboud–Guimet cloth, the subject matter and painting style resonate more closely with the Vasanta cloth. The *Courtly Pleasures* cloth depicts a Nayaka in each of the ten niches, variously eating *pan*, playing a *vina*, or enjoying the company of courtesans. While it echoes the structure (cusped arch niches) and themes (the amorous activities of a *nayaka*) of the Riboud–Guimet cloth, in its rendering (silhouette profiles with full frontal eyes and painted bands of color to

denote contours of form) it is closer to that of the Vasanta painting. Despite the similarities of both of these remarkable painted textiles to the Vasanta painting, neither is close enough to suggest that they constitute a single group that emerged from a shared workshop. A third painted textile, attributed to the second quarter of the seventeenth century, showing courtly figures set in colonnade niches of similar form and decoration, is known only from archival photographs. It includes a ruler surrounded by courtesans, including one sitting in his lap (fig. 11).[38]

The nearest analogy is the manuscript paintings in two albums from the same workshop collected after 1682, and probably in the early decades of the eighteenth century in southern India, by a Frenchman for sale to the Royal Library of Louis XV.[39] The folios were originally annotated in Telugu, with further notes in Tamil and French transcriptions. The treatment of figures, with the strongly modeled face and neck, is an identifying feature (fig. 12). These works are the strongest evidence to hand pointing to this painted cloth being the product of Telugu *kalamkari* painters. Whether they were a commission executed at a workshop in Andhra Pradesh—Kalahasti perhaps—or whether the artists responsible had followed *nayaka* patronage south into Tamil Nadu, we cannot determine. Both scenarios are plausible.

What is clearer is the likelihood that the patronage base for such a commission in the seventeenth or early eighteenth century was at one of the Nayaka centers of Tamil Nadu, perhaps the Thanjavur court, which had strong literary links to the Nayaka rulers. A bronze portrait sculpture of King Vijayaraghava Nayaka (r. 1634–73) of Thanjavur bears a resemblance to the nobleman depicted in the cloth painting.[40] Other stylistic comparisons can be made with late Vijayayanara mural painting, the finest examples of which are preserved at Lepakshi, and with the more numerous examples of Nayaka-period murals at Chidambaram and elsewhere.[41] The Sethupati palace interior murals at Ramnad are analogous in their subject matter, but despite such shared features as the tonal modeling of the face and neck of the women, they represent in other respects another stylistic stream.[42] None of the women's saris display the pleated fan border, a favored detail of Tamil Nadu dress.

The identity of the intended client for this painting seems more obvious. The cultural setting described above provides the context for a princely client. The known provenance of this cloth, however, indicates that it was diverted from its intended market. Since the Hindu, and likely courtly, cultural milieu of this textile has been stressed, it is surprising to discover that this cloth was collected from the Donggala–Poso region of south-central Sulawesi, Indonesia. The cultural journey that this cloth took from a Nayaka court to Southeast Asia is no doubt intriguing, though probably unknowable, but we have a reasonable understanding of the mechanism by which Indian textiles made their way to clients in remote regions of island Southeast Asia.[43] We can only speculate on the circumstances whereby this high-value painted cloth did not pass to its intended client, due to some change of circumstance or misfortune, and instead traveled to insular Southeast Asia via merchants engaged in the Coromandel Coast textile trade. The reception of Indian pictorial painted cloths in Southeast Asia is a complex subject beyond the scope of this essay, but the keys to understanding it are processes of acculturation and localization whereby such exotic and alien cultural artifacts were imbued by their new owners with sets of meanings unforeseen by the maker.[44]

1. Tapi Collection, Surat. I am privileged that Mr. Praful and Mrs. Shilpa Shah invited me to undertake research on this cloth. I express my gratitude to them, especially to Shilpa for sharing her insights concerning this textile.
2. Artola 1977.

3. Panchamukhi 1953; Anderson 1993, ch. 10. See also Brown 1962 for a fifteenth-century Gujarati text celebrating spring.

4. Krishnadevaraya personally claimed authorship of five Sanskrit plays, of which only fragmentary passages survive, apart from the *Jambavatiparinaya*; see Rama Raju 1969.

5. Pollock 2001, p. 402. Increasingly in Krishnadevaraya's reign, allegiance shifted to Vishnu, centered on the king's "Andhra Vishnu" at Tirupati, Lord Venkateshwara, to which the king made several pilgrimages in his lifetime.

6. A translation is in preparation; personal communication with Phillip Wagoner. See also Wagoner 2000.

7. The goddess Saraswati had a prominent place in seventeenth-century Bijapur, see the essay by Navina Haidar in this volume.

8. Talbot 2001.

9. Abraham 1988.

10. Guy 2011.

11. Settar and Sontheimer 1982.

12. Though the kingdom's power was broken in 1565 following a military defeat by a confederation of Deccan sultanates, it lingered on until 1646; for inscriptional and other sources, see Ayyangar 1919.

13. Narayana Rao, Shulman, and Subramaniyan 1992, p. 11.

14. Verghese 1995, p. 45.

15. For example, the temple cloth depicting the Subramanyan temple at Tirupparankunram, Madurai, shown in plan with divine battle scenes in registers, late eighteenth century, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IM 29-1911). Published in Guy 2007a, no. 186. See also Dallapiccola 2010 for examples in the British Museum.

16. Compare Irwin and Hall 1971; Smart 1986.

17. Guy 1998a, pls. 2, 3.

18. Pope 1900, p. 46. See also the ninth-century Shaiva *bhakti*-poet Manikkavacakar's *Tirukkovaiyar*, in which "new November flowers" are formed into a garland with divine fragrance for Lord Shiva; Cutler 1987, p. 150.

19. Published in Guy 1998a, pl. 24, and in Harihara 1979.

20. Ramanujan 1993.

21. The specific form of the *tilaka* denotes him as belonging to the Tenkalais sect of Srivaishnavism, the so-called southern division.

22. Compare Guy 1998a, pp. 164–65.

23. We are reminded of the Chola king Rajaraja Chola (r. 985–1014), whose temple staff at the royal Brihadisvara temple at Thanjavur included 400 *devadasi*s (slaves of the god), whom he had recruited from temples throughout his kingdom. Guy 1997, pp. 28–29.

24. Bahadur 1972.

25. *Rumal*, a covering cloth more probably intended to serve as a picnic placemat for outdoor pastimes.

26. Harman 1989, p. 6. See also Guy 2007a.

27. Smith 2004, p. 103.

28. Benton 2006, p. 96.

29. Harman 1989, p. 11.

30. Sivaramamurti 1968, fig. 91.

31. Bahadur 1972.

32. Howes 2003. I am grateful to both Jennifer Howes and Crispin Branfoot for responding so helpfully to questions regarding Ramnad Palace.

33. Narayana Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam 1992, p. 66.

34. Previously assigned to Madurai by Gittinger 1982, pp. 121–27. Lefevre (2006) has made a strong case for a Thanjavur provenance.

35. Dissanayake 1997.

36. Guy 1990.

37. I am indebted to Jean-Francois Hurpé for sharing his photographs of this textile with me.

38. Reportedly published in a Japanese journal early in the twentieth century, its whereabouts are no longer known; archival photograph in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, published in Irwin 1959, fig. 1, and Gittinger 1982, fig. 104.

39. Jakimowicz-Shah 1988, pp. 8–9. One is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (ms. no. 745); the other is in Warsaw University Library (ms. no. 476).

40. A bronze portrait sculpture identifed as the king is preserved in the Thanjavur Art Gallery, The Palace, Thanjavur.

41. For other royal portrait sculptures of the period, see Aravamuthan 1931.

42. Nagaswamy 1986.

43. These have been extensively studied, principally by Gittinger 1982 and Guy 1998a.

44. For a discussion of the reception of Indian figurative cloths in Indonesia, see Guy 2004.

Architecture, Fortifications, and Arms

Richard M. Eaton

Muhammad bin Tughluq and Temples of the Deccan, 1321–26

One of the most contentious issues of India's premodern history concerns the effect of Muslim conquest or rule on the fate of Hindu temples. Although conventional wisdom holds that temples were routinely desecrated or destroyed by victorious officers of the Delhi Sultanate (1206–1526), a close examination reveals a wide range of responses.[1] Temples might be ignored, patronized, converted to different uses, physically altered, or destroyed—all depending on specific political circumstances. One can see the varied fate of the temples of the Deccan in the career of a single figure, Muhammad bin Tughluq (r. 1325–51), when the Delhi Sultanate was first consolidating its rule over the region.

Muhammad bin Tughluq was not the first commander or ruler from Delhi to engage with the Deccan's temples. In 1313 and 1318 officers of the Khalaji dynasty had invaded and occupied the Yadava capital of Devagiri (now Daulatabad). As part of their efforts to extirpate the Yadava dynasty and annex its territory to the Delhi Sultanate, the Khalajis built in the heart of the city a grand congregational mosque, the Deccan's earliest surviving Islamic monument. It was constructed in part from materials evidently dismantled from nearby temples (fig. 1).[2] The mosque also replicated the main features of the metropolitan style that earlier Delhi sultans had patronized in Ajmer, Kaman, Khatu, and in

Delhi's Qutb complex itself: a spacious central courtyard encircled by pillared aisles on the north, south, and east sides, a monumental projecting entrance, a corbelled dome over the main *mihrab* bay, and trabeated beams borne by reused temple pillars stacked end on end.[3] The engaged towers on the mosque's northwestern and southwestern corners suggest miniaturized replicas of the most striking icon of contemporary imperial Delhi, the Qutb Minar. Visually speaking, Delhi had projected itself into the Deccan.

In 1320 Karim al-Din, the Khalaji governor of Bijapur on the southern extremity of Delhi's Deccan province, patronized the construction of a very different sort of congregational mosque (fig. 2). Although it, too, employed reused temple columns, the local Hindu builder who supervised its construction arranged these columns according to long-established principles of temple design. Moreover, the reused stone in the lower part of the mosque's *mihrab* had originally served as the jambs of a doorway leading to a temple sanctum (fig. 3).[4] Thus, if the mosque at the provincial capital of Devagiri established a break with the pre-Sultanate past and a corresponding link with imperial Delhi, the mosque in more remote Bijapur represented conceptual continuities with its local culture.

No sooner had Karim al-Din built his mosque than a revolution took place in Delhi in which a new dynasty of Turks, the Tughluqs, overthrew the Khalaji regime. Upon assuming power the founder of the new dynasty, Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq (r. 1320–25), strove aggressively to annex larger tracts of Deccan territory, especially the eastern plateau then under Kakatiya dynastic rule. Accordingly, in 1321 Ghiyath al-Din sent down to the dynasty's capital at Warangal an army led by his eldest son and heir-apparent, Ulugh Khan—later, Sultan

Fig. 1. Khalaji mosque, Devagiri (now Daulatabad), ca. 1313–18

Fig. 2. Karim al-Din mosque, Bijapur, 1320

Fig. 3. *Mihrab* of the Karim al-Din mosque, Bijapur, 1320

Muhammad bin Tughluq—with a view to destroying the dynasty and annexing its territory. We shall now follow the prince's three-year southern campaign, taking care to trace the different ways in which, along the way, he engaged with the Deccan's temples. (See fig. 4.)

Departing Delhi with much fanfare, Ulugh Khan unfurled the imperial standards and marched, first, south to Devagiri, headquarters of Delhi's new Deccan province. There, imperial officers and garrisoned cavalry joined the northern army as it moved east into the domains of Pratapa Rudra, the Kakatiya raja. After a six-month siege of Warangal failed, the prince returned to Devagiri, regrouped, and in 1323 marched back toward Warangal with a powerful

army of 63,000 mounted archers.[5] Crossing into Kakatiya territory, Ulugh Khan seized the fort of Bidar and then proceeded to Bodhan, now the site of one of India's most extraordinary mosques.

Locally known as the "Deval Masjid" in Urdu, or the "Vanda-stambhala-gudi" (hundred-pillared temple) in Telugu, the structure had originally been a temple, built in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century in the Kakatiya style (fig. 5).[6] On its western side was a single sanctum and vestibule, joined to an open-pillared hall (*mandapa*) of nine bays (three by three), with single-bay porches projecting from the middle of the north, east, and south sides. When the temple was converted into a mosque, the walls and superstructure were removed from the shrine itself, and a prayer hall of forty-five bays (five by nine) was constructed in its place. A *mihrab* niche was built into the middle of the *qibla* wall, and a stone pulpit (*minbar*) was placed immediately to its north. In striking contrast to the treatment of the sanctum, the temple's pillared *mandapa* was carefully preserved in almost its original form, now recast as a majestic entry pavilion to the adjoining prayer hall. Seen from afar, the structure's most arresting feature is the nine semispheroid domes made of brick and mortar, replacing the "rotated squares" type of flat ceiling that had originally covered the temple's three porches and central *mandapa*. One may reasonably wonder why the trabeate ceilings of the old *mandapa* were replaced with domes, given that the newly built prayer hall featured flat ceilings throughout its structure, except in the bay containing the *minbar*.[7] The likely reason is that the old *mandapa* was being redefined as part of a mosque, thus requiring the addition of some readily visible feature that the patron took to be emblematic of its new Islamic purpose.

How might one explain this extraordinary structure? Who transformed it into a mosque, and why? One might suspect Ulugh Khan himself, since the prince had already built a congregational mosque in nearby Kalyana while on the campaign that took him toward
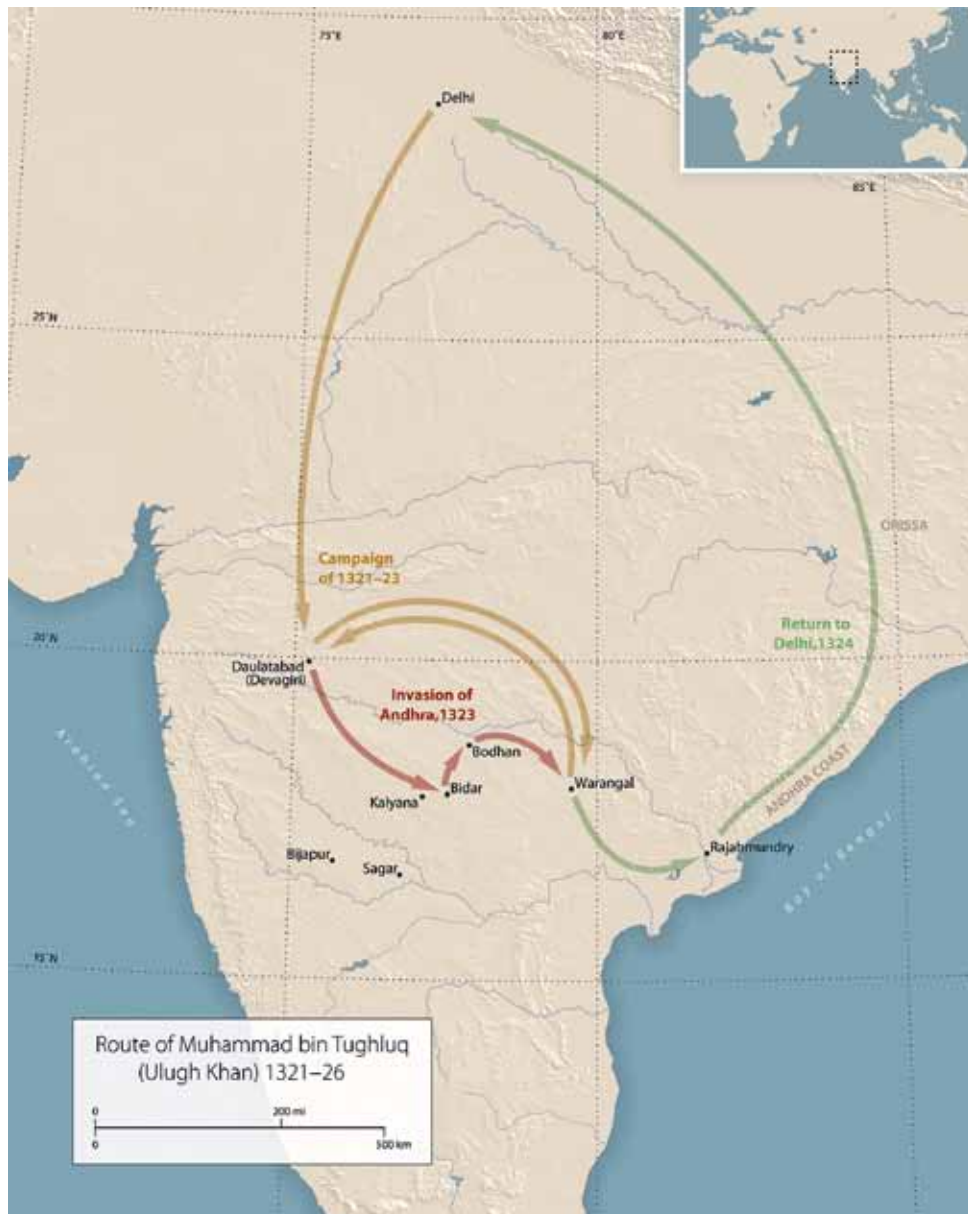
Fig. 4. Muhammad bin Tughluq's Deccan campaign

Warangal.[8] But no inscription or chronicle mentions Ulugh Khan's building activities in Bodhan.[9] Indeed, from a strictly architectural standpoint, it is difficult to associate this structure with Tughluq patronage at all. Not only does its *mihrab* arch lack the pointed horseshoe profile so characteristic of Tughluq architecture (see fig. 7), but its makeshift composition is also utterly anomalous when placed alongside other Tughluq mosques in India. In particular, the profusion of domes that seem to sprout from

Fig. 5. Deval Masjid, Bodhan, reconfigured 1323

Fig. 6. Standing pillars and beams of the Tughluq congregational mosque, Warangal, ca. 1323

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atop the monument's eastern side contrasts with most mosques built in the Deccan in the Khalaji and Tughluq periods, which were either flat-roofed throughout or possessed only a single, iconic dome located before the *mihrab* or *minbar*.

A clue to the puzzle is found in the near-contemporary account of the chronicler 'Isami, who mentioned the Tughluq army's passage through Bodhan during its 1323 invasion of Andhra. "When the Khan of auspicious stars arrived at Bodan [sic]," he wrote, referring to prince Ulugh Khan, "he laid siege to that fortress for three to four days. Then the garrison became so panicky that the Rai [chief] came out of his own accord, suing for amnesty. He made an offer of the whole of his dominion and wealth. When he was given amnesty, he embraced Islam, not alone but with all the members of his family and other dependants." [10]

This report suggests the possibility that Bodhan's chief himself, having negotiated an amnesty with Ulugh Khan and converted to Islam, supervised the building's reconfiguration. As Bodhan's principal political figure, after all, he possessed the authority to undertake the project. And as a new convert to Islam, he would have had the motive to do so, for at the time there were no mosques in the town.

From Bodhan Ulugh Khan marched straight to Warangal, which after a brief siege capitulated to the prince's enormous army. Having conquered the capital city and dispatched Pratapa Rudra to Delhi, Ulugh Khan now faced the challenging task of integrating the former Kakatiya realm into the Delhi Sultanate's sovereign territory. Standing before the great temple to Svayambhusiva in the heart of Warangal's citadel, the Tughluq prince would immediately have understood the political significance of the monument, which communicated architecturally that the icon of the god was also the emblem of the state and the source of its authority. Determined to efface every remaining vestige of Kakatiya authority, he set about dismantling the edifice, sparing

Fig. 7. Interior of Tughluq audience hall (Khush Mahal), Warangal, ca. 1323

only the four ritual gateways, or *torana*s, that stood at the four cardinal directions just beyond the sacred precinct. Most importantly, Ulugh Khan had the Svayambhusiva *linga* uprooted from its pedestal and broken in two, rendering it ritually incapable of serving as a vehicle for the deity's manifestation.

With the symbolic fount of Kakatiya authority uprooted, it still remained for Warangal's conquerors to establish their own authority as the city's new rulers. Following the Khalajis' example at Devagiri, Ulugh Khan constructed a great congregational

Fig. 8. Gateway to the mosque, Rajahmundry, 1324

From materials salvaged from the demolished temple, the prince also built a royal audience hall known today as the Khush Mahal, situated some 175 yards west of the westernmost *torana* (fig. 7).[12] Unlike the mosque, however, this building is still in excellent condition. In fact, it is among the best preserved Tughluq audience halls in all of India, being in far better condition than its likely prototype, the hall of public audience (*diwan-i 'am*) of Tughluqabad–Delhi. Everything about the Khush Mahal, from the pronounced batter of its heavy walls to its northern orientation and longitudinal focus, connects it conceptually to imperial Tughluqabad–Delhi. Like Devagiri's Khalaji mosque and the nearby mosque on the Svayambhusiva temple site, the structure presents a striking instance of the transplanting of the metropolitan architectural style of contemporary Delhi in nearly pure form in Warangal, the Deccan's second provincial capital, after Devagiri.

After appointing officers to govern the eastern Deccan, Ulugh Khan left Warangal for his long return trip back to Delhi. But instead of retracing his steps via Devagiri, he turned eastward toward the Andhra coast on a route that took him through Orissa.[13] He seems also to have passed through the rich Godavari delta, where in 1324 one of his appointees, an officer named Salar 'Ulwi, commissioned the construction of a mosque in Rajahmundry.[14] The prayer hall consists of twenty-one bays (three by seven) divided by twelve starkly plain *chitrakhanda* columns that appear to have been newly fashioned by local masons.[15] A Tughluq-style pointed arch with a horseshoe profile frames the outer doorway of the entrance gateway, beyond which a corridor takes one to another such arched opening, which in turn leads to an enclosed courtyard.

Built into this second arched opening is the mosque's most extraordinary feature— an elaborately carved doorway (fig. 8) taken from the sanctum of a Kakatiya-period temple that appears to date to the

mosque on the former site of Svayambhu-siva's temple (fig. 6).[11] Although precious little of this mosque remains standing today, when intact it consisted of a covered prayer hall to the west that was most likely preceded by an enclosed courtyard to the east. It also contained, just north of the main domed *mihrab* bay, a stone *minbar.* The limited evidence at hand thus suggests that Ulugh Khan's mosque at Warangal, like that of Devagiri, joined the stylistic tradition of

twelfth or thirteenth century. Fixed directly above the lintel of the temple doorway is a tablet on which a Persian inscription declares the sovereignty of Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq and the "ever-increasing prosperity" of Ulugh Khan. It also identifies Salar 'Ulwi as the mosque's patron. Although the inscription makes no mention of a temple, by placing the entranceway to a temple's most sacred space in the entrance of the mosque, Salar 'Ulwi seems to have appealed not only to a locally familiar aesthetic, but also to the deeper purpose of a temple sanctum's doorway—namely, to demarcate a zone of purity within. In this respect, the doorway serves as a bridge, connecting a pre-conquest world with a new, Tughluq-sponsored world, in a manner not unlike the *mihrab* of Bijapur's Karim al-Din mosque or the four Kakatiya *torana*s that framed Warangal's redesigned plaza.

Having left Salar 'Ulwi to govern the Godavari delta from Rajahmundry, Ulugh Khan continued on his return march to Delhi. Reaching the imperial capital in 1324, the victorious prince was greeted with a hero's welcome, and in early 1325 he succeeded his father as Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. The very next year, his government implemented policies respecting an important temple in the Deccani city of Kalyana that departed radically from the policies applied in Warangal. Whereas Ulugh Khan as a Tughluq general had demolished Warangal's great Shiva temple, just three years later an inscription was recorded in the name of the same man, now sultan, to the effect that Kalyana's Shiva temple was to be repaired, guaranteed imperial protection, and its worship reinstated.[16] The public charter effecting these measures is extraordinary in several respects. First, a certain Vijaditya drafted it not in Persian, the power language of the Delhi Sultanate, but in Sanskrit and in Nagari script. It was also dated in the Saka, not the Islamic, calendar, corresponding to November 10, 1326. Appearing at the top of the stone slab bearing the inscription is

the image of the sun and a crescent moon, the same iconographic program that would have appeared on inscriptions of the Chalukya emperors (974–1190), whose capital had been at Kalyana. And, finally, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq was given the Sanskrit title "*maharajadhiraja suratana*"—"great king of kings and sultan"—while the governor of the Deccan, Qiyam al-Din Qutlugh, was called "*mahapradhana*"—"great minister"—both of these (except *suratana*, "sultan") being terms that the Chalukyas and other pre-Turkic dynasties of the Deccan would have used in reference to their own public officials.

The inscription itself refers to the outbreak of a serious anti-Tughluq rebellion led by the sultan's own cousin, Baha al-Din Gurshasp, who had earlier been put in charge of the frontier fort of Sagar, located 100 miles south of Kalyana near the Krishna River. At the time of the rebellion, which must have broken out not long before the date of this record, the Tughluq governor in charge of Kalyana, Khwaja Ahmad, together with his Hindu secretary Jandamala, left the city in order to consult with other government officials, presumably about how to deal with the uprising. But in their absence, unidentified unruly elements disrupted worship in Kalyana's Shaiva temple of Madhukesvara, even damaging the Shiva *linga*. When Khwaja Ahmad returned to Kalyana, the official in charge of managing the temple, one Thakkura Malla, appealed to him, as the governor of the region, to restore the structure and reinstate the deity's image. After first consulting his secretary, Khwaja Ahmad approved the request on the grounds that worship in the temple was a religious duty for the temple's petitioners. Accordingly, the temple's Shiva *linga* was repaired and reinstalled according to the prescribed rites for such procedures, including the nocturnal chanting of *mantra*s.

What stands out most clearly in this episode is the extent to which the Tughluq government had enmeshed itself in the religious and political affairs of Kalyana's local

society and, correspondingly, the extent to which that society had assimilated Muhammad bin Tughluq, the *maharajadhiraja suratana* in distant Delhi, into their conceptual world. Sandwiched between the sultan and the devotees, trustees, and manager of the Madhukesvara temple was Khwaja Ahmad, the local governor who had been charged with managing and sustaining the status quo in matters of local religious institutions. The Tughluq government's clear priority respecting this recent addition to its realm was to secure and maintain an institutional continuity with the past. This intent is conveyed as much in the inscription's media—its language, script, honorific titles, and iconography—as it is in its message.

Conclusion

Reviewing the above evidence, one is struck by the apparently contradictory policies that prince Ulugh Khan, later Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, followed toward the built environment of the Deccan territory he had conquered and ruled. As prince, he demolished the Shiva temple of Warangal, whereas only several years later, as sultan, he preserved and protected another Shiva temple in Kalyana. One is tempted to explain his seemingly erratic behavior in terms of his famously bipolar personality; stories of the sultan's wild vacillations between horrific cruelty and lavish generosity were legend even in his own day.[17] Regarding the Shiva temple at Warangal, however, his policies actually adhered to long-standing Indian practice concerning the treatment of royal temples of defeated enemies. Temples associated with enemy kings whose territory lay in the path of an advancing army were liable to be desecrated or destroyed, a policy recommended in the twelfth century by the Chalukyas themselves.[18] Ulugh Khan followed this policy at Warangal, as Khalaji rulers had done earlier at Devagiri. Kalyana, on the other hand, had by 1326 long since ceased being the capital of an enemy king, or indeed of any king. When the Chalukya empire broke up toward the end

of the twelfth century, the city's status fell from imperial capital to a distant outpost on the Yadava frontier.[19] With Kalyana and its temples playing no role in underwriting the legitimacy of the Yadava state in the way that Warangal and its Svayambhusiva temple had done for the Kakatiyas, Kalyana's Shiva temple posed no threat to the stability of the Tughluq regime. Indeed, since local populations expected legitimate rulers to support local institutions, the sultan had a natural incentive to follow suit.

There was another reason Muhammad bin Tughluq patronized Kalyana's Shiva temple. In a pattern found throughout Indo-Muslim history, once enemy territory had been annexed to the state, immovable property already on that territory was regarded as state property and hence deserving of state protection and support. In Kalyana, then, when a temple existing from before the conquest was somehow desecrated after annexation of the region to the Sultanate, imperial officers were obliged to have the structure repaired. In Muhammad bin Tughluq's view, any territory annexed to the Sultanate automatically became subject to Islamic law, under which non-Muslims and their property enjoyed protected status. By the same reasoning, if non-Muslims wished to build a new temple on land *after* it had been annexed, permission would be granted so long as the poll tax (*jizya*) required of non-Muslims was paid, again as specified in Islamic law. Based on his correspondence with the emperor of China, we know that this sultan, who was well versed in Islamic theology and jurisprudence, held precisely this view. In 1342, when the Chinese emperor petitioned the Delhi court to have a temple built somewhere in Tughluq India, Muhammad bin Tughluq replied that permission would be granted so long as the petitioner paid a poll tax.[20] It follows that in the sultan's view, the Hindus of Kalyana, as tax-paying subjects of the Delhi Sultanate, were permitted not only to repair an existing temple but also, should they wish, to build a new one.

In sum, both as prince and sultan, Muhammad bin Tughluq's policies respecting both temples and mosques of the Deccan reveal a deep sense of pragmatism. He followed Indian custom in desecrating temples of enemy kings, and both Indian custom and Islamic Law in patronizing temples not connected with prior royal authority. Further, whereas new mosques directly associated with the state conformed architecturally to the imperial style of metropolitan Delhi, provincial mosques like those at Bodhan or Rajahmundry engaged with local, pre-conquest architectural traditions.

1. An earlier attempt to reconstruct patterns of temple desecration in medieval India can be found in Eaton 2000.
2. See Mate and Pathy 1992, pp. 9–11 and 24.
3. Flood 2009, p. 144.
4. See Kasdorf 2009, pp. 66–70.
5. Briggs 1966, vol. 1, p. 233.
6. For a brief description of Bodhan in this period, focusing on the town's several Persian inscriptions, see Yazdani 1919–20.
7. This bay is covered with a three-tiered ceiling of rotated squares, capped by a flat slab with a carved lotus medallion.
8. Yazdani 1935–36a, p.1. The mosque is not presently locatable. When Yazdani published this report, the stone tablet bearing this inscription was fixed into the eastern wall of the *dargah* of Hazrat Ya'qub, located outside Kalyana.
9. Fragments of two stone inscriptions lie in the courtyard in front of the site. Both inscriptions were issued by Ulugh Khan *after* he became sultan several years later, but neither one records the dedication of a mosque. One inscription mentions the construction of a watchtower, and the other refers vaguely to an "auspicious building" (*'imarat al-mimunat*), which cannot possibly refer to this structure, since in Indian inscriptions mosques are normally identified as such. See Yazdani 1919–20, pp. 16–17.
10. 'Isami 1967, vol. 2, p. 607.
11. See Wagoner and Rice 2001.
12. Ibid.
13. Barani 1964, vol. 3, p. 234.
14. Presently standing on that town's main road near the police station, it is the only Tughluq mosque in the Deccan for which both the building and its foundational inscription are intact. See Yazdani 1923–24, pp. 13–14.
15. The shafts of *chitrakhanda* columns consist of lower and upper blocks that are square in section, separated by an intervening portion divided vertically into five horizontal bands, of which the lower, the central, and the upper are octagonal, and the other two are either circular or sixteen-sided.
16. P. Desai 1957–58, pp. 165–70.
17. According to the famous Arab traveler Ibn Battuta, who served in the sultan's court for many years, "Of all the people, this king loves most to make presents and also to shed blood. His door is never free from an indigent person who is to be enriched and from a living person who is to be killed. Stories of his generosity and bravery as well as of his cruelty and severity towards the offenders have obtained great currency among the people." M. Husain 1976, p. 56.
18. Consider the advice in the *Manosollasa*, a Chalukya text attributed to the emperor Somesvara III (r. 1127–39): "The enemy's capital city should be burned—the palace of the king, beautiful buildings, palaces of princes, ministers and high ranking officers, temples, streets with shops, horse and elephant stables." Arundhati 1994, p. 66.
19. Yazdani 1960, p. 524.
20. M. Husain 1976, pp. 150–51.

Helen Philon

The Solah Khamba Mosque at Bidar as a Ceremonial Hall of the Bahmanis

From its initial status as a frontier fort, Bidar became the royal capital of the Bahmani kingdom in 1430 when Ahmad I (r. 1422–36), after the death of his brother Firuz (r. 1397–1422) and that of his *pir* Gesu Daraz (d. 1423), decided to move the capital there from Gulbarga.[1] Bidar is a city in two parts. Its circular fort, in which the ceremonial buildings of the Bahmanis are situated, is connected through the Sharza Darwaza to the lozenge-shaped fortified urban center of Bidar, where the *jami' masjid* and the famous madrasa of Mahmud Gawan (completed in 1472), together with other public institutions, are located. (See Plan 1.) North of the Sharza Darwaza is the Gumbad Darwaza, which permitted access to the royal enclosure, site of the ceremonial and private edifices of the Bahmani rulers and of the Solah Khamba ("sixteen columns"; see fig. 1), identified by Ghulam Yazdani as the *jami' masjid*, or congregational mosque, of the royal zone.[2]

Two groups of palace and related structures lie within the royal enclosure of the fort. The first group includes the Solah Khamba, located at the southwestern end of a line of courtly structures that begins west of the Gumbad Darwaza (Plan 1, top), the once freestanding ceremonial domed

gateway erected by Ahmad I.[3] Beyond the Solah Khamba, on a promontory overlooking the fertile plain to the northwest of the fort, are the courtly complexes comprising the second group, two of which have been previously published by Yazdani as the Diwan-i 'Am and the Takht Mahal. Here, they are referred to simply as Palaces I and II (Plan 2) and are attributed to the reign of 'Alauddin Ahmad II (referred to here as 'Alauddin; r. 1436–58) and that of his son Humayun (r. 1458–61).[4]

Ghulam Yazdani was the first to study and publish the structures of Bidar in *Bidar: Its History and Monuments*, a milestone in the study of Bahmani architecture. Over the last twenty years, the Deccan has attracted more scholarly attention, including *Islamic Heritage of the Deccan*, edited by George Michell in 1986 and, in 1999, *Architecture and Art of the Deccan Sultanates* by George Michell and Mark Zebrowski, which reconsidered Yazdani's views about some of the edifices inside the royal enclosure of Bidar. New research in the last ten years, focusing on the palaces of the Deccan, has challenged attributions first proposed by Yazdani, especially as to the function of the Solah Khamba.[5]

The Solah Khamba is set on a raised platform that opens eastward onto a rectangular esplanade, circumscribed to the east by a royal edifice called by Yazdani the *shahi matbakh*, or "royal kitchen," but here referred to as the Crown Prince's Palace (Plans 1 and 3, Prince's P).[6] On the southern perimeter of this esplanade are the Tarkash Mahal and the Gagan Mahal; on the northern side is an enigmatic building that Yazdani called Shahi Hammam, though it is difficult to see here any features that might have once belonged to a bathhouse.[7]

The Solah Khamba consists of two parts of a very different nature. At the center of

Fig. 1. Solah Khamba, Bidar Fort. The garden in front of the building was constructed in the Mughal period, and the dolerite revetment of the lobed pool was taken from the pool in the open courtyard. (See Plan 2, Palace II, D1.)

the structure is a square, domed pavilion with arched openings on its eastern, northern, and southern sides (fig. 2); on the north and south are two smaller arched openings, now covered with *jali* screens. On each face of the three main arched openings we also find smaller arched openings (blocked or partly blocked) some two and a half meters (95⅝ inches) above present ground level (which we believe not to be original; see Plans 4 and 5 and fig. 3). Access to these smaller openings was possible via steps that started at the chamfered southeastern and northeastern corners. On either side of this central pavilion are hypostyle halls with short, round columns supporting seventy domes on kite-shaped pendentives (fig. 4).

According to Yazdani, the Solah Khamba was the *jami' masjid*, or congregational mosque, of Bidar's royal zone, where Aurangzeb, as viceroy of the Deccan, hastened to pray and proclaim Mughal sovereignty over his newly conquered territory in 1656.[8] The assumption that the Solah Khamba was built as a mosque is based on accounts of seventeenth-century Muslim historians, who saw this building when it was a religious edifice and attributed an illustrious Bahmani ancestry to it. Part of this legendary ancestry is that is was built by "Khan Jahan," but, since this is a historical title that was held by the many viziers of the Bahmanis, it is difficult to identify the particular figure intended by this name.[9]

Fig. 2. Central domed pavilion of the Solah Khamba, Bidar Fort, view of western side

Further confusing the interpretation of this building is an inscribed stone found in the debris of the mosque and that is now set into the southwestern section of its western wall. This inscription states that Qubli Sultani founded a mosque in A.H. 827 (A.D. 1423) during the vice-regency of the Bahmani prince Muhammad, one of the sons of Ahmad. The date of this record has, however, been read as both A.H. 827 (A.D. 1423) and A.H. 727 (A.D. 1326–27). The latter reading has been recently accepted by Elizabeth Merklinger, and the building has been assigned to the short-lived period of Tughluq control in the Deccan.[10] However, Z. A. Desai was the first to caution that "tablets are known to have been set up later than the buildings and vice-versa." He contended that the stone might not belong to the monument.[11]

There are many problems with the identification of this building as a mosque. With the exception of its east-west alignment, the Solah Khamba has no other features consistent with those of a *jami' masjid*. Elsewhere, we have observed that Bahmani congregational mosques, such as the Shah Bazaar Mosque in Gulbarga and the *jami' masjid* in Firuzabad, are entered through a domed chamber leading to a courtyard, at the western side of which is the prayer hall. In all these mosques, the central *mihrab* is marked by a prominent protrusion on the external façade of the *qibla* wall, while, on the inside, smaller *mihrab*s are placed along the *qibla* wall on an axis, with the aisles running perpendicular to this wall. This is also true of neighborhood mosques, consisting of domed-bay units with arched façades that open onto public spaces and that do not contain courtyards—indicating that all mosques, whether congregational or not, were distinguished by a protruding *mihrab* on the exterior wall of their *qibla* and of smaller *mihrab*s along the *qibla* wall on the inside. All these elements are absent from

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Fig. 3. Central domed pavilion of the Solah Khamba, Bidar Fort, with arched opening to balcony

Fig. 4. Hypostyle hall, the Solah Khamba, Bidar Fort

the boundary between city and royal enclosure, as in Firuzabad.[14] However, the Solah Khamba's location well within the fort would have rendered it inaccessible to the general public. The only possible indication that it might have been a mosque, its east-west orientation, was shared by other ceremonial buildings of the time.[15]

Then, there is the evidence of the building itself, which upon closer inspection appears to have undergone many phases of renovation. The hypostyle halls, which today give us a sense that this building was a mosque, appear to have been added later. Moreover, the location of a column next to the eastern arched opening to the domed chamber, partly obstructing the view to the square tower of the Crown Prince's Palace with which this room is aligned, strongly suggests that the halls were added to the originally freestanding pavilion at the center (Plan 5). Furthermore, the western elevation, which is distinguished by stones of different sizes and shapes, suggests that the Solah Khamba has undergone substantial alterations (fig. 5). In addition, along the building's eastern façade and in front of the domed chamber are domed units, while surrounding the chamber on three sides are eleven vaulted, rectangular units (Plan 4, right). These units differ from the domed arrangement that is found in the halls beyond. The columns on the eastern façade are square, while those of the remaining building are circular and disproportionably squat, suggesting that at some later date the level of the floor of the building was raised. Mention should also be made of the alteration, also at a later date, of the floor levels of this square, domed pavilion and its adjacent hypostyle halls: the ground levels of both the Solah Khamba and the Crown Prince's Palace were at least 1 meter (39⅜ in.), if not more, below the present grade. This difference in level would have significantly changed the architectural proportions of each building.

Finally, there is much evidence that the original architectural context of the building

the Solah Khamba, which instead has three niches in the central, domed space (Plan 5 and fig. 2) and no exterior projection behind the *mihrab* (fig. 5). These features suggest that this building was not originally intended as a *jami' masjid*.[12] Its monumental size also does not correspond with that typology, which belongs to that of the humble Bahmani *masjid*.[13] Furthermore, congregational mosques had to be accessible to the inhabitants of a city and were therefore located either within the city itself, as is the case of the Shah Bazaar Mosque in Gulbarga and the *jami' masjid* in Bidar, or at

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Fig. 5. Western façade of the Solah Khamba, Bidar Fort. The projecting feature is not the *mihrab*, but belongs to the hydraulic system that lifts water from the nearby well to a pool situated beside the central dome.

has changed dramatically since the fifteenth century, especially after the conquest of Bidar by Aurangzeb in 1656. It was then that the ground level was raised and the so-called Lal Bagh created in front of the Solah Khamba, in imitation of the Mughal gardens of northern India.[16] The fourteen-sided, lobed pool that dominates this garden is of the same design and size as that found in the western patio of Palace II, now overlaid with cement (D1 on Plan 2 and fig. 1). Most likely the dolerite stone revetment that covered this pool was removed by the Mughals in order to adorn the newly created pool in the Lal Bagh. This might indicate that the palaces in the northwestern corner of the fort (Plan 2: I, II, and III) were abandoned in the seventeenth century and their architectural elements reused in the structures of the new conquerors. The so-called *hammam* may also have been added at this time. The present wall that separates the Solah Khamba esplanade from the

courtyard with the banyan tree to the northwest of the Gumbad Darwaza could be a twentieth-century addition by the Asaf Jahi rulers (1724–1950).

In view of these considerations, we would like to propose a different interpretation for this building: namely, that it was originally constructed as the audience hall for the triumvirate that ruled the kingdom after Humayun Shah's death in 1461. We will argue that the domed, square space that now forms the core of the Solah Khamba originally belonged to a freestanding pavilion that came to symbolize the changing political realities of the kingdom after the reign of Humayun. With the political changes that occurred during this period, the ceremonial functions of the fort were probably moved from the northwestern section, where Palaces I and II (Yazdani's Takht Mahal and the Diwan-i 'Am) were located, to the area of the Solah Khamba and the Crown Prince's

Fig. 6. Courtyard of Crown Prince's Palace, Bidar Fort, showing main tripartite structure; domed cross-shaped room; and tower (TW; see Plan 3). The *pishtaq* tower of Palace II is visible in the distance.

Palace—specifically, to the western side of the spacious esplanade that once separated the two. In this location, they would have served as a link between the palaces on the northwestern promontory of the fort and the banyan courtyard to the west of the Gumbad Darwaza, the principal entrance to the fort (Plan 1).

The original pavilion would have consisted of three arched recesses, with angled, faceted western walls; main arched openings on its southern, eastern, and northern sides; and smaller arched openings at a height of two and a half meters (95⅝ inches) above ground level (fig. 3). It can be dated to about 1460, based on the form of the niches. The central, largest, and deepest niche has five

angled facets within a seven-sided space, forming part of a dodecagonal whole (fig. 2). The two shorter and smaller side niches belong to an eight-sided polygon with five angled faces. Quite likely these forms had royal, ritual, and ceremonial connotations, the seven-sided being the more significant and eminent of the two as indicated by its size and position. This theory is bolstered by the presence of a similar niche (albeit in this case for a *mihrab*) in the tomb of Humayun Shah at Ashtur as well as one in the Crown Prince's Palace (fig. 7). Thus, the origin and association of this niche form in edifices with at least some royal associations suggest that, by the fifteenth century, religious and royal architectural symbolisms

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Fig. 7. Apsidal niche in Room C (see Plan 3), Crown Prince's Palace, Bidar Fort

were interchangeable.[17] The device seen in the side niches at the Solah Khamba, comprising five angled faces, was already in evidence in the tombs of Humayun's ancestors Ahmad (d. 1436) and the latter's son 'Alauddin (d. 1458), but the ribboned designs that adorn these side niches and the bracket motifs that mark the walls of this room are recorded in a partly ruined tomb that is datable to the reign of Muhammad II.[18] Z.A. Desai was the first to note the stylistic relationship between the elements that distinguish the domed pavilion and the ruined tomb from the time of Muhammad II near the Chaukandi at Ashtur, without, however, revising his chronology of the Solah Khamba.[19] The stylistic associations of bracket motifs distinguished by a high-relief, three-dimensional rendering resemble more closely 'Adil Shahi examples in plaster and stone, from which we may perhaps infer that these were remodeled when Bidar came under 'Adil Shahi rule in 1619.[20]

In form and, therefore, function, the Solah Khamba would have been like the Gumbad Darwaza, the earliest emblem of power in Bidar, with which it shares certain important features. Both are freestanding, domed pavilions, apparently with rooms or galleries and angled corners. That these rooms or galleries could have existed at the Solah Khamba is suggested by the small, arched openings and their "reflections" on either side of its northern and southern main arches. The convention of viewing activities from a height is first evident at Gulbarga in the commemorative monument of the Chor Gumbad (ca. 1430), where a corridor beneath the dome with screened openings would have permitted the ladies of the *zenana* or members of the elite to witness events taking place below while protected and in privacy.[21] There is no textual evidence for this activity, as contemporary sources tended to be silent about the way ceremonial and other places were used.

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Fig. 8. Mosque in the madrasa of Mahmud Gawan, Bidar city, 1472. Arched openings are joined by a balcony resting on an arch.

However, the repetition of rooms or galleries located above floor level and below domes or vaults in ceremonial buildings with both secular and religious associations would seem to point to a usage whereby the elite of the kingdom could follow events in privacy. Of similar date to the Chor Gumbad is the Gumbad Darwaza in Bidar, where, instead of a corridor, two rooms with pyramidal vaults and windows allowed full views of the activities that would have taken place in the octagonal space below the dome.[22] The arched openings in the Solah Khamba are related to those in the mosque of the madrasa of Mahmud Gawan, which dates from 1472 (fig. 8). Here, equally small arched openings were joined by a balcony supported on a massive arch. It is difficult to say whether these were screened and used in a similar way to those in the Solah Khamba, as this building has suffered serious damage over

the centuries. It is possible, however, that important dignitaries—and, who knows, even Mahmud Gawan himself—could have followed the prayers taking place below from this balcony, protected from the worshippers beneath at a time when socio-political tensions dominated the kingdom and the city.[23] We are, therefore, tempted to suggest that the openings in the depth of the Solah Khamba arches allowed access to similar balconies. Most likely, these were protected by *jali* screens to allow the royal ladies or elite members of the palace to witness in privacy the ceremonies and deliberations that took place below.

Yazdani, in his book on Bidar, failed to mention these openings, which are so important for our understanding of this building—nor have any of the other viewing galleries been discussed by scholars who have studied these monuments. We are attempting here for the first time to comprehend their function
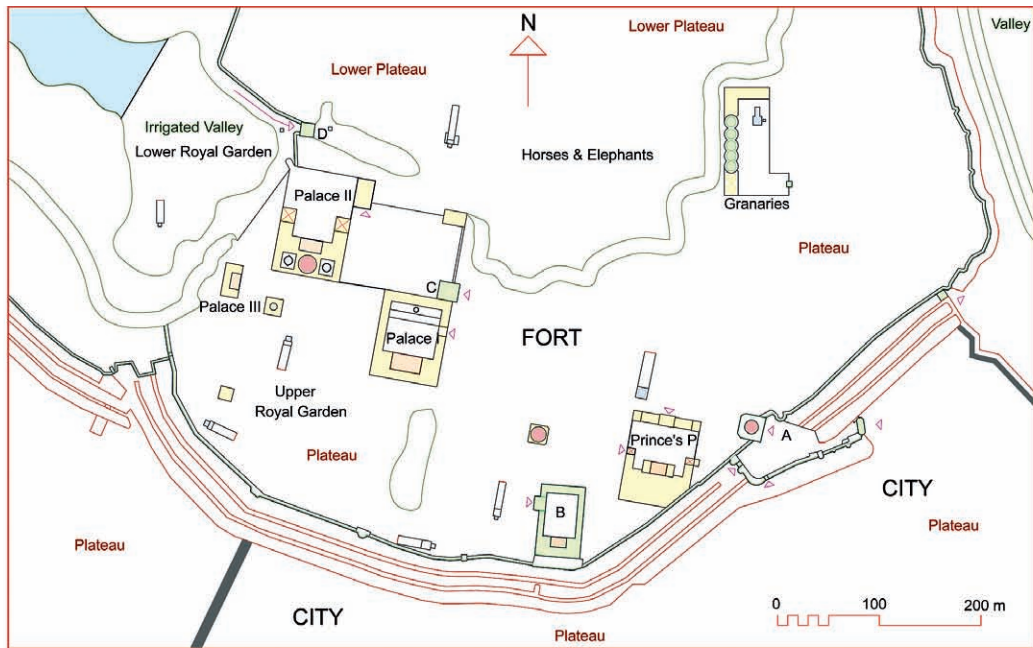
Sultans of the South: Arts of India's Deccan Courts, 1323–1687
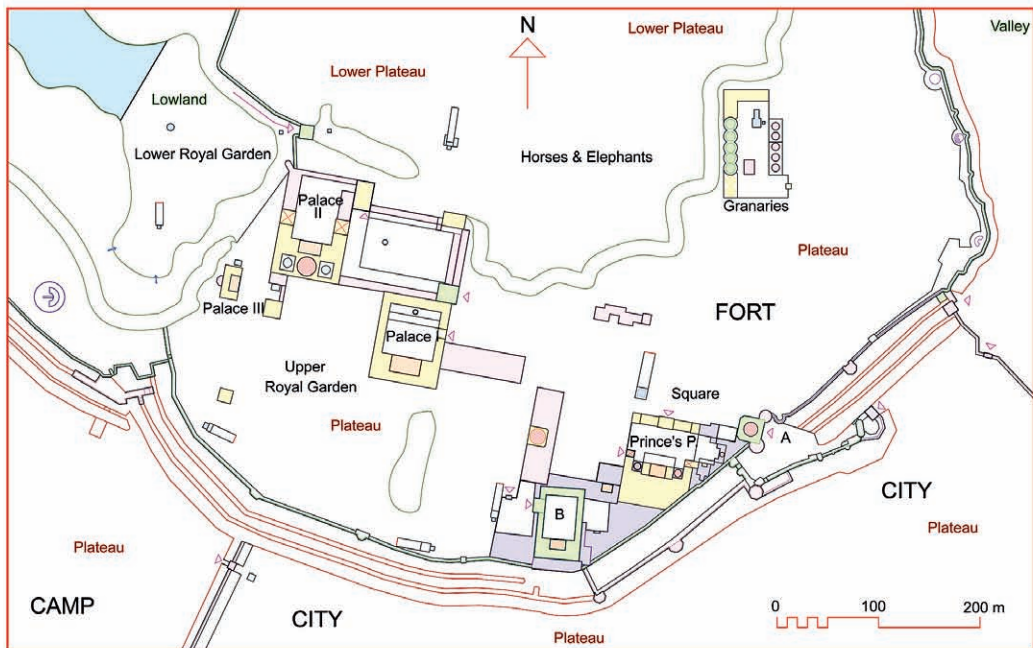
Plan 1. Palace enclosure, Bidar Fort, between 1430 and 1460 (top) and after 1460 (bottom). The Gumbad Darwaza is marked "A." The domed pavilion of the Solah Khamba, marked in red, can be seen northwest of the green structure (B).
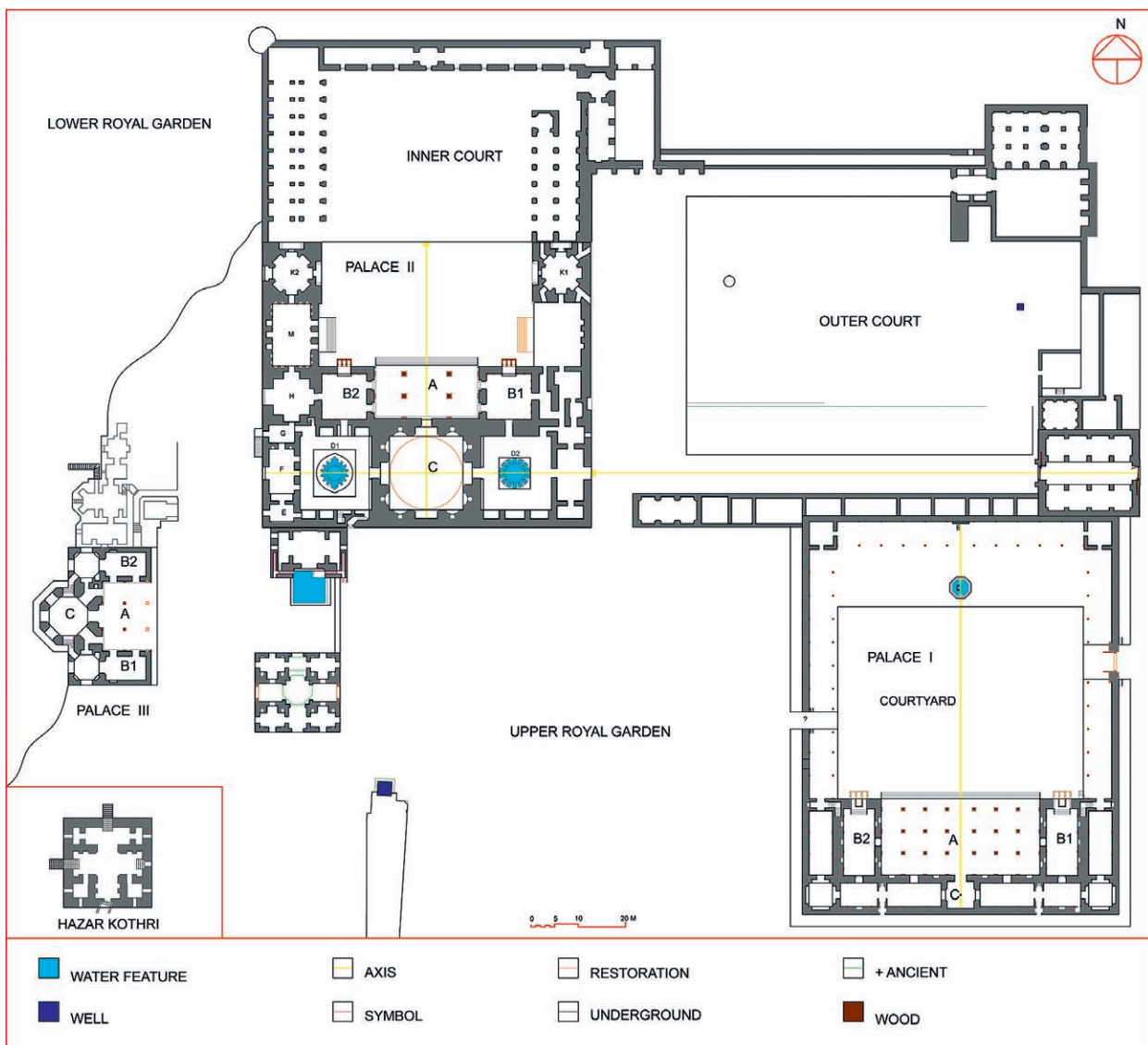
Plan 2. Northwest corner of palace enclosure, Bidar Fort, showing Palaces I–III.

and suggest possible uses, with the hope that the purpose of these galleries or rooms can be better understood.

In our reinterpretation of the Solah Khamba as an audience hall, it follows that its faceted, recessed niches were not primarily intended as prayer niches but could also signify secular, ceremonial purposes or occasions, in which a trio of religious and/or political figures might have played a

prominent role. While the tallest and most important recess would perhaps have signified, and even on occasions accommodated, the sultan or perhaps the crown prince, the other recesses may have been intended for his two closest political or religious advisors, depending on the ceremony that would have unfolded in this pavilion.

Support for our contention that the original purpose of the domed pavilion was royal

and ceremonial, rather than religious, is provided by the pavilion's spatial alignments with, and architectural references to, other nearby structures within the fortified complex—specifically, the towers in the Crown Prince's Palace (see Plan 3 and fig. 6, showing the east tower, or TE; and the west tower, or TW) and the seven-faceted, arched niche in this courtly edifice (Plan 3 and fig. 7).[24] The towers themselves, as well as their surface organization, imitate those of the *pishtaq* towers of Palace II. The lower level in the rectangular, eastern tower that adjoins the walls of the Rangini Mahal, presently subterranean but originally at ground level, is distinguished by a seven-sided arched recess (Plan 3) that echoes the one within the domed pavilion of the Solah Khamba. This seven-sided shape is further repeated in the elegantly decorated Room C, located in the southern section of the Crown Prince's Palace, as well as in the apses that frame the northern façade of the gateway to the same palace. The association of the seven-sided niche with Humayun, his era, and that of his successors might indicate that the Crown Prince's Palace was built either during his reign or that of his father 'Alauddin, who we believe to be responsible for developing the royal enclosure of Bidar. The seven-sided device that occurs here and in the Solah Khamba became a leitmotif in buildings of the second half of the fifteenth century, while, according to Klaus Rötzer, the seven-sided form is also found in some towers of Bidar's city walls, which he believes date from after about 1461 and the rise to power of Mahmud Gawan.

If, as is suggested here, the domed pavilion of the Solah Khamba is interpreted as a freestanding ceremonial hall that did not belong to a mosque, we must ask what activities took place under its dome. We would like to suggest that the triple, multi-faceted recessed niches in the rear wall of the pavilion could have accommodated figures associated with the political triumvirates that became common at the Bahmani court after the death of Humayun.
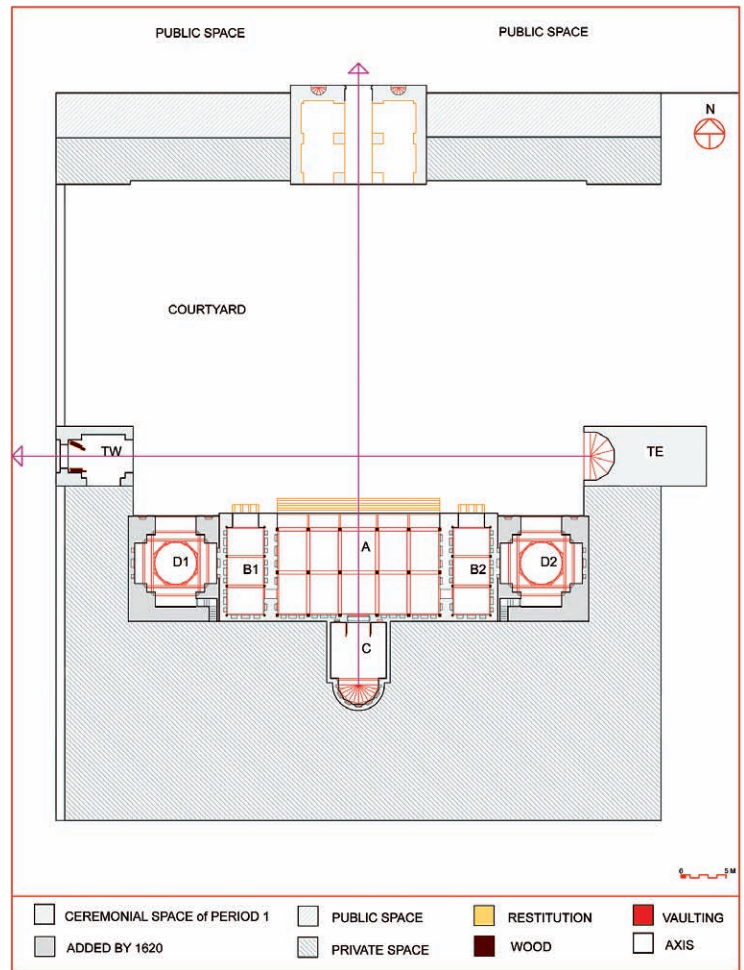
Plan 3. Southwest section of palace enclosure, Bidar Fort, showing Crown Prince's Palace. Seven-sided apsidal niches can be seen in Room C and in TE.

'Alauddin seems to have been the first Bahmani ruler to introduce during royal ceremonies the two most important religious figures of the realm. During 'Alauddin's coronation in Bidar, Shah Burhanuddin Khalilullah, a descendant of Shah Nimatullah, sat on his right, and Sayyid Sadat Sayyid Muhammad Hanif Gilani on his left.[25] This triumvirate system would be repeated by 'Alauddin's successors.[26] The first purely political triumvirate was established by the sagacious Humayun. Upon the accession of his eight-year-old son Nizamuddin Ahmad

BIDAR FORT
SOLAH KHAMBA
PLAN

BIDAR FORT
SOLAH KHAMBA
PLAN WITH VAULTING
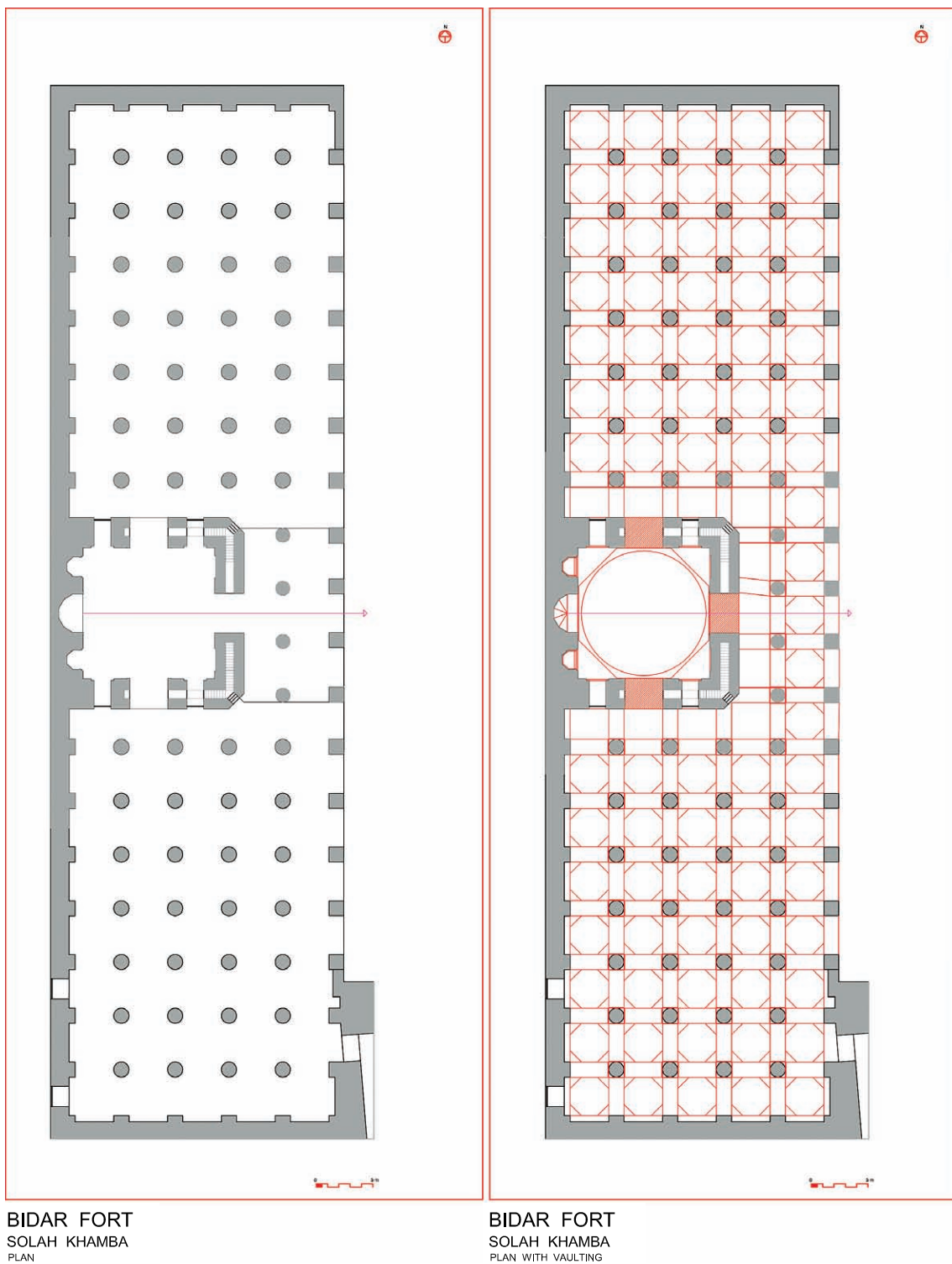
Plan 4. Ground plan (left) and ground plan with vaulting (right) of the Solah Khamba, Bidar Fort

PLAN with VAULTING

☐ Timber Galleries for Ladies (?)

N

152
195

Level +15   Level 0

CENTRAL PART

0 _____ 5 m
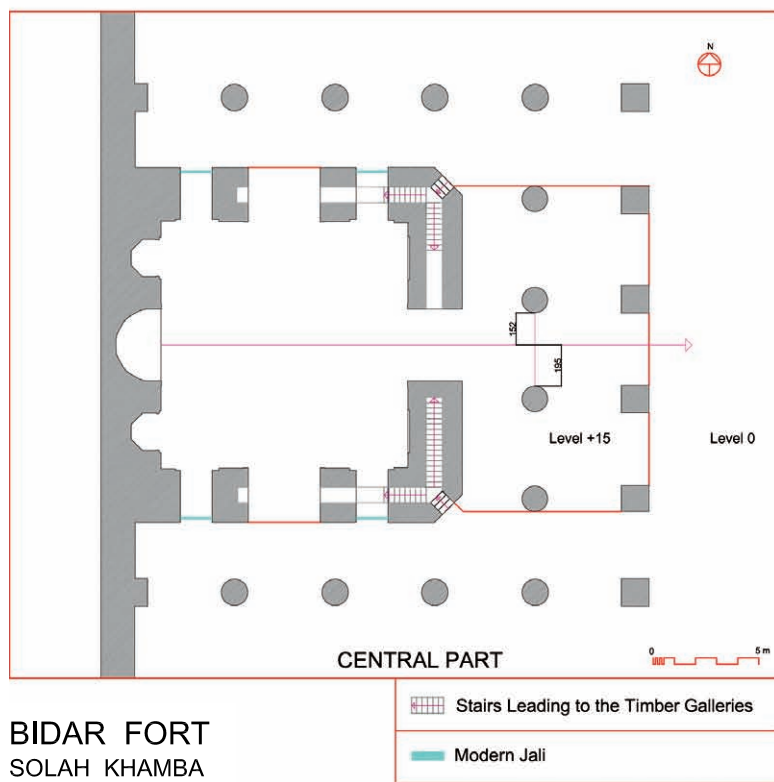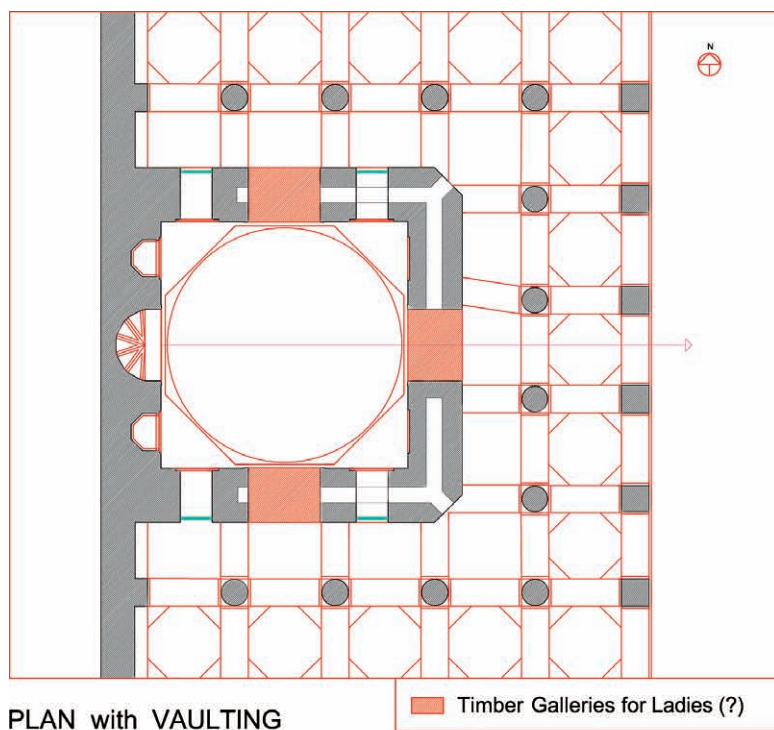
BIDAR FORT
SOLAH KHAMBA
CENTRAL PART

▦ Stairs Leading to the Timber Galleries

▬ Modern Jali

Plan 5. Details of plan 4 showing domed
pavilion and surrounding vaulted arcade,
with column interrupting view to Crown
Prince's Palace

III (r. 1461–63), a triumvirate was established under the dowager queen, Makhduma-yi Jahan Nargis Begum, to lead the kingdom with the help of two able and learned administrators: Khwaja-yi Jahan Turk, as *vakil al-sultan*, and Mahmud Gawan, as *malik al-tujjar* and vizier. According to contemporary chronicles, the youthful Nizamuddin sat in audience with Khwaja-yi Jahan on his right and Mahmud Gawan at his left.[27]

Architecturally, the domed pavilion of the Solah Khamba is perfectly configured to fulfill the new civil ceremonial requirement, reflecting contemporary political conditions. Not only do its three niches serve as an allegory of the novel ruling establishment of the sultan, Khwaja-yi Jahan and Mahmud Gawan, but the timber balconies that we presume joined the small arched windows located within its southern, northern, and eastern main arches could well accommodate the dowager queen and her entourage. The success of this governing triumvirate became evident with the containment and defeat of the invading Malwa army in 1462–63, as well as with the balanced social policies introduced at the time.[28] This "council of regency" continued following the enthronement of Shamsuddin Muhammad III (r. 1463–82) and at least until the withdrawal of the dowager queen from public affairs in 1467.[29] Mahmud Gawan became prime minister of the Bahmani domains in 1466, and under his able direction a new era was initiated that would last until his murder in 1481 and the death of Muhammad III a year later.[30] The latter's son, Shihabuddin Mahmud (r. 1482–1518), in order to better administer the realm, to face the social problems between the different court factions, and to deal with the secessionist tendencies that plagued the kingdom, introduced a new triumvirate in which the queen mother once again had overall control.[31]

With the foundation of the triumvirate, fresh protocols must have been introduced at court in order to accommodate the new power structure without usurping the royal symbolism of the domed throne room in Palace II, or the Takht Mahal, where we presume the sultan would grant audience alone. Nor did the triumvirate want to be seen to depose the administrative elite, whose architectural power emblem was Palace I, or the Diwan-i 'Am, in the northwestern group of royal structures.[32] It is difficult to say for how long these architectural symbols of power continued to enjoy their preeminent position. From the available historical sources, it is evident that by the reign of Mahmud the ceremonial center of the royal enclosure would appear to have moved to the southwestern section of the palace enclosure, where the Solah Khamba was also located.[33]

By building a domed pavilion between the Gumbad Darwaza and Palace II, the triumvirate established yet another symbol of power while maintaining all previous ones. It also showed respect to the established visual emblems by the architectural cross-referencing that linked them all.

If we are correct in linking the domed pavilion in the Solah Khamba with the new political structures of the triumvirates, we need finally to examine why and when the hypostyle halls were added and when the building was converted into a mosque. The answers would seem to lie in the weakening of royal power with the demise of the first triumvirate and the murder of Mahmud Gawan in 1481. To this domed pavilion, a visual emblem of unity, the hypostyle halls were added during the reign of Mahmud in order to accommodate the elite of the constantly warring factions of the *dakhini*s (native Deccanis) and *afaqi*s (foreigners). Subsequently, without a functioning triumvirate, the domed pavilion that had symbolized this political accommodation gradually lost its initial purpose. It would have eventually been converted into a grandly proportioned prayer hall, where the different warring factions could meet with the sultan and the elite members of his court. It would then have assumed the func-

tion witnessed by seventeenth-century Muslim historians and the hybrid form that we see today.

We date this conversion to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Circular columns are rare in Bahmani architecture, but the columned entrance to the Fort of Mahur, probably dating from about 1450 (i.e., to the second half of the fifteenth century), has similarly shaped columns—albeit more elegantly proportioned than at the Solah Khamba, as the level of the Mahur hall has not been altered (as we believe to be the case here). The lobed capitals in shallow stucco relief that adorn the columns of the hypostyle halls at the Solah Khamba recall similar pendant themes on the arches of the Gagan Mahal in Bijapur, another indication of 'Adil Shahi contributions to this building. However, these could also have been added later, during one of the twentieth-century restorations by Yazdani.

1. Although it has been suggested that Bidar was named the capital in 1424 (see the first essay by Richard Eaton in this volume), it was not until 1426 that Ahmad I decided to make Bidar his capital. Tabataba'i states that the court moved there in 1430, while Firishta mentions that the fort or citadel of Bidar was finished in 1432, on which occasion the king ordered public rejoicings.
2. I would like to thank George Michell, Klaus Rötzer, and Pushkar Sohoni for their assistance in preparing this essay.
3. Sherwani 1973, vol. 1, pp. 180, 247–48; Merklinger 1981, p. 112; Michell 1986, pp. 46 and 55; Yazdani 1995 (1947), p. 54; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 32, fig. 35; Eaton 2005, p. 66; Merklinger 2005, pp. 132–33.
4. Philon 2010a, pp. 49–52, and p. 47, fig. 5; p. 48, fig. 6; and p. 50, fig. 8.
5. This research can be found in ibid.
6. In ibid., the palace is mentioned (p. 52) as "Princes Palace."
7. Yazdani 1995 (1947), pp. 51–52.
8. Ibid., p. 54.
9. Ibid. It is difficult to identify any buildings from the historical narratives of Tabataba (see King 1900) or Firishta (see Briggs 1981).
10. Yazdani 1931–32, pp. 26–27, pl. XVII; Yazdani 1995 (1947), p. 54; Merklinger 2005, pp. 132–33.
11. Z. Desai 1985, p. 253; M. Husain 1958, pp. 39–40.
12. Philon 2005, pp. 111–16, 135; and Philon forthcoming.
13. Mosques with prayer halls that give onto open spaces that are not enclosed by courtyards are generally small and found in neighborhoods or in dargahs; see Philon 2005, pp. 116–18 and 135.
14. Michell and Eaton 1992, pp. 30–36, fig. 56.
15. Philon 2005, p. 244; Philon 2010b, pp. 41–43; Philon forthcoming.
16. Yazdani 1995 (1947), pp. 52–53; Philon 2010a, pp. 54–55 and p. 54, fig. 13.
17. Yazdani 1995 (1947), pp. 132–33.
18. Ibid., p. 144, pl. LXXXVII; Philon 2010a, pp. 52–53; Rötzer 2010, p. 129, fig. 15.
19. Z. Desai 1973, vol. 2, pp. 248–49.
20. Bracket motifs are found in the tomb mentioned in ibid. For 'Adil Shahi examples, see Brand 2010, pp. 68 (3); 77 (15).
21. Philon 2005, pp. 246–48.
22. Philon 2010b, pp. 42–43; and Rötzer 2010, p. 127, plan 12.
23. Yazdani 1995 (1947), p. 97, mentions this massive arch without saying that it is part of a balcony. See also Merklinger 1976–77; Merklinger 1981, p. 115; Michell 1986, pp. 55–56; Michell and Zebrowski 1999, pp. 71–72; Merklinger 2005, pp. 132 and 135–36.
24. King 1900, p. 68. The tomb of Gilani is near the Baridi tombs in Bidar; see Yazdani 1995 (1947), pp. 208–11. Gilani, who died in A.H. 900 (A.D. 1505), was the saint who crowned Mahmud Shah during his accession ceremony (ibid., p. 210 n. 3). See also Sherwani 1985, p. 158.
25. King 1900, p. 89; Sherwani 1973, vol. 1, p. 180; Sherwani 1985, pp. 175–88 and 197–98.
26. Briggs 1981, vol. 2, p. 287.
27. Ibid., pp. 289–93.
28. Sherwani 1985, p. 198. Khwaja Jahan's greed and indignities resulted in his murder on the orders of the dowager queen. See Briggs 1981, vol. 2, p. 294.
29. King 1900, p. 101: "with the consent of Makhdumah Jahan the office of prime minister . . . was conferred on Khwaja Mahmud Gawan . . . and was given unlimited authority over all affairs of the state." See also Briggs 1981, vol. 2, p. 294.
30. King 1900, pp. 117–47; Sherwani 1973, vol. 1, p. 195; Briggs 1981, vol. 2, pp. 320–39; Sherwani 1985, p. 247.
31. Philon 2010a, pp. 44–55, sections on Palaces I, II, and III.
32. Briggs 1981, vol. 2, pp. 328–29; King 1900, p. 121.
33. Briggs 1981, vol. 2, p. 329.

Klaus Rötzer

Fortifications and Gunpowder in the Deccan, 1368–1687

This article investigates whether the changes that occurred in Deccani military architecture between the fourteenth and the late seventeenth century were the result of the introduction of gunpowder, firearms, and artillery.[1] In what follows I will first discuss information contained in historical works of the fifteenth through seventeenth century.[2] I will then sketch the development of gunpowder devices as revealed by the guns found in the many Deccani forts. Finally, on the basis of selected architectural elements, such as building materials, parapets, structures built to support firearms, and width of defense perimeters, I will document the successive changes that occurred in the military architecture during the period under consideration.

EARLY TEXTS

Two points explored by Iqtidar Alam Khan in his article on the early history of gunpowder in the Deccan are of great importance.[3] First, the *karkhana-yi atishbazi*[4] established in 1368–69 by Sultan Muhammad Shah I Bahmani, discussed by Firishta, indicates only "the acquisition, for military purposes, of pyrotechnic devices like the *ban.*" The *ban*[5] was probably an explosive used to frighten horses and elephants, with the noise produced by the blast more important than the fired ball or bullet. Second, some types of crude cannon and musket

were in use during the second half of the fifteenth century.[6]

From Mahmud Gawan,[7] who was in charge of the siege of Belgaum, and from Firishta, we are informed about the 1472–73 siege. To make a breach in the wall of this fort, cannons were first fired, but apparently without any result. Three mines were then excavated and filled with gunpowder. The explosion opened three breaches, after which the garrison surrendered. The incident confirms that, in the Deccan at this time, cannons were still unable to destroy a masonry wall; they could only knock down parapets.

Portuguese records studied by Phillip B. Wagoner enlighten us on developments in the sixteenth century.[8] First, in 1508 at Chaul, the 'Adil Shahis were able to defeat the Portuguese, at which time, according to Portuguese historian Gaspar Correia,[9] they also captured eight small breech-loaders called *berços* (cradles). It seems that these *berços* later served as a model for a type of small cannon manufactured in the Deccan during the sixteenth century and later. Second, at the time of the conquest of Goa by the Portuguese in 1510, gunmakers of Ottoman origin were employed there by the 'Adil Shahis. Writing in 1518, Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese writer and India officer who was also the brother-in-law of Ferdinand Magellan, mentioned that these gunmakers produced both "iron and copper ordnance." Third, in 1520, Fernao Nuñiz, a Portuguese horse trader, described the siege of Raichur Fort by the Vijayanagara forces,[10] when Raichur was under 'Adil Shahi control. The fort's defensive equipment consisted of thirty trebuchets on the bastions and two hundred small cannons on the curtain walls. In 1520, stone-throwing engines like trebuchets or catapults were thus still more important than firearms. Though gunpowder weapons were used, they were evidently considered less

efficient than conventional machines hurling heavy stones and other missiles.

The importance of foreign expertise is documented at Ahmadnagar, where an inscription on the enormous fifty-five-ton bronze-cast bombard "Malik-i Maidan" (see fig. 4) reveals that it was made in 1549 for the Nizam Shahis sultan by an Ottoman gunmaker.[11] In 1565 the bombard was taken to Talikota, where the armies of the five Deccani sultanates fought against Vijayanagara. Reportedly, bags of copper coins were hurled at the Vijayanagara army, undoubtedly impressing everyone present at this battle with the size, shape, and astounding blast of the weapon. Talikota must have been an ideal occasion, so to speak, for advertising huge guns.

By contrast, Golconda did not have a well-organized gun foundry managed by expert engineers, but only blacksmiths' workshops. In 1652 a French adventurer who had worked as a gardener in Batavia met Mir Jumla, the prime minister of the sultan of Golconda, at Gandikota. He told the prime minister that he was a specialist in cannon casting and found immediate employment. The result was the melting down of many bronze temple statues, but not even one cannon came out of the "French foundry"![12]

Finally, the account of the historian Muhammad Salih Kambu of the Mughal campaigns in the Deccan in 1656–57 further indicate that the Deccan lagged in military technology: Deccani cannons were simply unable to fend off the enemy at a distance. His descriptions of the sieges of Kalyana and Bidar confirm that most of the arms used by the Mughal and Deccani forces were firearms: rockets, grenades (*huqqa*), muskets, and guns. At Kalyana, Mughal mines were more effective than guns, but, at Bidar, Mughal guns were able to destroy two bastions. In the end, the Mughals captured all of the forts in the Deccan that they besieged.[13]

Mughal superiority was confirmed by events of the late seventeenth century. In 1686, when the emperor Aurangzeb was

able to subdue the Deccan, his field artillery was composed of a new type of gun: bimetallic cannons[14] made between 1666 and 1679 by an Arab gun-founder. The bore was made of wrought iron, the body of bronze, and the ball of iron. Bijapur and Golconda quickly surrendered and were incorporated into the Mughal Empire. These cannons are very well documented: besides being covered in relief inscriptions,[15] they are also mentioned by one of Aurangzeb's historians.[16] Furthermore they have survived, lying on cavaliers in the forts of Daulatabad, Parenda, and Golconda.

The aforementioned textual evidence suggests four conclusions about the distinctive features and stages of development of military equipment in the Deccan.

(1) Gunpowder devices introduced circa 1369 were essentially of a pyrotechnic nature and were intended to spread unrest in the cavalry and among the elephants. This purpose remained paramount until the end of the seventeenth century.

(2) From the middle of the fifteenth century onward, defense masonry walls were normally destroyed by mines, not by cannons. Those charged with digging wells and *qanats* during periods of peace were probably employed to dig mines during sieges.

(3) Firearms were added to the fighting gear, but only slowly did they replace some of the earlier weaponry, for instance, the trebuchet.

(4) The making of gunpowder devices was generally entrusted to emigrants from the Ottoman Empire. Portuguese guns were also copied in the Deccan.

GUNS

The following discussion is based on the evidence of gunpowder devices that now lie abandoned in various forts. They include small guns, bombards, and cannons of different shapes and sizes, some of which are enormous. Only a few are inscribed and dated. Some pieces show that they have been
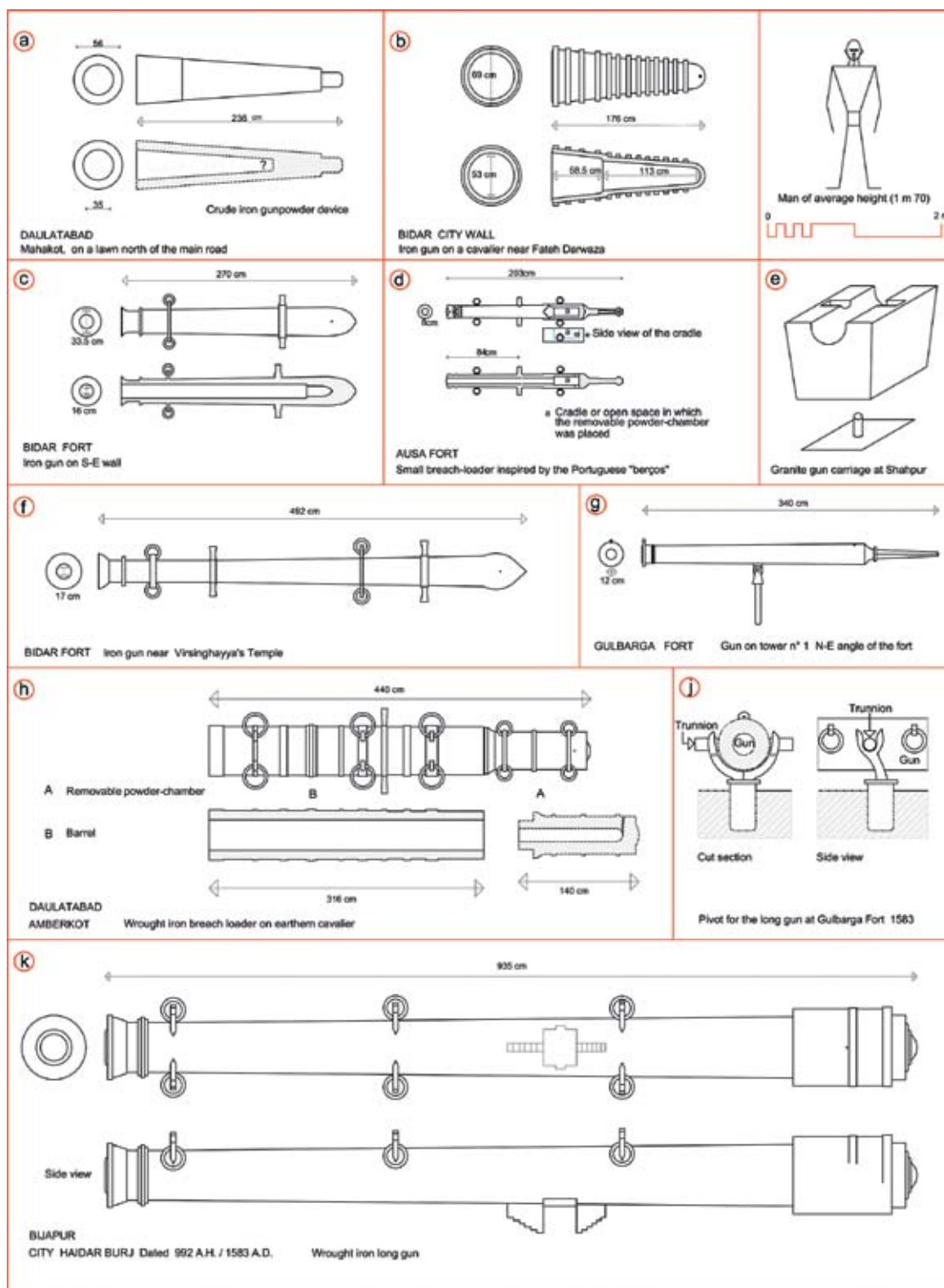
Fig. 1. Deccani artillery, ca. 1400–1550

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Fig. 2. An early gunpowder device, Bidar city wall, ca. 1430–50. It fired a kind of grapeshot, but its main purpose was to terrify the assailant with the blast.

modified to fit new requirements. During the sixteenth century workshops seem to have followed different patterns, experimenting with solutions to the problems armies faced at the time. These devices, however, are all products of a common approach to war and defense, reflecting a common social order and worldview.

Metal: Wrought Iron and Bronze
Generally wrought iron was used for the production of guns. For most of the heavy and medium-size long guns and bombards, iron bars, hooped and forge-welded together by a series of rings, form the bore. Small guns were made using a different, as yet unknown, technique, but the unrusted metal indicates that the metal was of the finest quality. Bronze-cast pieces were the exception. The bi-metallic cannons preserved in the Daulatabad, Parenda, and Golconda forts are not Deccani, but Mughal. Cast iron was an eighteenth-century European import.

Shot: Stone Ball and Grapeshot
Most of the shots were stone balls. No iron balls were used by the Deccani armies before the end of the seventeenth century. The guns could also fire a kind of grapeshot, i.e., small pieces of iron or lead put into a kind of cartridge.

Loading and Combustion Chamber (figs. 1 and 3)
There are only two ways to load a gun: by the muzzle or by the breech. The Deccan shows experimentation with both ways. The oldest gunpowder devices (figs. 1a, 1b, and 1c) and all the guns made after 1549 (fig. 3) were loaded by the muzzle. In the case of bombards and mortars, which have a combustion chamber smaller than the bore (figs. 3a and 3c), the procedure was as follows: gunpowder was put inside the chamber, which was closed with a wooden plug; the ball was then introduced into the bore.

As for breech loaders, two types were experimented with during the first half of
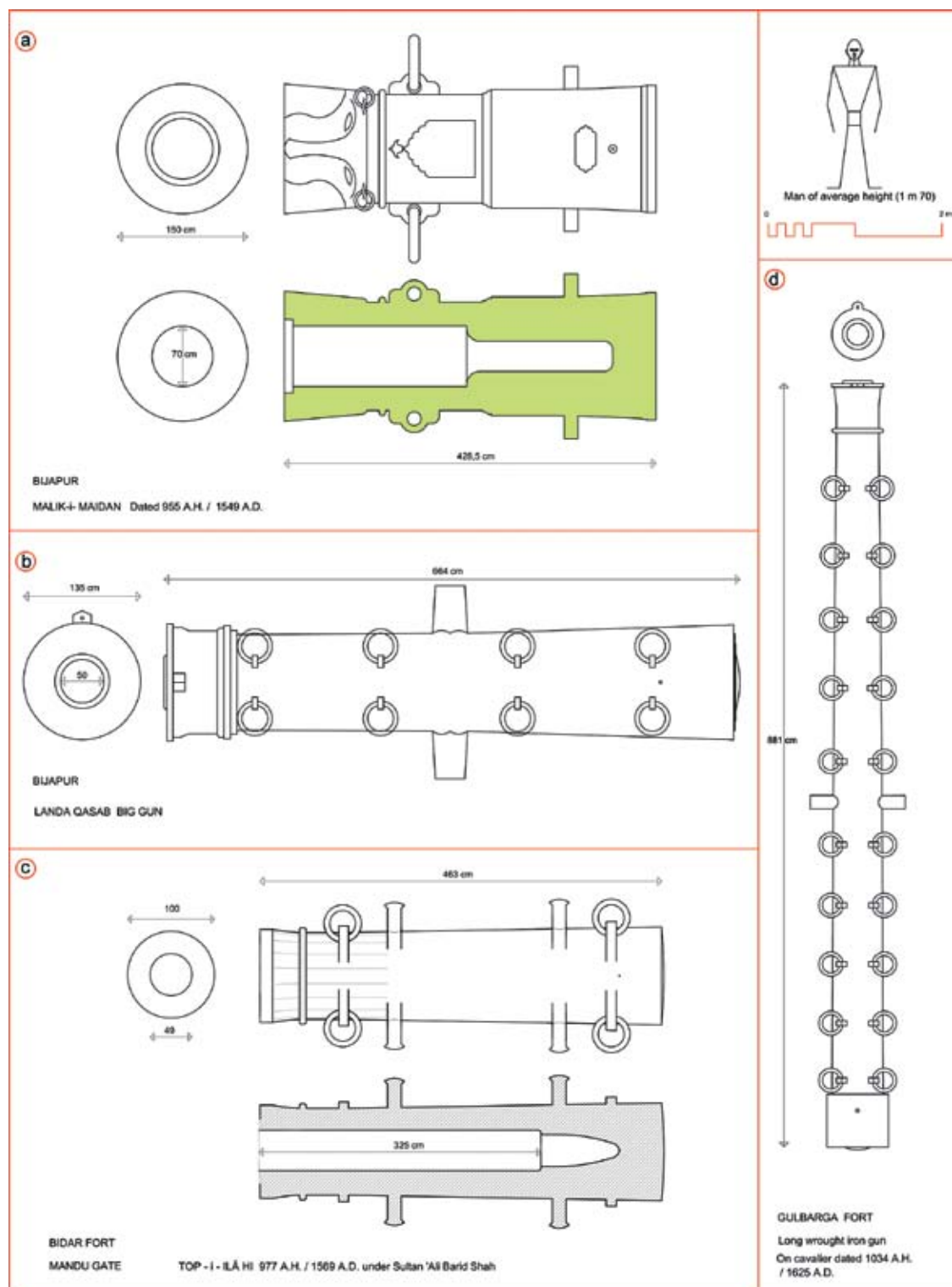
Fig. 3. Deccani artillery after 1549

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the sixteenth century. Inspired by the Portuguese guns captured during the siege of Chaul in 1508, the first type (fig. 1d) was reserved for small guns. Their breech shows an open space (as in fig. 1d), in which a small chamber was placed and fastened, filled with gunpowder and the shot. Every gun disposed of several chambers. Another type of breech loader was made of two separate pieces, a barrel and a combustion chamber (fig. 1h). The challenge lay in locking the two parts before firing.

Swivel-fork, Carriage, Trunnions
Different gun support devices were invented in the Deccan. Those made of timber no longer exist. In Gulbarga Fort most of the guns are still mounted on wrought-iron forked swivels (fig. 1j). This system allowed an easy vertical oscillation; horizontal rotation was more difficult. In the forts of Shahpur and Yadgir the guns were fixed on rotating granite carriages (fig. 1e). Small guns were fixed on a vertical axis with a bolt and nut joint (fig. 1g).

Four devices have been identified by which a gun could be fixed to its carriage. Besides

Fig. 4. "Malik-i Maidan," bronze cast bombard, made at Ahmadnagar, 1549, now mounted at Bijapur Fort. A century after gigantic guns had been discarded in Europe, they were successfully introduced to the Deccan.

Fig. 5. Wrought-iron bombard, Bidar Fort, Mandu Gate, 1569. Placed on a high cavalier, this gigantic gun acted essentially as a repellent and deterrent weapon.
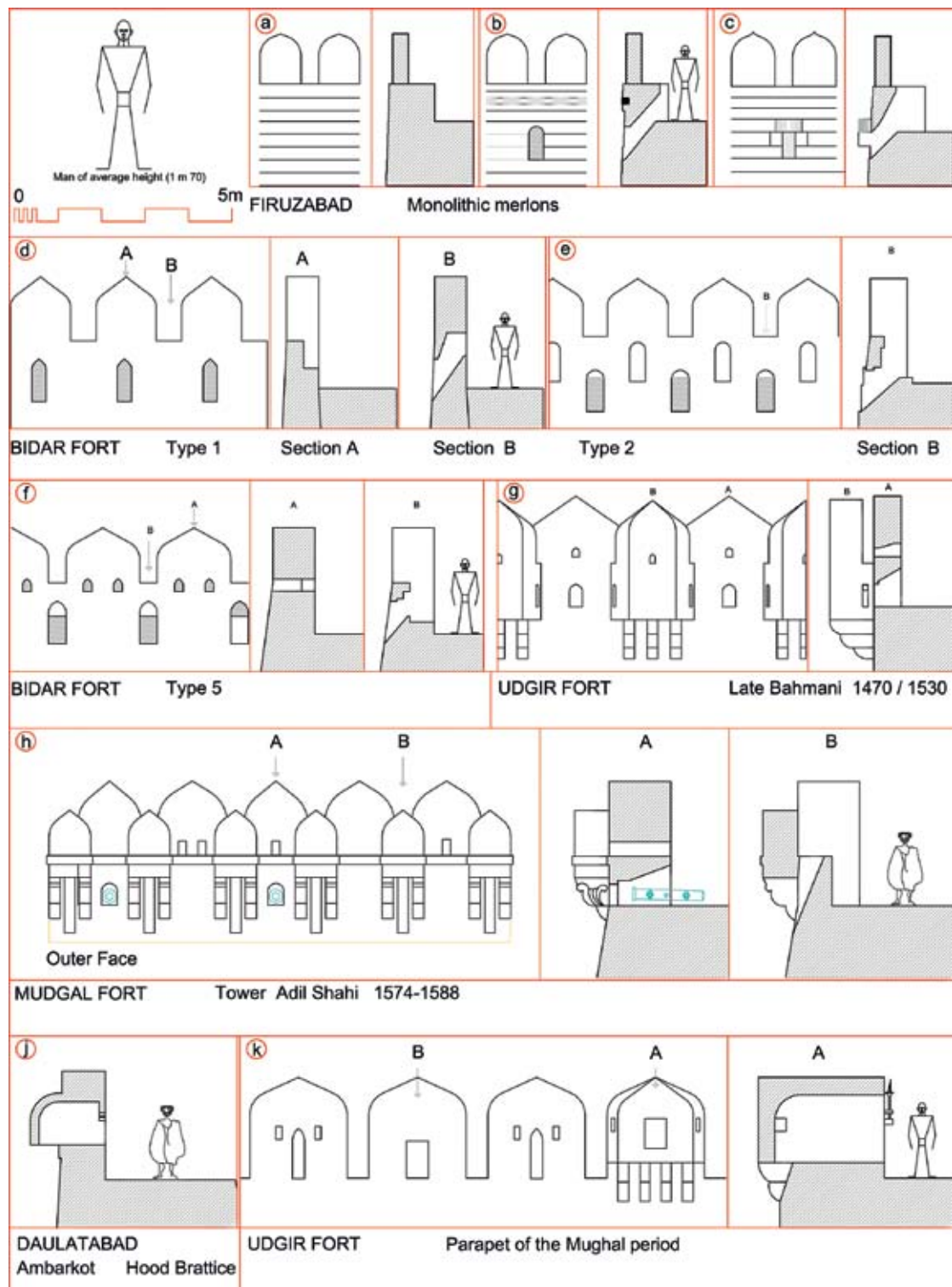
Fig. 6. Development of the parapet

Fig. 7. Parapet, Bidar Fort, 17th century. Behind this parapet, the defender was perfectly protected against light frontal missiles and shells fired at high angles.

the simple bolt welded on the bottom of the barrel, which has already been noted, in some rare cases, and for heavy cannons only, we see an iron plate plus two stepped outfits fixed under the barrel (fig. 1k). More commonly, one or two pairs of pegs, protruding laterally, and generally cylindrical, fastened the gun to its carriage. A pair of trunnions, or cylindrical pivots projecting laterally from the midpoint of the barrel, was a more sophisticated feature, probably imported by Ottoman gun-founders at the beginning of the sixteenth century. One century later, the trunnion finally became the standard fixing device in the Deccan.

First Gunpowder Devices (figs. 1–2)
The oldest gun still preserved in the Deccan can be found on a lawn in Mahakot, Daulatabad (fig. 1a). It has a thick, cone-shaped barrel with a knob at the breech. The blast was probably more important than the shot. An improved model can be seen on the city wall at Bidar (fig. 1b; see also fig. 2). The

conical barrel and the chamber are reinforced by rings; the ovoid breech has a sight for firing. It dates to the fifteenth century, but it continued to be used later. We also find tube guns (figs. 1c and 1f) with the same breech-chamber type. The trunnions were added at a later stage. These guns fired stone balls at long range. The breech loaders (figs. 1d and 1h) probably belong to the same stage of development (1450 to 1550?).

Bombards and Cannons after 1549–65
(figs. 3–5)
The period from 1549 to 1565 was a turning point in the history of firearms in the Deccan. The "Malik-i Maidan" cast at Ahmadnagar (fig. 3a; see also fig. 4), now in Bijapur, on a bastion of the city walls, is probably the most impressive ordnance ever cast. The muzzle represents the open aggressive jaws of a roaring monster swallowing a tame elephant. After its successful use at Talikota in 1565,[17] where it impressed everybody with its colossal size, terrifying aspect, and terrible

blast, the Barid Shahis had five enormous wrought-iron bombards forged to protect Bidar Fort and city (fig. 3c; see also fig. 5). These guns, richly decorated with silver and gold inlaid inscriptions,[18] were placed on high cavaliers towering above the countryside. They fired stone balls with deafening noise to frighten off all kinds of enemies, soldiers as well as evil spirits. At the same time, the 'Adil Shahis of Bijapur produced not only the biggest Deccani bombard (fig. 3b), but also the longest cannon of all (fig. 3d). After Talikota, most of the heavy artillery in the Deccan was forged, not cast. These guns were intended for the defense of forts.

The following conclusions can be derived from the above survey.

(1) Initially introduced as a pyrotechnic addition to the war equipment, gunpowder devices became the main defensive weapons after 1565.
(2) Foreign models—Portuguese examples or those of Ottoman gun-founders—were not accepted unconditionally or simply copied, but were adapted to the needs of changing Deccani warfare.
(3) Small guns must have been used, preceding assaults, mainly to kill men, horses, and elephants with grapeshot.
(4) From the beginning of the fourteenth century, Deccani artillery was essentially intended to frighten enemies, whether real or imagined, and to keep them at a safe distance.

FORTIFICATIONS
We now examine whether the defense architecture confirms what the texts and firearms described above have told us. A selection of different architectural components and structures will be examined.[19]

Materials
The Deccani forts are situated in three different geological environments, namely, basalts, granite/gneiss, and limestone.[20] While all three provide good building materials, they were utilized in different

ways. Here we will focus on basalts. Until the fourteenth century, lime mortar was essentially applied as wall covering. From the fifteenth century onward, mainly in the basaltic region, mortar became an essential part of the masonry, used initially to bond the rubble stones of the facing. During the second half of the sixteenth century, however, mortar replaced earth as an important ingredient of the masonry filling. At the same time, large, hard, compact basalt blocks were preferred to soft, vacuolar basalt freestones cut in rectangular or square shapes. Nevertheless, there is no obvious answer to the question of whether this superior sturdy masonry was a response to heavy siege artillery. A better supply of lime, an improvement in quarry technique, and the desire to build a defense that was imposing, terrifying, and frightening could just as well explain the change.

Parapets (fig. 6–7)
The development of the parapet shows a similar trend: from a row of merlons, each formed of a single block of stone, to a sophisticated structure providing the defender with safety and efficiency (see fig. 7).

The drystone curtain wall built ca. 1400 at Firuzabad, was crowned with stone-block merlons 13¾–19¾ inches thick (fig. 6a).[21] Loopholes were few. We would have expected more, especially in the eastern wall, which faced flat land and consequently was more exposed to assaults. There, however, we find a unique type of loophole, probably for pyrotechnic devices (fig. 6c). In 1430 the parapet of Bidar Fort showed three different types of battlement, built at the same time by three different groups of masons, all following their own traditions (figs. 6d and 6e). The masonry made use of mortar, and the thickness of the merlons reached about 28 inches. The merlons accommodated bows, however, not firearms. By 1450, also at Bidar, a western lower wall was added to protect the water resources of the fort. It was studded with artillery towers and crowned with merlons,
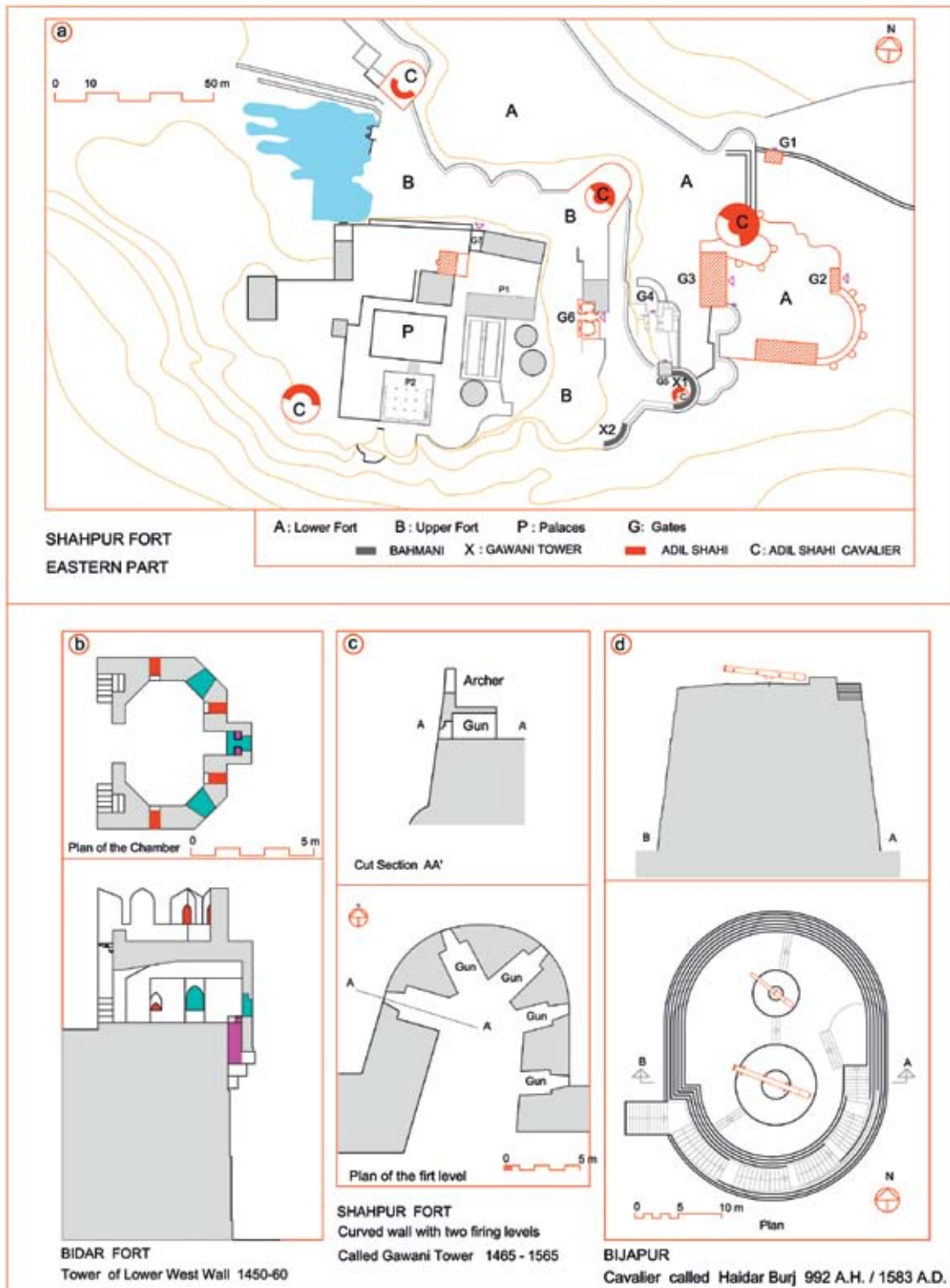
Fig. 8. Architectural structures for artillery defense, 15th–16th century
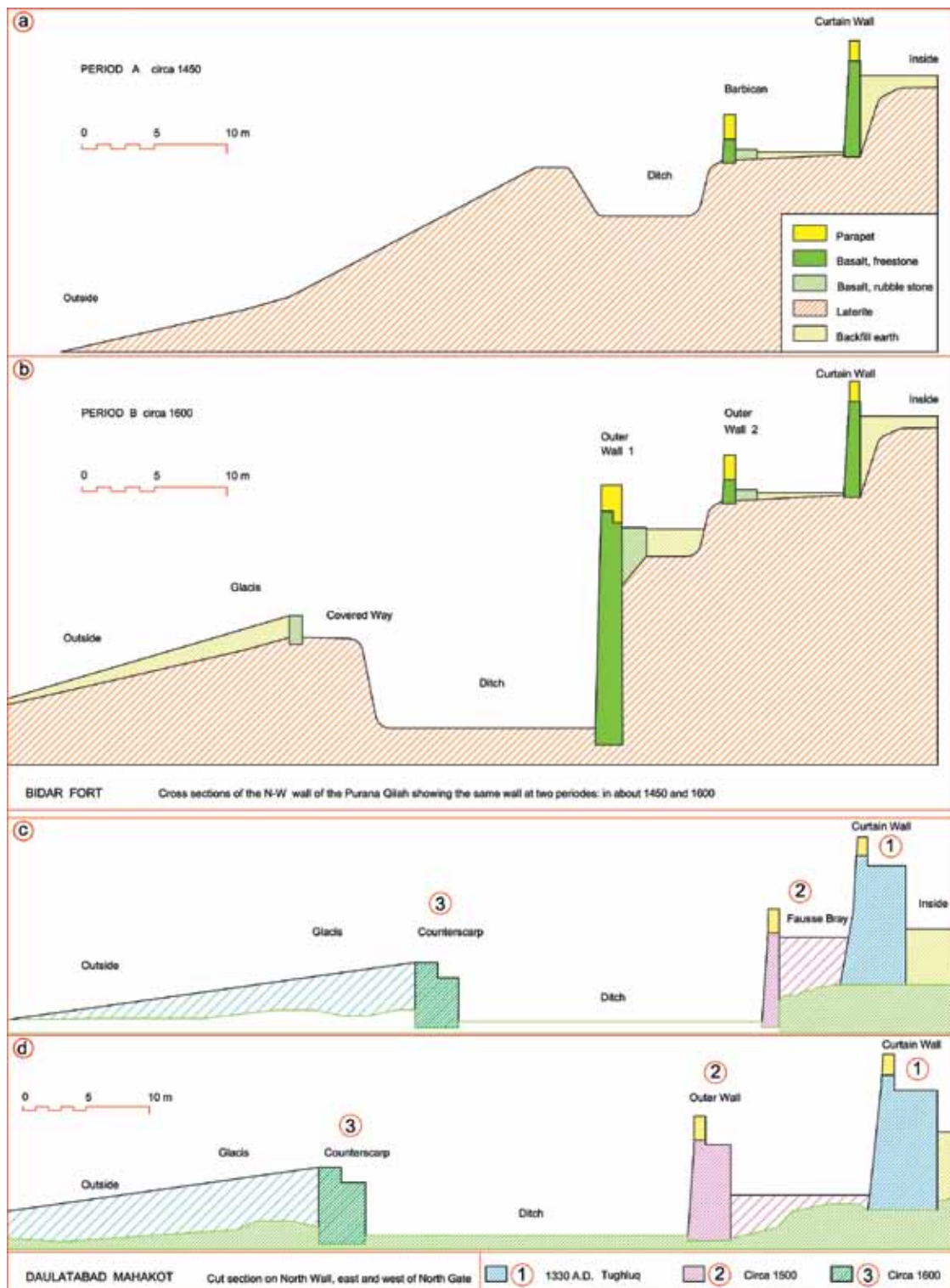
Fig. 9. Widening of the defense perimeter

just over 39 inches thick and provided with musket loopholes (fig. 6f). The battlements built between 1465 and 1565 were much more elaborate (fig. 6g). The thickness of the merlons depended on the area in front of the wall. Merlons facing a valley were less thick than those facing flat ground, where artillery could be set up. The aim of the battlement was to protect the fighter behind it and to allow him to fire at enemies, whatever their position.

In order to make the defense work easier for the fighter posted on the wall, brattices—small stone galleries built out from a parapet—were added. These brattices permitted the fighter to discharge front, oblique, and flanking fire at different angles (horizontal, plunging, and vertical) on the assailants (for an illustration of the different loopholes and firing angles, see figs. 6b–g and 8b). These fundamental changes in the battlement prove that, during this period, projectile arms, including firearms, had achieved an improved range and accuracy.

After 1565, the fear of being besieged by a foe armed with heavy cannons had a decisive impact on the battlement. Now the merlon had a strong mortar-rubble filling, and its average thickness was between 4 feet 7 inches and 7 feet 10 inches (fig. 6h and 6k). A new type of brattice was invented, resembling a hood (fig. 6j), and incorporated into the merlon. It was intended for throwing grenades (*huqqa*) on the assailant troops when they had reached the base of the walls.

Artillery Support Structures (fig. 8)
Towers with two firing levels (fig. 8b) were built from about 1450 to 1550. Artillery was set up in the chamber of the first level. It probably consisted of massive crossbows, provided that the doorway to the chamber was a narrow opening. When gunpowder devices were introduced, the entrance had to be enlarged in order to offer adequate ventilation. Another structure looks like a tower from the outside, but it is a curved wall enclosing an open courtyard, with two firing levels, artillery at the ground level, and

archers or musketeers behind the parapet at the top (fig. 8c). The earliest examples of this feature are part of the city wall of Bidar, built sometime about 1465. I have named this structure Gawani Tower, because Mahmud Gawan was then supervising the restoration of Bidar's defenses. At Mudgal one of these towers is dated 1554. These towers, however, were fragile structures, which prove that the expected besiegers had only low-power firing engines at their disposal.

After 1565 and the introduction of heavy guns, all the forts in the Deccan were restructured for installation of long-range cannons. Massive bastions were built on the defense line, and cavaliers inside the fort at the highest points. Shahpur Fort offers a good example (fig. 8a). In Daulatabad, one cavalier was even located on the very top of the rock hill called Balakot. On all these structures, the gun was fixed on a pivot in the middle of a platform. To absorb the firing force, a semicircular recoil wall was built at the rear of the gun (fig. 8d), or a wooden post was positioned in a deep circular trench behind the breech of the gun. The cannons positioned on these cavaliers fired only stone balls: their aim was to act as a repellent, to keep enemies at a distance.

Width of the Defense Perimeter (fig. 9)
The perimeter of Deccani forts was slowly enlarged during the period under consideration. In the fourteenth century, we find only a curtain wall with massive towers (Firuzabad), plus a ditch (Daulatabad). Between 1450 and 1500 a barbican or a fausse braye was generally added in front of the gates (figs. 9a and 9c). After 1500 an outer wall was also built in between the main wall and the ditch.

As rebuilt in 1553, Ahmadnagar Fort marks the beginning of a new era. A Portuguese was involved in this project, which could explain an innovative feature.[22] For the first time in India the masonry defense walls and the moat were completely concealed from attackers by a huge earthen glacis. After

Fig. 10. Naldurg Fort, 16th century. In the Deccan, gunpowder did not bring about a new defense system, as in Europe; it led to improvements in existing defences, including raised areas for repellant guns.

1580 every stronghold in the Deccan was provided with a low pseudo-glacis that concealed only the base of the walls from cannon shots.[23] The European glacis introduced at Ahmadnagar Fort had quickly been altered and adapted to local needs.

Conclusion

From 1400 to 1553 Deccani fortifications show steady improvements, which were not necessarily linked to the development of firearms. The improvement of building techniques using lime mortar and the desire to provide better protection of the soldiers posted on the walls are valid explanations for the many changes we can observe. As shown here, the new elements introduced after 1553, particularly the cavalier and the glacis, usually added to older structures, profoundly transformed the defense perimeter. Unlike in Europe, totally new defense theories and corresponding architectural creations did not emerge, because Deccani expectations concerning gunpowder and firearms were different.

The relation between fortifications and gunpowder was also different in the Deccan. Though the Portuguese and Ottomans introduced many innovations to the Deccan, the Deccanis accepted only what was considered useful. For instance, an Ottoman engineer received the commission for "Malik-i Maidan" in 1549 because the Ahmadnagar sultan was in search of an impressive weapon; in Europe this kind of war implement was already completely outdated.

Both defense architecture and gun manufacture made real progress in the Deccan from about 1450 until the end of the seventeenth century. Again, the development was different from that in Europe.[24] Guns, for instance, were not considered essentially as wall breakers, but as repellent devices.[25] After 1565, all forts were renovated with raised areas for repellent guns (fig. 10). The main aims of this architecture were to protect the soldier within with sophisticated battlements, to keep the enemy (i.e., armies as well as hostile spirits) as far away as possible, and to make a dramatic impression on the populace.

1. I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to George Michell and Keelan Overton for their assistance in making this English presentation.

2. The most important Persian sources are Mahmud Gawan, *Riyaz al-Insha'* (before 1481), edited by Shaikh Chand (Hyderabad, 1948); Shihab Hakim, *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi* (1467–48), edited by Nurul Hasan Ansari (Delhi, 1968). *Tuhfat al-Salatin* (1397–1422), by Mulla Daud Bidari, is now lost, but the manuscript was used by Firishta.

3. I. Khan 1981; see also I. Khan 2004, pp. 1–58, and appendix B, p. 205.

4. Literally, "playing-with-fire workshop." It relates to activities using fire, for both entertainment and war.

5. I. Khan 2004, appendix B, pp. 205–9.

6. Briggs 1981, vol. 1, p. 352, and vol. 2, p. 303. Firishta took his information from Mulla Daud Bidari, *Tuhfat al-Salatin*.

7. Mahmud Gawan commented on the siege of Belgaum in a preserved letter. See Mahmud Gawan, *Riyaz al-Insha'*, p. 72.

8. In a lecture entitled "Firearms, Fortifications, and a 'Military Revolution' in the Sixteenth-Century Deccan," at the seminar on "Islamic India in Transition: The Sixteenth Century, Part II: The Built Environment," University of Pennsylvania, March 17, 2007.

9. Gaspar Correia (ca. 1496–ca. 1563) is the author of *Lendas da India* (Legends of India), one of the earliest works about Portuguese rule in India.

10. Eaton 2009.

11. Cousens 1916, pp. 29–30; Nadvi 1938, pp. 414–15.

12. Tavernier 1925, p. 99.

13. Muhammad Salih Kambu, *'Amal-i Salih*, in Elliot 1868–77, vol. 7, pp. 124–26 and 127–28.

14. Balasubramaniam 2008, pp. 235–53. The author uses the expression "composite cannons" to designate bi-metallic cannons. He mentions that a specimen from Gujarat dated to 1537–54 can be seen in the Royal Artillery Museum, Woolwich, U.K. Those found in the Deccan are all Mughal, and bear the name of Aurangzeb.

15. Ibid., pp. 165–75.

16. Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan, *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri* (1710–11), edited by Agha Ahmad Ali (Calcutta, 1871), p. 290.

17. Cousens 1916, p. 29.

18. Yazdani 1947, pp. 35–36, 38–39, 42–43, 85.

19. Deloche 2007 is a useful book collecting most of the published plans and drawings related to South Indian forts, and also include an extensive if not exhaustive bibliography. For the most recent essay on fortifications, see Rötzer 2010.

20. Rötzer 1990.

21. In Firuzabad, built about 1400, no mortar was used to join the stones of the facing of the defense structures. This technique is called "drystone" or "drystone wall" in the standard vocabulary of building materials.

22. *Gazetteer of India, Maharashtra State, Ahmadnagar District*, rev. ed., Pune, 1976, p. 875, with reference to Philip Meadows Taylor's *A Noble Queen*, vol. 3, pp. 171–73.

23. A glacis is part of the defense system of a fortified town or fortress in Italian layouts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is an earthen embankment that conceals the defense structures from the besieger as implemented at Ahmadnagar. Elsewhere, at Daulatabad for instance, the embankment hides only the lower part of the curtain wall. For this reason we say "pseudo-glacis." In each of these two cases, the use of the cannons is different.

24. Crouy-Chanel 2010. Since the end of the twentieth century, studies of late medieval European cannons and firearms, and their impact on society, have abandoned certain longstanding assumptions, for instance, the notion of a "revolution" produced by the introduction of firearms.

25. During the period under consideration here, 1368–1687, the concept of "war" was also different in the Deccan and in Europe, as was, consequently, the development and use of gunpowder weapons. Anthropologists are far better equipped to explain this point than are historians, who are continually hunting for "influences." Concerning the notion of "defense" in the Deccan, Lewis 2009 is recommended. For how to study an "object" in an Indian context, whatever the object (pot, gun, fort, milk, or cow dung), see Mahias 2002.

Robert Elgood

Swords in the Deccan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Their Manufacture and the Influence of European Imports

The history of arms and armor in the Deccan has yet to be written, and even the centers of arms production remain largely unknown and unpublished. A certain amount of metalwork has been attributed to the region, but it is mostly unsupported by inscription, signature, or firm provenance. Much has been attributed on the basis that it is neither Mughal nor Vijayanagaran in style and has a similarity to the aesthetics expressed in Deccani architecture. The correlation between architectural decoration and metalwork has been demonstrated by George Michell and Mark Zebrowski with the publication of a spectacular vambrace, but such a clear connection is rare (fig. 1).[1] Because of this limitation one turns to miniature paintings for assistance in identifying pure Deccani arms features, but Deccani painting lacks the military realism of the Mughals, celebrating instead a gentle, otherworldly vision. Apart from the *Ta'rif-i Husain Shahi* showing the Battle of Talikota in 1565, which is useless in terms of military

detail, Deccani patrons largely ignored war as a subject. Nevertheless, one of the earliest surviving Deccani pictures, from 1554, a portrait of Sultan Husain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, shows us a royal sword being carried by a bearer (fig. 2). This essay will attempt to point to the definitive evidence we do have for the manufacture of arms in the Deccan and the competition provided by European imports.

ARMS PRODUCTION IN THE DECCAN AND NORTH INDIA

It is clear from the historical sources that a certain amount of arms-making usually took place where iron and steel was produced and that the raw materials were transported long distances to urban or court centers as well as to neighboring countries. In the Qutb Shahi realms it appears that both the iron and the steel necessary for making arms were available locally and that, as well as exporting these raw materials, the kingdom also produced many swords. The sixteenth-century *'Ain-i Akbari* lists Indore as famous for the manufacture of weapons and states that it, as well as Nirmal, had iron mines.[2] Golconda/Hyderabad, Burhanpur, and Aurangabad acquired some reputation for arms-making.[3] Thévenot wrote in the mid-seventeenth century that "a great many Swords, Daggers and Lances are made there, which are vended all over the Indies, and that the Iron is taken out of a Mine near the Town, in the mountains of Calagatch" (Kalaghat).[4] According to Bilgrami and Willmott, writing in the late nineteenth century, the best steel was produced at Konasamudram near Nirmal.[5] Apart from historical references, it is clear from the impressive recent fieldwork of Jaikishan that large amounts of iron and steel were being produced in villages in the districts of Adilabad, Karimnagar, Warangal, and Nizamabad

Fig. 1. Vambrace (*bazuband*). Deccan, first half of 17th century. Steel, gold *koftgari*, 19 × 9 × 3½ in. (48.3 × 22.9 × 8.9 cm). The allover design of the gold decoration is reminiscent of a sixteenth-century Ottoman Ushak carpet, with a central medallion and pendentives with arabesques. Indictor collection

Fig. 2. *Sultan Husain Nizam Shah I of Ahmadnagar on Horseback*. Ahmadnagar, 1554. Opaque watercolor, gold, and silver on paper, $7\frac{5}{8} \times 9\frac{7}{8}$ in. (19.5 × 25.1 cm). This early Deccani painting shows bearers carrying the sultan's matched pair of swords. Cincinnati Art Museum, John J. Emery Fund (1983.311)

(formerly Indore) in Telangana. Jaikishan reports three ruined cannon foundries in Nirmal, the only ones known to him in the Hyderabad region other than in Hyderabad itself.[6] These foundries are much the same distance as Hyderabad is from northern Telangana and are likely to have received their iron and steel from there. Bijapur by contrast would have benefitted from the significant iron and steel production in Karnataka. Much of the metal, which included wootz, was exported, but some

weapons were produced locally, though the quantity and quality is not certain.

In addition, such arms-producing centers as Gujarat, Khandesh, Malwa, Gwalior, Lashkar (now a suburb of Gwalior) as well as Sirohi in Rajasthan in the north, Nagpur to the east, and Mysore to the south are likely to have made arms for the Deccan. Mysore has plenty of iron and steel, though Sirohi's source is unknown and is assumed to be south India via Surat or the upper valleys of the Tapti and Narmada. We do not

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Fig. 3. *Sultan ʿAbdullah Qutb Shah of Golconda*.
Golconda, mid-17th century. Watercolor and gold
on paper, 7½ × 4 in. (19 × 10 cm). Victoria and
Albert Museum, London (IS 18-1980)

Fig. 4. *Malik Ambar*, ascribed to Hashim. India,
ca. 1610–20. Watercolor on paper. As in figure 3,
the sword held by the ruler has an Indian basket hilt,
but the long thin blade would have been European
in origin. Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(IM 21-1925)

know when arms making began at Sirohi.
The local ruler Rao Sobha founded the old
town of Sirohi in 1405, but the site proved
unsatisfactory. In 1425 his son abandoned it
and founded the new town. The *Maʿathir
al-ʿUmara* describes a battle at Ajmer in 1615
in which the "sirohi shamshir" established
its reputation by inflicting fearful wounds.[7]

Arms Imports from Iran and Europe
Arms were also imported from other parts
of the world. In the Deccan and Rajasthan,

imported blades were called *jahaji*, from the
Persian *jahazi*, meaning "ship."[8] This sug-
gests that blades were imported from Iran,
though not all the blades carried were nec-
essarily Persian-made. In some cases these
arms were in fact made of exported Gol-
conda steel. Tavernier wrote in 1679 that
Golconda steel was taken to Persia to make
watered-steel *shamshir*s.[9] William Methwold,
who traveled in Telangana and Golconda in
the early seventeenth century, referred to
the "great store of iron and steel, transported

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Fig. 5. *Firangi* sword blade. Ca. 1600. Overall length: 35⅞ in. (91 cm); blade: 31⅞ in. (79.8 cm). The Solingen blade has the "running wolf" mark. The blade has been remounted with a silver and silver gilt hilt and scabbard fittings from North Africa. The Wallace Collection, London (O.A. 1796)

Fig. 6. The Persian inscription (detail of fig. 5) identifies the sword as having once belonged to Shah Jahan: *maliki-i in shamshir-i khas sani-i-sahib qiran badshah-i ghazi, badshah-i bahr-o-bar, shah jahan* (The owner of this special sword is the second lord of the conjunction, the victorious king of the seas and the lands, Shah Jahan).

into many places of India, bought in the place it is made for two shillings the hundred [weight] of iron, and three shillings steele, but being brought upon the backs of oxon fifteene dayes journey before it commeth to the port, it becomes much dearer, yet is sold for five shillings and eight shillings. . . ."[10] These prices and the long journey to Isfahan explain the high prices of the best Persian *shamshir* blades. In addition, the Deccan received large quantities of European arms from the Portuguese, Dutch, and English merchants on the Konkan coast. The arrival there in 1498 of the Portuguese, seeking trade, inevitably brought European military materials to the region. One of the commodities they traded was sword blades, but these were not the first European sword blades to arrive in India. In the mid-ninth century the Persian author Ibn Khurradadhbeh wrote of Jewish merchants bringing European swords to the Middle East,[11] and the international trade in arms is mentioned fairly frequently by contemporary writers and travelers. According to Simon Digby, the evidence given by Fakr-i Mudabbir in Delhi in the early thirteenth century suggests "a trade in arms extending through the medieval Islamic world from Europe to China,"[12] with European blades usually being considered sharper and better than Indian ones. The reputation of European blades was therefore already established when the European companies came to market their products in India.

In 1510 Goa came under Portuguese rule. Diu followed in 1539, and Daman in 1560. Surat and Goa commercially dominated the Deccan in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, linked by trade routes to the courts situated in the principal commercial towns. Through these ports, European goods reached the Deccan. The apothecary Tomé Pires described goods from Venice, including swords, arriving in India in 1514.[13]

The early seventeenth-century letter books of the East India Company show the carefully recorded commercial trials of various trade goods—and no reluctance on the part of the newly arrived English merchants to sell firearms and rapiers. For instance, Sir Thomas Roe, writing in 1608, found that the Indian armies were already well supplied with sword blades and that, in comparison, those supplied by the East India Company were of poor quality and unsalable. When asked by one of the Indian generals for English cloth and swords with which to supply his soldiers, he dryly remarked: "In my opinion that had been a good employment of some idle men, and a way to vent our dead commodities." In "Advice for goods for Surat" sent to the Company from Ahmadabad, Roe wrote: "No wine, hot waters [spirits], swords, glasses, nor anie such trash."[14] The letters sent back to London at this time all carry the same advice. "Swords, looking-glasses, armour, bonelace, pictures and strong waters 'lye dead, breed much trouble and yeeld noe profitt."[15] It was noted by Nicholas Downton in 1614 that "streight swords" could not be sold at Surat.[16] He further wrote that "Maccrab [Muqarrab] Khan desires various things to be procured in England and despatched on the next ship to Surat for the Great Magor [Mughal]. a. Two complete suits of armour, strong yet light and easy to wear. b. Curved swords, broad. Difficult to obtain, for they test them on their knees, and if they withstand this, then they don't want them. c. Knives of the best quality, large, long, and so thin that they can be bent round into a circle and then spring back when released."[17] The factors asked the East India Company to send one or two thousand crooked sword blades "of this country fashion" for sale and presents.[18] From Thomas Kerridge at Surat in 1619 we learn that the swords sent "are neather the right make nor very good," and are besides "so exceedinge heavy as few men can use them." The knives were too large.[19] A year later Kerridge again wrote to the Company that swords or knives are fit only for presents, explaining why the Indians were not buying: "The Marriners bring better cheape knives and swordes than the Company."[20]

Fig. 7. Sword with *talwar* hilt covered with silver sheet and then gilded. 16th–17th century. The *firangi* blade shows the "sickle" or "bite" mark. Hilts of this form are illustrated in the *Hamza Nama*, a Mughal manuscript produced between 1562 and 1577. Collection of Brian Isaac

The Dutch, who established a factory at Surat in 1620, seem to have better understood the requirements of the market. In April 1625 Van den Broecke wrote to the directors of the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie or V.O.C.) at Amsterdam: "Surat ought to be provided with the following goods: 100–200 bright chrome swords . . . and 10 to 20 dozen fine knives."[21] These "bright chrome" swords would have closely resembled the popular form of *khanda* called a *sakhela*,[22] a term relating to a specific Indian steel with a low carbon content that renders the blade flexible and gives it a mirror-like finish,[23] the locally produced alternative to an imported blade.

The identification of imported European blades in India is complicated by the fact that England in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century made mostly low-quality sword blades, while importing a great many blades, predominantly from the German town of Solingen. The only names recognized as a warranty of quality were foreign: Spanish, Italian, or German, such as by Clemens Horn, Andrea Ferara, Picinino, Juan Martinez, etc. English swordsmiths followed the custom of their Solingen contemporaries and struck whatever mark on the blade seemed likely to impress a potential buyer. It was not until 1629, when Solingen bladesmiths were brought from Germany to establish the Hounslow sword factory, that blade production in England improved. Furthermore, the Solingen smiths who worked in Hounslow put their own name on blades, while English swordsmiths continued to put European names on their work, causing Benjamin Stone, the owner of the Hounslow works, to write to the Office of Ordnance in about 1638 requesting the power to stop the practice.[24] Swords found in India mounted with blades bearing the obviously false names of Spanish or Italian makers may therefore be attributed either to Solingen or to England. Most English blades were of extremely poor quality, hence the merchants' adverse

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comments about their saleability. German and English bladesmiths worked together at Hounslow, and the quality improved during the 1630s, as did the quantity being produced. There was little point, however, in shipping Hounslow blades to Europe, where they had to compete with the more excellent products of Solingen, Passau, and Toledo. Therefore, they were shipped to India. The Thirty Years' War (1618–48) in Europe created a huge demand for arms in Germany, and it is unlikely that Solingen and the other major producers exported much during this period. English bladesmiths were thus competing with the Spanish and Portuguese for the Indian market.

In March 1641 the East India Company ordered Benjamin Stone, "cutler,"[25] to provide fifty sword blades at ten shillings per piece.[26] In 1667 we find sword blades among the goods listed for India:[27] "forty dozen sword-blades to be shipped. . . ."[28] By this time exporting sword blades had become a popular form of private trade. In February 1669 an East India Company merchant, Thomas Pettit, was permitted by the Court of Committees to send sword blades,[29] and later that month two merchants, William Moses and Samuel Sambrooke Senior, were also authorized to send four cases of sword blades.[30] In mid-December Humphrey Edwin also received permission to send sword blades to Surat.[31] In 1670 the court decided to buy sword blades and "amber, silver, agate and ivory hilted knives" and "Sheffield knives of several sorts"[32] as trade goods for their various factories. More swords were shipped in 1671. In 1674 after representations from several ships' captains, the Court of Committees gave orders that "no permission be granted to ship out any wines or sword blades . . . on account of private trade except what is necessary for the Company's factors and servants. . . ." One sees here that the Court of Committee assumed that their people in India would not buy the Company's blades, which suggests that the swords traded privately were of superior quality, most probably German.

Fig. 8. *Khanda*. Vijayanagara, late 16th century. After the *khanda* was captured at Adoni in 1689, it was taken to Bikaner by Maharaja Anup Singh, whose Rajputs formed part of the Mughal army. Ganga Museum, Bikaner

The market in the Deccan for swords was still a valuable one at the end of the seventeenth century. When the East India Company decided to send an ambassador to Aurangzeb, we can be sure that the gifts selected were calculated to advance the Company's trading prospects. Among the gifts from King William III, presented by Ambassador Norris to Aurangzeb on April 28, 1701, were a large number of sword blades of various forms, all English-made. Norris believed that it might be of great future advantage to the Company to have had English manufactures brought

Fig. 9. Sword. Rajasthan(?), 17th century. This sword blade was made and decorated to suggest it is of sixteenth-century European manu-facture though it was actually made in India, probably at the southern Rajasthan town of Sirohi. There are similar blades in the armoury. The *talwar* hilt is eighteenth century. Mehrangarh Fort Armoury, Jodhpur

to the emperor's notice.[33] The king's gifts comprised:

95 Plain Hanger Blades.	
14 Sword Blades Gilt	£10-10.
10 Large back and two edged	£4-10.
5 Hanger blades Collour'd	£1-10.
5 Straite backs edg'd	£1-7.

These were probably made by a group of Solingen bladesmiths who had fled their home town and settled at Shotley Bridge in County Durham in 1691. It is thought that they came for two reasons: to escape persecution as Lutherans;[34] and because they had broken the rules of their guild. Shotley Bridge offered the fast-flowing Derwent River to drive their mills, the necessary local minerals, and tolerance. Furthermore, the landscape closely resem-bled that of their homeland.[35] Ambassador Norris was from Liverpool and would have favored a northern firm. Shotley Bridge swords quickly became extremely success-ful. Later, the English army that fought Marlborough's wars in the early eighteenth century were equipped with swords and bayonets from there.

A further six blades and a piece of scarlet cloth had been given earlier as a dou-ceur to the *mansabdar*, the official at the Mughal court who had conveyed a message about protocol from "Ruh-ullah Khan," the "Great Steward," to Ambassador Norris. In addition, twelve large brass cannon, "finely wrought & cast by the King of England's pticuler direction for a present for ye Empr," were presented.[36] Norris also pre-sented his own presents to Aurangzeb[37] and received in return a *saropa*, or robe of honor.

There is no question that in the sixteenth century foreign blades, known as *firangi*s, became one of the preferred forms of blade at the Mughal and Deccani courts (figs. 3, 4). Imperial Mughal examples are, however, better documented than those from Deccani courts. Most of these were remounted dur-ing their working life, like the Solingen sword blade with the running wolf mark in the Wallace Collection, once owned by Shah Jahan (figs. 5, 6).[38] We also know that the last Qutb Shahi sultan, 'Abu'l Hasan (r. 1672–87), owned a *firangi* blade, now in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad. There are many other examples of seventeenth-century for-eign blades bearing regnal names.

Many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European blades in India bear the serrated

Fig. 10. "Jupiter as Heavenly King." From the *Nujum al-'Ulum*. Bijapur, 1570. Watercolor on paper, folio 10⅛ × 6¼ in. (25.8 × 16 cm). Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Ms. 2, fol. 37v)

sickle mark (fig. 7) created by Genoa in the late medieval period, later copied by Venice and by the German states. From the fourteenth century Genoa had trading bases on the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea, and it is likely that the first swords bearing this mark to reach Chechnya and Armenia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were Genoese. Later the Germans supplied Chechnya with their own manufactured swords bearing the Genoese mark because the Chechens regarded what they called the "bite mark" as an indicator of quality blades until modern times. Much of this

trade was managed by Armenian merchants, large numbers of whom were settled in New Julfa, a suburb of Isfahan established by Shah 'Abbas the Great. Armenian merchants also established themselves across India very early and are likely to have introduced these blades as trade goods.[39] The French jeweler and traveler in Persia and India, Sir John Chardin, noted in 1666: "As to the Persians they Trade with their own Countrymen, one Province with another, and most of them trade with the Indians. The Armenians manage alone the whole European trade . . . ."[40]

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Fig. 11. "The Headless Body of Zamb." From the *Nujum al-ʿUlum*. Bijapur, 1570. Watercolor on paper, folio 10⅛ × 6¼ in. (25.8 × 16 cm). Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Ms. 2, fol. 53v)

Sᴡᴏʀᴅ Tʏᴘᴇs ᴏғ ᴛʜᴇ Dᴇᴄᴄᴀɴ

Contemporary sources describe the swords that were popular in the Deccan. Tavernier noted that in Golconda "they do not have a sabre like the Persians, but they carry a broadsword like the Swiss, with which they both cut and thrust."[41] An early form of this type of sword has a pride of three-dimensional lions on the top of the guard, a very royal symbolism (fig. 8). John Fryer, who was in the Deccan between 1672 and 1681, refers to "their Broad, two handed swords."[42] This is a description of the long

straight-bladed sword with the *khanda* (basket hilt) with a spur on the pommel, which allowed the sword to be wielded with both hands.

It was also the fashion to carry a very long sword, known in the Deccan as a *dhup* and to the Mughals as *asa shamshir*, or "staff sword." It was an emblem of authority, conferred by the ruler on successful courtiers.[43] These long swords used imported double-edged European blades, though, for reasons of cost, Indian blades were also made copying European ones (fig. 9). More robust than the *kamr shamshir*, it could be relied upon in battle. These long-bladed swords with the adopted *khanda* appear in miniatures in the *Nujum al-ʿUlum*, a Bijapuri manuscript of 1570 showing Hindu weapons (figs. 10, 11).

A very rare surviving example of this late sixteenth century Deccani sword has an unusually long, curved, fullered Indian blade made in *firangi* style, with false edge and ricasso, and a punched Bikaner armory mark at the forte (fig. 12). The Indians did not use the point in sword fighting. Therefore they tried to create a slightly curved version of the European blade for slashing cuts, as in this example. Finding this adaptation slightly awkward, they also developed a two-handed sword with two separate guards. It had a brief existence in the early seventeenth century, before the universal adoption of the *khanda* basket hilt with the spike on the pommel, which enabled the sword to be used two handed if required.[44] The blade is also unusual in that it splits into three at the tang to provide the ridged upper part of the basket guard.[45] This form of construction is a development of the first half of the sixteenth-century Indian sword blades that flare at the forte,[46] over which is a brace that extends up either side of the blade, but that lacked a basket hilt. Later *khanda*s with basket hilts have bracing on the blade that is integral with the hilt construction.

A completely indigenous sword with a broad crooked blade, the *sosun pattah* (fig. 13), can be seen in an illustration entitled

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Fig. 12. Sword. Bijapur, 16th century. The sword has an unusually long curved Indian blade in *firangi* style. The form of the guard closely resembles the swords shown in the *Nujum al-ʿUlum*. Thomas Del Mar Ltd., London

Fig. 13. Sword. Deccan, late 16th–early 17th century. Blade length: 25 in. (63.5 cm). This is a rare South Deccan sword of early *sosun pattah* form. Earlier examples have slightly broader blades and are found in small numbers in Rajput armouries. Private collection

"Kulhasurdmardini Conquers a Demon," from the *Nujum al-ʿUlum*.[47] The Hindu goddess, whose name means "Crusher of the Demon," is shown defeating a figure who is clearly Muslim, Muslims having replaced demons in local Hindu literature and paintings. The essential point to note is that the demon figure holds the *sosun pattah* sword type. The belief that this is a Muslim form of blade is supported by the brief Islamic religious inscriptions on a number of these swords (e.g., fig. 13 has two illegible inscriptions).

A successor to this broad-bladed version of the *sosun pattah* is another distinctive type of sword that became popular, called the

tegha, undoubtedly developed in the Deccan. The word comes from Sanskrit *tig*, from which also derives the Farsi *tegh*, and describes a variety of arms over many centuries. The Deccan type was described by Thévenot in 1666:

> Their swords are four fingers broad, very thick, and by consequence heavy; they are crooked a little, and cut only on the convex side. The guard is very plain; commonly no more but a handle of iron, with a cross bar of the same underneath the pummel which is also of iron, is neither round nor oval, but is flat

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Fig. 14. *Tegha* and scabbard. Deccan, late 17th century. The sword was developed to cut through cloth armour, which was common in the region. Private collection

above and below like a whirligig, that the sword may not slip out of their hands when they fight. The swords made by the Indians are very brittle; but the English furnish them with good ones brought from England.⁴⁸

This type is illustrated by a Deccani example with gilt copper mounts (fig. 14, detail fig. 15). The "flower head" quillon terminals are found on Deccani *khanda*s, and the turned-over pommel spike suggests a late seventeenth-century date.

Within the Deccan it is hard to attribute pieces with certainty to any specific state. Arms were very rarely signed by their maker, and though a number of swords exist with their royal owners' names

inlaid on the blade, the hilt is usually not original. A victorious army invariably carried home the weapons of the vanquished and put them in the ruler's armory, where they mingled with locally made arms, making attribution to a specific state exceedingly difficult. The arms captured at Adoni in 1689 and taken back to Bikaner, where they were inscribed, therefore assume a great importance, though this cache undoubtedly included arms from Vijayanagara and from the internecine warfare engaged in by Bijapur since Talikota.

Regarding the form of personal weapons, one must presume design influences from a variety of sources. One dominant influence on Bijapur culture came from the southern Indian state of Vijayanagara. After the

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Sultanate confederacy defeated Rama Raya at Vijayanagara, it was Bijapur that benefited most, amassing considerable booty and securing lands beyond the Tungabhadra. There was a strong reluctance by Hindus to abandon the traditional weapons forms, their decoration providing protection against the evil spirits associated with violence that were believed to follow armies.[49] Therefore, traditional arms continued to be made in the former Vijayanagara lands, which then circulated to the rest of the Bijapur kingdom.

As the demand for European swords increased, it became profitable for Indian swordsmiths to manufacture copies. The many copies indicate the popularity of the original. François Bernier, who traveled in the Mughal empire between 1656 and 1668, noted: "Sometimes they [Indian craftsmen] imitate so perfectly articles of European manufacture that the difference between the original and copy can hardly be discerned."[50] At other times the difference was obvious.

James Forbes, an East India Company employee who was in India from 1765 to 1784, wrote that the Marathas "are not as fond of curved blades as the Turks or Persians, but prefer a straight two-edged sword, and will give a great price for those they call Alleman, or German, though formerly brought from Damascus."[51] Assuming Forbes's remark has any substance, these swords were either imported or made at Damascus, pointing to the activities of Indian or Armenian merchants. A letter written in about 1660 by Father Gabriel of Chinon (d. 1668), who had founded the second Capuchin hospice at Tabriz[52] in 1656, describes the Armenian merchants from Julfa and the European products brought from Smyrna and Aleppo, including "lames de saber," that passed through Tabriz on the journey into Persia.[53] Law court registers from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century show Armenian and Christian involvement in the arms business in Damascus.[54]

Fig. 15. Decoration of copper gilt hilt (detail of fig. 14)

Additionally, because the Deccani courts in the sixteenth century combined Islamic and Hindu culture and because even the boundaries between the two religions blurred at a popular level, exemplified, for example, by Muslims venerating the Hindu god Hanuman and Hindus worshipping Muslim processional *'alams*, the degree to which weapons associated with one culture were adopted by the other is exceedingly difficult to assess. After the Battle of Talikota in 1565 the painters of the defeated Hindu Vijayanagara court joined the Muslim Bijapur court atelier and produced the previously mentioned encyclopedia, the

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Nujum al-'Ulum, which shows arms in the hands of traditional Hindu figures. While these arms were undoubtedly still in use, some were archaic by this period. In a period of cultural exchange and amalgamation, the arms in use necessarily evolved. Thus, the cultural composition and focus of each regional court must be assessed in considering what form this change might take. All the courts were quick to adopt imported European blades, but, at the other end of the social scale, tribal mercenaries continued to use their traditional weapons or became matchlock men because firearms made the face, hands, and clothes filthy and was therefore a low-class occupation. The numerous weapons of the Deccan reflect this diversity, and it remains difficult to attribute arms to a specific court or to determine with certainty the origin of many of the *firangi* blades that are mounted on Indian hilts.

1. Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 233, fig. 171.
2. Abu'l Fazl, *'Ain-i Akbari*. Translated by H. Blochmann (1873). Reprint New Delhi 1988, vol. 2, p. 238.
3. Egerton 1968, p. 58.
4. Thévenot 1949, ch. 47; and Sherwani 1967, p. 475.
5. Bilgrami and Willmott 1883, vol. 1, p. 399.
6. Jaikishan 2009, p. 29.
7. See Elgood 2004, p. 262, citing Irvine 1962, p. 76 (citing Shah Nawaz Khan, *Ma'athir al-'Umara* [Calcutta, 1888–91], vol. 3, p. 152).
8. Personal communication of Hanwat Singh of Khandela to the author.
9. See Ball's note in Tavernier 1949, vol. 1, p. 127. According to a description by François Bernier (1968, p. 148) four swords were presented by the Persian ambassador to Aurangzeb at Delhi: "four Damascus cutlasses and the same number of poniards, the whole covered with precious stones." Presumably by "Damascus" he meant mechanically watered steel, which would probably have been made in Persia.
10. Moreland 1931, p. 34.
11. Lewis 1982, p. 138.
12. Digby 1971, p. 18. Fakr-i Mudabbir was the pen name of Muhammad b. Said, whose *Adab al-Harb wa al-Saja'a* was written in Delhi soon after A.H. 626 (A.D. 1229).
13. Pires 1944, vol. 1, pp. 12–13 and 43.
14. Original correspondence 610 and 637 in the India Office Library (now the British Library), cited in Foster 1906, p. 18.
15. Francis Fettiplace at Agra to the Company, Dec. 15, 1619, in Foster 1906, p. 164.
16. Farewell 1939, p. 165.
17. Pant 1930, p. 159.
18. Danvers and Foster 1896–1902, vol. 1, p. 239; vol. 2, p. 301.
19. Thomas Kerridge at Surat to the Company, Feb. 1619, in Foster 1906, p. 52.
20. Ibid., p. 184.
21. Prakash 2007, p. 147; V.O.C. 1084, ff.1A -4.
22. See Rawson 1967, p. 43ff.
23. See Elgood 2004, appendix II.
24. Hayward 1973, pp. 153ff.
25. For information on Benjamin Stone, see Southwick 2009.
26. March 17, 1641, Court Book, vol. 17, p. 439 (Sainsbury 1909, p. 153).
27. Sainsbury 1925, p. 392.
28. Nov. 15, 1667 (Sainsbury 1925, p. 399).
29. Feb. 22, 1669 (Sainsbury 1929, p. 161).
30. Feb. 26, 1669 (Sainsbury 1929, p. 163).
31. Dec. 15, 1669 (Sainsbury 1929, p. 286).
32. Oct. 28, 1670 (Sainsbury 1929, p. 377).
33. India Office Library (The British Library), IOR G/40/20, p. 64.
34. The houses of the Solingen bladesmiths in Shotley had carved religious inscriptions in German.
35. My thanks to Anthony North for this point.
36. The Board of Ordnance—the government body responsible for supplying the British army and navy with arms and gunpowder from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century—when asked to supply these cannon, suggested that it might be dangerous to supply them to foreigners who might use them against Englishmen.
37. The ambassador himself gave pocket pistols as a personal present to the emperor, who ordered them to be placed in his bed chamber. These were: "1 fine Padd turn'd off, £5; 1 Ditto Pocket turn'd off, £5; 1 Ditto turn'd off very fine, £6-10; 1 pair Ditto pocket, £3-10; 1 Cartridge Gunn, £10-5; 1 Fuzee or Shot Gunn, £6-10; 1 Ditto, £7-10." See note 33.
38. In addition, a Shah Jahan sword bearing a gold umbrella mark with a long *nasta'liq* inscription, including the title *Sahib-i Qiran-i Sani*, is in the Archaeological Museum, Delhi. Another with the same title, discovered with nineteenth-century North African mounts, now removed, is in a private collection. Another Shah Jahan sword with a *firangi* blade inscribed "Emperor of Ocean and Land" was exhibited at the Delhi Exhibition in 1911. See Sanderson 1911, pl. A.175.
39. For a list of the numerous towns in India with which the Armenians of New Julfa regularly traded

in the seventeenth century, including Hyderabad, Burhanpur, and Sirohi, see Seth 1988, p. 157.
40. Chardin 1927, p. 281.
41. Tavernier 1949, p. 157.
42. Fryer 1992, vol. 1, p. 336.
43. Irvine 1962, p. 76.
44. Elgood 2004, p. 94 and ill. 8.50, 8.51, and 8.52.
45. Thomas Del Mar Ltd., London, June 30, 2010, lot 38. This detail can be seen on a small number of swords with a similar provenance in the Ganga Government Museum, Bikaner. See Elgood 2004, p. 97.
46. Ibid., p. 89.
47. See Leach 1995, vol. 2, p. 871, fig. 9.254.
48. Thévenot 1949, p. 61.
49. See Elgood 2004, p. 144.
50. Bernier 1968, p. 254.
51. Forbes 1834, p. 337.
52. The first was in Isfahan, founded by Father Raphaël du Mans in 1647. Many of the reports on Persia by well-known contemporary travelers emanated from him.
53. Mans 1890, p. 354.
54. Rafeq 1975, p. 298.

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The Ibrahim Rauza

George Michell

Indic Themes in the Design and Decoration of the Ibrahim Rauza in Bijapur

Ever since it was first photographed in 1866, the funerary monument of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II in Bijapur, popularly known as the Ibrahim Rauza, has come to be regarded as one of the most beautifully conceived and exquisitely finished Sultanate monuments in the Deccan (fig. 1).[1] Located immediately outside the walled city of Bijapur, the Ibrahim Rauza comprises a matching tomb and mosque set within a square walled garden. The complex is entered through a domed gateway from the north, the direction of the main road that runs westward from Bijapur to Nauraspur, a new royal city established by Ibrahim in 1599.[2] Aligned on an east–west axis, the almost identical tomb and mosque of the Ibrahim Rauza are raised on an arcaded podium located almost precisely at the midpoint of the garden (see fig. 2). The podium is accessed by flights of steps on the north and south, with that from the north being aligned with the domed gateway just mentioned. In the middle of the podium, between the tomb and the mosque, is a rectangular cistern with a central fountain and steps on two sides. The arcade that runs around the garden walls accommodates residential cells, kitchen, store, and toilets. A lofty arched gateway in the east wall to the

south of the tomb could have functioned as a service entrance to the complex.

PATRONAGE AND PURPOSE

Though the complex bears the name of the sultan, it was Taj Sultan, Ibrahim's second queen, who was the actual patron. According to previous readings of the dedicatory inscription inscribed on the walls around the south doorway to the sepulchral chamber, the tomb was originally intended for the queen herself, but the sultan, dying before her in A.H. 1037 (A.D. 1627), was first interred in it.[3] However, a revised reading of this record makes it clear that from the beginning the tomb was erected by Taj Sultan for Ibrahim (see S-1-11 in the Inscriptions, p. 269). The project was completed, by Malik Sandal, a highly placed Habshi officer at the Bijapur court, only after the queen's own death in A.H. 1043 (A.D. 1633) and no doubt acting on her orders.[4] Among the other inscriptions on the tomb is one recording the earlier death of Zuhra Sultan, one of Ibrahim's daughters. If Zuhra Sultan was Taj Sultan's own daughter, which seems likely, then the monument must have been conceived by Taj Sultan as an architectural testament to her own role as the foremost queen at Ibrahim's court.

In addition to glorifying Ibrahim and, by association, Taj Sultan and her daughter Zuhra Sultan, the decoration of the monument seems to have served a broader purpose, namely, providing the ruler and his immediate family with magical protection. To this end, the queen and her designers employed a broad range of artistic themes. These drew upon the Persian-influenced Sultanate tradition already well established in the Deccan by Ibrahim's era, as well as the Indic building tradition current in this part of the Deccan in pre-Sultanate times.[5]

Fig. 1. Tomb and mosque of the Ibrahim Rauza complex, Bijapur

The profound intermingling of Sultanate and Indic motifs in the Ibrahim Rauza may be interpreted as an expression of the hybrid courtly culture promoted at Bijapur by Ibrahim during his forty-seven-year-long reign.[6] But before investigating the programmatic details of the monument's ornamentation, it is worth first considering the overall external appearance of the tomb and mosque.

A Temple-like Micro-architecture
By far the most obvious aspect of the Ibrahim Rauza is its skyline. Both tomb and mosque are crowned with exaggeratedly bulbous domes, seemingly carried on outwardly pointed petals in the characteristic manner perfected by 'Adil Shahi architects. In both buildings the domes are framed by a profusion of rooftop finials, greater in number and more complicated in

design than those found on any other monument in Bijapur. In both mosque and tomb the finials are topped with miniature domes disposed at successive levels so as to achieve an overall pyramidal profile (fig. 3). The superstructure in each building is framed by slender octagonal domical finials that rise upon similarly shaped corner buttresses. Significantly, the miniature parapet elements and domical finials imitate on a diminutive scale many of the principal features of the tomb and mosque, notably the bulbous domes on petalled bases and even the corner domical finials themselves. These elements constitute a veritable micro-architecture,[7] since they are conceived as miniature domical pavilions framed by their own quartets of corner finials. It is worth noting that this self-referential, visually complex scheme is confined to the upper portions of the buildings, in striking contrast to the undecorated

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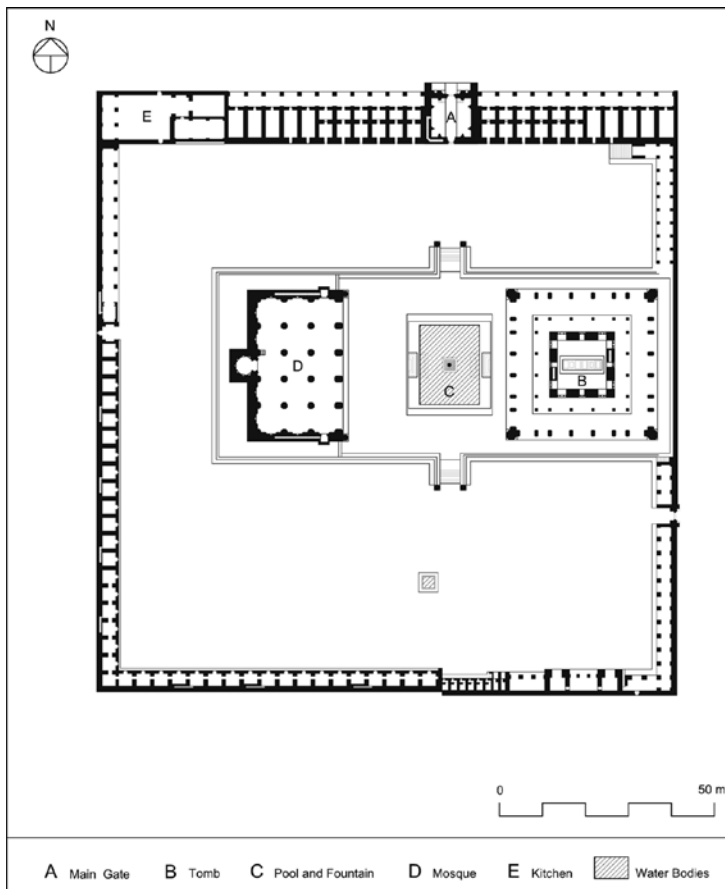
Fig. 2. Plan of the Ibrahim Rauza complex

| A Main Gate | B Tomb | C Pool and Fountain | D Mosque | E Kitchen | Water Bodies |

the many examples in this region with spires of this type are those belonging to the tenth to eleventh century, erected during the period of the Chalukya kings of Kalyana, a fortified city to the north of Bijapur.[8] Chalukya temples often utilize model parapet elements disposed in successive *tala*s at steadily diminishing scales, soaring upward to a domelike roof.[9] Not unlike the finials of the Ibrahim Rauza, the parapet elements of these *tala*s replicate on a diminished scale the principal roof forms that serve as the climax of temple elevations. Such a comparison suggests that the superstructures of the Ibrahim Rauza may have been influenced by local temple traditions.

MIXED VOCABULARY OF THE TOMB'S DOUBLE VERANDA

A further link with Indic tradition is suggested by the mixed vocabulary of the two

arcades that surround the tomb on four sides and to the plaster-adorned arcade that fronts the mosque, which is otherwise contained in plain walls.

If the assemblages of superstructure elements in the Ibrahim Rauza tomb and mosque are unequalled in their complexity elsewhere in Deccan Islamic architecture, and virtually unknown in the Sultanate architecture of other regions of India, their micro-architectural pyramidal towers are familiar in the broader Indic context. Earlier Hindu temples in the same part of the Deccan as Bijapur were often characterized by superimposed, diminishing *tala*s, or storeys, topped with domelike roofs. Among

Fig. 3. Detail of finials, Ibrahim Rauza tomb

Fig. 4. Northeast corner of inner veranda, Ibrahim Rauza tomb

verandas, one contained within the other, that encase the sepulchral chamber of the tomb on four sides. On each side the outer veranda presents a sequence of seven pointed arches of unequal width rising from plain piers with transverse brackets provided with lotus buds. The arches are sheltered by a *chhajja*, or overhang, carried on extended lotus brackets. The inner veranda, in contrast, comprises a row of slender square columns with foliate decoration at the tops of the shafts, outward curved capitals, and triple tiers of projecting brackets of the *pushpa-potika* type, with pendant lotus buds (fig. 4). Like the pyramidal superstructure schemes just discussed, these columnar and bracket forms are also familiar from temple architecture.[10] That the inner veranda of the Ibrahim Rauza tomb was conceived as an indepen-dent, quasi-external feature is indicated by

the slightly raised floor on which the col-umns are set, and by the horizontal *chhajja* carried by brackets. The latter extends out-ward immediately beneath the ceiling of the outer veranda, and therefore serves no true purpose. The columns of the inner veranda are connected by pointed arches with elegantly styled lobes.[11] Beams link these columns to shallow columns with similarly styled shafts, capitals, and brackets engaged into the walls of the sepulchral chamber.

While the flat ceiling of the outer veranda is plain,[12] the ceiling of the inner veranda is ornately treated. Square bays here are divided into compartments of three by three or more, which are filled with lotus medallions surrounded by leafy scrollwork (fig. 5). Such compositions imitate the mandalas, or cosmic diagrams, of the Indic artistic tradition.[13] Intermediate rectangular

Fig. 5. Ceiling with lotus designs, inner veranda, Ibrahim Rauza tomb

ceiling bays repeat these motifs, but with additional panels of labyrinthine geometric ornament incorporating swastika-like motifs. Lotus medallions and scrollwork even adorn the underside of the *chhajja*. As with the column and brackets already noted, these geometric and foliate patterns derive from the Indic architectural tradition.

WALLS OF THE TOMB'S SEPULCHRAL CHAMBER

Each of the four walls of the square sepulchral chamber is divided into three bays by the engaged columns just mentioned (see diagram, pp. 298–301). Unlike the free-standing columns of the veranda, these are raised on a low plinth divided into square and rectangular panels, occasionally defined by petalled bands. The panels contain round or square lotus medallions in high relief set within lobed frames, with additional leafy ornament in shallow relief fanning out from a central medallion in the longer, rectangular panels. The brackets of the engaged columns are linked by broad lobed arches in relief that echo the arches of the inner veranda.

The central bays of the sepulchral walls have wooden doors framed by jambs and lintels fashioned from finely worked, greenish basalt, a material used nowhere else in the building. The doorways are surrounded on three sides by narrow calligraphic panels; additional calligraphy fills the arched panels over the doorways and the roundels in the spandrels above (fig. 6). The side bays of the sepulchral walls repeat this scheme, but instead of doorways there are windows with triple-arched openings closed by wooden

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shutters. The arched panels over the windows are also filled with calligraphy, but here the letters are cut out of the blocks so as to create *jali*s, or perforated stone screens, of the utmost delicacy (fig. 7). The apexes of the arches over both the doorways and windows are marked by outward-sprouting, fanciful foliate ornament.

Either cut out or executed in shallow relief, all these decorative themes are marked by a remarkable precision of carving. Significantly, much of the legibility of the calligraphic work is sacrificed to formal pattern. A particular feature of these compositions are the "magic squares," with letters arranged in rotational and mirror symmetry (see fig. 10); another feature is the joining of the tails of the letters to create borders that resemble rows of merlon-like arched motifs. The name of the calligrapher responsible for these inventive compositions, Naqi al-Din Husaini, occurs many times in slightly variant forms. Intermediate wall surfaces lacking relief carving are adorned with murals. Though now faded, geometric and floral motifs can still be made out in pale turquoise, green, and pink tones (fig. 8).[14] The patterns appear to be related to contemporary textile designs, such as those represented in miniature paintings.[15] Paintwork of the same type probably originally covered the relief carving. The occasional unfinished detail and empty panel suggest that the decorative work on the tomb was never fully completed.

Calligraphy on Columns, Panels, and Screens

The engaged columns that divide each face of the sepulchral chamber into three bays are covered with calligraphy. Corner engaged columns are distinguished by inscriptions arranged in chevron formation, a design well known from the silk textiles with Qur'anic excerpts intended as cenotaph covers and even as hangings to cloak the Ka'ba (fig. 9).[16] In contrast, intermediate engaged columns have their bases adorned with "magic squares" of calligraphy (fig. 10).

Fig. 6. Left roundel, doorway, south side of Ibrahim Rauza tomb

Compositions on both sets of columns incorporate a range of texts, especially Qur'anic quotations from the *Surat al-Fatiha* that repeat the expression: "Thee do we serve and Thee do we beseech for help. Keep us on the right path" (W-3-10a–d, E-3-10a–d, and E-1-12a–d).[17] Here too are lines of Persian and Arabic poetry that accord with the *munajat* genre of intimate conversations with God.[18] These include such expressions as the following: "O God, answer my call for help; other than you I have no friend" (e.g., S-1-15a–c); "O Lord, I have wronged my own soul" (S-2-10a–d); and the more common

Fig. 7. Window and calligraphic screen, right bay, north side of Ibrahim Rauza tomb

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Fig. 8. Painted panel, left bay, south side of Ibrahim Rauza tomb

Fig. 9. Chevron calligraphic pattern, corner column of left bay, west side of Ibrahim Rauza tomb

Fig. 10. "Magic square" of calligraphy, east or west side of Ibrahim Rauza tomb

Fig. II. Doorway, west side of Ibrahim Rauza tomb

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invocation, "Greetings and peace upon you, O you who are God's faithful [friend]" (e.g., W-1-3). One text reads: "Ibrahim 'Adil Shah, the son of 'Adil Shah, God the exalted forgive him" (S-2-12–S-2-16 and S-3-12–S-3-16). Inscriptions on the walls in between the engaged columns run in a continuous sequence up and around the doorways; others are divided into panels with lobed ends; small square panels beneath, at ground level, at either side of the doorways are filled with letters in rotational sequence and mirror symmetry. The majority of these are Qur'anic. In addition to the examples already mentioned, there are several from the *Surat al-Baqara*. Two instances of Persian and Arabic poetry on the south face include these lines: "I have a little grieving heart, forgive and do not ask" (S-3-2a–c), and the refrain, "O Lord I have wronged my own soul" (S-2-10a–d and S-3-10).

Another series of inscriptions fills the arched panels over the doorways, the arched *jali*s over the windows (now mostly damaged), the roundels in the spandrels above, and the arched frames at the very tops of the walls (absent on the east face). The majority of these are invocations to God, with repetitions of his various names and qualities, sometimes realized in mirror and rotational calligraphy, as in the roundels. The arched panels over the doorways are mostly filled with Qur'anic quotations. One excerpt from the *Surat al-'Imran* over the west face includes the following line: "Ibrahim [the Prophet] in truth was not a Jew, neither a Christian; but he was a Muslim. Certainly, he was never of the idolaters" (W-1-9).[19] Another quotation that mentions Ibrahim, taken from the *Surat al-Nisa'*, is found in the roundels over the north doorway: "And God took Ibrahim for a friend" (N-1-7 and N-1-8). In both examples the quotations may be assumed to refer both to Ibrahim the Muslim prophet and Ibrahim the sultan. A lengthier quotation from the same *sura* fills the comparatively well preserved *jali*s at the western

Fig. 12. Labyrinthine panel to left of doorway, east side of Ibrahim Rauza tomb

end of the north wall of the tomb (N-3-9). The partly damaged screen at the eastern end of the north wall and the better preserved example at the northern end of the east wall are both filled with quotations from the *Surat al-Baqara*. One badly damaged inscription recorded more than seventy-five years ago, when it was comparatively well preserved, is that in the *jali* at the eastern end of the south wall. It gives the death of Zuhra Sultan as A.H. 1035 (A.D. 1625), two years before that of Ibrahim himself (S-2-9).[20] An instance of Persian

Fig. 13. Cenotaphs inside the sepulchral chamber, Ibrahim Rauza tomb

poetry are the two lines over the south doorway that incorporate the line "Ibrahim's place is in the flowery meadows of Paradise" and the year A.H. 1037 (A.D. 1627) in which the sultan died (S-1-9).

TREATMENT OF DOORWAYS
The doorways that give access to the sepulchral chamber on four sides are surrounded by concentric recessed bands, exactly as in temple architecture (fig. 11). The bands do not extend down to the floor, but terminate in rectangular panels. In a temple context these panels are usually carved with the figures of *dvarapala*s, or armed guardians, that shield the deity enshrined within.[21] In the Ibrahim Rauza tomb, the panels are covered with geometric, labyrinthine patterns, some in diagonal formation (fig. 12). Considering that these designs are found nowhere else on the building, except on the ceiling over the inner veranda, it is tempting to interpret

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them as performing a similar function as temple *dvarapala*s; that is, magical protection.

While bands on doorway jambs and lintels in temples are usually enlivened with auspicious foliate ornament, often consisting of stylized leafy scrollwork,[22] in the Ibrahim Rauza these parts of the building are covered with inscriptions. Temple doorways also have a miniature icon of the divinity to which the monument is dedicated carved onto the central lintel blocks. "*Ya Allah*" is inscribed on the central lintel blocks of the north and east doorways. Around the north doorway, which must have served as the principal entrance to the sepulchral chamber, are six lines of Persian poetry. The last line reads: "This heart-seducing building stands as a work by which Taj Sultan is remembered" (N-1-10a–c); the words convert by *abjad* to A.H. 1037 (A.D. 1627), the death date of Ibrahim. More specific information about Taj Sultan's role as patron is to be found on the jambs and lintel of the south doorway. The Persian poetical inscriptions here include the following lines: "Taj Sultan ordered the construction of a garden tomb [*rauza*] . . . She set aside for its expenses one and a half *lakh* of *huns*" (S-1-11a–c), and "When she departed from this dusty, temporary abode for the palace of the eternal kingdom of heaven, I asked the old man of reason for the date, and he said 'Taj Sultan is one of the people of Paradise, the year [of her death being] 1043' [A.D. 1633]" (S-1-10a–c). The former record ends with a notice that "This work of building the *rauza* was brought to completion by Malik Sandal, by virtue of efficient supervision." In contrast, the jambs and lintels of the east and west doorways are embellished with Arabic poetry of a type encountered on gravestones. The example on the east doorway includes two phrases: "I came to you weeping, so pity my tears," and "I seek refuge in your forgiveness" (E-1-11a–c).

INTERIOR OF SEPULCHRAL CHAMBER
In striking contrast to the profusion of relief carvings and calligraphic compositions and painted designs on the outer walls of the sepulchral chamber, the interior is entirely devoid of decoration, except for a ceiling design discussed below. The monumental simplicity is emphasized by the chamber's sheer size, slightly more than forty-two feet square and almost thirty-three feet high. Arrayed on a low plinth on an east-west line are six cenotaphs, the one in the middle, the largest and highest, being that of Ibrahim (fig. 13). Taj Sultan's cenotaph is said to be located at the eastern end, immediately inside the doorway on that side.[23] This arrangement confirms that Ibrahim was the first to be interred, and was followed by his various family members, including Zuhra Sultan, who had died three years earlier than the sultan, and Taj Sultan, who died six years later.

Given its impressive dimensions, the chamber's roof may be considered a virtuoso structural feat. Rather than revealing the interior of the dome that crowns the building, now concealed in a rooftop domed chamber, the ceiling of the sepulchral chamber is entirely flat, though carried on a deep curved cove that runs around the top of the walls on four sides.[24] The central flat ceiling, almost twenty-six feet square, is composed of cubical basalt blocks, somewhat irregular in shape, held in place by the unusually strong mortar that was a particular specialty of the 'Adil Shahi masons.[25] As the only royal sepulchral chamber at Bijapur to employ a flat ceiling, that of the Ibrahim Rauza seems to make specific reference to earlier temple sanctuaries, which are invariably flat-ceilinged. A further link with the Indic architectural tradition is seen in the nine-square mandala design carved onto the ceiling. Articulated by non-structural bands, the mandala has a full-relief lotus medallion in the central square, positioned directly over Ibrahim's cenotaph.[26]

THE MOSQUE
Compared with the tomb, which must be regarded as unique, not only within the context of Bijapur's buildings, but also
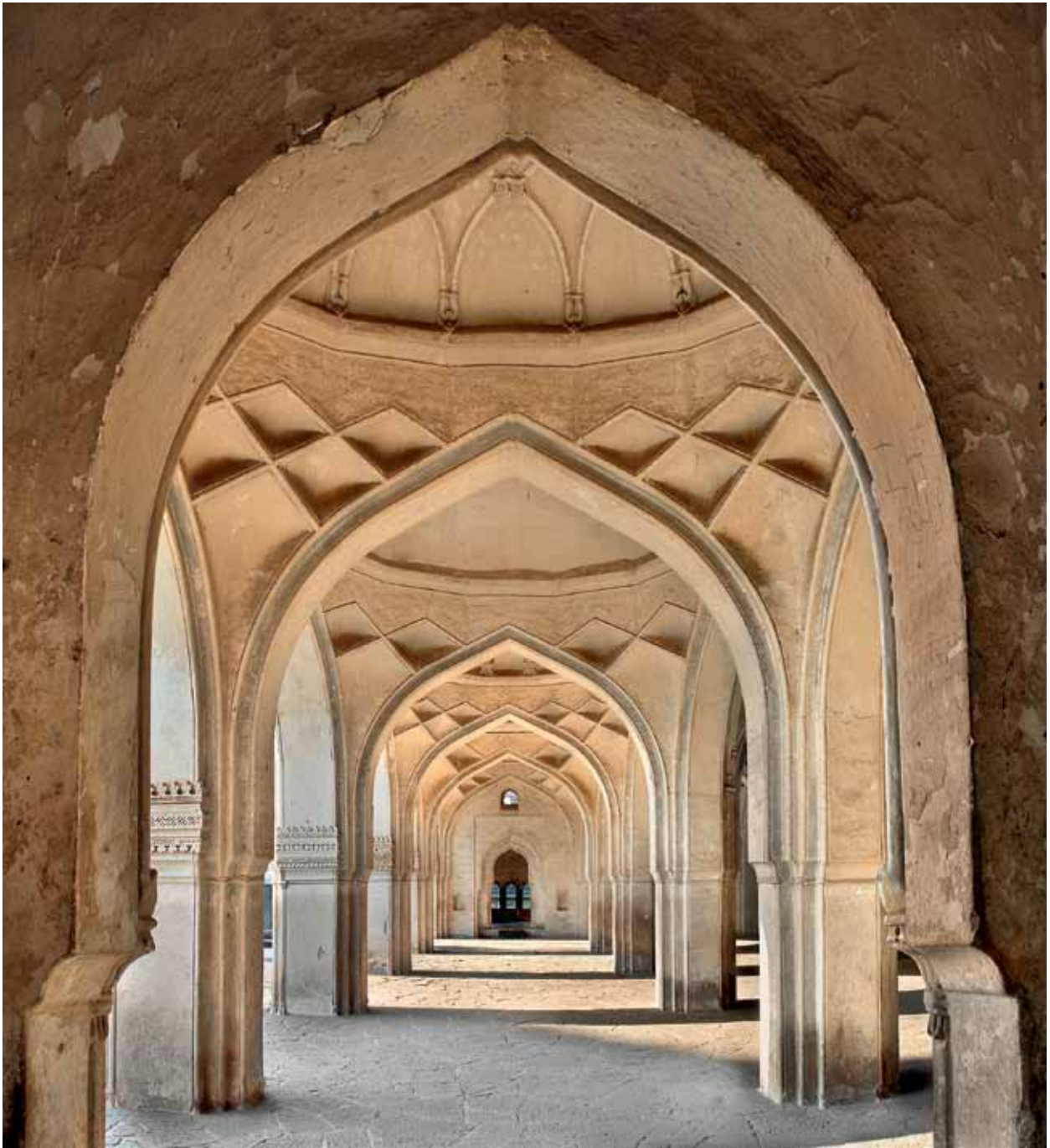
Fig. 14. Prayer hall of the Ibrahim Rauza mosque, view to south

in the entire history of Deccan Sultanate architecture, the mosque of the Ibrahim Rauza is more conventional, though no less monumental in conception and equally finely built. Its arcaded frontal façade and pyramidal superstructure have already been noted; so, too, its corner domical finials rising on part-octagonal buttresses. Here, however, it is worth pointing out the intricately cut, elaborate plaster ornament around the five pointed arches, the central arch emphasized by tiny lobes at the apexes of the arches, and in the roundels of the spandrels above. The ornate stone brackets with superimposed *pushpapotika*s carry a *chhajja* with lotus medallions carved onto its underside. Stone chains resembling those found in temples hang from the ends of the overhang; a hole in the middle indicates the location of a third chain, now lost.[27] The outer walls on the three other faces of the mosque are plain, except for small balconies supported on lotus brackets, on the north and south. They each have triple-arched openings, but the wooden shutters with which the openings may once have been closed are lost. The balconies are topped by overhangs, perforated parapets, and clusters of slender domical finials. Unlike the tomb, the mosque is utterly devoid of inscriptions.

The interior has five rows of three bays, roofed with flattish domes on pendentives topped by diamond-shaped facets (fig. 14). Domes in alternating bays are adorned with plaster strapwork in geometric formation fanning outward from ornate medallions. The dome over the central bay rises on a twelve-sided drum up into the "dead" space beneath the bulbous dome that crowns the building exterior. The *mihrab* in the middle of the *qibla* wall is framed by an elegantly curved arch that leads to a tiny domical chamber with ten sides. This chamber is expressed on the exterior as a rectangular projection without any dome, but is punctuated with domical finials similar to those at the corners of the building.

CONCLUSION

According to the argument developed here the architectural design and decorative motifs employed in the Ibrahim Rauza are intended to provide the tomb of Ibrahim and Taj Sultan with magical protection. This protective function is especially true of the themes derived from the Indic tradition, such as lotus medallions, leafy foliations, and labyrinthine geometries in the ceiling over the inner veranda, the plinth and doorways of the sepulchral chamber walls, and the flat ceiling over the cenotaphs inside the chamber. The Arabic and Persian inscriptions on the monument serve a parallel purpose, interceding with God for the salvation of Ibrahim. Indeed, the sultan may be assumed to be the subject of a number of poetical verses that describe the worshipper as a "sinner," "a dusty penitent," and "a faithful friend [of God]." Several of these texts imply an awareness of Ibrahim's sympathy with Indic religious traditions and practices, particularly those which claim that, like Ibrahim the prophet, the sultan was "never of the idolaters" (W-1-9) and that "God has chosen for you the religion; see that you die not save in surrender" (N-1-2a–c). Among other inscriptions are those that assert that Ibrahim is "among the righteous" (E-1-9) and that to the family of Ibrahim has been given "the Book and the Wisdom and . . . a mighty kingdom" (N-3-9). Evidently Taj Sultan and her advisors must have believed that such affirmations were crucial in ensuring Ibrahim's salvation and guaranteeing his posthumous reputation.

1. Appreciation of the Ibrahim Rauza dates back to the first publication on the monument by Captain Philip Meadows Taylor and James Fergusson (Taylor and Fergusson 1866). Apart from occasional mention in monographs and articles, the next thorough description of the Ibrahim Rauza was that of Henry Cousens in 1913. See Cousens 1916, pp. 70–75. See also the short but insightful commentaries in Merklinger 1981, p. 21, and

Burton-Page 1965. More thorough are the discussions in Hutton 2005, pp. 65–78, and Hutton 2006, pp. 121–30.

2. Work on Nauraspur was abandoned after the city was sacked in 1624 by the invading Ahmadnagar army. Possibly Ibrahim was affected by this traumatic event.

3. This is the opinion of Cousens (1916, p. 71), and Burton-Page (1965, p. 1204). Hutton (2006, p. 125), however, points out that Taj Sultan was the principal figure to be memorialized.

4. Malik Sandal was the patron of the Taj Bauri, the largest of all hydraulic works in Bijapur. See Cousens 1916, pp. 123–24. It is situated on the western edge of the walled city, just inside the Mecca Darwaza, the gate that led directly to the Ibrahim Rauza.

5. While "Indic" may not be an ideal term to describe India's diverse indigenous architectural and artistic traditions, it is to be preferred to the more commonly used but somewhat inappropriate "Hindu," which has specific religious implications.

6. For an account of the synthetic culture of Ibrahim II's court and the remarkable aesthetic personality of the sultan himself as revealed in his *Kitab-i Nauras*, a work authored by the sultan, see Zebrowski 1983, pp. 70–71; Hutton 2006, pp. 110–11; and Brand 2010, p. 69. See also the chapter in this volume by Navina Haidar.

7. Lambourn 2010 argues for "micro-architecture" as a suitable term for both the Hindu and the Islamic buildings of India.

8. For the temples of the Chalukyas of Kalyana, see Dhaky 1996, chs. 33–34.

9. Among the many examples are the mid-eleventh-century Ellamma and Mallikarjuna temples at Badami, approximately 62 miles south of Bijapur, illustrated in Dhaky 1996, pls. 204 and 208. That this town was incorporated into the 'Adil Shahi kingdom is evident from the imposing Bijapur-styled domed tomb erected by a provincial governor.

10. The most obvious sources for 'Adil Shahi builders of columns with *pushpapotika*s would have been the Hindu monuments of the fourteenth- to sixteenth-century Vijayanagara rulers at their capital at Hampi, some 137 miles south of Bijapur. See, for example, the Ramachandra and Virupaksha temples, illustrated in Michell 2001, pls. 38 and 72.

11. The columns and lobed arches of the inner veranda are strengthened with finely fitted stone blocks added by British engineers.

12. The beams carrying the ceiling of the outer veranda are reinforced by modern arches.

13. For cosmic diagrams in Indian art and ritual, see Kanna 1979.

14. These colors were a particular favorite with Bijapur painters. See, for instance, the distinctive palette of Ibrahim's portrait in the Náprstek Museum, Prague, illustrated in Zebrowski 1983, pl. x. It also appears as fig. 17 in the essay by Navina Haidar in this volume.

15. For example, the portraits of Ibrahim now in the David Collection, Copenhagen, and in the Mignucci collection, illustrated in Zebrowski 1983, figs. 49 and 50. See also fig. 1 in the essay by Navina Haidar.

16. The best-known calligraphic textiles of this type were woven at the imperial Ottoman workshops, after which they were sometimes cut up into kaftans, skullcaps, and talismanic shirts, examples of which could well have reached the Bijapur court. See, for instance, two fragments in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, a centotaph cover (08.178.2) and a tomb cover (32.100.460).

17. The author is grateful to Bruce Wannell for his revised readings of the inscriptions.

18. The *munajat* category of Muslim piety and mystical experience is frequently expressed in the context of confidential conversations with God. See Bosworth 1993, p. 557.

19. The term "*hanif*" in the Qur'an is particularly used for Ibrahim as the representative of the pure worship of God. Both Ibrahim the prophet and Ibrahim the Bijapur sultan seem to have quested after an ultimate spiritual reality beyond the legalistic religious formulations of their day. See Watt 1971, pp. 163–64.

20. Muhammad Nazim 1936, pp. 35–36, no. 3326 (pl. III) gives the date of Zuhra Sultan's death as A.H. 1035. While this is the earliest date mentioned in any of the inscriptions on the monument, we cannot infer that the Ibrahim Rauza was completed at this time. Nonetheless, the complex seems to have been associated in some way with Zuhra Sultan: Cousens (1916, p. 71 n. 1) noted in the early twentieth century that the adjacent suburb of Bijapur was known as Zuhrapur.

21. Among the many examples are the *dvarapala*s flanking the sanctuary doorway of the eleventh-century Chalukya-period Gauri temple at Aihole, a short distance from Badami (see note 9 above). One of these *dvarapala*s is illustrated in Dhaky 1996, pl. 124.

22. Chalukya temples offer many instances of such doorway designs, as in the foliate bands in the doorway of the Gauri temple at Aihole (see previous note).

23. The cenotaphs in the sepulchral chamber lack inscriptions, though Cousens (1916, p. 71) gives traditional identifications. The actual tombs of Ibrahim, Taj Sultan, Zuhra Sultan, and other family members are housed in a ground-level chamber at the core of the arcaded podium on which the tomb is raised. This chamber is now walled up and inaccessible.

24. The sepulchral chamber is surmounted by a rooftop domed chamber reached by an internal

staircase. It is not clear what purpose, if any, this upper chamber could have served.

25. Cousens (1916, p. 72) comments upon the unusually strong mortar used by Bijapur masons.

26. Lotus medallion ceilings are a commonplace in Indic architecture, especially over the *mandapa*s (pillared halls) that precede temple sanctuaries. Many examples from the Chalukya era are illustrated in Dhaky 1996, including several contained in mandala-like compartments.

27. The stone chains appear to imitate the brass chains carrying oil lamps suspended from the overhang corners of temple *mandapa*s. Stone hooks for such chains survive in the ornate *mandapa* of the sixteenth-century Vitthala temple at Hampi. See Michell 2001, pl. 112.

Bruce Wannell

The Epigraphic Program of the Ibrahim Rauza in Bijapur

One of the finest buildings in the Deccan is the tomb complex in Bijapur known as the Ibrahim Rauza after the 'Adil Shahi monarch of that name who died in A.H. 1037 (A.D. 1627) after a reign of almost half a century.[1] The four outer walls of the tomb chamber are covered with inscriptions (see diagram, pp. 298–301), an overwhelming majority of which bear the name of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah or his namesake, the prophet Ibrahim, known as Khalilullah (God's faithful friend). There is also an inscription commemorating the ruler's daughter Zuhra Sultan, who predeceased her father in A.H. 1035 (A.D. 1625). A few inscriptions bear the name of Taj Sultan, one of the ruler's wives and mother of one of his sons. This son, Muhammad (r. 1627–56), after the murder or blinding of half-brother rivals, came to the throne when he was fourteen years old, which left his mother—now queen mother—and her associate, the high-ranking Abyssinian courtier Malik Sandal, and their Habshi–Deccani clique, in effective charge of the kingdom. Appearing in Bijapur in 1596, the Abyssinian ex-slave soldier seems to have shown exceptional loyalty to Taj Sultan. He oversaw the construction of the tomb complex and added buildings to the water tank named the Taj Baoli after the queen.[2] The last inscription added to the Rauza postdates her death in A.H. 1043 (A.D. 1633) and records Malik Sandal's completion of the epigraphic and decorative program of the tomb, probably at his own expense. There is, however, clear evidence that the work was not quite finished—it was probably abandoned at the time of the treaty of submission, when the young Sultan Muhammad had to suffer Mughal armies ravaging his kingdom and exacting heavy tribute in 1635.

The only other personal name that appears in these inscriptions is that of the calligrapher-designer, Sayyid Naqi al-Din al-Husaini, who repeatedly signed his calligraphic inventions in framing panels around doors and windows or in triangles at the base of pilasters—unfortunately, without dates; significantly, his signature does appear in the base triangle in the immediate vicinity of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah's titles in the chevrons of the outer pilasters on the South wall (see fig. 9 in the essay by George Michell). The building history of the monument is not precisely known, and the inscriptions themselves do not give unequivocal evidence of that history, especially since a death date cannot be assumed to be equivalent to the date of burial or to the date of execution of the epigraphic program.

This epigraphic program, whatever it conveys concerning the meaning of the building, was certainly a conscious choice, within the limits of recognized literary and religious conventions, though it is not certain whose choice it was or who the intended reader might have been. The texts reflect the shift of power from Shi'i Afaqi Iranians to Sunni Abyssinian and Deccani courtiers that took place in 1583, when Hanafi Sunni Islam was officially reinstated. They also reflect the syncretic flirtations with the Hindu goddess of music, Saraswati, by the monarch in his young maturity, from the 1590s until 1624.

Whether Ibrahim had much to do with the choice of texts is not certain, except in the case of one Qur'an text on the Rauza, which he also chose as his library seal (Sura 2:131–33). The projection of an image of the deceased monarch that was both realistic (in that veiled reference was made to his former heterodoxy) and also idealized (emphasis on the ruler's ultimate orthodoxy and the promise of salvation) can probably be attributed to Taj Sultan, her Abyssinian associate, and her circle of literary and spiritual mentors.

In a largely illiterate society, such as that of seventeenth-century Bijapur, the elite compensated by being highly literate— poetry, calligraphy, and memorization of the Qur'an were so deeply ingrained in the intellectual and spiritual training of these Muslims that they would have picked up allusions easily, even in the difficult calligraphic inventions of Sayyid Naqi al-Din. In particular, conventions of tearful penitential poetry were common in Sufi-inspired tomb inscriptions elsewhere at the time, as at the tomb of Shaikh Jamali in Delhi, but those quoted in the Rauza seem to resonate with elements of Ibrahim's personal history.

Muslim orientation (i.e., the direction of prayer, *qibla*) directs the way the corpse is buried, head to the north but facing Mecca in the west; conventions of pious visits (*ziyara*) also prescribe offering prayers and benedictions at the foot of the tomb (entering the tomb chamber from the south) or facing the direction of ritual prayer toward Mecca (which here meant standing to the east of the tomb and looking over it toward the mosque, probably from a position on the verandas that could also have served for circumambulation). (See plan, fig. 2 of essay by George Michell.) In many cases, as on tombstones elsewhere, the mural inscriptions here seem almost mimetic of rituals, litanies, and responses expected from the pious visitor.

It is assumed here that the epigraphy was applied to the stone masonry once the walls

Fig. 1. Detail of bas-relief calligraphy from inscription S-3-2c. Left bay, south side of Ibrahim Rauza tomb

were built and that the building history extended before and after the eight-year period between the first (1625) and last (1633) recorded death date. The underlying stonework of the walls is assembled from irregular cut stone, whose uneven outlines contrast with the logical simplicity of the geometric frames required by the calligraphic compositions. This would

Fig. 2. Example of the stonecarver's skill with calligraphy, geometric shapes, and floral motifs, from inscription S-1-10b (detail). Left side of doorway, south side of Ibrahim Rauza tomb

indicate that the basic work of quarrying stone and building the walls preceded the execution of the epigraphic program: the architecture preceded the decoration, with the shallow bas-relief carved in situ (fig. 1). The stonecarvers were very faithful to the nuances of calligraphy as presented to them (presumably on paper) to be copied. The variety of thick and thin lines and the rhythm and fluidity of those lines can be breathtakingly beautiful (fig. 2). The calligrapher provided a plethora of reading marks, as was usual at the time for a fluent professional reading of the Qur'an and related texts. The clothing of the carved stone in fine plaster

and paint has not weathered particularly well, and today spoils the effect of the bas-relief calligraphy.[3]

In what follows I consider the whole body of inscriptions adorning the outer walls of the tomb chamber and attempt to elucidate their meaning in the light of Islamic tradition and the contemporary history of Bijapur. The inscriptions are divided below by content and source into four categories: (1) Qur'an quotations, (2) pious phrases, (3) poems in Arabic and Persian, and (4) historical material with names and dates, including chronograms. These sections are then followed by a brief concluding interpretive analysis.

Qur'an Quotations

No independent verses from the Qur'an appear on the South wall, though the framing poem on the outer pilasters does incorporate a phrase from Sura 27:44 as a refrain—thus, as it were, de-sacralizing it. The poem frames the five chevrons containing the deceased's name and title, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah ibn 'Adil Shah, with the calligrapher's signature in the base triangle (S-2-10–S-2-17 and S-3-10–S-3-17). Its refrain—"O Lord, I have wronged my own soul"—is taken from the Queen of Sheba's confession to King Solomon when she converted from pagan sun worship to true monotheism.[4] Compared to the other walls, notably the West wall, there is a noticeable disinclination to use Qur'an quotations on the South wall. One sees something similar in the tomb of Firuz Shah Bahmani (d. 1422) at Gulbarga, where the continuous Qur'an quotation on the large inscription band in the interior, starting on the West (qibla) wall, skips the South wall, only to resume on the East and North walls. This might reflect a local taboo and is certainly worth further investigation.

(1) Each scrolling pediment surmounting individual window and door bays contains the bismillah, which governs the quotations that follow in the outer frame panels immediately below it, obviating the need for its repetition. It is worth noticing the varying degrees of completion of these pediments, either shallow-carved and painted, painted only, or left blank.

(2) The Surat al-Fatiha is the first chapter of the Qur'an (Sura 1:1–7) and is recited regularly (i.e., from seventeen to thirty-two times or more) in the daily prayers, and is also offered as a prayer for the benefit of the soul of the deceased by visitors to tombs. It appears on the outer frame panels of both windows on the West wall and is followed immediately by the proclamation of pure belief in God's ineffable unity, the Surat al-Ikhlas (Sura 112: 1–4), and by the calligrapher's signature, Naqi al-Din (W-2-2a–d and W-3-2a–d). On the right outer frame

panel (W-2-2e and W-3-2e) is the verse about never despairing of God's mercy from the Surat al-Zumar (Sura 39:53). This composition (Sura 1:1–7 + Sura 112:1–4 + Sura 39:53) is repeated exactly in the outer frame bands around the central door on the East wall (E-1-2a–e). The Surat al-Fatiha, with the bismillah, appears also on the pair of outer pilasters framing the West wall. These have a central field of chevrons imitating tomb cloths, with pious phrases (W-2-12–W-2-16 and W-3-12–W-3-16), surrounded by the Surat al-Fatiha as a narrow frame band proceeding clockwise, ending with the calligrapher's signature (W-2-10a–e and W-3-10a–e). The same composition is also repeated on all four pilasters on the East wall (E-2-10–E-2-17 and E-3-10–E-3-17).

(3) The Throne Verse of the Surat al-Baqara (Sura 2:255), proclaiming God's power and unity, fills the outer frame panels (top and left) around the central door in the West wall (W-1-2a–b), with the right outer frame panel filled with the verse that precedes it (Sura 2:254), about generous giving before death (W-1-2c). This composition (Sura 2:255 + Sura 2:254) is repeated exactly around both windows on the North wall (N-2-2a–c and N-3-2a–c). On the East wall, both windows are framed by the Throne verse (top and left), with the verse from Surat al-Zumar (Sura 39:53) filling the right outer frame panel (E-2-2a–c and E-3-2-a–c).

Other verses from the Surat al-Baqara (Sura 2:131–33), dealing with Ibrahim, appear in the three frame panels around the central door in the North wall, emphasizing the need to die reconciled to the faith (N-1-2a–c). Another (Sura 2:135) appears in the perforated tympanum above the left-hand window in the North wall, emphasizing that Ibrahim was a hanif pure believer, not a polytheist (N-2-9); in another verse (Sura 2:130), on the tympanum above the central door in the East wall (E-1-9), Ibrahim is said not to be rejected as he was a chosen one of God and thus guaranteed salvation.[5]

(4) The tympanum over the central door in the West wall (W-1-9) bears a verse from the *Surat Al ʿImran* (Sura 3:67): Ibrahim being a *hanif* who submits to God's will is neither Christian (possibly alluding to Bijapur's loss of Goa to the Portuguese) nor Jew, nor polytheist (intimating perhaps the rise of Hindu and Maratha power under Shahji and Shivaji).

(5) The tympanum above the right-hand window on the North wall bears a verse from the *Surat al-Nisa'* (Sura 4:54) concerning God's gift to Ibrahim's family of the Book, of wisdom, and of a great kingdom (N-3-9). Also from the *Surat al-Nisa'* (Sura 4:125), about Ibrahim's election as God's faithful friend, comes the inscription within roundels in the spandrels above the central door in the North wall (N-1-7 and N-1-8).

(6) The tympanum above the right-hand window in the East wall bears a verse from the *Surat al-Anbiya'* (Sura 21:69): God's command to the fire not to harm Ibrahim. The reference here is to the fear of hellfire, which strict Muslims would have held to be the lot of the one-time renegade (E-3-9). The other perforated *jali* tympana above windows (South wall right window; West wall both windows; East wall left window) are now utterly vandalized. They may also once have contained Qur'an quotations appropriate to the burial of the artistic king who had strayed beyond the bounds of orthodoxy but who at last, under the pressure of popular religious opinion represented by Sufis and clerics, had repented and returned to the fold. In an assessment of the probable sequence of applying the calligraphic program to the Rauza it is worth considering the technical difficulty of carving and installing these perforated calligraphic windows. The perforated window and solid over-door tympana probably preceded the inner door frames, some of which are blank and one of which contains the inscription of Malik Sandal made after Taj Sultan's death.

The aesthetic of symmetry, parallelism, and repetition is evident not only in the articulation of architectural space in the Ibrahim Rauza but also in the inscriptions that adorn the outer walls of the tomb chamber. The calligraphic compositions are repeated and varied, with magnificent large inscriptions in *muhaqqaq* script in the tympana above doors and windows, while the Qur'an quotations, which are particularly apt to the deceased and the hope for salvation, are based on the homonymy of the Qur'an prophet and the deceased monarch. The outer frame panels around doors and windows have more generic Qur'an passages emphasizing God's unity, mercy, and power. The stylistic device of verticals woven into a continuous band of protective outer merlons formally emphasizes the apotropaic functions of the Qur'an quotations.

Pious Phrases

True to the aesthetic of "making the walls sing," the epigraphic program of the Ibrahim Rauza is replete with expressions in short phrases and exclamations of Muslim piety.

As would be called out on entering a building, or echoing the Hindu practice of sounding a bell on entering a temple sanctuary, invocations to God appear on the two inscribed lintel blocks (North and East) as a simple "*Ya Allah!*" (N-1-11d, E-1-11d). Invocations to God appear as an eightfold mirror composition "*Ya ʿaziz!*" on the spandrel roundels on each of the three bays of the South and East walls (S-1-7 and S-1-8; S-2-7 and S-2-8; S-3-7 and S-3-8; E-1-7 and E-1-8; E-2-7 and E-2-8; E-3-7 and E-3-8), while on the spandrel roundels on each of the three bays of the West wall they appear as an eightfold mirror composition, "*Ya hafiz!*" (W-1-7 and W-1-8; W-2-7 and W-2-8; W-3-7 and W-3-8).

Proclamations of God's unity and eternity appear in cartouches at the top of several of the pilasters, while the field of the outer pairs of pilasters contains chevrons with repeated statements—namely, that power lies only with God and that there is nothing to fear beside Him—a formula used to drive away evil spirits. The roundels

Fig. 3. Square with mirrored and repeating calligraphy bearing greetings to the prophet Ibrahim, known as Khalilullah, inscription W-1-6. Central bay, west side of Ibrahim Rauza tomb

in the spandrels above the windows of the North wall proclaim that all of God's acts are praiseworthy (N-2-7 and N-2-8; N-3-7 and N-3-8). The central pair of pilasters framing the door on the West wall carry a difficult calligraphic composition in the median medallion (W-1-14 and W-1-19). This location corresponds to the level of the heart, locus of Divine illumination, which can be understood as praise to him who was an epiphany of absolute light. It is

probably a reference to the Islamic mystical tradition of the Muhammadan light (*nur-i muhammadi*). Immediately below this composition on the same two pilasters of the West wall are squares invoking the Prophet as a channel of God's light (W-1-5, W-1-6 and W-1-20, W-1-21). The square calligraphic talismans around the windows in the North wall invoke him as light from this Divine light (N-2-5−N-2-6 and N-3-5−N-3-6). This is repeated around the

Fig. 4. Persian and Arabic poems invoking God's mercy. Doorway in the central bay, south side of Ibrahim Rauza tomb

right-hand window on the East wall (E-3-3–E-3-6), and no less than six times on the central pilasters of the North wall (N-1-13–N-1-15 and N-1-17–N-1-19). Just as the South wall is devoid of Qur'an texts, so the North wall has a maximum of apotropaic formulae, possibly to protect the openings and the head of the deceased from psychic attack. Perhaps a local belief underlies the Sufi emphasis on the *nur-i muhammadi*, Divine light channeled through the Prophet.

The pilasters framing the central door on the East wall bear invocations to the prophet as intercessor at the Resurrection as well as to his various qualities (E-1-14–E-1-17 and E-1-20–E-1-23). There is a simple invocation "*Ya nabi Allah!*" in mirror writing in the four squares of the outer frame around the door on the East wall (E-1-3–E-1-6) and around both windows on the West wall (W-2-3–W-2-6 and W-3-3–W-3-6). The role of the Prophet as intercessor and guardian of his community receives considerable emphasis.

The tympanum above the door on the North wall (N-1-9) carries blessings on the four rightly guided caliphs and the companions of the Prophet—a very Sunni formulation, as the veneration of the four successors and companions of the Prophet is not found in Shi'i Islam. One of the most elegant calligraphic compositions is the repeated square (fig. 3) around the doors on the South, West, and North walls and around the left-hand window on the East wall bearing greetings to Ibrahim 'Adil Shah's alias, the prophet Ibrahim Khalilullah (N-1-5–N-1-6; S-1-3–S-1-4; W-1-3–W-1-6; E-2-3–E-2-6). Ibrahim 'Adil Shah is thus omnipresent in his *rauza*, through this equivalence with the prophet Ibrahim Khalilullah.

The shorter pious phrases, echoing those that would have been uttered by visitors to the shrine, and indeed the inscriptions, too, can be regarded as mimetic and didactic, offering and echoing lessons in appropriate sentiment in the presence of death. They

are, as well, a repeated statement of popular piety and Sunni orthodoxy: not for the first time, the deceased has been made to seem more orthodox than he was in life.

Arabic and Persian Poems

The poetry in Arabic and in Persian (both imported languages of high Islamic culture rather than local vernaculars) is mostly penitential and tearful in tone. These poems reflect the culture of the court in its emotional and spiritual dimension and best give the flavor of the monument adorned in memory of her husband by Taj Sultan. There are also some verses with historical information. These have been sufficiently analyzed elsewhere,[6] though perhaps with insufficient emphasis on the importance of reading these nuggets of dates and names in the context of finished and unfinished decoration and also of the overall mood and the dense web of allusions provided by the Qur'an quotes, the pious invocations, and the poetry of repentance and helplessness in the face of death. Many of these poems are anonymous.[7] The quotes from a *ghazal* by Sana'i, a twelfth-century poet of Ghazni, show that not all were composed contemporaneously with the demise of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah. Further research into the work of contemporary writers, such as Ibrahim's poet-laureate, Zuhuri (d. 1615), or the Hadrami poet Shadqam (d. 1635), might allow identification of more verses. Most of the poetry is concentrated on the South wall, though the West and North doors are also thus adorned.

On the South wall the door has on its outermost frame an Arabic poem in clear calligraphy, about approaching God empty-handed, as a destitute traveler might approach a hospitable Bedouin *shaikh* in the desert (S-1-2a–c) (fig. 4). It is framed by pilasters (S-1-9) carrying Persian poems praising God and imploring his help (S-1-12, S-1-15, S-1-16, S-1-17, S-1-20, and S-1-21). The South windows that appear to be associated, respectively, with Taj Sultan (right side tympanum, now vandalized) and

Fig. 5. Persian poem surrounding the titles of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah, expressing his repentance. Right bay, south side of Ibrahim Rauza tomb

Zuhra Sultan (left side tympanum, S-2-9) are framed by further Persian poems confessing sin and hoping for God's mercy (S-2-2a–c and S-3-2a–c). Taj confesses that her quavering heart needs forgiveness rather than questioning by the inexorable angels of the grave, perhaps referring to the murder of her stepchildren or other aspects of harem politics.[8] The South wall's outer pilasters are framed with a fine longer poem in Persian, beginning "*man-i khaksar-i 'asi, ya rabb, zalamtu nafs-i*" (I am a dusty penitent who has rebelled, O Lord, I have wronged my own soul), with the Qur'an's Arabic refrain building up the emotional impact of a powerful litany (S-2-10a–d and S-3-10a–d). This poem frames the chevrons with the titles of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah ibn 'Adil Shah, thus underscoring the reference to Ibrahim's repentance (*tauba*) (fig. 5).

The West door has in its inner and innermost door frames fine Arabic poems of penitence carved in the glossy dark basalt (W-1-10a–c and W-1-11a–c).

The North door has on its innermost frame a powerful Arabic poem on God's unity and the penitent's utter dependence on Him (N-1-11a–c). In a spiritual culture permeated by Ibn 'Arabi's concept of *wahdat al-wujud*, the unity of being, the last line can be read as a clear allusion to Ibrahim's past flirtation with the Hindu goddess Saraswati. It pleads, most suitably in this context, that, though the penitent strayed from the path of submission, whatever he worshipped was ultimately nothing other than God Himself.

The East door also has a tearful Arabic poem that underscores the atmosphere of repentance, dread, and hope (E-1-11a–c).

Names, Dates, and Chronograms
The following names appear in the inscriptions of the Ibrahim Rauza: Ibrahim 'Adil Shah, Taj Sultan, Zuhra Sultan, Malik Sandal, and Sayyid Naqi al-Din Husaini. Dates are associated with three of these and are rendered in the inscriptions in Arabic numerals and in chronograms, using the numerical value of Arabic letters (*abjad*).[9]

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Fig. 6. Detail of calligraphic screen showing date of A.H. 1035. Left bay, south side of Ibrahim Rauza tomb

The inscriptions below are listed in chrono-logical order. One must be aware, however, that there is often a one-year discrepancy between dates given in numerals and those given in verse chronograms using the *abjad* systems of indicating dates, which seems to have been acceptable and current. The court poets perhaps found the commis-sioned chronograms difficult to compose, while respecting complex metrical structures

as well as rhyme and apposite sense— so they no doubt welcomed the leeway given to them to have a slight discrepancy between the date recorded in the verse chronogram and that noted in numerals.

1035 Zuhra Sultan: "*yek dagh*" (S-2-9). Her name is recorded once in the left-hand side South window tympanum. Both *abjad* and numeral (in the lower left-hand corner) are

1035, but the "5" in the latter is an idiosyn-
cratic form, like an Arabic 'ayn (fig. 6). This
date is also recorded in the old (probably
late seventeenth century) map of Bijapur
(see fig. 8).

1036 Taj Sultan: "*yadgar-i Taj Sultan in bana-yi
delfaza*" (N-1-10). The name is on the right-
hand side of the North door inner frame.
The *abjad* gives the year of Taj's patronage
of the building as 1036: there is no numeral
visible to confirm or modify this date
(fig. 7). Because of other discrepancies
between *abjad* and Arabic numerals, one
must examine other evidence, such as the
stylistic coherence of the epigraphic pro-
gram, in order to evaluate the reliability of
the *abjad* date.

1037 Ibrahim 'Adil Shah: "*az ma bar Ibrahim
salat*" (S-1-6). The name is on the lower
right-hand side box of the South door. The
left-hand side box is empty (S-1-5), imply-
ing that the poet had not finished the whole
chronogram verse, but had only worked out
the basic words or letters for the actual death
date. The upper boxes contain greetings to
Khalil, Ibrahim's namesake. The *abjad* gives
the year 1036, but the numeral at the base of
the box is 1037, as is recorded in the old map
of Bijapur.

1037 Ibrahim 'Adil Shah: "*buwad jay-i Ibra-
him be-gulshan-i firdaus*" (S-1-9). The phrase
is in the South door tympanum. The *abjad*
date is 1036, but the numeral at the apex
is 1037.

1043 Taj Sultan: "*Taj Sultan ahl-i jannat*"
(S-1-10c). The name is on the right-hand
side South door inner frame. The *abjad* date
is 1043, but the numeral at the top is 1044.

1044 Taj Sultan: "*jay-i pak-i Taj Sultan jan-
nat*" (S-3-5). The phrase is on the lower
right-hand side box of the right bay of
the South side. The other three boxes are
empty. The *abjad* date is 1044, but the figure
numeral is 1043.

The inscriptions relating to the deceased
monarch, his daughter, and his spouse are
dated, at least on the South wall. The
ruler Ibrahim 'Adil Shah, by virtue of
homonymy with the prophet Ibrahim
Khalilullah, is present on all the walls.
The overseer of the building project,
Malik Sandal, is associated with Taj Sultan
and the completion of the work after her
death: the addition of 900 *hun*s, the gold
coins then current in the Deccan, is
noted as needed to further the work after
the original budget offered by the queen
mother of 150,000 gold *hun* coins had been
exhausted (S-1-11a–c). This inscription,
on the innermost frame of the South door,
deserves to be considered closely, as it
postdates the death of the queen mother.
The poetic meter (*hazaj*) that governs the
reading is

⭑––– / ⭑––– / ⭑––
mafa'ilon / mafa'ilon / mafa'il

(Note that the single oblique dash indicates
the metrical foot; the double oblique dash
indicates the end of the hemistich.)

bana farmud (verb) / *rauza* (indefinite
object, leading on to "*ke*") *Taj / Sultan*
(subject) // *ke khuld* (subject) *andar /
sifat-ash* (predicate) *mand / hairan* (verb).

"Taj Sultan ordered the construction
of a garden tomb, and Paradise remain-
ed astonished at its beauties."

Be husn-i ih / timam (adverbial phrase),
in kar / -i rauza (object) // *Malik Sandal*
(subject) / *risanida / be payan* (verb).

"The work of building the *rauza* was
brought to completion by Malik Sandal,
by virtue of efficient supervision."

This inscription makes it quite clear that Taj
Sultan ordered the building of the tomb
complex or claimed to do so, but it in no
way implies that it was for herself.[10] The

Fig. 7. Inscription detailing Taj Sultan's patronage of the Ibrahim Rauza. Doorway in the central bay, north side of Ibrahim Rauza tomb

meaning of "*yadgar*" in her other inscription (N-1-10a–c)

> *yadgar-i Taj Sultan in bana-yi del-faza*
> (in ramal meter):
> _★__ / _★__ / _★__ / _★_
> *fa'elaton / fa'elaton / fa'elaton / fa'elt*

on the North door inner frame has already been mentioned; it indicates that she is

remembered as patroness of the monument, rather than for having built a monument for herself. I would be skeptical of the absolute accuracy of the *abjad* 1036 date here (given the possibility of one year's discrepancy tolerated between the alphabetical *abjad* dates and their numerical equivalents) and instead take it as being of the same date as the inscriptions immediately above and beside it referring to her husband's
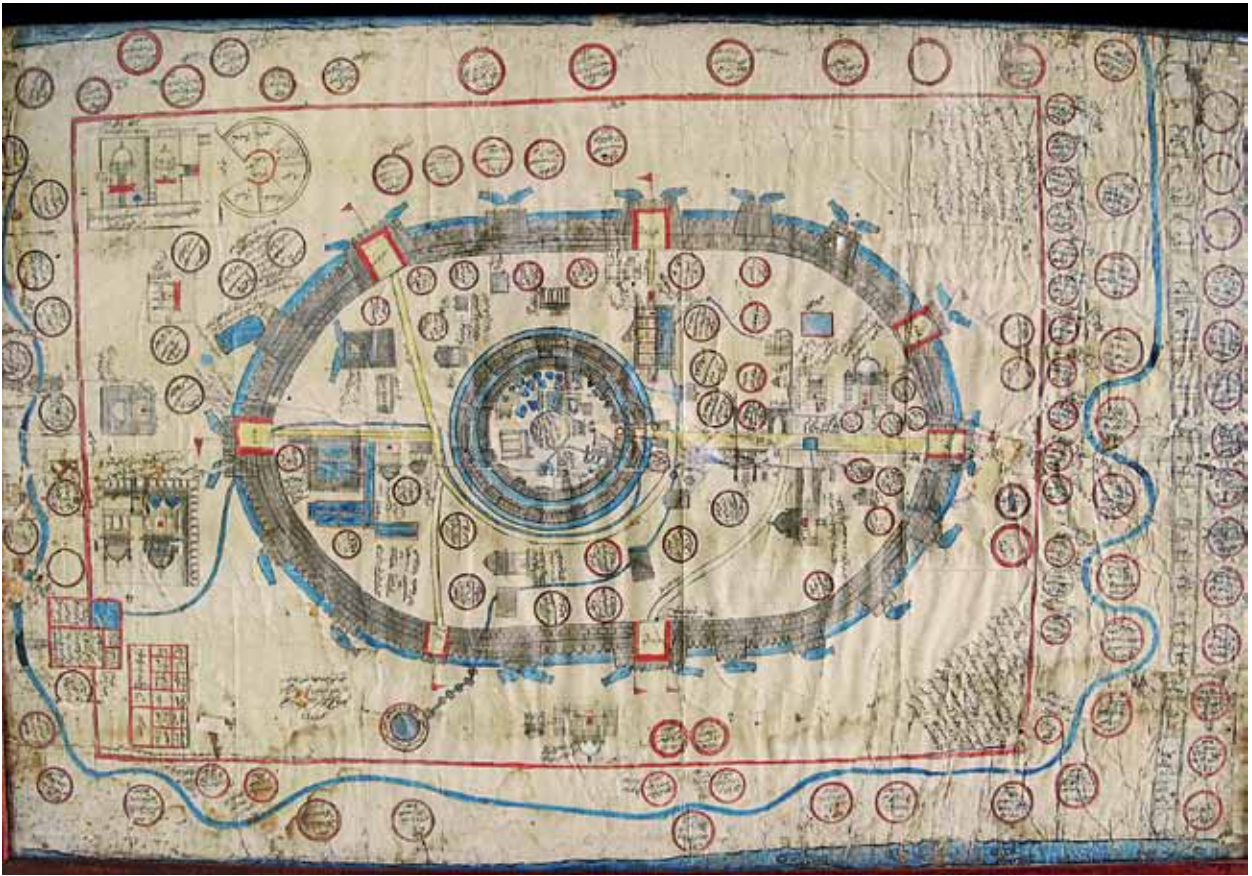
Fig. 8. Map of Bijapur, probably 17th century, showing location of the Ibrahim Rauza outside the Mecca Gate, south of the road to Nauraspur. Gol Gumbad Museum, Bijapur

namesake, the Prophet Ibrahim (N-1-2a–c; N-1-3–N-1-8)—i.e., necessarily after her husband's death in 1037.

This brings us to the last name mentioned in these inscriptions, that of the master calligrapher–designer, Sayyid Naqi al-Din Husaini.[11] His name appears on all the walls, and notably in the base triangle of the outer pilasters of the South wall in immediate conjunction with the name Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah ibn ʿAdil Shah; it also appears in the North door outer frame panels, where the calligrapher signs immediately after a text about the prophet Ibrahim. These undated

signatures of the calligrapher, appearing immediately after the name of Ibrahim, both ruler and prophet, imply that the calligraphic program was designed principally to commemorate the deceased monarch for whom the tomb was built.

With a large atelier of court calligraphers working under him, as well as court poets, spiritual mentors, and numerous stonecarvers, the realization of the epigraphic program—from the initial commission to the choice or composition of text to the calligraphic design and the actual execution by stonecarvers on the already standing

Sultans of the South: Arts of India's Deccan Courts, 1323–1687

Fig. 9. Detail of the map of Bijapur (fig. 8) showing the Ibrahim Rauza complex, its walls, tomb (left), and mosque (right)

walls—need not have taken much time, even if it had been designed, with clear articulation of architectural space, to accommodate later inscriptions in the door frames and other spaces, some still left blank until today.

A detailed technical and art historical examination is required for a determination of the building history. Taking into account the variety of style and competence of the calligraphy and its state of completion, I would suggest that the geographical location is also important evidence. The Ibrahim Rauza was built over the deep-cut Turwa canal, which was dug in the 1560s to bring water to the city of Bijapur from what later became the site of Nauraspur. The tomb complex lay in a formal royal garden in an area of gardens just outside the Mecca Gate, on the road leading to Nauraspur, which was founded as the new center of the court in 1599. From the fact that the Ibrahim Rauza lay outside the city walls and on the road to Nauraspur one might infer a date for the initial selection of the site and planning of the building before the destruction of Nauraspur and other extramuros developments in 1624 by Malik Ambar.

(See figs. 8 and 9.)[12] The architecture, as opposed to the inscriptions, conveys a mood of self-confidence, which would have been misplaced after the tragic losses and chronic insecurities of 1624–25 and 1635–36. This self-confidence corresponds more to the triumph of 1619, when the kingdom of Bidar was incorporated into the 'Adil Shahi kingdom, funds were available, and the forty-seven-year-old monarch might well have thought it time to plan his family mausoleum.

INTERPRETATION OF THE TEXTS ON THE MONUMENT

The name Ibrahim, of both ruler and prophet, the equivalence of which was already standard in the work of the Bijapur court poet Zuhuri, makes clear the all-pervading presence of Ibrahim, as ruler and prophet, in the epigraphic program. The religious context, concurrently Sufi and Sunni, is equally or more important.

The emotional penitential tone of the poetry is in the tradition of intimate conversations with God, "*munajat*," composed by Sufi poets, such as Khwaja 'Abdullah Ansari (d. 1088) of Herat. Elements of *nur-i muhammadi* light mysticism, as formulated by Sahl al-Tustari (d. ca. 896) and his spiritual successors, are present in a series of benedictions and invocations. Both of these elements point to the influence of Sufi mentors at the Bijapur court in the 1620s and 1630s. One of these, Shah 'Abu'l Hasan Qadiri of Bidar, was in Bijapur from the date of Ibrahim's accession until his own death in 1635. He is credited with bringing Ibrahim to repentance in the *Sahifat-i Ahl-i Huda*, where he is quoted as addressing the ruler with the words "The sunshine of Truth is shining on your soul."[13] There is an echo here in the epigraphic invocation "O chosen one, bright flash of the divine, O light from God's light" and the benediction "Praise to Him who is an epiphany in absolute light." Shah 'Abd Allah 'Aidarus of Aden, who died in 1632, was in Bijapur in the 1620s and was also credited with bringing Ibrahim to

repentance.[14] He may well have represented the Arab strand of Bijapur court culture, along with the Hadrami poet Shadqam. This strand is exemplified in the penitential poem that characterizes sinful man vis-à-vis a generous God with the metaphor of the traveler who dares not approach his host's tent carrying provisions of his own—for to do so would be considered an insult to his host's reputation for generosity. The Bedouin ethos is present here, as celebrated in the stories of Hatim Tayy. Ibrahim is supposed to have been persuaded to abandon his rosary of *rudraksha* beads and to have donned Arab dress. Another influential Sufi was Shah Hashim Pir, who spent some twenty years at Bijapur before going on the *hajj*. On his return he was captured by Portuguese pirates and only liberated from Goa in 1626 after the personal intervention of Ibrahim; he remained in great favor at court under Sultan Muhammad.[15] He may have felt sufficient gratitude to Ibrahim 'Adil Shah to select some of the more benign and hopeful texts for inclusion in the epigraphic program of the Rauza.

Finally, the Sunni Islam of the Hanafi legal school, Ibrahim's native sect, had been restored after 1583. This adds greater resonance to the tympanum carved with blessings on the four rightly guided caliphs and the companions of the Prophet as well as to the many mentions of the term *hanif* in relation to Ibrahim: on the one hand, he was a Hanafi Sunni Muslim; on the other, an early theist, independently seeking spiritual truth.

mother, daughter, sons by other wives as well as Taj Sultan the queen mother of the son who eventually succeeded him; and Sykes in 1818, who claimed to see the epigraphy in gilt on a deep blue background, which would certainly have been easier to read, though the surviving pistachio and pink palette all over seems to be original—again, a detailed technical analysis is needed. In other cases, caution must be exercised. Rehatsek's translations of the 1880s are not entirely reliable, and reports that the whole of the Qur'an can be found on the walls of the Rauza are patently wrong: there are twenty-four verses from a total of seven chapters, with much repetition, hardly a fraction of the Qur'an!

4. All translations are by the author.

5. This text also appears on Ibrahim 'Adil Shah's library seal, as identified by Keelan Overton, and is therefore one of the only texts inscribed on the Rauza of which we can be confident that it was known to and approved by Ibrahim during his lifetime. Further research could uncover corroborating evidence for other texts in the Ibrahim Rauza, for example, in the works of the contemporary court poets.

6. Cousens 1916; Nazim 1936; Eaton 1978; Hutton 2006.

7. See the Ibrahim Rauza inscriptions (pp. 268–97), where Abdullah Ghouchani has pointed out parallels in Iran of those with traditional attributions, for instance, to 'Ali.

8. See Cousens 1916.

9. The *abjad* is a method of recording numbers alphabetically, using the old Semitic order of letters; for death dates, the skilled writers of chronograms would observe requirements of poetic meter, rhyme, apposite sense, as well as numerical accuracy.

10. The interpretation of the inscriptions N-1-10a–c and S-1-11a–c, in particular what they indicate about the tomb's patronage and original function, has changed over the years. According to Henry Cousens, one of the first to write about the build-

ing, "From the inscriptions upon it we gather that it was primarily erected as the mausoleum and memorial of his queen Taj Sultana, but the king, dying before her, was first interred within it" (Cousens 1916, p. 71). Muhammad Nazim, who later published a selection of the inscriptions on the building, gives two different opinions. In one part of his essay (1936, p. 10), he writes that the Ibrahim Rauza was "erected by the order of [Ibrahim 'Adil Shah's] wife, Taj Sultana," while in another place he states (p. 17) that "Ibrahim II . . . raised the elaborate pile of the Ibrahim Rauza . . ." George Michell (Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 90), likely basing his opinion on Cousens' reading of the inscriptions, stated that "The Ibrahim Rauza was originally intended for Taj Sultana, Ibrahim's queen, but was later converted into a mausoleum for the sultan and his family." Most recently, Deborah Hutton has supported Michell's view, writing that "popular belief commonly attributes the complex to the sultan's patronage. The Persian inscriptions adorning the tomb, however, suggest that the complex was built by Ibrahim's wife Taj Sultana as her tomb, but functioned as a family mausoleum as well, with Ibrahim and four other family members buried there. The most significant of these inscriptions [our S-1-11a–c] . . . implies that Taj Sultana was both the principal figure being memorialized and the patron of the structure" (Hutton 2006, p. 125).

11. For Sayyid Naqi al-Din Husaini, see also the painted *mihrab* of 1636 in the Great Friday mosque in Bijapur.

12. The map in figure 8 was first brought to light by Mark Brand who kindly provided the image.

13. See Eaton 1978, pp. 109–11. *Sahifat-i Ahl-i Huda*, a biography of Bijapur's Sufis, was written in 1796–97, based on notes of 'Abu'l Hasan's grandson.

14. Ibid., pp. 127–28.

15. Ibid., pp. 118–20.

Abdullah Ghouchani and Bruce Wannell

The Inscriptions of the Ibrahim Rauza Tomb

The alpha-numeric code preceding each inscription corresponds to the diagrams on pp. 300–303.

SOUTH FACE, *center*

S-1-1

Arabic, inscription appears twice (once in mirror):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

S-1-2 a, b, c
Arabic, poetry:

a وفدت على الكريم بغير زاد   من الحسنات والقلب السليم

b رجائي أن يعاملنــي بلطف   وفضل منه والكرم العميم

c فحمـل الزاد أقبـح كـل شيء   إذا كان الوفود علـى الكريم

a. I came to a generous host without provisions of good deeds or wholesome heart.
b. My hope is that He will act toward me with graciousness and kindness and all-encompassing generosity.
c. And indeed it is an ugly breach of manners to carry one's own provisions when one goes to visit a generous host.[1]

S-1-3
Arabic:

الصلاة والسلام عليك يا خليل الله

Greetings and peace to you, O faithful friend of God [Khalilullah, a title of Ibrahim].

S-1-4
Same as S-1-3

S-1-5
Blank or effaced

S-1-6
Persian, poetry:

بگفت ازما بر ابراهيم صلوة ۱۰۳۷

He said, "Prayer from us upon Ibrahim," 1037.

The phrase "از ما بر ابراهیم صلواة" converts to the date A.H. 1036/A.D. 1626-27.[2]

This phrase is the first half of a verse, the second part of which might have been in the matching square box on the opposite side of the doorway (S-1-5), now blank.

S-1-7

Arabic, inscription appears eight times (four times in mirror):

یا عزیز

O Mighty.

S-1-8

Same as S-1-7

S-1-9

Persian, poetry:

بود جای ابراهیم بگلشن فردوس سنة ۱۰۳۷   چو سال رحلتش جستم پیر عقل گفت

When I sought the year of his departure [death], the old man of reason said,
"Ibrahim's place is in the flowery meadows of Paradise, the year 1037."

The phrase "جای ابراهیم بگلشن فردوس" converts to the date A.H. 1036/A.D. 1626-27.

S-1-10 a, b, c

Persian, poetry:

ازو زیبا سریـــر و تاج عفت   زبیده حشمت و بلقیس رفعـت   **a**
بدار الملک جنت کرد رحلت   چـون زین منزلگه خاکی اغبر   **b**
بگفتا تاج سلطان اهل جنت سنة ۱۰۴۳   بپرسیـدم ز پیـر عقـل تاریـخ   **c**

a. Dignified like Zubaida [the great Abbasid queen] and exalted like Bilqis [the queen of Sheba], the throne and crown of modesty are beautiful because of her.
b. When she departed from this dusty, temporary abode for the palace of the eternal kingdom of heaven,
c. I asked the old man of reason for the date, and he said, "Taj Sultan is one of the people of Paradise, the year 1043."

The phrase "تاج سلطان اهـل جنـت" converts to the date A.H. 1044/A.D. 1634-35.

S-1-11 a, b, c

Persian, poetry:

که خلد اندر صفاتش ماند حیـران   بنا فرمـود روضۀ تاج سلطـان   **a**
ولـی نهصـد دگـر ضم گشته بآن   نمـوده خرج آن یکنیم لك هون   **b**
ملک صنـدل رسانیـــده بپایـــان   بحسـن اهتمام این کـار روضه   **c**

a. Taj Sultan ordered the construction of a garden tomb [*rauza*], and Paradise remained astonished at its beauties.
b. She set aside for its expenses one and a half *lakh* of *hun*s [gold coins], but another 900 were added to that sum.
c. This work of building the *rauza* was brought to completion by Malik Sandal, by virtue of efficient supervision.

S-1-12 a, b, c, d
Persian, poetry:

a ملكـــا ذکـر تـو گویـــم کـه تـــو پاکـی و خدایی   **b** نروم بجـز آن ره کـه توأم بـره نمایی

نه زن و جفت بخواهی نخوری و خفت نخواهی   c احـدی لیـس کمثلـی ملکـا کـام روایی

d لـب و دنـدان سنایـی همـــه توحیـــد تـــو گویـــد   کـه مگـر ز آتش دوزخ بود آنروز رهایی

O Lord, I remember you [in my litanies] because you are pure and you are God;
I will not follow any path without you as my guide.
You require neither wife nor companion, nor food, nor sleep; you are one,
saying there is none like me, O Lord, you act according to your wishes.[3]
Sana'i's lips and teeth declare your Divine Unity
hoping that on that fateful day he will be freed from the fires of Hell.

This is a paraphrase of the Throne Verse from the Qur'an (2:255).

S-1-13
Arabic:

الله ولا سواه

Only God, no one else.

S-1-14
Persian:

تو خلیل آسمانی و أحبه ملك العرش؟

You are the celestial faithful friend [Khalilullah=title of Ibrahim] and beloved of the
Lord of the Throne [?].

S-1-15 a, b, c
Persian, poetry:

a (right) جـــز تـــو دوا ندانــــم (top); بیمار و ناتوانم (left); کس نیست جز تو یارم (bottom); از درد بیقرارم
b رس فریاد (appears four times)
c الهـی (appears four times)

These can be rearranged to read:

کس نیست جز تو یارم الهی فریاد رس   از درد بیقرارم الهی فریاد رس

جـــز تـــو دوا ندانــــم الهی فریاد رس   بیمار و ناتوانم الهی فریاد رس

Pain makes me restless, O my God, answer my call for help;
Other than you I have no friend, O my God, answer my call for help.
I am sick and weak, O my God, answer my call for help;
Other than you I know no cure, O my God, answer my call for help.

S-1-16
Same as S-1-15

S-1-17
Same as S-1-12

S-1-18
Same as S-1-13

S-1-19

Same as S-1-14

S-1-20

Same as S-1-15

S-1-21

Same as S-1-15

SOUTH FACE, *left*

S-2-1

Arabic, inscription appears twice (once in mirror):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

S-2-2 a, b, c

Persian, poetry:

a   گر من گنه روی زمین کردستم   عفو تو امید است که گیرد دستم

b   هرچند زطاعت تهی ام ز گناه پر   امید بلطف عام و فضلت بستم

c   گفتی که بروز عجز دستت گیرم   عاجزتر از این مخواه که اکنون هستم

a. If on earth I committed sins, your graciousness is all-encompassing, so you will reach out a helping hand to me.
b. Though I am devoid of obedience and full of sin, yet I pin my hopes on your all-encompassing graciousness and kindness.
c. You promised that on the day of helplessness [Last Judgment] you would stretch out a helping hand to me; do not wish me to be any more helpless than I am now.[4]

S-2-3

Blank or effaced

S-2-4

Blank or effaced

S-2-5

Blank or effaced

S-2-6

Blank or effaced

S-2-7

Arabic, inscription appears eight times (four times in mirror):

یا عزیز

O Mighty.

S-2-8
Same as S-2-7

S-2-9
Persian, largely vandalized, those parts still legible in **bold**:

سال **تاریخ [زهره سلطان**را القصه خرد یافت**] از یکداغ سنة** ۱۰۳۵

In brief, reason found the year of Zuhra Sultan's death date from the words "one searing pain,"
the year 1035.

The phrase "یکداغ" converts to the date A.H. 1035/A.D. 1625-26.[5]

S-2-10 a, b, c, d
Persian, poetry, with Qur'anic refrain:

a من خاکسار عاصی یا رب ظلمت نفسی   b کرده بسی معاصی یا رب ظلمت نفسی
تو پادشاه مایی من خسته دادخواهی   ما را تو یک خدایی یا رب ظلمت نفسی
هم غافر الذنوبی هم ساتر العیوبی   c هم کاشف الکروبی یا رب ظلمت نفسی
d وقتی که جان ستانی از خود مرا نرانی   هم سرای خویش خوانی یا رب ظلمت نفسی
من بنده ام تو شاهی هر آنچه خواهی   فضل کن یا رب ظلمت نفسی

I am a dusty penitent who has rebelled, O Lord, I have wronged my own soul;
I have committed many acts of disobedience, I have wronged my own soul.
You are my Lord, I am wounded and calling for justice:
You are my one God, O Lord, I have wronged my own soul.
You are the one who forgives sins, veils faults, unveils cherubs; O Lord, I have wronged my own soul.
When you take my soul, do not drive me from your presence;
invite me to share your abode, O Lord, I have wronged my own soul.
I am your slave, you are my king, do whatever you will, but be gracious; O Lord, I have
wronged my own soul.

The refrain of each verse is a quotation from Sura 27:44 (*al-Naml*).

S-2-11
Arabic:

الله باقي والکل فاني

God is eternal, and all others are mortal.

S-2-12
Arabic:

ابراهیم عادلشاه ابن عادلشاه غفر الله تعالی

Ibrahim 'Adil Shah, the son of 'Adil Shah, God the exalted forgive [him].

S-2-13
Same as S-2-12

S-2-14
Same as S-2-12

S-2-15
Same as S-2-12

S-2-16
Same as S-2-12

S-2-17
Arabic:

كتبه نقي الحسيني

Naqi al-Husaini [the calligrapher] wrote it.

SOUTH FACE, *right*

S-3-1
Arabic, inscription appears twice (once in mirror):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

S-3-2 a, b, c
Persian, poetry:

در بنـــد گنـــه رهين بيامرز و مپرس	**a** دارم دلکی غمین بیامرز و مپرس
صد واقعه در کمین بیامرز و مپرس	**b** از کـج رویی نفـس دون ستمکاره
ای اکـرم الاکـرمین بیامرز و مپرس	**c** شرمنـده شـوم اگـر بپرسـی عملـم

a. I have a little grieving heart, forgive and do not ask; left as a pledge of sins, forgive and do not ask.
b. A hundred dangers wait in ambush because of my tyrannical lower soul,
which has gone astray, forgive and do not ask.
c. I will be covered in shame if you ask me [what were] my actions; O most generous of the generous, forgive and do not ask.

S-3-3
Blank or effaced

S-3-4
Blank or effaced

S-3-5
Persian:

که جای پاك تاج سلطان جنت ١٠٤٣

That Paradise is the pure abode of Taj Sultan, 1043.

This phrase converts to the date A.H. 1044/A.D. 1634-35.

S-3-6
Blank or effaced

S-3-7
Arabic, inscription appears eight times (four times in mirror):

يا عزيز

O Mighty.

S-3-8
Same as S-3-7

S-3-9
Now broken

S-3-10
Same as S-2-10
Persian, poetry, with Qur'anic refrain:

b	a
کــرده بســـــی معاصـــی یا رب ظلمت نفسی	من خاکسار عاصی یا رب ظلمت نفسی
ما را تـو یـــــك خدایـــی یا رب ظلمت نفسی	تو پادشاه مایی مـن خستـه دادخواهی
c هــم کاشـف الکروبـــــی یا رب ظلمت نفسی	هــم غافـر الذنوبی هـــم ساتـر العیوبی
هم سرای خویش خوانی یا رب ظلمت نفسی	d وقتی که جان ستانی از خود مرا نرانی
فضل کن یا رب ظلمت نفسی	من بنده ام تـو شاهی هـر آنچه خواهی

I am a dusty penitent who has rebelled, O Lord, I have wronged my own soul;
I have committed many acts of disobedience, I have wronged my own soul.
You are my Lord, I am wounded and calling for justice:
You are my one God, O Lord, I have wronged my own soul.
You are the one who forgives sins, veils faults, unveils cherubs; O Lord, I have wronged my own soul.
When you take my soul, do not drive me from your presence;
invite me to share your abode, O Lord, I have wronged my own soul.
I am your slave, you are my king, do whatever you will, but be gracious; O Lord I have
wronged my own soul.

The refrain of each verse is from Sura 27:44 (*al-Naml*).

S-3-11
Same as S-2-11
Arabic:

الله باقي والکل فاني

God is eternal, and all others are mortal.

S-3-12
Same as S-2-12
Arabic:

إبراهيم عادلشاه ابن عادلشاه غفرَ الله تعالى له

Ibrahim 'Adil Shah, the son of 'Adil Shah, God the exalted forgive him.

S-3-13
Same as S-3-12

S-3-14
Same as S-3-12

S-3-15
Same as S-3-12

S-3-16
Same as S-3-12

S-3-17
Same as S-2-17
Arabic:

كتبه نقي الحسيني

Naqi al-Husaini [the calligrapher] wrote it.

WEST FACE, *center*

W-1-1
Arabic, inscription appears twice (once in mirror):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

W-1-2 a, b, c
Arabic, Sura 2:255 (*al-Baqara*):

a الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيوم لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السماوات وما في الأرض من ذا الذي يشفع عنده إلا بإذنه يعلم

b ما بين أيديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشيء من علمه إلا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السماوات والأرض ولا يؤوده حفظهما وهو العلي العظيم

God there is no god but He, the Living, the Everlasting. Slumber seizes Him not, neither sleep;
to Him belongs all that is in the heavens and the earth. Who is there that shall intercede with Him
save by His leave? He knows what lies before them and what is after them, and they comprehend
not anything of His knowledge save such as He wills. His Throne comprises the heavens and the
earth; the preserving of them oppresses Him not; He is the All-high, the All-glorious.[6]

Arabic, Sura 2:254 (*al-Baqara*):

c يا أيها الذين آمنوا أنفقوا مما رزقناكم من قبل أن يأتي يوم لا بيع فيه ولا خلة ولا شفاعة والكافرون هم الظالمون

O believers, expend of that wherewith We have provided you, before there comes a day wherein
shall neither traffick, nor friendship, nor intercession; and the unbelievers—they are the evildoers.

W-1-3
Arabic:

الصلاة والسلام عليك يا خليل الله

Greetings and peace upon you, O you who are God's faithful friend [Khalilullah=title of Ibrahim].

W-1-4

Same as W-1-3

W-1-5

Same as W-1-3

W-1-6

Same as W-1-3

W-1-7

Arabic, inscription appears eight times (four times in mirror):

يا حافظ

O Protector.

W-1-8

Same as W-1-7

W-1-9

Arabic, Sura 3:67 (*Al ʿImran*):

ما كان إبراهيم يهوديًا ولا نصرانيًا ولكن كان حنيفًا مسلمًا وما كان من المشركين

No: Ibrahim in truth was not a Jew, neither a Christian; but he was a Muslim
and one pure of faith. Certainly he was never of the idolaters.

W-1-10 a, b, c

Arabic, poetry:[7]

مقـرًّا بالذنـــوب قـد دعاكـا	**a** إلهي عبدك العاصي أتاكا
يناجي بالدعاء يرجـو عطاكا	**b** ينـادي بالتذلـل في الليالـي
وإن تطرد فمن يرحم سواكا	**c** فإن تغفر فأنت لذاك أهـل

a. O my God, your rebellious slave has come to you, confessing his sins and praying to you.
b. He calls to you in all humility throughout the night; he whispers intimately to you in his
prayers, hoping for the gift [of your forgiveness].
c. And if you forgive him, that indeed is worthy of you; and if you reject him, who then can
have mercy, if not you?

W-1-11 a, b, c

Arabic, poetry:

علـى وجـــل بـه مما أنـت عـارف	**a** أسيـر الخطايـا عنـد بابك واقـف
ويرجـوك فيها فهو راج و خائف	**b** يخاف ذنوبـاً لم تخف عنك غيها
و ما لك في فصل القضاء مخالف	**c** فمن ذا الذي سواك يرجو و يتقي

a. Imprisoned by my own faults, I stand at your door, trembling for reasons that you know well.
b. I fear sins which cannot be hidden in your presence, and yet I place my hope in you, and am
both hopeful and fearful.
c. And of whom else can one have both hope and fear, apart from you? There is no one who can
challenge your judgments in the court of law.[8]

W-1-12 a, b, c, d

Arabic, inscription appears twice (once in mirror):

a بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

a. In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

Arabic, prayer:

b اللهم إني أسألك يا سيد السادات ويا مجيب الدعوات **c** ويا قاضي الحاجات ويا مُنزل **d** البركات و يا عالم السر والخفيات ويا ولي الحسنات

b. O God, I beg you; O you who are master of masters, you who answer prayers.

c. You who fulfill needs, you who send down

d. blessings, you who know all secrets and whatever is hidden; you who loves good deeds.⁹

W-1-13

Arabic:

الله باقي والكل فاني

God is eternal, and all others are mortal.

W-1-14

Arabic:

صلوا على من تجلى بالنور التمام

Send greetings to Him who reveals Himself with absolute light.

W-1-15 a, b, c

Arabic:

a. الله (appears four times)

b. يا نور عرش (bottom); يا حبيب (left); يا حجة (top); يا صفوة (right)

c. الصلاة والسلام عليك (appears four times)

These can be rearranged to read:

الصلاة والسلام عليك يا نور عرش الله/ الصلاة والسلام عليك يا حبيب الله/
الصلاة والسلام عليك يا حجة الله/ الصلاة والسلام عليك يا صفوة الله

Greetings and peace upon you, O Light of God's throne/ Greetings and peace upon you, O God's beloved/ Greetings and peace upon you, O God's proof/ Greetings and peace upon you, O God's chosen.

W-1-16

Same as W-1-15

W-1-17 a, b, c, d

Same as W-1-12 a, b, c, d

W-1-18

Same as W-1-13

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W-1-19

Same as W-1-14

W-1-20

Same as W-1-15

W-1-21

Same as W-1-15

W-1-22

Arabic, on the eight squares of the wood door, read top to bottom, right side, then left side:

الله حاضري / الله ناظري / الله شاهدي / الله راشدي

صلى الله / على خير خلقه / محمد وآله / وأصحابه أجمعين

God is ever-present with me, God is my overseer, God is my witness, God is my guide.
God's greetings to the best of His creations, Muhammad, and to his family and companions, all of them.

WEST FACE, *left*

W-2-1

Arabic, inscription appears twice (once in mirror):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

W-2-2 a, b, c, d, e
Arabic, Sura 1 (*al-Fatiha*):

a الحمد لله رب العالمين الرحمن الرحيم مالك يوم الدين إياك نعبد وإياك نستعين إهدنا الصراط المستقيم صراط الذين أنعمت

b عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين

a–b. Praise belongs to God, the Lord of all Being, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate, the Master of the Day of Doom. Thee only we serve; to Thee alone we pray for succour. Guide us in the straight path, the path of those whom Thou hast blessed, not of those against whom Thou art wrathful, nor of those who are astray.

Arabic, Sura 112 (*al-Ikhlas*):

c قل هو الله أحد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوًا أحد

c. Say: "He is God, One, God, the Everlasting Refuge, who has not begotten, and has not been begotten, and equal to Him is not any one."

Arabic:

d كتبه نقي الدين

d. Naqi al-Din [the calligrapher] wrote it.

Arabic, Sura 39:53 (*al-Zumar*):

e قال الله تعالى قل يا عبادي الذين أسرفوا على أنفسهم لا تقنطوا من رحمة الله إن الله يغفر الذنوب جميعًا إنه هو الغفور الرحيم.

e. God the Exalted said: Say: "O my people, who have been prodigal against yourselves, do not despair of God's mercy; surely God forgives sins altogether; surely He is the All-forgiving, the All-compassionate."

W-2-3
Arabic, inscription appears four times (twice in mirror):

يا نبي الله

O Prophet of God.

W-2-4
Same as W-2-3

W-2-5
Same as W-2-3

W-2-6
Same as W-2-3

W-2-7
Arabic, inscription appears eight times (four times in mirror):

يا حافظ

O Protector.

W-2-8
Same as W-2-7

W-2-9
Now broken

W-2-10 a, b, c, d, e
Arabic, Sura 1 (*al-Fatiha*):

a بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم **b** الحمد لله رب العالمين الرحمن الرحيم مالك يوم الدين إياك نعبد وإياك نستعين
c إهدنا الصراط المستقيم **d** صراط الذين أنعمت عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين

a–d. In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Praise belongs to God, the Lord of all Being, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate, the Master of the Day of Doom. Thee only we serve; to Thee alone we pray for succour. Guide us in the straight path, the path of those whom Thou hast blessed, not of those against whom Thou art wrathful, nor of those who are astray.

Arabic:

e كتبه نقي الدين حسيني

e. Naqi al-Din Husaini [the calligrapher] wrote it.

W-2-11
Arabic:

الله باقي والكل فاني

God is eternal and all others are mortal.

W-2-12

لا إله إلا الله ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله

There is no god but God; there is no power nor strength save in God.

W-2-13
Same as W-2-12

W-2-14
Same as W-2-12

W-2-15
Same as W-2-12

W-2-16
Same as W-2-12

W-2-17
Arabic:

كتبه نقي الحسيني

Naqi al-Husaini [the calligrapher] wrote it.

WEST FACE, *right*

W-3-1
Arabic, inscription appears twice (once in mirror):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

W-3-2 a, b, c, d, e
Arabic, Sura 1 (*al-Fatiha*):

a الحمد لله رب العالمين الرحمن الرحيم مالك يوم الدين إياك نعبد وإياك نستعين إهدنا الصراط المستقيم صراط الذين أنعمت

b عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين

a–b. Praise belongs to God, the Lord of all Being, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate, the Master of the Day of Doom. Thee only we serve; to Thee alone we pray for succour. Guide us in the straight path, the path of those whom Thou hast blessed, not of those against whom Thou art wrathful, nor of those who are astray.

Arabic, Sura 112 (*al-Ikhlas*):

c قل هو الله أحد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوًا أحد

c. Say: "He is God, One, God, the Everlasting Refuge, who has not begotten, and has not been begotten, and equal to Him is not any one."

Arabic:

d كتبه نقي الدين

d. Naqi al-Din [the calligrapher] wrote it.

Arabic, Sura 39:53 (*al-Zumar*):

e قال الله تعالى قل يا عبادي الذين أسرفوا على أنفسهم لا تقنطوا من رحمة الله إن الله يغفر الذنوب جميعًا إنه هو الغفور الرحيم

e. God the Exalted said: Say: "O my people, who have been prodigal against yourselves, do not despair of God's mercy; surely God forgives sins altogether; surely He is the All-forgiving, the All-compassionate."

W-3-3
Arabic, inscription appears four times (twice in mirror):

يا نبي الله

O Prophet of God.

W-3-4
Same as W-3-3

W-3-5
Same as W-3-3

W-3-6
Same as W-3-3

W-3-7
Arabic, inscription appears eight times (four times in mirror):

يا حافظ

O Protector.

W-3-8
Same as W-3-7

W-3-9
Now broken

W-3-10 a, b, c, d, e
Same as W-2-10
Arabic, Sura 1 (*al-Fatiha*):

a بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم   b الحمد لله رب العالمين الرحمن الرحيم مالك يوم الدين إياك نعبد وإياك نستعين   c إهدنا الصراط المستقيم
d صراط الذين أنعمت عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين

a–d. In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Praise belongs to God, the Lord of all Being, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate, the Master of the Day of Doom. Thee only we serve; to Thee alone we pray for succour. Guide us in the straight path, the path of those whom Thou hast blessed, not of those against whom Thou art wrathful, nor of those who are astray.

Arabic:

e كتبه نقي الدين حسيني

e. Naqi al-Din Husaini [the calligrapher] wrote it.

W-3-11
Same as W-2-11
Arabic:

الله باقي والكل فاني

God is eternal, and all others are mortal.

W-3-12
Same as W-2-12
Arabic:

لا إله إلا الله ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله

There is no God but God; there is no power nor strength save in God.

W-3-13
Same as W-3-12

W-3-14
Same as W-3-12

W-3-15
Same as W-3-12

W-3-16
Same as W-3-12

W-3-17
Arabic:

كتبه نقي الحسيني

Naqi al-Husaini [the calligrapher] wrote it.

N-1-1

Arabic, inscription appears twice (once in mirror):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

N-1-2 a, b, c, d

Arabic, Sura 2:131–33 (*al-Baqara*):

a قال الله تعالى إذ قال له ربه أسلم قال أسلمت لرب العالمين ووصى بها إبراهيم بنيه ويعقوب يا بني إن الله اصطفى

b لكم الدين فلا تموتن إلا وأنتم مسلمون أم كنتم شهداء إذ حضر يعقوب الموت إذ قال لبنيه ما تعبدون من بعدي

c قالوا نعبد إلهك وإله آبائك إبراهيم وإسماعيل وإسحاق إلهًا واحدًا ونحن له مسلمون.

a–c. God the Exalted said, "When his Lord said to him, 'Surrender,' he said, 'I have surrendered to the Lord of all Being.' And Ibrahim charged his sons with this and Jacob likewise: 'My sons, God has chosen for you the religion; see that you die not save in surrender.' Why, were you witnesses when death came to Jacob? When he said to his sons, 'What will you serve after me?' They said, 'We will serve thy God and the God of thy fathers Ibrahim, Ishmael, and Isaac, One God; to Him we surrender.'"

Arabic:

d كتبه نقي الحسيني

d. Naqi al-Husaini [the calligrapher] wrote it.

N-1-3
Arabic:

الصلاة والسلام عليك يا رسول الله

Prayer and peace be upon you, O messenger of God.

N-1-4
Same as N-1-3

N-1-5
Arabic:

الصلاة والسلام عليك يا خليل الله

Prayer and peace be upon you, O God's faithful friend.

N-1-6
Same as N-1-5

N-1-7
Arabic, Sura 4:125 (*al-Nisa'*), partial:

وإتخذ الله إبرهيم خليلاً

And God took Ibrahim for a friend.

N-1-8
Same as N-1-7

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N-1-9
Arabic:

الله محمد ورضي الله تعالى عن أبي بكر وعمر وعثمان وعلي وعن بقية الصحابة أجمعين

God, Muhammad; may God the Exalted be well pleased with Abu Bakr and 'Umar and 'Uthman and 'Ali and with the rest of the Companions, all of them.

N-1-10 a, b, c
Persian, poem:

a در عجب ماند آسمان از ارتفاع این بنیان   سر بر آورد از زمین گوید مگر چرخی جدا

b روضه فردوس ازین روضه طراوت برده وام   هر ستونش در لطافت سروی از باغ صفا

c بهر تاریخش صلا داده ملك ز اوج فلك   یادگار تاج سلطان این بنای دلفزا

a. The [sun of the] heavens was astonished at the height of this building; emerging from the [horizon of the] earth, it [the sun] asked: "Are you a new wheel [*charkh* = *chakra*] of heaven?"
b. The gardens of Paradise borrowed their freshness from this rauza; in gracefulness each of its columns is like a cypress tree from the garden of purity.
c. As to its date, the angel called from summit of the vault of heaven:
"This heart-seducing building stands as a work [*yadgar*] by which Taj Sultan is remembered."

The phrase "یادگار تاج سلطان این بنای دلفزا" converts to the date A.H. 1037/A.D. 1627, the year in which Ibrahim died.

N-1-11 a, b, c, d
Arabic, poetry:

a إلهـي لا إلٰه سـواك فأرحـم   علـى مـن لا رحیم له سواكا

b تجـاوز عـن ضعیـف قـد جفاكا   فجاءك تائبًا یرجو رضاكا

c فإن یك یا مهیمن قد عصاكا   فلـم یسجـد لمعبـود سواكا

a. O my God, there is no God but you, so have mercy on one who has no one else who will be merciful to him.
b. Pass over the wrongs done by this weak one, who had offended you, now coming to you as a penitent hoping for your good pleasure.
c. So, even if he rebelled against you, O Generous Protector, never did he bow down in worship to any except you.[10]

Arabic:

d یا الله

d. O God.

N-1-12
Arabic:

اللهم صلي على محمد وعلى آل محمد وسلم و بارك

O God, send greetings to Muhammad and his family, and peace and blessing!

N-1-13

Arabic:

a. الله (appears four times)

b. يا مصطفى سناء (bottom); يا نور من نور (left); يا مصطفى سناء (top); يا نور من نور (right)

These can be rearranged to read:

يا مصطفى سناء الله يا نور من نور الله

O Chosen One [the Prophet], bright flash of the Divine, O Light from God's Light.

N-1-14

Same as N-1-13

N-1-15

Same as N-1-13

N-1-16

Same as N-1-12

N-1-17

Same as N-1-13

N-1-18

Same as N-1-13

N-1-19

Same as N-1-13

NORTH FACE, *left*

N-2-1

Arabic, inscription appears twice (once in mirror):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

N-2-2 a, b, c

Arabic, Sura 2:255 (*al-Baqara*):

a الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيوم لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السماوات وما في الأرض من ذا الذي يشفع عنده إلا بإذنه يعلم

b ما بين أيديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشيء من علمه إلا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السماوات والأرض ولا يؤوده حفظهما وهو العلي العظيم

a–b. God there is no god but He, the Living, the Everlasting. Slumber seizes Him not, neither sleep; to Him belongs all that is in the heavens and the earth. Who is there that shall intercede with Him save by His leave? He knows what lies before them and what is after them, and they comprehend not anything of His knowledge save such as He wills. His Throne comprises the heavens and the earth; the preserving of them oppresses Him not; He is the All-high, the All-glorious.

Arabic, Sura 2:254 (*al-Baqara*):

c يا أيها الذين آمنوا أنفقوا مما رزقناكم من قبل أن يأتي يوم لا بيع فيه ولا خلة ولا شفاعة والكافرون هم الظالمون

c. O believers, expend of that wherewith We have provided you, before there comes a day wherein shall neither traffick, nor friendship, nor intercession; and the unbelievers—they are the evildoers.

N-2-3
Arabic:

الصلاة والسلام عليك يا رسول الله

Prayer and peace be upon you, O messenger of God.

N-2-4
Same as N-2-3

N-2-5
Same as N-1-13
Arabic:

a. الله (appears four times)
b. يا مصطفى سناء (bottom); يا نور من نور (left); يا مصطفى سناء (top); يا نور من نور (right)

These can be rearranged to read:

يا مصطفى سناء الله يا نور من نور الله

O Chosen One [the Prophet], bright flash of the Divine, O Light from God's Light

N-2-6
Same as N-2-5

N-2-7
Arabic:

يا الله المحمود في كل أفعاله

O God, who is laudable in all of his works.[11]

N-2-8
Same as N-2-7

N-2-9
Arabic, Sura 2:135 (*al-Baqara*), largely vandalized; those parts still legible in **bold**:

بـ[ـإسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وقالوا كونوا هودًا أو نصارى تهتدوا قل بل] **ملة إبرا**[هـ]**يم حنيفًا وما كان من المشركين**

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful: they say, "Be Jews or Christians and you shall be guided." Say thou: "Nay, rather the creed of Ibrahim, a man of pure faith; he was no idolater."

This inscription has been partially destroyed, and the phrases that can be read are found in two different verses, Sura 2:135 (*al-Baqara*) or Sura 3:95 (*Al 'Imran*). Judging from the amount of space left for the rest of this inscription, it is probably the former.

N-2-10
Arabic:

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

There is no god but God, Muhammad is the prophet of God.

N-2-11
Same as N-2-10

N-2-12
Same as N-2-10

N-2-13
Same as N-2-10

N-2-14
Same as N-2-10

N-2-15
Same as N-2-10

N-2-16
Same as N-2-10

N-2-17
Arabic:

الله ربي ومحمد نبيٌّ

God is my Lord, and Muhammad is my prophet.

NORTH FACE, *right*

N-3-1
Arabic, inscription appears twice (once in mirror):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

N-3-2 a, b, c
Arabic, Sura 2:255 (*al-Baqara*):

a الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيوم لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم لـه ما في السماوات وما في الأرض من ذا الذي يشفع عنده إلا بإذنه يعلم

b ما بين أيديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشيء من علمه إلا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السماوات والأرض ولا يؤوده حفظهما وهو العلي العظيم

a–b. God there is no god but He, the Living, the Everlasting. Slumber seizes Him not, neither sleep; to Him belongs all that is in the heavens and the earth. Who is there that shall intercede with Him save by His leave? He knows what lies before them and what is after them, and they comprehend not anything of His knowledge save such as He wills. His Throne comprises the heavens and the earth; the preserving of them oppresses Him not; He is the All-high, the All-glorious.

Arabic, Sura 2:254 (*al-Baqara*):

c   يا أيها الذين آمنوا أنفقوا مما رزقناكم من قبل أن يأتي يوم لا بيع فيه ولا خلة ولا شفاعة والكافرون هم الظالمون

c. O believers, expend of that wherewith We have provided you, before there comes a day wherein shall neither traffick, nor friendship, nor intercession; and the unbelievers—they are the evildoers.

N-3-3
Arabic:

a. الله (appears twice)
b. يا رسول (right) صلى عليه وسلم (top); يا رسول (left); صلى عليه وسلم (bottom); يا رسول

These can be rearranged to read:

يا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم

O God's messenger, God's prayer and peace be upon you.

N-3-4
Same as N-3-3

N-3-5
Same as N-1-13
Arabic:

a. الله (appears four times)
b. يا مصطفى سناء (right) يا نور من نور (top); يا مصطفى سناء (left); يا نور من نور (bottom); يا مصطفى سناء

These can be rearranged to read:

يا مصطفى سناء الله يا نور من نور الله

O Chosen One [the Prophet], bright flash of the Divine, O Light from God's Light.

N-3-6
Same as N-3-5

N-3-7
Same as N-2-7
Arabic:

يا الله المحمود في كل أفعاله

O God, who is laudable in all of His works.

N-3-8
Same as N-3-7

N-3-9
Arabic, part of Sura 4:54 (*al-Nisa'*):

قال سبحان وتعالى فقد آتينا آل إبراهيم الكتاب والحكمة وآتيناهم ملكًا عظيما

His august Glory, the Exalted said: Yet We gave the people of Ibrahim the Book
and the Wisdom, and We gave them a mighty kingdom.

N-3-10

Same as N-2-10

Arabic:

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

There is no God but God, Muhammad is the prophet of God.

N-3-11

Same as N-3-10

N-3-12

Same as N-3-10

N-3-13

Same as N-3-10

N-3-14

Same as N-3-10

N-3-15

Same as N-3-10

N-3-16

Same as N-3-10

N-3-17

Same as N-2-17

Arabic:

الله ربي ومحمد نبيٌّ

God is my Lord, and Muhammad is my prophet.

EAST FACE, *center*

E-1-1

Blank

E-1-2 a, b, c, d, e

Arabic, Sura 1 (*al-Fatiha*):

a الحمد لله رب العالمين الرحمن الرحيم مالك يوم الدين إياك نعبد وإياك نستعين اهدنا الصراط المستقيم صراط الذين أنعمت

b عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين

a–b. Praise belongs to God, the Lord of all Being, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate, the Master of the Day of Doom. Thee only we serve; to Thee alone we pray for succour. Guide us in the straight path, the path of those whom Thou hast blessed, not of those against whom Thou art wrathful, nor of those who are astray.

Arabic, Sura 112 (*al-Ikhlas*):

c قل هو الله أحد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوًا أحد

c. Say: "He is God, One, God, the Everlasting Refuge, who has not begotten, and has not been begotten, and equal to Him is not any one."

Arabic:

d كتبه نقي الدين

d. Naqi al-Din [the calligrapher] wrote it.

Arabic, Sura 39:53 (*al-Zumar*):

e قال الله تعالى قل يا عبادي الذين أسرفوا على أنفسهم لا تقنطوا من رحمة الله إن الله يغفر الذنوب جميعًا إنه هو الغفور الرحيم.

e. Say: "O my people who have been prodigal against yourselves, do not despair of God's mercy; surely God forgives sins altogether; surely He is the All-forgiving, the All-compassionate."

E-1-3
Arabic, inscription appears four times (twice in mirror):

يا نبي الله

O prophet of God.

E-1-4
Same as E-1-3

E-1-5
Same as E-1-3

E-1-6
Same as E-1-3

E-1-7
Arabic, appears eight times (four times in mirror):

يا عزيز

O Mighty.

E-1-8
Now effaced, was probably the same as E-1-7

E-1-9
Arabic, Sura 2:130 (*al-Baqara*):

و من يرغب عن ملة إبراهيم إلا من سفه نفسه ولقد اصطفيناه في الدنيا وإنه في الآخرة لمن الصالحين

Who therefore shrinks from the religion [or community] of Ibrahim, except he be foolish-minded? Indeed, We chose him in the present world, and in the world to come he shall be among the righteous.

E-1-10

Blank

E-1-11 a, b, c, d

Arabic, poetry:

حيائي منك أكثر من خطائي	[جئتـ]ـلك باكيـــاً فاّرحـــم بكائي **a**
بعفوك يا عظيـم ويا رجائي	فخـــذ بيــــدي فإنـــي مستجيـــر **b**
فاّغفر الذنوب يا كريــم الائي (sic)	تفضل سر العاصي من عطائي **c**

a. I came to you weeping, so pity my tears; my sense of shame in your presence is greater than my faults.

b. So take my hand, for I seek refuge in your forgiveness, O my great hope.

c. Your grace fills the innermost heart of this rebellious one, so forgive his sins O you of generous gifts.

Arabic:

يا الله **d**

d. O God.

E-1-12 a, b, c, d, e

Arabic, Sura 1 (*al-Fatiha*):

a بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم **b** الحمد لله رب العالمين الرحمن الرحيم مالك يوم الدين إياك نعبد وإياك نستعين إهدنا
c الصراط المستقيم صراط **d** الذين أنعمت عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين

a–d. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Praise belongs to God, the Lord of all Being, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate, the Master of the Day of Doom. Thee only we serve; to Thee alone we pray for succour. Guide us in the straight path, the path of those whom Thou hast blessed, not of those against whom Thou art wrathful, nor of those who are astray.

Arabic:

e كتبه نقي الدين حسيني

e. Naqi al-Din Husaini [the calligrapher] wrote it.

E-1-13

Arabic:

الله ولا سواه

Only God and no other.

E-1-14

Arabic:

صلوا على محمد شفيع في القيامة

Send greetings to Muhammad, the intercessor at the Resurrection.

E-1-15
Arabic:

a. الله (appears four times)

b. يا نجي (bottom); يا حفي (left); يا صفي (top); يا نبي (right)

These can be rearranged to read:

يا نجي الله يا حفي الله يا صفي الله يا نبي الله

O intimate friend of God; O welcomed by God; O purified by God; O prophet of God.

E-1-16
Same as E-1-15

E-1-17
Same as E-1-15

E-1-18 a, b, c, d, e
Same as E-1-12 a–e

E-1-19
Same as E-1-13

E-1-20
Same as E-1-14

E-1-21
Same as E-1-15

E-1-22
Same as E-1-15

E-1-23
Same as E-1-15

EAST FACE, *left*

E-2-1
Blank

E-2-2 a, b, c
Arabic, Sura 2:255 (*al-Baqara*):

a الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيوم لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السماوات وما في الأرض من ذا الذي يشفع عنده إلا بإذنه يعلم

b ما بين أيديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشيء من علمه إلا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السماوات والأرض ولا يؤوده حفظهما وهو العلي العظيم

a–b. God there is no god but He, the Living, the Everlasting. Slumber seizes Him not, neither sleep; to Him belongs all that is in the heavens and the earth. Who is there that shall intercede with Him save by His leave? He knows what lies before them and what is after them, and they comprehend not anything of His knowledge save such as He wills. His Throne comprises the

heavens and the earth; the preserving of them oppresses Him not; He is the All-high, the All-glorious.

Arabic, Sura 39:53 (*al-Zumar*):

c قال الله تعالى قل يا عبادي الذين أسرفوا على أنفسهم لا تقنطوا من رحمة الله إن الله يغفر الذنوب جميعاً إنه هو الغفور الرحيم.

c. God the Exalted said: Say: "O my people who have been prodigal against yourselves, do not despair of God's mercy; surely God forgives sins altogether; surely He is the All-forgiving, the All-compassionate."

E-2-3
Arabic:

الصلاة و السلام عليك يا خليل الله

Prayer and peace upon you, O God's faithful friend.

E-2-4
Same as E-2-3

E-2-5
Same as E-2-3

E-2-6
Same as E-2-3

E-2-7
Arabic, inscription appears eight times (four times in mirror):

يا عزيز

O Mighty.

E-2-8
Same as E-2-7

E-2-9
Now broken

E-2-10 a, b, c, d, e
Arabic, Sura 1 (*al-Fatiha*):

a بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم **b** الحمد لله رب العالمين الرحمن الرحيم مالك يوم الدين إياك نعبد وإياك نستعين إهدنا
c الصراط المستقيم **d** صراط الذين أنعمت عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين

a–d. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Praise belongs to God, the Lord of all Being, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate, the Master of the Day of Doom. Thee only we serve; to Thee alone we pray for succour. Guide us in the straight path, the path of those whom Thou hast blessed, not of those against whom Thou art wrathful, nor of those who are astray.

Arabic:

e كتبه نقي الدين حسيني

e. Naqi al-Din Husaini [the calligrapher] wrote it.

E-2-11
Arabic:

الله ولا سواه

Only God and no other.

E-2-12
Arabic:

لا إله إلا الله ولا قوة إلا بالله

There is no god but God, and there is no strength but God's.

E-2-13
Same as E-2-12

E-2-14
Same as E-2-12

E-2-15
Same as E-2-12

E-2-16
Same as E-2-12

E-2-17
Arabic:

كتبه نقي الحسيني

Naqi al-Husaini [the calligrapher] wrote it.

EAST FACE, *right*

E-3-1
Blank

E-3-2 a, b, c
Arabic, Sura 2:255 (*al-Baqara*):

a الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيوم لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السماوات وما في الأرض من ذا الذي يشفع عنده إلا بإذنه يعلم

b ما بين أيديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشيء من علمه إلا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السماوات والأرض ولا يؤوده حفظهما وهو العلي العظيم

a–b. God there is no god but He, the Living, the Everlasting. Slumber seizes Him not, neither sleep; to Him belongs all that is in the heavens and the earth. Who is there that shall intercede with Him save by His leave? He knows what lies before them and what is after them, and they

comprehend not anything of His knowledge save such as He wills. His Throne comprises the heavens and the earth; the preserving of them oppresses Him not; He is the All-high, the All-glorious.

<div align="center">Arabic, Sura 39:53 (al-Zumar):</div>

c قال الله تعالى قل يا عبادي الذين أسرفوا على أنفسهم لا تقنطوا من رحمة الله إن الله يغفر الذنوب جميعًا إنه هو الغفور الرحيم.

c. God the exalted said: Say: "O my people who have been prodigal against yourselves, do not despair of God's mercy; surely God forgives sins altogether; surely He is the All-forgiving, the All-compassionate."

<div align="center">

E-3-3

Same as N-1-13

Arabic:

</div>

a. الله (appears four times)

b. يا مصطفى سناء (bottom); يا نور من نور (left); يا مصطفى سناء (top); يا نور من نور (right)

<div align="center">These can be rearranged to read:</div>

<div align="center">يا مصطفى سناء الله يا نور من نور الله</div>

<div align="center">O Chosen One [the Prophet], bright flash of the Divine, O Light from God's Light.</div>

<div align="center">

E-3-4

Same as E-3-3

</div>

<div align="center">

E-3-5

Same as E-3-3

</div>

<div align="center">

E-3-6

Same as E-3-3

</div>

<div align="center">

E-3-7

Arabic, inscription appears eight times (four times in mirror):

</div>

<div align="center">يا عزيز</div>

<div align="center">O Mighty</div>

<div align="center">

E-3-8

Same as E-3-7

</div>

<div align="center">

E-3-9

Arabic, Sura 21:69 (al-Anbiya):

</div>

<div align="center">قال الله تعالى قلنا يا نار كوني برداً و سلاما على إبراهيم</div>

<div align="center">God the Exalted said, "O fire, be coolness and safety for Ibrahim!"</div>

E-3-10 a, b, c, d, e

Arabic, Sura 1 (*al-Fatiha*):

a بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم **b** الحمد لله رب العالمين الرحمن الرحيم مالك يوم الدين إياك نعبد وإياك نستعين إهدنا

c الصراط المستقيم **d** صراط الذين أنعمت عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين

a–d. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Praise belongs to God, the Lord of all Being, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate, the Master of the Day of Doom. Thee only we serve; to Thee alone we pray for succour. Guide us in the straight path, the path of those whom Thou hast blessed, not of those against whom Thou art wrathful, nor of those who are astray.

Arabic:

e كتبه نقي الدين حسيني

e. Naqi al-Din Husaini [the calligrapher] wrote it.

E-3-11

Same as E-2-11

Arabic:

الله ولا سواه

Only God and no other.

E-3-12

Same as E-2-12

Arabic:

لا إله إلا الله ولا قوة إلا بالله

There is no god but God, and there is no strength but God's.

E-3-13

Same as E-3-12

E-3-14

Same as E-3-12

E-3-15

Same as E-3-12

E-3-16

Same as E-3-12

E-3-17

Arabic:

كتبه نقي الحسيني

Naqi al-Husaini [the calligrapher] wrote it.

1. Traditionally this poem is attributed to Imam 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, and the first two lines of it appear on many tombstones, textiles, and tiles in Iran, especially in Gulpaygan, a city near Isfahan, and in Hamadan, in western Iran. The first line was published by A. Ghouchani, *Persian Poetry on the Tiles of Takht-i Sulayman* (Tehran: Iran University Press, 1992), p. 2. The same author's study of the tombstones of Hamadan will be published by the Cultural Heritage Organization of Hamadan.

2. The discrepancy between the dates in numerals in the inscriptions and the dates calculated by the *abjad* system are discussed in the essay in this volume by Bruce Wannell, pp. 260–64.

3. The poem is from Sana'i Ghaznavi and appears in his Diwan, incorporating lines 1, 3, and 13. See *Diwan Sana'i*, edited by Mudarres Razavi (Tehran: Kitabkhana-yi Sana'i Publications, 1354/1975), pp. 602–604. Many of the words that appear in the inscription differ from the Diwan and are arranged differently. Sana'i's poem has been made famous by the singer Shajarian in Iran.

4. The first and third lines of this poem are from a *ruba'i* variously attributed to 'Umar Khayyam (see *Tarabkhane-ye Ruba'iyat Hakim Khayyam*, edited by Jalal Huma'i [Tehran: Anjuman Athar Milli Publications, 1342/1963], p. 247); to Abu Sa'id Abu al-Khair (see *Sukhnan Manzum Abu Sa'id Abu al-Khayr*, edited by Sa'id Nafisi [Tehran: Kitabkhana-yi Sana'i Publications, 3rd edition, 1350/1971], p. 58); and to Shaikh Baha'i (see *Kashkul*, edited by Mohammad Baqir Sa'idi Khurasani [Tehran: Islamiyya Publications, 1364/1985], vol.1, p. 77). The lines can also be

found on a gravestone in Hamadan, Iran, which will be published by the Hamadan Cultural Heritage Organization.

5. This inscription, now largely destroyed, was more legible when published in Nazim 1936, pp. 35–46.

6. All Qur'anic translations are adapted from Arthur J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted* (London: Allen & Unwin and New York: Macmillan, 1955).

7. These poems also appear on many tombstones in Hamadan, Iran (in the collection of the Hikmataneh Museum). The tombstones will be published by A. Ghouchani (see note 1 above).

8. This poem is by 'Abdullah ibn Muhammad al-Azadi al-Qurtubi (Ibn al-Faradi). See Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Maqri al-Tilmasani, *Nafh al-Tib fi Ghusn al-Andalus al-Ratib* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr Publications, 1996), vol. 3, p. 280.

9. This prayer appears in many Shi'i religious books, such as *Bihar al-Anwar* by 'Allama Majlisi (Beirut: Mu'assaseh al-Wafa' Publications, A.H. 1404), vol. 83, p. 64 and vol. 91, p. 384; in *al-Balad al-Amin* by Ibrahim ibn 'Ali Kaf'ami, p. 402; and in *al-Misbah* by Ibrahim ibn 'Ali Kaf'ami (Qumm: Radi Publications, A.H. 1405), p. 247.

10. This poem is attributed to Ibrahim Adham, composed as a *munajat* when he was circumambulating the Ka'ba.

11. This text also appears in angular *kufic* on two buildings in Isfahan, the Friday Mosque and the Madrasa Chahar-Bagh (Madrasa Madar-i Shah). Published by A. Ghouchani in *Angular Kufic on Old Mosques of Isfahan*, part 1 (Tehran: Islamic Thought Foundation Publication, 1985), p. 90, no. 82 and p. 151, no. 137. See also N-3-7.

South face
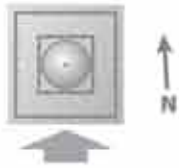
S-2-
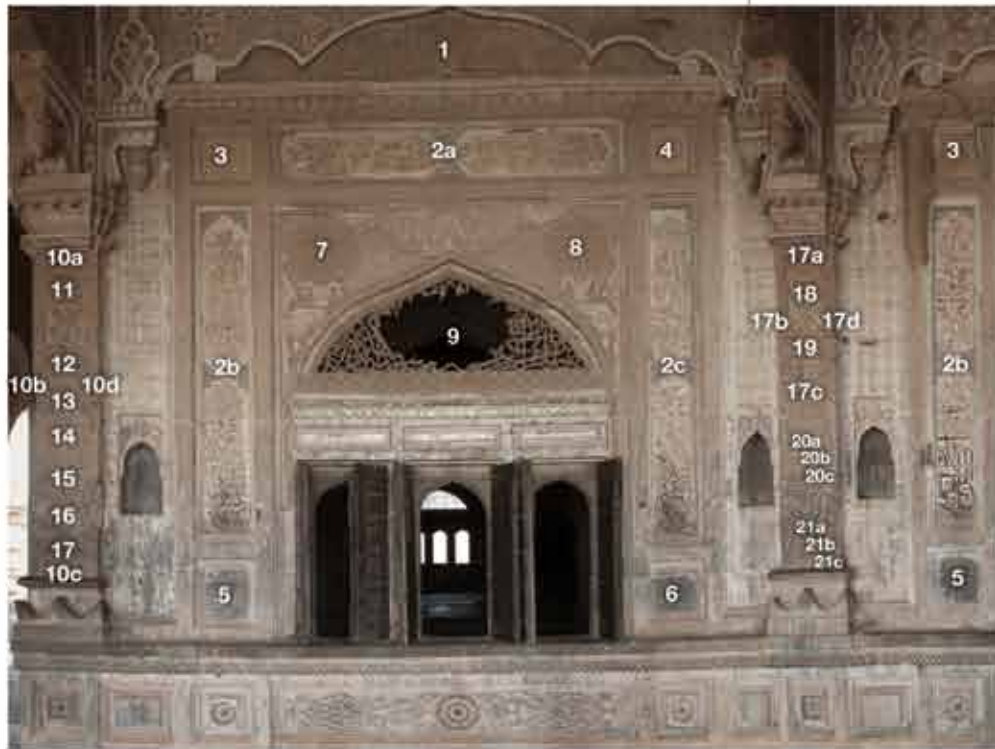
West face

W-2-

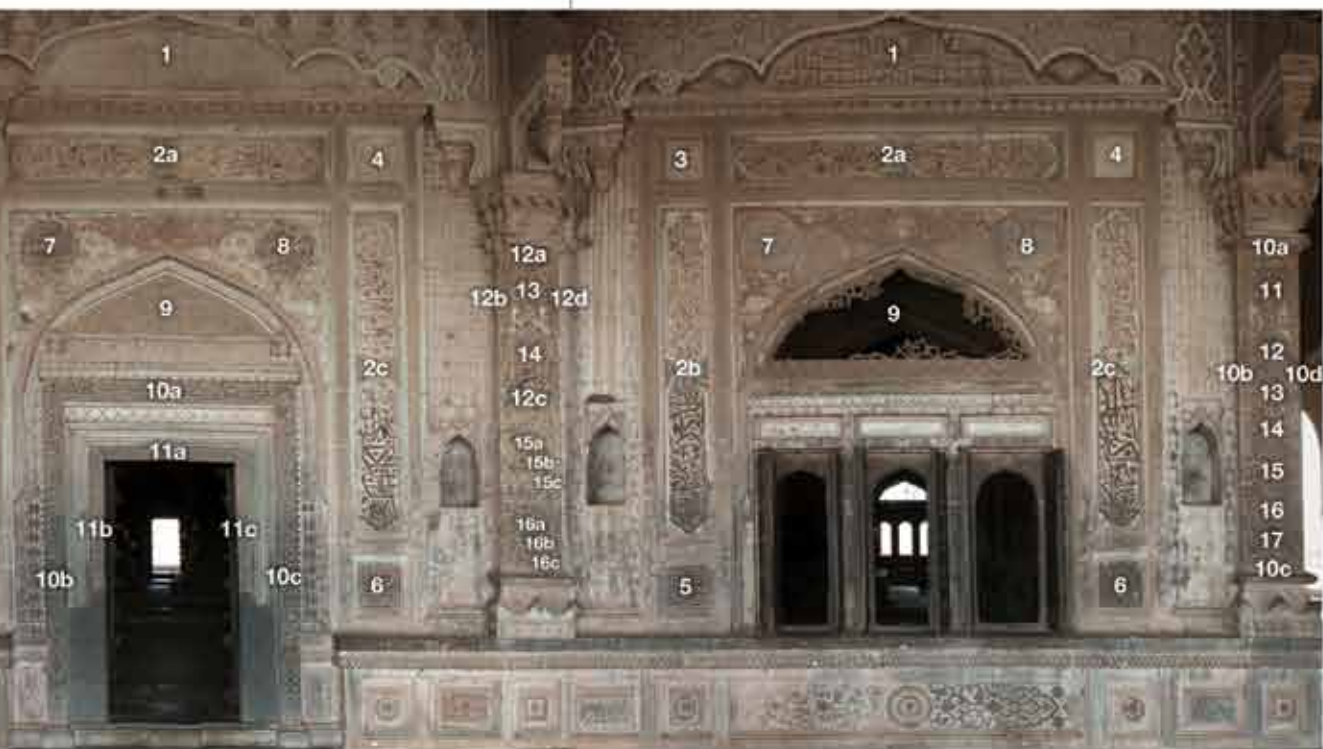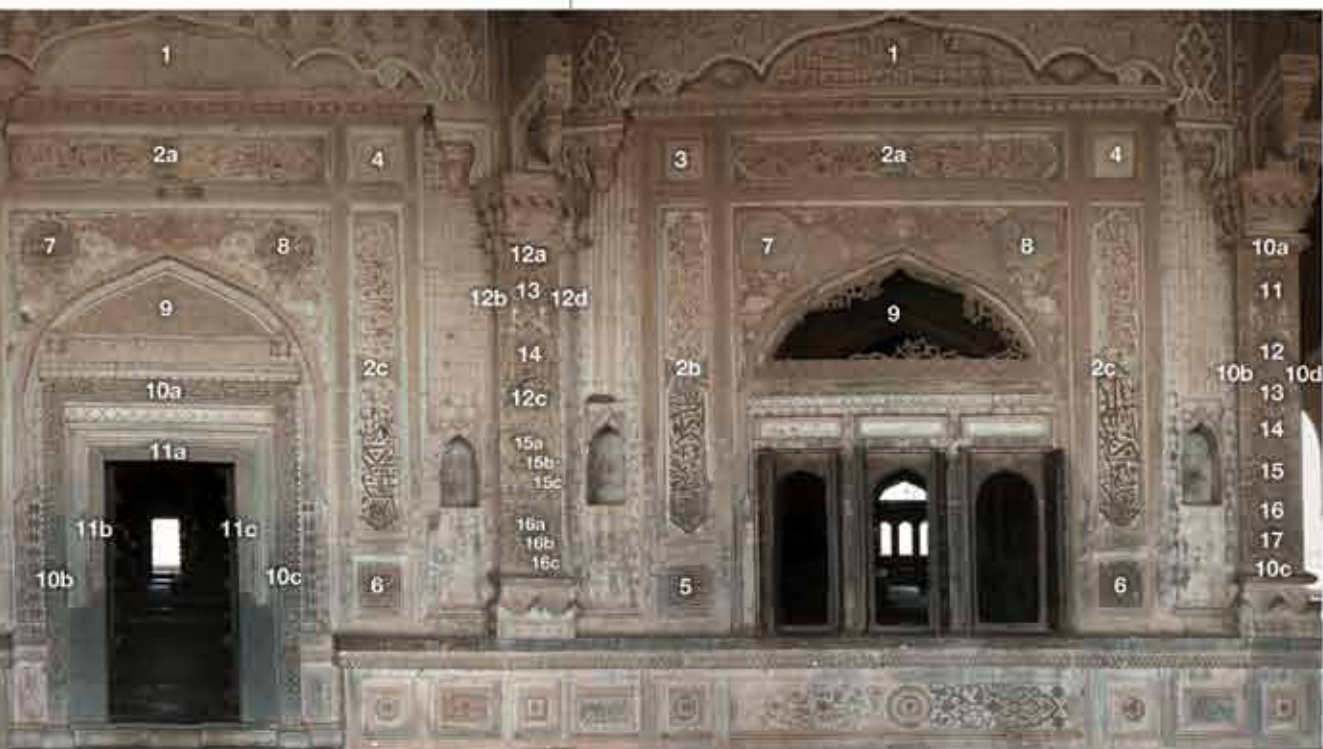**Note:** The inscriptions labeled in the photographs can be found on the preceding pages by appending the inscription number to the prefix above each photograph. For example the leftmost inscription in this column will be found in the previous pages under "W-2-10d."
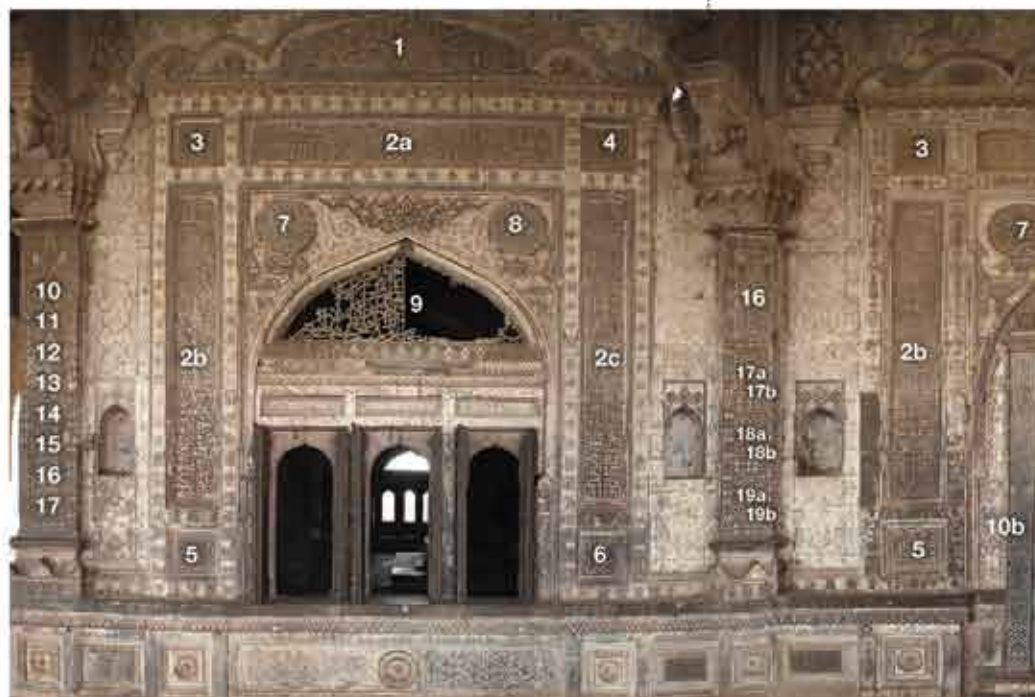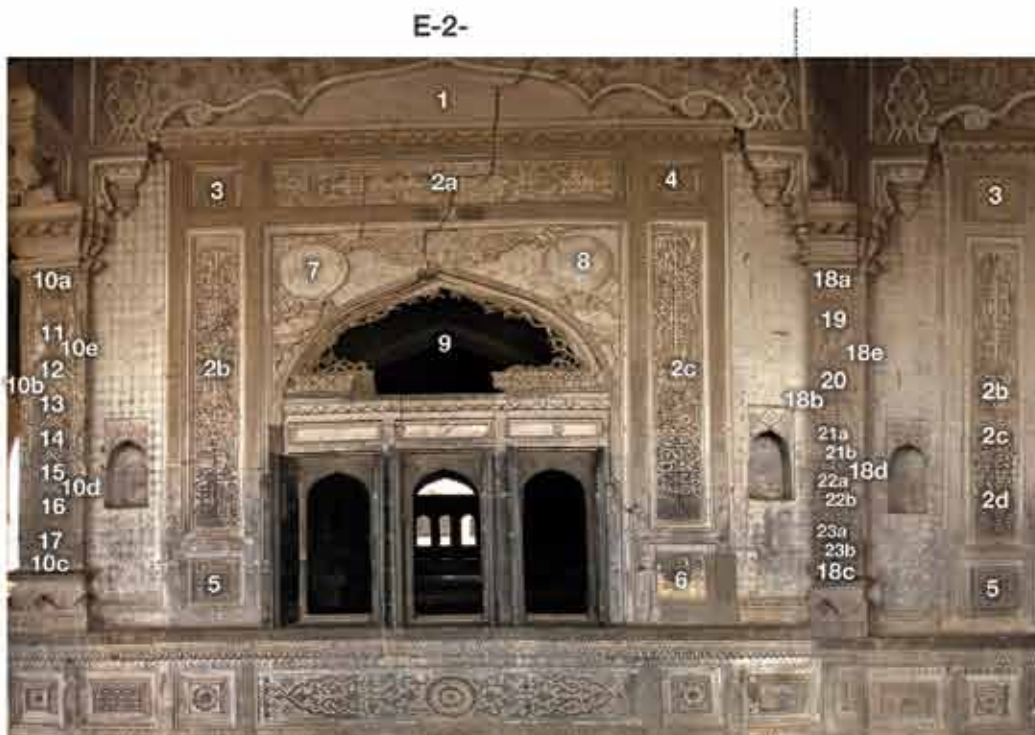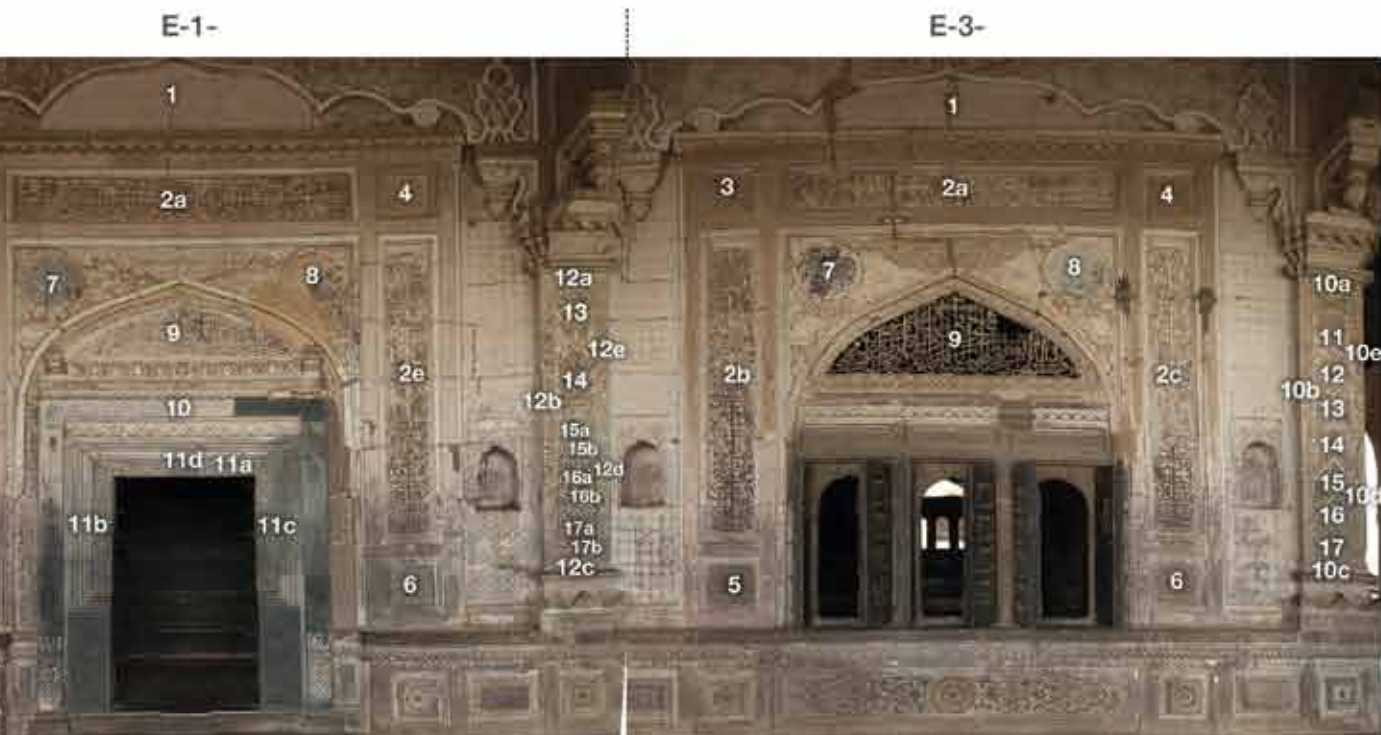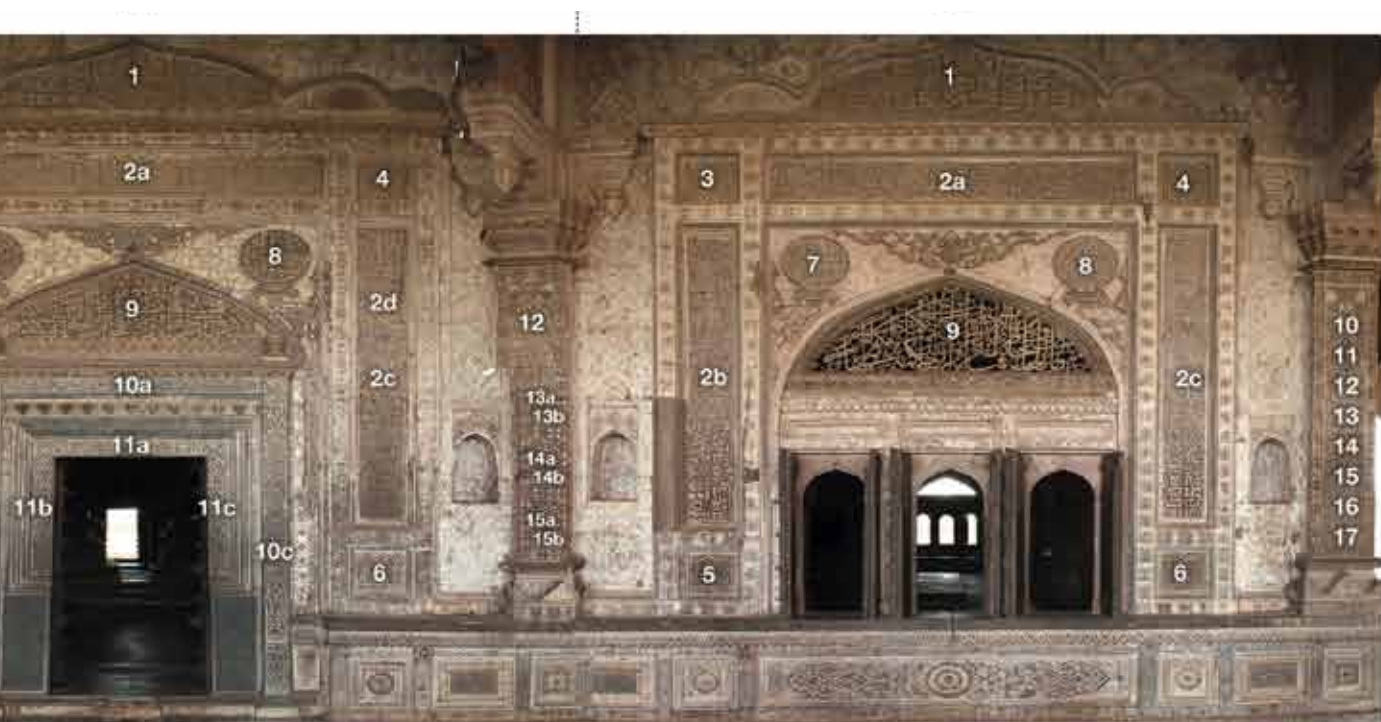
North face

East face

E-2-

Sultans of the South: Arts of India's Deccan Courts, 1323–1687

E-1-

E-3-

Postscript
List of Rulers
Bibliography

Kurt Behrendt

Postscript: Continuities in the Deccan, from Ancient Times to the Sultanate Period

Many of the cultural themes identified as unique to the Deccan can be related to the geography of the region. Volcanic activity 65 million years ago resulted in a series of massive basalt flows in the western Deccan, forming a high inland plateau. Cliffs to the north and west meant that this highland could be reached from the coast only by a series of *ghat*s, or narrow passes, while to the north the deep Narmada River valley presented a formidable barrier (see map, p. xii). Historically, this geographic configuration functioned to isolate the Deccan and allowed for the formation of powerful states that were not readily controlled by the great empires centered in the Ganges River basin.

TRADE AND FOREIGN PEOPLE

Since at least the first century B.C. the Deccan was an active part of an international trade network linking the region to the Mediterranean, East Africa, and the Near East. By the fourth century A.D. this network had expanded to include Southeast Asia and eastern China.[1] The Deccan exported such goods as semiprecious stones for intaglio, but its most important product was cotton, which flourished in the black soil of the plateau.[2] The fine, lightweight textiles produced in ancient times competed with Chinese silk and traveled from the Deccan both along the maritime network and on overland routes that went north through the city of Ujjain and ultimately to the Central Asian Silk Road. Once established, the exportation of cotton textiles appears to have continued without interruption. Although the Deccan politically changed hands over the centuries, it seems that this stable trade system provided a major and ongoing source of funding that supported both the creation of the early religious centers[3] and wealthy states that emerged in the later period.

As early as the first century B.C. we see evidence of foreign groups in the Deccan, notably Yavana mercenaries. The Yavanas are readily identifiable in early Buddhist reliefs because of their distinctive clothing, "Phrygian" hats, and their role as soldiers. They are also known from texts.[4] Not bound by clan loyalties, the Yavanas were important in early centuries as bodyguards. This pattern of importing foreign mercenaries was repeated again in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries with East African slave soldiers, the *habshi*s, who were brought to the Deccan via Middle Eastern slave markets, probably along trade routes that the Yavanas must also have followed.

Paintings at the late fifth-century Buddhist rock-cut site of Ajanta include a variety of traders who tentatively can be identified as coming from Sogdia and the eastern territories of the Sasanian empire on the Iranian plateau, from Central Asia, and from northeast Africa.[5] These foreigners are presented as donors to this Buddhist community and as participants in the elite cultural strata of the Deccan. With the establishment of the maritime trade conduits, people from these regions continued to settle in the Deccan; hence it is not

coincidental that in the multicultural period of the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries Persians, Arabs, and Africans came to have great importance and status in this region.

In 1296, Alauddin invaded the Deccan on behalf of the Khalaji rulers of Delhi; after crossing the Narmada River valley, he reached the Ajanta range at the northern edge of the Deccan plateau and confronted the Hindu Yadava dynasty at their stronghold of Devagiri (later named Daulatabad). The Yadava raja was compelled to pay a ransom of gold, jewels, textiles, elephants, and horses.[6] When the wealth of the south was realized, other military campaigns were waged and the Daulatabad fort and Ajanta range changed hands repeatedly.

The preoccupation with control of the Ajanta mountain range must have been a concern in ancient times as well. Excavations of the early cities of Nevasa, Bhokardan, and Paithan give us a sense of urban activity and trade in the northern Deccan.[7] More significantly, starting in the first–second-century period, rock-cut religious centers began to receive vast amounts of patronage. In this range of mountains at the northern gateway to the Deccan, the Buddhist sites of Ajanta and Pitalkhora and Aurangabad were founded.

By the fifth century the complexes of Ajanta and Aurangabad were expanded. From the sixth to the eighth century the immense Buddhist, Hindu, and Jain complexes at Ellora were cut. The lavish decoration and scale of all these caves underline the power and wealth of the successive dynasties that controlled this region. Like the monumental Daulatabad fort, which changed political hands, the earlier rock-cut sacred areas also show evidence of interruptions in construction and radical shifts in religious affiliation as different dynastic patrons took control of this region.

Over the course of the Deccan's turbulent political history the role of religion appears to have had special significance. While the Buddhist, Jain, and Hindu traditions were important in the early period, the Deccan was an important Shaivite center by the time of the later northern invasions by Islamic rulers. By the 1500s powerful Sufi *shaikh*s predicted or appointed rulers, and in this sense it was the Sufi *shaikh*s, not the sultans, who were understood as the truly valid sovereigns over the world.[8] This situation was perhaps even more pronounced in Buddhist and Hindu contexts, which helps to explain why so much was invested in religious structures in the ancient period, monuments that eclipse anything produced for secular or military purposes. The link between kingship and divinity continued in the Sultanate period. A good example is the use of umbrellas and fans to denote status, as can be seen in a painting of 1680 that shows the sultans of the 'Adil Shahi dynasty (see frontispiece). The origin of this royal or divine iconography can be traced back to the early centuries A.D., when divine figures such as the Buddha or Jina were marked with umbrellas. Although umbrellas appear within Mughal painting, the flat-topped form seen in the painting seems to reflect a stylistic continuity specific to the Deccan. A persistent survival of motifs from the ancient period, while rare, is also seen in the treatment of the natural world, especially in motifs used for foliage. Perhaps because of its geographic isolation, it seems that local artistic traditions had an enduring importance in the Deccan.

1. Ray 1994.
2. Brancaccio 2011, pp. 83–84.
3. Ibid., p. 72.
4. Yavanas occur in reliefs from Sanchi, Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, and Pitalkhora. See also Thapar 2002, pp. 159–60, 217, 241–43.
5. Brancaccio 2011, p. 81, n. 26; see also Behl 1998, pp. 108, 143, 204.
6. Michell and Zebrowski 1999, p. 5.
7. Deo et al. 1960.
8. Eaton 2005, p. 45.

List of Rulers of the Deccan Sultanates

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

'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

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, 1600–10
Burhan III, 1610–31
Husain III, 1631–33
Murtaza III, 1633–36

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, 1601–09
Amir III, 1609–19

'Imad Shahis of Elichpur

Fathullah, 1490–1510
'Ala al-Din, 1504–30
Darya, 1530–62
Burhan, 1562–74

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

Mughal Governors of the Deccan

Jan Sipar Khan, 1688–1700
Rustam Dil Khan, 1700–13
Mubariz Khan, 1713–24

Asaf Jahis of 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
Mir Nizam 'Ali Khan, Asaf Jah II, 1761–1803
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
Mir Mahbub 'Ali Khan, Asaf Jah VI, 1869–1911
Mir Osman 'Ali Khan, Asaf Jah VII, 1911–50

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