

The Laud Rāgmālā Album and Early Rājput Painting

By H. GOETZ

(PLATES XXIII—XXVI)

THOUGH the Pahārī schools of Rājput painting are fairly well known since A. K. Coomaraswamy's monumental *Rajput Painting* (1916), the schools of Rājasthān, the principal Rājput area, have long remained a *terra incognita* and even to-day pose numerous unsolved problems.

When in 1948 I published a first outline of the "Kachhwāha" style group,¹ i.e. the painting style of Amber, Jaipur, and related fiefs, I allotted the first place to the Rāgmālā Album (MS. Laud Or. 149), in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, placing it somewhere about A.D. 1570–1580. With the very scanty evidence then available for the history of Rājasthānī painting, such an attribution could be no more than tentative.

My reasons were as follows: (1) the figures in that album are closely related to the Hindu figures in the Mughal Razm-Nāma,² in all its known versions from A.D. 1583–4 to the end of the sixteenth century. Those figures, even in the Jaipur Razm-Nāma of A.D. 1583–4, represent not a genuine and natural evolution from the Mughal pictorial tradition of the time, but an intrusion of a different Hindu art with completely different technique and æsthetic ideals. This different Hindu element—which can be easily isolated—belongs to an already fully developed style tradition which we can trace in a number of picture sets (especially the Bhāgavata Purāna, at Bikāner)³ and single miniatures already known but not yet localized. As the same Hindu style-element appears to have been mainly responsible for the transformation of the Turco-Persian early Mughal style into the Akbar style, it can have derived only from a Hindu centre exercising a predominating influence on the Mughal court. Granted that most Hindu painters of Akbar's studios

¹ "The Kachhwāha School of Rājput Painting" (*Bull. Baroda Museum*, iv, pp. 33 ff., 1949).

² Th. H. Hendley, "The Razm-Nāmāh" (*Memorials of the Jeypore Exhibition*, 1883, vol. iv), Jeypore, 1893; E. Cohn-Wiener, "Miniatures of a Razm-Nāmāh from Akbar's Time" (*Ind. Art and Letters*, xii, 2, pp. 90 ff., 1938); *Art of India and Pakistan*, 1950, p. 147.

³ H. Goetz, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, Oxford, 1950, fig. 91.

were natives of Gwālior, Gujarāt, the United Provinces, Bihār, etc., such a strong and uniform style presupposes a contemporary living art centre co-ordinating the various surviving older traditions. This centre must have been the court of Bhagvantdās (A.D. 1575–1589) and Mān Singh of Amber (A.D. 1592–1614) ¹; for both rulers had been intimate friends of the emperor Akbar, had acquired extraordinary power and wealth in his service, and had been great patrons of art, as their numerous beautiful buildings ² and their interest in contemporary music proves. ³ I have preferred to name this school “Kachhwāha”, after the ruling Rājput clan, not only because the centre later shifted to Jaipur, or because a regional name like Dhūndhārī would have been too strange, but also because, through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D., the later Jaipur state consisted of a loose cluster of fiefs, held together merely by family relations. ⁴ As the style of the Laud Rāgmālā is more archaic than that of the Hindu elements in the Jaipur Razm-Nāma, it must be older than A.D. 1583–4, and has to be dated somewhere in the seventies of the sixteenth century A.D.

Against this attribution various objections were raised. Mr. Basil Gray ⁵ pointed out that the colour scheme of the Laud Rāgmālā miniatures could be not earlier than the early reign of Jahāngir, a fact not known to me as I had seen only photographs of these miniatures. Dr. Motichandra ⁶ classified them as Deccanī, especially Bijāpuri without, however, stating reasons. And recently Mr. K. Khandalavala ⁷ has claimed to have proved once and for all that the album comes from the Bijāpur of sultan Ibrāhīm II ‘Ādil Shāh (A.D. 1580–1626) or Muhammad ‘Ādil Shāh (A.D. 1626–1656).

The question might be dismissed as an irrelevant dispute between

¹ See Abū'l Fazl's *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, and the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*.

² B. L. Dhama, *A Guide to Amber*, Bombay, 1931; F. S. Growse, *Mathurā*, Allahabad, 1880; D. R. Sahni, *Archæological Remains and Excavations at Bairāt*, Jaipur, 1937.

³ An additional reason is the relationship with certain book illustrations and book covers from Birbhūm of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century A.D. which differ from the average Bengālī-Oriyā-Assamese type. Rājput influence on Bengali painting presupposes some form of Rajput domination; and, in fact, at that time rājā Mān Singh of Amber had been governor of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissā. Therefore, the source of this Rājput influence had probably been Amber.

⁴ See the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*.

⁵ *Art of India and Pakistan*, p. 110.

⁶ “Dakhini Kalam: Bijāpur” (*Kalā-Nidhi*, i, pp. 25 ff., S. 2004).

⁷ H. J. Stooke and K. Khandalavala, *The Laud Rāgamālā Miniatures*, Oxford, 1953.

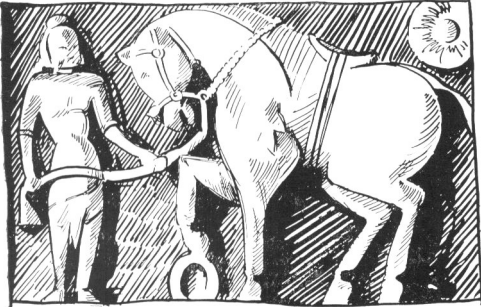


FIG. 1.

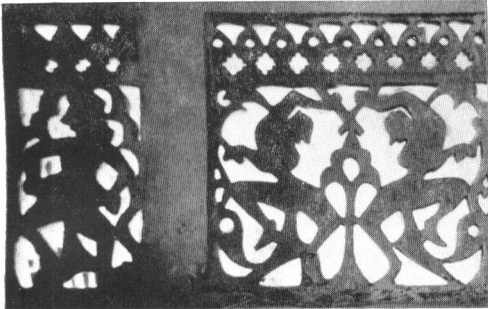


FIG. 2.

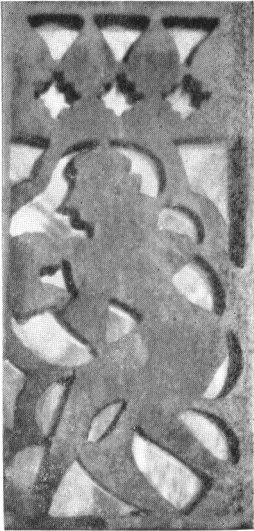


FIG. 3.

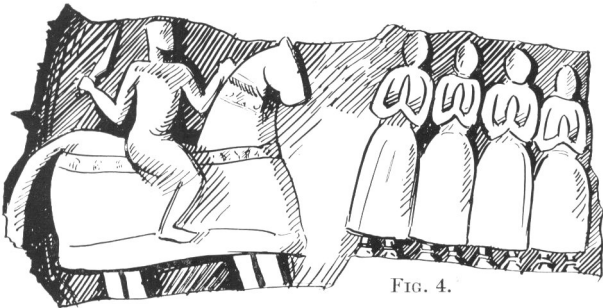


FIG. 4.

(Photos H. Goetz)

- A. EARLY STAGES OF THE RĀJPUT STYLE OF DRAWING.
1. Relief in the Stepwell of Sevashi, Gujarāt, A.D. 1487.
2-3. Figural Jālis in the Palace of Mân Singh Tomâr (A.D. 1486-1516), at Gwâlior.
B. THE RĀJPUT STYLE OF THE KACHHWĀHA RELIEFS.
4. Pāliyā from Chaksu, A.D. 1498, Amber Museum.

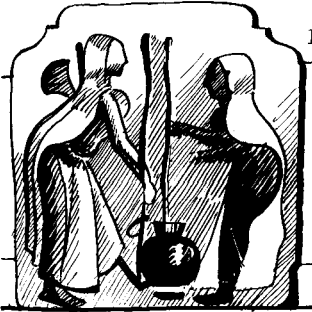


FIG. 1.

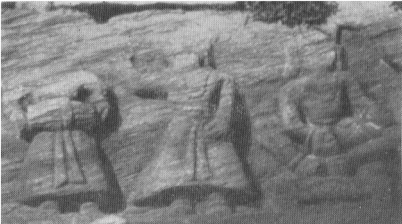


FIG. 2.

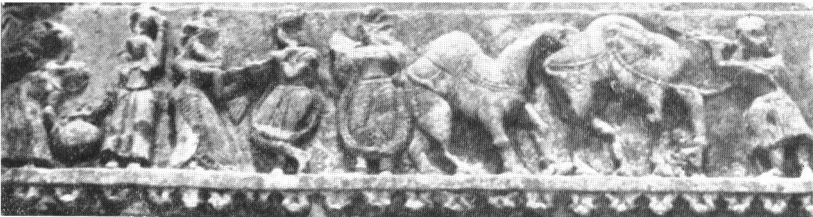


FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.

(Photos H. Goetz)

B. THE RĀJPUT STYLE OF THE KACHHWĀHA RELIEFS.

1. Relief in the Govind Deo Temple at Brindāban, A.D. 1590.
2. Socle frieze from a temple, Old Amber, later sixteenth century A.D.
3. Relief from the Krishna Temple at Nūrpur, before A.D. 1613.

C. KACHHWĀHA MURALS.

- 4-5. Murals in Mān Singh's Garden House at Bairāt, north of Amber, A.D. 1586-7.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

C. KACHHWĀHA MURALS.

1. Mural in the Chhattri of rājā Bhagvantdās at Amber, A.D. 1589. (*Photo Arch. Dept. of Rājasthān*)

D. THE FEMALE COSTUME OF THE DECCAN.

2. *Tārīkh-i Husain Shāhi*, Poona, ca. A.D. 1580–1590. (*Kramrisch*)

3. *Nujum-ul-'Ulūm*, Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin, A.D. 1570. (*Arnold-Wilkinson*)

4. *Mālavī Rāgini*, Baroda Museum (National Museum, Delhi), ca. A.D. 1570–1580. (*Photo Baroda Museum*)

5. *Rāgmālā*, Lallgarh Palace, Bīkāner, ca. A.D. 1570–1580. (*Photo H. Goetz*)

6. Mural in the Āthār Mahal, Bījāpur, under Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh. (*Cousens*)



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.



FIG. 7.

- D. THE FEMALE COSTUME OF THE DECCAN.
1. Relief, Mallikarjuna Temple, Śrīsaīlam (Kurnool). (*Arch. Dept.*)
- E. THE RĀJPUT COSTUMES AND TYPES OF THE LAUD RĀGMĀLĀ, RAZM-NĀMA, ETC.
2. Laud Rāgmālā.
3. Jaipur Razm-Nāma. (*Hendley*)
4. Baroda Razm-Nāma. (*Photo Baroda Museum*)
5. Jaipur Razm-Nāma. (*Hendley*)
6. Laud Rāgmālā.
7. Jahāngīr Album. (*Kühnel-Goetz*)



FIG. 1.

(Photo H. Goetz)

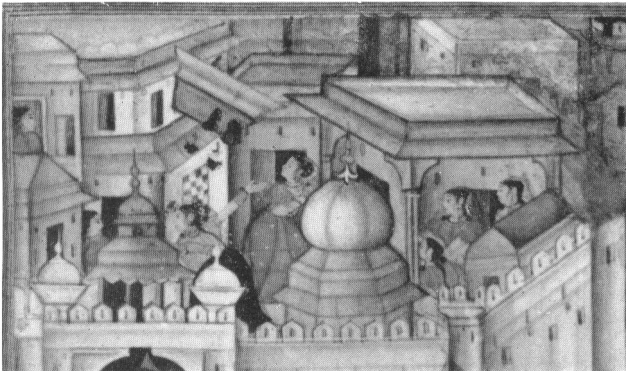


FIG. 2.

(Akbar Nama, South Kensington)

F. RĀJPUT MINIATURE SETS IN THE STYLE OF THE LAUD RĀGMĀLĀ.
Bhāgavata Purāna Series. Lalgarh Palace, Bikaner.

G. THE RĀJPUTNĪ TYPE OF THE LAUD RĀGMĀLĀ IN MUGHAL HISTORICAL MINIATURES.
Detail from the Siege of Ranthambhor by Akbar, A.D. 1568.

specialists over a minor issue, if a fundamental problem were not involved, namely the antiquity and origin of Rājput painting. For Mr. Khandalavala has revived the discarded theory that Rājput painting developed, not before the reign of Jahāngīr, under the influence of Mughal painting, and that until then the "Western Indian" or Gujarātī-Jain style dominated pictorial art in Rājasthān¹. The three principal, though not the sole, pillars of his argumentation are: the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra MS. at Baroda, A.D. 1591, in a transitional style between the Jain and Rājput tradition,² the Mewār miniatures of the middle of the seventeenth century A.D., and the Mālwa miniatures of the second half of the seventeenth century A.D.,³ all in a rather archaic style. However, it appears to me that this evidence is not conclusive and is contradicted by a lot of other material. The illustrations to the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra MS., as a middle-class product, were naturally more conservative than contemporaneous court art.⁴ As I shall demonstrate in another paper,⁵ the whole art development in Mewār was thrown back at least half a century in consequence of the devastations of the wars of the mahārānās Pratāp Singh and Amar Singh I with the Mughals. And the small Rājput states in Mālwa were created by Shāhjahān and Aurangzēb as a check on Mewār, and cannot be accepted as an index of the art in the mightier, long-established kingdoms. It is certainly correct that from the seventeenth century A.D. Mughal art exercised an immense influence on Rājputānā, but the product was a very different phase of Rājput art, only slightly differentiated from its Mughal model.

The discarded theory is based on an over simplification of the historical situation and evaporates the more we learn of the history of Rājasthān and Rājput art in the fifteenth-seventeenth centuries A.D. The political events of this period had been most turbulent, and the artistic evidence reveals not a uniform picture, but a chaotic

¹ "Leaves from Rājasthān" (*Mārg*, iv, 3, pp. 2 ff., 1950).

² W. Norman Brown, *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, New Haven, 1941.

³ Especially the beautiful Narsingharh Rāgmālā, A.D. 1680-1. See also Moti Chandra, "An Illustrated Set of the Amaru Śataka" (*Bull. Prince of Wales' Museum*, ii, pp. 1 ff., 1953).

⁴ H. Goetz, "Decline and Rebirth of Medieval Indian Art" (*Mārg*, iv, 2, pp. 36 ff., 1950).

⁵ *The First Golden Age of Udaipur* (in the Press). Illustrated MSS. of middle seventeenth-century Mewār are not rare at all, e.g. the Sarasvatī Bhandār Library at Udaipur possesses quite a number. For another dated one in the Baroda Museum, see *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum*, vii, pp. 53 ff., 1951.

medley of styles progressive and archaic, in states and fiefs loosely held together by clan and family ties and feudal loyalties. We therefore have to treat each area individually, and cannot apply the standards of one state to another without strong reasons.¹ What is certain is that the stirrings of a new artistic life go back to the middle of the fifteenth century A.D., and that in the sixteenth century the traditional styles were in full disintegration, though the new Rājput style developed only in the later sixteenth century A.D. and was not generally accepted before the early seventeenth.² And it is certain that to this fermentation many elements have contributed, the Rājput folk tradition³ not less than influences from Vijayanagar⁴ and Bengal,⁵ or the pre-Mughal Muslim styles, of which now more and more vestiges are found.⁶ The question of a priority of Hindu or Muslim tradition, therefore, does not arise.

After this clarification of general issues let us return to the problem of the Laud Rāgmālā album. The thesis that it was painted at Bijāpur about A.D. 1620 was based on the following arguments—(1) There is no evidence for a Kachhwāha school of Rājput painting in the sixteenth century A.D. (2) Head type and costume, especially the Choli and the fine transparent Orhni or Sārī, and also the turban, of the figures in the Laud Rāgmālā are identical with what we know of indubitable Deccanī miniatures. (3) The panelled wooden platforms, wall dadoes, door leaves, etc., represented in the Laud Rāgmālā miniatures are a special characteristic of Bijāpur art in the early seventeenth century A.D.

¹ H. Goetz, "The Problem of the Classification and Chronology of Rājput Painting" (*Mārg*, v, no. 1, pp. 17 ff., 1951); see also Basil Gray, "Intermingling of Mogul and Rājput Art" (*Mārg*, vi, 2, pp. 36 ff., 1953).

² At least this is the picture which we obtain from the aggregate evidence of all aspects of art, architecture, sculpture, industrial arts, and, as I believe, not less painting.

³ In the Pāliyaś the folk style occurs first in the twelfth century, generally in the fifteenth, but the fully developed Rājput type not before the early-seventeenth.

⁴ In Vijayanagar we have a similar folk style, e.g. on the reliefs of the throne terrace, of the Hazāra Rāma Temple, and on those of the Mallikarjuna Temple at Śrīśailam (Kurnool), the memorial stones, etc.

⁵ For Orissā and Bengal the absence of dated MSS. is for the time being a bad handicap. But for Assam see H. Dattabaruva, *Chitra-Bhāgavata*, Nalbādi, 1950, an illustrated MS., dated A.D. 1539, in a style very near to early Rājput painting.

⁶ See H. Goetz, "Indian Painting of the Muslim Period" (*JISOA.*, xv, pp. 19 ff., 1947, 1950); the same, "Decorative Murals from Champaner" (*J. Bombay Univ.*, 19, pt. 2, pp. 94 ff., 1950); the same, in the *Legacy of Persia*, Oxford, 1953; the same, *A New Key to Early Rājput and Indo-Muslim Painting* (Roopa-Lekha, 23, nos. 1-2, pp. 1 ff., 1952).

However, these arguments ignore too many facts to stand a critical analysis, viz. :—

(1) That an early Rājput style of painting existed already under Mān Singh Tomār (A.D. 1486–1516) can be proved at least by the jālis of Gwālior Palace. Whereas the silhouettes of dancing girls on these jālis represent a simplified but also vitalized version of similar figures in a late Jain MS.,¹ the musician figures are almost identical with those in the Bundela Rāgmālā and Rasikpriyā,² and in miniatures of the Akbar school. This was surely not the only precursor of Rājput painting, as we can trace similar tendencies in Vijayanagar,³ Bengal, and Assam.⁴

(2) Amber cannot have been an old centre of pictorial art, as about A.D. 1560 the small state had been near extinction, and rose only between A.D. 1570 and 1590. The Amber school of painting, therefore, must have grown from other sources by taking over traditions from Gwālior and Bundelkhand, probably also from Vijayanagar and Bengal—in view of the interest of the Kachhwāha princes for Mathurā and Brindāban, and the Krishna cult revived there by the followers of Chaitanya.

(3) The reliefs found in the area of the old Amber state or executed elsewhere in the Amber style reveal⁵ a constant growth of this pictorial style from very primitive beginnings in the late fifteenth century to a highly developed standard early in the seventeenth century A.D.

(4) The murals in Bīr Singh Deo's palace at Orchhā, ca. A.D. 1620,⁶ though unfortunately it has been impossible to give a satisfactory plate here, prove that the style of the Bundela Rāgmālā published by Coomaraswamy cannot be as late as ca. A.D. 1600,⁷ and that their

¹ Moti Chandra, *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India*, Ahmedabad, 1949, figs. 108–119, 138, 139.

² A. K. Coomaraswamy, "The Rasikpriyā of Kesavadās" (*Bull. Boston Museum*, October, 1920); the same, "Two Leaves from a seventeenth-century MS. of the Rasikpriyā" (*Metropolitan Museum Studies*, iii, pt. 1, 1930), also *Catalogue Boston Museum*, vol. vi, pls. 8–19.

³ See note 4, p. 66.

⁴ See note 5, p. 66.

⁵ e.g. the Krishna Temple at Nūrpur, see "Hirananda Sastri" (in *Ann. Report, Arch. Survey of India*, 1904–5, pp. 110 ff.).

⁶ Studied by me in 1938 and in 1952.

⁷ Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue Indian Collections, Boston Museum*, v, pp. 69–78, pls. i–ix.

original attribution to the middle of the sixteenth century A.D.¹ may be nearer the truth. As Orchhā declined during Akbar's reign and recovered again under Jahāngīr, and as Bundela-Rājput architecture continued the tradition of Mān Singh Tomār, there is some reason to believe that early Orchhā under Rudra Pratāp and Madhukar Sāh had been an essential link between the beginnings of Rājput art at Gwālīor and the Kachhwāha school. We shall have to come back on this point later on.

(5) That there existed a school of Kachhwāha painting definitively in the eighties of the sixteenth century A.D. is irrefutably proved by the murals in the chhatris of raja Bhāramal and Bhagvantdās, outside the Shāhpura Gate at Amber, and in the garden house of Mān Singh Kachhwāha, at Bairāt, A.D. 1586-7, which I studied in the winter 1951-2.² The style of these murals is evidently related to that of the Laud Rāgmālā.

(6) The costume of the female figures in the Laud Rāgmālā Album is completely different from the Deccani fashions of the sixteenth and seventeenth century A.D., which go back to the Vijayanagar tradition. Through the later sixteenth century (Nujum-ul-Ulūm,³ Tārīkh-i Husain Shāhī,⁴ Bikāner Rāgmālā,⁵ Rāgmālā Roerich Collection, Mālavi Rāgini Baroda Museum),⁶ these fashions show the following characteristics: as to-day, ladies wore one long Sārī first wound round the lower half of the body as a skirt, and then drawn up, over the bosom and head, falling down over the other shoulder; beneath it was a long chōli. The hair is generally worn in a big chignon deep on the neck; only in the Tārīkh-i Husain Shāhī it falls down in a long plait which, however, in South Indian

¹ Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, pls. i-iii.

² First mentioned by D. R. Sahnī, *Archæological Remains and Excavations at Bairāt*, 1937. A study on the Bairāt murals is in the Press. In the meantime sixteenth-century murals in another Kachhwāha palace have been traced.

³ L. Binyon (in *Rūpam*, 29, pp. 4 ff., 1927); H. Goetz, "La Peinture Indienne: Les Écoles du Deccan" (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Paris, May, 1935); Arnold-Wilkinson, *Catalogue of Indian Miniatures in the Chester-Beatty Collection*, ii, 1936, pls. 3-5; St. Kramrisch, *Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, pls. x-xi; *Art of India and Pakistan*, pls. 140-1.

⁴ Kramrisch, *Survey*, pls. xii-xiii; H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, Madras, 1927, pp. xvii ff., pls. iii-viii.

⁵ H. Goetz, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner*, 1950, pls. 2, 4; the same, "Indian Painting in the Muslim Period" (*JISOA.*, xv, pp. 19 ff., 1947 [1950], fig. 4; *Art of India and Pakistan*, pls. 142-3.

⁶ H. Goetz, "A Unique Deccani Miniature" (*Bull. Baroda Museum*, i, pt. 1, pp. 37 ff., 1944).

fashion is decked with golden scales. The ears are adorned with one or several golden disks 2–3 inches in diameter, set with pearls. Round the neck a heavy torque is hung. On the upper and lower arms there are massive bracelets. In the second quarter of the seventeenth century A.D. (Kumatgi murals,¹ murals of the Āthār Mahal, at Bijāpur,² Khāwar-Nāma,³ etc.) the same fashion fundamentally is still preserved, though changed in such a manner as to resemble superficially the North-Indian dress style: the Sāri first is wound round the lower part of the body and then likewise thrown over the head, but the section which leads from the waist to the head is twisted like a rope so as to create the illusion that the end drawn over the head is a separate piece. Also the bracelets have become flat, but still are of one piece, and the torque is still worn. From the middle of the seventeenth century A.D. the Mughul costume came into fashion,⁴ but the older styles are found in miniatures far into the eighteenth century A.D.⁵

What we see, however, in the Laud Rāgmālā miniatures is this: there is a wheel skirt, namely a big round piece of cloth with a hole in the centre through which the body is passed and the skirt is then fastened with a string, a *separate* Oṛhnī of *different* material⁶ tucked

¹ H. Cousens, *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains*, Bombay, 1916, pl. 93. Here the reader would expect a reference to the miniature in the Bharat Kalā Bhavan, Benares (see *Art of India and Pakistan*, pl. 146, no. 807), the more so as it is quoted as evidence by Khandalavala. But it is, like the Laud Rāgmālā, only attributed to the Deccan for style reasons. The costume, however, is different from that of all the documented Deccanī paintings, but in harmony with the Rājput type. Such hybrid works are not so rare; probably they were done by Deccanī painters for Rājput princes stationed with the Mughal army in the Deccan. But they cannot be adduced as evidence for the present purpose.

² H. Cousens, *Bijapur*, pl. 76. The miniature, *Art of India and Pakistan*, pl. 146, no. 818, is closely related to those murals and, thus, probably likewise of the reign of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh.

³ Of the Khāwar-Nāma (Golconda, A.D. 1645) in the Bombay Museum (22, 3256) only one detail is published in Stooke-Khandalavala, p. 58. Most costumes are more or less identical with those in the Āthār Mahal murals.

⁴ *Art of India and Pakistan*, pls. 147, 148; Kramrisch, *Survey*, pls. 21–4; H. Goetz, "Notes on Indian Painting" (*Bull. Baroda Museum*, vii, pp. 53 ff., 1951).

⁵ O. C. Gangoly, "Portrait of a Court Lady from Hyderabad" (*Rūpam*, 4, pp. 16 f., 1920); H. Goetz, "Kostüm und Mode an den Indischen Fürstenhöfen der Grossmogul-Zeit" (*Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, 1924, pl. 37, fig. 18).

⁶ Khandalavala regards the transparent Oṛhnīs with white spots as a Deccanī characteristic not found in early Rājput painting. However, they were likewise common in the north, as the Vasanta-Vilāsa, Balagopālastuti, early Mārwāri paintings, and the Razm-Nāma prove.

into its upper border, one end falling down in front, the other thrown over the head. There is a short choli with a flap over the belly. There are a necklace and bracelets of many pieces mounted on strings and bound round the upper arms and wrists by black strings ending in pompons. Ear disks are much smaller. And there is a long plait of hair, ending on the back in a big tassel. This is exactly the costume we find in all Rājput paintings, and on all figures of Rājput ladies in Mughal miniatures, and it is worn even to-day all over Rājputānā. It is true the choli with the flap over the belly, different from the long, V-shaped Deccani choli, is not represented in most Rājput miniatures; but this is not decisive, for such a choli is even to-day common in Northern India, including Rājasthān. And the pointed coat is an exclusive and characteristic Rājput costume. So female costume in the Laud Rāgmālā miniatures is Rājput, not Deccani.¹

(8) Art historical comparison leads to the same conclusion. As already pointed out, the figures of the Laud Rāgmālā have a remarkable resemblance to those of the various versions of the Razm-Nāma, though they look more archaic.² If, as Mr. Khandalavala argues, the Laud Rāgmālā was executed at Bijāpur about A.D. 1620, we should have to solve the following paradoxes: (a) As the Razm-Nāma MSS. were illustrated between A.D. 1583/4³ and 1598,⁴ how could they be inspired by a Bijāpur prototype of ca. A.D. 1620? (b) As Akbar's relations with the Bijāpur court had been anything but frequent and intensive, how could this distant court exercise such a strong influence on Mughal painting? (c) As the figures of the Razm-Nāma resembling those of the Laud Rāgmālā are all orthodox Hindu, how could they have been imported from the court of a Muslim sultān? It is true that Ibrāhīm 'Ādilshāh II had been rather tolerant *vis-à-vis* the Hindus and interested in Hindu music, dance, and astrology. But though we can credit him with accepting secular Hindu art motifs or *allegorical* Hindu "deities", there is no evidence that he would

¹ Kh. claims also the turban to be Deccani, but it is found also on many early Rājput miniatures, e.g. the well-known Bundela Rāgmālā. In this respect there existed then not much difference between north and south.

² Especially the protuberance on the crown of the head, where the hair is collected into the plait, is characteristic. The angular head-type is found in the Jaipur Razm-Nāma, the ovoid one in the Baroda MS.

³ Ā'in-i Akbarī; identical with the Jaipur MS.

⁴ The Baroda MS., date discovered by Basil Gray.

have encouraged, on a large scale, strictly orthodox religious Hindu pictures. If the Laud Rāgmālā is attributed to the Bijāpur of the early seventeenth century A.D. all these paradoxes are inexplicable.

(9) However, if we accept the Laud Rāgmālā as a Rājput work, these problems do not arise. That it is can easily be proved. For the same figures can be traced not only in the Razm-Nāma, but also in the Akbar-Nāma and other miniatures illustrating events of Akbar's reign. Female figures—and we have to lay stress on them, as female costume stuck and still sticks more conservatively to old local traditions—dressed exactly like those in the Laud Rāgmālā, are represented in the Akbar-Nāma, and in miniatures depicting the sieges of Chitorgarh, A.D. 1567, and of Ranthambhor, A.D. 1568.¹ They are the Rājput ladies preparing for the Jauhar! And we find females in identical costume, or at least with an identical hair-style, as the attendants of Miryam-az-Zamānī in the pictures representing the birth of Sultan Salīm, A.D. 1569,² or in those of prince Murād, A.D. 1570,³ and prince Dāniyāl.⁴ Miryam-az-Zamānī, Jahāngīr's mother and Murād's foster mother, was a Kachhwāha princess of Amber.⁵ One might cite many other Mughal miniatures of Akbar's and Jahāngīr's time.⁶ For the Zenāna of these two emperors was full of Rājput ladies, mainly from Amber, Jodhpur, and Bikāner, whereas only one princess of Bijāpur was betrothed to prince Dāniyāl; but she never came, as the prince died before the wedding could be arranged.

(10) A last argument put forward is the joiner work panels which appear in the Laud Rāgmālā in plinths and door leaves and are

¹ T. H. Hendley, "War in Indian Art" (*J. Ind. Art and Ind.*, xvii, no. 130, 1915, pls. 4–11).

² E. Wellesz, *Akbar's Religious Thought reflected in Mughal Painting*, 1952, fig. 22; Coomaraswamy, *Boston Catalogue*, vi, 1930, pls. 3 and 4; Arnold-Wilkinson, *Chester-Beatty Collection Catalogue*, ii, pl. 21, 1936.

³ Wellesz, fig. 23.

⁴ Coomaraswamy, *ibid.*, pl. 5.—In the scenes from the Mughal court also another Rājput lady's costume appears, the upper half of which is identical with the Persian female dress, the lower part the Rājput pointed skirt (see also Kühnel-Goetz, *Jahangir Album*, 1926, pls. 2 and 16). It might be claimed to have been the real Amber costume type. But it seems to have been an innovation for the Rājput ladies of Akbar's zenāna, and not peculiar to any part of Rājasthān. A wooden statuette in the same costume, from a Jain temple in Mārwar or Gujarāt, e.g. is in the Baroda Museum.

⁵ For a later portrait of her see F. R. Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters*, 1912, ii, pl. 201.

⁶ e.g. *Art of India and Pakistan*, pls. 119, 120, 122, 125, 126, 131.

claimed to be a characteristic feature of Deccani paintings in the early seventeenth century A.D. I cannot remember ever to have seen such panels in any Deccani paintings. Mr. Khandalavala can adduce only two examples : one is the miniature (*Art of India and Pakistan*, no. 807) merely *attributed* to the Deccan, and showing pure Rājput costumes (see footnote 1, p. 69); the other is a portrait of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh; but what is to be seen in this portrait is an ordinary balcony balustrade, such as occurs also in many Mughal miniatures. In Bijāpur architecture such panels are very rare, the only three I can cite being the Ibrāhīm-kā Rauza. On the other hand, these panels are common in early Mughal architecture and are found even in the Amber palace. They can be seen also in early Mughal paintings, including the already cited Birth of Sultan Salim.¹ Actually joinery-work in architecture depends on a very particular material, i.e. the red sandstone slabs which even to-day form one of the principal export industries of Rājasthān. And the panels are merely a refinement on the use of stone beams and slabs which we can trace in Northern India from olden times, but not in the Deccan. So the Laud Rāgmālā Album can only be Rājput, and under no circumstances Deccanī.

The reasons for attributing it to Amber have already been mentioned. In the Bairāt and Amber murals the angular, almost quadratic, outline of the head is found mainly in male figures, an ovoid outline predominating in those of women. This double treatment may be an inheritance from older schools assimilated into the Amber style. The angular type was common in the earliest Bundela miniatures, the ovoid one in sixteenth-century Mārwarī miniatures—of which we now have examples dated A.D. 1570. The predominance of the angular type in the Jaipur Razm-Nāma may possibly be due to the painters coming from Gwālīor (via Orchhā ?) into Akbar's service.

But the small angular heads of the Laud Rāgmālā do superficially resemble those of early Deccanī Rāginī miniatures. And evidently it was this which induced Dr. Motichandra and Mr. Khandalavala to attribute it to the Deccan. But if Deccanī origin is ruled out, still artistic influence from the Deccan is possible, even probable. It is only in the Rāginī pictures that we find this resemblance. So it seems that it had to do with music. And in the sixteenth-century the influence of South Indian music on the Rājput courts of Gwālīor, Pannā, and Amber was considerable. So it would not be

¹ *Art of India and Pakistan*, pls. 119, 636; 125, 240; 126, 660.

surprising if the Laud miniatures, though Rājput, were inspired by Southern Rāginī pictures. The question was often discussed when Rāgmālā pictures first appeared. O. C. Gangoly¹ mentions the "Rāgmālā" of Mān Singh and Madhu Singh as the first pictures of this description. Though the oldest examples of them in Northern India are attributed to Mān Singh Tomār of Gwālior, the "Rāgmālā" of Mān Singh and Madho Singh must be connected with Amber. For, according to the A'in-i Akbarī, Madho Singh was the half-brother of Mān Singh Kachhwāha of Amber, the mighty friend of the emperor Akbar. And if we have to attribute the Laud Album to Amber in the later sixteenth century A.D., is it an illustration of this Rāgmālā of Mān Singh and Madho Singh? Without a detailed comparison with the particular text the question cannot be decided. But it looks highly probable.

This would solve also our last problems, the date of the Laud Album and its prototypes. The style of the miniatures is not uniform, but represents two related but otherwise distinct groups, one (the majority) very primitive and awkward, another fluent and refined. The second can surely be not earlier than the latest versions of the Razm-Nāma and may well belong to the time of Jahāngir. But the first is more archaic than the Hindu types in the Jaipur Razm-Nāma and must, therefore, represent a tradition earlier than A.D. 1583-4. How the two groups are interconnected, I am unable to say without a personal inspection, which is not possible. But it makes little difference. As in many other similar cases, the later pictures may be due to repairs, when lost leaves were replaced. Or the whole album may be a copy of the original Rāgmālā, in some cases following the original more slavishly, in others handling the subject more freely. This, too, is common. But I prefer the former view. That Rāginī pictures were known at Amber at least in the eighties of the sixteenth century A.D., is proved by the murals of Bhagvantdās' chhatrī at Amber, among which there are several Rāginī scenes, e.g. Toḍī Rāginī.

However, if the Laud Album may be identified as illustrating the oldest, or one of the oldest North-Indian Rāgmālā texts, the Southern influence in it would be quite natural. Yet its source is not the Muslim capitals of the Deccan, but Vijayanagar. Elsewhere I have shown that the parallel pictures from Bījāpur, Ahmednagar, and Golconda represent not the genuine old tradition of these

¹ *Rāgas and Rāginīs*, Calcutta, 1935.

sultanates, but an irruption of the Vijayanagar style.¹ After the battle of Talikota in A.D. 1565 the allied Deccanī sultāns sacked the proud Hindu capital whose inhabitants fled and tried to find a refuge wherever they could. Immediately the Muslim architecture of the Deccan sultanates absorbed a lot of Vijayanagar features. Temples in the Vijayanagar style occur in the Hindu fiefs of the Deccanī sultanates (e.g. Old Mahabaleshwar). And paintings closely related to the reliefs of the late Vijayanagar period, especially of the throne terrace, came into fashion there. But the same influence can be traced—often diluted—also in Rājasthān, in architecture (e.g. in the Jain temples at Jaisālmer) as well as in painting.² Would it be so improbable that the court of Amber, then rising and so susceptible to art influences from other parts of India, might welcome also some refugee from Vijayanagar? And that the Laud Rāgmālā Album would represent a translation into Rājput terms of a Vijayanagar prototype? Anyhow, these connections show us that we have to search for the origin of Rāgmālā painting at Vijayanagar. And I believe that even if Mān Singh Tomār had already composed an early Rāgmālā, it is quite possible that the Laud Rāgmālā is still the oldest, or at least an echo of the oldest North Indian set of Rāgmālā illustrations. For though we know that musicians, especially star singers, had taken service at North-Indian courts still earlier, we have so far no evidence of Vijayanagar painters emigrating to the north before the battle of Talikota.

The Laud Rāgmālā Album then has nothing to do with the art of Bijāpur except that it goes back on a common Vijayanagar prototype of Rāgmālā illustrations. It is a Rājput work, originally of the turn of the third to the fourth quarter of the sixteenth century. It is closely related to the Razm-Nāma and the Bikāner Bhāgavata Purāna, and to the Bairāt and Amber murals, which prove the existence of a Kachhwāha school of painting in the reigns of Bhagvantdās and Mān Singh of Amber; but it may have been repaired or copied in the early seventeenth century A.D. And there exist strong reasons to believe that the Laud Album may be an illustration of the “Rāgmālā” by Mān Singh and Madho Singh Kachhwāha, possibly the earliest illustrated Rāgmālā in Northern India.

¹ H. Goetz, “The Fall of Vijayanagar and the Nationalization of Muslim Art in the Dakhan” (*J. Ind. Hist.*, xix, pt. 2, pp. 249 ff., 1940).

² H. Goetz, “Fall of Vijayanagar”; the same, “An Illustrated Early Rājput Manuscript” (*D. V. Potdar Commemoration Volume*, 1950, pp. 82 ff.).