

A Contemporary and inscribed equestrian portrait of Jagat Singh of Kota

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An equestrian portrait of "Rao Chattar Sal of Bundi" was auctioned at Sotheby's in London a few years ago (fig. 1).¹ As for the provenance and date, the catalogue gives the information as "Bundi, c. 1660". Equestrian portraits of identifiable rulers from this period are rarely to be seen in Rajput painting.² Before starting to discuss this painting, we would like to introduce another equestrian portrait which, as we shall see further below, belongs to the same group of equestrian portraits as the painting just mentioned before. It is a painting of similar dimensions in the collection of Dr. Konrad Seitz, Germany (West) (fig. 2).³ The two-lined short inscription near the margin but still on the original painting reads on verso *māhārājī śrī jagata sīgha jī* (the first line apparently for *Mahārājā jī*). Jagat Singh of Kota ruled from 1657 to 1684.⁴ Description of the painting: Jagat Singh rides a brown prancing stallion with golden headgear. The straight blue bridles held by the emperor with his left hand, and the bent head of the horse may indicate that Jagat Singh actually pulls the reins in order to bring the horse into the position that the painter has convincingly shown. Jagat Singh faces right, his head in profile being surrounded by a shining golden nimbus behind him. The black brush of his high turban partly covers the nimbus whereas another part of it is concealed by the shoulders of the emperor. The turban resembles a cap with a peak consisting of golden brocade to which pearls and precious stones seem to be fixed. His hair is carefully combed towards the turban: single strokes of the painter's brush indicate the hair as being drawn one by one. Only a small curl of hair towards the ear at the slim cotlettes shows that not all the hair that is visible to the spectator has been tamed by brushing it like the mustache that forms an "S" from the spectator's point of view. Unlike the faces of his retainers, his ochre-coloured face is less modelled and more strict in its expression which is sustained by his straight and pointed nose beside the sharpness of his look. The two white pearls which are framing the dark red stone of his earring are larger than those of the long double necklace and quite large when compared to the pearls that are attached around an object which is pending from another hardly visible necklace which seems to be made of a dark red thread. Similarly dark red but stronger than this thread is what seems to be the suspension for the sword which Jagat Singh might have carried at his left side thus being invisible to us. Parallel to this suspension runs a white garland, apparently made of jasmine

flowers. The medaillons on his upper arms repeat the pattern of the round pendant mentioned before. With his right hand Jagat Singh holds a vermillion coloured round object in front of his breast while his left hand clasps round the pommel thus keeping the reins tight. He has one ring on each finger whereas the ring on the thumb of his right hand is an archer's ring. His golden *jama* with dark green stripes is tight under his left shoulder; its fastenings are hanging down and fill partly the space between the body and the elbow of his left arm. The prolonged lines of these fastenings are continued in the sash that hangs from the belt which is set with pearls. A cypresse with a poppy on either side of it can be seen at the end of the *patkā* above the fringes. The blade of the dagger in the belt is covered by a dark red scabbard from which hangs a pendant made of small pearls. Further weapons are the arrows in the quiver which is attached to the saddle from which two golden tassels are hanging down by their position indicating the movement of the horse. Since the *jama* reaches only up to the knees, it does not conceal the richly embroidered saddle-cloth. The slipper-like shoes in the stirrup are golden and crimson striped. The tight trousers extend to the ankles which are surrounded by a slim bangle. The mane of the horse has been combed to the proper left side and hence not visible to us but we may notice the long wavy tail which is slightly upraised being in a parallel line to the lower parts of the two forelegs. The horse balances on its hind legs which seem to be very much bent in and in such a way that they indicate the lower well balanced middle of the equestrian portrait as such. The man who walks with large steps behind the stallion waves a *caurī* with his right hand. His left hand holds a round golden object having the size of a plate. The man is dressed with a *jama* on which geometrically arranged flowers with red blossoms enhance the pure white of the fabric. His yellow turban has a small round tassel put into the upper fold. The tight trousers cover his ankles and are of the same yellow colour as his turban. His shoes are dark red with a blue coloured tongue.⁵ Apart from very tiny golden earrings and a bangle on each wrist he wears no ornaments. His mustache and hair is less strictly combed but his face is more modelled when compared to Jagat Singh. The only weapon that he is allowed to carry is a dagger similar to his master's *katār* in his sash which is made of golden embroidered fabric with a green zig-zag pattern flanking tiny sprouts. The fall of the ends of the sash reflect the curve of the saddle cloth. The man who follows this *caurī*-bearer has just entered the surface of the painting. He carries an oval-shaped object attached to the end of a stick. This object may serve as sunshade or as a large fan. The face of the sun represented in the pointed oval is the sign of the Hara clan who are *Sūryavamsīs*, descendants from the sun.⁶ Being a standard bearer, the man wears no ornaments though his earlap is pierced. The white of the eye in the corner of his eye is slightly red as if to indicate an intoxication.⁷ His eyebrow is rather slim but his eyelashes are long-haired. The hair of his moustache is less strictly arranged when compared to his lord and his dark coloured face seems to enhance his bright orange-red turban which is devoid of any further ornamentation. His *jama* closed below his left shoulder shows rose and greenish stripes. The dagger in his sash is a simple *katār*, the ends of his white sash are embroidered with poppies resembling those on the white *jama* of the man in front of him. In front of the horse runs a man who occupies

the entire one-third of the composition at the right by his large steps when crossing the pale green landscape which extends to the top of painting where a small blue stripe with white long dashes seems to indicate sky and horizon. The pistachio green of the background is devoid of any indications of a somewhat natural landscape such as grass, trees or flowers. This runner is a squire who is attached to his master's horse and used to run in front of it when his master desired to go for a ride (for the correct identification of this type of job, see further below). He carries in front of his breast a blue triple curved bow with a dark red padded grip. A dark red area also indicates where the white bow string should receive the notch of the arrow. In his left hand which he has raised to his left shoulder he holds a *caurī* the handle of which is slim and white. Thus he hastily proceeds the horse turning his head backwards towards Jagat Singh thus facing left. A long fluffy white feather, the brownish quill of which seems to be split on top, protrudes from his pinkish turban to which also a smaller type of black feather has been attached. His double curved eyebrow, his curved nose and the small earring with a tiny pendant together with the fact that he is the only one in the painting who wears a goatee and a mustache distinguish him from the other two attendants as someone special. Even the quillon dagger in his belt differs considerably from the *katars*⁸ worn by the others. The two globular sleigh-bells at his belt announce the coming of his master. The lower part of his yellow frock coat has been put partly into the belt in order to allow an easier running. The lining of this garment is brick red whereas the comparatively short trousers are plain white. Black tassels indicate, where the trousers have been laced below the knees. The shoes of the squire are of the same type as those of the *caurī*-bearer behind the horse but have additional small tassels.

Condition : But for a small hole in the tail of the horse the painting is in good condition. The red margins seem to be slightly later additions, suggesting that the painting had been trimmed once and consequently been remargined. The painting has been pasted on the dark red stripes of paper as usual.

Remarks on the composition of the painting : The group of the four persons depicted in the painting forms roughly a triangle with an acute angle on the right hand side. We may perceive a similar triangle formed by the heads of the three persons facing right. Parallel diagonal lines such as the staff of the sunshade, the right leg of the *caurī* bearer, the left forearm of Jagat Singh, the right upper arm of the squire or the right forearm of the *caurī*-bearer and the right foreleg of the horse cross in a right angle other diagonals indicated e.g. by the bow string, a part of the horse's bridle or the stick of the *caurī* carried by the man behind the horse. Since the ruler has not been placed into the geometrical centre of the composition, the effect of a moving group has much been underlined. Also the doubling of objects, such as the nimbus of the sovereign which is double in the rays of the sun held above his head or the *patka* of the ruler Jagat Singh which is seen again behind him as the sash of the *caurī*-bearer, adds much to the vividness of the composition. Jagat Singh himself has been emphasized by directing the looks of all attendants on him as the ends of the yak tails. (Cf. the line drawing for an indication of diagonals referred to above). A few published portraits

of the same ruler well corroborate the inscription on the verso of the painting⁹ so that the identification of the ruler thus depicted needs no further comments.

But for the provenance it is less easy to determine the same, if we take the painting as such. It becomes even more difficult when we take the first mentioned painting "Rao Chattar Sal of Bundi" into consideration. This painting has a lot in common with the equestrian portrait of Jagat Singh. Since we could not see the original painting, we give here the full description as given in the Sotheby catalogue: "Rao Chattar Sal of Bundi (1631-59) cantering on a brown stallion chasing an attendant to the left, the ruler sits erect resplendent in a gold turban and a transparent jama over gold pantaloons, a garland about his neck, a quiver of arrows at his side, the horse decked with a gold saddle, bridle and orange tassels, the attendant running weaving a *cauri* and holding a bow, his jama swinging in the air, slightly stained, one wormhole on painted surface, red border, defective in top right-hand corner (253 mm. by 305mm.) (Bundi, c. 1660)". Both paintings share the nature of the "attendant" in front of the horse and his attributes, the bow and the *cauri*. The landscape in both paintings has been reduced to the indication of what could be a horizon in the extreme upper part of the painted surface as described with Jagat Singh's portrait. We may assume that the pistachio green of the "landscape" is the same in both paintings. Position and most probably also the colour of the stallion are nearly identical, even a detail such as the rendering of the horse tail is the same. Following the description given in the Sotheby Catalogue, it cannot be accidental that details like the colour of the saddle, the bridle and the turban are golden in both miniatures. Details like the archer's ring on the right thumb of both rulers, the two sleigh-bells attached to the girdle of each runner in front of the horse, the rendering of the angular stirrup or the shape of the saddle cloth which are the same in both cases, even the fashion of wearing the cotlettes and moustaches or the rings round the upper arms of both riders are so much alike, that the similarities can hardly be accidental. Apart from stylistic correspondences, there is one detail, the origin of which we cannot date but which is sufficient to show that once both paintings were kept together and apparently not sufficient care in the preservation of them has been made. Both paintings have an egg-shaped hole of exactly the same shape and size. This egg-shaped hole is visible in the reproduction from the Sotheby Catalogue as a white hole in the dark tail of the horse. This hole had been mentioned as "wormhole on painted surface" in the description. Due to the dark coloured table on which the portrait of Jagat Singh was lying when being photographed, the same hole appears black with a thin white outline in the reproduction (fig. 2). Two photographs—one of each painting—in the same size as the originals not only revealed the correspondence of both these "defects" but also gave a clue to the position of the painting by the time the hole was made, i.e. the worm made his way through both paintings, assuming that the hole is due to a worm. Both holes do overlap exactly when the verso of the Jagat Singh portrait is put upside down on the recto of the other miniature. Or in other words: the recto of Jagat Singh's portrait was lying with its verso upside down on the recto or painted surface of the portrait of the Bundi ruler in such a way that the painted surfaces of both paintings did not touch each other. If we therefore consider all similarities and conformities of both paintings, we do not

hesitate to assign them not only to a definite school of Rajput painting but also to a certain studio. The locality of this studio confronts us with another problem with which we are quite familiar when dealing with Rajput miniature paintings : the problem of provenance. Since we have portraits of rulers from two different states, we confine ourselves to the question whether the painting was done in either Bundi or Kota. Taking all the similarities of both paintings into account we may also assume that they were executed within a very limited span of time. Both paintings are not only exquisitely painted but the portraits appear to be so well observed that we assume them to be contemporary with the rulers they depict. Jagat Singh whose identification needs not to be questioned, ascended about 1658 to the throne of Kota. He was then about 14 years of age.¹⁰ Regarding his statue and his moustache, the painting can in any case not date from the time Jagat Singh became ruler. We would therefore be inclined to suggest a date around 1665 to 1680, which allows us some margin of error. Supposing our dating is roughly correct, we have to reconsider the identification of the ruler in the other painting, since "Rao Chattar Sal of Bundi" died on Monday, 29th May 1658.¹¹ His eldest son, Bhao Singh, started his reign in the same year. He was then 34 years old¹² and died on the 1st of April, 1681.¹³ Since it does not seem that the portrait sold by Sotheby's is inscribed we would prefer to identify the ruler with Bhao Singh of Bundi. Between 1665 and 1680, Bhao Singh was about 41 to 56 years old, an age that would fit the age of the depicted ruler very well. This identification is corroborated by a dated portrait of his successor Aniruddh Singh, in the National Museum of India. The inscription on recto reads : *kunvara bhāratha sīgha jī rāva satrasāla jī kā* (*beṭā*¹⁴ prince Bharat Singh, son of Chattar Sal). Bharat Singh was also a younger brother of Bhao Singh. Since Bharat Singh died with his father in 1658 and the painting is dated 1680 by an inscription on verso, it can hardly represent this son of Chattar Sal. Another inscription on verso identifies the rider as Anurad Singh who succeeded Bhao Singh.¹⁵ Beach therefore is right in saying that the inscription on recto is incorrect and late¹⁶ though he cannot support this statement by other duly inscribed portraits. The inscription giving the date 1680 and mentioning Aniruddh Singh as prince favours a lot the regnal years given by Gahlot (cf. fn. 13). When comparing the portrait of Aniruddh Singh with the equestrian portraits of Jagat and Bhao Singh (figs. 1 and 2) we see a number of stylistic correspondences such as the absence of any indication of landscape, the rendering of the horses, especially of their staircase-like upper parts of the tail and the way in which Bhao Singh and Aniruddh Singh are holding the reins. Equestrian portraits from a comparable period and provenance differ from this group of paintings considerably.¹⁷ This stylistically homogeneous group of miniature paintings consisting of figs. 1 and 2 in addition to the equestrian portrait of Aniruddh Singh in the National Museum can safely be dated around 1680 on account of the latter's inscription on verso. Rao Bhao Singh of Bundi appears in another painting which bears a correct inscription on recto : *rāvā bhāva sīgh jī* (fig. 3).¹⁸ Bhao Singh looks younger on the elephant than on horseback, a reason for which we have to date the inscribed portrait slightly earlier. We detect the tigerclaw ornament on the elephant's forehead again attached to a string which is tied around the neck of Bhao Singh's stallion. The feather on the elephant's forehead resembles that of the squire in the

Jagat Singh portrait (fig. 2). Bhao Singh's elephant is less decorated than that of his father Chhattar Sal a painting of which is in the G.K. Kanoria Collection.¹⁹ Shah Jahan had a contemporary portrait of Chhattar Sal in one of his albums, the painting is presently in the Kraus collection.²⁰ Both the portraits in the Kanoria and Kraus collections differ stylistically from each other but show sufficiently that both paintings intend to represent the same ruler. The painting "Portrait of Rao Bhao Singh of Bundi seated before his father Rao Chhattar Sal" unites both father and son in one composition from which we learn to distinguish the one from the other. We agree with W.G. Archer who dates this painting "c. 1670", a date we would also suggest for the inscribed painting introduced here (fig. 3). Both representations of Bhao Singh show striking similarities: especially noteworthy is the usual shading of the armpits which in the case of Bhao Singh has been extended to the upper part of the breast which may give the impression that he is wearing a short bodice under his transparent *jama*.²¹ The *sarpeeche* (turban ornament) of Bhao Singh in the inscribed painting (fig. 3) appears again in another representation in which we see him in conversation with Aniruddh Singh.²² S.C. Welch is consequently right in identifying a ruler in an apparently uncribed painting with Bhao Singh.²³ It is not surprising to see portraits of Bhao Singh Hara painted in the Golconda style which differs from the more genuine Bundikalam: he died in a village named after him near Aurangabad.²⁵ Jagat Singh also spent three years in the Deccan.²⁶ A. K. Coomaraswamy once suggested the provenance of a painting which might be a crude version of a Jagat Singh portrait, in the Deccan. His dating for his painting, however, should be reconsidered.²⁷ In the case of two equestrian portraits represented here, we may not be too far of the mark in assigning them to a painter who worked for the royal family of Kota. A few hints for such a suggestion are already given by the paintings themselves: Jagat Singh is haloed, Bhao Singh is not. Bhao Singh's eyes are drawn with a double outline, not perhaps the best criterion for the distinction of paintings coming from a Bundi atelier on the one and those from a Kota atelier on the other hand, but greatly favoured by a few scholars.²⁸ The same rendering of the eyes can of course be seen in the Jagat Singh portrait too. Of greatest importance with regard to the provenance of miniatures are wall paintings, the provenance of which cannot be called in question.²⁹ The Eastern room in the Chhattar Mahal within the old palaces of Kota has been furnished with murals around A. D. 1701.³⁰ The palace as such is said to have been constructed between 1625 and 1645. We discover on the Western wall of the Eastern room, on the right hand side of the entrance to the Western room of the Chhattar Mahal an equestrian portrait which seems to represent a blend of the Bhao Singh and Jagat Singh portraits (fig. 4). The size of the figures in this mural is only slightly larger when compared to the respective miniatures. The ruler rides in the centre of a procession of which fig. 4 shows a detail. The importance of this part of the mural is underlined by the fact that it is situated at the eye-level of a standing spectator. Paintings of a somewhat lesser importance were placed either nearer to the ground level or below the ceiling. The entire procession moves towards a walled garden and palace. Only the ruler is mounted, other people within the procession are carrying weapons or hunted animals which have apparently been shot by the same ruler who is shown aiming at nilgais and deer at the bottom of the panel as in similar miniature

paintings from the second half of the 17th century.³¹ The rider in the mural shares with the representation of Bhao Singh not only his posture but also the rendering of the brown stallion, its feather on the head and the tiger claws round the neck and the position of the hind legs. The striped golden *jama* reminds us of the Jagat Singh portrait,³² whereas the turban resembles more the one worn by Bhao Singh. The face of the rider in the mural is unfortunately defaced thus making an identification impossible. Only the rendering of the forelegs and the tail of the horse differs from the two miniature paintings. The bow carrier from the Jagat Singh and Bhao Singh portrait is also present in the respective mural where he does not wave a *caurī* though his hand is shown in a position which might indicate that the artist once intended to paint him as if actually holding it. His representation lacks the swiftness of his colleagues from the miniatures and his bow is in great part covered by a case.³³ This bow carrier marks the final point of what may be called a specific aspect of the iconography of early equestrian portraits, an iconography of which we try to trace its development.

The composition represented by the Jagat Singh portrait and the mural is as old as the traceable tradition of mobile painting in Rajasthan. A mounted personage with one or two servants in front and insignia-bearers near or behind the horse is known from 13th century Jain paintings on palm leaf. There are two attendants running in front of Pārśva's horse. Both of them are turning their heads backwards. One holds a *caurī* while the other carries a bare sword.³⁴ In a Jain manuscript on paper dated 1415 we find an illustration showing a runner in front of his master's horse having a dagger in his waist cloth.³⁵ In later Jain paintings we mainly find a man equipped with sword and shield in place of our bow bearer.³⁶ Sometimes he carries the sword with one hand and leads the horse on which his master is seated with the other hand.³⁷ In a few cases, however, it is difficult to say whether the sword bearer in front of the horse belongs to an army of foot soldiers or takes the position of our bow bearer.³⁸ In Jain painting it is also not clear whether the respective runners and the aloof standing groom with the horse are identical as in corresponding Persian and Mughal paintings.³⁹ From Persian paintings—which we have to take into consideration due to its influence on Mughal painting—it becomes clear that our "attendant" or "runner" not only forms an integral part of a composition in which one or more horses are included, but is always attached to a horseman, mostly seen moving in front of him. In accordance with European tradition we may call him esquire or squire, denoting a person of a noble family who serves the cavalier. In most of the paintings the squire does not carry a sword as in the genuine Indian tradition, but a hatchet.⁴⁰ The high status of the horseman is not only underlined by his retinue and the squire with the hatchet but also by an old lady who comes as a petitioner in accordance to a few texts describing such meeting.⁴¹ A staff can sometimes be seen in place of the hatchet.⁴² As with the Jain paintings we detect the squire at times in charge of an unmounted horse a little away from the central action or subject. Whether with hatchet⁴³ or without his peculiar dress and headgear clearly indicate his occupation. The squire became even so important that he appears in illustrations where his presence is puzzling or out of place. We see him e.g. in a frequently-illustrated episode from Nizami's *Khusraw and Shirin* in which the two lovers

meet each other for the first time not knowing where the other one comes from and who he is⁴⁵. In this dramatic moment the squire is redundant and disturbs the intimacy of the scene, hence his absence in almost all other Persian illustrations of the respective event. A bow-carrier may also appear, but he walks behind the horse and cannot be identified with the squire who walks in front of the horse with his peculiar attribute.⁴⁶ It is hardly surprising that the squire appears also in Indian Sultanate painting under strong Persian influence.⁴⁷

We come to know more about the squire⁴⁸ from Mughal paintings. That he belonged to a noble family is demonstrated by the earliest Mughal paintings, e.g. the *Hamza Nama*. With regard to his dress and attributes one might confuse him with Amir who is a hero of the story. Such a confusion might perhaps be intended.⁴⁹ In the so-called historical manuscripts the squire usually walks or runs in front of his master's horse carrying a hatchet as in Persian paintings.⁵⁰ Two squires or three squires heading one horse are quite common.⁵¹ As with Persian paintings he may also be in charge of an unmounted horse holding his hatchet⁵² with one hand and mostly the reins of the horse with the other hand. Sometimes the hatchet can be covered by the horse or may be totally wanting.⁵³ Also the Mughal painter enhanced the status of the horseman who at times is not only accompanied by a retinue but is approached by needy people, such as prisoners and the like, standing in front of him. The depicted horseman is very often no longer a mythical hero since the painter intended to draw the likeness of a historical personage (Akbar, Babur etc.).⁵⁴ The squire is seldom to be seen behind the horse,⁵⁵ holding a stick instead of the hatchet⁵⁶ or standing in front of a mounted horse without the axe.⁵⁷ He rarely makes use of his hatchet, an observation which may underline attributional character of this weapon. Even when involved in battle he prefers to use a sling rather than his hatchet.⁵⁸ He precedes his master in battle or arrays⁵⁹ and occasionally carries a shield in addition to the hatchet.⁶⁰ He may also render service to his mounted master in giving him water during a halt.⁶¹ Our squire can be identified with the "Payk" of Akbar's reign who could earn from "1,200 to 120d according to their speed and manner of service. Some of them will run from fifty to one hundred kroh (kos) a day".⁶² Thus the average income of a payk exceeds that of a "Sa, is, or groom" who never could get more than 170d in the most royal stable.⁶³ His dress differs considerably from that of a payk.⁶⁴

After having properly identified the person in front of the mounted horse in our two portraits we have to show why he carries a bow instead of an axe. The development of this exchange started with the illustrations of the *Hamza Nama*. In one painting, the bow and arrows are carried separately by a horseman behind Sa'id-i-Farrukh, leader of Hamza's army.⁶⁵ Sa'id-i-Farrukh holds just the reins of his horse and a blossoming twig. Another rider behind the leader of the army carries a circular object as is held by the attendant walking behind Jagat Singh. The horseman holds in many cases bow and arrows separately apparently without the intention of shooting⁶⁶ commonly in attendance of at least one squire carrying a hatchet.⁶⁷ This disposition of bow and arrow may also appear in equestrian portraits in which the squire



Figure No. 1



Figure No. 2

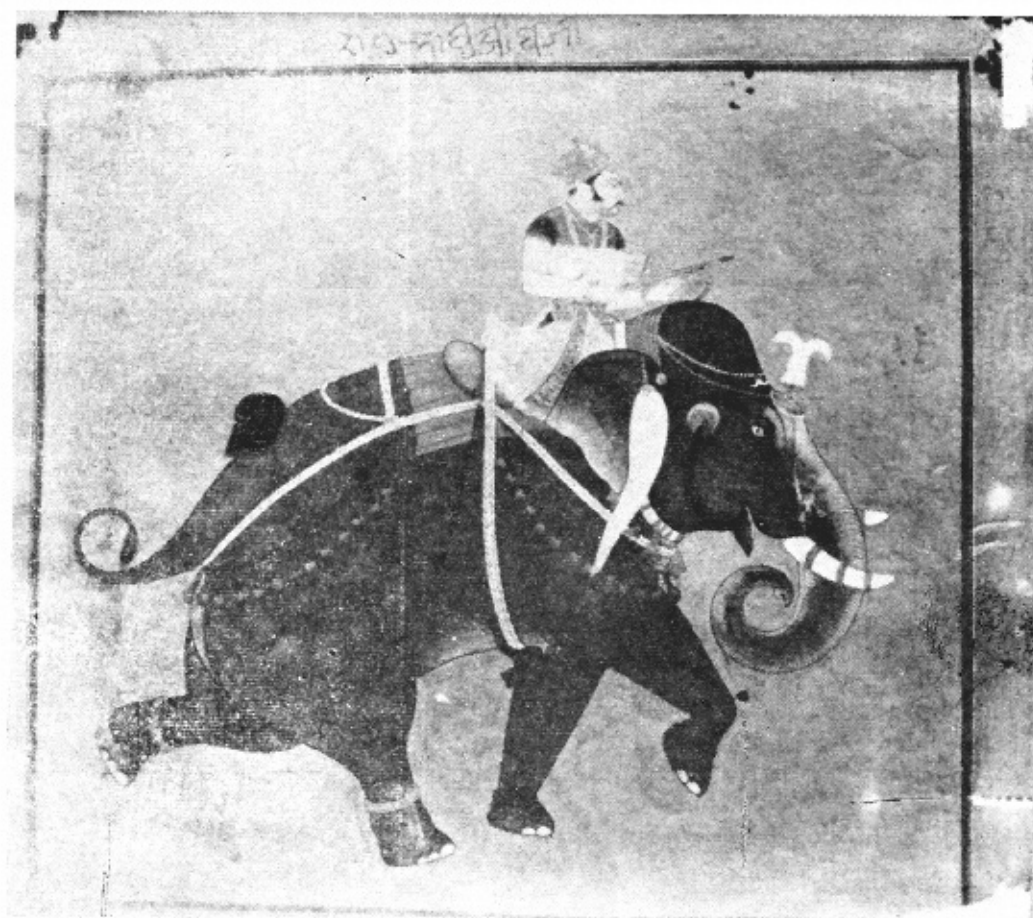


Figure No. 3



Figure No. 4

is absent.⁶⁸ At the beginning of the 17th century, the bow and arrows became symbols of royalty as is shown by a portrait of prince Salim who is attended by an esquire who holds the respective weapons as if he would wave a yak tail.⁶⁹ This is hardly astonishing since the dagger also became a sign of royalty and favour.⁷⁰ In an equestrian portrait of Shah Jahan we finally have the squire equipped with the bow of his sovereign walking in front of his horse.⁷¹ The tremendous influence which Mughal painting had on the painting of the Bundikalam is too well known and will therefore be excluded from further discussion here. But we should not underestimate the genuine Indian influence on Rajput painting with regard to the disposition of accompanying servants and standard-bearers respectively.⁷²

We now turn to the influence of Rajput and Deccani painting on the "iconography" of the squire. The Deccani painters were not too far from the Mughal tradition. We find, e.g. the squire with his hatchet⁷³ or stick⁷⁴ in front of a horseman or the squire who precedes the horse holding bow and arrows separated from each other.⁷⁵ It is hardly surprising that in Rajput painting the squire may head a mounted camel instead of a horseman.⁷⁶ The Rajput tradition equipped their squires mainly with some sort of staff.⁷⁷ Should the squire be without any object in his hands he mostly tends an unmounted horse.⁷⁸ The horseman may carry bow and arrow separately⁷⁹ but it is mostly the squire who is in charge of them.⁸⁰ Finally, the squire appears as waving a *caurī* in front of his master's horse.⁸¹ These Rajput paintings, however, rarely depict an identifiable ruler on horseback, hence the importance of the equestrian portraits of Bhao Singh and Jagat Singh represented here (figs. 1 and 2). Our two portraits include the earliest known representations of a running squire⁸² carrying a bow and a *caurī* as signs of royalty in the Rajput tradition of Indian painting. They are the oldest known datable and identifiable equestrian portraits from Bundi and Kota respectively. The prototype of their composition can be traced back to the 13th century; the "iconography" of a hitherto unidentified attendant present in most equestrian portraits changed in course of time and under different influences of painting in India.

NOTES

1. Catalogue of Fine Oriental Miniatures and Manuscripts, 10th October, 1977, lot 58, full page plate, p. 36. The painting measures 25,3 x 30,5 cms.
2. For the development of these types of portraits see Weber, R.: Portraits und historische Darstellungen in der Miniaturensammlung des Museums für Indische Kunst Berlin, Berlin, 1982 (Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Indische Kunst Band 6), especially pp 64-70.
3. I am indebted to Dr. Konrad Seitz for generously allowing me to work with his collection. The painting measures 23,5 x 28 cms within rules.

4. Following Beach, M. C. : *Rajput Painting at Bundi and Kota*, Ascona, 1974 (*Artibus Asiae Supplementum* XXXII), Appendix B, after Mathurā Lāla Śarmā : *Koṭā rājya kā itihāsa*, Kota, 1939, 2 Vols, Vol. I, folded chart at the end of the volume. We do not know, however, how M.C. Beach calculated the regnal dates of the Kota rulers into the Christian era from the Vikrama era dates given by M.L. Sarmā : Mukund Singh, father of Jagat Singh, died in 1658 (*Šamsām-ud-Dāula Shāh Nawāz khān : The Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, transl. by H. Beveridge, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1952 (*Bibliotheca Indica* Issue Number 1562), p. 242. Sukhavīrasimha Gahalot gives A.D. 1658 to 1683 in his *Rājasthāna kā itihāsa* (*tithikrama se*), Jodhapura, 1980, p. 161, following the Vikrama dates given earlier in *Rājapūtāne kā itihāsa*, dvitīya bhāga, būmḍī, koṭā tathā sirohī rājyom kā itihāsa, jodhapura vi. s. 2017, p. 49 of the kota-section by his uncle, Jagadīśasimha Gahalota. Earlier, S. Gahlot preferred the date "1660—1685", cf. *Cultural Heritage of Hadoti*, ed. by Gahlot, M., Gahlot, S. and Gahlot, V., Jodhpur, 1976, p. 14 *Śyāmaladāsa* in vol. III, p. 1411 of his *vīra vinoda* (4 vols., Udaipur, 1886) quotes a passage from the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, according to which Jagat Singh died in the 25th regnal year of Aurangzeb, which is given as A.D. 1681. For an english translation of this passage refer to p. 593 in the edition quoted above. J. Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* notes A.D. 1657-70 as regnal years of Jagat Singh (Crooke ed., London, 1920, vol. III, p. 1523). T. H. Hendley, *The Rulers of India and the Chiefs of Rajputana*, London, 1897, Plate 11, no. 3, gives 1658-70 as regnal years.
5. For a similar type of shoe which lacks the tongue see Verma, S. P. : *Art and Material Culture in the Paintings of Akbar's Court*, New Delhi 1978, Plate XXXIV, nos. 10 and 15.
6. For a comparable object, a royal insignia, cf. the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* by Abū'l, Fazl, Allāmi transl. by H. Blochmann, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1977 (reprint), p. 52, A' in 19, where it is called "*Sāya-bān*" or "*Āftābgīr*", for an illustration cf. Plate IX, no. 3 in the same publication, for drawings which are more close to our example see however Verma 1978, op. cit. Plate LVI, nos. 12 and 14.
7. A closer examination of a painting in the Islamisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (East) in which Jahangir is shown drinking wine with Nur Jahan, reveals that the corners of the eyes of the Mughal emperor are red which is usually not so when the same emperor is depicted in Darbar scenes. The painting in question is reproduced in colour in Anand, M. R./ Goetz, H : *Indische Miniaturen*, Dresden, 1967, Plate 16 and also in Hickmann, R.: *Indische Albumblätter. Miniaturen und Kalligraphien aus der zeit der Moghul Kaiser*, Leipzig/Weimar, 1979, Plate 21. The red coloured eyes of Jahangir however are only visible when examining the original painting. We feel very much indebted to Dr. Hickmann for allowing us to study the collection in the museum mentioned before.
8. For a drawing of the quillon dagger cf. Verma 1978, op. cit., Plate LVIII, no. 1 and p. 87. For the katār, also called "*khanjar*" or "*jamdar*", cf. *ibid.* p. 86.

9. Cf. Beach 1974, op. cit., fig. 68 "Jagat Singh of Kota with his zenana. Kota, ca. 1670" and fig. 69 "Jagat Singh of Kota, ca. 1670". For another portrait of Jagat Singh see Hendly 1897, op. cit., Plate 11, no. 3.
10. Following Jagadīśasimha Gahalota, op. cit., "kotā rājya", p. 49, we are indebted to Dr. (Mrs.) Krishna Bruhn for translating relevant passages from works published in Hindi. without her untiring assistance the inclusion of Hindi sources would have become a too difficult task.
11. Ibid., "būndī rājya", p. 72. Cf. also Maāthir-ul-Umarā, 1952, op. cit. vol. 11, p. 724 Sukhavīrasimha Gahalota, 1980, op. cit., p. 39. Only in 1976 he preferred 1633-1660 as regnal years for "Shatrusal", cf. Cultural Heritage of Hadoti, op. cit., p. 19. Since Rao Shatrushal (= Chattar Sal) died in the famous battle of Samugarh, the date of which can hardly be disputed, we prefer 1658 as the year of the Rao's death. Cf. also Bernier, F. : Travels in the Mogul Empire A. D. 1656-1668, transl. by A. Constable, ed. by V. A. Smith, London, 1916, p. 48 and p. 51. For a longer account see the chapter *atha śatruśalya cāritraprārambha* in *vamśa bhāskara* by Sūrya Malla Miśraṇa, 8 vols, n.p.n.d. (but according to Bhatnagar, V. S. : Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh, Delhi, 1974, p. 360, it was written in 1841 cf. also Roy, A. K. : History of the Jaipur City, New Delhi, 1978, p. 248), vol. 5, pp. 2553-2723.
12. Jagadīśasimha Gahalota, op. cit., "būndī rājya", p. 72.
13. Ibid., p. 74. According to Tod, J., op. cit., 1920, vol. III., p. 1493, he died in 1682. The Maāthir-ul-Umarā (reprint : 1979), op. cit., vol. I, p. 406 gives 1677 as the year of his death. Manucci, N. : *Storio do Mogor or Mogul India 1653-1708*, transl. and ed. by W. Irvine, 4 vols., London, 1907, vol. II, p. 402 places his death between March 1677 and February 1678. For a fuller account of Bhao Singh's life see again Sūrya Malla Miśraṇa, op. cit., vol. 5, pp. 2724-2854. Sukhvīr Singh Gahlot, 1976, op. cit., p. 20, gives again diverging dates, viz. 1660-1683.
14. Beach, M. C. 1974, op. cit., fig. 27.
15. Ibid., p. 15.
16. Ibid. 15, note 44.
17. See e.g. the inscribed equestrian portrait of Budh Singh, sold at Christie's 11 October 1979, lot 135, Plate 25; fig. 18, p. 10 in the *Journal Marg*, vol. 11, no. 2, March 1958, where the inscription has unfortunately not been included in the reproduction and no. 49, p. 56 in Topsfield, A. : *Paintings from Rajasthan in the National Gallery of Victoria*, Melbourne, 1980. The latter painting might have also been made in the Mewar area as A. Topsfield rightly suggests. See also Sotheby's Catalogue of important Oriental Miniatures, 8th and 9th October, 1979, lot 85 ("a ruler of Bundi out riding a prancing brown stallion") and fig. 44 in Tandan, R. K. : *Indian Miniature Painting 16th through 19th Centuries*, Bangalore, 1982. Though the latter painting may represent "Rao Bhao Singh of Bundi (?)" it is not "in the style of Tulsi Ram" as has been stated by R. Tandan.

18. Reproduced here by the courtesy of the Arch. Survey of India, New Delhi no. 49/50M. Cf. also Catalogue to Govt. Museum, Kota, Jaipur, 1961, no. 200.
19. Archer, W. G. : Indian Painting at Bundi and Kotah, London, 1959, fig. 3. Also reproduced in Archer, W. G. : Indian Paintings from Rajasthan, Calcutta, 1962.
20. Sotheby's Catalogue of highly important Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures, 1st December 1969, lot 150 and Grube, E. J. — Islamic Paintings from the 11th to the 18th century in the collection of Hand P. Kraus, New York, (1972), no. 249, illustrated p. 288.
21. Cf. Archer, W.G. : Rajput Miniatures, Binney Coll., Portland, 1968, no. 12. Only in one painting can the same shading of armpits be seen with Chattr Sal. In all other paintings known to us his armpits are shaded normally. The exception referred to is the painting in the Kanoria collection mentioned before.
22. Topsfield, A., 1980, op. cit., r.o. 51, p. 57 captioned : "Rao Chattr Sal of Bundi with his son Bhao Singh". That A. Topsfield slightly confused the Bundi rulers becomes evident when we compare his "Chattr Sal" with our representations of Bhao Singh.
23. Welch, S.C. and Beach, M.C. : Gods, Thrones, and Peacocks, New York, 1965, no. 19, reproduced p. 68, described p. 119. The painting has also been published by M.C. Beach 1974, op.cit., fig. 20 and T. Falk et al. : Indian painting, Mughal and Rajput and a Sultanate manuscript, London, 1978, no. 65, p. 99.
24. Cf. Sotheby and Co's Catalogue of Western and Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures, 3rd April 1957, lot 49, folio 9 verso and folio 8 recto ; other portraits are listed in Titley, N.M. : Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts, London, 1977, Cat. no. 26, Albums, folio 22a and no. 29, folio 13.
25. The place was accordingly called "bhāvapurā", cf. Jagadīśasimha Gahalota, op.cit., p. 74.
26. Between 1680 and 1683 according to Gahalota, op.cit., p. 49.
27. Coomaraswamy, A. : Relation of Moghul and Rajput paintings, in : Rupam no. 31, July, 1927, pp. 88-91. The painting referred to is reproduced on Plate I, fig. 1 (= Maggs Bros. Ltd., Oriental Miniatures and Illumination, Bulletin no. 20, March 1972, no. 70 "Provincial Mughal Artist : late 17th century"). This miniature may be a somewhat altered copy of fig. 69 in Beach, M.C. 1974, op.cit.
28. The 'Kota-eyes' are called "clam-shell eye" by M. Zebrowski, vide Inde, cinq mille ans d'art, Paris, 1978, p. 106 and M.C. Beach 1974, op.cit., p. 30 : "The most obvious single trait is the drawing of the eye, by an inner outline in black and an outer outline in red..."
29. J. Auboyer opposed "la peinture murale" to "la peinture mobile", vide her Arts et styles de l'Inde, Paris, 1951, pp. 135f.
30. Thanks are due to Brij Raj Singh Saheb of Kota for kindly allowing us to work in the premises of his palace. The inscription is on the surface of a mural on the Western wall

- to the left hand side of the entrance to the Western room of the Chattr Mahal. M.L. Joshi from the Rao Madho Singh Museum kindly has drawn our attention to the inscription and also read the date for which we feel very much indebted to him. The inscription is in bad condition.
31. For a few renderings of the subject see Barrett, D. and Gray, B. : *Indische Malerei*, Genf, 1963, p. 113 (= Lévêque, J.—J. et Ménant, N. : *La Peinture Islamique et Indienne*, Lausanne, 1967, col. frontispiece). Czuma, S. : *Indian Art from the George P. Bickford Collection*, Cleveland/Ohio, 1975, no. 50 ; Khandalavala, K. and M. Chandra : *Miniatures and Sculptures from the Collection of the Late Sir Cowasji Jehangir*, Bombay, 1965, no. 42 ; Hickmann, R. : *Geschichte der indischen Miniatur malerei*, In : *Miniaturen, Volks-und Gegenwartskunst Indiens*, Leipzig 1975, illustration no. 71 ; Kheiri, S. : *Indische Miniaturen der islamischen Zeit*, Berlin, (1921), fig. 11 ; Arnold, T. and Wilkinson, J.V.S. : *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. A Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures*, 3 Vols., Oxford, 1936, Vol. III, col. Plate 90 (= Welch, S.C. : *Indische Buchmalerei unter den Grossmoguln*, 16.—19. Jahrhundert München, 1978, col. Plate 38). Cf. also F. Bernier 1916, op.cit., pp. 317f.
 32. F. Bernier 1916, op.cit., p. 135 calls the fabric "alachā" and compares its stripes to those of a zebra. The striped jama was especially fashionable under Shah Jahan, cf. Archer, W.G. : *Indian Miniatures*, London, 1960, Plate 28.
 33. This bow case or "qirbān" has usually not been carried this way, cf. S.P. Verma 1978, op.cit., p. 93.
 34. Nawab, S.M. : *The Oldest Rajasthani Paintings from Jain Bhandars*, Ahmedabad, 1959, Plate O, fig. 20, col. (= Punyavijaya : *Jaisalmernī citra samṛddhi*, ahmadāvād, Samvat 2007, fig. 20, col. = *Jaina Art and Architecture*, ed. A. Ghosh, Volume III, New Delhi, 1975, Plate 271, fig. C. in the article by K. Khandalavala and S. Doshi.)
 35. Khandalavala, K. and Doshi, S., op.cit., col. Plate 25B.
 36. Coomaraswamy, A.K. : *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Part IV, *Jaina Paintings*, Boston, 1924, Plate IX, folio 73, dated 1497 (= Brown, W.N. : *The Story of Kālaka*, Washington, 1933, Plate 10, fig. 23) ; Brown, W.N. : *Manuscript Illustrations of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, New Haven, 1941, Plate 24, fig. 74, dated 1591.
 37. Cf. Nawab, S.M. : *The Collection of Kalaka Story Part I*, Ahmedabad, 1958, Plate XXI, fig. 50, dated 1446, text p. 86.
 38. Ibid. col. Plate IX, fig. 21, dated 1416 (?) (= Nawab, S.M. : *Masterpieces of the Kalpasutra Paintings*, Ahmedabad, 1956, col. Plate IC, fig. 398.
 39. Cf. S.M. Nawab 1959, op.cit., Plate 48, fig. 67 : "In the lower register, a person is seen leading a white decorated horse", p. 37 ; S.M. Nawab, 1958, op.cit., Plate XIX, fig. 45 :

- "...the lower (register) showing *aśvakhelan* (exercising the horse) of Kālakumār...", p. 84; W.N. Brown, 1933, op.cit., Plate 14, fig. 35; A.K. Coomaraswamy 1924, op.cit., Plate XXII, folio 1.
40. Duda, D.: *Islamische Handschriften I, Persische Handschriften, Text-und Tafelband*, Wien 1983, Abb. 160; Martin, F.R.: *The Miniature Paintings and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey...*, (reprint:) London, 1968, Plate 121, right hand side; Bothmer, H.C.: *Die islamischen Miniaturen der Sammlung Preetorius*, Munich, 1982, Cat. no. 12, col. Plate 4 and Cat. no. 35; Stchoukine, I.: *Les Peintures des Manuscrits Safavis de 1502 à 1587*, Paris, 1959, Plates XV, XXI, XXIII.
 41. Cf. D. Duda 1983, op.cit., Abb. 111; F.R. Martin 1968, op.cit., Plate 130 (= Binyon, L.: *The Poems of Nizami*, London, 1928, col. Plate IV = Welch, S.C.: *Persische Buchmalerei*, Munich, 1976a, col. Plate 21 = Welch, S.C.: *Wonders of the Age, Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting, 1501-1576*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1979, Plate 51); Titley, N.M.: *Persian Miniature Painting and its Influence on the Art of Turkey and India*, London, 1983, col. Plate 2 and fig. 12 (= Meredith-Owens, G.M.: *Persian Illustrated Manuscripts*, London, 1973, col. Plate 1); Papadopoulos, A.: *Islamische Kunst*, Freiburg, 1982, no. 589.
 42. F.R. Martin 1968, op.cit., Plate 115; D. Duda 1983, op.cit., Abb. 328; Kubickova, V.: *Persische Miniaturen*, Praha, 1960, col. Plate 31; S.C. Welch 1979, op.cit., no. 79. In A. Papadopoulos 1982, op.cit., no. 588, there are two squires, one is equipped with a stick and the other with a hatchet.
 43. Especially in the Tahmasp Shahnameh, cf. Welch, S.C.: *Das Buch der Könige. Das Schahname des Schah Tahmasp*, Munich, 1976b, col. Plate P. 117 (= S.C. Welch 1976a, op.cit., col. Plate 6 = S.C. Welch 1979, op.cit., no. 13), col. Plate p. 145 (= S.C. Welch 1979, op.cit., no. 19); S.C. Welch 1979, op.cit., no. s. 29 and 32.
 44. D. Duda 1983, op.cit., Abb. 158; Brentjes, D.: *Mittelasien—Kunst des Islam*, Leipzig, 1979, Plate 129, col.; F.R. Martin 1968, op.cit., Plate 114 (= Strzygowski, J. et al.: *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei...Klagenfurt*, 1933, Abb. 184), Plate 131 (= L. Binyon 1928 op.cit., col. Plate V = S.C. Welch 1976a, op.cit., col. Plate 22 = S.C. Welch 1979, op.cit., Plate 53 = Kuehnelt, E.: *Persische Miniaturmalerei*, Berlin, 1959, Plate 27, col.), Plate 132 (= L. Binyon 1928, op.cit., col. Plate VI = S.C. Welch 1976a, op.cit., col. Plate 24 = S.C. Welch 1979, op.cit., Plate 54; S.C. Welch 1976a, op.cit., col. Plate 38; S.C. Welch 1976b, op.cit., col. Plate p. 129.
 45. Gray, B.: *Persische Malerei*, Genève, 1961, col. Plate p. 153; V. Kubickova 1960, op.cit., col. Plate 30.
 46. D. Duda 1983, op.cit., Abb. 145 and Abb. 160.
 47. P. Chandra: *The Tūtl-Nāma of The Cleveland Museum of Art and the Origins of Mughal Painting*, Graz, 1976, Plate 97.

48. S.P. Verma 1978, op.cit., gives a drawing of a squire on Plate LXXV, no. 3, but assigns him to the "guards", cf. p. 120 *ibid.* S.P. Verma's description of these guards (=squires) may be taken into consideration, though a squire is rarely depicted with a mace as mentioned by him.
49. A squire who cannot be identified with Amir is shown in a Hamza Nama page in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, reproduced in: *Hamza Nāma...Zweiter Band, Die Blätter aus dem Victoria and Albert Museum London, Graz, 1982 (Codices Selecti, Facsimile Vol. LI/2) Plate 19.* In another page from this Manuscript he is identical with Amir, cf. *Hamza-Nāma...Erster Band, Die Blätter aus dem Museum für angewandte Kunst in Wien, Graz, 1974 (Codices Selecti, Facsimile Vol. LI/1), Plate 61.* In Plate 10, *ibid.*, the squire could be Amir.
50. E.g. *Babur Namas: Suleiman, H.: Miniatures of Babur-Nama, Tashkent, 1970, col. Plates 13, 17, 21, 28, 91; Falk, T. and Archer, M.: Indian Miniatures in the Indian Office Library, London, 1981, no. 6;*
51. E.g. *Babur Namas: Krishnadasa, R.: Mughal Miniatures, New Delhi, 1955, col. Plate 2; H. Suleiman 1970, op.cit., col. Plate 92 (= Brown, P.: Indian Painting under the Mughals A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1750, (reprint:) New York, 1975, Plate XXXII), 48 (= Goetz, H.: Bilderatlas zur Kulturgeschichte Indiens in der Grossmoghul-Zeit, Berlin, 1930, Plate 28, Abb. 77), and 54; Christie's sale of Important Islamic Manuscripts and Miniatures, October 12, 1978, lot 151, col. Akbar Nama: Binney, E.: Indian Miniature Paintings...The Mughal and Deccani Schools, Portland, 1973, no. 20. Jami al Tawarikh: Marek, J. and Knizkova, H.: The Jenghiz Khan Miniatures from the Court of Akbar the Great, London, 1963, col. Plate 26; Beach, M.C.: Painting and the Minor Arts, In: The Arts of India and Nepal: The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Boston, 1966, no. 202a; Godard, A. and Gray, B.: Iran, Miniatures Persanes -Bibliothèque Imperiale, New York, 1956 (Unesco Collection), col. Plate XXXIV. For relevant illustrations of other manuscripts see F.R. Martin 1968, op.cit., Plate 179 (= P. Brown 1975, op.cit. Plate XXXVI); Archer, W.G.: Indische Miniaturen, Laupen/Bern, 1957, col. Plate V; Strzygowski, J. and Gluck, H.: Die indischen Miniaturen im Schlosse Schönbrunn, Wien, 1923, no. 60; J. Strzygowski 1933, op.cit., Abb. 106.*
52. *Babur Namas: H. Suleiman 1970, op.cit., col. Plates 11, 16, 87, 88; Pal, P. Court Paintings of India 16th—19th Centuries, New York, 1983, col. Plate M8b; Goetz, H.: Geschichte der indischen Miniaturmalerei, Berlin/Leipzig, 1934, Plate 1, fig. 1; Tyulayev, S.I.: Indian Art in Soviet Collections, Moscow, 1956, p. 34. Akbar Namas: Robinson, B.W.: Rothschild and Binney Collections: Persian and Mughal Arts of the Book, In: Persian and Mughal Art, London, 1976, no. 86j, col.; Godden, R.: Gulbadan, Portrait of a Rose Princess at the Mughal Court, London, 1980, col. Plate p. 97; Bussagli, M.: Indian Miniatures, London (etc.), 1969, col. Plate 24 (= J.-J. Lévêque and N. Menant 1967, op.cit., col. Plate p. 65); Arnold, T. and Wilkinson, J.V.S.: Chronicle of Akbar*

- the Great, Oxford, 1937, Plates 14 (col.), 18, 19, 24 (col.) Others : P. Brown 1975, op.cit., Plate X.
53. Babur Namas : Inde, cinq mille ans d'art, Paris, 1978, no. 120, p. 91 ; H. Suleiman 1970, op.cit., col. Plate 90. Akbar Namas : Beach, M.C. : The Imperial Image. Paintings for the Mughal Court, Washington, 1981, p. 119, no. 12g, p. 104, no. 12b, p. 56, no. 12e; T. Arnold and J.V.S. Wilkinson 1937, op.cit., Plate 11 ; M. Bussagli 1969, op.cit., col. Plate 23 (= W.G. Archer 1957, op.cit., col. Plate III=J. Strzygowski 1933, op.cit., Abb. 79) ; Jami al Tawarikh : M.C. Beach 1981, op.cit., col. Plate p. 52, no. 11 ; J. Marek and H. Knizková 1963, op.cit., col. Plate 18 ; Hajek, L. : Indische Miniaturen vom Hof der Mogulkaiser, Praha, 1961, col. Plate 4. Tarikh-i-Alfi : M.C. Beach 1981, op.cit., p. 92, no. 10b (= Dimand, M. : Indian Miniature Painting, Milan, n.d., col. Plate 9 = Dimand, M. : Indian Miniature Paintings, New York, n.d., col. Plate II). Others : M.C. Beach 1981, op.cit., col. Plate p. 73, no. 16d (dated 1588) ; Welch, S.C. Indian Drawings and Painted Sketches, New York, 1976, no. 10, p. 39 (= Sotheby and Co. : Catalogue of Important Oriental Miniatures, 10th July, 1973, lot 21) ; P. Chandra 1976, op.cit., Plate 35 (= Nath, N. and Khandalavala, K. : Illustrated Islamic Manuscripts, in : Mārg, Vol. XXXV, no. 2, pp. 34-51, fig. 16, col.) ; J. Strzygowski 1933, Abb. 120 ; Galloway, F. et al. : Islamic Art from India, London, 1980, no. 66, p. 45, col.
54. Babur Namas : S. Tyulayev 1956, op.cit., p. 33, p. 39, p. 47, p. 67. Akbar Namas : Staude, W. : Le paysage dans l'Akbar-Namah, in : Revue des Arts Asiatiques, No. II, Vme année, pp. 102-105, Planche XXXIV ; Hartel, H. et al. : Indische Kunst, Stuttgart and Hamburg, 1966, no. 220, p. 57 ; J. Strzygowski 1933, op.cit., Abb. 33 and Abb. 131 ; T. Arnold and J.V.S. Wilkinson, op.cit., Plate 7. Jami al Tawarikh : L. Hajek 1961, op.cit., col. Plate 2 (= J. Marek and H. Knizkova 1963 op.cit., col. Plate 34). Others : P. Brown 1975, op.cit., Plate XL, fig. 2 (= J. Strzygowski 1933, op.cit., Abb. 109) ; Plate XL, fig. 1 (= J. Strzygowski 1933, op.cit., Abb. 137).
55. Babur Nama : R. Krishnadasa, 1955, op.cit., col. Plate 3. Hamza Nama : Hamza-Nāma 1982, op.cit., col. Plate V.
56. E.g. Hamza Nama : Hamza-Nāma 1974, op.cit., col. Plate 53.
57. H. Suleiman 1970, op.cit., col. Plate 31.
58. Hamza-Nāma 1982, op.cit., col. Plate 15.
59. Akbar Nama : Pal, P. : Indian Paintings in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, New Delhi, 1982, col. Plate II. Hamza Nama : Hamza-Nāma 1982, op.cit., col. Plate I and V.
60. Babur Nama : Pinder-Wilson, R.H. : Paintings from the Muslim Courts of India, London, 1976, no. 21, col. Akbar Nama : M.C. Beach 1981, op.cit., p. 111, no. 12d, col.
61. Babur Nama : Inde, cinq mille ans d'art 1979, op.cit., no. 121.

62. The *Ā'in-i Al-barī* by Abū'l-Faẓl 'Allāmī, transl. into English by H. Blochmann, ed. by D.C. Phillot, Vol. I, (reprint :) New Delhi, 1977, *Ā'in* 53, p. 146.
63. *Ibid.* p. 146.
64. Cf. S.I. Tyulayev 1956, *op.cit.*, Plate p. 55 "Horse and groom".
65. *Hamza-Nāma* 1974, *op.cit.*, col. Plate 42.
66. J. Strzygowski and H. Gluck 1923, *op.cit.*, no. 7 (= Strzygowski 1933, *op.cit.*, Abb. 32); H. Sulciman 1970, *op.cit.*, col. Plate 41; S.I. Tyulayev 1956, *op.cit.*, col. Plate p. 45.
67. Pant, G.N.: *Indian Archery*, Delhi, 1978, Plate LXXXXVIII (R. Nath and K. Khandalavala *op.cit.*, Illustration 13, col.); J. Marek and H. Knizkova 1963, *op.cit.*, col. Plate 26; B. Gray and A. Godard 1956, *op.cit.*, col. Plate XXXIV; J. Strzygowski 1933, *op.cit.*, Abb. 106; E. Binney 1973, *op.cit.*, no. 19 (= Binney, E.: *Islamic Art from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd*, Washington, 1966, no. 68 = Binney, E.: *Persian and Indian Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd*, Portland, 1962, no. 57, p. 32, col.); Grek, T.V.: *Indijskie Miniatury XVI—XVIII vv*, Moscow, 1971, Plate I (Indian Miniatures from the 16th to 18th century, in Russian).
68. Falk, T.: *Rothschild Collection of Mughal Miniatures*, In: *Persian and Mughal Art*, London, 1976, pp. 167-220, no. 92, col.
69. We have to bear in mind that almost all Mughal miniatures quoted above date from the 2nd half of the 16th century. The painting referred to is illustrated in M.C. Beach 1966, *op.cit.*, no. 200, p. 146.
70. The dagger formed an essential part of the robes of honour, a frequently bestowed gift, cf. F. Bernier 1916, *op.cit.*, p. 128 and Brisch, K. et al.: *Museum für Islamische Kunst Berlin*, Berlin, 1979, cat. no. 671 (Description of a 17th century Mughal dagger).
71. Paris, Hotel Drouot (Sale catalogue), 26.10.1973, no. 9.
72. Cf. fn. 34, *supra*. A corresponding distribution of walking attendants can also be seen in Mughal painting, e.g. T. Falk 1976, *op.cit.*, no. 86ii, illustrated p. 201. We see similar figures even with a European horseman in India during the reign of Shah Jahan, cf. Collis, M.: *The Land of the Great Image*, London, 1943, Plate opp. p. 34, after: Linschoten, J.H. van: "Voyages", Amsterdam, 1638. His "Itinerary" was first published in Amsterdam, 1596.
73. T. Falk and M. Archer 1981, *op.cit.*, nos. 414, col. Plate 13 (= Zebrowski, M.: *Deccani Painting*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983, fig. 138) and no. 461.
74. M. Zebrowski 1983, *op.cit.*, no. 139.
75. *Ibid.*, no. 185, p. 216; G.N. Pant 1978, *op.cit.*, Plate XXXXVI.
76. Khandalavala, K.J. et al.: *Miniature Painting: A Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Sri Motichand Khajanchi Collection* .., New Delhi, 1960, no. 23, fig. 29 (= Ebeling, K.: *Ragamala Painting*, Basel (etc.), 1973, fig. 156); Kanoria, G.K.: *An Early dated Rājasthānī Rāgamālā*, In: *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XIX,

- 1952-53, pp. 1-5, col. frontispiece. For the date of this Ragamala see however P. Chandra 1976, op.cit., p. 49 n.
77. K. Ebeling 1973, op.cit., fig. 32, p. 165.
78. P. Pal 1983, op.cit., col. Plate R6 ; K.J. Khandalavala 1960, op.cit., fig. 30 (= D. Barret and B. Gray, 1963, op.cit., col. Plate p. 135 = Inde 1978, op.cit., no. 155, p. 104); A. Coomaraswamy 1927, op.cit., fig. 2.
79. K. Ebeling 1973, op.cit., no. 57, p. 175 (= G.N. Pant 1978, op.cit., Plate XIII).
80. Sharma, O.P. : Indian Miniature Painting, Tokyo, 1973, no. 30 ; Sotheby's Catalogue of Fine Oriental Miniatures, 24th April, 1979, lot 109.
81. Moti Chandra : Mewar Painting in the Seventeenth Century, New Delhi, 1957, col. plate 2.
82. In the 19th century, squires and grooms were confused, cf. Heber, R : Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces...II Vols., London, 1828, Vol. I, pp. 17, 20, 23 and 43.—The research on the Painting of Bundi and Kota has been made possible by a scholarship granted by the VW-foundation, West Germany, to which we feel very much indebted.