**Visual Rāmāyaṇas (India)**

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**general notes n.b.** list of museums etc. with Rāmāyaṇa material in “Further Notes (visual)”, also JLB’s Bangkok WSC paper, “Illustrated Rāmāyana texts: which, where, why?” (in “Lectures and papers (unpublished)”);forEastern Art Online (Ashmolean Museum) **see**www.jameelcentre.ashmolean.org

killing of Vālin: for a listing of representations of the episode (widely interpreted) **see** handwritten notes from Desai 1984 in oddment folder within Visual Rām. box file

**n.b.** Dhānyamālinī lures Rāvaṇa away (Jagat Singh Rām., Sundarak.); Rāvaṇa and Dhānyamālinī, Guler, c. 1760-70 (B.+ E. Fischer coll.; Britschgi + Fischer 2008: no. 55)

**inscriptional evidence (India)**

An inscription of year 148 (= 467-8 A.D.) on the pavement of the Daśāvatāra temple at Gaḍhvā (Allahabad dist., U.P.) records the installation of an image of Anantasvāmin   
(= Viṣṇu) and mentions a divine figure Citrakūṭasvāmin (*bhaga<v>cchitra<k>ūṭasvāmi-*, i.e. Rāma). **see** Fleet 1888: 267-9 (no. 66).

The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa (Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi), dated 12th April 602, contains wording reminiscent of *VR* (*samudra iva gambhīraḥ kṣamayā pṛthivīsamaḥ* at l. 11 [≈ *VR* 1.1.17-18] and *jyeṣṭha<ḥ> śreṣṭhaguṇasamudayodatapururaṇaparākramāṅkapriyaḥ* at   
l. 6 [≈ *VR* 1.1.20]) and also a reference to Rāma in a list of comparisons for Maṅgaleśa   
(... *mahendra iva durddharṣaḥ rāma ivāparājitaḥ ...* at l. 10 ; **see** Fleet, J.F. 1890: “Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions: No. 185. – Mahakuta Pillar Inscription of Mangalesa”, *Indian Antiquary* 19: 7-20.

**see** D.C. Sircar, “The Rāmāyaṇa in inscriptions” (in Sircar 1979: 28-35 — **photocopied**) and Sircar 1980 (**own copy**) for a useful outline

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Pollock 1993: 270-73 **(download)**

Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: 117-23 and 136-39

**object (and medium)** early stone reliefs (pre-Gupta; up to 4th century A.D.)

**location (original/present)** various

**date**

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**notes** Bhārhut stupa (c. 200 B.C.):   
“A unique evidence of its presence in India since antiquity is seen in the carvings found in Bharhut dating back to 200 B.C. In this carving the motif appears in two parts, the upper half depicting the birth of a child from a hind and the lower half, a sage taking the child out from the womb of a hind.”  
 Anita Khanna, *The Jataka Stories in Japan,*  B.R. Publishing Corp., Delhi, 2001, p.87  
 [= §2 of ch. 4, "The Story of Rsyasringa as Ikkakusenin in Japan"]

Schlingloff 1973: 305 – “. . . There are only four reliefs which unequivocally relate to the Gazellehorn story, namely the medallion from the railing of the Bharhut stūpa, a relief fragment from Gandhāra, the right end of the lower architrave of the northern gateway of the main Sāñci stūpa and finally a railing from Bhutesvara in the Mathurā museum. . . .”   
Schlingloff 1973: 306 – “. . . The Bharhut medallion (Fig. 3) combines three scenes. In the lower part we see Gazellhorn’s father at a pond performing a human function while a gazelle is drinking water from the same pond and is thus becoming pregnant. . . . The Bharhut medallion represents the next scene in the middle showing the birth of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga by the gazelle and his reception by his father. The hut and the pots hanging on a thong indicate the scenery of a hermitage. On the top right may be seen the third scene. The grown-up Gazellhorn wearing a hermit’s clothes and bearing a horn on his forehead, is holding a pot which seems to be slipping from his hands. This could only relate to the episode handed down to us in different versions in which the young ascetic slips on the rain-wet ground, breaking his pot and cursing the rain-god.”

Ahir (Ahir 2000: 3) notes that the *Dasaratha Jātaka* scene listed by Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut,* is identifiable through a now lost inscription.

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (3rd-4th century A.D.):   
Agrawala 1980-81 claims that a scene on an *āyaka* corner-stone of stūpa 6 is a *Rāmāyaṇa* relief but in fact it represents a *Dasaratha Jātaka* scene; several scenes from *Dasaratha Jātaka* identified in Ray 2015: 205 (Daśaratha seated with R. + L. + S., the exiles’ departure for the forest, Bharata’s meeting with R. at Citrakūṭa, Hanumān carrying R + L. on his back to Ṛṣyamūka hill).

Ahir (Ahir 2000: 22) notes a *Dasaratha Jātaka* scene preserved in N wing of main gallery of site museum.

Srinivasan 2014: 346-7 — “Although from an apparently secular or non-Brahmanical context, mention may be made of a remarkable and spritely early historic bronze from the Andhra Buddhist Ikshvaku site of Nagarnujakonda (Figure 1), *c.* 3rd century, of a prince with a bow (Deshpande 1988: 31), which, more than other bronzes, seems to anticipate the style of princely Rama bronzes that emerges later in southern India.”

Uṇḍavalli (4th-5th century A.D., Viṣṇukuṇḍin as Jain monument; converted to Hindu temple by local rulers [? Parichedi] under Pallavas in 7th century): Rāmāyaṇa reliefs (so Ray 2015: 205, citing Rajendra Prasad 1980: page not given) in pillared hall on 3rd storey. Sankalia 1982: 174 – lists “Sita in Ashokavana, Hanuman, and Jatayu-*vadha.*”

cf. Ramamohan Rao 1992 (on sites connected with Viṣṇukundins and W. Cālukyas), who states that Uṇḍavalli has one large 4-storeyed cave (popularly called Anantaśāyin cave) and four smaller caves. On p. 44: “The second storey consists of a pillared *mandapa* and an open portico before it. . . . All the pillars of the *mandapa* are cubical . . . They are adorned with many sculptures viz. . . . and Sita under the *Asoka* tree.”

Jamālgaṛhī (?): Gandharan stair-riser showing perhaps a Rāmāyaṇa subject (S. in hut, R. pursuing golden deer, C2-3, 17.6 × 60.3 cm. BM 1880.53

**object (and medium)** early terracottas

**location (original/present)** Haryana to Bangladesh

**date** 2nd century B.C. to Gupta period (5th-7th centuries A.D.)

**studies** Agrawala, R.C. 1968-69: “Rāmāyaṇa plaque in the National Museum, New Delhi, and connected problems”, *JOIB* 18: 29-31 and figs 1-5. **scan**

Agrawala, V.S. 1947-48: “Terracotta figurines of Ahichchhatrā, District Bareilly, U.P.”, *Ancient India* 4: 104-79. **download (vol.)**

Ahuja, Naman P. 2022: “Abductions of women, narratives and identities: the earliest Rāmāyaṇa depictions in Indian art” in *From Jetavana to Jerusalem : sacred biography in Asian perspectives and beyond, essays in honour of Professor Phyllis Granoff,* ed. Jinhua Chen (Singapore: World Scholastic Publishers): 512-58. **download**

Akmam, Afroz 1991: “A few inscribed terracotta plaques depicting scenes from the Ramayana: recently discovered in Bangladesh”, in Datta 1991: 383-88. **scan**

Banerjee, P. 1985. ‘A Terracotta Panel from Bhitargaon Showing a Ramayana Scene.’ *Roopa-lekhā* 57: 86-88. **scan**

Bawa, Seema 2018: “Visualising the Rāmāyaṇa: power, redemption and emotion in early narrative sculptures (c. fifth to sixth centuries CE)”, *Indian Historical Review* 45.1:   
92-123. [*some convenient illustrations*] **download**

Bhattacharya, Gouriswar 1990: “Early *Rāmāyaṇa* illustration from Bangladesh”, *South Asian Archaeology 1987,* ed. by Maurizio Taddei (Roma: Is.M.E.O.) II: 1043-66. **scan**

Bhattacharya, Gouriswar and Pratapaditya Pal 1991: “Early Ramayana reliefs from Bangladesh”, *Orientations* 22.8: 57-62. **scan**

Dhar, Parul Pandya 2023: “Epic visions in terracotta, stone, and stucco: *Rāmāyaṇa* in Indian sculpture (beginning to 8th century CE)”, in *Connected histories of India and Southeast Asia: icons, narratives, monuments,* ed. Parul Pandya Dhar (New Delhi: Sage): 131-58.  
 **download (vol.)**

[*Golden Age* 2007] *The Golden Age of Classical India: the Gupta empire*, catalogue of an exhibition at Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 4 April - 25 June 2007 (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux). **Merton College Library Mob V9Q/GNGP**

Greaves, Laxshmi 2018: *Locating the lost Gupta period Rāmāyaṇa reliefs from Katingara, Uttar Pradesh”, RoSA* 12.2: 117-53. **download (from author)**

Greaves, Laxshmi Rose 2021: “A Rāmāyaṇa battle scene represented on an inscribed terracotta panel from Gupta period Haryana”, at https://theartofsouthasia.com/2021/12/20/a-ramayaṇa-battle-scene-represented-on-an-inscribed-terracotta-panel-from-gupta-period-haryana/ (accessed 28 March 2023).

1. Jamkhedkar, A.P. 1991: “Vākāṭaka sculptures”, in *The art of Ajanta: new perspectives,* ed. by Ratan Parimoo and others (New Delhi: Books & Books): I, 194-212. **scan**

Kala, Jayantika 1982-83: “Rāmāyaṇa in Terracottas: a study”, *JGJKSV* 38-39: 229-38.  
 **(IND) Per. 10 d.36**

Kala, S.C. 1950: *Terracotta figurines from Kauśā : mainly in the collection of the Municipal Museum, Allahabad* (Allahabad: Municipal Museum). **(IND) 20 E 4a**

Kala, S. C. 1980: *Terracottas in the Allahabad Museum* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications). **Sackler IWdc All; download**

Pal, Pratapaditya 1997: *A collecting odyssey: India, Himalayan, and Southeast Asian art from the James and Marilynn Alsdorf collection* (New York: Art Institute of Chicago in association with Thames and Hudson). **Sackler AWC Chi; scan**

Poster, Amy G. (ed.) 1986: *From Indian Earth: 4,000 Years of terracotta art* (New York: Brooklyn Museum). **Sackler IWdc Bro**

Ray, Amita 1989: “Inscribed terracotta plaques representing the scenes of Ramayana from Bangladesh”, in *Prācī-prabhā: Perspectives in Indology: essays in honour of Professor B.N. Mukherjee*, ed. by D.C. Bhattacharyya and Devendra Handa (New Delhi: Harman Pub. House): 253-58. **scan**

H. D. Sankaliyā 1973: *Purātava ane Rāmāyaṇ* (Ahmadābād: Gujarāt Vidyāpīṭh).

U. P. Shah [1971]: “Rāmvanvāsani Bhūgol ane Laṅkā”, *Svādhyāya* 10.1 (V.S. 2028): 1-23.

Shukla, K.S. 1989: “Newal terracottas depicting Rāmāyaṇa scenes”, in *History and archaeology: Prof. H.D. Sankalia felicitation volume*, ed. by Bhaskar Chatterjee (Delhi: Ramanand Vidya Bhawan): 168-70. **scan**

Srivastava, Surendra Kumar 1967-68: “An episode from Ramayaṇa on a terracotta panel”, *Purātattva* 1: 93-95 and pl. X. **scan (vol.)**

Srivastava, Surendra Kumar 1996: *Terracotta art in northern India* (Delhi: Parimal).   
 **Sackler IWd Sri**

Stadtner, Donald M. 2014: “An inscribed Gupta terracotta panel in the Linden-Museum”, *Tribus: Jahrbuch des Linden-Museums* 64: 206-18. **download**[now identified as Rāma killing Triśiras, **see** Addendum]

Vogel, J.Ph. 1907-08: “Excavations at Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh”, *ASIAR* 1907-08: 81-131.   
 **download (vol.)**

Yadav, S.S. 1988: “Sītā under an aśoka tree (a rare depiction in the art of Madhya Pradesh)”, *Lalit Kalā* 23: 42-43. [terracotta panel from Ghaṭiyārī] **scan**

Zaheer, Muhammad 1981: The Temple of Bhītargāon (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan).  
 **Sackler [EAL] IW Zah**

**notes** Kala (1982-83) studies a Kauśāmbī plaque (? Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā), 8 Aphsaḍ stucco panels [**see** entry in “Gupta period stone and stucco sculpture”], brick panel from Paharpur (?? Lakṣmaṇa), terracotta plaque from Bārehaṭ, Bhiṇḍ dist. M.P. (Sītā in aśokavana ?), terracotta plaque from Chausā, Bihar (Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and *vānaras*).

Themes from the *Ramayana* were quite popular for narrative reliefs decorating the walls of both brick and stone temples in a large area of north-central India during the Gupta period. Mostly these reliefs were not inscribed but Rāmāyaṇa panels with inscriptions were found at some sites (**see** below).

**Bārehaṭ** (Bhiṇḍ dist., M.P.): a fragmentary Gupta-style terracotta of C5 date showing (on remaining r.h. part, 26 cm. × 21 cm.) a pensive woman seated under a tree, possibly Sītā in *aśoka* grove; though draped in a *dhoti* below her waist, she is bare above with prominent breasts, simple jewellery comprising a two strand necklace, bangles and anklets (cf. *IAR* 1959-60: 69 + pl. LVIIIc; Agrawala 1968-69; Kala 1988: 30 + fig.20, *Golden Age* 2007: 236, no. 55) Nat. Mus. L.675

**Bhādara** (Rajasthan): terracotta plaque (6th century), R. + L. in combat, 45.7 × 48.9 cm. Norton Simon M.2010.1.78.S

**Bhīṭā:** a round terracotta plaque now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Śuṅga period, shows Rāvaṇa approaching Sītā in the hut (Kala 1982-83: 235-36)

**Bhītārgāon:**  5th-century Gupta temple with some terracotta Rāmāyaṇa panels (128 panels in situ, 2 in Indian Museum, Calcutta, 12 in State Museum Lucknow, but of many types). Zaheer 1981 identifies following panels:   
Rāma on left holding arrow, Sītā on right with wound-mark on chest and damaged *kāka* between them (Zaheer 1981: 90 + fig. 74; cf. Ray 2015: 209),   
female figure offering bowl to male (both headless) – Sītā giving alms to Rāvaṇa (Z’s “guess”; Zaheer 1981: 90-91+ fig. 75)  
figure of an archer, perhaps Rāma (Zaheer 1981: 92 + fig. 80)

**Chandraketugarh:** for several terracotta plaques and vessels probably showing abduction of S. in various collections **see** Ahuja 2002 and 2022;  
plaque showing Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā, 1st cent. BC – 1st cent. AD, 7.6 × 7 cm.  
 Christie’s 20.03.09: 1263

**Chausā:** terracotta in Patna Mus. no. 6528, 6th-7th cent., 52 × 39.4 cm., shows R. + L. among monkeys (**see** further in Margabandhu in Srinivasa Iyengar 1983: 124-43, esp. 126 §§ 3-4)

**Ghaṭiyārī:** terracotta panel of Sītā seated on a platform under an *aśoka* tree with to left of panel Hanumān kneeling before her and making *namaskāra* and behind him a *haṃsa* holding a lotus bud in its beak; Yadav 1988: 43 “On the basis of temple architecture and other findings, the date of this temple is *circa* tenth-eleventh century A.D., while the panel of Sītā under the Aśoka tree seems probably to be of seventh or eighth century A.D.” [**downloaded**photo under “sites” in “visual background (non-ORA)”]

**Jīnd:** a perhaps C4 terracotta panel showing Hanumān destroying the *aśokavana,* so identified by its caption, *aśokavāṭikāhantā* *hanumān* (Pande 2015: 5; Lal 2008: 40 + fig. 1.14). Another panel from same site but different in style appears to show fight between Vālin and Sugrīva (Handa 2006: 110) and perhaps bears an indecipherable caption (Agrawal 2014: 23).

**Katingara (Kaṭinghar):** several C5 terracotta panels most probably from this site in various museums (**see** Greaves 2018) —

seated Daśaratha mourning Rāma’s departure (?), 38.1 × 49.5 × 11.4  
 Brooklyn Museum 1990.226

crowned male (? Daśaratha) Gurukul Museum, Jhajjar

seated female (? Sītā) [r. half only of lunette] Gurukul Museum, Jhajjar

R. (named) shooting arrow at male figure (worn; presumably Vālin) with wall (? tree) between them Gurukul Museum, Jhajjar

Siṃhikā and Hanumān (identified in Brāhmī script), Gupta, 5th century; 52.1 × 31.7 cm.; Hanumān with left arm outstretched on the right; Siṃhikā large-breasted and pot-bellied with both hands raised above her head on the left [**see** folder “terracotta panel (Sotheby’s catalogue)” in “visual background” folder] [Glenbow Museum, Calgary]

*vānaras* kneeling before standing figure who embraces one (i.e. R. embracing Hanumān) Gurukul Museum, Jhajjar

*vānara* (Hanumān?) scaling wall, 30.5 × 25.4 × 15.2 cm. Brooklyn Mus.

Hanumān speaking to Sītā from tree (?), h. 26 cm. [Glenbow Museum, Calgary]

Hanuman showing R.’s ring to S. (?), 30.5 × 54.6 cm. Honolulu Museum

Hanumān in combat with a chariot-riding *rākṣasa*, 31.7 × 54 × 10.1 cm.  
 (also ill. at Dye 2001: 113, no. 20) Virginia Mus. 89.139

Hanumān setting light to Rāvaṇa’s palace with tail (?), 30.5 × 53.3 cm. private coll.

monkey (Hanumān?) holding up burning tail, 32.2 × 17.2 × 12.4 cm. Ackland Mus.

male figure, *rākṣasa* (?) on fire, Brooklyn Museum

Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (named in Brāhmī), 32.6 × 22.23 × 15.24 cm. Michigan 2012/2.160

male figure with crowned *vānara,* 32.4 × 30.5 × 12.7 cm. Alsdorf coll.  
 (ill. Poster 1986: 157: pl. 95)

multi-armed figure with small charioteer on chariot (fragmentary) Gurukul Mus.

? also from Katingara:   
Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, Gupta period, 31 × 37.5 × 11.4 cm. [**or** (?) from Bhītārgāon, showing Viṣṇu’s fight with Mālyavān, Sumālin and Mālin from *VR* 7.5-9 (so Banerjee 1985)] **[cf. also Cummins 2011: 92-93, no. 24]** Brooklyn Mus. 73.124

**Kauśāmbī** terracotta plaque of 2nd-1st cent. BC (18.5 × 8 cm., Allahabad Museum no. K5108, Kala 1980: 57 + fig. 145) has been identified as Rāvaṇa carrying off Sītā; **see** Shah 1971, and Ahuja 2022; illustrated at Lal 2008: 36 fig. 1.10. Another, more fragmentary impression from same mould also in Allahabad Museum (Ahuja 2022: 513-5).

cf. Banerjee 1985: 86 – “The terracotta plaque reproduced above is now in the Brooklyn Museum, U.S.A. On stylistic grounds it can be ascribed to the first century and also be presumed to have originally belonged to the brick temple of Bhitargaon, Kanpur District, Uttar Pradesh. . . . . . .

The plaque shows Vishnu, four armed, seated on Garuda, in flying attitude. The panel having been damaged, the two right arms of Vishnu and the right wing of his vehicle, Garuda, are broken away. In the upper right hand Vishnu holds his *Sarnga* bow and in the lower left the *Panchajanya* conch (the presence of bow and conch in Vishnu figures is a rare combination and significance as we shall see presently in the course of our discussion. On the left wing of Garuda which is depicted as outstretched is perched a small figure, probably Vishnu’s attendant, who also imitating his master is shown in the act of discharging arrows. The whole situation shows a tense warlike situation.”

p.87 – “The panel, in my opinion, represents the story of Vishnu’s fight with the Rakshasas, led by Malyavan, Mali and Sumali as narrated in the *Uttarkanda* of the *Ramayana* (Cantoes VI-VIII). . . . . . .

**Mānsar:** episodes from Rāmāyaṇa (??) on Vākāṭaka-period terraced Pravareśvara temple (Bakker 2008: 101-08; Greaves 2014: 191; Greaves 2015: 324-5).

**Nacārkheṛā:** Rāmāyaṇa panels with inscriptions were found here. In one of these reliefs part of a couplet is written above the scene, and in another a character’s name is inscribed on an identifying label (Sri Yogananda 1970). “Thus, the museum’s panel with Rama very likely belonged to a Gupta-period brick temple that once stood at Nacharkherha. . . .”

terracotta image of Rāma from (?) Nacārkheṛā, Haryana, 5th century, 47 cm.  
[ill. at Markel 2010: 104; ill. at Lal 2008: 37 fig. 1.11, Stadtner 2014: 213; cf. Pal 1986-87: I, 232 –“The Gupta-period Brahmi inscription near the figure’s left thigh identifies him as the god Rama. . . .”; assigned to late C3-C4 at Dhar 2023: 136] LACMA M.83.221.6

panels from same site are in the Gurukul Archaeological Museum in Jhajjar; **see** Lal 2008: 38-40 + figs. 1.12-13 (cf. piece from *The Hindu* 27 Aug 2013). Panels show: R. + L. + S. going to Pañcavaṭī (with inscr. °*aṁntarā raghunandana °āsasāda mahāgṛddhraṁ,* adapted from *VR* 3.13.1; ill. at Bawa 2018: 100-1, Dhar 2023: 134), seated Triśiras with two *rākṣasas* (perhaps Khara and Dūṣaṇa; ill. at Bawa 2018: 102, Dhar 2023: 135-6), Triśiras in chariot (Bawa 2018: 103), S. gesturing towards golden deer leaping away to left (Bawa 2018: 104).

**Newal:**  Shukla 1989 notes five Rām. panels from a Gupta-period brick temple “in the style of the Bhitargaon temple”:   
1) Rāma in infant form (55 × 37 cm) lying on a full-blown lotus [???]   
2) monkeys on the seashore (60 × 33 cm) – 7 monkeys, 4 with crowns and other ornaments of whom 1 is seated on a cushion, so (?) Sugrīva   
3) Hanumān’s leap (60 × 30 cm) – H. shown with flowing hair and stiffened tail   
4) Hanumān in *aśokavana* (38 × 22 cm) – monkey seated on top of an arched cave or gateway, which “an animal looking like a lioness is seen entering”   
5) Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa worshipping Śiva (?) [Shukla’s question mark] (60 × 35 cm) “This terracotta panel belongs to an adjoining site viz. Rabri, which is just on the outskirts of the Newal mound.” . . . “However, the absence of bow and saintly outfit of the two exiled princes is worth noticing.” [this panel now missing]

**Pāhāṛpur:** several terracotta panels found in the debris of an 8th-century temple (Kala 1982-83: 230-31) – **see** entry below under “Pāla and Sena period sculptures”

**PalāsabāḍI**: from Ray 1989 – on a group of terracotta plaques found in 1983-84 at Palāsabāḍī, near Mahasthangarh, Bogra dist., Bangladesh; style suggests Gupta art of 5th-6th centuries; they are reminiscent of the 300 panels showing *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes from Saheth-Maheth. [Bhattacharya 1990 considers them post-Gupta but pre-Pāla, notes that only Bāla and Araṇya kāṇḍa scenes are found and has descriptions of 15, with illustrations of 9, out of 30]

Five specimens illustrated as plates 44-48 at end of Ray 1989:

1. Janaka welcoming Viśvāmitra, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with a plate of gifts, with label: *janake viśv(ā) m(ī)(tra) rāma lakṣmaṇa*
2. Janaka standing in front of three persons, the first accepting the gifts offered by Janaka: *janake lubhaha karatha*
3. group of five: Rāma half-kneeling is saluting Janaka, disciple of Kaṇva: *rāma kaṇva chātra janakī praṇāma*
4. Rāma, the jewel of the royal family, is shooting an arrow, watched by another   
   (? Lakṣmaṇa): *nareśakula[tilaka] rāma*
5. scene of rejoicing (labelled: *ṛṣi (?) kanyā*) – a woman holding a bugle and a man holding a drum-like instrument

The dialect of the labels is a form of eastern Prakrit; the script varies from 5th-century forms to 7th-century, so the plaques must be nearer to 7th century in date; panels measure c. 25 × 31 cm.; around 40 now identified and most are inscribed.

Haque 2003: 78 (on Mahāsthāngarh) “The site is located about thirteen kilometres north of Bogra district town in Bangladesh, on the western bank of the river Karatoya.”

Haque 2003: 84 –  
“**Palashbari/Bamunpara**[Bāmanpāra]The Bangladesh National Museum has collected a large number of terracotta plaques depicting scenes from the Ramayana from the border between the villages of Palashbari and Bamunpara situated just over a kilometre west of the citadel. Importantly, each of these plaques is labelled in the Gupta Brahmi script of the 6th/7th century, identifying the individual figures on the plaque.”

**see** more fully in Akmam 1991, Bhattacharya and Pal 1991, Dhar 2023: 144-46

**Pawāyā:** probable fragments of Rāmāyaṇa panels on terraced brick temple from late 4th or early 5th century (Greaves 2018: 120 n.4).

**Saheṭh-Maheṭh (Śrāvastī):** brick platform, 105 × 72 ft, 14 ft high, at Kaccī Kuṭī has walls decorated with 356 terracotta plaques, including a Rāmāyaṇa series (Vogel 1907-08:   
95-97 + 104-6); panel identified by Vogel as Lakṣmaṇa and Śūrpaṇakhā has now been identified as the redemption of Ahalyā (Srivastava 1996: 215-16); two fragments are regarded as halves of one panel showing the encounter of Rāma with Paraśurāma (Srivastava 1996: 217); 6th century terracotta panel (State Museum, Lucknow, acc. no. 67.148; 38 × 32 × 15 cm.; ill. at Goswamy 1986: 162, no. 120) shows a monkey and human-faced figures in combat, identified by Vogel as Hanumān fighting a *rākṣasa,* re-identified in Srivastava 1967-68 as Sugrīva fighting Virūpākṣa and in *Golden Age* 2007: 236, no. 55 as Hanumān and Indrajit in combat.

**Sandhaya:** Gupta, c. 5th century, terracotta figurine of archer (18 × 11 cm., Govt Mus., Chandigarh) is probably of Rāma, since from same site come a large square panel (originally 55 × 55 cm. but broken on left) showing Rāma fighting Makarākṣa with dead horse below, a panel fragment showing Rāma in the *nāgapāśa*, and another piece, now lost, said to have depicted Lakṣmaṇa’s mutilation of Śūrpaṇakhā (Handa 2006: 106-7).

**Saralpur** (Bogra dist., Bangladesh): findspot of 17 early (c. C6-7) inscribed terracotta reliefs from same temple as finds at Palāsabāḍī (Akmam 1991).

**Sirsā** (ancient Śairīṣaka): “One inscribed *Rāmāyaṇa* panel from Sirsa shows a demon holding a sword in his right hand with a broken chariot and two dead horses, a headless big bird with long feathers on his knees and some similar object below his right hand. The head of the demon had detached but has been joined to the body very crudely affecting the beauty of the panel. The inscription is engraved on the top frame and reads *‘tṛiśiravadhe (namaḥ) kṛitihantā . . . raṇasya’.*” (Handa 2006: 110).

An inscribed terracotta panel (38 × 34 cm.) sold by John Eskenazi in autumn 2021 showing Aṅgada killing Narāntaka (Greaves 2021, fig. 1).

Inscribed terracotta panel showing Triśiras receiving news of death of 14 *rākṣasas* in Gurukul Mus., Jhajjar (Greaves 2021, fig. 4).

Gupta terracotta panel (38.5 × 38.5 cm., c. 5th century), now identified as Rāma killing Triśiras, **see** Stadtner 2014, esp. Addendum; inscr. as in Handa 2006: 110  
 Linden-Museum, Stuttgart, SA 01292L  
[stolen from Gurukul Museum, Jhajjar; sold Sotheby’s London, 29th April 1993, lot 318]

**Sugh**: findspot of two Śuṅga-period (C2-1 BC) terracotta images possibly of Rāma (Agrawal 2014: 21-22; Handa 2006: 105-6) and several terracotta heads of monkeys dated between C2 and C6 AD, identified by Handa as Hanumān (Handa 2006: 112).

Haryana/Uttar Pradesh: terracotta panel showing Rāvaṇa disguised as ascetic with donkey head behind human head, C5, 22 × 21 cm. (**see** Dhar 2023: 136-8) Nat. Mus. 71.246

Gupta terracotta panel, Rāmāyaṇa scene, C5, 37 cm. high Christie’s 19.06.98: 128

Gupta terracotta panel, (?) Rāvaṇa killing Jaṭāyus, 39 × 35.5 cm. Sotheby’s 29.04.93: 315

Gupta terracotta panel, L. grasps Śūrpaṇakhā by hair (?), C5-6, 55.9 × 55.9 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 26.03.98: 355

Gupta terracotta panel, Rāmāyaṇa scene (?), U.P., C5, 31.8 × 54 × 10.2 cm. Virginia Mus. 89.139

plaque with two figures, probably Rāma + Lakṣmaṇa seated in niche, U.P., 400-500  
(also ill. at Poster 1986: 156 no.94, McGill 2016: 58-59, no. 21) Asia Society 1979.6

panel showing Jaṭāyus trying to prevent Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā, c. 400-500, terracotta,  
probably from Uttar Pradesh, 38.7 × 41.9 × 7.6 cm. San Francisco 1988.40  
(ill. at McGill 2016: 130-31, no. 64, Dhar 2023: 139, fig. 7.7)

plaque showing Rāvaṇa grasping S., C5, 17.5 × 14 cm. Allahabad Mus. AM-TC-91.92

R. + S. seated on a chariot, C5-6, 44 × 37 cm. **see** Laxshmi Greaves at https:// theartofsouthasia.com/2019/10/07/rama-and-sita-on-a-chariot-a-c-5th-6th-century-ce-terracotta-panel-recently-sold-at-auction/ (posted 7 Oct. 2019; accessed 31 May 2023)

R./L. and Hanumān (?), U.P., C5-6 Alsdorf coll.   
(ill. at Poster 1986: 157 no.95 and Pal 1997b: 280-1, no. 40)

R. + L., U.P., C6, 45.7 cm. Norton Simon N.1976.1.4.S  
(ill. at Pal 2003-4: I,103, no. 65)

**object (and medium)** Gupta period stone and stucco sculpture

**location (original/present)**

**date** 5th to 7th centuries

**studies** Agrawal, Ashvini 2006: “The Rāmāyaṇa tradition in the Gupta period”, in Saklani (ed.) 2006: 17-22. **pp.20-21 photocopied (with oddments)**

Agrawal, Ashvini 2014: “Tracing the antiquity of the Ramayana – through the inscriptions, literature and art of the Gupta period”, in *Proceedings of the Conference on the Ramayana in literature, society and the arts,* February 1-2, 2013 (Chennai: C.P.R. Publications): 15-32.

Agrawala, Prithvi Kumar 1994: “The earliest known depiction of Rāvaṇa-Śiraḥkṛnttana in Indian Sculpture”, *Purāṇa* 36: 253-58. **scan**

Asher, Frederick M. 1986: “Sculptures from Rajaona, Valgudar and Jaynagar: evidence for an urban center”, *East and West* 36: 227-46. **download**

Deva, Krishna 1981: “Gupta Rāmāyaṇa panels from Nachnā”, in *Chhavi-2: Rai Krishnadasa felicitation volume,* ed. Anand Krishna: 10-14 (Banaras: Bharat Kala Bhavan). **scan**  
[*lists and illustrates all six panels, with comments*]

[*Golden Age* 2007] *The Golden Age of Classical India: the Gupta empire*, catalogue of an exhibition at Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 4 April - 25 June 2007 (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux). **Merton College Library Mob V9Q/GNGP**

Greaves, Laxshmi Rose 2022: “The art of storytelling: scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* on panels from a lost post-Gupta temple at Rājaona, Bihar”, *RoSA* 16.2-3: 249-95. **download**

Imig, Klaus 2003: “Recherchen über den Gupta-Tempel in Deogarh”, *AA* 63.1: 35-68. **download**

Jamkhedkar, A.P. 1985: “Narrative sculptures from Paunar: a reappraisal”, in *Indian Epigraphy: its bearing on the history of art,* ed. by Frederick M. Asher and G.S. Gai (New Delhi: Oxford & IBH): 83-86. **scan**

Lubotsky, Alexander 1996: “The Iconography of the Vishnu Temple at Deogarh and the Vishnudharmottarapurana”, *Ars Orientalis* 26: 65-80. **download**

Mirashi, V.V. 1961: “Pravarapura, an ancient capital of the Vākāṭakas”, in Mirashi, V.V. *Studies in Indology,* 4 vols (Nagpur: Vidarbha Samshodhana Mandal): II, 271-84 and plates IV-V. [repr. from *Sarūpa-Bhāratī* 1954: 271-79] **(IND) 27 C 115 / OIL 503 Mir**

Shukla, S.P. 2006: “Image of Rāma: from human to divine”, in Saklani (ed.) 2006: 38‑46. **photocopy**

Sinha, B. P. 1968: “Representation of Rāmāyaṇic scenes in an old temple wall at "ad”, *JBiharRS* 54: 216-18 (+ 6 plates). **scan**

Vats, Madho Sarup 1952: *The Gupta temple at Deogarh,* Memoirs of the ASI, 70 (Delhi: Manager of Publications). **Sackler Y 22; pp. 16-19 + plates XV-XVII scanned; download**

Williams, Joanna Gottfried 1982: *The Art of Gupta India, Empire and Province* (Princeton: Princeton University Press). **Sackler IWd Wil; pp. 113-4 + plates photocopied**

**notes** sites: Aphsaḍ, Deogaṛh, Mogalrājapuram, Nācnā, Nālandā, Pavnār, Rājaona, Śṛṅgaverapura

**see** Agrawal 2006: 20-21 and Shukla 2006: 38-46 [both in Saklani (ed.) 2006] Dhar 2023: 146-

**Aphsaḍ:** stucco relief panels from late 7th century A.D. (reign of Ādityasena of later Guptas of Magadha), now destroyed. [**see** also Asher 1980: 53-55+ plates 83-86, Dhar 2023: 146-7]

Sinha 1968: 216 – “as many as eight panels of stucco depicting Rāmāyaṇic scenes in sculptures in a part of a wall of an old temple still submerged under the high mound at Aphsad”, which are (p.218) “contemporary with the temple constructed by Ādityasena and may be placed in the 7th century A.D.” cf. Kala 1988: 20-22 + figs 3-7  
scenes identified as:

1) crossing of Gaṅgā by Rāma, Sītā and Lakmaṇa with boatman, crowned so presumably Guha [4 figures in boat, one female]

2) Rāma, Sītā and Lakmaṇa kneeling before Bhāradvāja [shown as very emaciated;   
bull in left corner below Bhāradvāja’s feet]

3) crossing of Yamuna on raft [3 logs lashed together] by Rāma, Sītā and Lakmaṇa

4) Rāma with Sītā on his lap and Lakṣmaṇa opposite in *vīrāsana,* all under a tree   
 [head and body of hunted animal(s) near Lakṣmaṇa]

5) Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa kneeling before Vālmīki [Sinha cites Rām.II.56.16]

6) Rāma and Sītā sitting under a tree, Lakmaṇa with bow and quiver up the tree

7) procession of caparisoned elephants and horses from Ayodhyā to Citrakūṭa,   
 led by Bharata

8) Bharata kneeling before Rāma who embraces him, as Sītā and Lakmaṇa look on

**Deogaṛh** (prob. 5th century): the platform of the late 5th­­–early 6th-century Daśāvatāra temple was originally carved with a continuous *Rāmāyaṇa* frieze, of which 8 detached panels are still preserved, including one which appears to show Rāvaṇa offering his heads to Śiva (Agrawala 1994) – a variant on the *Uttarakāṇḍa* episode where he offers them to Brahmā (found also for example on the Kailāsanātha temple at Elūrā) – and one showing Rāma freeing Ahalyā from Gautama’s curse, as well as a possibly unique representation of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa visiting Atri and Anasūyā (Sivaramamurti 1980: 637). The panels include: redemption of Ahalyā (Nat. Mus. acc. no. 51.179, 78 × 68 cm.; Vats 1952 pl. XVa), journey to forest by R. + L. + S. (Vats 1952 pl. XVb), visit to Atri’s *āśrama* (Vats 1952 pl. XVIa; Bawa 2018: 113), L. mutilating Śūrpaṇakhā (acc. no. 51.178; Vats 1952 pl. XVIIa), R. shooting and L. stringing bow (?, Vats 1952 pl. XVIb), abduction of Sītā, Hanumān meeting R. + L., L. garlanding Sugrīva before fight with Vālin, combat of Vālin and Sugrīva, Sugrīva intoxicated (Vats 1952 pl. XVIIc), Rāvaṇa threatening Sītā in *aśokavana* (? [fragmentary], Vats 1952 pl. XVIId), Hanumān carrying mountain (Vats 1952 pl. XVIIe), *vānaras* building *setu* (Sivaramamurti 1980a: 637 mentions also Vālin pierced by arrow through chest lying on Tārā’s lap).

cf. Stutterheim 1925: pl. 90-96 —

pl.90 Rāma und Lakṣmaṇa (also ill. at Bawa 2018: 115)  
 [*Rāma (headless) shooting, Lakṣmaṇa with bow in attendance*]

pl.91 Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa und Sītā  
 [*? in exile; R. carries bow; L. wears sword*]

pl.92 Bestrafung Çūrpaṇakhās  
 [acc. no. 51.178, 80 × 88 × 26 cm.. also ill. at *Golden Age* 2007: 288-9, no. 92. *R. seated with bow; S. standing bashful; L. with raised sword; Śūrpaṇakha on ground; very vigorous*]

pl.93 Begegnung mit der Çabarī ?  
 [*R. seated with bow; L. standing with bow; kneeling woman offers lotus to R.; male ascetic seated at side; much foliage*]

pl.94 Begegnung mit Hanumat  
 [*Hanumān is in monkey form;* *Hanumān and R. both wear long garlands; L. with bow stands at side*]

pl.95 Sterbender Rākṣasa  
 [*rākṣasa reclines on lap of (human) woman; male rākṣasa watches; 4th figure, much damaged, supports dying warrior on left. ?? Rāvaṇa, Mandodarī and Vibhīṣaṇa??  
 Or is this the death of Vālin, with Tārā, Sugrīva and Aṅgada? the figures could all be vānaras rather than rakṣasas, cf. pl. 94*]

pl.96 Kampfszene (fragment)  
 [*2 rakṣasa warriors / attendants*]

Agrawala 1994 identifies the scene in the central carving of a *caitya* window on a detached slab lying near the temple plinth as showing “perhaps the earliest depiction hitherto known of the mythical legend of *Rāvaṇa-śiraḥkṛnttana* in Indian art” (p. 255), by inference dating it to the same period as the main temple. In *VR Uttarakāṇḍa* Rāvaṇa offers his heads to Brahmā but in Kālidāsa’s *Raghuvaṃśa* to Śiva.

**Deogarh region (probably):** sandstone statue of Rāma, C6, 89 × 54 × 22 cm. (ill. in Parimoo, 2013c: 15-16, fig. 8) Lalpatbhai Dalpatbhai Museum, Ahmedabad, acc. no. 1114

**Nācnā-Kuṭhārā:** six panels, 5th century or a little later; **see** especially Williams 1982: 113-14 and plates 165-70 (**photocopy**)

notes from Banerjee 1986 on Nācnā-Kuṭhārā — Nācnā-Kuṭhārā panels comprise: Śūrpaṇakhā propositioning R. + L., Sītā offering alms to Rāvaṇa dressed as an ascetic (also ill. at Lal 2008: 42 fig. 1.16), Hanumān’s meeting with R. + L., combat of Vālin and Sugrīva, Rāma killing Vālin, Hanumān being dragged before enthroned Rāvaṇa.

R. + L. seated, with R. blessing/commissioning kneeling Hanumān, 69 × 44 × 11 cm., Archaeological Collections (ASI), Nachna Kuthara, acc. no. NC 19   
[ill. at *Golden Age* 2007: 275, no 82 (plate on p. 274): “The sculptural panel shows Rama and Laksmana seated at ease on a conventionally rendered rock under a flowery grove. their heads bear charming tiers of well-arranged matted locks. . . . In front of Rama, Hanuman, his monkey comrade, kneels with folded hands soliciting the blessings of the former. Rama assures protection to Hanuman by raising his right hand in *abhaya mudra*. By the side of Laksmana, (on his proper right) stand two monkeys, of them one could be identified as Sugriva, the monkey chief.”]

construction of *setu* (R. + L. on left (R. with drawn bow, ? threatening Sāgara) and two *vānaras* (? one Nala) carrying blocks of stone on their heads, 71 × 44 × 13 cm., Archaeological Collections (ASI), Nachna Kuthara, acc. no. NC 20   
[ill. also at *Golden Age* 2007: 275, no. 83 (plate on p. 274): “. . . On proper right of the panel are depicted Laksmana and Rama in standing position . . . Rama by the side of his brother pulling with his right hand the string of his bow held firmly in left hnd and threatening, according to the epic, the Sea god . . .  
 The relief represents two standing monkeys on the proper left of the panel carrying blocks of stone on their head to build the bridge on the sea. Of them, the one, who wears a long garland, may be Nala.”]

S. rebuking L., who holds his hands over his ears, and L. leaving S. (sculpture shed; ill. at Bawa 2018: 108)

S. offering alms to Rāvaṇa dressed as mendicant (sculpture shed, acc. no. NC 18; ill. at Bawa 2018: 109)

Vālin and Sugrīva fight as R + L. watch (sculpture shed; ill. at Bawa 2018: 110

**Nālandā temple 2** (located behind monasteries 7-8, so outside main Buddhist complex) has on its dado a series of 211 stone panels, 5 showing Rāmāyaṇa scenes: R. + S. seated (2 panels), Rāma alone flanked by a tree, redemption of Ahalyā, Sītā’s abduction; the panels seem to belong to 7th century but the temple probably later.

**Mogalrājapuram** [Mughalrājapuram] caves: group of five caves located 5km east of Vijayawada; 6th century, Viṣṇukuṇḍin; Sivaramamurti 1977: 177 – “On the pillars in Mogalrajapuram cave one can see some interesting sculptures, including those of Lingodbhava Shiva and of Hanuman meeting Sita from the *Ramayana.*” (cf. Sivaramamurti 1980a: 638 §1)

**Pavnār,** from Maharashtra online gazetteer, Wardha District (section by V.V. Mirashi):

Pravarasena II founded a new city, which he named Pravarapura and where he shifted his capital some time after his eleventh regnal year. He built there a magnificent temple of Ramachandra evidently at the instance of his mother, who was a devout worshipper of that god. Some of the sculptures used to decorate the temple have recently been discovered at Pavnār on the bank of the Dham, six miles from Wardha, and have led to the identification of Pravarapura with Pavnar in the Wardha district. [Mirashi, *Studies* *in* *Indology,* Vol. II, 272-84; panels are stray finds]

Prabhavatigupta has left us two copper-plate inscriptions. The earlier of them, though discovered in distant Pune, originally belong to the Wardha district. It was issued from the then Vakataka capital Nandivardhana and records the dowager queen's grant of the village Danguna (modern Hinganghat in the Wardha district) to a Brahmana after offering it to the feet of the Bhagavat (i.e., the god Ramchandra) on *Karttika* *shukla* *dvadashi* evidently at the time of the *parana* after observing a fast on the previous day of the *Prabodhini* *Ekadashi.* Some of the boundary villages mentioned in the grant can still be traced in the vicinity of Hinganghat. Thus Vilavanaka, which bounded the donated village Danguna on the west, is Vani, about two and a half miles west of Hinganghat, while Kadapinjana, which bounded on the south, is probably Kadhajan, which lies three miles from Hinganghat. These villages were situated in the *ahara* or territorial division of *Supratishtha.* The latter seems, therefore, to have comprised roughly the territory now included in the Hinganghat tahsil. [Mirashi, *Inscriptions* *of* *the* *Vakatakas* (C.I.I., vol. V) p. 6 f.]

Divakarasena also seems to have died when quite young. He was succeeded by his brother Damodarasena, who, on accession, assumed the name Pravarasena of his illustrious ancestor. He had a long reign of thirty years and was known for his learning and liberality. More than a dozen grants made by him have come to light. One of them made at the instance of his mother Prabhavatigupta in the nineteenth regnal year is noteworthy. The plates recording the grant were issued from the feet of Ramagirisvamin (i.e., god Ramchandra on the hill of Ramagiri, modern Ramṭek) and register the grant which the queen made as on the previous occasion after observing a fast on the *Prabodhini* *Ekadashi.* [*ibid.* vol. V, p. 34 f.]

Pravarasena II is the reputed author of the *Setubandha* a Prakrit *kavya* in glorification of Ramchandra. This work has been highly praised by Sanskrit poets and rhetoricians. According to a tradition recorded by a commentator of this work, it was composed by Kalidasa, who ascribed it to Pravarasena. The latter is also known as the author of some Prakrit *gathas,* which were later incorporated on the *Gathasaptashati* [*Ibid.,* vol. I, p. 81 f.]

notes from Mirashi 1961: 273-80 —   
 relief panels discovered at Vinoba Bhave’s *āśrama* near Pavnār in 1940s include *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes: panel I (3’8” × 3’5”) shows 4 figures of Rāma, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata in meeting on Citrakūṭa; panel IV (3’10” × 3’10”) shows a chariot with charioteer (upper part lost) – “Perhaps, it portrays Sumantra taking Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Sītā to the forest” (p.277); panel V shows two figures in combat, who may be Vālin and Sugrīva; and panel VI (4’4” × 2’11”) shows fallen Vālin looking up at a half-kneeling Rāma with Lakṣmaṇa and Sugrīva behind. “These panels show that there was a magnificent temple erected in the fourth century A.D. just at the place where Vinobaji’s *āśrama* now stands at Pavnār, and that it was dedicated to Rāma. It was decorated with beautiful panels depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa,* which were probably built into the walls of the temple as in the case of the Gupta temple at Devagaḍh.” (p.280).  
**but** cf. Bakker 2019: 170-71 “This view has proved to be untenable and it is now generally believed that the majority of the panels (if not all) represent *līlā* scenes of Kṛṣṇa and his associates, for instance: ‘Kaṃsavadha’ (Plate 13), and ‘Dhenukāsuravadha’ (Plate 14).”

**Rājaona** (ruins of 5th-6th century Viṣṇu temple): Asher 1986: 230-31 –  
 “Most impressive of all the reliefs, however, are two Rāmāyaṇa panels (figs. 10-13), one illustrating a scene in Sugrīva’s court and the other, complementary, illustrating a scene in Rāvaṇa’s court. They likely came from the temple’s *jagati pīṭha,* a location that on other temples, for example at Deogarh, bears Rāmāyaṇa reliefs. Each relief, essentially composed in four scenes, shows on the | right side Hanumān’s troops flying upward from right to left. In other ways, too, the composition is parallel, suggesting that the panels were conceived as a pair, perhaps flanking the entrance stairway.”

The first panel (38 × 159 cm.) centres on Sugrīva’s installation by R. + L., with to left a group of *vānaras* chattering, and to right the *vānaras* showing something to R. + L. and then armed monkeys flying upwards; the second more damaged panel (38 × 157 cm.) centres on Rāvaṇa on his throne.

**see** now Greaves 2022

[**Rāmagiri**(modern Rāmṭek): Prabhāvatīguptā’s second son, Pravarasena II, issued a grant, the so-called “Ṛddhapur plates”, in her name in his 19th regnal year which records that it was issued from the feet of Rāmagirisvāmin (i.e., Rāma on the hill of Rāmagiri), and the Mandhal plates of Pṛthvīṣeṇa II, year 2, also mention Rāmagiri. Subsequently, under the Yādavas, the hill became associated with the story of the beheading of Śambūka (as shown in a 13th-century inscription found in the Lakṣmaṇa temple; cf. now Sherraden 2023: 137-66, summarising Hans Bakker’s publications).]

**Śṛṅgaverapura:** pink sandstone relief panel (c. 5th century, 58.5 × 58.5 cm) showing   
R. + L. with two crowned *vānaras* (i.e. probably the meeting of R. + L. with Sugrīva and Hanumān) in Allahad Museum (AM-SCL–261, also illustrated at Agrawala 1967 fig. 12).

**object (and medium)** relief sculptures, Orissa

**location (original/present)** Orissa (temples at Bhubaneswar and elsewhere; Kaliṅga dynasty)

**date** 7th century onwards

**studies** Chauley, G.C. 2004: “Ramayana in Orissan Art with special reference to a Ramayana scene discovered within Lingaraj complex in Bhubaneswar”, *Orissa Historical Research Journal* 47:66-68. **printout**

De, Susil Chandra 1955: “The Parasuramesvara temple of Bhubaneswar”, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 18: 107-14. **download**

Dehejia, Vidya 1979: *Early Stone Temples of Orissa* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House).  
[good general survey, no detailed info.] **Sackler IW Deh**

Donaldson, Thomas E. 2001: *The Iconography of Vaiṣṇava Images in Orissa* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld). **(IND) 20 E 446; pp. 168-75 photocopied**

Linda, Mary F. 1990: “Nārāyaṇapuram: a tenth century site in Kaliṅga”, *AA* 50.3-4: 2322-62. **download**

Linda, Mary F. 1993: “Temples of Stone, Centers of Culture: sacred space in early medieval Kaliṅga”, in *Studies in the History of Art* 31: 145-61. **download**

Mitra, Debala 1978: *Bhubaneswar* (New Delhi: Director General, Archaeological Survey of India). [1st edn: 1958] **(IND) 81 C 42a**

Parida, A.N. 1999: *Early temples of Orissa, from the sixth century A.D. to the end of Somavamsi rule* (New Delhi: Commonwealth). **(IND) 20 C 282**

Rath, Jayanti 2007: “The Varahi Temple of Caurasi”, *Orissa Review* (Sept-Oct 2007): 37-39. **download**

**notes** sites: Bhubaneswar, Caurāsi, Ganeśvarpur, Nārāyaṇapuram, Siṃhanātha Island, Śukleśvara.

On a damaged relief sculpture discovered/uncovered in the Liṅgarāja temple, Bhubaneswar (5th-6th cent. ??) **see** Chauley 2004.

The Svarṇajāleśvara temple, one of the earliest in Bhubaneswar, is dated to the early 7th century. Rāmāyaṇa scenes adorn the recessed portion of the *bāndhanā* (moulding) above the north *jāṅgha* (wall). They are in two sequences, that on the north wall reads from right to left and that on the west wall from left to right, raising problematic questions about the direction of circumambulation (Williams 1996: 71-72 and figures 273-276); in the killing of the golden deer Mārīca emerges as a torso from the dying deer (figure 275 top; cf. footnote 4); just four trees are shown in Rāma’s piercing of the *sāl* trees and they grow simply from the ground (figure 276). One panel (to the right) shows Sugrīva and Rāma seated in discussion; Rāma is speaking while Sugrīva listens intently. The next panel shows Sugrīva instructing his *vānara* army. Another series of panels shows the Mārīca scene. On the left panel Rama, Lakshmana and Sita are seated in a hut in the forest. The next three scenes show the golden deer, then Rāma pursuing it as it runs away and finally Rāma shooting it as it resumes Mārīca’s form. In the western wall are two panels in the recessed portion of the *bandhana*. The right-hand panel shows the story of Vālin (some are damaged); the narrative moves from right to left. First Sugrīva is talking to Rāma; next Rāma shoots at and pierces 7 sāl trees; then, Vālin and Sugrīva fight and Rāma, concealed, shoots Vālin.

Paraśurāmeśvara t. (7th century) has a Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti on one of the *caitya-*windows of its *rekha deul* (Mitra 1978: 30), as has the Śatrughneśvara t., the southernmost of group of 3 ruined temples (Mitra 1978: 33); another is found on the Bharateśvara t.

Śatrughneśvara t. (7th century). Williams 1996: 70-71 – “Here the five dentil-like blocks below an image niche bear scenes leading up to the death of Vālin (Figure 272). . . . . . . Each block bears only a few figures, read from the left: (1) Sugrīva imploring Rāma, (2) Rāma [sic] garlanding Sugrīva, (3) Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sugrīva walking, (4) Rāma drawing his bow with Sugrīva, (5) Vālin fighting and collapsing.”

The Anantavāsudeva t. is the only major Vaiṣṇava temple still standing at Bhubaneswar (Mitra 1978: 65) and “The balusters of the north window <of the *jagamohana*> have the figures of Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Sītā, Hanumān and a monkey-attendant.” (Mitra 1978: 66)

Ganeśvarpur (Puri Dist.): Pañcapāṇḍava temple (2nd ¼ of 10th century) Rāmāyaṇa narrative frieze fragments (Donaldson 1985-87: III, 1169).

Vārāhī temple, Caurāsi (Puri Dist.) – Donaldson’s tentative date is 1st ¼ of 10th cent. – from JLB 2002, “Elsewhere in Orissa *Rāmāyaṇa* narrative reliefs are found on . . . the Vārāhī temple at Caurāsi (perhaps first quarter of the 10th century) and the Pañcapāṇḍava temple at Gaṇeśvarpur (second quarter of the 10th century); at the latter two sites frieze fragments are preserved which probably formed the cornice of the *jagamohana* roof (Donaldson 1985-87: III, 1169).” Scenes shown include cremation of Jaṭāyus, R. + L. meet Hanumān, *saptatālabhedana* (which seem to have human heads) (Desai forthcoming)

Nārāyaṇapuram (Srīkakulam dist. A.P.): possible Rāmāyaṇa narrative on edges of eave and clerestory of *jagamohana* roof of 10th-century Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple (Linda 1990: 259).

Śukleśvara (Cuttack Dist.) – 9th-century Māṇikeśvara Śiva temple (c. 20 km. S of Ratnagiri); cf. Donaldson 1985-87 III, 1169 and Parida 1999: 57 (both quoted below)

Siṃhanātha temple on Siṃhanātha Island in Mahānadī (near Barambā) – reliefs in frieze above niches in outer walls, including a Vālivadha as a band above a niche on the rear (Williams 1996: 73 + fig. 278); late 9th century

Donaldson 1985-87: III, 1169 — “... Among the more popular scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa,* appearing on the Svarṇajāleśvara, Śiśireśvara, Siṁhanātha, Vārāhī and Pañca-Pāṇḍava temples, are those depicting Rāma and Sugrīva conversing, Rāma shooting at the seven trees, Rāma killing the golden deer, the abduction of Sītā, Bali [sic] and Sugrīva fighting, and the building of the Setubandha across the straits. There are also a few detached panels from Śukleśvara depicting Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān.”

further notes from Donaldson: Svarṇajāleśvara — Rām. + MBh. scenes on its *baraṇḍa* mouldings (p.46); Maṇikeśvara Śiva t. (9th cent.) at Śukleśvara (Cuttack dist.) — numerous frieze fragments of Rām. scenes in its compound (p. 131);   
 Siṃhanātha t. (late 9th cent.) — Rām. narrative scenes on middle one of 3 *baraṇḍa* mouldings (p.167), face of lowest eave of *jagamohana* decorated with continuous frieze of epic scenes, esp. Rām. (p.169), and images of 3 Rāmas on S side of *jagamohana* (p.1126); Vārāhī t., Caurāsī (tentatively 1st ¼, 10th cent.) — scenes from Rām., hunting scenes and animal processions on cornice below eaves of *jagamohana* (p.277);   
 Pañcapāṇḍava t., Gaṇeśvarpur (early 10th cent.) — frieze fragments of Rām. scenes scattered in compound probably from cornice of *jagamohana* roof, as at Caurāsī (p.285);   
 Śiśireśvara t. (c. 775 A.D.) — MBh and Rām. scenes along with animal processions on face of eaves of *jagamohana* (p. 803);   
 Maṇibhadreśvara t., Bhubaneswar (mid. 11th cent.) —Rāma image in a *daśāvatāra* group on S front of entrance portal (p.1126);

Parida 1999: 57: “The edges of the lower eaves of the *mukhaśālā* roof of the Śiśireśvara temple are relieved with reliefs from the epics. We also noticed scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa on the lower most eaves of the *mukhaśālā* of the Simhanātha temple. Some of the loose slabs found near the Maṉikeśvara temple at Śukleśvara are relieved with scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa. The practice of narrating stories from the epics and the Purāṉas did not find favour with the sculptors of the later temples.”

reliefs of Rāma piercing the 7 sāls **all** have **no** snake

**object (and medium)** Early Cāḷukyas / Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi — temples (including Eastern Cāḷukyas / Cāḷukyas of Veṅgi / other feudatories)

**location (original/present)** Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh

**date** 7th to 8th centuries

**studies** Banerji, Rakhal Das 1928: *Basreliefs of Badami,* Memoirs of the ASI 25 (Calcutta: Central Publication Branch, Govt of India). [only on caves I-!V] **(IND) Per 2 c 1/25**

Bolon, Carol Radcliffe 1979: “The Mahākūṭa Pillar and its temples”, *AA* 41: 253‑68. **printout**

Bolon, Carol Radcliffe 1980: “The Pārvatī Temple, Sandur and Early Images of Agastya”, *AA* 42: 303-26. **printout**

Bolon, Carol Radcliffe 1985: “The Durga temple, Aihole, and the Saṅgameśvara temple, Kūḍavelli: a sculptural review”, *Ars Orientalis* 15: 47-64. **download**

Bolon, Carol Radcliffe 1988: “Two Chalukya Queens and their commemorative temples: eight century Pattadakal”, in *Royal patrons and great temple art,* ed by Vidya Dehejia (Bombay: Marg Publications). [bare mention of Rām. sculptures] **Sackler IW Deh**

Cousens, Henry 1926: *The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts* (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch). **Sackler Iwa Cou\*; download**[plate LXXII has sketches of panels on Kāśīviśveśvara t., Lakkuṇḍi; not very helpful]

Cummings, Cathleen Ann 2006: *A study of the iconographic program of the Lokesvara (Virupaksa) temple, Pattadakal* (Ohio State University, thesis). **download**

Dagens, Bruno 1984: *Entre Alampur et Śrīśailam: recherches archéologiques en Andhra Pradesh,* 2 vols (Pondichéry: Institut Française d’Indologie). **Weston David: Or. ser. E 1/67**

Dhar, Parul Pandya 2019: “Characterizing contrariety: representing Rāvaṇa in the early Western Deccan”, *BIS* 24: 131-64. **download**

Dhar, Parul Pandya 2021c: “ Courting pleasure in Rāvaṇa’s Laṅkā: the aesthetics of power and desire in early medieval Deccan”, in *Locating pleasure in Indian history: prescribed and proscribed desires in visual and literary cultures,* ed. by Seema Bawa (New Delhi: Bloomsbury India): 106-28. **Bod. online (library only)**

Dhar, Parul Pandya 2022: “Word, Image, Performance: the world of artists in early mediaeval Western Deccan”, *Arts Asiatiques* 77: 21-42. **download**

Divakaran, Odile 1971: “Les temples d’Ālampur et de ses environs au temps des Cāḷukya de Bādāmi”, *Arts Asiatiques* 24: 51-101. [essentially just on architecture]

Michell, George 2002: *Pattadakal,* Monumental Legacy (New Delhi: OUP).   
 **Ind. Inst. 20 B 271; pp. 42-45 + 50-53 photocopied**

Rajendra Prasad, B. 1975-76: “Śivanandīśvara Temple at Kaḍamara Kālava”, J.I.S.O.A. n.s. 7: 27-32. **scan**

Rajendra Prasad, B. 1978: *Temple sculpture of Andhra Pradesh* (Hyderabad: Government of Andhra Pradesh). [p. 35 does **not** have ref. to Pāṇyam] **(IND) 81 F 81/50**

Rajendra Prasad, B. 1983: *Chalukyan Temples of Andhradesa* (New Delhi: Abhinav).   
 **Ind. Inst. 20 F 147; checked**

Rama Rao, M. 1965: *Early Cāḷukyan temples of Andhra Desa,* 2 vols(Hyderabad: Govt of Andhra Pradesh). **(IND) 81 F 81/20 / Sackler Iwd Rao**

Ramachandra Rao, P.R. 2005: *Alampur: a study in early Chalukyan art,* 2nd edn (Hyderabad: Akshara). **(IND) 20 F 348**

Ray, Himanshu Prabha 2005: “Narratives in stone: the Ramayana in early Deccan” [text of lecture at OCHS]. **download**; **also printed**

Romain, Julie Marie 2015: *Courtly culture and visual art in India:* Ramayana *reliefs on Hindu temples of the sixt to eight century* (University of California PhD thesis). **download**

Shetti, B.V. 1989-1991: “Ramayana panels in early Cālukyan art”, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*: 64-66 (1989-1991): 219-221. **very general; disregard**

Sivaramamurti, C. 1957: “Early Eastern Chālukya sculpture”, *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum,* n.s. 7.2. **download**

Tartakov, Gary Michael 1980: “The Beginning of Dravidian Temple Architecture in Stone”, *AA* 42.1: 39-99. **download + printout**

Tartakov, Gary Michael 1997: *The Durga Temple at Aihole: a historiographical study* (Delhi: OUP). **Sackler Iwa Tar**

Wechsler, Helen J. 1994: “Royal Legitimation: Rāmāyaṇa Reliefs on the Papanatha Temple at Pattadakal”, in Dehejia 1994 (2): 27-42. **own copy**

**notes** From the early C7, early Western Cāḷukya temples provide frequent instances of carved scenes taken from both epics. Andhra sites of this period with *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs include Ālampur, Bhīmavaram, Jamidoddi (Vijayawada), Kaḍamarakālava, Kūḍavēli, Mahānandi, Pāṇyam, Pērūr and Satyavōlu; Karnataka sites include Aihoḷe, Bādāmi, Mahākūṭa, Paṭṭadakal and Varuṇā; besides notes below, **see** photos of Paṭṭadakal reliefs in “photographs (JLB)”. Illustrations of reliefs on Virūpākṣa temple, Pattadakal (8th century) of Śūrpaṇakhā episode at Krishnan 2010: 83 (detail at p.80), of Jaṭāyus attacking Rāvaṇa at Rajarajan 2001: 790; Rāma bends the bow from frieze on outer wall of Pāpanātha temple, at Krishnan 2010: 54 (own photo; cf. others);

**Aihoḷe:** Durgā temple, originally dedicated to Sūrya, dated c. 725-30 A.D.

Tartakov 1997: 88 [on Durgā temple] — “. . . On either side they [worshippers] find the pillars above carrying *mithuna* and the mouldings below narrative reliefs from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Fig. 68). The epic runs in the direction of circumambulation, from the Ayodhya Kanda on the north to the Kiskindha on the east and Sundara on the north. Two fragments of relief on the temple’s exterior suggest that the tale was intended to continue there,though it could only have been finished in plaster or paint. Scenes shown are Daśaratha’s grief, the exiles leaving, at Śṛṅgaverapura, crossing the Gaṅgā with Guha, Hanumān destroying the *aśokavana,* Indrajit dragging Hanumān before Rāvaṇa, and loving couples in Laṅkā.”

Ray 2015: 214: — “The Durga temple at Aihole is among the largest and the most finished of all the temples and the latest in the series of temples with Ramayana scenes (Fig. 15.7). Built around CE 745, it may have been dedicated to Surya. . . . Narrative reliefs in the basement of the inner porch represent scenes from the Ayodhyakanda on the north to the Kiskindhakanda on the east and Sundarakanda on the south. In contrast, large sculptures of Mahisasuramardini (Fig. 15.8) and other deities adorn the prominent niches.”

**see** further in Dhar 2019: 139-43 and 2022: 28-29.

**Ālampur** (ancient Halampuram): several Rāmāyaṇa scenes are carved on pillars in the Navabrahma group of temples (7th-8th century) which, despite their name, are Śaiva; also a few panels in the local museum with scenes from both epics [sources: JLB 2002 + *IAR 1960-61*: 42]. The niches of the walls of the Svargabrahma temple contain *dikpāla* figures and scenes from the epics (Rāmachandra Rao 2005: 29); an inscr. in the temple records its construction in honour of the queen of Vinayāditya (r. 680-96) (Ramachandra Rao 2005: 21).

Sankalia 1982: 174 – “Vishnu-Brahma temple, Alampur: eighth century A.D.—depicts Jatayu-*vadha.*”

Nigam 1987: 271 [ill. on pl. 1-2] –  
 “The two panels described here are taken from a pillar which once formed part of a temple at Alampur. In one of the panels, the meeting of Rama with Sugriva, the monkey king is depicted. The whole scene is arranged into three compartments divided by the dotted pilaster. In one compartment, Rama is shown lying and Lakshmana is standing by his side. Hanuman, the main lieutenant of Sugriva, is shown approaching him. The middle compartment shows Rama and Lakshmana being guided by Hanuman to Sugriva. The third compartment shows Sugriva sitting under a tree in a very remorseful mood.  
 The other panel is again divided into three compartments. The episode narrated here shows the joyful monkeys who have returned after knowing the whereabouts of Sita. Sugriva, the king, has ordered that they could eat the fruits of the royal garden provided they were successful in bringing the news about Sita. In the middle compartment, three monkeys are proceeding towards Rama. In third panel, Rama and Lakshman are giving a very patient hearing to Hanuman who is narrating about his wonderful discovery. The panels are datable to 7th c. A.D.”

**Bādāmi:** Rāmāyaṇa reliefs clockwise on the *kaṇṭha/gala* of the S basement (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of the Upper Śivālaya temple (originally a Vaiṣṇava temple, also known as N. Fort Vaiṣṇava temple, late C6 – early C7) number about a dozen (**see** Dhar 2019a: 133-39; Dhar 2021b: 23-25; Romain 2015: 103-114 + figs. 11-23), starting with exiles’ departure from Ayodhyā, and show scenes from Śūrpaṇakhā’s approach to Sugrīva’s installation, including Śūrpaṇakhā’s appeal to Rāvaṇa, Rāvaṇa meeting Mārīca, Jaṭāyus fighting Rāvaṇa, Rāma shooting through 7 *tālas* standing in v-formation (one of the earliest representations of this scene), then Rāma sitting idle beside fighting Vālin and Sugrīva (Tartakov 1980: fig. 61); on N side the waking of Kumbhakarṇa.

Mālegitti Śivālaya temple (late C7 – early C8): reliefs of Śūrpaṇakhā complaining to Rāvāṇa and of Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā.

**Bhīmavaram:** Māndavya Nārāyaṇa temple (called in inscriptions Rājanārayaṇa), probably built for Cāḷukya Dānārṇava (971-73), who had title Rājanārāyaṇa (Rama Rao 1965: I, 1-2), has *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs attached to the outer compound walls. [source: Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 11; cf. Sivaramamurti 1957: 37-38; Sivaramamurti 1980a: 640 §2]

**Jamidoddi** (in Vijayawada): early E. Cāḷukya temple (c. C9) with scene of sage entertained by celestial musicians under lake Pañcāpsaras as told in *VR* [source: Nagar, *Raṅganātha* preface, p. viii; Sivaramamurti 1980: 640 §3).

**Kaḍamarakālava:** Śivanandīśvara (Cāḷukya) temple’s *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* pillars carry panels with *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs, including Rāma shooting Vālin, Hanumān carrying R + L., Sītā seated among animals, battle scenes (Rajendra Prasad 1983: 109).

Ramacandra Rao 2005: 35 – “Each pillar is embellished with reliefs like those in the Sangamesvara at Kudaveli, of themes from the *Ramayana.*”

Rajendra Prasad 1975-76: 29 –   
 “The *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* is entered through a triple jambed doorway which seems to be of later addition. Two rows of two pillars each divide the hall into a nave and aisle.   
 . . . The themes from Rāmāyaṇa also figure on these pillars. A panel on the south pillar portrays the Vāli Sugrīva fight on the left of the frame while Rāma is shown in the act of issuing an arrow; Lakṣmaṇa stands on the right. Next panel shows Sugrīva paying reverence to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Hanumān carrying Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa figures in one panel and in the other Sītā is shown seated among animals. Other panels depict the fighting scenes; they are all badly mutilated. In a circular medallion four handed Gaṇeśa is carved. These carvings by and large have great similarity to the panles in the Śangameśvara temple at Kūḍaveli.”

**Kūḍavēli:** C8 (but dated by Divakaran 1971 probably to mid C7) Cāḷukya temple with *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs [source: Choudary + Udayalakshmi 2006: 11].

**Mahākūṭa:** Mahākūṭeśvara temple has Rāmāyaṇa episodes carved on its *vedikā,* between the uprights and the crossbar (Bolon 1979: 258; Romain 2015: fig. 24a-b). Two images of demonic figures, now installed in a gateway at SE corner of the compound, are popularly identified as Vātāpi and Ilvala, but one is female, so they may be Tāṭakā and Mārīca (so Bolon 1980: 303-326). **see** further in Dhar 2019: 143-44.

**Mahānandi:** E. Cāḷukya Mahānandīśvara temple with *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs, dated by Divakaran to mid C7 [source: Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 11].

**Pāṇyam:** E. Cāḷukya temple (? Panakeśvarasvāmī ? Bhṛṅgeśvara) with *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs on *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* pillars [source: Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 11]

**Paṭṭadakal:** see Romain 2015: 115-35 + figs 25-63; Dhar 2019: 144-55, Dhar 2021b: 28-35, Dhar 2023: 150-52.

Three pillars in the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* of the Virūpākṣa temple (or Lokeśvara) temple   
(c. 740 A.D.) are carved in broad bands round the shafts with scenes from both epics (partial list of the Rāmāyaṇa scenes at Sivaramamurti 1980a: 639; full at Loizeau 2017: 183-90). Among them is Hanumān sitting on his coiled tail in order to outdo Rāvaṇa when captured and brought before Rāvaṇa. Left-hand porch column shows multi-headed Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa.

Fleet 1881:168 [No. CX]  
Finally, inside the same temple of Lôkêśvara or Virûpâksha, on the south side of the nave, there is a pillar with four compartments of sculptures representing scenes from the *Râmâyaṇa*. Each compartment has a line of writing above it, in characters of about the period of the building of the temple, giving the names, usually in corrupt of Prâkṛit forms, of the figures represented in the sculptures.

*Transcription.*

[1] Kara-Dûshaṇam Suppaṇagi Lakkaṇa Suppaṇagi Lakkaṇam Râman  
 [2] Râvaṇan Suppaṇagi Kara-Dûshaṇan Râman Lakkaṇan Site  
 [3] Pochchar̤i Râma Pochchar̤i Râma Poccchar̤ Lakkaṇa Râma Site Marichchan Maricchan Râvaṇan  
 [4] Supâriśva Râvaṇa Jaṭâyu Râvaṇa Site Râvaṇan Site Lakkaṇa Site  
 [Fleet's fn. to Pocchar̤i is "Equivalent not known; perhaps it is connected with the Canarese *pochcharu,* 'to shine, struggle,' and is an epithet of Râma and Lakshmaṇa."]

Rāmāyaṇa scenes are also found on one pillar in the *maṇḍapa* of the contemporary Mallikārjuna (or Trailokeśvara) temple (**see** listing at Loizeau 2017: 190).

Scenes from both epics cover the outer walls of the Pāpanātha temple at Paṭṭadakal (listed at Loizeau 2017: 190-91), built in the first half of the 8th century and designed to bolster the dynasty’s legitimacy shortly before its fall to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (Wechsler 1994). They are the earliest narrative sequences to be preserved in a good enough state to permit reasonable inferences about the sculptor’s or patron’s intentions. The starting point for both narrative sequences is nearer the *garbhagṛha,* so that the triumphant conclusion can be depicted on the façade, which means that the 28 *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes, starting in the middle of the south wall of the western *maṇḍapa,* are in reverse order for viewing when worshippers were circumbulating the temple; Wechsler (1995: 30) notes that this is exceptional among Western Cāḷukya monuments, but it is also found at the Hoysaḷa Amṛteśvara temple and the Noḷamba Kāmākṣamma temple (cf. below). These scenes on the Pāpanātha temple are perhaps the earliest to show Rāvaṇa’s ten heads as a circle (artistically more effective than the row common in miniature paintings).

Fleet 1881: 170 [No. CXIV] —  
“At the south-east corner of the village is an elaborately sculptured temple of the god Pâpanâtha, which Mr. Burgess considers to be one of the oldest structural temples yet examined, and which he seems inclined to attribute to the fifth century A.D.  
 Many of the sculptures on the north and south faces of the temple represent scenes from the *Râmâyaṇa*, and have the names of the characters engraved over or against them, usually in a corrupt or Prâkṛit form,—such as Râman, Site, Site, Lakkaṇa, Jaṭayu, Sugrîvan, Bâli, Aṅgajan, Ravaṇan, Suppanaki, Kara-Dusaṇan, Bhîmasêna, Śrî-Baladêva, Naḷan, Vibhishaṇan, and Kumbharunan. The characters do not seem to me to be as early, by at least a century, as Mr. Burgess considers.”

Ray 2015: 213-4 — “. . . the Ramayana panels on the south wall at Papanatha present a connected narrative, though divided in two sequences in an anti-clockwise direction. One sequence is shown on the outer wall of the inner mandapa and begins with King Dasharatha performing a sacrifice to beget heirs followed by early scenes from Rama’s life, Rama and Lakshmana learning archery in Vishvamitra’s ashrama and ends with Rama breaking the bow of Shiva. The second sequence on the outer mandapa continues the narrative with the exile of Rama, the disfigurement of Shurpanakha, the scenes related to Rama’s exile, such as disfigurement of Shurpanakha, Ravana seated with Maricha disguised as an ascetic, abduction of Sita, Jatayu’s fight with Ravana, Sita in Ashoka-vatika, Hanuman entering Lanka and his meeting with Sita. Inside the Virupaksha temple on the south side of the nave there is a pillar with four compartments of sculptures representing scenes from the Ramayana (Fig. 15.6). Each compartment has a line of writing above it in characters of about the period of the building of the temple giving the names in corrupt or Prakrit forms of the figures represented in the sculptures, such as Khara–Dushanam, Suppanagi, Lakkana, Raman, Site, Ravanan, Jatayu, Marichchan, etc.”

**Pērūr:** Sōmēśvara temple (Cāḷukya) has *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs on its pillars [source: Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 11 + 115 (3.7), 122 (5.9). 124 (6.4)].

**Satyavōlu:** 7th-century Cāḷukya temple (probably the Rāmaliṅgeśvara, but Rāmaliṅgeśvara and Bhīmaliṅgeśvara adjacent) has *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs [source: Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 11]

**Varuṇā:** a *Rāmāyaṇa* frieze carved just below the eaves on the *valabhī* in low relief on the granite Mahādeveśvara (or Mahāliṅgeśvara) temple; the scenes shown include Rāvaṇa in durbar, the death of Rāvaṇa and Rāvaṇa’s soul being carried by two birds, and end with the *Rāmapaṭṭābhiṣeka* (Mysore Archaeological Department 1941: 19-23 (= *AR for 1940*); p.22 listing Rāmāyaṇa scenes **photocopied;** cf. own photos). [**cf.** *IAR 1979-8*: 123 – “The Mahadevesvara (also Mahilingesvara) at Varuna housing a Sivalinga named Bhutesvara existed right from the times of the Ganga king Sripurusha (A.D. 725-788) and enjoyed patronage of some Chalukya feudatories as well during *circa* tenth century A.D.”]

**object (and medium)** Pallava temples

**location (original/present)** Kāñcī and Māmallapuram

**date** 7th to 9th centuries

**studies** Gillet, Valérie 2007: “Entre démon et dévot: la figure de Rāvaṇa dans les représentations *pallava*”, *Arts Asiatiques* 62: 29-45. **download**[*entirely on Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa, as devotee of Śiva or (less often) in combat with Vālin*]

Gillet, Valérie 2021: “Looking for Rāma: traces of the Rāmāyaṇa in temples of the Pallava dynasty”, in Dhar 2021a: 65-84. **own copy (vol.)**

Hudson, D. Dennis 2008: *The Body of God: an emperor’s palace for Krishna in eighth century Kanchipuram* (New York: OUP). **download of chapters 5-7 + 9**

**notes** sites: Kāñcī (Kailāsanātha t., Vaikuṇṭha Perumāl t.), Māmallapuram (Olakkaṇṇeśvara t.)

Kāñcī (Tamilnād): a few *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes on the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī (including Rāvaṇa worsted by Vālin) and the Olakkaṇṇēśvara temple at Māmallapuram, both erected by Narasiṃhavarman II Rājasiṃha (c. 690-720 A.D.)

Vaikuṇṭha Perumāl temple, Kāñcī, is believed to have been built by Nandivarman II (720-96 A.D.), with later contributions from Coḻa and Vijayanagara rulers**;** 6th panel on northern part of the middle-floor sanctum shows Rāma disciplining the ocean on the way to Laṅkā (cf. Hudson 2008: 159-60); among the *vimāna* panels on the east side E4 shows Hanumān worshiping Rāma; pillar inside front *maṇḍapa* shows Hanumān’s first meeting with R. + L. and (lower panel) Vālin and Sugrīva fighting as R. aims at Vālin.

Hudson 2008: 3-4 –

Since I had been working on Tamil poems composed in the eighth and ninth centuries by the Bhagavata poet-saints known as Alvars, I opted for Pallavamalla’s ‘‘Emperor’s Vishnu-house.’’ I searched through the canon of Alvar poems known as the ‘‘Four Thousand Divine Stanzas’’ (*nalayira-divya-prabandha*) to ﬁnd a poem written about it. I found only one, by a poet who ‘‘signs’’ his name as Kalikanri, but is better known as Tirumangai Alvar. The poem appears in his large anthology called *Periya Tirumoli* (2.9). Tirumangai composed the poem sometime between the completion of the Vishnu-house ca. 770 and Nandivarman’s death in 795–796, perhaps ca. 790. He wrote other poems about Nandivarman’s liturgical acts, and in this one portrays him as still on the throne after an already lengthy reign. In the sixty-ﬁrst year of his rule (792–793), Nandivarman responded to Tirumangai’s repeated requests and gave land to sixteen Brahmins to form a village.1 Perhaps the poet thanked him with this poem.

Māmallapuram: on the Olakkaṇṇeśvara temple one of the external wall panels shows Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa.

9th century steles (?) / detached reliefs of Lava and Kuśa:   
Lava, Pallava, Kanchipuram, granite, 229 × 80 × 50 cm. Nat. Mus. 74.218   
Kuśa, Pallava, 225 × 104.5 × 54.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 74.219   
 Ahuja 2013 (= *Body*): 231, figs. 269-70

Kamalakar 2004: 211 — “ . . . Rama breaking the Siva dhanus is represented in a small relief on a pillar in the mukhamandapa of the Agastyesvara temple at Chilamakuru.”  
[Anantapur dist., Andhra Pradesh; on pp. 50-51 temple assigned to Renandu Choda period, C8, but *mukhamaṇḍapa* prob. added in late C9; relevant pillar is NE pillar of 4]

**object (and medium)** Rāṣṭrakūṭa-period reliefs

**location (original/present)** Deccan – Maharashtra and Karnataka

**date** 8th to 10th centuries (Deccan)

**studies** Burgess, James 1926: *A guide to Elura cave temples* (Hyderabad: Archaeological Department, Nizam’s Government). [reprint] **download**

Dhavalikar, M.K. 1983: *Masterpieces of Rashtrakuta art: the Kailas* (Bombay: Taraporevala).   
 **pp. 24-26 + fig. 68 scanned**

Dhavalikar, M.K. 2005: *Ellora,* Monumental Legacy series (Delhi: Oxford University Press). **Bod. M05.F04286; pp. 56-57 scanned**

Gail, Adalbert J. 1985: “Rāmāyaṇa-relief am Kailāsa in Ellora”, *BIS* 1: 177-85. **photocopy**

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Parlier-Renault, Edith 2001: “Le programme iconographique du temple de Kailasanatha à Ellora”, *Arts Asiatiques* 56:5-23. **download**

Patil, Channabasappa S. 1993: *Narrative panels from Kadur* (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums). **(IND) Mysore D 18 Ref [in OIL]**

Patil, Channabasappa S. 1996: “Art and architecture of the Rāshtrakutas”, in *Gauravaṁ: recent researches in Indology (Prof. B.K. Gururaja Rao felicitation volume),* ed. By K.V. Ramesh and others (New Delhi: Harman): 242-51. **(IND)**

Patil, Channabasappa Soodayya, and Balasubramanya 2001: *Sirival: its monuments, sculptures and inscription.* Architecture and Sculpture in Karnataka V (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums). **(IND) Mysore D 16; pp. 10-13+104-5 photocopied; notes**

**notes** sites: Elūrā, Kaḍūr, Kukanūr, Mudhol, Sirivāḷ

Patil 1996: 249: “Scenes from the Ramayana are carved in the Kailasnatha temple at Ellora, pillars from Kudur, Siddhesvara temple at Mudhol, Navalinga temple at Kukanur and Well No. I (Pl. 37.V) and Isvara temple at Sirival.”

**Elūrā:** Kailāsanātha temple (Kṛṣṇeśvara/Kaṇṇeśvara), Elūrā (3rd quarter of C8), built by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Kṛṣṇa I, Dantidurga’s uncle and successor – reliefs:   
 Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa on S side of basement of main shrine at Krishnan 2010: 51 (own photo; cf. others), another on a panel near the northern staircase; cf. also relief panel with Hanumān carrying mountain and Rāma fighting Rāvaṇa (Madhya Pradesh, 10th century, LACMA M.89.159.1), at Krishnan 2010: 104; cf. Romain 2015: figs 62-68;   
 small panel on south wall of Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā and challenged by Jaṭāyus (own photo), to right of which is one of fight between Vālin and Sugrīva;  
 in sculpture gallery around the main temples the first panel from the north is of Rāvaṇa offering his heads to Śiva, with nine already grouped round a *liṅga* below as he is in the act of cutting off the tenth;  
 tiered friezes on the exterior of the stairways showing episodes from both epics in a style similar to those of the interior pillars of the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakal; Rāmāyaṇa relies on south side of stairway frieze in 8 rows (first 4 boustrophedon, rest   
l. to r.; the 23 scenes begin with the crossing of the Gaṅgā and Bharata’s journey to recall Rāma from *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* and end with Rāma’s fight with Kumbhakarṇa from *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (listing of scenes in Dhavalikar 1983: 25-26 and 2005: 56-57 [**scans**]).  
 A copper plate grant from Baroda of time of Karka II (c. 812-13 A.D.) speaks about its greatness, stating that this great edifice was built on a hill by Krishnaraja at Elāpura (Elūrā) and even the celestial beings moving in the sky were struck by its magnificence, as though it were self-existent, not created by mortals, and, even the architect who caused it was wonder-struck that he could build it.

**See** also photo of frieze (and of Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa on N side of approach to cave 21 and on S side of W aisle of cave 29, Dumar Lena); other examples of Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa on S wall of cave 14 (Rāvaṇa kī khai), in 6th niche on N side of upper level at cave 15 (Daśāvatāra), cave 21 and cave 29 (= Dumār leṇa).

**Kaḍūr** – from Patil 1993: 3 pillars re-used in a modern Hanumān temple, another found lying in a pond; on first pillar, 3rd panel from top has 5 narrative sub-panels, 3rd is Rāvaṇa lifting Kailāsa (4 scenes (plates 13-16): R. worships liṅga, R. carries liṅga, R. narrates incident to wife, R. lifts Kailāsa [shown in standard form]).

**Kukanūr** (Koppal dist.): Navaliṅga temple group (line of 9 *liṅga* temples) built in reign of Amoghavarṣa I or Kṛṣṇa II (so 9th century).

**Mudhol** (Bagalkot dist., Karnataka): Siddheśvara temple (1st quarter of C10) has Rāmāyaṇa reliefs (Patil 1996: 249), as well as Pañcatantra reliefs.

**Sirivāḷ/Sīrval/Shirwal:** a tank with a row of sculptures round its inner side depicting scenes from *Rāmāyaṇa* and other texts, datable to late Rāṣṭrakūṭa period (*IAR 1963-64:* 99) and Īśvara temple = temple 4 (Patil 1996: 249); for a listing of the scenes **see** Patil and Balasubramanya 2001: 104-5 (**photocopied**).

from Patil and Balasubramanya 2001:  
p.1 Sirivāḷ is a small village, about 10 kms. northeast of Shahapur, in Shahapur Taluk, Gulbarga District (Fig. 1). ... ...  
 There are forty-six monuments at the site. These include five wells, seven *koshṭhāgāras/maṭhas* and thirty-four temples. Most of them are in groups while some are scattered around. Most of these monuments are of the Rāshṭrakūṭa period. This is the only site containing such a large group of monuments of this period. ... ...   
p.59 [Īśvara temple west facing; *adhiṣṭhāna* has band of carving on *tripaṭṭa kumuda* with floral and geometric designs, figures and narrative panels, including 4 *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes (nos 4-7 clockwise from front entrance)]  
p.97 [single scene on Siddheśvara is on north face of SW pillar of south *sabhāmaṇḍapa* (carvings are on upper blocks of 4 central pillars)]

**object (and medium)** Pāla and Sena period sculptures

**location (original/present)** W. Bengal /Bangladesh

**date** 8th to 13th centuries

**studies** Ahmed, Maliha Nargis, and Nurul Kabir 2016: “Cultural and religious aspects of sculptures discovered from Somapura Vihara, Naogaon: a case study of sculptures displayed at Paharpur Site Museum”, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh (Hum.)* 61.1: 1-37. **download**

Gill, Sandrine 2007: ‘Spatial Organisation of Paharpur Buddhist Establishment’, in H.P. Ray (ed.), *Sacred Landscape in Asia: Shared Traditions, Multiple Histories* (Delhi: Manohar): 169-97. **(IND) 20 D 413**

Huntington, Susan L. 1984: *The* *“Pāla-Sena” schools of sculpture* (Leiden: Brill). **download**  
[Pāhāṛpur – discussion of dating only on pp. 160-64]

Moitra, Suresh Chandra 1983: “The Rama legend in the pre-Muslim Bengal”, in Banerjee and others 1983: 52-64. **download (vol.)**

Ray, Himanshu Prabha 2015: “Narratives in stone: the *Ramayana* in early sculptures”, in *Art, Icon and Architecture in South Asia: essays in honour of Dr Devangana Desai*, ed. by Anila Verghese and Anna L. Dallapiccola, 2 vols (New Delhi: Aryan Books): I, 201-21. **download**

**notes** Ray 2015: 215 **–** [on Somapura vihara, Pāhāṛpur]“It is important at this stage to highlight the continued presence of *Ramayana* panels at Buddhist sites and Paharpur is one of the major Buddhist sites of East Bengal, now in Bangladesh. In the centre of its huge square monastery (281 × 280 metres) an imposing brick cruciform cult monument decorated with friezes of terracotta plaques and stone sculptures still stands over 21.3 metres high. Representations of Shiva, the Dikpalas, Indra, Agni, Yama, Kubera, Ganesha, Brihaspati, Chandra, Manu, *Dvarapalas*, scenes from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* are placed on both sides of the *kunda* at the centre of the southern face of the basement wall. Their location indicates their integration in the ritualistic schema of the Buddhist temple.”

from Gill 2007: 185-6 – scultures on the basement, mostly of Kṛṣṇa but also *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* scenes; cf. Nālandā temple no. 2; irregular placing with concentration on the SE side; variety of styles and workmanship; some pieces re-used and perhaps taken from earlier establishments.

scenes shown: Bharata and Śatrughna meet R. + L., Jaṭāyus fights Rāvaṇa, Vālin fights Sugrīva, Hanumān brings rocks for the causeway; other scenes variously identified as episodes either from the *Mahābhārata* or the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

Mukherji 1966: 75-76

That Bengal was an ardent supporter of the cult of Viṣṇu in the Sena period and afterwards, is convincingly proved by the existence of a Vaiṣṇava temple in the Triveṇī-Saptagrāma region. Though, the said temple was converted into a mosque by the great Gazi Zāffar Khān in 1298 A.D. and a mausoleum was built in the temple-area in subsequent times, there are evidence to show that there stood originally a beautiful and elegant stone temple of Viṣṇu in the place. The architectural pattern of the mausoleum in question consists of a | double chamber, probably representing the chief characteristics of the original Vaiṣṇava temple, which consisted of a rectangular enclosure having two roof-less compartments in black basalt with a vestibule (*antarāla*) and a pavilion (*maṇḍapa*). The vestibule in question still stands intact. . . .

There are definite proofs that the above-mentioned temple was dedicated to Viṣṇu. For instance, we may refer to the ‘descriptive labels’, found at the converted temple. These ‘descriptive labels’, written in the proto-Bengali characters of the 12th-13th centuries A.D., depict the Vaiṣṇavite scenes from the two great epics and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa,* such as (a) the banishment of Sītā, (b) the coronation (of Rāma), (c) killing of Rāvaṇa by Śrī-Rāma, (d) killing of Khara and Triśiras, [e-h from *MBh/ Bhāg.P.*] Probably, these labels were once fixed under the panels depicting such scenes for the convenience of the general public. In addition to these panels, there were also images of the various incarnations of Viṣṇu, specially of Varāha, Nṛsiṁha, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, as also of Lakṣmī or Sītā, adoring the basement or the niches of the temple.

[cites as source Money, *JRAS* vol.16, 1947, p. 393 ff. (wrong ref.)] (? is name Moni ?)

Gaṇeśapur (Rājśāhī dist., Bangladesh): late Pāla image of R. + L. + S. supported by Hanumān (Moitra in Banerjee (ed.) 1983: 59)

Sitlai (Rājśāhī dist., Bangladesh): lintel showing Hanumān carrying Mt Gandhamādana (Moitra in Banerjee (ed.) 1983: 59)

Deoparbat (Golaghat dist., Assam): ruins of c. C11-12 temple with 5 panels of a *Rāmāyaṇa* frieze showing meeting of Rāma and Sugrīva (Ramachandran 1936-37: 57-60 [**download**]).

**object (and medium)** Pratīhāra period temple reliefs

**location (original/present)** Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh

**date** 9th-12th centuries

**studies** Agrawala, Ratna Chandra 1954: “Rāmāyaṇa Scenes in Rājasthāna Sculptures”, *IHQ* 30: 154-59. **photocopy/download (vol.)**

Dhaky, M.A. 1967: ‘Kiradu and the Māru-Gurjara style of Temple Architecture’, *Bulletin of the American Academy of Benares* 1: 35-45. **Sackler Y 39**

Dhaky, M.A. 1972-73: “The Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Kekind”, *JOIB* 22: 397-408. **scan**

Giri, Kamal, and Maruti Nandan Tiwari 1989: “Rāmakathā Scenes in the Dadhimatī temple at Goṭha Māngloḍ (Rajasthan), in *Śrī Rāma in Art, Archaeology and Literature,* ed by B.P. Sinha (Patna: Bihar Puravid Parishad): 161-74. **scan**

Handa, Devendra 1984: *Osian: History, Archaeology, Art and Architecture* (Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan). **Sackler IWd Han**

Handa, Devendra 2006: *Sculptures from Haryana: iconography and style* (Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study; New Delhi: Aryan Books International). **(IND) 20 E 545**

Margabandhu, C. 1983: “Rāmāyaṇa reliefs in stone in Rajasthan temples”, in Srinivasa Iyengar 1983: 124-43. **own copy**

Trivedi, P.K. 1995: *Art Traditions of the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa* (Jaipur: Publication Scheme). **(IND) 20 F 30**

Vashishtha, Neelima 1992: “The story of Rāma as the binding thread of visual arts and its representation in western India with special reference to Rajasthan”, in Koppedrayer 1992: 217-21. **scan**

Vashishtha, Neelima 2002: “Sculptural depiction of the *Ramayana* themes in the temple of Dadhimatimata in Rajasthan”, in *Art and Culture: painting and perspective,* ed. by Ahsan Jan Qaisar and Som Prakash Verma (New Delhi: Abhinav): 119-26. **photocopy**

Vashishtha, Neelima 2004: “Representation of Rāmakathā in the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Kekind”, in *Indian art and aesthetics: endeavours in interpretation,* ed. by Maruti Nandan Tiwari and Kamal Giri (New Delhi: Aryan): 35-38. **scan**

Vashishtha, Neelima 2020: *Rāma Kathā in visual and performing arts of Rajasthan, ca. 8th-20th century A.D.* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research).

**notes** sites: Abaneri, Arthuna, Baroda village (Rajasthan), Haidarpur, Jhar, Kekīnda, Khajurāho, Kirāḍū, Māṅglod, Nāgdā, Osiāñ, Padhaoli (Padavali).

Trivedi 1995: 117 — *Rāmāyaṇa Scenes:* On a few brackets of the pillars of *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the Śiva temple No. 2 is depicted the Balī-Sugrīva combat (*dvandva-yuddha*). Another instance from the same epic is noticed on *narathara* of the Yoginī temple, Arthuna, here Rāma is shown with his younger brother Lakshamaṇa [sic] lying unconscious. Hanumān bringing the medicinal herb (*sañjīvani-būṭi*) alongwith the mountain itself to cure Lakshamaṇa is shown with accompained [sic] by fellow monkeys (Pl. 83). The same theme is carved on *narathara* of Śiva temple at Baroda also. The *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes are found on the *rājasenaka-cum-rūpadhārā* of the Someśvara temple, Kiradu, assignable to 1179 A.D.52  
52 Dhaky, M.A., ‘Kiradu and the Māru-Gurjara style of Temple Architecture’, *Bulletin of the American Academy of Benares,* Vol. I., pp. 41-42.

Vashishtha 1992 notes bas-reliefs of Rāma story on Vaiṣṇava temple at Nāgdā (10th century, in Mevāṛ), Śaiva temple at Kirāḍū (c. 11th-12th century, in Mārvāṛ) and Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Kekind (c. 10th century, in Nāgaur dist.). She also asserts that cult images of Rāma only occur from 18th century onwards, apart from one in a Śaiva temple at Nimāj, Jodhpur dist., dating to 10th century (Vashishtha 1992: 217).

Arthuna: capital of Paramāras of Vāgaḍa in 11th-12th centuries; Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva group of temples has Rāmāyaṇa scenes (Nagar 1999); **see** Trivedi, P.K. 1995: *Art Traditions of the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa* (Jaipur: Publication Scheme): 117.

Baroda (Bhilwara dist., Rajasthan): Śiva temple has a Rāmāyaṇa relief; **see** Trivedi, P.K. 1995: *Art Traditions of the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa* (Jaipur: Publication Scheme): 117.

Haidarpur (Delhi): from a derelict temple here comes a section of a *Rāmāyaṇa* frieze datable to 12th century when this area was under the Tomaras, now in Safdarjung premises of ASI (Sivaramamurti 1980: 646-47).

Jhar: ruined Śiva temple datable to around 11th century (Paramāras); on a fragment of the *kumbha* moulding Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa shown standing in *tribhaṅga* [source: *IAR 1985-86*: 141].

Kekīnda (modern Jasnagar; name from Kiṣkindhā, acc. to Margabandhu 1983: 132): At the top of the 8 pillars supporting the octagonal roof of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara/Guṇeśvara temple (10th-11th century) are brackets with scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa, listed at Vashishtha 2004: 35-36 (scan), cf. Margabandhu 1983: 132-33.

Khajurāho: Banerjee 1986: 202 — “It is interesting to note that a colossal statue of an early Hanumān figure is housed now in a modern shrine situated between Western Group of Khajurāho temples and the Khajurāho village. On the pedestal of the image is a short dedicatory inscription dated 316, probably of the Harsha era, which is equivalent to A.D. 922.” [**see** K. Deva, *Temples of Khajuraho,* p.10 §2]

Kirāḍū panels in horizontal band of *narathara* and *vedibandha* below main niches; scenes include meeting with Sugrīva, wounded Lakṣmaṇa lying on Rāma’s lap with on left Hanumān bringing mountain (Vashishtha 1992: 218), cf. Margabandhu 1983: 134.

Dhaky 1967: 41-42 (on Someśvara temple, Kirāḍū, early C11) – “In addition to erotic subjects, the *rājasenaka*-cum-*rūpadhārā* displays several interesting tableaux depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* — notably the combat between Rāma and Rāvaṇa — warring demons, musical groups, Liṅgodbhava Śiva — rarely encountered in the North Indian context (Fig. 67) — and a peculiar group of Pañca-Gaṇeśa (Fig. 68).”

Māṅglod: Dadhimatīmātā temple, C9 (foundation earlier), **see** Giri and Tiwari 1989, Vashishtha 2002

Nāgdā: Vashishtha 1992 notes presence of bas-reliefs of Rāma story on the Sāsbahu temple at Nāgdā (late C10, in Mevāṛ). Nāgdā panels (narration from l. to r.) are on *maṇḍapa* pillars and ceiling; scenes include killing of Mārīca, Rāma threatening ocean, Hanumān’s leap, Hanumān fetching mountain, fight between Vālin and Sugrīva (Vashishtha 1992: 218), Sītā entering the fire; cf. Margabandhu 1983: 135-38. Banerjee 1986: 250-1 identifies Nāgdā Sāsbahu scenes as Rāma killing Mārīca as golden deer, fight between Vālin and Sugrīva, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa on a pedestal, a palace with a woman (? Sītā) seated in lower storey and a monkey (Hanumān) moving above, Rāvaṇa wielding a sword, R. + L. standing with bow and arrow, death of Jaṭāyus, a *rākṣasa* (? Kumbhakarṇa) killing *vānaras*, etc. Desai forthcoming adds R. shooting Vālin.

Osiāñ: Sacciya Mātā temple was renovated in VS 1234 (= 1177 A.D.) and an inscription on one of the pillars gives the date V.S. 1247 (= 1190 A.D.), so *raṇgamaṇḍapa* completed by end of 12th century (Handa 1984: 69) — from Handa 1984: 54: " The dome of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* is supported on eight pillars arranged octagonally. . . . The sixteen-side portions of the dome show, between the two extreme *rathikās* containing some unidentified figures, beautiful friezesof *karṇadārikā* 'scroll work' with a *kīrtimukha* in the centre, *rūpakaṇṭha* with scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa,* cornice slabs surmounted by a frieze of swans, scroll work with a *kīrtimukha* in the centre and capped by a stencilled frieze."  
from Handa 1984: 91: "The *narapīṭha* of the *vedībandha* of VT-5 [= Viṣṇu temple no. 5] also shows some *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes of which one depicting Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa being carried by Hanumān on his shoulders is particularly mentionable here. Some other scenes depict Samudra 'Ocean' with human bust and piscatorial lower portion, monkeys carrying stones, Nīla giving instructions to the monkeys, Hanumān eating mangoes in the *Aśoka-vāṭikā* etc."

Padhaoli: fragmentary 10th-century Kachvāhā temple has ornate pillars and friezes with scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa,* the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in the *gadhi.* [sources: *IAR 1961-62*: 120; ASI Temple Survey Project (N.R.), Bhopal (**download**)]

**see** Margabandhu 1983: 138-40 for further stray examples; locations noted are: Mauhari (Dholpur dist.) and Mirpur (Sirohi dist.; Jain temple built C9, destroyed C13, rebuilt C15; panel shows killing of Śrāvaṇa (Margabandhu 1983: 139 §3).

**?? also here ??** sandstone reliefs from Pehowa (Kurukshetra dist.) — Rāma talking to Jaṭāyu (Haryana State Archaeology Mus., Panchkula, acc. no 1/756); Hanumān (Haryana State Arch. Mus., acc. no 1/722); Rāma on chariot (Haryana State Arch. Mus., acc. no 1/744) Ahuja 2013 (= *Body*): 256-7, figs.290-92

Hanumān carrying the mountain of medicinal herbs (left); R. fights Rāvaṇa (right), sandstone panel, Madhya Pradesh, 10th century LACMA M.89.159.1

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Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti relief from Abaneri, C8-9 Albert Hall, Jaipur, 14/59/64

Himachal Pradesh: schist statue of Rāma, c. C11, 40.6 × 29.2 × 14.6 cm.  
 Philadelphia 1956-75-13

**object (and medium)** Caulukyas / Solaṅkis of Gujarat and successors

**location (original/present)** Gujarat

**date** mid 10th to mid 13th centuries (Caulukyas) to 15th century

**studies** Giri, Kamal 1984: “Rāmāyaṇa scenes in the Sun Temple at Moḍherā”, *Bhāratī* n.s. 2: 71-77. **download (from author)**

Giri, Kamal 1987-88: “The cultural life as depicted in the sculptures of the Sun Temple of Moḍherā”, *JASB* 62-63: 48-58. **download**

Lobo, Wibke 1982:  [*The Sun-Temple at Modhera: A monograph on architecture and iconography*](https://books.google.com/books?id=89EjAAAAMAAJ), AVA-Forschugen Band 2 (München: C.H. Beck). **download**

Majmudar, M.R. 1965: *Cultural history of Gujarat, from early times to pre-British period* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan). **OIL 512.94 Ma.1**

Sankalia, Hasmukh Dhirajlal 1941: [*The Archaeology of Gujarat, including Kathiawar*](http://www.dli.ernet.in/handle/2015/51876) (Bombay: Natwarlal & Company). **(IND) 20 E 33**

**notes** Moḍherā: Sun Temple (built in 1026-27 A.D.) – Sankalia 1941: 91  
“But elsewhere, particularly on the walls, small flat ceilings and lintels of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa,* are depicted scenes, many of which, I think, are from the *Rāmāyaṇa.*1

1  Unfortunately it was not possible to stay at Modhera and study these. But it is these, I think, which gave the *kuṇḍa,* in front of the temple, the name Rāma-kuṇḍa.”

Scenes shown are: on the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa,* Śrāvaṇa carrying a *bhaṅgī* containing his parents and then Daśaratha giving water to the parents, R. + L. armed (? during search); in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa,* R. + L. + S. in the forest, Rāma shooting at the golden deer, Mārīca emerging from the body of the dying deer, Sītā giving alms to Rāvaṇa as Lakṣmaṇa departs, another relief of R. shooting the golden deer, Jaṭāyus attacking Rāvaṇa as he carries off S in his *vimāna* (three representations), another of S. giving alms to Rāvaṇa with the *Lakṣmaṇarekhā* shown (and not L.), Sītā in the *aśokavana* surrounded by *rākṣasīs* as Hanumān awaits his opportunity, Hanumān speaks with Sītā from a tree, the fight between Vālin and Sugrīva (shown 4 times), eight monkeys in a tree, the building of the causeway, Kumbhakarṇa fighting *vānaras, vānaras* and *rākṣasa* fighting, R; grieving over the unconscious Lakṣmaṇa (shown twice), Hanumān flying with mountain of herbs and Bharata aiming an arrow at him (shown twice), and Lava and Kuśa detaining the sacrificial horse which is attended by Hanumān (Giri 1984).

Lobo 1982: 145 dates tank to beginning of C11, temple proper, niche shrines and miniature shrines at tank to shortly after 1026, and dancing hall, gateways, porch of temple proper and doorframes of temple and cella to 3rd quarter of C11.

Śāmalājī temple — Banerjee 1986: 244-45  
 “Some reliefs of a Shamlaji temple of the post-Solanki period portray Kṛishṇa and Rāma episodes (see M.R. Majmudar, *Cultural History of Gujarat,* pl L, Bombay, 1965).”

Majmudar 1965 plate L (2) shows – l. to r. – Jaṭāyus attacking Rāvaṇa as he carries off Sītā in his arms, Rāvaṇa approaching Sītā within hut/Lakṣmaṇarekhā (?), and the killing of Mārīca with human torso emerging from deer’s body, and (4) Rāma piercing 7 tālas growing from snake [not entirely clear – could be undulating ground surface but does taper l. to r.] from exterior frieze on Śāmalājī temple.

**object (and medium)** Later Cāḷukyas / Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa and their feudatories

**location (original/present)** Karnataka, S. Maharashtra, Chattisgarh

**date** late 10th to 13th centuries

**studies** Deo, Shantaram Bhalchandra 1973: *Mārkaṇḍī temples* (Nagpur: Nagpur University. **Sackler IW Deo**

Foekema, Gerard 2003: *Cālukya Architecture: medieval temples of northern Karnātaka built during the rule of the Cālukya of Kalyāṇa and thereafter, AD 1000-1300,* 3 vols (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal). **(IND) 20 E 489**[vol. 1 text, figures and maps; vols 2-3 plates]

Patil, Channabasappa S. 1992: *Temples of Raichur and Bellary districts, Karnataka, 1000-1325 A.D.* (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums). **OIL (IND) Mysore D 9 Ref**

Sarma, Mukkamala Radhakrishna 1972: *Temples of Telingāṇa: the architecture, iconography, and sculpture of the Cāḷukya and Kakatīya temples* (Hyderabad: Booklinks Corp.). 307pp. **(IND) 20 E 111 /Sackler IW Sar**

**notes** sites with Rāmāyaṇa reliefs are: Ablūr (Basaveśvara temple), Asandi (Gaṅgeśvara and Brahmeśvara), Balaganur, Bandaḷike (Someśvara t.), Beḷgāmi (Tripurāntakeśvara t.), Gandai, Hampi (Bhuvaneśvarī), Jāñjgīr, Kuruvaṭṭi (Mallikārjuna t.), Lakkundi (Kāśīviśveśvara t.), Mārkaṇḍī, Nīlaguṇḍa (Bhīmeśvara t.), Palasdev, Palya, Pāpanāśī, Pattancheru, Prātakoṭa.

Ablūr / Abbalūru: Basaveśvara temple (originally Brahmeśvara), a trikūṭa temple sharing an open *maṇḍapa****,*** in existence by 1101 on inscriptional evidence.  
Foekema 2003: I, 53-54 – “The low parapet-wall [on exterior of common *maṇḍapa*], much lower than usual, consists | of a plinth, an epical frieze and a kapota. The narratives are unique in this position. Only in Belgāmi-Tripurāntakeśvara similar depictions are found, there on the sides of a platform. . . . . . . In particular the friezes on the northern side of the hall are sculptural gems. At the southern side battle scenes suggest depiction of the *Mahābhārata,* on the north-western corner monkeys suggest the *Rāmāyaṇa.* Only in Hoysaḷa times and region the depiction of epics on pedestal friezes would become common in Karnātaka.”

Āsandi: the Gaṅgeśvara and Brahmeśvara temples, linked by a common *maṇḍapa* and built in 1191 by the local Gaṅga chief, have ceilings which show *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes. [Mysore Arch. Dept (*AR for 1942*) 1943: 66-67]

Balaganur: Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa temple, Kalacuri, built c. 1175 A.D., has *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes on door jambs; the main structure is in granite but pillars, doors and pierced windows are schist.   
Patil 1992: 73 – “The door (Pl. 15) leading to the oblong *aṅkana* in front of the *antarāḷa* is finely carved. Its jambs consist of (1) square and star shaped flowers, (2) creeper scrolls depicting scenes from the Ramayana, . . . Some of the Ramayana scenes on the jambs consist of Rama, Lakshmana and Sita proceeding to the forest, abduction of Sita, shooting golden deer, shooting a serpent through *sapta-tala* and Vali-Sugriva fight.”

Bandaḷike: the Someśvara or Ānekal Sōmayya temple, Kalacuri, built in 1174 A.D. (**see** *Epigraphia Carnatica* VII no. 236), carries bands of epic narratives on the sculptured screens of its porch, with *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes – listed – on the south and *Mahābhārata* episodes on the north (Mysore Arch. Dept (for 1941) 1942: 90-93 [= 132-35 of download]).  
Foekema 2003: 127 – “The position of stone screens found her,in the outer wall of a temple is unique in Cālukya architecture. . . . . . . In sculptural style, plate 163, these depictions resemble the epical friezes in the pedestal of many Hoysaḷa temples.”

Beḷgāmi/Baḷḷigāṃve: the Tripurāntakeśvara temple, probably built c. 1070 by Western Cāḷukyas, has basement friezes which include *Rāmāyaṇa* themes but many have been destroyed and panels on the beams of the central ceiling of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* which include on west Sītā in *aśokavana,* Hanumān kneeling before Sītā, Hanumān fighting *rākṣasas* and led before Rāvaṇa, and on north Rāvaṇa in council, Hanumān’s tail set on fire and the burning of Laṅkā (Mysore 1942: 79 [= *AR for 1941*]).

Gandai: 13th-century Deur temple (Kalacuri) includes a frieze showing various *Rāmāyaṇa* and Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes and amorous couples. [source: *IAR 1987-88*: 168-9]

Hampi: Bhuvaneśvarī temple (schist; S of Virūpākṣa temple within complex), 1st quarter of 13th century, contains re-used Cāḷukya doorframe showing on lintel (between images of Gaṇeśa, Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Durgā) scene of battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa in 4 sections (Eaton + Wagoner 2013: 102-4).

Jāñjgīr: C12 (Kalacuris of Dakṣiṇa Kosala) Viṣṇu maṇḍir, called locally Nakata Mandira, shows scenes from *Rāmāyaṇa* on its platform near the steps at north, including Rāma shooting arrow through 7 trees, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa chasing golden deer, Rāma killing the deer with his arrow, monkeys carrying stones to build causeway, Rāma worshipping liṅga at Rāmeśvaram etc.. [source: *IAR 1990-91*: 115-16] [photos in “visual background” (non-archive)]

Kuruvaṭṭi: Mallikārjuna temple (Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa, schist; c. 1085) contains a panel showing Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa [source: Patil 1992: 164 + 219].

Lakkuṇḍi: 11th-century Kāśīviśveśvara temple has a panel showing Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa. [1087 A.D. inscr. of Vikramāditya VI on beam in temple]  
Foekema 2003: 496 – “On both sides of the large central niches narrative panels are found. . . . . . . The six narrative panels show battle scenes and Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa (west) and Śiva having flayed Gajāsura (north).”

Mārkaṇḍī/Mārkaṇḍa Deva: the group of temples here was probably constructed under the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur, feudatories successively of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and then the later Cāḷukyas, late in 11th century (an alternative dating is 10th century).

Deo 1973: 16 – “Besides the temples, there are deposited within the precincts of the temple-complex and outside it, numerous sculptures, fragments of decorative elements, parts of doorframes, panels depicting the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* and scenes associated with the life and deeds of Śiva.” He dates main Mārkaṇḍa Ṛṣi temple to late C11 (p.21); pp.48-49 listing panels from ch. XII Miscellaneous Sculptures **photocopied**.

Nīlaguṇḍa: Bhīmeśvara temple, end of 3rd quarter/beginning of 4th quarter of 11th century, close to Hoysaḷa in style; schist. Rāmāyaṇa panel(s) showing Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā and Hanumān. [source: Patil 1992: 172 + 219]

Palasdev: *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes sculpted on the *jaṅgha* portion of a 12th-century Śilāhāra Vaiṣṇava temple (locally known as Sūrya temple), usually submerged by water held behind Ujani Dam (built 1975). [sources: *IAR 1972-73*: 67; Dandwate and others 2004-5: 153].

Palya: Janārdana temple (c. C14) has to the right of the east door of its *mukhamaṇḍapa* a panel showing Rāma killing the golden deer with Mārīca emerging from the deer’s body and a bearded ascetic to left of deer (presumably Rāvaṇa, but no Sītā). [source: Mysore 1943 [*AR for 1942*]: 20]

Pattancheru: Nigam 1987: 271 [+ pl. 3] –

“The two magnificently carved columns from Pattancheru with the famous back lustrous polish, are presently kept in the sculpture galleries of the State Museum, Hyderabad. The carving in low relief on the two aforesaid pillars exhibits the narrative scenes from the Ramayana, Mahabharat, Bhagawat and Puranas. The episodes from the Ramayana carved there are the abduction of Sita by Ravana, the fight between Ravana and Jatāyū and so also the meeting of Hanuman with Sita, who was living under the Asoka tree. The famous scene of bridging up of the ocean is also found carved there.”

Prātakoṭa: 10th-11th century Nandanagollu group of 3 Śaiva temples, c. 1 km SW of village: A (open to W) and B (open to E) linked by a covered passage with 4 pillars; C slightly smaller, open to E, immediately N of B; these have various *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs, including on one pillar of covered passage linking A and B a relief identified as Vālin seizing Rāvaṇa (cf. *Uttara* 34; Dagens 1984: I, 228 – **see** typed notes).

**object (and medium)** Noḷamba temples

**location (original/present)** Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu

**date**  9th-10th centuries

**studies** Cohen, Andrew L. 1992: “The King and the Goddess: the Noḷamba period Lakṣmaṇēśvara temple at Avani”, *AA* 52.1-2: 7-24. **download**[despite name temple dedicated to goddess, so no relevance]

Cohen, Andrew L. 1998: *Temple Architecture and Sculpture of the Noḷambas (Ninth-Tenth Centuries)* (New Delhi: Manohar). **(IND) 20 E 381; pp. 38-39, 76 and 86-91 scanned**

Sivaramamurty, C. 1964: “Noḷamba sculptures in the Madras Government Museum”*,* *Bulletin, Madras Government Museum* n.s. 9.1 (30 pp). **download [2000 reprint]**

**notes** sites: Avani, Dharmapuri, Hemāvatī

**Avani (Avantikakṣetra):** traditional associations with *Rāmāyaṇa* as supposed site of Vālmīki’s *āśrama* where Sītā gave birth to the twins, Lava and Kuśa; the Noḷamba-period Rāmaliṅgeśvara group of temples (Lakṣmaṇeśvara, Rāmeśvara, Bharateśvara, Śatrughneśvara and Añjaneśvara) are in fact all Śaiva.

**Dharmapuri:** the Kāmākṣamma temple (C9) is built on an *upapīṭha* which has *Rāmāyaṇa* panels in a set of continuous friezes carved all round it; it is noteworthy that the narration actually starts on the rear wall to the west and proceeds in a counter-clockwise (*apradakṣiṇa*) order from the *Bālakāṇḍa* through to the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*; a brief listing of the scenes is provided by Cohen (1998: 88-89), including successive scenes of Rāma shooting Mārīca in the form of the golden deer and in his *rākṣasa* form (panel 13b and 13c). [Kāmākṣamma temple is part of the Mallikārjuna group along with the smaller Mallikārjuna temple]

**Hemāvatī (former Heñjeru, the Noḷamba capital):** the Śaiva Doḍḍēśvara temple, a granite temple datable to the early part of the 10th century (Cohen 1998: 42), includes scenes from both epicson the *caturasra* section of the pillars in its *maṇḍapas*; those from the *Rāmāyaṇa* include a *ṛṣi* teaching 4 seated figures on (implausibly identified at Cohen 1998: 38 as “Possibly the ṛṣi is Valmiki expounding the *Rāmāyaṇa.*”), the mutilation of Śūrpaṇakhā [“Left, Śūrpaṇakhā, rendered in an attractively young and sweet manner, sits beside Rāma as they converse. Right, with his face in a repugnant grimace, Lakṣmaṇa stands over **|** Śūrpaṇakhā and with his sword maims Śūrpaṇakhā’s face.” (Cohen 1998: 38-39)], the shooting of the golden deer and Jaṭāyus attacking a 3-headed Rāvaṇa, Sītā in the *aśokavana,* R. + L. greeted by Hanumān, *vānaras* and *rākṣasas* fighting, and 10-headed Rāvaṇa attacking R. (Cohen 1998: 38-41).

The dilapidated Virūpākṣa temple, belonging probably to the middle of the 10th century, similarly has epic scenes on the *caturasra* sections of its *maṇḍapa* pillars, including Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā in his chariot and the battle between Arjuna and Karṇa (Cohen 1998: 46-47).

seated R. + S. (?), 9th century from Hemāvatī Government Museum, Madras   
(see Sivaramamurti 1964: 16 and pl. IV)

**object (and medium)** Cōḻa temples (including bronzes)

**location (original/present)** Tamilnad

**date** 10th-12th centuries

**studies** Hariharan, S. 1973: “Some Sculptured Epic Panels in Gopurappatti”, *Damilica* 2.3: 77-81. **scan**

Harle, James C. 1958: *The Brahmapurisvara Temple at Pullamangai* (Bombay: Bhulabhai Memorial Institute). 11 pp + 24 plates. **Ind. Inst./Sackler; download; notes**

Sanford, David Theron 1974: *Early temples bearing Ramayana relief cycles in the Chola area: a comparative study* [Ph.D. thesis] (Los Angeles: University of California).

Sanford, David Theron 1987: “Miniature Relief Sculptures at the Pullamangai Siva Temple, with Special Reference to the Ramayana Sequence”, in Nagaraja Rao 1987: 277-87. **scan**

Sanford, David Theron 1994: “Ramayana Portraits: the Nageshvara Temple at Kumbakonam”, in Dehejia 1994b: 43-60. **own copy**

Sarkar, H. 1974: *The Kampaharesvara temple at Tribhuvanam*, (Madras: Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu). **Sackler 3rd IW Sark; download**

Schmid, Charlotte 2005: “Au seuil du monde divin: reflets et passages du dieu d'Ālantuṟai à Puḷḷamaṅkai”, *BEFEO* 92: 39-157. **download**

Schmid, Charlotte 2009: “Archéologie religieuse de l’Inde: monuments, textes, images”, *Annuaire de l’EPHE, section des sciences religieuses* 116: 61-66. [Tirumaṅgalam] **download**

Seshadri, G. 2012: “Narrative Ramayana Panels at Tirumangalam Samavediswara Temple:   
A Study”, in *Multifaceted Studies in South Asian Archaeology: Arpitam: Festschrift for Professor Vidula Jayaswal,* ed. by S. Rama Krishana Pisipaty (Oxford: Archaeopress): 85-91. **photocopy**

Srinivasan, Sharada 2021: “Ramayana bronzes and sculptures from the Chola to Vijayanagara times”, in Dhar 2021a: 103-22. **own copy (vol.)**

**notes** sites: Dārāsuram, Gopurapaṭṭi, Kaṇṭiyūr, Kumbakōṇam, Lālguḍi, Nārāyaṇapuram, Olagapuram (Viṣṇu temple), Pāccil (Tirumeṟṟatīśvara), Puḷḷamaṅgai (Brahmapurīśvara), Puñjai (Naḷtunai Īśvara), Tiruccennampūṇḍi (Caṭaiyar/Śaḍaiyar kōyil), Tirumaṅgalam, Tirupati, Tiruppūnturutti, Tribhuvanam (Kampahareśvara; **see** Sarkar 1974: 36-39), Uraiyur (Alagiyamanavalam). [Reliefs of Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa are found on eastern wall of *mukhamaṇdapa* of Bṛhadīśvara temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacōḻapuram and on wall panel of Airāvaṭeśvara temple at Dārāsuram.]

**Dārāsuram**: Airāvaṭeśvara temple (mid C12) has reliefs, including Rāma shooting Vālin (Desai 1984: 84).

Avanīśvara Udaiyar (Amalīsvara) temple, **Gopurapaṭṭi**, has frieze showing: Śūrpaṇakhā wooing R. + L., Sītā enamoured of golden deer, R. shooting golden deer, Hanumān talking with Sītā in *aśokavana,* Hanumān presenting S.’s *cūḍāmaṇi* to R., Hanumān narrating his exploits, building of causeway, fire ordeal, etc. (**see** Hariharan 1973 and images in “Avanīśvara reliefs” folder).

**Kaṇṭiyūr/Tirukkaṇṭiyūr:** bas-reliefs in 10” × 6” panels, dating from about 900 A.D. and representing scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa, Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Devīmāhātmya,* in temples at Kandiyur and Tiruppunturutti. [source: *IAR 1955-56*: 78]

Nāgeśvara temple, **Kumbakōṇam** (C10): this temple contains a series of figures in its secondary niches, which David Sanford (1974 and 1994) with some cogency identifies as *Rāmāyaṇa* characters – and with less cogency assigns to the Pāṇḍya Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha (815-62 A.D.) or his successor Varaguṇa II – thus supplementing the miniature relief panels (c. 10 × 15 cm) of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on its sub-basement, starting on south with Daśaratha’s sacrifice and ending on north with Yuddhakāṇḍa battles, the true beginning and end having disappeared with the construction of a *maṇḍapa* on the eastern façade (Loizeau 2017: 197); one of the most unusual is a representation of the pillaging of the Madhuvana but there is also a depiction of the Ahalyā episode.

relief of encounter with Tāṭakā at Krishnan 2010: 82; other panels show (acc. to Banerjee 1986: 217): Daśaratha’s sacrifice, distribution of *pāyasa,* birth of sons, R. + L. with Viśvāmitra, killing of Tāṭakā, redemption of Ahalyā, breaking the bow, marriage of R. and brothers, R. + L. + S., crossing the Gaṅgā in Guha’s boat, Śūrpaṇakhā episode, golden deer, Jaṭāyus fights Rāvāṇa as he abducts S., S. in *aśokavana,* Hanumān meeting Rāvaṇa, Hanumān reporting to R., construction of *setu,* wakening of Kumbhakarṇa.

Lefèvre 2006: 270[on Sanford 1994 about Nāgeśvara temple, Kumbakōṇam]  
. . . Cette théorie est intéressante sans être entièrement convaincante; en effet, les temples cōḻa présentent souvent de petits reliefs narratifs illustrant notamment le *Rāmāyaṇa,* mais on ne voit aucune œuvre de ce type occupant les niches, hors d’un contexte narratif. . . .  
[Lefèvre also objects to the complicated explanations needed and that Rāma is shown moustached and bare-headed, not “glabre et coiffé d’un couvre-chignon” as usually.]

**Lālguḍi** (aka Tiruttavattuṟai): the Śaiva Saptarṣīśvara temple of early Cōḻa period has miniature panels on its *adhiṣṭhāna* with *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes (source: Nagaswamy 1980: 416; on dating cf. *South Indian Inscriptions* 17.v).

**Olagapuram:** Viṣṇu temple (originally Arinjihai Vinnagar, now called Devarava Perumal; 1st half of 11th century) – reliefs on sub-basement of partly ruined temple include killing of Virādha, mutilation of Śūrpaṇakhā, killing of Tāṭakā, defeat of Mārīca and Subāhu, and death of Vālin (photos from Anna Ślączka).

Brahmapurīśvara temple, **Puḷḷamaṅgai** (c. 910 A.D.): reliefs at base of pilasters round niches of the *maṇḍapa* and *prāsāda* and frieze of 42 panels on west face of sub-basement, starting with Viṣṇu reclining on Ananta and ending with the death of Kabandha (Loizeau 2017: 197). The depiction of the first meeting between Rāma and Sugrīva seems closer to Vālmīki than to Kampaṉ, since Hanumān carries Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa on his shoulders to Sugrīva (Nagaswamy 1980: 416-7). *Uttarakāṇḍa* scenes are shown at Puḷḷamaṅgai, according to David Sanford (1987).

Harle 1958: 5 – The Brahmapurisvara temple is situated in the tiny hamlet of Pullamangai, on the outskirts of Pasupatikoyil, Tanjore District, State of Madras. The latter is nine miles from Tanjore, on the excellent metalled road to Kumbakonam. The temple lies a mile or so to the north, ...

Harle 1958: 9 – The small panels at the bases of the pilasters, some sixty-five in all, depict a great variety of scenes and figures. ... ... God Visnu, as the Boar, is seen carrying Bhu Devi, Goddess of the Earth (Plate 19). One attractive scene, presumably from the Ramayana, shows monkey-headed figures, with several women among them, surrounding the couch on which reclines a crowned monkey-headed figure (Plate 20).  
[all reliefs rather weathered; ? = death of Vālin, but if so woman at his feet (? Tārā) seems relatively unmoved and sits with legs down; figures at top and bottom are definitely upset and simian]

relief of Lakṣmaṇa mutilating Śūrpaṇakhā at Krishnan 2010: 84; relief of redemption of Ahalyā at Brockington and Loizeau 2016: 74, fig. 5.1.

**Pāccil:** Tirumeṟṟatīśvara temple (Cōḻa) has Rāmāyaṇa reliefs.

Naḷtuñai Īśvara, **Puñjai** (c. 940): reliefs on south face of sub-basement, although they are not continuous but interspersed with others and on occasion in reverse order; they include Jaṭāyus fighting Rāvaṇa, fight between Vālin and Sugrīva, Hanumān (?) sitting on coiled tail, awakening of Kumbhakarṇa.

Śaḍaiyār/Caṭaiyār koyil, **Tiruccennampūṇḍi**: originally Pallava temple reconstructed in reign of Cōḻa Parāntaka I (907-55) from which time come the relief panels; they start on west with one of Brahmā seated on lotus.  
Nagaswamy 1980: 416-7 – “series of *Rāmāyaṇa* relief panels are found on the Brahmapurīśvara temple at Puḷḷamaṅgai (c. 910 A.D.), . . . on the Caṭaiyarkōyil at Tiruccennampuṇḍi (c. 915-20 A.D.) and on the Naḷtunai Īśvara temple at Puñjai (c. 940 A.D.), . . . Their depiction of the first meeting between Rāma and Sugrīva seems closer to Vālmīki than to Kampaṉ, since Hanumān carries Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa on his shoulders to Sugrīva”).

**Tirumaṅgalam:**  Sāmavedīśvara temple (10th-century) has incomplete series of Rāmāyaṇa narrative reliefs on its basement laid out *apradakṣiṇa* (Schmid 2007-08; Seshadri 2012; Loizeau 2017: 197‑98); relief of death of Kabandha (Krishnan 2010: 86) has next to it relief of standing R. + L. + S.; others of fight between Vālin and Sugrīva, among over ten relating to Kiṣkindhākāṇḍā (cf. non-archive folder “Tirumaṅgalam, Sāmavedīśvara t.”).

**Tirupati:** 10th-century Kōḍaṇḍarāma temple, dedicated to Rāma, has *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes;   
**see** Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 108-9 (1.3), 109-10 (1.5,9,10), 115 (3.7) 119-23 (4.3, 5.1,5,9, 6.1-2).

**Tiruppūnturutti:** bas-reliefs in 10” × 6” panels, dating from about 900 A.D. and representing scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa, Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Devīmāhātmya,* in temples at Kandiyur [above] and Tiruppunturutti [*IAR 1955-56*: 78].

**Tribhuvanam**: Sarkar 1974: 48 – The Kampahareśvara or Tribhuvanavīrēśvara temple was built towards the end of the long reign of Kulōttuṅga III (1178-1218), inasmuch as his inscriptions, including the two from the Pudukkōṭṭai region, mention its construction at the end of the long list of building operations. ... ... [i.e. c. 1212 or a year or two earlier]

(from Banerjee 1986: 218) reliefs show R. + L. in Pañcavatī, Śūrpaṇakhā enticing R., her disfigurement, Sītā asking R. to catch golden deer, R shooting Mārīca, Rāvaṇa as ascetic, Rāvaṇa’s chariot passing wounded Jaṭāyus, S. in *aśokavana* with Trijaṭā, R. vows friendship with Sugrīva in Tārā’s presence, Hanumān meets S. in *aśokavana* and gives R.’s ring, R. fights Rāvaṇa, wailing Mandodarī beside falling Rāvaṇa, R. with Vibhīṣaṇa, R. + S. + L. offer *pūjā* to Śiva, R.’s return to Ayodhyā, scene of merriment, births of Lava and Kuśa, L. + K. reciting Rāmāyaṇa (cf. Sarkar 1974: 36-39 + listing in Loizeau 2017: 203).

It has been claimed that the *Rāmāyaṇa* panels on the Kampahareśvara temple follow a version closer to Vālmīki than to Kampaṉ, with some local variants (Nagaswamy 1980: 418-9; Sivaramamurti 1980: 642).

**Uraiyur:** late C8 Cōḻa Alagiyamanavalam temple, added to up to Nāyak period.

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Cōḻa bronzes of this period attest to an incipient Rāma cult, with several groups of images of Rāma with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa (and occasionally Hanumān) now in museums, coming for example from Vaḍakkuppaṉaiyūr (Tanjavur dist.; ill. at Ahuja 2013 (= *Body*): 230, fig. 268), Tirucherai (Tanjavur dist.), Tiruvalangadu (Tanjavur dist.), Paruttiyūr (Tiruvarur dist.; Kalyāṇavaradarāja/Kodaṇḍarāma temple; stolen in the 1930s but later recovered), Kappalūr (Madurai dist.), Tiruppattūr (Vellore dist.), while an eleventh-century inscription from the Sundararāja Perumāḷ temple at Anbil (Tiruchirappalli dist.) records the installation of bronze images of Rāma, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān (Nagaswamy 1980: 417-18). Still in the temple for which they were made are images of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa in Adambar or Hathambar (Tanjavur dist.) and of Rāma and Sītā in the Sāranātha temple at Tiruccerai (Kumbakonam dist.).   
**See** further in Le Sauce-Carnis 2016: 114-16.

Cōḻa bronze of Rāma, end of 10th century Philadelphia W1982-106-1

Cōḻa bronze of Hanumān, c. 1000 A.D., height 58.4 cm. Cleveland 1980.26

Cōḻa bronze of Rāma, 1000-1100, 95.9 × 44.5 × 24.1 cm. Asia Society, 1979.23   
(also ill. at McGill 2016: 38, no. 6)

Cōḻa bronze of Hanumān, c. C11, 39.8 cm. (ex private NY coll.) Sotheby’s 24.03.11: 43

[Cōḻa] bronze of Rāma or Lakṣmaṇa, 11th century, 77.7 × 40.6 × 26.7 cm.  
(ill. at Dehejia 1988: 45, fig. 14; Pal 2003-4: II, 252, no 179) Norton Simon F.1975.17.04.S

[Cōḻa] bronze of Sītā, c. 1100-50, 180.3 cm.  
(ill. at Pal 2003-4: II, 255, no 181) Norton Simon F.1975.17.05.S

Cōḻa bronze of Sītā, 1000-1100, 66 × 20 cm. Linden-Museum, Stuttgart, SA 33610L   
(ill. at McGill 2016: 128, no. 54)

Cōḻa bronze of Sītā, C10, 42.8 cm. Alexis Renard cat. 2016, no. 2  
(ex Galerie Marco Polo, ex Pierre Jourdan-Barry coll.)

Cōḻa bronze of Hanumān conversing, 1000-1100, 64.5 × 18.4 cm. Met. Mus. 1982.220.9

Cōḻa bronze of Hanumān from Coimbatore, late C11–C12 V&A IM.135-1927  
(assigned by Srinivasan (2014: 352-3) to the early Cāḷukya- Cōḻa period,   
c. 1070-1125 A.D., and Kongunadu)

Cōḻa bronze of Hanumān, c. C12, 44.1 cm. high Christie’s 19.09.01: 41

Cōḻa bronzes of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, C12 (?)  
 Government Museum, Chennai, 315, 316 and 318/55

Cōḻa bronze of Rāma and Sītā (early C10) in worship at temple in Tirucherai

bronze of Hanumān, 13th century, 48.9 cm. Norton Simon F.1972.45.5.S   
(ill. at Pal 2003-4: II, 273, no. 197)

late Cōḻa bronze of Hanumān, C13-14, 38 cm. high Olympia 23.11.16: 114

**also** [? to make separate entry]  
Kaviyoor, Kerala: wood carving of Rāmāyaṇa scene and jalis on E wall of Śrīkovil, C11 [? = Mahādeva temple]

**object (and medium)** Telugu Cōḻa temple friezes (stone)

**location (original/present)** Andhra Pradesh

**date** 12th to 13th centuries

**studies** Mohan, V.K. 1996: *Art and architecture of the Telugu Cōl*̤*a temples* (New Delhi: Kaveri Books). **Ind. Inst. 20 E 341; notes below; pp. 174-77 scanned**

**notes** sites: Ātmakūr, Gūḍūr, Kṛṣṇapaṭanam, Mācherla

Mohan 1996: 174 —

Scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa are carved on the *vājana* moulding of the *prastara* of the Vēṇugōpāla temple at Krishnapatnam, Aḷaharanātha temple at Gūḍūr and on the walls of the Aḷaharanātha temple at Ātmakūr. These include the Rāma shooting through the seven trees with a single arrow (*saptatāla bhanjana*), the duel between Vāli and Sugrīva watched by Rāma, the theme of Dasaratha inadvertently killing the parents of the hermit boy Munikumāra and Gajendramokṣa.

Mohan 1996: 175-6 —*Munikumāra*

A rectangular panel in the Vēṇugōpāla temple, Krishnapatnam depicts Munikumāra carrying his parents in a *Kāvaḍi*, Yoke. The Youthful and strong physique of the Munikumāra is portrayed by strong masses of the limbs. In contrast the old and aged parents are shown seated in the sacks of the *Kāvaḍi*; their figures are modelled loosely. Next the tree is shown with the yoke hanging which Munikumāra tied to go in search of water. Munikumāra is next shown walking away with a jug. At the right end of the panel is shown Daśaratha, the young prince, in kneeling posture with a bow in his right hand and an arrow in the left hand behind the tree. The portrayal of this **|** poignant story ends there; the shooting of an arrow at the tree and the curse of the parents and the death of the Munikumāra comes to our mind at once.

Srāvanakumāra carrying his parents in a *kāvaḍi* Yoke is depicted in one of the pillars of the *dvāramaṇḍapa* of the Manumasiddhēśvara temple at Krishnapatnam. The youthful and strong physique of Srāvanakumāra is portrayed by strong massses of the limbs. In contrast the old and aged parents are shown seated in the sacks of the *Kāvaḍi*, their figures are modelled loosely (Pl.106).   
 [*parents are tiny compared to son; vertical figure on pillar, not historiated*]

...

The *Rāmāyaṇa* panels are carved in continuous narration while the other themes like the story of Munikumāra ... are interrupted by the *kolaṃṭa* dance scenes in the Vēṇugōpāla temple at Krishnapatnam ...

[elaboration of details (and mention of further temples) follows up to p.177]

**Ātmakūr:** 3 Telugu Cōla temples contain *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes carved on the *vājana* moulding of the *prastara* (Mohan 1996: 174-7); these are Aḷaharanātha temple at Gūḍūr (q.v.), Veṇugopāla temple at Kṛṣṇapatanam (probably early 13th century) and Aḷaharanātha temple at Ātmakūr (earliest inscription on site dated 1276 but referred to in an inscription of 1246 from elsewhere). All three show Rāma piercing the seven *sāl* trees mounted on the body of the snake and stamping on the snake’s tail (found also on the Śaiva temple at Nidikoṇḍa dated 1219 A.D.) Both the Veṇugopāla temple at Kṛṣṇapatnam and the Aḷaharanātha temple at Ātmakūr show the fight between Vālin and Sugrīva. [s**ee** also Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 119 (4.3), 121 (5.5)].

**Kṛṣṇapaṭanam:** the Veṇugopāla temple (probably early C13) contains *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes carved on the *vājana* moulding of the *prastara.* It also shows the episode of the ascetic youth accidentally killed by Daśaratha, popularly called Śravaṇakumāra, and the fight between Vālin and Sugrīva (Mohan 1996: 175-6). [**see** Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 111 (2.1), also 119 (4.3), 122 (5.6) for other panels].

**Gūḍūr:** the Aḷaharanātha temple at Gūḍūr (probably built 1160-95; the earliest inscription is dated 1195 A.D.) contains *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes carved on the *vājana* moulding of the *prastara* [Mohan 1996: 174-7].

**Mācherla:** Chennakeśava temple (c. C13; originally Śaiva, later Vaiṣṇava) has *Rāmāyaṇa* panels [source: Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 114-15 (3.4,7), 117 (4.1), 123-24 (6.1,3-4,6)].

**object (and medium)** Hoysaḷa sculptures

**location (original/present)** Karṇātaka

**date** 12th-13th centuries

**studies (+ listings)** Devaraj, D.V. 1994: *History of the Sōmanāthapura temple-complex* (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology & Museums). **(IND) Mysore D 11; pp.94-95 photocopied**

Dhar, Parul Pandya 2015: “Challenging cosmic order: Ravana’s encounters with Shiva at Belur and Halebidu, in *Art, Icon and Architecture in South Asia: essays in honour of Dr. Devangana Desai*, ed. by Anila Verghese and A.L. Dallapiccola, 2 vols (New Delhi: Aryan Books): I, 169-86. **download**

Evans, Kirsti 1997: *Epic Narrative in the Hoysaḷa Temple: The Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata Purāṇa in Haḷebīd, Belūr and Amṛtapura* (Leiden: E.J. Brill). **own copy**

Foekema, Gerard 1994: *Hoysaḷa Architecture: medieval temples of Southern Karṇātaka built during Hoysaḷa rule,* 2 vols (New Delhi: Books and Books). **Sackler 3rd IW Foe**

Foekema, Gerard 1996:  *A Complete Guide to Hoysaḷa Temples* (New Delhi: Abhinav). **own copy**

Keshava, T.M. and L.N. Swamy 1996: “The Rāmāyaṇa panels in Hoysaḷa temples at Halebiḍu”, in *Gauravaṁ: recent researches in Indology (Prof. B.K. Gururaja Rao felicitation volume)* ed. By K.V. Ramesh and others: 298-301 (New Delhi: Harnam Publishing House). **(IND) Ind gen e 333; scan**

Loizeau, Rachel 2006: *Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa et récits kṛṣṇaïtes: traditions narratives dans la sculpture Hoysaḷa*, *XIIème-XIIIème siècles,* Thèse à l’Université Paris IV - Sorbonne.

Loizeau, Rachel 2017: *Traditions narratives dans la sculpture du Karnataka: les représentations épiques, l’enfance de Kṛṣṇa et autres mythes puraniques dans les temples hoysaḷa, XIIe-XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Presses de l’université Paris-Sorbonne). **own copy**

Mysore Archaeological Department 1934: *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1930,* Pt II, Study of Monuments and Ancient Sites (Bangalore: Government Press): 3-67. **download**

—— 1935b: *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1932,* Pt II, Study of Ancient Monuments (Bangalore: Government Press): 3-67. **download**

—— 1936a: *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1933,* Pt II, Study of Ancient Monuments, (Bangalore: Government Press): 3-97. **download**

—— 1936b: *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1934,* Pt II, Study of Ancient Monuments, (Bangalore: Government Press): 3-57. **photocopy**, pp. 37-39

—— 1936c: *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1935,* Pt II, Study of Ancient Monuments (Bangalore: Government Press): 3-67. **download**

—— 1938: *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1936* (Bangalore: Government Press). **download**

—— 1941: *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1940,* Pt III, Study of Ancient Monuments and Sites (Bangalore: Government Press): 19-62. **download**

—— 1942: *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1941,* Pt III, Study of Ancient Monuments and Sites (Bangalore: Government Press): 30-107. **download**

—— 1943: *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1942,* Pt III, Study of Ancient Monuments and Sites(Bangalore: Government Press): 18-73. **download**

—— 1964: *Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the years 1948-1956,* Pt II, Study of Ancient Monuments and Sites (Bangalore: Government Press): 18-73.   
 **download**

Settar, S. 1992: *The Hoysaḷa Temples,* 2 vols (Bangalore: Kala Yatra Publications).   
 **Sackler IW Set / (IND) 20 F 255**

Settar, S. 2012: *Somanāthapura,* 2nd edn (Bangalore: Ruvari). **(IND)**

**notes** sites: Amṛtapura, Araḷaguppe, Basarāḷu, Bēlūr, Haḷebīḍ, Hosahoḷalu, Jāvagallu, Mallarājapatna, Malur, Somnāthpur; **see** photographs in “photographs (JLB)” within   
“D. Ancillary material”; cf. listing of episodes sculpted at Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 201-17.

In those Hoysaḷa temples which show Vibhīṣaṇa coming to join Rāma’s side the episode is placed after the construction of the causeway not before, as in the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa,* except at Amṛtapura where there are other irregularities of placing (Loizeau 2017: 218). Kumbhakarṇa becomes popular visually from the Hoysaḷa period onwards (Loizeau 2017: 220).

**Amṛtapura** — list of identifications of Rāmāyaṇa panels on Amṛteśvara temple with photos and also in “Further Notes (visual)”; relief of Daśaratha’s sacrifice on Amṛteśvara temple, Amṛtapura (12th century), at Krishnan 2010: 72; of Rāvaṇa carrying Sītā in hut at Krishnan 2010: 73; of mutilation of Śūrpaṇakhā at Krishnan 2010: 77  
 The temple, renovated by the Archaeological Survey of India in the 1980s, is a Śaiva temple dedicated in 1196 A.D. with extensive reliefs from both epics and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* on its large open *maṇḍapa*, added around 1200-06.The decoration of this open *maṇḍapa* is almost unique in Hoysaḷa architecture in showing these reliefs on its slanting seat-backs (*kakṣāsana*), with unusual stellate *śikharas* below. About 140 panels, separated by pairs of small round pilasters, are located in both the open *maṇḍapa* (*navaraṅga* or *raṅgamaṇḍapa*) and the *aṅkana* connecting the open and closed *maṇḍapas.* On the S side the *Rāmāyaṇa* narration is in 76 panels, running from left to right, against the natural sequence for *pradakṣiṇā,* and covers the *Bāla* to *Yuddha kāṇḍas*; neither here nor on any other of the Hoysaḷa temples for which we have information is any episode from the *Uttarakāṇḍa* represented. The *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs concentrate heavily on the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (46 panels) and the *Bālakāṇḍa* (11 panels). **see** Evans 1997; Foekema 1996: 37-38; Loizeau 2017: 85-92.

**Araḷaguppe**: the epic frieze on the Cennakeśava temple (mid 13th century, of the developed type), starting clockwise from the entrance, first shows on the S wall of the *navaraṅga* scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* – mainly from the *Bāla* to *Kiṣkindhā kāṇḍas* – and then, after the northern side of the *śukanāsī,* Kṛṣṇa stories from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, which are very similar in style to those on the Keśava temple at Somnāthpur (Mysore 1936c: 3-10 [= *AR for 1935*]; **photocopy** of listing of *Rāmāyaṇa* identifications; Foekema 1996: 39-40; Loizeau 2017: 131-35).

**Bandaḷike:** the Someśvara or Ānekal Sōmayya temple, built in 1274 A.D. (**see** *Epigraphia Carnatica* VII no. 236; built for Boppa Seṭṭi under Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa but in Hoysaḷa style), carries friezes of epic narratives in 7 registers on the sculptured screens of its porch, with *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes on the south (left side damaged) and *Mahābhārata* episodes on the north (Mysore Arch. Dept 1942: 86-94; *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes listed on p. 91; Loizeau 2017: 45-48).

**Basarāḷu**, Mallikārjuna temple (1234 A.D.): this has friezes showing both epics, as well as other mythological scenes; they start at the SE angle of the porch and continue along the whole of the S face and part of the W wall. The first section begins with the ascetic boy carrying his parents in a *baṅghi.* For identification of the 50+ *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes **see** Loizeau 2017: 95-102 [**see** also Mysore Arch. Dept 1936b: 36-47 (parts photocopied); Foekema 1996: 43-46; folder in JLB photos, plus 2 photos from Rachel Loizeau].

Rachel Loizeau (e-mail on 15.8.2010)

“The Ramayana cycle starts with the Sravanakumara story (<her> images 0443 and then 0444). Then you have a very striking representation of the Trimurti (linga flanked most probably by Brahma and Vishnu, the bas-reliefs are quite damaged) followed by Dasharatha’s sacrifice, the distribution of the payasa, the boys or the mothers carried in hammock, the babies with the queens, blank stone, a long hunting scene with the princes returning to the court, The story goes on with Vishvamitra’s arrival, the departure of Rama, Lakshmana and Vishvamitra to the forest, Tataka death, Vishvamitra’s sacrifice, the killing of two birds by Rama, Ahalya, Sita’s svayamvara, etc.

As 0444 is concerned I identified the scene as the cremation of the parents.”

**Beḷgāmi/Baḷḷigāṃve:** the Tripurāntakeśvara temple, probably built c. 1070 by Western Cāḷukyas, has basement friezes which include *Rāmāyaṇa* themes but many have been destroyed; among those remaining are Rāma piercing the seven *sāl* trees growing on snake and Rāma killing Vālin; cf. Mysore 1935a: 58-60 (= *AR for 1931*). Cf. Settar 1992: I, 340-41 – “in the Tripurāntakeśvara at Baḷḷigāmve, only select episodes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are depicted on one of the cornices of the basement and on the railings.”

**Bēlūr:** on the Cennakeśava temple (originally named Vijayanārāyaṇa; 1117 A.D., with additions c. 1133-42 A.D.) *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes are carved on one layer of the basement friezes, while a later C17 open *maṇḍapa* contains *Rāmāyaṇa* relief panels, including Rāma placing foot on tail of 5-headed cobra to shoot through 7 trees growing on its back (Kam 2000: 125), Rāma killing golden deer, Jaṭāyus attacking Rāvaṇa as he abducts Sītā, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa searching, and Rāma killing Vālin; **see** Mysore 1935a: 26-30 (= *AR for 1931*) for history; Foekema 1996: 47-52; Loizeau 2017: 51-52. Bas reliefs of *MBh* and *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes from elsewhere have been used in the restoration of the temple to Āṇṭāḷ (Loizeau 2017: 44).

**Haḷebīḍ** (ancient Dvārasamudra/Dorasamudra) — The Hoysaḷēśvara temple (c. 1125 A.D.) contains an epic frieze and all the scenes are individually identified (Mysore Arch. Dept 1934: 34-49 (= *AR for 1930*) [pp. 34-46 photocopied] **see** also Foekema 1996: 59-65; Evans 1997: 205-6; Loizeau 2017: 60-66; Dhar 2021b: 35-38). The *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes are drawn mainly from the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* (with a repeat of the *saptatālabhañjana* episode of Rāma piercing the seven *sāl* trees, shown as elsewhere on the back of the king of snakes); the disruptions in the sequence for both epics are problematic and may suggest that the large external niches (which are held to be later) conceal some episodes, rendering it unwise to draw inferences from what is or is not shown. Also some loose pieces from various sites in its compound are listed at Mysore 1964 (= *AR for 1947-56*): 47-48 (cf. Loizeau 2017: 66) .  
 The Kedāreśvara temple (1219 A.D.), also a Śaiva temple, has significant epic friezes, the *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes covering basically the *Sundara* and *Yuddha kāṇḍas*. However, restoration work on the temple early in C20 incorporated fragments from other ruined temples around Haḷebīḍ, making conjectures about the scheme as a whole more difficult (cf. Loizeau 2017: 68-73; Dhar 2021b: 38-39); some sculptures from this temple are now in the National Museum, Copenhagen.   
 Excavations in the 1980s revealed the lower levels of several structures near the palace area at Haḷebīd. Only the platforms of three Śaiva temples in the Nāgareśvara complex remain but the narrative layers with episodes from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* are well preserved on the southern temple, with only individual episodes surviving on the middle and northern temples (Evans 1997: 221-231; Loizeau 2017: 79-84); on the southern temple, after a lost first section, the *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes are drawn from the *Kiṣkindhā, Sundara* and *Yuddha kāṇḍas.*   
 The ruined Hūceśvara temple (NE of Jain bastis, towards lake; earlier known as the Viraktamaṭha; Mysore Arch. Dept 1934: 59 [= *AR for 1930*]), probably belonging to the reign of Vīra Ballāḷa II (1173-1220), still shows extensive episodes from both epics on its basement (Evans 1997: 213-220; Loizeau 2017: 76-79), with the *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes drawn mainly from the *Kiṣkindhā* and *Yuddha kāṇḍas*. It is an ornate Śaiva temple of which just the open *sukhanāsi* and *garbhagṛha* are still standing: “Behind the temple can be seen the remains of an outer niche with its Râmâyaṇa frieze, a row of large images, etc., which show comparatively inferior workmanship.” (Mysore 1934: 59)  
 The Hoysaḷēśvara, Kedāreśvara and Hūceśvara temples here are the only ones with 8 bands of frieze (Loizeau 2017: 34).

**Hosahoḷalu** — for description of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa temple (mid 13th century) and listing of its friezes, incl. Rāmāyaṇa panels, see *Mysore Arch. Dept. Annual Report for 1933*: 3-6 (**photocopied**); relief of death of Śambūka on Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa temple, Hosahoḷalu, at Krishnan 2010: 84; **see** Foekema 1996: 71-72; Loizeau 2017: 103-11.

**Jāvagallu:** on the Lakṣmīnarasiṃha temple (mid 13th century) the epic frieze – much worn and obscured by lime plaster – shows episodes from both epics, including the Indrakīla episode (**see** Mysore 1936a: 71-74 [= *AR* for 1933] with list on pp. 73-74; Foekema 1996: 73-75; Loizeau 2017: 113-18). Relief of Rāma shooting through 7 *sāls* on splendid 7-headed *nāga –* photo in ACM “Rāmāyaṇa Documentation in South India project” (also Kumbakonam)

**Mallarājapatna**: Lakṣmaṇeśvara temple (mid 13th century or ? earlier) has low-relief panels below arches adorning the eaves including Hanumān presenting a bunch of plantains to Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā sending Lakṣmaṇa to rescue Rāma in golden deer episode, and Hanumān meeting Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa for the first time. [source: Mysore Arch. Dept (for 1936) 1938: 11-12 — “a granite version of the Hoysala style of Sōmēsvara's time. But in some respects it appears to be even earlier” (p.11)]

**Malur** (earlier Malligepura): location of Hoysaḷa-period Kodaṇḍarāma temple.

**Śivagaṅga hill:**the W face of the Kalyāṇī tīrtha (date uncertain) has several Rāmāyaṇa panels [Mysore Arch. Dept for 1934: 13-14].

**Somnāthpur**: on the Keśava temple (dated 1268 A.D.), a complete developed *trikūṭa* on a platform, the epic frieze shows first *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes (*Bāla* to *Kiṣkindhā kāṇḍas*) on the southern shrine, then Kṛṣṇa scenes from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* on the western shrine and finally *Mahābhārata* scenes on the northern shrine and *navaraṅga* (Mysore Arch. Dept 1935b: 16-39 [=*AR for 1932*]).   
 For description of temple and listing of its friezes, incl. Rāmāyaṇa panels, see Mysore 1935b: 16-39(and **photocopy** of pp. 117-23); Foekema 1996: 87-90; Devaraj 1994: 94-95 (**photocopied**); Loizeau 2017: 123-25. Unusual episodes shown are Daśaratha fighting Indra’s enemies (1b), a series on the childhood of Rāma and his brothers (3abc, 4a) and the display of Sītā’s ornaments (6e); other episodes include Paraśurāma confronting Rāma (Kam 2000: 83), Śūrpaṇakhā being mutilated (Kam 2000: 106-7) and Sugrīva showing Sītā’s necklace to Rāma (Kam 2000: 126). In the *svayaṃvara* relief Rāvaṇa is present and Sītā garlands Rāma; in the abduction relief Rāvaṇa picks up the entire hut.

Settar 2012: 108 – “The *Rāmāyaṇa* narrative is begun on the right wall of the main doorway. The emphasis is laid here on the first half of this epic – it begins with the presentation of an encounter between Daśaratha and Indra’s enemies, proceeds to show the birth of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, Sītā’s selection of her life-partner, slaying of Virādha, humiliation of Śūrpaṇakhā, abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa, and, ends with the meeting of Sugrīva and Hanumān at Kishkinda by Rāma. The encounter between Rāma and Rāvaṇa is missing here.”

**object (and medium)** Kākatīya sculptures

**location (original/present)** Andhra Pradesh

**date** 12th-14th centuries

**studies** Gopala Reddy, Y. 1981: “A very interesting Rāmāyaṇa panel from Nidikoṇḍa”, *Bhāratīya Vidyā* 41.1-2: **?? pp. [not in Ind. Inst.]**

Sarma, Mukkamala Radhakrishna 1972: *Temples of Telingāṇa: the architecture, iconography, and sculpture of the Cāḷukya and Kakatīya temples* (Hyderabad: Booklinks Corp.).  
 **(IND) 20 E 111 /Sackler IW Sar**

**notes** sites: Hanamkoṇḍa / Hanumakoṇḍa, Kaṭṭāṅgūr, Nāgulāpaḍu, Nidikoṇḍa, Pālampēṭ, Pānagal, and Pillalamaṛṛi all contain Rāmāyaṇa scenes (Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 13). The preface to Nagar’s *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇa* translation at p. xii lists examples of Andhra temple art depicting Rāma story.

**Hanamkoṇḍa / Hanumakoṇḍa:** Kākatīya-period temples, of which the main one is the Trikūṭa or Rudreśvarasvāmī t. (popularly the thousand-pillared t.) built by king Rudradeva in 1163 A.D. as the original royal temple of the Kākatīyas.

**Kaṭṭāṅgūr:** Kākatīya period temple has *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs [source: Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 13 + 117 (4.1), 122 (5.9), 124-25 (6.6)].

**Nāgulāpaḍu:** Trikūṭa temple (mid 13th century) with *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes carved on beams between columns [source: Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 13 + 112 (2.2), 117-18 (4.1-2), 121-24 (5.4,7, 6.1,3)].

**Nidikoṇḍa:** Rāma piercing the 7 *tāla* trees mounted on the body of the snake and stamping on the snake’s tail found on one of the *chajjā* slabs on the Śiva temple at Nidikoṇḍa dated 1219 A.D. (**see** Banerjee 1986: 27 – **photocopy**).

**Pālampēṭ:** Rāmappa (Rāmaliṅgeśvara, originally Rudreśvara) temple, built partly of granite (construction begun in *śaka* 1135 = 1213 AD and lasting c. 40 years), has ornate carvings depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* on its ceiling, pillars and walls. It has a relief of Hanumān standing before Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa [source: Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 123 (5.9)], also Sītā in *aśokavana,* L. going to rebuke Sugrīva, ocean submitting to Rāma [source: Nagar, *Raṅganātha* preface p. xii].

**Pānagal:** Paccalasomeśvara temple (12th century) has *Rāmāyaṇa* themes on its *maṇḍapa* pillars [source: Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 13 + 113-17 (3.2,5-9, 4.1), 122-25 (5.9, 6.1,4,6)], which include Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa and battle scenes from MBh. and Rām. (Sarma 1972: 87), also abduction of Sītā.

**Pillalamaṛṛi:** Kākatīya-period temple (late 12th to early 13th century) with *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs on beams of *raṅgamaṇḍapa* [source: Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 13].

bronze statue of Rāma, eastern Deccan, C14, 22.3 × 10 × 9 cm. Ash.Mus. EA 2013.98.a

**object (and medium)** Yādava temple reliefs

**location (original/present)** Maharashtra

**date** 11th-14th centuries

**studies** Apte, Rhutvij R., and P.P. Joglekar 2015: “Sacred geography of Kṣetra Viraja (Lonar), district Buldhana, Maharashtra”, *ABORI* 96: 8-12. **download**

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 **(IND) 20 D 204 / Sackler 3rd IWd Desh; p. 70 photocopied**

Kanitkar, Kumud 2020: *Bhuleshvara Shivalaya* (Pune: Aprant Prakashan).  
 **download of pp. 53-68 from author**

Naik, A.V. 1942: “The Bhuleshvar temple near Yavat (Poona district)”, BDCRI 4: 95-123. **download**

**notes** sites: Kikli, Lonar, Loni-Bhapkar, Nagpur, Panhāle-Kājī, Sinnar, Yavat; **see** entries in “visual locations” document and/or notes below

several Yādava temples in Maharashtra from the 11th century onwards show episodes from both epics; examples are carved on the Vārāha temple at Loni-Bhapkar, the Bhairavanātha at Kikli, the Goṇḍeśvara at Sinnar and the Bhuleśvara at Yavat; frequently depicted scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are the Ahalyā episode, the meeting of Bharata and Rāma, and the fight between Vālin and Sugrīva (Deshpande 1985: 70).

**Kikli:** Rāmāyaṇa reliefs on Bhairavanātha temple include Rāma killing the golden deer, Rāma shooting Vālin as he fights with Sugrīva (who has a long looping garland), SItā in *aśokavana*.

**Lonar:** relief panels on Narasiṃha temple show Rāma narrative and include Rāma fighting Rāvaṇa (?) (Apte and Joglekar 2015: 33 and fig. 5).

**Loni-Bhapkar:** the present Mallikārjuna temple (C11, formerly Vaiṣṇava) has some narrative panels on the pillars of its *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* (killing of Mārīca and abduction of Sītā, *vānaras* before Rāma, fight between Vālin and Sugrīva) and a *puṣkariṇī* close to it has on the exterior of its *vedikā* scenes from *Rāmāyaṇa*: Rāma breaking the bow, Rāvaṇa disguised as mendicant, fight between Jaṭāyus and Rāvaṇa, killing of Mārīca, Hanumān bringing the mountain, battle scenes (Deshpande 1985: 70; Dandwate and others 2004-5: 150 and 151-2).

**Nagpur:** a C13th Yādava temple in Hemadpanti style has paintings of scenes from both epics on walls of *sabhā maṇḍapa* and antechamber [source: *IAR 1989-90*: 69-70].

**Panhāle-Kājī** (ancient Praṇālaka): cave 19 (dated to C12 at Deshpande 1986: 125) has relief carvings on the ceiling depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* (full listing of *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes at Deshpande 1986: 72-82). [sources: *IAR 1970-71:* 34 and 75; *IAR 1981-82*: 97; Deshpande 1986: 72-82 + 125]

**Rāmṭek** (Rāmagiri): the stone inscription of king Rāmacandra (A.D. 1271-1310) lists temples there linked with the Rāma story, including one to Śambūka, killed by the sword Candrahāsā wielded by Rāmacandra who became known as Dhūmrākṣa (verse 86), no doubt the present Dhūmreśvara temple or a precursor (Bakker 1989: 493, Bakker 2019: 337-40 and Sherraden 2019a: 211-15). [descr. of site in Michell 2013: 156-7 (**scan**)]

**Sinnar:** Goṇḍeśvara temple (12th century) has *Rāmāyaṇa* relief panels, among others, on outer walls of porches where they slope outwards as bench backrests (Naik 1947: 239).

Aiśvar/ Aiśvaryeśvara temple – Cousens 1931: 39 “The temple of Āeśvara, upon the north-west of the town, just above the rivulet, is in the Chālukyan style and, so, does not belong to the class of work usually found in the Dakhan. It is the most northerly Chālukyan structure that has been found. Nothing is known of its origin, and even tradition gives us no clue to the reason for it being found so far north of its natural habitat.” Cousens 1931: 40 “Around the lower part of the wing walls, a portion of which remains on the north side, there have been some very fine carved groups, some of which have been carried away and have been built into the wall of a little shrine on the bank of the stream nearby. A fragment of one of these groups still exists in the north wing wall, west face, with two on the north face representing incidents from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the other being a group of three standing figures in an attitude of adoration.”

**Yavat:** Bhuleśvara Śivālaya (built around 1230) – “Externally the dwarf-wall of the *maṇḍapa* differs from those of the temples described above. The series of pilasters and inset sculptures is absent here. Instead we find, that each section of dwarf-wall is further divided into two horizontal sections, the upper being devoted to scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata*  . . .” (Naik 1947: 268). They include the meeting of Rāma and Bharata in the forest, Sītā seeing the golden deer and Rāma shooting it (Deshpande 1985: 70-71) but Naik was more hesitant about identifications (Naik 1942-43: 102-3). Kanitkar identifies 11 episodes from *Bāla* to *Kiṣkindhā kāṇḍas* on the single remaining Rāmāyaṇa panel on the outside of the south dwarf-wall, including Kabandha pointing Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa towards Ṛṣyamūka, and 4 more on two displaced panels (Kanitkar 2020: 53-68).

**object (and medium)** North Indian reliefs and mural or ceiling painting

**location (original/present)** various, including Nepal

**date** 15th century onwards

**studies** Agarwala, Ramavatar 1977: “The Marwar Murals”, *AA* 39: 268-72. **download**

Aruna 2002: *Orchha paintings* (Delhi: Sharada Publishing House).  
 **Sackler IWg Aru; parts scanned**

Aryan, K.C. 1977: *Punjab murals* (New Delhi: Rekha Prakashan). **Sackler IWg Ary**

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Chakravarty, Kalyan Kumar 1984: *Art of India: Orchha* (New Delhi: Arnold-Heinemann). **Sackler IW Chak; pp. 93-95 photocopied**

Gail, Adalbert J. 1988: *Tempel in Nepal, Band 2: Ikonographische Untersuchungen zur späten Pagode und zum Śikhara-Tempel* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt) [pp. 31-39, on frieze on Kṛṣṇa temple, Pāṭan palace (Malla period), **photocopied**]   
 **Sackler IW Gai**

Goetz, Hermann 1955: *The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba,* Memoirs of the Kern Institute no. 1 (Leiden: Brill). **download; pp. 90-93 + 108-9 photocopied**

Pradhan, Sadasiba 2010: *Lesser known monuments of Puri* (Bhubaneswar: Lark Books).  
 **Sackler NA9355.P87 P73 PRA 2010**

Saxena, Madhu 2004: *Bundelkhand Paintings* (Delhi: Sharada). **Sackler IWg Sax**[ch. 2 (pp. 9-42) “Paintings of Orchha” lists frescoes on verandahs of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple, built by Bīr Singh, which include many Rāmāyaṇa scenes]

Shah, Ibrahim 2016: “Hindu iconography in the Gor Khatri temple (Peshawar): sacred imagery painted in the Śaiva shrine”, *South Asian Studies* 32.2: 185-98. **own copy**

Sinha, Amita, and Ana Valderrama 2014: The oracle landscape of Orchha, India: reclaiming the lost heritage”, *Journal of Cultural Geography* 31.3: 304-25. **download**

Tyagi, Satish Kumar 1988-89: “Wall paintings from a late eighteenth century temple at Deoband, District Saharanpur, Uttar Pradesh”, *BDCRI* 47-48: 325-30. **download**

Zaweed, Md. Salim 2008: “Wall paintings at Orchha”, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 69: 1076-82. **download**

Zaweed, Salim 2014: *Temples, palaces and other structures at Orchha* (Gurgaon: Shubhi Publications). [rev. M.Phil. thesis, Aligarh Muslim University] **not seen**

**notes** sites: Bharatpur, Buguda, Chitor, Damdamā, Dehradun, Deoband, Lalitpur, Markulā-Udaipur, Orchā, Peshawar, Puri.

**Bharatpur** (Rajasthan): paintings of scenes from both epics on the ceiling of the Jawahar Burj (1765) within Lohgarh fort. [source: *IAR 1979-80,* p. 158]

**Buguda** (Ganjam dist., Orissa): Biranchi-Narayana temple constructed in the 1820s by a distant relative of Upendra Bhanja, Srikara Bhanja (Srikara Bhanja ascended the throne of Ghumusar in 1790 A.D.). The temple is notable for its remarkable wood carvings and wall paintings, the latter devoted to Rāmāyaṇa scenes.

**Chamba** (Cambā; Chamba dist., Himachal Pradesh): one room of Rang Mahal has walls painted with murals of episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.*

**Chitor:** Vijayastambha of Rāṇā Kumbha, completed in 1460 (begun c. 1448). Its decorations include battle scenes from *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata.* An inscription on it declares that Kumbha is an incarnation of Rāma, likening him to *MBh* heroes. The Śiśodiyā claim to be a solar dynasty (*sūryavaṃśa*) links them with Rāma’s lineage; their seal/emblem of a sun with a face is seen on some folios of the Jagat Singh *Rāmāyaṇa* (centre top of page).

**n.b.** also Banerjee 1986: 253 —   
 “A stone panel of the Kumbhasvāmi temple also built by Rāṇā Kumbha (V.V. 1505 = 1488 A.D.) shows the churning of the ocean and fragmentary images of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa (B.M. Jawalia, *op. cit.*, p.7).

Mahārāṇā Rājasimha constructed the Rājasamudra lake between Samvat 1718-1732   
(= A.D. 1661-1675), which has a stone plaque containing the scene of Mārīchavadha, and the images of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa . . . .

Sharma 1965: 47 —  
20. Carved panels at Rājsamudra represent a dynamic impulse of art depicting the customs, beliefs and several aspects of social life in the 17th century A.D. . . . . . . In the panel of *Māricha-vadha,* Rāma and Lakshmaṇa have been attired just like Mughal warriors.

**Damdamā** or Talwandi Sābo (c. 1740):in the north of the present gurudvara here there is Bhai Dala's *samādhi* by the side of the tank. The building once had murals externally and internally but the outer walls have been completely whitewashed; the interior murals are in a poor state of preservation. They were executed c. 1740 A.D. and so are the earliest specimens of painting in the Panjab; the themes painted are mainly from Hindu mythology. There are several relating to the *Rāmāyaṇa*: a panel just above the entrance showing on the left a gigantic Rāvaṇa being attacked by monkeys and bears and on the right another huge figure of Sahasrabāhu, a panel of Śravaṇakumāra carrying his parents in a *vehangi* next to one with Gurū Nānak flanked by two attendants and surmounted by a panel with eight of the Sikh Gurūs, and Rāma's *aśvamedha* horse next to Kuśa, Lava and Vālmīki seated on low seats (with a highly stylised tree separating Vālmīki from the twins). [source: Aryan 1977: 42, 45 + 113-114]

**Dehradun**(Uttarakhand): Guru Ram Rais Gurdwara has mural panel with miscellaneuous scenes, including Bharata preparing to shoot Hanumān as he flies over, C17  
[ill. in Aitken 2022: 69]

**Deoband** (U.P.): Balaji Sundari Devi temple (probably 3rd quarter of C18) has contemporary Rāmāyaṇa murals on the interior of the *garbhagṛha* (Tyagi 1988-89).

**Lalitpur** (Nepal):The Krishna Mandir Temple was built in 1637 by Siddhinarasiṃha Malla, who is said to have dreamt that Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā appeared in front of his palace and so he erected a temple on that spot. The 3-storey temple is surrounded by arcades; a *Rāmāyaṇa* frieze with captions in Newari script decorates the façade of the ground-floor and a *Mahābhārata* frieze the first floor.

**Markulā-Udaipur** (Chambā):Markulādevī temple, wood carvings, 2nd half of 16th century – information in Goetz 1955 (some pages photocopied)

**Mathurapur** (Bangladesh): 12-sided Mathurapur Deul, built by Sangram Singh in 1636 (?), decorated on its horizontal bands by terracotta mouldings which include Rāmāyaṇa scenes.

**Orchā** (Madhya Pradesh): murals in the Rājā Mahal (c. 1575 with later repaintings) and Lakṣmī temple show scenes from the lives of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Ceiling painting in the Lakṣmī temple – illustration: Rāma installed as king, at Krishnan 2010: 50 (own photo; cf. others)

The murals on the verandas of the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple near Orchā (built for Bīr Singh in 1622, renovated by Prithvi Singh in 1793) include: R. with Kausalyā (several scenes), killing of Tāṭakā, protecting Viśvāmitra’s sacrifice, R. + L. before bow at S.’s *svayaṃvara,* marriage of R + S., R. making pact with Sugrīva, R. chasing golden deer, killing of Khara and Duṣaṇa, R. adorns S. at Pañcavaṭī, Rāvaṇa abducting S., fight between R. and Rāvaṇa, R. enthroned with 3 brothers, Ahirāvaṇa abducting R. + L. and his killing by Hanumān, Bharata shooting Hanumān, another battle between R. and Rāvaṇa, R. + L. as images in temple (**see** Aruna 2002 [scans] and Saxena 2004: 9-42; cf. Chakravarty 1984: 92 + 151).

**Pāṭan:** relief frieze of Rāmāyaṇa narrative on Kṛṣṇa temple (consecration inscr. dated Thursday 10th *śuklapakṣa* Phālguna, Nepali era 757 = 23rd February 1637) built for Siddhinarasiṃhamalla, which runs from near main entrance clockwise all round to end over main entrance. There are around 99 scenes in total, accompanied by inscriptions and separated by trees, rock formations, etc.; the Uttarakāṇḍa is not represented. Opening with an image and invocation of Gaṇeśa, the narrative reliefs begin with the conversation beween Vālmīki and Nārada and end with Rāma’s installation (**see** Gail 1988: 31-39 and Berg 2022).

**Peshawar:** the murals in the Gor Khatri temple (c. 1830) include one of Hanumān and L. paying homage to R. + S. and one of Hanumān carrying R. + S. on his shoulders (Shah 2016: 191-4).

**Puri**: the Nevaladas Matha, dated overall C17 and belonging to Rāmānandīs, has paintings on outer wall of temple; “From right to left the first scene is . . . Rama and Laxmana seated of the boat of fisherman, Rama and Laxmana rescuing Jatayu etc.” [source: Pradhan 2010: 84-85, citing p. 85].

The Bada Odiya Matha, dated c. C16 and belonging to Atibadi sect: “Matha walls are decorted with paintings like Vastra harana, Rasalila, War scene between Rama and Ravana, . . . [source: Pradhan 2010: 252-52, citing p. 152]

The 17th-century Sanacchata Matha, belonging to the Rāmānandis: “Outer wall of the *matha* is decorated with various paintings of King Dasaratha playing with his four sons, recling [sic] Siva, Sita’s *swyambara,* Rama and Sita in exile, Hanuman, battle scene of Rama and Ravana, Ramas return from exile, Valmiki writing Ramayana, etc.” [source: Pradhan 2010: 302-3: citing p. 303).

**Sultanpur** (Kulū): fresco in palace room of Rāmāyaṇa scene, end of C18 [source: Khandalavala 1958: 393]

**see**Saran and Khanna 2004: 16, citing Banerjee 1986: 258, for Delhi sultans decorating outside of palaces and inside bedrooms with *Rm* murals.

**object (and medium)** Vijayanagara-period sculpture, temples and painting

**location (original/present)** Deccan and South India

**date** 14th to 16th centuries

**studies** Branfoot, C. and Anna Libera Dallapiccola 2005: “Temple Architecture in Bhatkal and the Ramayana Tradition in Sixteenth-Century Coastal Karnataka”, *AA* 65.2: 253-308. **download**

Dallapiccola, A.L. 1990a: “Die Ramayana-Reliefs um den Ramachandra Tempel Vijayanagara”, in Indien in Deutschland: Darmstädter Beiträge zum Diskurs über indischer Religion, Kultur und Gesellschaft, ed. By Edmund Weber (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang): 273-292. **(IND) Ind gen e 222** [checked]

Dallapiccola, Anna Libera 1994a: “The City of Vijayanagara: Kishkindha, the monkey-kingdom”, in Dehejia 1994 (2): 61-72. **own copy**

Dallapiccola, Anna L. 2011: “Ramayana in southern Indian art: themes and variations”, in Anila Verghese, and Ann L. Dallapiccola (eds), *South India under Vijayanagara: art and archaeology* (New Delhi: OUP): 181-93. **photocopy**

Dallapiccola, Anna L. 2015a: “*Ramayana* Murals in the *Vasanta Mandapa* at Kallalagar Temple, Alagar Koyil”, in *Art, Icon and Architecture in South Asia: essays in honour of Dr. Devangana Desai,* ed. by Anila Verghese and Anna L. Dallapiccola, 2 vols (New Delhi: Aryan Books): II, 455-71. **printout**

Dallapiccola, Anna L. 2016a: “Rāmāyaṇa Reliefs of the Cintāla Veṅkaṭaramaṇa, Tāḍapatri”, in *Temple Architecture and Imagery of South and Southeast  Asia: Prāsādanidhi, papers presented to Professor M.A. Dhaky*, ed. by Parul Pandya Dhar and Gerd J.R. Mevissen (New Delhi: Aryan Books International): 221-235. **download**

Dallapiccola, Anna Libera and Anila Verghese 1991: “The Ramayana Panels on the *gopura* of the ‘Old Śiva’ temple at Vitthalapura”, in *Vijayanagara: progress of research 1987-1988,* ed. By D.V. Devaraj and C.S. Patil (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums):   
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Dallapiccola, A. L., and Anila Verghese 2001: “The ‘Ramanuja temple’ in Vittalapura, Hampi”, *South Asian Studies* 17: 109-16. **own copy**

Dallapiccola, Anna Libera, J.M. Fritz, G. Michell and S. Rajasekhara 1992: *The Ramachandra Temple at Vijayanagara* (New Delhi: Manohar). **own copy**

Gopalakrishnan, S. 1996: “The Raṅga-maṇḍapa of the Tāṭikkompu temple: a study of an iconographic programme of the Vijayanagara tradition”, *East and West* 46.3-4: 415-31. **download**

Jayaprada, V. 1998: *Vijayanagara temples at Tāḍapatri: an art-historical study* (Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan). **20 E 392; pp. 84-112 photocopied**

Krishna Kumari, Myneni 2008: *Exploring the Sacred Art of Andhra* (Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan). [ch. 1, “Religious Imagery of Korukonda Temple”, pp. 1-57] **own copy**

Kumar, V.V. Subrahmanya 2003: *Architecture and sculpture of the Pushpagiri temples* (New Delhi: Kaveri Books). **(IND) 20 D 366;** pp. 108-18 **photocopied** + **handwritten notes**

Le Sauce–Carnis 2016, Marion: *Du héros épique à l’icône divine: l’image de Rāma dans les décors sculptés de l’empire de Vijayanagar* (Thèse de doctorat, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris 3). **download**

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Rajarajan, R.K.K. 1998: “Iconographic programme in temple cars: a case study of Kūṭal Aḻakar *tēr*”, *East and West* 48.3-4: 329-48. **download**

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Raman, K.V. 1975: *Srī Varadarājaswāmi temple, Kāñchi: a study of its history, art, and architecture* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications). **(IND) 20 D 134; p. 169 scanned**

Rao, Ajay K. 2011: “A new perspective on the royal Rāma cult at Vijayanagara”, in Bronner and others 2011: 25-44. **download**

Rao, Kota Mrutunjaya 2019: “A study of art and architecture of Chennakesava temple at Somapalyam, Chittor district, Andhra Pradesh”, *Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies in Archaeology* 7: 1014-25. **download**

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Verghese, Anila 1995: *Religious traditions at Vijayanagara, as revealed through its monuments* (New Delhi: Manohar and AIIS). **(IND) 20 F 298**; **pp. 80-81 (part) photocopied**

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Vijayavenugopal, G. 1987: “Rāmāyaṇa Paintings of Aḷakar Kōyil”, in Parimoo 1987: 412-19.

**notes see also** photocopy of Banerjee 1986 p.212 (with further locations noted) and illustration of painting in Virūpākṣa temple in “visual background” folder.

Temples with Vijayanagara-period *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes at Ahobilam (Narasiṃha t.), Aḻagarmalai (Aḻakar Kōyil), Alambgiri (Tirumalanāthasvāmī t.), Anantaśayanaguḍi, Ānekal, Attirāla, Candragiri (Kodaṇḍarāmasvāmī t.), Chukkalūru (Chennakeśava), Ettumanur, Goraṇṭlā (Mādhavarāya t.), Gummanayakapalya, Kāñcī (Varadarāja t.), Koilkuntla, Kōrukoṇḍa (Lakṣmīnārasiṃha t.), Lepākṣi (Vīrabhadra t.), Mārkāpūr, Oṇṭimiṭṭa, Penukoṇḍa (Koḍaṇḍarāma t.), Puṣpagiri (Chennakeśava t.), Somapālem (Chennakeśava), Śrīperumbudur (Ādikeśava t.), Śrīśailam (Mallikārjuna t.), Tāḍapatri (Rāmaliṅgeśvara and Cintāla Veṅkaṭaramana temples), Tirumala (Veṅkaṭeśvara t.), Tirupati (Kōḍaṇḍarāma t.) and Vellore (Jalakaṇṭheśvara t.); **see** Nagaswamy 1980 (incl. listing at end of article) and Banerjee 1986: 212 (photocopy in visual box oddments). Royal/secular buildings with *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs at e.g. Raichur and Vijayanagara.

Ahobilam: west *gopura* of Narasiṃha temple (originally C8 under Cāḷukyas) has a *Rāmāyaṇa* narrative sequence of 15 reliefs (Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 297-98 and 313-18).

Aḻagarmalai / Tirumāliruñcōḻai: the much older Aḻakar kōyil has Vijayanagar-period murals on its Vasanta Maṇḍapa (Dallapiccola 2015a; also Rajarajan 2021: 135-57, esp. 141- 47, figs. 7.1-7.11) and 4 Vijayanagara-period reliefs on its sub-basement (Le Sauce–Carnis: I, 294).

Alambgiri: the late Vijayanagara Tirumalanāthasvāmī temple has a relief frieze done in mortar round the parapet of the *prākāra* which includes Rāma’s victory over Rāvaṇa, Rāma’s installation and scenes from the *Uttarakāṇḍa.*  (source: Mysore 1936c: 39-40   
[= *AR for 1935*])

Anantaśayanaguḍi (immediately NE of Hospet): reliefs on two pillars in *maṇḍapa* of Anantaśayana temple. An inscription, dated A.D. 1524, on the walls of the temple states that Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya founded the town of Sale Tirumala Maharayapura (evidently the present village of Anantaśayanaguḍi) in memory of his deceased son and that he built here a temple for the God Anantapadmanābha, granted a number of villages for its upkeep and appointed priests of the Vaikhānasa sect for the conduct of worship. From other epigraphs it may be inferred that the temple continued in worship at least till A.D. 1549 in the time of Sadāśiva Rāya.

Ānekal (Bangalore Urban dist., Karnataka): on the Chennakeśava temple of probably 14th century date the miscellaneous *navaraṅga* pillar reliefs include Rāma with Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma with Hanumān, Vālin and Sugrīva fighting [source Mysore 1964 (*AR for 1947-56*): 29-30].

Attirāla (Cuddapah dist., Andhra Pradesh): temple with *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes from Vijayanagara period (? Paraśurāma temple) [source: Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 13].

Bāgūr: inscription on slab set up at Candrāpuri entrance to village records a grant of a village made in 1543 to a certain Rāmayya by Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka for the performance of a puppet show of the Rāma story (Mysore 1942: 136-7 [= *AR for 1941*]).

Bhaṭkal: at the Khetapai Nārāyaṇa temple, built c. 1546 A.D. the wall sections between the pillars of the *maṇḍapa* consist of 3 sections, the lowest of which is carved with *Rāmāyaṇa* themes starting at the SE corner and going clockwise (Rajarajan 2006: 87-88). The sequence begins with a panel showing Daśaratha performing the *putrakāmeṣṭi* and then distributing the *pāyasa* to his wives. Then follows a panel with Rāma and Sītā, Śūrpaṇakhā’s encounter with Rāma, Rāma killing a deer, Rāvaṇa forcibly carrying Sītā away while Jaṭāyus fought to save her, Rāma piercing the 7 sāls on snake, the Vālin-Sugrīva fight, Hanumān in Laṅkā and meeting Sītā, Hanumān reporting to Rāma, *vānaras* on battle-field, death of Rāvaṇa and Rāma’s installation (Rajarajan 2006: I, 121).

Chandragiri: Kodaṇḍarāmasvāmī temple (16th century) has reliefs on pillars (Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 307-8), as well as images of Rāma, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata, Śatrughna, flanked by Hanumān and Garuḍa on a single plinth.

Chukkalūru (8 km N of Tāḍapatri): ruined Vijayanagara-period Chennakeśava temple (mid C16) has *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* reliefs carved on the compound wall [sources: *Directory of Monuments: Antiquarian Remains of Andhra Pradesh,* vol. 1, ed. K. Rama Mohan Rao and B. Subrahmanyam (Hyderabad: Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, 1993); Dallapiccola 2016a: 225; Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 117 (4.1), 120 (5.3), 122 (5.7-8)].

Ettumanur: the Mahādeva temple, reconstructed in 717 ME (1542 A.D.), has painted panels covering the whole Rāma story carved in high relief in both vertical and horizontal friezes on the wooden screens round its *maṇḍapa* [referred to with limited detail in Kramrisch, *Drāviḍa and Kerala in the art of Travancore* (Artibus Asiae Supplementum 11 (1953): 35-36); Banerjee 1986: 227].

Gaṇḍikoṭa (Kadapa dist., Andhra Pradesh): Raṅganāyaka temple within the fort has three *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs on its pillars (Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 310).

Goraṇṭlā: Mādhavarāya temple (built in 1354 by Narasiṃha Sāḷuva) has *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs on pillars of *maṇḍapa* (Michell 1995: 174; Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 301-3).

Gummanayakapalya (Kolar dist., Karnataka): ruined Vaiṣṇava temple, c. C15, with series of *Rāmāyaṇa* bas-reliefs on wall of *maṇḍapa* (Loizeau 2017: 218 fn.6, 261-5), including marriage of R. + S., encounter with Paraśurāma, combat between Vālin and Dundubhi, R. piercing 7 *sāls* on snake,combat between Vālin and Sugrīva, death of Kumbhakarṇa, Rāvaṇa seated among courtiers, S. in *aśokavana*,R. fighting Rāvaṇa, *vānaras* carry S. in palanquin to Rāma, S. makes *añjali* to R.

Kāñcī: the ornate pillared *maṇḍapa* added in C16 to the Varadarāja temple has various *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes carved on its pillars and base (Sivaramamurti 1980a: 643; Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 325-33 and II, 81-85), the Kāmākṣī temple (16th-17th century) has a narrative sequence on its sub-basement (Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 292-94 and 333), and the Ekāmbareśvara temple has 16th-century reliefs on the main temple and 17th-century ones on a *maṇḍapa*.

Koilkuntla: Vijayanagara period paintings of *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes on the ceiling of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of the Pāṇḍuraṅgasvāmī temple [source: *IAR 1966-67*: 11].

Kōrukoṇḍa: Lakṣmīnārasiṃha temple (consecrated *saṃ* 1275 = 1353 A.D.) has *Rāmāyaṇa* panels all over the outer walls [source: ch.1, “Religious Imagery of Korukonda Temple”, in Krishna Kumari 2008: 1-57; 3 photos in folder within “visual background” folder].

Lepākṣi: Vīrabhadra temple (mid C16) has ceiling paintings in the *mukhamaṇḍapa*, which include scenes from both epics and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*; the last panel on the west side (much damaged) contains Rāmāyaṇa scenes, including Rāma and Sītā with Hanumān at their feet and a possible Sugrīva surrounded by *vānaras,* among others (images at https://southindianpaintings.art/epics/ramayana/).

Mārkāpūr: C15 Chennakeśava temple has *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes [source: Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 13-14 + 110 (1.10), 114 (3.4), 118-19 (4.2-3, 5.1), 122 (5.9)].

Neḍuṅguṇḍram: 5 *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs on *gopuram* of Rāmacandraperumāḷ temple (early 16th century) and others on temple pillars (Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 300, 334-35 and II, 89).

Oṇṭimiṭṭa/Voṇṭimiṭṭa: 16th-century Kōḍaṇḍarāma temple (original foundation in Cōḻa period) has *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs on a *gopura* [sources: Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 13-14 + 109 (1.5), 118 (4.2), 119 (5.1), 124-25 (6.5-6); Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 296-97 and 312-13], as well as images of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa in *garbhagṛha*.

Peddamudiyam: Lakṣmīnarasiṃha temple (Vijayanagara, C14) has two reliefs on a pillar in its *maṇḍapa.* (Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 311).

Penukoṇḍa: the granite Kōḍaṇḍarāma temple (15th century, in the early Vijayanagara style, located in a single compound with a Śiva temple) has *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* scenes carved on panels between pilasters in three tiers on its walls. Description of all 33 *Rāmāyana* panels and their captions at Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 99-106 (cf. Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 231-34).

Puṣpagiri: Chennakeśava temple has 19 *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs on walls of the two west-facing shrines [sources: Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 13 + 109-10 (1.6, 10), 113 (3.2), 118-19 (4.2-3), 121 (5.5), 124 (6.4) ; Michell 2013: 376; Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 286-92 and 311-12]; reliefs from Vijayanagara period but earliest inscription dated *śaka* 1220 = 1298 A.D.

Raichur: elaborate sculptural programme on Naurangi Darwaza (N. gateway) of Raichur fort, built by Kṛṣṇadevarāya immediately after his capture of Raichur in June 1520, includes above arcades of second courtyard a continuous frieze narrating *Rāmāyaṇa* stories interspersed with assorted other scenes (Eaton and Wagoner 2014: 301-6), in line with Kṛṣṇadevarāya's equating of himself with Rāma.

Rāmeśvaram: Rāmaliṅgeśvara temple (early C16) has seven reliefs on its cornice (Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 294-5 and II, 86-88).

Sathankulangara: temple has 14th-century wooden moulding carved with Rāmāyaṇa scenes, including Hanumān approaching Sītā in *aśokavana* [referred to with minimal detail in Kramrisch, *Drāviḍa and Kerala in the art of Travancore,* AA Supplementum 11 (1953): 35 and Kramrisch, Stella, and others: *The arts and crafts of Kerala* (Cochin: Paico Pub. House, 1948): 96-7].

Śivagaṅgā (Bangalūru rural dist., Karnataka; c. 20 km. from Tumkūr): pillar dated *śaka* 1450 = 1528 A.D. in compound of 108 Liṅgada tīrtha has *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes [source: Mysore 1936a: 14 (= *AR for 1934*)].

Somapālem/Somapālayam: the Cennakeśava temple (mid 16th century) preserves traces of paintings of *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes in 10 panels on the ceiling of its *mukhamaṇḍapa,* including Rāma bending bow, Rāma killing Tāṭakā, Daśaratha trying to appease Kaikeyī, Rāma saying farewell to Daśaratha (Sivaramamurti 1968: 120; Sivaramamurti 1985: 41; Dallapiccola 2016b, Rao 2019), as well as reliefs on its pillars (Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 308-10). (images on https://southindianpaintings.art/epics/ramayana/)

Śrīperumbudur (Kanchipuram dist., Tamilnad): *Rāmāyaṇa* panels on Vijayanagara-period (16th-17th century) *gopuram* of Ādikeśava temple, also Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa shrines at the NW and SW corners of enclosure respectively (Michell 2013: 413).

Śrīraṅgam: relief of Hanumān swallowed by crocodile on a column in the Śeṣagirirāyar maṇḍapa, Raṅganātha temple (16th century); 17th-century painting on ceiling of Raṅgavilāsa maṇḍapa of Bālakāṇḍa episodes (Daśaratha’s sacrifice, birth of Rāma, youthful exploits, taught by sages, marriage of Rāma and Sītā).

Śrīśailam: *Rāmāyaṇa* frieze, incl. Rāma killing Tāṭakā, carved on south prākāra wall of Mallikārjuna temple; **see** Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 110-12 (1.7, 2.1), 124-25 (6.6); Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 288-89.

Tāḍapatri: the Veṅkaṭaramana or Cintālaveṅkaṭaramana temple (1st half of 16th century) has reliefs of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* episodes between the pilasters of its walls – the panels have Telugu captions and the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* is under-represented – and there are further *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes on the lintels over the doorways of its enclosed *maṇḍapa* (including Sītā entering the fire and Rāma’s final enthronement). The walls of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, *antarāla*, and *garbhagṛha* of the main temple display one of the most exhaustive *Rāmāyaṇa* series of the Vijayanagara period.   
Dallapiccola 2016a: 225-6 – “The narrative carved on ... ... the Cintāla Veṅkaṭaramaṇa temple is probably inspired by the 14th-century *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇa*. Approximately 150 episodes are arranged over 205 panels, measuring c. 55 × 60 cm (Fig. 16.5a). Some incidents extend over more than one panel. Telugu labels, some of which are crucial to the understanding of the action, are carved on a sizeable number of the illustrated scenes.” [**cf.** *IAR 1962-63*: 61, Banerjee 1986: 212, Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 237-42 and 303-7, and, for description of all *Rāmāyaṇa* panels and a note of their captions, Jayaprada 1998: 84-112; Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 72-99.]

The Rāmaliṅgeśvara temple (also Vijayanagara period c. 1450), dedicated to Rāma and Sītā, has multistoreyed and pyramidal towers with hemispherical roofs. It contains Rāmāyaṇa sculptures, including R. fights with Tāṭakā, Mārica and Subāhu, the abduction of S., and Hanumān’s exploits in Laṅkā.

Tāṭikkompu: late Vijayanara-period Saundararāja temple contains an unusual image on the fifth pillar in the south row in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of Rāma seated on Hanumān’s shoulders in *pralambapāda* posture (source: Gopalakrishnan 1996: 423 + fig. 14).

Tirumala: Veṅkaṭeśvara temple has some *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes, see Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 107-8 (1.1-3). 110-11 (1.8, 10, 11), 114 (3.4), 119 (4.3), 121 (5.4), 123-25 (6.3,6). A sculptural panel near ceiling in the 14th-century Raṅganāyakula *maṇḍapa* shows fight between Rāma and Rāvaṇa (Raman 1993: 77 + pl. 5). Sculptures on entrance *maṇḍapa* of Rāma breaking bow (Raman 1993: 91 + pl. 65), Rāmapaṭṭābhiṣeka (Raman 1993: 92 + pl. 68), as well as others such as a Kodaṇḍarāma. "Plate - 69: Corridor *mandapa* in the Vimana-pradakshina, Tirumala. This is a peculiar form in which Rama is seated, one hand is in *Jnanamudra* and another placed on his thigh. By his side is Sita with a lotus in her hand. Lakshmana stands on his right with a bow." (Raman 1993: 92, cf. p.37)

Tirupati: Periya Raghunātha temple (built in 1480-81 by one Narasiṃharāya) has Rāmāyaṇa reliefs on pillars of its *maṇḍapas* [source: Raman 1993: 23]. Govindarājasvāmī temple has Rāmāyaṇa episodes on relief panels of the second *gopura* entrance; these include the fight between Vālin and Sugrīva, Rāma piercing 7 *sāls* watched by Lakṣmaṇa and Sugrīva, Hanumān lifting the herb mountain, Rāma's fight with Rāvaṇa, Hanumān seated on his coiled tail before Rāvaṇa [source: Raman 1993: 66, 83-84; plates 31-33, 35].

Vellore (Vēlūr): Jalakaṇṭheśvara temple (c. 1550) at centre of tank within fort has *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes [source: Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 14].

Vijayanagara (Bellary dist., Karnataka): **see** Dallapiccola et al. 1992: 81-130, Dallapiccola 1994, Dallapiccola and Verghese 1998, JLB 2002, La Sauce–Carnis 2016.  
Rāmacandra temple (founded by Devarāya I in 2nd decade of 15th century), **see** Dallapiccola and others 1992; Suresh 2010: 71-95 + plates 5-104; Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 223-31.  
Rāmānuja temple (“old Siva temple”, early C16), **see** Verghese 1995: 80-81 (**photocopied**); Dallapiccola and Verghese 1998: 10 col. 1 § 2, 23-24 + App.II; Suresh 2010: 95-101 + plates 107-35.   
Veṅkaṭeśvara (Tiruveṅgaḷanātha / Acyutarāya) temple (2nd ¼, C16),narrative sequence of 28 reliefs on *gopuram* (Dallapiccola and Verghese 1998: App.IV, Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 298-99).  
Virūpākṣa temple, some reliefs on pillars and outside walls; 19th-century paintings of marriage of Rāma and Sītā on open maṇḍapa ceiling of Karṇātaka temple (images on https://southindianpaintings.art/epics/ramayana/).  
Viṭṭhala temple (C16), **see** Dallapiccola and Verghese 1998: 25 col. 1 init. + App.III; Suresh 2010: 102-10 + plates 138-62; Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 321-25 and II, 77-79.  
Bhuvaneśvarī temple (13th century), re-used Cāḷukya material includes a schist door- frame, whose lintel has a relief with central figure of Śiva but showing round it battle of Rāma and Ravaṇa surrounded by *vānaras* and *rākṣasas* (Eaton and Wagoner 2014: 102-4); **see** Patil 1992: 208 (handwritten notes).  
Mālyavanta Raghunātha temple (16th century) has various Rāmāyaṇa-related reliefs on *maṇḍapa* pillars and a boulder carved with R, S., L. and Hanumān as its main image, while the Kodaṇḍarāma temple below Mālyavanta hill has an image of the crowned Rāma.  
Kṛṣṇa temple (1523 A.D.) has reliefs on its *maṇḍapa* pillars (Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 318- 20), as has the Mālyavanta Raghunātha temple (C16; Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 320-21),

–––––—————

bronze of Bharata with hands lifted (to support R.’s sandals), C14, 75.5 × 31 × 22.3 cm.  
(ill. at *National Museum, New Delhi – Treasures,* p. 93) Nat. Mus. 69.49

bronze of R + S attended by L. + Bharata, C15, 13.5 × 10.6 cm. Nat. Mus. 68-97

bronze of crowned Rāma, C14-16, 16.5 cm. high Christie’s 11.04.89: 195A

bronze of Rāma with bow, Ramnad Zamindary, c. 3ft high V&A IM.71-1927  
(noted in Srinivasan 2014: 354-5 as Vijayanagar to early Nāyak, c. 1335-1565 A.D.)

copper alloy image of Rāma, Madurai, CC16-17 V&A IS.231-1953

copper alloy image of Rāma, Madurai, 1500-1700, 94 × 37 × 21 cm. (V&A M.71-1907)  
 McGill 2016: 40, no. 7

bronze of Rāma, S. India, C16-17, 57 cm. Sotheby’s 20.10.94: 237

bronze of Rāma, S. India, C16-17, 16 cm. Zacke 6.03.21: 753

image of Hanumān, granite, S. India, 1600-1700, 145 × 45 × 47 cm. BM 1880.298  
(ill. at McGill 2016: 165, no. 78)

S. India: bronze of R. + S. attended by Hanumān, C16, 5.5 × 13.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 74-35

bronze of Rāma and Sītā, C16 Kerala National Museum  
(ill at Srinivasan 2021: 107, fig. 5.2)

Kerala: bronze of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, C15-17, 14.3 × 16.9 × 9.5 cm.  
 Wereld Mus. RV-4123-1

for temple cars of this or a later period with Rāmāyaṇa carvings **see** Dallapiccola 1990 and 1994b, Rajarajan 1998 and 2001: 794-5, and Rajukalidoss and Rajarajan 2016.

**object (and medium)** post-Vijayanagara S. India (Wadeyars, Nāyaks, etc.)

**location (original/present)** Karnataka, Tamilnad

**date**  16th-18th centuries

**studies** Auboyer, Jeannine 1969: *Srî Ranganâthasvâmi: le temple de Vishnu à Srirangam* (Paris: UNESCO). **Sackler IWa Aub**

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**notes** for noteson Kerala murals from 12th century onwards **see** next section, “mural paintings, Kerala.”

sites: Adiyamāṇkōṭṭai (Chennarāyaperumāl t.), Alagarmalai (Aḷakar Kōyil), Cheṅgam, Devanahalli, Hoḷalagundi (Siddheśvara temple), Jambiṭige Agrahāra, Kaviyur, Kumbakonam (Rāmasvāmī t.), Madurai, Mēlkōṭe, Pudukkōṭṭai (Pirakatāmpāḷ t.), Rāmanāthapuram (Rāmaliṅgavilāsam palace), Sībi (Narasiṃha t.), Śrīraṅgam (Nāciyā t.), Śrīvilliputtūr (Āṇḍāl temple), Sucindram (Thānumālaya t.), Tañjāvūr (Nāyak palace), Tirugokarṇam (Gokarṇeśvara t.), Tirupullani (Ādijagannātha t.), Tiruveḷḷarai (Puṇḍārīkākṣa t.), Todikalam, Triparayār, Uttaramerur (Sundaravada t.), Vaḍuvūr (Kodaṇḍarāma t.), Virinchipuram (Mārgasahāyeśvara t.)   
**see** also listing of paintings sites at Nagaswamy 1980: 429.

**Adiyamāṇkōṭṭai** (Dharmapuri dist., Tamilnad): *mahāmaṇḍapa* of Chennarāyaperumāl temple has an important series of paintings, probably from the mid-17th or early 18th century, on its ceiling. Scenes from the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa can be seen in the lateral bays; notable is a fine rendering of Rāma’s installation at the end of the northern bay (*IAR 1978-79*: 140; Seastrand 2012; Seastrand 2013: 224-25).

**Alagarmalai:** the much older Aḷakar Koyil, besides 4 Vijayanagara-period reliefs on its sub-basement (Le Sauce–Carnis: I, 294), has several additions made under Tirumala Nāyak (1623-59), including outer *Vasanta maṇḍapa* with series of Rāmāyaṇa murals, on both walls and ceilings, illustrating story from beginning up to waking of Kumbhakarṇa with captions in Tamil on back bands and dated to beginning of C18 by Vijayavenugopal (Dallapiccola 2015a; Vijayavenugopal 1987: 413-4; cf. Michell 2013: 490-91; images on https://southindianpaintings.art/epics/ramayana/). The artists have mainly followed Kampaṉ but some episodes are closer to the Telugu *Raṅganātha Rāmāyaṇa.* Plates in Nagaswamy 2003: II show: (169) Viṣṇu on Ananta starting sequence, (170) birth of princes, (171) *putreṣṭi* with Ṛṣyaśṛṅga having deer head and single horn (cf. pl. 5 in Verghese + Dallapiccola 2011)]. Other reproductions: Guha ferrying exiles over Gaṅgā (pl. 6 in Verghese + Dallapiccola 2011) and crossing the causeway, with R. + L. on shoulders of Hanumān and Sugrīva (pl. 7 in Verghese + Dallapiccola 2011)

**Boḍināyakkaṉur** (Tēṉi dist., Tamilnad): Zamindar’s Palace has mid-19th century murals in two rooms at basement level (Lakṣmīvilāsam andDarbar Hall), especially the seduction of Kalaikottu Munivar (= Ṛṣyaśṛṅga), supposed ancestor of the zamindars (images on https://southindianpaintings.art/monuments/tamil-nadu-palace-monuments/bodinayakkanur/)

**Cheṅgam** (Tiruvannamalai dist., Tamilnādu): the Pārthasārathi (Arjunasārathi / Veṇugopāla Pārthasārathi) temple has ceiling paintings in the open maṇḍapa laid out in narrow registers, with each incident identified by captions from the 1st half of C17 (an inscription on the temple gives the date *śaka* 1554) which once told the entire story; now only *Yuddhakāṇḍa* episodes survive in the central square on the ceiling of the outer hall (but **see** project to document, reconstruct and extend them at http://www.chengammurals.org/, which lists other sites of Nāyak-period murals; also images on https://southindianpaintings.art/epics/ramayana/); of particular interest here is the depiction (confirmed by labels in Tamil) of Rāvaṇa performing *pātālahoma* in order to be able to fight Rāma and of the *vānaras* disrupting the *homa* (with Hanumān dragging Mandodarī by the hair), since this occurs, not in Vālmīki or Kampaṉ, but in Raṅganātha’s 14th-century Telugu version (Nagaswamy 1980: 421-2; cf. Loizeau 2017: 267-68). The paintings in the Cheṅgam temple, and similar ones in the Viṣṇu temple at Tiruvellarai, in one of the *maṇḍapas* of the Śrīraṅgam temple and at Śrīvilliputtūr, are still largely independent of a written text (although the provision of captions at Cheṅgam and Śrīvilliputtūr may be indicative of change).  
 MV Bhaskar, May 31, 2011 **(**from website <http://www.chengammurals.org/>): ... ... I have been involved in documenting full-length Rāmāyaṇa murals, to the extent that they are extant, from 3 different locations in Tamilnadu - Srivilliputtur, Tirukkokarnam and Alagar Kovil, all of Nayaka vintage. Rāmāyaṇa is painted and surviving, partly or wholly, at a few other locations, at Atiyamankottai and Kumbakonam, exclusively devoted to Rāmāyaṇa, and at the Ramalinga Vilas at Ramanathapuram where the Rāmāyaṇa murals share the space with other themes. This prevalence makes Rāmāyaṇa murals easier to reconstruct. Portions that have suffered substantial loss can be cross-referenced to another location and recovered with some authority and little guess work. One of the main aims of this project is to replicate the reconstructed mural in other media, especially animation. If Rāmāyaṇa, then Chengam becomes the candidate for the reasons that of all the Rāmāyaṇa paintings available, Chengam’s native style is the most suited for animation, the characters on the murals being rounded and cartoony. In stating this, there is the trap that I am subjecting this animated interpretation to my perceptual baggage of what is cartoony, but we all have to begin somewhere. Chengam’s canvas is also a concise one (17’x 17’, approx.), and that much easier to handle, unlike Srivilliputtur for instance, which is enormous, and that much more damaged. [cf. Rajarajan 2001: 793-4; Nagaswamy 1980: 421; Seastrand 2024: 54-55]

**Devanahalli:** the 16th-century Veṇugopālasvāmī temple is located inside the fort close to the entrance. The entire outer wall of the temple has a frieze containing large images illustrating the Rāmāyaṇa; the Bālakāṇḍa is illustrated on the northern and southern walls (including Viśvāmitra instructing R.).

**Hoḷalagundi** (Kurnool dist., A.P.): Siddheśvara temple has ceiling paintings (late C18 or early C19) which include Rāmāyaṇa scenes.

Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple, **Jambiṭige Agrahāra** (built in 1733): **see** Mysore 1935a: 72-73 (= *AR for 1931*), Michell 1995: 173; Verghese 2011: 52-53, and JLB photos of Rāmāyaṇa reliefs.  
“This is an agrahāra by the side of the Tungā river, about one mile from Hariharapura on the Koppa road. It has about fifteen Brahman houses, ten of which form an enclosed wood and tile ‘vaṭhāra.’ In the centre of the courtyard thus formed stands a small Dravidian temple of granite (20’ × 10’ × ht. 27’) dedicated to Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara (Plate VI, 2). A long Kannaḍa inscription on the stone basement records that the temple was built in 1733 A.D.” Mysore 1935a: 12 and from p.13 –  
“*South. —* West square: From ‘Śeshaśâyi’ to ‘Suṅdarakâṇḍa Ràmâyaṇa’; . . .  
*West. —* “Râmâyaṇa’ from ‘Sîtâ-kalyâṇa’ to the death of Râvaṇa.

**Kaviyur** (Kerala): Mahādeva temple (2 inscriptions of mid 10th century known) has early 17th-century carvings of *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes.

**Kumbakonam/Kumpakōnam:** the sculptures on pillars in the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the Rāmasvāmī temple built for Raghunātha Nāyak (1612-34 A.D.) give particular emphasis to Rāma as teacher and Hanumān as a musician (Nagaswamy 1980: 422-4, cf. Le Sauce–Carnis 2016: I, 333-34). There are also *Rāmāyaṇa* murals on the wall of the outer *prākāra*; n.b. also temple car (Dallapiccola 1994). **See** also Saran and Khanna 2004: 32 (**own copy**) for *Rāmāyaṇa* carvings.

**Madurai** [original location] on frieze probably from the Lakṣmī shrine, Perumāḷ (Kūḍal Aḻagar) temple, now in Philadephia Museum of Art, **see** Brown 1975: below and 66-84 (**scan**,frieze scenes) and **download** from museum on “Pillared Temple Hall” –  
Brown 1975: 27 – “The tradition, known to someone at the Philadephia Museum of Art in 1920 and independently found by me in Madura in 1934, that our pieces came originally from the Lakṣmī side of the Perumāḷ temple, seems credible and is probably true. The main shrine of that temple is such that all our columns, except possibly those of style Ca and style Sa (the latter already accounted for at the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple complex), could have come from an ancillary shrine contemporary with it, standing on the site of the present Lakṣmī temple.”  
p. 30 – “The conclusions to be drawn from the discussion above are as follows:  
 1. The Museum’s pieces belonged originally to two, possibly three, temples:   
(*a*) columns Sa belong to the Āṇḍāḷ shrine of the Madana Gopāla Swāmi temple . . .   
(*b*) columns of styles C, Sb, Sc, Sd, and the cared frieze pieces came from the old, now replaced, Lakṣmī temple of the Perumāḷ (Kūḍal Aḻagar) temple; (*c*) columns of style Ca came from some other source, not identified.”  
Brown identifies one column (C2) as “Perhaps the coronation of Rāma.” (p. 46); C10 as Sugrīva (p. 59); C11 as Tumburu (p. 60); Sc as showing on two sides of the lowest square part of the column Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (p. 65).

**Mēlkōṭe:** hall in front of goddess shrine on north side of enclosure at Nārāyaṇasvāmi temple, built in 1458 by a Vijayanagara general, has pillar reliefs with *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes and Narasiṃha story (Michell 2013: 213). Partial list of 16th-17th century (?) pillar reliefs in *maṇḍapas* of Nārāyaṇasvāmi temple (built in 1458 by a Vijayanagara general; Michell 2013: 213) from Vasantha 1991 (**photocopied**); cf. Ray 2015: 218 (**download**) who dates them to 15th century.

**Narasingampatti** (Madurai dist., Tamilnad; between Madurai and Melur): small *maṇḍapa* (choultry) with *Rāmāyaṇa* paintings of late 17th or early 18th century date on west and north inner walls. [from BL Endangered Archives Programme website, accessed 3rd April 2023 (https://eap.bl.uk/collection/EAP692-3) — A small Mandapa (Chavadi / Choultry) at Narasingampatti village near Madurai has the paintings of 17th century in its west and north inner walls. They depict the Ramayana episodes. It begins in the southern part of the west wall with the scene of people worshipping Vishnu. The figure of the god is mostly eroded and unidentifiable. It continues with the narration of the scenes of the birth of Rama and his brothers and killing of Tadathagai. The northern wall shows the episodes of Rama’s marriage with Sita. The remaining portion of the paintings has been unfortunately weathered away.]

**Panayannarkavu** Śiva temple: paintings of late C16 date (so Ramachandran 2005: 322-23). Ramachandran 2005: 104 – “Though not treated in as great detail as at Mattancheri, there are a few remarkable panels at Panayannarkavu. Sandwiched between the images of Shiva and Vishnu, they depict the fight between Rama and Ravana, the death of Ravana, the reunion of Sita and Rama, and finally the coronation of Rama.”  
subjects identified: fight with Indrajit, R. and Rāvaṇa fighting in chariots, dying Rāvaṇa falling from chariot, weeping Mandodarī and Vibhīṣaṇa, victorious R., *vānaras* carrying S. in palanquin to Rāma, Hanumān, R. + S. in *puṣpaka vimāna,* R.’s *paṭṭābhiṣeka* (another *Rāmapaṭṭābhiṣeka,* C17, in another room acc. to Ramachandra 2005: 249).

**Pudukkōṭṭai/Putukkōṭṭai** (Pudukkōṭṭai dist., Tamilnad): Pirakatāmpāḷ/Bṛhadambāḷ temple has mid-18th-century murals from Bāla and Aranya kāṇḍas in entrance *maṇḍapa* – 54 registers of paintings in central aisle alternating with narrow black bands of white Telugu and Tamil text (Seastrand 2013: 52-59; Seastrad 2024: 71-76). Gokarṇeśvara temple in outskirts of town has on the ceiling of the colonade forming its ceremonial approach scenes from gods seeking Viṣṇu’s help up to the departure into exile ((Michell 1995: 244).

**Rāmanāthapuram** (Rāmnād): The Rāmaliṅgavilāsam (Irāmaliṅkavilācam) , built for the Setupati ruler as his audience hall in the late 17th century (the largest and most decorated building in the palace compound), has mural paintings in third room which include a complete Bālakāṇḍa series (see Howes 2003: 97-99; Dallapiccola 2016b: 90; Seastrand 2024: 59-71). They were probably first painted in the reign of Muthu Vijaya Raghunatha Setupati (1710-25), whose name is inscribed next to two paintings; below the paintings are descriptions in white Tamil script on the black borders of the paintings. The sequence runs from left to right and top to bottom. [images also on https://southindianpaintings.art/epics/ramayana/]

The palace was built during the reign of Kizhavan Sethupathi (1674-1710 A.D.) and consists of a Darbar hall and an ostentatious dwelling area. The murals found in this building represent the life style of the Sethupathi kings, including scenes depicting their battles with the Maratha kings of Thanjavur and their European contacts. Some other murals (probably done at same time) belong to reign of Muthu Vijayaraghunatha Sethupathi (1710-25).

**Sībi:** Narasiṃha temple: murals on beams and ceilings of *mukhamaṇdapa* [source with listing: Mysore 1946 (*AR for 1945*): 60-62]. Michell 2013: 202 – “<it> was built towards the end of the 18th century by a local official under Tipu Sultan. The temple is worth visiting for its extensive ceiling paintings, among the finest of the Wodeyar period.”

**Siddhapura Taluk,** Karnataka: Śrī Siddhi Vinayaka temple, wooden ceremonial chariot (18th century) now in Folklore Museum, Mysore University, Manasagangotri, shows Rāvaṇa lifting hut to abduct Sītā (Kam 2000: 121) and guardian of Laṅkā, holding sword and shield, fights Hanumān; Rāvaṇa embraces 2 women; Hanumān kneels before Sītā in *aśokavana* (Kam 2000: 143).

**Śrīmuṣṇam/Tirumuttam** (Cuddalore dist., Tamilnad): Bhū-Varāha temple, reconstructed in late C16 under Jiñjī Nāyaks, has narrative relief scenes from Rāmāyaṇa on the entrances of the columned *maṇḍapa,* including Rāma’s *abhiṣeka* (Branfoot 2012: 328).

**Śrīraṅgam:** in *maṇḍapa* of sub-temple to Nāciyā, Śrīraṅganātha’s spouse, within 4th *prākāra* of Śrīraṅganāthasvāmi temple, C16-17 murals illustrating Rāmāyaṇa (Auboyer 1969: 22).

**Śrīvilliputtūr:** Āṇḍāl temple open *maṇḍapa* has Rām. narrative paintings (probably 18th century) on ceiling which end in middle of Araṇyakāṇḍa (Dallapicccola 2015a: II, 470 n.7 and 2016b: 90).

**Sucindram:** *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes in Thānumālaya temple (17th century).

**Tañjāvūr/Tañcāvūr:** C17 painting, much overpainted. of *Rāmapaṭṭābhiṣeka* in ‘arsenal tower’, part of Nāyak palace (Seastrand 2024: 57-59).

**Tirukurungudi:** *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes among carvings on the 17th-century Citra Gopuram of Nambi Rayar temple, including Rāma threatening Sagara.

**Tirugokarnam/Tirukōkarṇam:** much older (7th-8th century) Gokarneśvara temple has additions from Vijayanagara or Nāyak period which include the *anuppamaṇḍapa* in front of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* (a corridor-like structure) with paintings from late 18th or early 19th century covering the Rāmāyaṇa story up to the end of the Yuddhakāṇḍa in three rows on the ceiling, with labels in both Tamil and Telugu below each panel (Banerjee 1986: 222; Dallapiccola 2011: 189; Latha 2005: 102; Rajarajan 2006: 59; images on https://southindianpaintings.art/epics/ramayana/).

**Tiruppudaimarudur:** Narumpunātha temple has mid-17th-century paintings in chambers on first and third tiers of *gopuram* of Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa and Yuddhakāṇḍa episodes (Michell 1995: 244; images on https://southindianpaintings.art/epics/ramayana/).

**Tirupullani:** Ādijagannātha temple houses an image of Rāma *darbhaśayana* (to propitiate ocean).

**Tiruvangad:** Rāmāsvāmī temple (C17 ?) has miniature ceiling brackets which include one of Kabandha in both demonic and *gandharva* form (Nayar and Nayar 2023: 127-8).

**Tiruveḷḷarai:** now destroyed Nāyak-period paintings, some in black on white and some in colour, in the Puṇḍārīkākṣa temple (Raman, K.V., and T. Padmaja 1995: “Rāma Temples and Traditions in Tamilnadu”, in Pollet 1995: 81-88. see p. 88). [**see** photos in “visual background” folder]; **see** also Nagaswamy 1980: 424-5 and locations list.

Nagaswamy 2003: II, 316 – “At Thiruvellarai near Srirangam, the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* is painted, of which the Kiṣkindhā episode is fairy well-preserved.” [citing in footnote Vedachalam (1978), Thiruvellarai paintings, *South Indian Studies,* Vol. 1, pp. 131-33]  
Plate 165 shows scene of fight between Vālin and Sugrīva and dates paintings to 16th century, Vijayanagara period.

Dallapiccola 2011c [V. + N. paintings]: 276 “There was yet another important set of late-Vijayanagara murals at Tiruvellarai, some 25 km from Tiruchirappalli. The paintings, which were scraped off the walls of the Pundarikasvami Temple in the mid-1970s, illustrated episodes from the Ramayana.14”

14. Thomas, ‘Painting in Tamil Nadu’, pp. 251-64.  
 [J.I. Thomas, *Painting in Tamil Nadu, AD 1350-1650,* unpublished dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1979]

**Todīkalam:** late 16th-century (Ramachandran 2005: 347) Śiva temple has murals all round the exterior of the *śrīkovil* (= *garbhagṛha*) and the west/rear wall contains Rāmāyaṇa images and scenes; **see** further below under “mural paintings, Kerala”.

**Triparayār:** Rāma temple has sculptures inside the sanctum and paintings of early 16th century on its outer wall, which include Rāma’s installation, his aśvamedha and his fighting *asuras* [sic; not illustrated] (Ramachandran 2005: 177-200). One painting shows Rāma as teacher, also found at the Trichur temple (early 18th century) and Maṭṭāñceri Palace (Sivaramamurti 1968: 144-5, dating Triparayār painting to 16th-17th century).

**Uttaramerur:** C16 painting of R. + S. in *antarāla* on upper storey of Sundaravarada t. (first built by Pallava Dantivarman, 798-817, with additions through to Nāyakas) [source ?]; **not**mentioned in Gros and Nagaswamy 1970, which does note stucco images (renovated in the Vijayanagara period) on its *vimāna*, including Rāma, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān (Gros and Nagaswamy 1970: 80).

**Vaḍuvūr:**Kodaṇḍarāma temple car (probably Thañjāvūr Nāyaks, 17th century) illustrates whole narrative from Bāla to end of Yuddha (Mohan and Sivaramalingam 2014).

**Virinchipuram:** Mārgasahāyeśvara / Mārgabandhusvāmī temple (Ceñci Nāyaks, 15th century) pillars have *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes [source: Choudary and Udayalakshmi 2006: 14].

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bronze of R. + S., C14, 12.5 × 14 cm. Nat. Mus. 67-44

Kerala: bronze of R. + S. + L. + Hanumān, C15-16, Nat. Mus. 71-64

bronze of Hanumān, C15-16, 17.8 × 11.1 × 7.6 cm. Yale University Art Gallery 2006.239.5

bronze of R. + S. + Hanumān, C16, 13.5 × 14.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 69-16

granite sculpture of standing Hanumān, C17, 145 × 45 × 47 cm. BM 1880.298

bronze sculpture of Hanumān holding herb mountain, C18, 63 × 43.6 × 21.4 cm.  
 [also ill. at Blurton 2022: 89] BM 1922,1020.4

bronze of Rāma, S. India, C17-18, 14.8 cm. Lempertz 8.12.23: 8

2 bronzes of Rāma, S. India, C17 or earlier, 9.8 cm. Lempertz 18.06.24: 5

bronze of R. with S. on lap, C18, 14 cm. Todywalla 24.02.23: 123

bronze of Kodaṇḍa R., C18, 16 cm. Todywalla 24.02.23: 124

ivory statuette of Rāvaṇa, S. India, 1800-75, 26.5 × 23 × 12 cm. BM 1878.1101.329  
[ill. at McGill 2016: 214, no. 105]

Tanjore: wooden pillars and wall panels with Rāmāyaṇa scenes, C17  
[**see** George 2022] Honolulu Museum of Art 10656-61

**object (and medium)** mural paintings, Kerala

**location (original/present)** various (as noted below)

**date** 12th-19th centuries

**studies** *Cochin murals: collotype reproductions of the mural paintings of Cochin,* *based on photography,* with explanatory text by V.R. Chitra and T.N. Srinivasan (Bombay: New Book Co., 1940) [Contents: I. 20 collotype plates dealing with Hindu mythology.--II. 20 collotype plates depicting scenes of the Ramayana.- [III]. Text volume.]  
 **(IND) 20 E 58a+b**

Frenz, Albrecht and Krishna Kumar Marar 2004: *Wall Paintings in North Kerala: 1000 years of temple art* (Stuttgart: Arnoldsche). **Ind. Inst. 20 E 512**

Heston, Mary Beth 2010: “Visualising and Performing Kingship: the Rāmāyaṇa murals at Maṭṭānceri Palace, Kērala, South India”, ACM Singapore conference paper, July 2010.  **printout**

Heston, Mary Beth 2011: “Reconsidering the Ramayana murals, Mattancheri Palace (Kerala)” in Dallapiccola 2011b: 190-205.

Heston, Mary Beth 2013a: “The “Performance” of Visual Narrative in Courtly Kerala: the Ramayana murals of Mattanceri Palace”, in *Rethinking Visual Narratives from Asia: intercultural and comparative perspectives,* ed. Alexandra Green (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press): 215-227. **SOAS FB /756091; see notes in “Further notes (visual)”**

Heston, Mary Beth 2013b: ““Iconicity”: indexing transformation in Kerala narrative painting”, in *Indian Painting: essays in honour of B.N. Goswamy*, ed. by Mahesh Sharma and Padma Kaimal (Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing): 368-77. **scan**

Ramachandran, A. 2005: *Painted abode of gods: mural traditions of Kerala* (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts: Vadehra Art Gallery). **(IND) 20 E 554**[pp. 208-47 on Mattancheri Dutch Palace; pp. 322-23 on Panayannarkavu Śiva t.]

Seastrand, Anna Lise 2012: “Image and text in early modern South Indian murals”, in *Centre 32* (Washington: National Gallery of Art): 141-43. **download** [research report]

**notes**  sites: Chennamangalam, Kodungallur, Lokanarkavu, Makreri, Maṭṭāñceri, Morazha, Panapuzha, Panayannarkavu, Todīkalam [**n.b.** plain page references below are to Frenz and Marar 2004]

**Chennamangalam:** Śiva temple (18th-19th century) [pp. 135-43, two plates pp.138-9]: Rāma with *vānara* warriors; Rāma with bow (posed as in sculptured images)

**Kodungallur:** Tiruvañcikulam temple has a painting of Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna watching Rāma’s installation, of 16th-17th century (Sivaramamurti 1968: 145-51) and carved figures of R. + L. + Hanumān + Sugrīva on front gable (Michell 2013: 537).

**Lokanarkavu, Vadakara:** 19th-century Bhagavatī temple [pp. 146-51, two plates on p. 147]: Rāma. Lakṣmaṇa and Sugrīva (ready for battle); Hanumān worshipping Rāma

**Makreri:** 12th-century Subrahmanya temple [pp. 52-53] with murals on smaller shrine showing [2 plates]: multi-headed (5 in semicircle) and multi-armed (± 20) Rāvaṇa; Rāma and Sītā

**Maṭṭānceri** palace (Kochi, Kerala): well-known murals in King’s Chamber (*paḷḷiyarai*) of the palace, probably datable to 18th century, in 7 panels: 2 for *Bālakāṇḍa* but no *Uttarakāṇḍa*; within each panel story shown as continuous narrative (full treatment in Heston 2010, 2011 and 2013a+b)

Ramachandran 2005: 104 – “The narrative style of Kerala murals is at its best in the famour *Ramayana* illustrations at Mattancheri Palace in Cochin. The entire story of *Rāmāyana* starting from Dasharatha’s sacrifice and the birth of Rama, to a series of incidents which culminate in the fight between Rama and Ravana, Sita’s ordeal by fire, and Rama’s coronation are illustrated.”

Michell 2013: 523 — “The king’s bed chamber occupies the southwest corner of the palace. Its walls are covered with scenes from the Ramayana, which relate the story in considerable detail (English labels provided). The epic begins (east wall) with the fire sacrifice of Rishyashringa, the devotions of Dasharatha, and the birth of Rama and his three brothers (left panel). The story is interrupted with two depictions of Krishna (central panel), before continuing with Vishvamitra meeting Dasharatha, Rama killing Tataka, the sacrifice of Vishvamitra, Rama liberating Ahalya, Rama breaking Shiva’s bow, the marriage of Rama and Sita, and Rama tying the string of Parashurama’s bow (right panel). The narrative continues (south wall) with Dasharatha appointing Rama as his heir, Rama leaving for the forest, the meeting of Bharata and Rama, and Lakshmana disfiguring Suparnaka (left panel), Rama and Sita in the forest, Rama killing the golden deer, Ravana’s abduction of Sita, and Jatayu’s attempt to intercept Ravana (right panel). Further scenes (west wall) show the meeting of Rama with Sugriva, Rama shooting the arrow through seven palm trees, the fight of Vali and Sugriva (left panel), Rama giving the ring to Hanuman, Hanuman leaping through the air with the mountain of sacred herbs, Hanuman entering Lanka, Ravana attempting to woo Sita, Rama performing penance, the building of the stone bridge, and battles between Ravana and Sugriva, Rama and Kumbhakarna, and Rama and Ravana, and his fire ordeal of Sita (central panel), Rama returning to Ayodhya, and the reception at the palace with attendants holding lamps (right panel).”

V. Rangacharya in *Cochin Murals* III, 91 on Rāmāyaṇa murals at Maṭṭāñceri:  
“Painted above the wooden mouldings on the wall, these 45 scenes, which cover more than 300 square feet, and which have escaped spoliation by plastering and smoke of the oil lamp except in a small portion, present the story of the Ramayana from Dasaratha’s sacrifice to Rama’s return from Lanka. These pictures, twenty of which have been reproduced in Volume II of this work, have been attributed to ‘about1600 A.D’ and to ‘th 17th century’ rather vaguely.”

*Cochin Murals* volumes I and II are loose plates, without captions, in one large portfolio, while text volume III is a single much smaller volume. Plates in vol. II show:  
1. Daśaratha (top left, with Kausalya) having sacrifice performed by Ṛṣyaśṛṅga (bottom left), distribution of *pāyasa* (lower right) and birth of sons (upper right)  
2. birth of sons   
3. distribution of *pāyasa*  
4. Daśaratha grieving with 2 queens after Rāma’s departure, Rāma etc. crossing Gaṅgā, killing of Virādha, (incomplete) meeting of Rāma and Bharata at Citrakūṭa  
5. crossing the Gaṅgā in Guha’s boat  
6. Bharata entreats Rāma to return to Ayodhyā (much obscured by lamp soot)  
7. Rāma seated before hermitage in Pañcavaṭī with Sītā on his lap, L. standing beside, R. and golden deer, Rāvaṇa begging alms  
8. R. chasing the golden deer  
9. Rāvaṇa as saṃnyāsī begging alms from Sītā  
10. Rāvaṇa’s fight with Jaṭāyus (upper portion whitewashed, Rāvaṇa’s head missing)  
11. R + S. at Pañcavaṭī  
12. meeting the Śabarī, oath of friendship between R. and Sugrīva, killing of Vālin  
13. R. pledging friendship with Sugrīva  
14. the Śabarī entertaining R. with fruit  
15 + 16. fight between R. and Rāvaṇa (15 with chariot, 16 without)  
17. fight between R. and Kumbhakarṇa  
18. Hanumān’s encounter with Surasā  
19. waking of Kumbhakarṇa  
20. S.’s ordeal  
 and in text vol. plates 5 + 6: Rāma’s return in *puṣpaka* and his reception at Ayodhyā (these are upper and lower parts of one panel)

**Morazha:** 16th-century Śiva temple [pp. 100-09, three plates pp. 102-3]: Rāma and *vānaras* fighting Rāvaṇa; Rāvaṇa’s charioteer; Rāvaṇa and rākṣasas in battle

**Panayannarkavu** Śiva temple: paintings of late C16 date (so Ramachandran 2005: 322-23). Ramachandran 2005: 104 – “Though not treated in as great detail as at Mattancheri, there are a few remarkable panels at Panayannarkavu. Sandwiched between the images of Shiva and Vishnu, they depict the fight between Rama and Ravana, the death of Ravana, the reunion of Sita and Rama, and finally the coronation of Rama.”  
subjects identified: fight with Indrajit, R. and Rāvaṇa fighting in chariots, dying Rāvaṇa falling from chariot, weeping Mandodarī and Vibhīṣaṇa, victorious R., *vānaras* carrying S. in palanquin to Rāma, Hanumān, R. + S. in *puṣpaka vimāna,* R.’s *paṭṭābhiṣeka* (another *Rāmapaṭṭābhiṣeka,* C17, in another room acc. to Ramachandra 2005: 249).

**Panapuzha:** Korothappan (Viṣṇu) temple of 15th-18th centuries — inner painting layer 15th century, outer 17th-18th century [pp. 86-99, 2 plates pp. 92-93]: Sītā and Rāma (inner layer); Rāma (inner layer)

**Todīkalam**: late 16th-century (Ramachandran 2005: 347) Śiva temple — Rāmachandran’s diagram (2005: 345) notes Rāvaṇa ordering waking of Kumbhakarṇa, Kumbhakarṇa asleep, scenes from fight between Rāma and Meghanāda, general battle scenes, Rāvaṇa dead, Mandodarī weeping, Sītā’s ordeal. Ramachandran 2005: 353 – “In the *Ramayana* panel, . . . , the artists have successfully interwoven three or four strips of picture-spaces with the images of war.” The style of the paintings is similar to the frescoes of the Maṭṭāñceri palace.

from Frenz and Marar 2004:

Todīkalam (Kannur Dist.): 16th-century Śiva temple has murals all round the exterior of the *śrīkovil* (= *garbhagṛha*) and the west wall contains Rāmāyaṇa images and scenes [p.11] as follows (from plates on pp. 36-45; paintings except as indicated):   
right hand corner niche: relief statue of Rāvaṇa   
left hand corner niche: relief statue of Rāma’s *paṭṭābhiṣeka,* with surrounding murals showing Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata, Śatrughna, Hanumān and other *vānaras*   
Sītā with a bearded Vālmīki [detail only]   
Rāma with bow, surrounded by Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa, Hanumān and Nīla   
turbaned Nārada holding a tambūra   
*vānara* holding tree as weapon [detail only] Rāma shooting arrows at Rāvaṇa [detail only] multi-headed Rāvaṇa (5 shown in semicircle) hit by Rāma’s arrows   
Rāma, Hanumān and Vibhīṣaṇa   
Vibhīṣaṇa and Mandodarī (side by side, ? conversing)   
Indrajit shooting at Rāma’s army   
Rāvaṇa’s death (kaleidoscopic effect of multiple heads and limbs)   
Rāma carried on Hanumān’s shoulder   
*vānaras* playing musical instruments (celebrating Rāma’s installation)   
Sītā’s *agniparīkṣā* [text caption mentions story of washerman’s defamatory remarks]  
Sītā’s *agniparīkṣā* (entering flames) with Rāma shown on right

**object (and medium)** Mughal miniatures (including provincial Mughal)

**location (original/present)** various

**date** 1580s – 17th century (to end of 18th century)

**studies** Adamjee, Qamar, and Audrey Truschke 2015: “Reimagining the ‘Idol-Temple of Hindustan: textual and visual translation of Sanskrit texts in Mughal India’”, in *Pearls on a String: artists, patrons, and poets at the great Islamic courts,* ed. by Amy Landau (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum; Seattle: University of Washington Press): 141-65.  
[pp. 155-59 subtitled “The *Ramayana*: Envisioning the Mughals as Indian Kings” – **scan**]  
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Beach, Milo C. 1981: *The Imperial Image: paintings for the Mughal court* (Washington: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution). **download**

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Brockington, John 2022: “Some illustrated *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* manuscripts”, *RoSA* 16.2-3: 318-41.

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Brockington, John 2024: “Illustrations and text in Bīr Singh’s *Rāmāyaṇa*”, *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 58.1: 87-101

Chandra, Pramod 1957-59: “A series of *Rāmāyaṇa* paintings of the popular Mughal school”, *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin* 6: 64-70. [on Bīr Singh’s Rāmāyaṇa] **scan**

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Colnaghi 1976: *Persian and Mughal art: Rothschild and Binney collections,* by B.W. Robinson (London: Colnaghi). **Wolfson Floersheimer 700.005601 COL; pp. 197 + 219 scanned**

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Das, Asok Kumar 1994: “Akbar’s Imperial Ramayana: a Mughal Persian manuscript”, in Dehejia (ed.) 1994: 73-84. **own copy**

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**notes the lists below give first manuscripts or sets of paintings, then single paintings not clearly associated with any sets**

Akbar’s own copy of Persian trans., the *Rāmnāma*, completed on 6th Nov. 1588 acc. to its colophon, now in Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur (MS. AG. 1851–2026), 41.2 × 27.2 cm., in 365 folios with 176 illustrations painted by at least 60 artists   
(for a full listing of the paintings and their artists **see** Seyller 1999: 323-37):

Daśaratha performs the *putreṣṭi,* by Basāvan + Ḥusayn Naqqāsh (AG 1856)  
 Seyller + 2020: 41, fig. 8 *agnipuruṣa* emerges from sacrifice, by Basāvan + Ḥusayn Naqqāsh (AG 1857)  
 Seyller + 2020: 41, fig. 7; *Rām. illustré*: I, 84-85  
birth of Rāma, by Keśava and Keśava Khūrd *Rām. illustré*: I, 89  
Viśvāmitra performs his sacrifice, by Jagana and Īsar *Rām. illustré*: I, 116  
Viśvāmitra helps Triśaṅku, by Rāmadāsa *Rām. illustré*: I, 170  
Menakā tempts Viśvāmitra, by Miskīn *Rām. illustré*: 180 (detail p. 179)  
churning of ocean by Rāmadāsa *Rām. illustré*: I, 146  
Janaka receives R. + L. with Viśvāmitra, by Bhagavān *Rām. illustré*: I, 54  
Janaka’s envoys tell Daśaratha, by Keśava Kalān and Māndu Kalān *Rām. illustré*: I, 194  
Daśaratha receives R., by Kesava Kalān and Citara Mūnī *Rām. illustré*: II, 19  
R. says farewell to Daśaratha, by Keśava and Bhora *Rām. illustré*: II, 55  
R. says farewell to Kausalyā, by Kesu Kalān and Dhanūn *Rām. illustré*: II, 58  
Kausalyā blesses R., by Kānhā and Manī *Rām. illustré*: II, 62  
S. begs to go with R., by Jagana *Rām. illustré*: II, 73  
R. agrees to L. going too, by Miskīn and Māndū Firangī *Rām. illustré*: II, 81  
crossing the Yamunā, by Miskīn and Nārāyaṇa *Rām. illustré*: II, 131  
Bharata and Śatrughna pay homage to Kausalya, by Kesava Kalān and Māndū  
 *Rām. illustré*: II, 163  
Bharata sets out with army, by Miskīn, Citara and Bhoja *Rām. illustré*: II, 181  
Bharadvāja’s miracles, by Lāla and Jagajīvana *Rām. illustré*: II, 191  
S. kneels to Kausalyā, by Māndū and Bhagavān *Rām. illustré*: II, 217  
Bharata takes leave of R., by Lāl and Jagajīvan *Rām. illustré*: II, 221  
death of Virādha, by Lāla and Sānvala *Rām. illustré*: III, 16   
R. kills the golden deer, by Kesava and Banavārī Khūrd *Rām. illustré*: III, 103  
Rāvaṇa resumes his *rākṣasa* form, by Basāvan and Dharmdās *Rām. illustré*: III, 111  
Jaṭāyus attacks Rāvaṇa, by Tulasī and Bhagavānī *Rām. illustré*: III, 121  
L. in Sugrīva's palace, by Lāl and Māndū Kaln *Rām. illustré*: IV, 89  
R. and *vānaras* arrive at ocean, 38 × 26.5 cm. Topsfield 2004: 368-9, no. 163  
Sāgara appears to R., by Keśava and Śankara *Rām. illustré*: VI, 55  
awakening of Kumbhakarṇa, by Par Lāl and Banavārī Kalān AG 1960  
 (ill. at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 143)  
S. enters fire *Rām. illustré*: VI, 286  
celebrations for R.'s installation (detail), by Kesava and Citara Munī *Rām. illustré*: VI, 317  
Kumbhakarṇa's profound sleep, by Lāl and Dhanū *Rām. illustré*: VII, 37  
Rāvaṇa's encounter with Mahājāmbūnada, by Basāvan and Tārā Kalān   
 *Rām. illustré*: VII, 62  
Viṣṇu in *viśvarūpa* form menaces Rāvaṇa, by Basāvan and Manī *Rām. illustré*: VII, 6 Hanumān leaps for sun, by Lāl and Jagajīvan *Rām. illustré*: I*,* 22 and VII, 85  
death of Lavaṇa *Rām. illustré*: VII, 135  
R. kills the *śūdra* ascetic, attrib. to Kesava Kalān *Rām. illustré*: VII, 141  
Kuśa and Lava chant Rāmāyaṇa before R. *Rām. illustré*: VII, 163  
S. is swallowed by Earth *Rām. illustré*: VII, 165  
subjects follow R. to river Sarayū *Rām. illustré*: VII, 182  
R. arrives in Brahmā's heaven *Rām. illustré*: VII, 183

Rām. ms of 1594 linked with Akbar’s mother Hamīda Bānū Begum, posthumously called Maryam Makānī (**see** Leach 1998: 40-49 [**scan**] and Seyller, Sardar and Truschke 2020), in over 450 folios (37.5-38.3 × 24.9-25.6 cm.) with 56 illustrations by three painters; all illustrated in Seyller and others 2020 and also as noted below:   
R. kills *rākṣasas* in Rāvaṇa’s army, f.4r, 36.7 × 22.8 cm. (MIA, Doha, MS.20.2000 [so all])   
Kuśa and Lava are brought before R., f.13v, 23 × 20.9 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: I, 60  
Ṛṣyaśṛṅga seduced by courtesans (David coll., Copenhagen, 17/1992) *Rām. illustré*: I, 67  
preparations for *aśvamedha,* f.33v [?], 34.8 × 21 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: I, 75 + 76  
 [= Christie's 10.10.00: 59, **f.27r**, by Nūr Muhammad]   
divine messenger brings *pāyasa* for Daśaratha’s wives, and R. + S. + L. bid farewell,   
 37.8 by 24.9 cm. (Leach 1998: 44) Khalili collection, London, MSS 955.1   
Daśaratha greets Viśvāmitra at gates of Ayodhyā, f.33v [?] (MIA, Doha)  
Viśvāmitra with R. + L., 32.8 × 21.2 / 38.3 × 25.6 cm. Rietberg RVI 1840  
 [= Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 2; McGill 2016: 46-47, no. 12; *Rām. illustré*: I, 101]  
Rāma kills Tāṭakā, 29.9 × 20.2 / 37.5 × 27.9 cm. Rietberg RVI 1841  
 [= Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 3; verso has only text]  
sages pay homage to R. + L., f.35r , 30.8 × 20.6 cm. (MIA, Doha)  
Aṃśumān tells Sagara of death of sons, 31.4 × 21.7 cm. (unknown collection)  
arrival at Mithilā, f.49r, 31.6 × 21.1 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: I, 155  
Vasiṣṭha and Śabalā (Guimet, MA 6227) *Rām. illustré*: I, 160  
story of Ambarīṣa, f.56r, 23.2 × 19.7 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: I, 175  
R. breaks the bow, f.61r, 31.4 × 20.9 cm. (MIA, Doha)  
Daśaratha summons R. for first time, f.69v, 31.8 × 20.2 cm., (MIA, Doha)  
Daśaratha summons R. for second time, f.80v, 32.4 × 21.3 cm. (MIA, Doha)  
 *Rām. illustré*: I, 202  
R. + S. + L., dressed in antelope skins, bid farewell, 32.2 by 21.9 cm.   
 (*Rām. illustré*: II, 95.2; Leach 1998: 45) Khalili collection, London, MSS 955.2  
Daśaratha goes to Kausalyā, accompanied by Sumantra, f.100v, 27.8 × 20.2 cm.   
 (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: II, 45  
Bharata swoons at Daśaratha’s cremation, 31 × 20.5 cm. Rietberg RVI 1700   
 [= Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 18; Ahuja 2013: 37 (fig.14); *Rām. illustré*: II, 171]  
Bharata and ministers pay homage to empty throne, f.110r, 31.1 × 20.5 cm.   
 (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: II, 176  
R. + L. confront Virādha, f.123v, 31.5 × 20.5 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: III, 15  
R. kills Khara, f.132r, 32.6 × 20.5 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: III, 69  
Rāvaṇa abducts S. in chariot, grasping her by hair, f.144r, 33 × 21.2 cm. (MIA, Doha)  
 *Rām. illustré*: III, 127  
R. kills Triśiras, f. 146r, 33 × 20.5 cm. Christie's 10.10.00: 58  
garlanded Sugrīva issuing 2nd challenge to Vālin with R. + L. behind, f.161v,   
 32.7 × 20.6 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: I, 25  
Hanumān + *vānaras* encounter Svayamprabhā, f.180v, 33.8 × 22.2 cm. (MIA, Doha)  
 [= Galloway 1998: 6, no. 2] *Rām. illustré*: IV, 123  
Hanumān in *śiṃśapā* tree sees Rāvaṇa approach S., f.194r, 33.5 × 21.9 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: V, 44  
Hanumān approaches S. who turns away, 36.3 × 22.2 cm.  
 [also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: V, 88 + details: 85 + 87] David coll. 68/1998  
Hanumān trashes *aśokavana* and massacres *kiṃkaras,* f.203r, 32.7 × 21.1 cm.   
 (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: V, 107  
Hanumān sets fire to Laṅkā, f.209r, 34.5 × 20.7 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: V, 129  
R. embraces Hanumān on his return, f.214r, 32.6 × 21.8 cm. (MIA, Doha)  
 *Rām. illustré*: VI, 12  
R. + L. (on backs of Hanumān + Aṅgada) and allies arrive at shores of ocean (Cynthia Hazen Polsky coll., 1010-IP) Topsfield 2004: 368-9 no. 163; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 21  
*vānaras* build *setu,* f.225v, 33.8 × 22.9 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 58  
Sugrīva announces completion of *setu* to R. + L. (David coll., Copenhagen, 16/1992)  
 *Rām. illustré*: VI, 59  
Śuka and Śaraṇa report to Rāvaṇa, f.229c, 35.2 × 20.9 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 85  
Rāvaṇa shows S. severed head of R., f.235 r. (MIA, Doha) [= Christie's 10.10.00: 60] Topsfield 2004: 370-1 no. 164 and *Rām. illustré*: VI, 76  
ascent of Suvela Cynthia Hazen Polsky coll., 1011-IP  
 (ill at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 87; Topsfield 2004: 370-1, no. 164)  
Indrajit strikes down R. + L. [no snakes], f.245r, 34.7 × 22 cm. (MIA, Doha)  
S.'s despair at seeing "dead" R. + L., f.246v, 34.6 × 21.5 cm. (MIA, Doha)  
 *Rām. illustré*: VI, 111  
*vānaras* attack Kumbhakarṇa, f.269v, 34.4 × 22.3 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 159  
R. + L. kill Kumbhakarṇa, f.275v, 33.4 × 22.1 cm. (MIA, Doha)  
Sugrīva defeats Mahodara, f.320v, 33 × 22.2 cm. (MIA, Doha)  
battle of R. and Rāvaṇa, f.329r, 32.9 × 20.6 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 263  
R. on Indra’s chariot kills Rāvaṇa, f.331v, 33.5 × 22.1 cm. (MIA, Doha)  
 *Rām. illustré*: VI, 268(detail)  
Vibhīṣaṇa addresses R. as S. brought in palanquin, 32.6 × 21.2 cm. Rietberg RVI 2169  
 (also ill. at Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 68; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 279; McGill 2016: 76-77, no. 38)  
Viṣṇu fights with *rākṣasas*, f.358v, 36 × 23.2 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 27(detail)  
Viṣṇu severs Mālin’s head, f.360r, 35.3 × 23.2 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 30  
Kumbhakarṇa asks Rāvaṇa for a place to sleep, f.366r, (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 33  
Rāvaṇa goes to Varuṇa’s abode of Asmanagara on Puṣpaka [shown as palanquin]   
 (Somlyo coll., Charlottesville) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 41(detail) + 60  
Indrajit captures Indra, f.386v, 33.3 × 22.3 cm. (MIA, Doha)  
Indra + Sūrya espy Ṛkṣarajas as beautiful female, 32.6 × 20.9 cm. (private coll.)  
R. + S. reunite in garden pavilion, f.402v, 33 × 21 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 97  
Vālmīki receives S. in his *āśrama* as L. + Sumantra leave by boat, f. 408v,  
 32.6 × 21.2 cm. (MIA, Doha) [= Christie's 10.10.00: 62; 32.4 × 21.4 cm.]  
 Adamjee and Truschke 2015: fig. 5.9; *Rām. illustré*: VII, 113  
R. addresses Śatrughna as he leaves to fight Lavaṇa, f.416r, 35.6 × 21.5 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 125  
Agastya narrates story of king Daṇḍa, f.425r, 35.3 × 22.5 cm. (MIA, Doha)   
 *Rām. illustré*: VII, 145  
Kuśa and Lava chant the Rāmāyaṇa before R., f. 432v, 35.8 × 22.4 cm. (MIA, Doha)   
 [= Christie's 10.10.00: 61; 35.4 × 22.6 cm] *Rām. illustré*: VII, 161  
subjects follow R. to river Sarayū, f.441v, 32.1 × 21 cm. (MIA, Doha) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 179

3rd copy (= Freer Rāmāyaṇa; Freer Gallery, Smithsonian, F1907.271) made for Akbar’s courtier, *ʿ*Abd al-Raḥīm Khān-i khānān, who in a note at beginning of ms recorded that it contained 135 paintings (actually 133), was begun in AH 996 (1587-88) and completed in AH 1007 (1598-99) but dates recorded on individual paintings show that it was not completed until at least AH 1013 (1604-05; Seyller 1999: 75-76; cf. Truschke 2016: 212); bought by Charles Lang Freer in 1907 from collection of Colonel Henry Bathurst Hanna); dimensions: 27.5 × 15.2 cm.; artists represented include Śyāma Sundara, Fazl, Mushfiq, Nadim, Yusuf *ʿ*Ali, Qasim and Kamal (14 named on Freer folios); **see** Beach 1981: 128-55 (detailed colophon of ms, translated by B.N. Goswamy, given on p.135)**,** Seyller 1999 and alsoown notes in “Further Notes (visual)” [several ill. in “visual background” folder; whole ms. now viewable online at https://www.si.edu/object/fsg\_F1907.271.1-172]

Rām. ms. almost certainly for Bīr [Vīr] Singh Bundela; variously dated c. 1595 to c. 1610 (datable stylistically “*c.* a.d. 1610 or a little earlier” (Chandra 1957-59: 70); all folios considerably damaged (their irregular shape is due to fire damage probably soon after the ms was completed, hence “burnt” Rāmāyaṇa), some repaired (probably at a relatively early date); from one series but by several painters; *VR* text on verso in *devanāgarī* along with separate *brajbhāṣā*/Bundeli caption in 1-2 lines.   
 24 paintings were offered for sale in 1956 — 2 bought by CSVMVS, 5 by Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, the rest by the Nat. Mus. [sets 56.93 (6 folios) and 56.114 (13 folios), in entries below B = Brussels catalogue]; other folios widely dispersed in museums and private collections (including Birla Academy of Art and Culture and State Museum, Lucknow).  
 **see** further in JLB 2019 (“Bīr Singh’s *Rāmāyaṇa*: a note on the text”, *IT* 45: 9-37) and background notes for it, including transcriptions of available versos, in “Notes towards publications” in “Publications and lectures” in “D. Ancillary material”.

Sumantra mentions Ṛśyaśṛṅga, 21.8 × 18.7 cm., text on verso = 1.8.5c-7d + 1 further unidentified verse (also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: II, 138) Nat. Mus. 61.816

birth of R., 23.5 × 17.5 cm.; 2 ll. of text on verso Sotheby’s 15.10.01: 166  
(ex Datia Palace coll., c. 1947)

Daśaratha with wives and sons, 28.2 × 18 cm. J.P. Goenka coll.   
(Goswamy 1999: 46-47, no. 36; *Rām. illustré*: II, 13)

Viśvāmitra asks Daśaratha for R. + L., c. 1605, 24.3 × 19.1 cm. Philadelphia 2004-149-15  
[**see** Seyller in Mason 2001: 62-63; also ill. Christie’s 11.06.86: 139; *Rām. illustré*: I, 99]

R. + L. at Gautama’s *āśrama*; text on verso = 1.48.11d-18cd (as N)Nat. Mus. 56.114/12

R. breaks bow, 34.5 × 24.2 cm., text on verso = 1.66.18a-22b (B) Nat. Mus. 56.114/11  
(also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: I, 193)

Daśaratha consults brāhman advisers (all on dais), with two young princes on right   
(? Bharata + Śatrughna) Nat.Mus. 56.114/3

Daśaratha confers with his ministers, 26.9 × 19 cm., 6 ll of text from *VR* (vulgate) 2.2  
 and 1 l. of Hindi on verso   
 McInerney 1982a: 26-27 [exhibition + sale cat. for David Carritt/Artemis Arts]

R. + S. + L. leave palace, 29.5 × 19.5 cm.; text on verso: 2.928\* (N ins.) up to 2.35.24  
(also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: II, 97) (B) Nat. Mus. 56.93/6

Daśaratha faints (*Rām. illustré*: II, 100; detail: 137) BKB

death of Daśaratha, 29.2 × 19.1 cm.; text on verso = 2.58.52cd–2.1508(A)\* 12 plus 1 l. of Hindi (also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: II, 149 + 150) Met. Mus. 2002.506

Bharata pleads with Daśaratha to recall R. + L. (above) and sends attendants to find them (below), 28.9 × 17.8 cm. , prob. by Makara; text on verso = 2.2092\* to 2.91.3  
(ill. at Binney 1973 no. 34, Ehnbom 1985: 48-49, no. 15 [**scan**]) Ehrenfeld coll.

exiles rest at Bharadvāja’s *āśrama,* attrib to Jagjīvan, 29.1 × 19.8 cm. CSMVS 56.28  
(ill. at Chandra 1957-59, pl. 19; *Rām. illustré*: II, 127; Seyller + others 2020: 42, fig. 12)

Bharata before R., by Makara (source – Seyller 2001: 62-63) private collection

R. and Bharata meet (*Rām. illustré*: II, 207) private coll.

R. refuses kingdom (*Rām. illustré*: II, 211) CSMVS

R. sends Bharata back; text on verso = 2.99.1-10 (as N) Nat. Mus. 56.93/3  
(also ill. at Chandra 1957-59, pl. 23a)

exiles perform *śrāddha* for Daśaratha, 27 × 15.2 cm. (*Rām. illustré*: II, 214) private coll.

R. + S. + L. go through Daṇḍaka forest (*Rām. illustré*: II, 243) BKB

exiles at Pañcavaṭī, Howard Hodgkin collection, 28.8 × 19.1 cm.; text on verso from vulgate 3.15 [= CE 3.14] [**see** notes on H.H. collection] Ash. Mus. LI 118.12  
(ill. in Topsfield and Beach 1991: 26-27, Filippi 1997: 54, *Rām. illustré*: III, 43)

R. + L. repel *rākṣasas* in Daṇḍakāraṇya, Mughal, c. 1595-1605, 22.9 × 17.8 cm.,   
16 lines of Skt text on verso (ex Datia Palace Collection) Ducrot coll. MG 1

Sītā offers fruit to Rāma in forest as L. watches in tree, 28.4 × 18.8 cm.; text on verso = 2.108.1-7 (ill. at Chandra 1957-59, pl. 24b; Gupta 1985: 98-99, no. 130; *Image* p. 82, pl. 382; *Rām. illustré*: II, 203 [detail: 226-7]) Nat. Mus. 56.114/5

Rāvaṇa receives courtiers, 27.6 × 18.9 cm.; text on verso = 3.32.1–762\*2 + 2 ll. of Hindī   
(also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 35; Topsfield 2004: 364-5, no. 161; McGill 2016: 215, no. 106) Met. Mus. 2002.505

R. chases human-headed golden deer, 28.7 × 18.4 cm.; text on verso = 3.790\* 23-30 and 3.42.1-18 (with NE variants) Nat. Mus. 56.114/10  
(also ill. at Chandra 1957-59, pl. 25b; *Rām. illustré*: III, 102)

Jaṭāyus attacks Rāvaṇa (*Rām. illustré*: III, 118) BKB

Jaṭāyus attacks Rāvaṇa, 26.5 × 15.8 cm.; text on verso = 3.49.4–966\*8 [shortened trans. at  
McGill 2016: 250] Cleveland 2013.306  
(Datia Palace collection to 1947, ex Benkaim coll.; also ill. at McGill 2016: 230-1)

R. and L. meet after abduction, 27.8 × 17.8 cm.; text on verso = 3.57.1b–19cd (as NE)  
(ex Heeramaneck coll.; also ill. Dye 2001: 244, no. 82; *Rām. illustré*: III, 137)  
 Virginia Mus. 68.8.56

R. + L. seated in Daṇḍaka (*Rām. illustré*: IV, 14) formerly in Birla Acad. of Art, Kolkata

R. + L. seated in Daṇḍaka (*Rām. illustré*: IV, 15) private coll.

R. + L. kill Kabandha, 27.9 × 19 cm.; text on verso = 3.66.1-11 (as NE) Nat. Mus. 56.114/6

R. + L. meet Sugrīva at Mataṅga’s *āśrama*, 23.8 × 19 / 28.3 × 18.7 cm.; text on verso =   
4.2.1ab–4.4.20ab (as NE) (ex Heeramaneck coll. [211b in 1966 publ.]; also at Krishnan 2010: 106; *Rām. illustré*: IV, 25; detail: 20-21) LACMA M.82.6.6

Sugrīva reassures R. (*Rām. illustré*: VI, 15) BKB

R. justifies himself to Vālin (ex Heeramaneck coll. [211a in 1966 publ.]; **see** Pal 1993:   
289-91 [**own copy**]; also at Krishnan 2010: 106; *Rām. illustré*: IV, 52) LACMA M.82.6.5

Aṅgada at Rāvaṇa’s court, 29.2 × 19 cm.; text on verso = 6.31.49c-74b (as N)  
 (B) Nat. Mus. 56.114/4

*vānaras* and *rākṣasas* fight; text on verso = 6.32.25-32 + 695\*[l.v.] (as N) Nat. Mus. 56.93/2

“the bear king takes Sītā away” [actually: above, Rāvaṇa approaches S. in *aśokavana*; below, outside walls, R. + L. consult with Sugrīva and Hanumān], 27 × 18.1 cm.;   
14 ll. of text on verso (ex Datia Palace collection, c. 1947) Sotheby’s 15.10.01: 165

Rāvaṇa is told of Prahasta’s death; text on verso = 6.948\* + 6.47.4-6 + 951\*1-4 (as N)  
 Nat. Mus. 56.114/7

Mandodarī approaches Rāvaṇa, 26.7 × 18.4 cm.; text on verso = 6.951\*4–App.30.40   
[ins. after 6.47.6] (also ill. at McGill 2016: 234, no. 123) San Francisco 2003.4

waking of Kumbhakarṇa, 27.6 × 18.9 cm.; text on verso = 6.48.16cd–86cd (as N), 1 further damaged l. at foot of page, above which is ink stamp reading *tasvirkhānā datiyā sṭeṭ*+ handwritten *48* (also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 139) Met. Mus. 2002.504

Kumbhakarṇa fights *vānaras*; 26.7 × 18.4 cm.; text on verso = 6.53.11cd–1176\*7 (as N)  
(also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 157 and McGill 2016: 84-85, no. 42) San Francisco 2003.3

*rākṣasas* inform Rāvaṇa of Kumbhakarṇa’s death, 26.7 × 19.3 cm.; text on verso = 6.56.1-5 + 1222\* (insert by all S) Nat. Mus. 56.114/13  
(also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 201 [identified as death of Makarākṣa])

battle for Laṅkā (Rāvaṇa enthroned top r.), 26.7 × 19 cm.; text on verso = 1½ unidentified *ślokas* + 6.57.45c-49b, including 1247\* (insert by all S) Nat. Mus. 56.114/9

*vānaras* and *rākṣasas* fight as R. + L. watch, 27.5 × 18.4 cm.; purple stamp on verso   
(also detail at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 88-89) Minneapolis Institute of Arts 2010.6.2

R. + L. + *vānaras* before Laṅkā , 1600-10, 26 × 13.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.1238  
(ill. at *Min. mogholes* pp. 48-49, no. 13; Daljeet 1999: 45; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 101)

R. sends Aṅgada as envoy to Rāvaṇa (*Rām. illustré*: VI, 96) Nat. Mus.

R. + L. + *vānaras* fighting *rākṣasas*, 29 × 19.5 cm. (ill. *Min. mogholes* pp. 50-51, no. 14;   
Daljeet 1999: 46-47; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 16-17 [detail], 103 + 126) Nat. Mus. 56.93/4

*vānara* army attacking the *rākṣasas* Nat. Mus.  
(Chandra 1957-59, pl.25a; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 37 [detail: Rāvaṇa in his palace])

*vānara* army attacking the *rākṣasas*, c. 1595, 28.3 × 19.1 cm. Cornell 99.011

arrival of Atikāya (?) on battlefield, 27.3 × 18.1 cm, 13 ll. of text on verso   
(*Rām. illustré*: VI, 178; Topsfield 2004: 358-9, no. 158 [**scan**]) coll. Cynthia Hazen Polsky

*rākṣasas* report death of Indrajit to Rāvaṇa (enthroned top r., 10 human + 1 donkey heads) as R. + L. watch *vānaras* fighting *rākṣasas* outside walls, 28.6 × 18.5 cm.; text on verso = 6.80.1-10d (as N) Nat. Mus. 56.93/5  
(also ill. at Chandra 1957-59, pl.21; Sharma 1974, pl. 7; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 99)

Hanumān brings healing herbs to R + L., 26.3 × 18.2 cm., 26.3 × 18.3 cm.; text on verso =   
6 App.56.28 [ins. after 6.89.12 or 4] to 6.89.22cd (as NE) (Binney coll.)   
(also ill. at Binney 1973: 48, no. 24; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 227) San Diego 1990.290

battle between R. and Rāvaṇa; Rājasthānī style of mid 18th cent. imitating series style   
(i.e. replacement; ill. at Chandra 1957-59, pl.23b) coll. of Shri Haridas Swali, Bombay

R. attacks Rāvaṇa in his chariot, 26.7 × 17.8 cm. Rietberg (Fischer coll.)  
(Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 80; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 257)

R. + L. observe dying Rāvaṇa, 26.8 × 19.1 cm., 14 ll. of text on verso Sotheby’s 23.05.06: 77  
(subsequently Kiran Nadar Museum of Art, New Delhi, via Osian’s Auction; also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 273)

*agni-parīkṣā* of Sītā, 28 × 18.9 cm. (also ill. at Chandra 1957-59, pl. 18; Morley 1981 pl. Q; Tandon 2002, pl. 6; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 287) BKB 8056

gods convince Rāma of Sītā’s purity, c. 1605, 28.6 × 18.6 cm.; text on verso = 6.105.16-22 (as N) (gift of Max Tanenbaum [for part purchase of Heeramaneck coll.], Toronto, 1979; ill. Heeramaneck 1984: pl. 198; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 289)  
 Nat. Gallery of Canada 23553

return of R. + S. to Ayodhyā, by Makara BKB 7653  
(ill. at Chandra 1957-59, pl. 22; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 315)

Daśaratha appears to R. (*Rām. illustré*: VI, 293) Nat. Mus.

Hanumān announces news to Bharata (*Rām. illustré*: VI, 307) BKB

R. rewards Sugrīva and Jāmbavān, 28.2 × 19.1 cm.; text on verso = 6.116.69ab–3686\*4 (as N) and 2 ll. of Bundelī Hindī (also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: VII, 93; Topsfield 2004: 360-61)  
 Met. Mus. 2002.503

R. + S. reward *vānaras,* 24 × 20 cm. Nat. Mus. 56.93/1  
 (also ill. at Chandra 1957-59, pl.20; Daljeet 1999: 48-49; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 321)

Rāma and Sītā seated in a palace with attendants, 25.4 × 17.8 cm.; text on verso = 7.41.21-27 (as N) (also ill. at Chandra 1957-59, pl.24a; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 281) Nat. Mus. 56.114/8

R. decides to banish S. (*Rām. illustré*: VII, 103) Nat. Mus.

R. justifies to S. his decision to banish her, 15.3 × 13 cm., 5 ll. of Skt text + 1 Bundeli on verso (source: Seyller 1999: 34, fig. 12; cf. NHH in Topsfield 2004: 356-7, no. 159 [**scan**]) Leon and Cynthia Polsky coll.

Sumantra and L. escort S. into banishment, 26.5 × 19.6 / 28.3 × 19.6 cm.; text on verso =   
7.45.2-10f (as N, esp. Ñ2 B) (ill. at Seyller 1999: 34, fig. 13; *Rām. illustré*: VII, 107)   
(ex Pan-Asian coll.; ex Robert Ellsworth) Sotheby’s 24.04.24: 146

*ṛṣis* come to find R. (*Rām. illustré*: VII, 123) private coll.

*Razmnāma* ms: Akbar’s imperial copy (now in Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Mus., Jaipur, MS. AG. 1683–1850), of which the main artist was Dasvanth, includes 12 paintings on the Rāma story (AG 1707-18; Hendley, T.H. 1884: *Memorials of Jeypore Exhibition 1883* (London, 1884), plates XVIII to XXVIII; no. AG 1709 has been left out in his book); another copy, dated 1014 AH / 1605 A.D. in the Birla collection (similar to court copies but evidently by an artist dismissed from the court atelier) has just one out of 81 miniatures (folio 125r, listed below) [Das 2005]

Kuśa and Lava fight L. and R.’s army, c. 1590, 28.4 × 16.6 cm. San Diego 1990.306  
 (ex Binney coll. via Sotheby’s 12.12.66 sale)

building the causeway (upper) and fight between R. and Rāvaṇa (lower), 33 × 20 cm.   
(= AG 1713 + 1714), inscribed: *tarah* Basāwan, *amal* Miskīn, folio 125r  
 Das 2005: 84-5, pl. 29

BL *Razmnāma* (Or. 12076, dated AH 1007 = AD 1598), last 5 books, contains 24 attributed miniatures, including painting by Da‘ud of Rāma’s servant hearing *dhobi* quarrelling with his wife over Sītā’s chastity (f. 48r).   
 list + illustrations on BL website under Digitised Manuscripts

<sub-imperial Mughal>, Bharata shoots at Hanumān (from a Razmnama), c. 1598,   
19.7 × 10.5 / 27.1 × 15.8 cm. RAS 052.002

Sītā’s fire ordeal, from a *Razmnāma,* dated 1598, 28 × 15 cm. (Persian inscr. in *shikasteh* script in lower border (“Sita’s taking of an oath, entering the fire, and arriving in the presence of Ramchandra and Lakshmana and others) and in *nastaliq* script “Gobind”; on verso 27 ll. of Persian text in *naskh* script) [Goswamy 2010: 52-53,   
no. 25 [**scan**], noting “Several leaves from this manuscript are in the collection of the Baroda Museum, and it is more than likely that the present leaf was acquired   
from the same source as those.”] Sarabhai Foundation SFPL 94

destruction of Dakṣa’s sacrifice, from a *Razmnāma,* 1598-1600, 30.2 × 17.8 cm.  
 San Francisco 2007.12

*Razmnāma,* dated A.H. 1025 (1616-17 A.D.), signed by Fazl, commissioned by ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān-i khānān —

S. and L. in forest, 14.5 × 8.5´´ private collection

Sītā faints on being abandoned, from c. 1616 ms., 38.5 × 23.5 cm.  
 (ex Welch coll., ill. at McGill 2016: 141, no 75) Harvard (Sackler) 2009.202.250

Kuśa fighting to release Lava, c. 1616, 12.6 × 20.7 cm. Sotheby’s 29-30.03.82: 102

Kuśa kills Lakṣmaṇa, 36.7 × 21.4 / 38.4 × 22.5 cm. Philadelphia 2004-149-16  
 (ill. Mason 2001:64-65, no. 17; ex Sotheby’s NY 22 Mar 1989, lot. 59)

2 illustrations of battle: Bharata aims at Hanumān carrying herb mountain; Kuśa kills L. (now on ground) [?], 22.9 × 22.7 and 13 × 6.5 cm., (ex Hagop Kevorkian Fund coll.) Sotheby’s 4.4.78: 214-5

*Jog-bāsiṣṭ* ms (trans. of *Yogavāsiṣṭha*): 323 folios, dated in colophon 2nd Dec. 1602, paintings 15.5 × 9.6 cm., text 19.7 × 10.8 cm., folio 27 × 18.5 cm., 41 paintings (usually whole page,   
a few with a line or two of text above and below [lists of illustrations at Arnold 1936: I, 23-25 and Leach 1995: 155-89; **see** also Losty 1982: 92 and Franke 2011; Franke’s identifications more accurate than Leach’s] Chester Beatty, Ind. MS. 5

2 pages from *Jog-bāsiṣṭ* ms, c. 1650, 17 × 9 / 28.6 × 17.5 cm. (ex private coll., Germany)  
 Forge and Lynch 2010 cat., nos 2-3

from C16 *Diwan of Nawa’i* ms. overpainted by Tara c. 1605: R + S + L. in forest,   
10.6 × 12.1 / 30 × 20 cm. Royal Collection RCIN 1005033.e

*still to allocate (to one of the above?)*:

leaf in Nat. Mus., New Delhi, ill. at *Lalit Kala* 8 pl. X fig. 16 (shows line of figures below crowned male kneeling to seated black figure, with horses + grooms and elephants at bottom) and other leaves also in Nat. Mus. as well as BKB and Mumbai mus.

R. kills Rāvaṇa, from a *Harivamśa* ms (?), c. 1590, 28.7 × 17.8 / 41 × 29.5 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 12.12.72: 22

Mughal, Rāvaṇa’s golden citadel in Laṅkā, c. 1610, 21.6 × 13 cm. San Diego 1990.326  
[ex Binney coll.; Colnaghi 1976: 197, no. 129 – “Another illustration from the same manuscript . . . . . . was excised from an album by order of the Empress Maria Theresa (1740-80) for the decoration of the Feketinzimmer in the palace at Schönbrunn, the rest of the album being preserved in the Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek (see *Strzygowski,* taf. 22, abb. 70, and pp. 18-10).” also ill at *Rām. illustré*: V, 30]

gods produce *vānara* sons (*Rām. illustré*: I, 29) Nat. Mus.

duel between R. and Rāvaṇa (*Rām. illustré*: VI, 266) Nat. Mus.

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popular Mughal: folios from a RCM Laṅkākāṇḍa ms., text written in devanāgarī on both sides of the leaves at top and round paintings, Varanasi area, dated 1646 [on now lost colophon, seen by Jagdish Mittal], 15 × 27.2 cm. [**see** JLB 2018 + background notes for it in “Notes towards publications” within “D. Ancillary material”]

Rāvaṇa enthroned, surrounded by women, C18, [no dimensions given; verso blank] numbered *rā* · *laṃ* · *3* Nat. Mus. 75.511  
S. before Rāvaṇa in *aśokavana* (?, recto), multiple figures before Rāvaṇa (verso), c.1635, 15.1 × 26.5 cm., *rā. laṃ. 4* in l. margin Salar Jung ACQ-80-25  
Śiva and other gods bless R. before battle, early C18, 15.3 × 27 cm.  
 [illustration in Brussels cat. p. 155] (B) Nat. Mus. 80.228  
R. + L. with *vānaras,* 14.4 × 26.6 cm. (sheet); 14 lines of text on left, first extending full width, (ex Christie’s 11.10.79: 21 [preparing for siege of Laṅkā, 15.3 × 27.6 cm.]; Ehrenfeld gift) Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1982.2.71  
Hanumān attacks Rāvaṇa (verso text only), c.1700, *rā. laṃ. 13* in l. margin,  
 15.2 × 27.5 cm. Rietberg RVI 1522  
battle scene in Laṅkā, Vārāṇasī (?), c. 1600-25, *rā. laṃ. 15* in l. margin, 15.2 × 20.3 /   
 15.2 × 27.3 cm. LACMA M.85.228  
battle scenes, c.1650, 13.6 × 25.5 cm. Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-72-39  
*vānaras* and *ṛkṣas* on march towards Laṅkā (?), Indrajit shooting *vānaras* from sky,   
 f. 19, c.1700, 17.7 × 27.4 cm. (image 15.6 × 25.4 cm.) Rietberg RVI 833  
R. + L. confer with *vānara* leaders before assault on Laṅkā, f. 20 recto;   
 L. + *vānaras* battle Indrajit’s forces, f. 20 verso; M7 J + K Mittal Mus. 76.111  
Kumbhakarṇa carries off Sugrīva, f. 25 recto; Sugrīva bites off Kumbhakarṇa’s nose   
 and ears, waving his sword, f. 25 verso; M 8 J + K Mittal Mus. 76.112  
R. + L. + *vānaras* are bound in *nāgapāśa,* f. 29 recto; Jāmbavān dashes Indrajit to the ground and Garuḍa swallows snakes, f. 29 verso; M 9 J + K Mittal Mus. 76.113  
monkeys and bears interrupt Indrajit’s sacrifice, early C17, 15.2 × 27.9 cm., *rā. laṃ.* *3x* (?33) in l. margin La Salle 08-O-207  
Jāmbavān attacks Rāvaṇa + S. guarded by rākṣasīs in *aśokavana*; single-sided; M 10  
 [in two overlapping blocks of painting; text from 6.96-97] J + K Mittal Mus. 76.114  
Rāvaṇa with his army (recto), monkeys and bears fight *rākṣasas* (verso), 1620, 15 × 27.2 cm. [ex Mittal; ex Binney coll.] San Diego 1990.341  
 [Binney 1973: 65, no. 41 shows verso, with folio no. in both margins – *34* *laṃ* – and c.  3½ lines of text at top, dimensions given as 6¼ × 10⅞´´; also illustrated in Welch 1973: 66, no. 34 (image reversed laterally)]  
Hanumān attacks Rāvaṇa (recto), Hanumān + *vānaras* surround R. (verso),   
 13.8 × 25.6 / 14.3 × 25.6, f. *41* Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-73-57  
R. fights Rāvaṇa (twice, recto + verso), 1625, f. *42* (?) 15.5 × 27.8 cm.  
 Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-78-10  
R. + S. + L. seated facing Bharadvāja (recto), Guha pays homage to R. + S. + L. (verso),   
 f. *54,* 15 × 26.5 cm. [text on verso from 6.121] Rijksmuseum RP-T-1993-365(V+R)

4 late 18th century provincial miniatures from *Yogavāsiṣṭha* trans. survive, possibly copied from a now lost 17th cent. volume (Leach 1995; **see** Sotheby’s 27 Apr 1982, lot 52)

late Mughal/Rājput: *Citrarāmāyaṇa/Svārnākṣarī Rāmāyaṇa/Kāñcanacitrarāmāyaṇa*, illustrated RCM ms for Udit Narayan Singh, Kāśī Nareś, by various artists, lavish borders with floral arabesques on gold background, 1796-1814; c. 548 paintings with text on verso:

celebrating Māgha mela, *saṃvat* 1865 (= 1808), 37.5 × 24.5 / 48 × 36 cm., Bālakāṇḍa f. 24 (text = verses 45-46) Todywalla 24.02.23: 20  
Pratāpabhānu’s dreadful feast, 1808, 37.5 × 24.5 / 48 × 36 cm., Bālakāṇḍa f. 77 (text = verses 296-7) Todywalla 24.02.23: 21  
Rāvaṇa begins his reign of terror, *saṃvat* 1865 (= 1808), 37.5 × 24.5 / 48 × 36 cm., Bālakāṇḍa f. 81 (text = line 2 of the *doha* couplet of v. 183 to line 2 of the 1st *chand* quatrain of v. 186) Todywalla 25.02.22: 45  
Earth appeals to gods, 1808, 38 × 25 / 48 × 36 cm., Bālakāṇḍa f. *83* (text = line 2 of *dohā* couplet of v. 187 to line 1 of 4th *chaupai* couplet of v. 190) Todywalla 25.02.22: 46  
jubilation at court of Ayodhyā on R.’s betrothal to S., 1808, 37.5 × 24.5 / 48 × 36 cm., Bālakāṇḍa f. ? [deleted] (text = line 2 of 1st *chaupai* couplet of v. 297 to line 1 of the 4th *chaupai* couplet of v. 186) Todywalla 25.02.22: 47  
return of brothers with brides to Ayodhyā, 1808, 37.5 × 24 / 48 × 35 cm., *rā° bā° 153* (text = end of line 1 of 2nd *chaupai* couplet of v. 352 to line 2 of 1st *chaupai* of v. 356) Todywalla 25.02.22: 48  
R. + L. visit the Śabarī, 1812, 37.5 × 24.5 / 48 × 36 cm., *rā° a° 29* (text = last line of *dohā* of v.40 to *chaupai* of v. 42) Todywalla 24.02.23:24  
Bharata and Śatrughna reach Citrakūṭa, 1810, 37.5 × 24.5 / 48 × 36 cm., *rā° a°* *99* (verses 229-31) Todywalla 24.04.23: 22  
R. refuses to return to Ayodhyā, 1810, 37.5 × 24.5 / 48 × 36 cm., *rā° a° 127* (verses 297-8)  
 Todywalla 24.04.23: 23  
S.’s fire ordeal, c. 1810, 46.4 × 34.2 cm., *rā° laṃ° 61* Todywalla 16.04.24: 19

<popular> Mughal: 3 leaves from illustrated Rāmāyana ms, 1787/1791, c. 20 × 26.5 cm.  
initial invocation of the gods, “the first in what was originally a 65-page text” Portland 2011.131.22  
Hanumān sets fire to Laṅkā Portland 2011.131.5  
Sītā held captive in Laṅkā Portland 2011.131.9

Impey Rāmāyaṇa: 44 folios were sold at Sotheby’s sale, 26 Nov 1968 and at one time 3 were in the Binney collection —

marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, c.1780, 29 × 18.2 /32.5 × 22 cm. (participants named in *nāgarī*; Impey’s seal dated 1775 on verso)  
 Francesca Galloway, *Asian Week, New York, 2018,* no. 20

R. + L. approach with gifts, S. in pavilion at rear, 29.2 × 18.7 / 32.4 × 21.6 cm.  
 Christie’s 22.03.23: 424

Kevat (= Guha) washes Rāma’s feet, c. 1770, 29.2 × 17.8 cm. Bonhams 19.03.12: 1173

Lakṣmaṇa cuts off Śūrpaṇakhā’s nose, 29 × 18.3 / 32.4 × 21.7 cm. BL Add.Or.5725 [from Christie’s sale 1148, which has illustration; cf. McGill 2016: 60, no. 22]

Rāma kills Vālin, c. 1770-75, 29.21 × 18.42 cm. LACMA M.72.88.3

Hanumān kills *rākṣasas*; R. + L. greet *vānaras*, c. 1770, 32.1 × 21.8 cm.  
 (ex Binney coll.) San Diego 1990.433

welcome of R. + L. by citizens, c. 1770-75, 29.9 cm × 18.8 cm. San Francisco 2011.22

preparations for siege of Laṅkā, in 3 horizontal panels, 29.1 × 18.2 / 32.6 × 21.6 cm.  
 Christie’s 11.10.79: 49

Hanumān sets fire to Laṅkā, 32.5 × 21.5 incl. border, ill. in *Asian Textiles, Indian Miniatures and Works of Art* (London: Francesca Galloway, 2000): 68, no. 31

Murshidabad: 3 miniatures – *rākṣasas* rouse Kumbhakarṇa, death of Kumbhakarṇa, double panel of uncertain scenes c. 1770, c. 31.5 × 21.6 cm. Binney 1973: 132, no. 112

Losty 2013: 15 — A further development in the Murshidabad style is the increasing presence of folk Bengali art, as can be seen in yet another project associated with Sir Elijah Impey, his album of Ramayana paintings (extra fig. 1). Conventionally dated c.1770, it is difficult to reconcile the style of these paintings with anything else going on in Murshidabad painting at this time and it is preferable to date them a little later around 1780.30

30 The series is now totally dispersed. For a recent publication, see Bonham’s New York 19 March 2012, lot 1173. Other pages are in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, and LACMA.

**[**extra fig. 1 = Laksmana cuts off the nose of Surpanakha. From the Impey Ramayana. Bengal,   
c. 1780. British Library, London, Add.Or.5725 [new acquisition]

N. India: 14 ff. from a dispersed Rāmāyaṇa in nasta’liq script; 23.5 ×14 cm.  
(ex Fakhir Hussain, London) Olympia 11.11.15: 243

provincial Mughal (probably Lucknow): ascetics worshipping a prince riding a bullock; courtiers seated in discussion; drawings on paper with use of colours and gold, 4 ill. to a Persian translation of a Hindu text in nasta’liq script; 13.5 × 10.6 cm. and slightly smaller Sotheby’s 27.04.82: 52

Delhi or Kashmir: 7 scenes from a Rāmāyaṇa ms, 1st half C19, 14.2 × 9.5 and smaller   
(ex Fakhir Hussain, London) Olympia 11.11.15: 205

Delhi: 5 Rām. illustrations, R. + L + S. in landscape, etc., 2nd half C19, 30.5 × 22.6 cm. Sotheby’s 22.11.76: 64

<provincial Mughal?>: Urdu ms (264 ff. in nasta‘liq script) with 37 miniatures from Rāma story, C19, 23.7 × 14 cm. Sotheby’s 22-23.10.92: 585

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popular Mughal: Rāvaṇa in chariot drawn by 2 donkeys, with S. behind him, is attacked by huge white/pale Jaṭāyus, 1590-1600 (**see** Biswas 1989: 187-8 + fig. 3) BKB 5423

popular Mughal: Sītā in fire, c. 1600, 28 × 18.9 cm. (**see** Tandon and Giri 2002:2-3) BKB 8056

provincial Mughal (crude): S. enters the fire, c. 1600, 24.3 × 19 cm., uninscribed  
 Goenka coll. (Goswamy 1999: 48-49, no. 37)

sub-imperial Mughal: Kuśa kills Lakṣmaṇa (from a *Razmnama,* ascribed to Fazl), 1616-17, 38.4 × 22.5 cm. Philadelphia 2004-149-16

<sub-imperial> Mughal: S. and L. from a dispersed *Razmnama,* c. 1616, 36.8 × 21.5 cm.  
(ill. at Welch 1963, cat. 33) private collection

<provincial> Mughal: Hanumān flying back with herb mountain, 30.5 × 22.7 cm.,   
from album of 53 paintings and calligraphy specimens (ill. in Formigatti 2019: 103)  
 Bod. Ms. Douce Or. c. 4. f. 36r

sub-imperial Mughal, Viśvāmitra curses Rambhā, c. 1630, 14 × 7.8 / 21.6 × 14.6 cm.   
 Sotheby’s 21-22.03.90: 47 = Christie’s 5094: 453 = Christie’s 28.09.22: 69

Mughal (drawing): Ṛṣyaśṛṅga approached by courtesans, 1650-75,   
21.6 × 15.9 / 22.5 × 15.9 cm. LACMA M.76.149.1

Deccani Mughal: R. killing Rāvaṇa, late C17 BM 1974,0617,0.2.64

later Mughal at Delhi: Rāma and Sītā enthroned, with Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān, style of Govardhan II, 1725-50, 20 x 27.5 cm. (Pal 1983, no. M69 [**scan**]) private coll.

provincial Mughal (Lakhnau?): marriage ritual of R. + S., c. 1725-50, 22.5 × 31 cm.  
(Sammlung Alice Boner; Britschgi + Fischer 2008: 34-35, no. 5; *Rām. illustré*: I, 204-5) Rietberg RVI 1039

provincial Mughal (Lakhnau or Murshidabad): R.'s installation, c. 1725-50, 20.4 × 26.3 cm. (Boner coll., Britschgi + Fischer 2008: 206-7, no. 85; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 310)   
 Rietberg RVI 1040

provincial Mughal: R. + L. attacking Rāvaṇa, late 18th C, 14.8 × 10.7 cm. BM 1880,0.2435  
(also ill. at McGill 2016: 91, no. 48)

provincial Mughal: (drawing) R. + L. + S. + Hanumān under tree, late 18th C, 18.4 × 13.6 /   
34 × 22 cm. BM 1920,0917,0.11.22

provincial Mughal: (drawing) R. in robe + crown, late 18th C, 16.1 × 11.5 / 34 × 22 cm.  
 BM 1920,0917,0.11.46

provincial Mughal: R. + L. attacking Rāvaṇa, mid C18, 16.3 × 11 cm. Sotheby’s 5.07.82: 12

provincial Mughal: L. attacking Rāvaṇa, late C18, 25.5 × 18.5 cm. Bonhams 14.10.04: 121(1)

provincial Mughal: R. + S. seated on rug, attended by L. + Hanumān, in background groups of *vānaras,* C18, 40.6 × 32.4 cm. Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-676

provincial Mughal: R. + S. in Puṣpaka, 2nd half C18 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 301

Bengal: R. + L. fight Rāvaṇa, Hanumān flying above with mountain top, c. 1775-80,   
18.3 × 13.2 cm. IOL: Johnson Album 47, no. 5

Bengal: R. + L. fight Rāvaṇa, Hanumān flying above with mountain top, Hanumān visiting S. in *aśokavana*, 16 × 10.3 cm. IOL: Johnson Album 46, no. 7

Murshidabad: R. + S. enthroned (with H. + L.), c. 1780, 18.1 × 12 cm. San Diego 1990.430  
[= Sotheby’s 19.04.83: 38]

Murshidabad sub-style: R. + S. + L. + Hanumān, c. 1760-70, 30.3 × 21.5 cm. V & A: D.357-1908

Murshidabad: R. + S. worshipped by Hanumān, 32.4 × 25.6 cm. Christie’s 1.10.12: 101

Murshidabad: R + S entrhoned, attended by L., Hanumān and courtier. IOL Add.Or.1033

Murshidabad: R. + L. + Hanumān fighting Rāvaṇa, c. 1775-80 (IOL J47.5) Peerless slide 26

[Mughal]: R. bestows kingship on Vibhīṣaṇa, c. 1750-1800, 43 × 29.3 cm.  
 Royal collection: RCIN 1005113.i

Mughal artist: R. + L. shoot at Rāvaṇa, c. 1800, 41 × 27.5 cm. Royal Collection: RCIN 1005115.j

Murshidabad: Rāma shooting through 7 sāls, Vālin and Sugrīva fighting, c. 1800  
[ill at *Arts of India: 1550-1900*: 38-39 and Krishnan 2010: 56] V & A IS 105-1955

Oudh: R. shoots at *rākṣasas* as S. is led away, possibly by Mir Kalan, c. 1750-60,   
16.1 × 25.3 cm. Christie’s 18.10.94: 35A

Oudh: R. + L. + S. in landscape, c. 1790, 11.5 × 30.5 cm. Bonhams 9.06.10: 252  
[VR ms. with picture in oval-shaped cartouche in centre of leaf]

Vārāṇasī: R.’s army besieges Laṅkā, c. 1795, 45.3 × 35.6 cm. MAP, Bangalore PTG.02330

Murshidabad: Laṅkā battle scene, late C18, 20.4 × 14 cm. Bonhams 18.09.13: 109

Lakhnau: exiles in forest and killing of Virādha, c. 1825, 17 × 12 / 30.7 × 22 cm.  
 Bonhams 23.10.18: 110

< provincial Mughal>: R. + S. enthroned, C19, 22.9 × 17.1 cm. La Salle 82-O-63

Lahore: Hanumān shot to Laṅkā on Bharata’s bow, c. 1835, 18.7 × 14 cm., attrib. to Imam Bakhsh Lahori [ill at Schmitz 2010: 97, fig. 9] Raza Library, Rampur (old) P.630

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lacquer painting on wood (copied from a *Razmnama*), showing Sītā’s fire ordeal  
 Albert Hall, Jaipur, 8558

**object (and medium)** Rājput miniatures

**location (original/present)** various

**date** 17th-19th centuries

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[on one of the 84 paintings and drawings in the Bhuri Singh Mus., painted betweeen 1760 and 1800, which shows Mantharā and Kaikeyī plotting wihin a pavilion on top of a fort in Ayodhya (primarily on artistic aspects)]

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149-63 (149-55): Laharu of Chamba  
211-37 (211-19): Pandit Seu of Guler  
239-65 (239-49): Manaku of Guler  
267-305 (267-77): Nainsukh of Guler] **Sackler IWgc Zur + download**

Goswamy, B.N., and Eberhard Fischer 2011: “Manaku”, in Beach and others, *Masters of Indian Painting,* II, 641-58. **download**

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Khandalavala, Karl 1958: *Pahārī miniature painting* (Bombay: New Book Company). **download**

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Losty, J.P. 2007: “The Ramayana”, printout of annotated list of possible exhibits for exhibition (cf. next) **download; printout in grey box file**

Losty, J.P. 2008: *Love and Valour in India’s Great Epic: the Ramayana: the Mewar Ramayana manuscripts* (London: British Library). **own copy**

Losty, J.P. 2014: *Indian and Persian Painting, 1590-1840* (London: Forge and Lynch) [exhibition catalogue]. **download**

Losty, J.P. 2015a: *Into the Indian Mind: an insight through portraits, battles and epics in Indian painting* (London: Francesca Galloway). [Francesca Galloway sale catalogue] **download**

Losty, J.P. 2015b: *Indian Painting, 1590-1880* (London: Forge and Lynch) [exhibition catalogue]. **download**

Losty, J.P. 2016a:  *Adventures of Hanuman on Lanka from the Ramayana* (London: Simon Ray).  
[Simon Ray sale catalogue] **download**

Losty, J.P. 2016b: “The Mewar Ramayana manuscripts: an art-historical overview”, lecture at Bikaner House, Delhi, 27 October 2016. **download**

Losty, J.P. 2016c: *Indian Paintings from the Heil Collection* (London: Forge and Lynch) [Forge and Lynch sale catalogue]. **download**

Losty, J.P. 2017: *A mystical realm of love: Pahari paintings from the Eva and Konrad Seitz Collection* (London: Francesca Galloway). **own copy**

Losty, J.P. 2018: *Indian Paintings from the Ludwig Habighorst collection* (London: Francesca Galloway). [Francesca Galloway sale catalogue] **download**

Losty, J.P. 2020: *Of Royal Patronage: Indian paintings from the 16th to 19th centuries* (New York: Carlton Rochell Asian Art). **excerpts**

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**notes The lists below give first manuscripts or sets of paintings, then single paintings not clearly associated with any sets, divided into Rājasthāni (+ Central India) and Pahāṛī**(further subdivisions within these are indicated at the start of each section)

We gratefully acknowledge all the generous assistance that we have received from Caroline Widmer, Curator of Indian Paintings, Museum Rietberg, Zürich.

handwrittenlist of (some) illustrations in our books [grey box file]

**n.b.** useful info. within “Met. Rām. captions” in “Metropolitan Museum, New York”**, also** useful brief summary of schools/courts in download from Chandigarh, Govt Museum

**Rājasthānī and central Indian**

[Alipura, Alvar, Āmber, Asani, Bīkāner, Bundi, Datia (Datiyā), Devgaṛh, Isarda, Jaipur, Kiśangarh, Kotah, Mālvā, Māṇḍū, Mārvāḍ (Jodhpur), Mevāṛ (Udaipur), Nāgaur, Narsinghgarh (Narasiṃhagaḍh), Orchā, Panna, Rāghogaṛh, Rājgaṛh, Sāvar, Sirohi]

After the listing of sets/series (including illustrated mss), this list is divided into:  
 various ‘Mālwā’ paintings up to 1700

other single paintings/drawings

paintings on cloth or on wood, miscellaneous other items

—————

Rājasthānī series (?), C16/late C16 [sic], some ascribed to Bikaner  
[**but** cf. Bikaner-Deccani mixed style series (early C18) below]:  
3 mothers nurse their sons (in 3 rooms), inscr. on verso: *1* and *janama* Nat.Mus. 47.110/205  
Kausalyā watches R. + brothers playing as babies, 7.6 × 6.4´´, inscr. on verso: *cārubhā(ṣ)rakabhāgā* Nat.Mus. 47.110/247  
R + brothers as boys take meal, attended by female, 7.1 × 6.2´´, inscr. on verso: *5x* + *6*   
 and *māta jāmach jāmachaḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/273  
R. + 3 brothers armed with bows in landscape, 7.8 × 6.2´´, inscr. on verso *99* + *128*  
 Nat. Mus. 47.110.212  
R. + L. taught by Vasiṣṭha, 7.2 × 6.7 ´´, inscr. on verso: *96* + *21* and *pāṭḥakaradya (?)*  Nat.Mus. 47.110/213  
R. + L. follow 3 attendants through landscape, inscr. on verso: 124 Nat.Mus. 47.110/194  
R. + L. taught by Vasiṣṭha, with attendant behind, 2 women in palace (l.), 19.1 × 15.2 cm., inscr. on verso: *78* + *72* and *pāṭhakaradaḥ* Nat.Mus. 447.110/279  
brāhman (2 courtiers behind) applies *tilaka* to R. (L. behind), 7.8 × 6.5´´, inscr. on verso: *38* + *39* and *tīlaka* Nat.Mus. 47.110/235  
R. + L. bow to seated Vasiṣṭha (wife behind), 7.3 × 6.3´´, inscr. on verso: *46* + *90* and *vaseṣṭhjī* Nat.Mus. 47.110/224  
R + brothers greet Daśaratha, 7.5 × 6.3´´, inscr. on verso: *99* +*15* + unclear caption  
 Nat.Mus. 47.110/223  
R. + L. take leave of Daśaratha, C16, 7.8 × 6.6´´, inscr. on verso: *vīdāvanam + 40 + 55*  Nat.Mus. 47.110/210  
R. + L. go to meet mothers, 7.5 × 6.3´´, inscr. on verso: *52* +*59* and *mātākanajāvadaḥ*  
 Nat.Mus. 47.110/2  
L. leaves for hunt, watched by *ṛṣi* and several women in palace, 7.8 × 6.5´´,   
 inscr. on verso: *raṅgabhūmi* Nat.Mus. 47.110/217  
Viśvāmitra demands R. + L. from Daśaratha (2 courtiers present), 7.1 × 6.4´´,   
 *15* + *33* and *rīṣībarabhāvaṃchaḥ* (*ha* deleted) Nat.Mus. 47.110/261  
Viśvāmitra demands R. + L. from Daśaratha, 7.1 × 6.4´´, inscr. on verso:   
 inscr. on verso: *27* and *bīṣvāmītrajī* Nat.Mus. 47.110/262  
Viśvāmitra leads R + L., C16, 16.3 × 18.8 cm., inscr. on verso: *94* + *19* Nat.Mus. 47.110/216  
Viśvāmitra leads R + L. towards Gaṅgā, C16, 7.7 × 6.4´´, inscr. on verso: *98* + *24* and (*gaṃgā* erased) *gaṃgājī* Nat.Mus. 47.110/243  
R. + L. (r.) and Viśvāmitra + pupil (l.) all seated in landscape, inscr. on verso: *24* + *32* and *vaṭhāddha* Nat.Mus. 47.110/265  
R. (Viśvāmitra + L. behind) shoots Tārakā, 16.3 × 18.8 cm., inscr. on verso: *95* + *20* and *tāḍīkānamāradyaḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/240  
R. + L. shoot Mārīca + Subāhu, 7.7 × 6.5´´, inscr. on verso: *78* and *paradupā mārīcasubāhuḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/255  
R. + L. shoot Mārīca + Subāhu, 7.9 × 6.3´´, inscr. on verso: *57* + *90* and *paradaparaśau*(?)*baprapāḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/284  
Janaka + queen taught by *ṛṣi (2* pupils behind), C16, 7.2 × 6.3´´, inscr. on verso: *64 +83*  and *janakabīsvīm āṃtapurī vaṭhādyaḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/222  
S. with friends going to worship, C16, 7.7 × 6´´, inscr. on verso: *23* + *31* and *jānakījīḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110.242  
S. in hut with 3 females outside, 6.1 × 6.9´´, inscr. on verso: *7x* + *73* and cropped caption at top Nat.Mus. 47.110/288  
Janaka greets Daśaratha, with 4 brothers behind, 18.5 × 15.7 cm., inscr. on verso: *18* + *38* and *dasarathajanakaḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/282  
Janaka seated with 3 courtiers behind (1 seated, 2 standing), C16, 7.1 × 6.3´´,   
 inscr. on verso: *28* (*5* written under 8)and *janakaḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/283  
Janaka seated with 6 courtiers behind, C16, 7.1 × 6.3´´, inscr. on verso: *34* + *44*   
 and *janakaḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/234  
Daśaratha seated with 6 courtiers behind, watched by women from windows above, inscr. on verso *34* + *45* and *dasarathaḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/208  
R. about to bend bow, C16, 7.8 × 6.5´´, inscr. on verso: *3*x + *35* and *dhanakatoḍada*  Nat.Mus. 47.110/214  
R. and S.’s first night, 6.7 × 5.8´´, inscr. on verso: *38* + *52* and *rāmajānakīprathamasamāgmaḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/285  
S. fans sleeping R., [no dimensions given] Nat.Mus. 47.110/286  
R. + L. take leave of Kausalyā, 18.5 × 16 cm. inscr. on verso: 43 *+ 57* and *mātāsuvīdā* Nat.Mus. 47.110/281  
R. + L. take leave of S. before palace, 19.1 × 15.2 cm., inscr. on verso: *44* + *58* and *jānakīsuvīdā* Nat.Mus. 477.110/278  
R. + L. with 3 attendants behind, watched by women from windows above, inscr. on verso *130* Nat.Mus. 47.110/201  
R. + S. seated on couch, flanked by 2 female attendants, 6.7 × 5.8´´, inscr. on verso: *131* Nat.Mus. 47.110/287  
R. + L. take leave of Janaka, C16, 7.5 × 6.5´´, inscr. on verso: *janakpur navsīdā* (?) and *11* Nat.Mus. 47.110/211  
R. (*ṛṣi* + L. behind) redeems Ahalyā, late C16, 7.6 × 6.3´´, inscr. on verso:  
 *98* +*25* and *ahalyā* Nat.Mus. 47.110/219  
Daśaratha kneels before Kaikeyī in *krodhāgāra* with 3 musicians outside,7.2 × 6.4´´,   
 inscr. on verso: *45* +*54* and *kekaī rājā* Nat.Mus. 47.110/260  
R. + L. say farewell to Kausalyā, inscr. on verso: *18* and *māsabīdāḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/269  
R. + L. walk in landscape (to meet mothers?), inscr. on verso: *51* + *59* and *mātākanajāvadaḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/271  
S. (3 women behind) embraces Kausalyā on departure, C16, 7.4 × 6.4´´,   
 inscr. on verso: *35* + *46* and *rāṇī jānakī* Nat.Mus. 47.110/248  
R. sits facing S. (L. behind S. ) as attendant dresses R.’s hair, 7.4 × 6.4´´,  
 inscr. on verso: *53* + *69* and *jaṭākarañjaḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/259  
4 women approach seated R. + S. with L. behind under tree, inscr. on verso: *50* + *76* and *pradukana* [label] *ādaṣabāsā* Nat.Mus. 47.110/264  
R. + S + L. with *chaurī* greeted by 2 males in landscape, C16, 7.3 × 6.3´´, inscr. on verso:  
 *54* + *70* and *jaṭāguṃpyāsabaṭhācchaḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/246  
R. + S + L. meet Bharadvāja + wife, 19.3 × 16.3 cm., inscr. on verso: *bharadvāja jī vokadedha* and *55* + *71* Nat.Mus. 47.110/203  
R. + S. + L. take leave of *ṛṣi* + wife, C16, 6 × 6.2´´, inscr. on verso: *58* + *75*  
and *munīka namuvīdā* Nat.Mus. 47.110/257  
R. + L. kneel before seated *ṛṣi* [Kaṇva?](2 women in hut behind *ṛṣi*), C16, 7.6 × 6.7´´,   
 inscr. on verso: *51* + *74* and *munīkanabaṭhāchaḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/270  
L. presents flowers to R. + S., 17.8 × 16.3 cm., inscr. on verso: *50* + *77* and *lakṣmaṇa kanasu vanaphalavāṭachūḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/204  
L. guards sleeping R. + L., late C16, 7.8 6.5´´, inscr. on verso: *52* + *98* and *sayana*  Nat.Mus. 47.110/218  
R. + S. + L. under tree on hill near stream, 7.3 × 6.3´´, inscr. on verso: *62* + *80* and unclear caption Nat.Mus. 47.110/225  
R. with S. seated behind restrains L., all on hillock, 18.5 × 15.2 cm., inscr. on verso: *66* + *8x* and *bharata para krodhaḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/280  
Bharata + Śatrughna greet R. (L. behind), 7.1 × 6.2´´, inscr. on verso: *14* and  
 *nānarānahāvadyamuja* Nat.Mus. 47.110/220  
Bharata + Śatrughna with R. + L. on Citrakūṭa (?) near river, 7.4 × 6.1´´,   
 inscr. on verso: 83 *+81* and *cyārubhāī catrukuṭavaṭhājūḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/274  
Bharata, Śatrughna + 3rd warrior in landscape, 7.1 × 6.25´´, inscr. on verso:  
 *61* + *78* and *gohabojavatāvachaḥ bharatasatrughnanaḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/230  
R. + L. say farewell to Bharata, inscr. on verso: *64* + *85* and *bharatavīdāḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/267  
Virādha attacks R. + L., 7.4 × 6.3´´, inscr. on verso: *78* + *99* and *hāṣīsū* (?)  
 Nat.Mus. 47.110/231  
R. + L. shoot golden deer (r.), Rāvaṇa approaches S. in hut (l.), 19.1 × 16.5 cm., inscr. on verso: *70* + *92* and *jatīmeṣārāvaṇa* + *jatābhapasāṣāra* + *rāmasakāraḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/277  
Jaṭāyus attacks Rāvaṇa, 7.3 × 6.3´´, inscr. on verso: *78* + *99* and *gīdhamāradyaḥ*  
 Nat.Mus. 47.110/245  
R. + L. find dying Jaṭāyus, 7.2 × 6.3´´, inscr. on verso: *77* + *98* and *gīdhra* Nat.Mus. 47.110/236  
R. + L. seated under tree, inscr. on verso: *73* + 95 *and rāmasoca* Nat.Mus. 47.110/206  
R. + L. on Mt Praśravana, 7.5 × 6.5´´, inscr. on verso: *75* + *96* and *gīraparavaḍhā??* Nat.Mus. 47.110/239  
Hanumān before R. + L. on Mt Praśravana, inscr. on verso: *71* +  *101* Nat.Mus. 47.110/209  
Hanumān prostrates before R. + L. in landscape, 7.4 × 6.7´´, inscr. on verso: *42* + *115* Nat.Mus. 47.110/250  
Hanumān, with female behind (Sītā??), bows to R. + L. in landscape, 7.5 × 6.5´´, inscr. on verso: *53* + *120* Nat.Mus. 47.110/229  
Hanumān prostrates before R. + L. in landscape, 7.7 × 6.5´´, inscr. on verso:  
 *32* + *107* and *bīprarūpaḥ* [in form of brāhman]Nat.Mus. 47.110/272  
seated R. + L. addressed by *vānara* (another behind him and 2nd with *chaurī* behind L.),  
 7.6 × 6.3´´, inscr. on verso: *82* + *102* Nat.Mus. 47.110/276  
R. (L. + Sugrīva behind) shoots Vālin wielding sword, 7.6 × 6.3´´,   
 inscr. on verso: *80* + *100* Nat.Mus. 47.110/221  
Hanumān approaches S. in *aśokavana*, 7.8 × 6.4´´, inscr. on verso: *84* + *109* Nat.Mus. 47.110/258  
*vānara* army (2 rows) most standing, 7.6 × 6.5´´, inscr. on verso: *12* + *103* Nat.Mus. 47.110/227  
R. shoots *rākṣasa* lifting rock, 19.1 × 15.5 cm., inscr. on verso *117* Nat.Mus. 47.110/196  
*vānara* army (2 rows) on move, first in each row bearing standard, inscr. on verso:   
 *??* + *108* Nat.Mus. 47.110/268  
*vānara* army (2 rows) on move, 7.7 × 6.2´´, inscr. on verso: *87* + *126* Nat.Mus. 47.110/252  
army on move (6 *vānaras* + 2 *ṛkṣas*), 7.5 × 6.1´´, inscr. on verso: *58* + *127* Nat.Mus. 47.110/241  
Vibhīṣaṇa bows to R. + L. (Hanumān behind), 7.2 × 6.4´´ Nat.Mus. 47.110/232  
R. grieves over unconscious L. and *vānaras*, 7.4 × 6.7´´ Nat.Mus. 47.110/251  
R. + L. shoot at Rāvaṇa, C16, 7.3 × 6.6´´, inscr. on verso: *85* + *118* Nat.Mus. 47.110/244  
Rāvaṇa on chariot pierced with arrows, inscr. on verso: *86* + *119* Nat.Mus. 47.110/266  
R. + S. + L. in palanquin (?) with Hanumān before and Vibhīṣaṇa behind, 7.8 × 6.5´´,   
 inscr. on verso: *8* + *131* Nat.Mus. 47.110/238  
Hanumān beside large, decorated Rāma *padas*, 7.4 × 6.4´´, inscr. on verso *61*  Nat.Mus. 47.110/249  
Hanumān beside 2 sets of *padas* (1 larger, 1 smaller), 7.2 × 6.4´´, inscr. on verso: *142* Nat.Mus. 47.110/254  
Hanuman worships enthroned R. + S., Nat. Mus. 47.110/192  
warrior in front of R. + L. prostrate on ground, 7.3 × 6.2´´, inscr. on verso:   
 *62* + *79* and *goha śrīrāmajī nadīṣāvachaḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/256  
4 kneeling women (? ladies of Ayodhyā), 7.4 × 6.4´´, inscr. on verso:   
 *63* + *82* and *avadhīvāsīsamacavachaḥ* Nat.Mus. 47.110/275  
R. + S. enthroned attended by Hanumān + L., C16 [sic], inscr. on verso: 134  
 Nat. Mus. 47.110/195

Rājasthānī: R. + S. + L. on lotus held by Garuḍa, C16, 6.9 × 5.4´´, inscribed on verso   
with multiple irrelevant text Nat.Mus. 47.110/535

1st Orchā Rāmāyaṇa series, in around 150-60 folios, Hindi text on versos in various hands  
 (cf. Seitz 2015: I, 98-107, cat. 3.1-3; Losty 2017: 9, fig. 2; Seitz 2022: 241-47) [miniatures ascribed by others to Malwa c. 1640, but now assigned by Konrad Seitz   
 to Bundela court of Orchā c. 1600 under Rām Singh (r. 1592-1605), forming part of the series usually ascribed to Hīrā Rāṇī’s patronage (**see next**)]  
deliverance of Ahalyā, f.17, 12.2 × 22.1 / 17.7 × 22.7 cm. Rietberg 2019.473  
stepping into Guha’s boat, f.28, 11.4 × 21.3 / 17.3 × 22.5 cm. Rietberg 2019.474  
R. destroys the crow’s eye (S. in hut), f.30, 11.9 × 21.8 / 17.7 × 22.6 cm. Rietberg 2019.475

‘Mālvā’ *Rāmāyaṇa* ms., made for Hīrā Rāṇī, identified as Hīrā De, wife of Pahār Singh of Orcha (r. 1641-53), according to a later note on the 1st leaf (Krishna 1963: 17 fn.3 and image in Appendix B), and so assignable to around 1642-45; brief text in Braj on verso of paintings; cf. Agrawal 1995: 9 – “The first leaf of the Malwa *Ramayana* painting (Acc. No. 6796, Bharat Kala Bhavan), mentions the name of Hira Rani, who became famous as Hira De in the annals of history. She was wife of Pahara Singh, the ruler of Orchcha. History reveals that she was a great lover of fine arts, and under her patronage, the *Ramayana* and the *Ragmala* paintings were made around 1642 A.D. ... ... ”   
 [most folios are in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi (BKB 6756–6815; many illustrated in Dye 1980, plates 20-56); others in Kanoria collection, Patna (Krishna 1963:16), Sackler Museum, Harvard, LACMA and Brooklyn, also Welch and Beach 1965 no. 12, Binney 1968 no. 44]

R. receives divine weapons from Viśvāmitra, c.1640 (*Rām. illustré*: I, 111) BKB  
Rāvaṇa abducts Sītā (Rāvaṇa is dressed as a Kanphaṭā yogī: bearded, short staff in left hand, “Il est vêtu du vêtement flottant (*colâ*) des moines errantes” and has “une coiffure typique de l’époque de Jehangir” (Bhanu Agrawala 1981: 60). BKB 6787  
 (ill. at Morley 1981 pl. R, also Rajarajan 2001: 792)   
Kabandha challenges R. + L., c. 1640, 20.9 × 17.4 cm. BKB 6811  
 (Dye 1980 pl. 47; **see** Tandon and Giri 2002: 2-3 and pl. 5)  
*vānaras* meet Saṃpāti (Dye 1980 pl. 34, Morley 1981 fig. 534) BKB 6762  
Hanumān leaps ocean into Laṅkā (Dye 1980 pl. 44) BKB 6766  
*vānaras* build causeway (Morley 1981 fig. 535) BKB  
killing of Nikumbha (Dye 1980 pl. 32, Morley 1981 fig. 532) BKB 6793  
killing of Jambumālin (Morley 1981 fig. 533) BKB  
sleeping Kumbhakarṇa (ill. at Krishna 1963, colour pl. A [scan]) BKB 6809  
R. + S. + L. + 2 others return in *puṣpaka* (Dye 1980 pl. 38, Morley 1981 fig. 536) BKB 6804  
Rāma rendering justice to a dog [*Uttarakāṇḍa* incident (vulgate *sarga* 59, *prakṣipta*   
 11 + 12) about Rāma rendering justice to a dog beaten without cause by a brāhman Sarvārthasiddha: brāhman and dog to r. both supplicate Rāma (with 3 brothers behind) seated within a building against a red background] BKB 6763  
 (ill. at (Dye 1980 pl. 240)  
4 leaves in Kanoria collection, Mālwā, c. 1630 (Archer 1957c: nos. 1-4):  
 R. + L. discover dying Jaṭāyus, 21 × 16.5 / 23 × 17.8 cm.;   
 R. bends bow to win S., 22.2 × 16.5 / 23 × 17.8 cm. [? = VKK 95]  
 R. + L. + S. leave Ayodhyā, 21 × 16.5 / 23 × 17.8 cm.   
 R. + L. consult *vānaras*, 21.6 × 16.5 / 23 × 17.8 cm.   
R. frees Ahalyā (perched on square stone with Gautama standing behind), c. 1630;  
 14.1 × 22 cm., nāgarī text on verso Sotheby’s 24.4.79: 72  
Daśaratha oversees celebrations, c. 1630, 16.7 × 22.5 cm. Lyon & Turbull 12.06.24: 132  
 [ill. at Archer 1960 no. 34]  
Daśaratha greets Janaka on arrival for wedding, 18 × 23 cm. Lyon & Turbull 12.06.24: 133  
R. + S. + L. prepare to cross Ganga, Malwa, c. 1640, 17.3 × 23 cm., narrow red border, several lines of Hindi and Skt text on verso **in** Topsfield, Andrew 1986: *Paintings from the Rajput Courts* (London: Indar Pasricha Fine Arts [exhibition catalogue]): 8-9 no. 2  
R. + L. at Sutīkṣṇa’s hermitage, 22.8 × 16.3 cm., inscr. on verso in *bhajbhāṣā* and Skt (Rāma stayed there; staying in the hermitage of Sutīkṣṇa, Rāma wandered all over Daṇḍaka forest, visited lake Pampā and returned.)  
 [b+w ill. in cat. at fig. 47] Lalit Kalā Akademi, Khajanchi cat. 49a  
Māṇḍū, R. + S. + L. at sage’s hut, c. 1630, 17.8 × 23 cm. (ex Kanoria coll., ex Binney coll.; also ill. at Binney 1968: 55, no. 39a) San Diego 1990.944  
Lakṣmaṇa cuts off Śūrpaṇakhā’s nose as R. + S. watch, seated in domed pavilion,   
 inscr. on verso in *bhajbhāṣā* and Skt (“This is folio 41, the disfiguring of Śūrpaṇakhā by Lakṣmaṇa, Śūrpaṇakhā assumed a terrible form to frighten Sītā, then Lakṣmaṇa, cutting   
 off her nose and ears, disfigured her.”) Lalit Kalā Akademi, Khajanchi cat. 49b  
Mārīca as golden deer appears to R. + S. + L., c. 1640, 17 × 22.5 cm., captions in 3 hands  
 on verso + no. *46* (also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: III, 99) Nat Mus. 54.71/2  
Rāvaṇa challenged by Jaṭāyus, c. 1640, 20.8 × 13.2 cm. Kanoria coll., GKK 224  
L. consoles R. after loss of S., C. 1640, 13 × 21 cm. Kanoria coll., GKK 222  
R. + L. attack a demon, 1640, 18.7 × 16.2 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 70.2  
R. + L. receive envoys, c. 1634, 16.5 × 14.5 / 17.5 × 15.9 cm. Brooklyn 80.277.2  
Sugrīva pledges support to R., c. 1640-50, 18.7 × 27.1 / 20.2 × 28.4cm.  
 (also ill. at McGill 2016: 68-69, no 30) Philadelphia 1990-11-1  
R. pierces 7 *sāl* trees, 18.1 × 16.4 cm. (Britschgi + Fischer 2008: no. 42;   
 Goswamy + others 2014: 132-33, no. 65; Sotheby’s 20.10.95: 124) Porret coll.   
Sugrīva grieves for death of Vālin before R. + L., c. 1630, 17.8 × 22.9 cm. (on verso *55* + vernacular caption; ex Benkaim coll.) Sackler S2018.1.70  
Hanumān returns to R. from Laṅkā, c. 1640, 15.8 × 21.8 cm. Kanoria coll., GKK 312  
*vānaras* surround diagrammatic Laṅkā, c. 1640, 12.9 × 22.5 cm. Kanoria coll., VKK 93  
*vānaras* build causeway, 17 × 15 cm. (Britschgi + Fischer 2008: no. 70;   
 Goswamy + others 2014: 134-35, no 66) Porret coll.  
R. nursed wounded L. as Garuḍa + Hanumān fly to them, c.1640, 17.8 × 22.9 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 28.10.91: 251  
Māṇḍū: *vānara* leaders report to Rāma, c. 1650, 17.7 × 16 cm. San Diego 1990.953  
 (ex Binney coll.; also ill. at Binney 1968: 59, no. 44, McGill 2016: 74, no. 35)  
Māṇḍū: R. + L. attack giant *rākṣasa*, c. 1650, 18.3 × 15.6 cm. San Diego 1990.954  
Māṇḍū, Sītā’s trial by fire, c. 1630, 18.1 × 23.1 cm. (ex Binney coll.)   
 (ill. also at Binney 1968: 55, no. 39b; McGill 2016: 92, no. 49) San Diego 1990.945  
3 paintings (Rāma blesses Vibhīṣaṇa, Hanumān attacks a rākṣasī, R. + S. with twins before sacred fire), c. 1640-50, 15.8 × 16.5 cm. Sotheby’s 17.3.15: 1126  
*vānaras* pay homage to R. after victory, c. 1630-35, 16.3 × 21.8 / 18 × 23 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 12.12.72: 62  
courtiers and *vānaras* pay court to R. + L. with S., 1630-35, 15.7 × 22.1 / 17.5 × 23.1 cm. Sotheby’s 11.07.73: 102  
Mālvā painting — set of folios [no descr.] Ahuja 2013: 253, fig.285  
also here (?) R + L. threaten *vānaras,* c.1640-50, 17.5 × 15.5 cm. Sotheby’s 20.10.95: 142  
 R. + *vānaras* cross *setu,* mid C17, 16.5 × 15 cm. Sotheby’s 20.10.95: 145

Orchā: folios from a Rāmāyaṇa series, c. 1645 (**or** C18)   
 (cf. Seitz 2015: I, 290-99, 23.1-4, “Vier Folios aus der Quadratischen Ramayana”)  
R. + L. with 3 women + 3 men on red panel below trees, 15.2 × 15.6 cm.; on verso  
  *. . . aghyasavaṭa ajo ghyā asvānuprarīsarīcha uta  
 ...e* || *3* || Nat. Mus. 62.2603  
R. + L. follow Viśvāmitra with entourage (in 3 panels), C18, 16.5 × 15.6 cm.; verso blank  
 Nat. Mus. 62.2643  
exiles meet Śarabhaṅga, mid. C18, f. ***24*** [***2*** cut through]; on verso:   
 || *śrīrāmasarabhaṃgajogīśvara ke āśramagamana nāma* || Nat. Mus. 62.2602  
L. performs *mantra* beside river, with R. + Bharata (?) in vehicle behind; on verso:   
 || *lachimananupranadyaāgata bhae svargalo* ||  
 || *kahigae* || *99* Nat. Mus. 62.2604  
Sugrīva + Aṅgada meet R. + L., C18, 16.4 × 16.4 cm.; on verso: *42* and   
 || *śrīrāmaaṅgadasugrīva kau phu*(?)*ṣīdhā kau rājidetabha* ||  
 || *bhae* || *42* || Nat. Mus. 62.2606  
Hanumān leaps into Surasā’s mouth, 14.5 × 16.6 cm., f. 49 (?); on verso:   
 || *hanūman chāyārāchasī kau vaghaḥ* || *t* (Seitz coll.) Rietberg 2021.68  
uproar in the *madhuvana,* 15.6 × 16.4 cm., f. 6x; on verso:  
 | *jāmbugrīva kau madhuvanu bhachilayau* || (Seitz coll.) [= Sotheby’s 12.12.72: 63] Rietberg 2021.69  
wounded Lakṣmaṇa tended by Suṣeṇa as Hanumān brings herb mountain, f. 72; on verso: at top **72** [cut through]; then *hanumān kaṣayi kau parvatulau āai lachimana jīvaai* ||with just below *72* || Rietberg 2023.276  
L. kills Meghanāda (also shown sacrificing, top r.), C18, 16.4 × 16.5 cm.; on verso: ***74*** then  
 || *śrīlachimana meghanādu mānyau 74* || Nat. Mus. 62.2637  
Agni returns S. to R., on verso: ***78*** and below   
 || *śrīrāmusītāmilanu āgmi sītā kai anideta . . dasarapya astu* ||   
 || *tikarata bhae* || 78 || Nat. Mus. 62.2612  
departure from Laṅkā, , 15.5 × 14.9 cm., f.79 (Seitz coll.); on verso:  
 *-ma vibhīṣana kau rājatīlaku deta bhae yuṣpayiñcana pabau* ||  
 *loghyā kau calata bhae* || *79* || Rietberg 2021.71  
Sītā with Kuśa + Lava approaches R. at sacrifice, 15.2 × 16.5 cm. (Seitz coll.); on verso:  
 || *śrīraghunāthaju ke jaḥṭhapamai vālamīku āye sītā kau anu* || || *vālakā ne kau ānī saupe kahi kau ye tumhari astrī ada* ||  
 || *anu tumhare valaka ada dīnha tumale ha* || *95* Rietberg 2021.70

Malwa [Orchā]: closely related (?) to preceding series   
R. + L. fight Subāhu + *rākṣasas* (top), *Viśvāmitra* in hut approached by R. (below), C18,   
 19.2 × 16.2 cm.; on verso:   
 || *paṃcajo nārāyanavisvāmitra ke ja[g]pākāre* ||  
 || *ghyākarata bhae suvahuvadhu* ||5 *||* Nat. Mus. 62.2629  
R. + L. + S. meet Sutīkṣṇa, C18, 11.8 × 16.5 cm.; on verso: at top centre cropped numeral   
(possibly *25*) and below ... *rāmasutīkṣṇa ke āśramagamanaṃ nāma* || *srīparameśvarajū* ||  
 Nat. Mus. 62.2613  
Bharata and Śatrughna meet R. + L. on Citrakūṭa (S. in hut behind), C18, 19.2 × 16.3 cm.; on verso: at top *21* and ***21*** and below (both lines cropped at each end)  
 *tabhāsaṃrūpeṇa hṛdbhāsaṃtāmaṃvaraṃ taṃ kṣitau kṣātraveṣeṇa vīra* || *sunāsāpuṭaṃsuṃdaraṃ cānuvakūbhaje ...  
 dārāmacaṃdrasasītaṃ* || *1* || *śrīrāmacaṃdracitrakūtasthitabharatagamana* || *21 śrīnṛsīmha*  Nat. Mus. 62.2631  
Hanumān fights Rāvaṇa’s warriors, S. under tree (top l.), C18, 16.4 × 16.1 cm.;  
 on verso: at top centre *52* and **52**(both cropped) and below (cropped at each end)  
 *hanumān asau* *rāvana ke veṭāsau juddhu hotubhiyauvāgu vidhvaṃsakanpau* |  
 Nat. Mus. 62.2639  
R. + L. (l.) face S. making *añjali* as she enters Earth, with Vālmīki behind (r.), C18,   
 15.6 × 15.9 cm. Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-63-12  
Hanumān approaches S. in *aśokavana*, C17, 18.2 × 16.5 cm. Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-64-24

Orchā: Rāmāyaṇa series, c. 1650-60, in 99 folios (cf. Seitz 2015: I, 300-25, 24.1-11)  
S.’s *svayaṃvara* – multiple scenes, f.8, 17 × 26.7 / 20.3 × 28.2 cm. (Seitz coll.)  
 Rietberg 2021.73  
R. + L. shoot Virādha, f.23, 17 × 26.5 / 20.4 × 28.1 cm. (Seitz coll.) Rietberg 2021.74  
R. shoots golden deer + Mārīca (human) dying, f.31, 16.6 × 26.3 / 20 × 28 cm. (Seitz coll.)  
 Rietberg 2021.75  
Rāvaṇa kills Jaṭāyus, f.33, 16.5 × 26.5 / 19.8 × 28 cm. (Seitz coll.) Rietberg 2021.76  
R. + L. seized by Kabandha, 16 × 26.5 / 20 × 28.2 cm., text on verso:   
 || *śrīrāmakavaṃdhavadhaḥ* || and faintly in red *35* (ex Walter coll.; Bonhams 19.03.12: 1165(2); Ray 1-30.11.12: 33; Seitz coll.) Rietberg 2021.79  
R. + L. wait on Mt. Praśravaṇa, early C17, 18.7 × 27 / 20.3 × 28.3 cm., text on verso plus *43*  
 (ex Paul F. Walter coll.) Sotheby’s 24.09.04: 106  
Hanumān, Aṅgada + Jāmbavān meet Svayaṃprabhā, f.46, 16.5 × 26.2 / 20.2 × 28 cm.  
 (Seitz coll.) Rietberg 2021.77  
Hanumān leaps into Surasā’s mouth, f.49, 17 × 26.3 / 20.1 × 28.2 cm. (Seitz coll.)  
 Rietberg 2021.78  
Kālanemi downed by Hanumān, 16.5 × 26.7 / 20 × 28.6 cm., text on verso:   
 || *hanumana kālanemadai*[*ya*]*tyamānyau* | below *71*   
 (ex private European coll., Bonhams NY 14.3.16: 84; Seitz coll.) Rietberg 2023.39  
Kumbhakarṇa being dismembered by R. + L.’s arrows, f.73, 16.5 × 26.5 / 20 × 28.2  
 (ex Walter coll.; Bonhams 19.03.12: 1165(1) Ray 1-30.11.12: 34; Seitz coll.)  
 Rietberg 2021.80  
R. kills Rāvaṇa, f.77, 16.8 × 27.1 / 20 × 28.6 cm. (Seitz coll.) Rietberg 2021.81  
Vibhīṣaṇa’s installation (upper register) + S.’s “fire-ordeal” (lower), f.78,   
 16.6 × 26.7 / 20.2 × 28.2 cm.; on verso: || *śrīrāmasītā milanu atri riṣi pāvaka tau anideta bhae* || (Seitz coll.) Rietberg 2021.82  
return from Laṅkā in Puṣpaka, f.79, 16.6 × 26.6 / 20.2 × 28 cm. (Seitz coll.)  
 Rietberg 2021.83

‘Mālvā’: four paintings from a Rāmāyaṇa series, c. 1650, 15.5 × 17.8 cm.,  
R. + L. in Atri’s hermitage (inscr. at top, ending with f. *33*) [b+w ill. in cat. at fig. 48]  
R + L. on banks of the Gaṅgā with *ṛṣi* and S.  
Hanumān in Laṅkā (multiple: receiving orders from R., crossing ocean, facing Rāvaṇa with S. below)  
R. + L. + S. boarding boat on Gaṅgā as boatmen vie for honour of taking them.  
 Lalit Kalā Akademi, Khajanchi cat. 51a-d

night scene of R. + L. + S. before Bharadvāja, c. 1650, 18.1 × 15.6 cm.  
 (ex Benkaim coll.) Cleveland 2018.129

‘Mālvā’ series, mid C17 (Nat. Mus. 51.65 = 98 miniatures, c. 1650-60 / c. 1680);   
 cf. Parlier 1985: 147, 151-3, 156, 161-2, 164 [B = Brussels catalogue]  
 Ayodhyā celebrates birth of R. + brothers, c. 1650-60, 18.6 × 25.3 cm., inscr. on verso:   
 *2* + caption (B) 51.65/1  
R. + L. + sage meet Guha at Gaṅgā, 18 × 25.5 cm., inscr. on verso :*7* + caption (B) 51.65/5  
multiple scenes, Viśvāmitra to breaking of bow 51.65/6  
R. breaks the bow 51.65/7  
Vasiṣṭha prepares his sacrifice, watched by R. + L. 51.65/13  
Atri + Anasūyā welcome R + S. + L., 17.5 × 25.5 cm., inscr. on verso: *22* + caption  
 (B) 51.65/18  
L. cuts off Śūrpaṇakhā’s nose, 17.5 × 25.2 cm., inscr. on verso: *27* + caption (B) 51.65/23  
bleeding Śūrpaṇakhā comes before Rāvaṇa, 17 × 25.5 cm., inscr. on verso: *29* + caption (B) 51.65/25  
disguised Rāvaṇa approaches S., 17.5 × 25.5 cm., inscr. on verso: *32* + caption (B) 51.65/28  
R. (L. behind) on hill-top pierces 7 *sālas*, then buffalo-headed figure, 17.3 × 25.4 cm. /   
 10 × 6.9´´ [also illustrated at *Rām. illustré*: IV, 40] (B) 51.65/34  
Hanumān, Jāmbavān + another *vānara* leap towards R. + L., 17 × 25 cm.,  
 inscr. on verso: *37* + caption 51.65.32  
R. stands over dying Vālin, 17.7 × 25.3 cm., inscr. on verso: ***41*** + caption (B) 51.65/36  
Hanumān and others meet Sampāti, 17.5 × 25.5 cm., inscr. on verso: *47* + caption  
 (also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: IV, 133) (B) 51.65/42  
soldiers bring Hanumān before Rāvaṇa, 18.4 × 25.7 cm., inscr. on verso: *53* + caption (B) 51.65/48  
Hanumān sets fire to Laṅkā with tail (upper), waking Kumbhakarṇa (lower left),   
 18.5 × 25.7 cm., inscr. on verso: *54* + caption (B) 51.65/49  
Ocean pays homage to R., 17.5 × 25.5 cm., inscr. on verso: *62* + caption (B) 51.65/57  
R. writes name on rocks, which float, 18.1 × 25.7 cm., inscr. on verso: *63* + caption  
 (B) 51.65/58  
Hanumān carries R. on shoulders over ocean, 18.5 × 25.7 cm., inscr. on verso:   
 *58* + caption (B) 51.65/53  
Lakṣmaṇa faints, struck by Indrajit, 18 × 25.5 cm., inscr. on verso: *67* + caption  
 (B) 51.65/61  
Indrajit worships goddess + killed by L., 17.8 × 25.3 cm., inscr. on verso: *74* + caption  
 (B) 51.65/68  
death of Rāvaṇa, 17.6 × 25.1 cm., inscr. on verso: *77* + caption (B) 51.65/71  
*agniparīkṣā* (lower register), gods shower flowers (upper), 17.5 × 25.5 cm.,   
 inscr. on verso: *78* + caption [ill. at Daljeet 2002: 81] 51.65/72  
R. + S, + L. + others return to Ayodhyā in *puṣpaka*, 17.8 × 25.3, inscr. on verso: *80*   
 + caption (B) 51.65/74  
Visit of *ṛṣis* to R. 51.65/82  
Vālmīki teaches archery to Kuṣa + Lava, 17 × 25.5 cm., inscr. on verso: *92* + caption  
 51.65/86  
R. + S. + brothers perform sacrifice (*aśvamedha* acc. to caption), 19 × 26.5 cm.,   
 inscr. on verso: *93* + caption 51.65/87  
S. followed by Kuśa, Lava and Vālmīki approach *aśvamedha* fire, 17 × 25.5 cm., inscr. on verso: *94* overwritten *64* + caption Nat.Mus. 51.65/88  
S. stretches out hands to Earth beside *aśvamedha* fire, 18 × 26 cm., inscr. on verso:   
 *95* (twice) (also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: VII, 167) Nat.Mus. 51.65/89  
L. seeks to bar Kāla (r.) and R. inside palace talks with him (l.), 18 × 25.5 cm.,   
 inscr. on verso: *96* + caption 51.65/90  
3 mothers greet R., 18 × 25.5 cm., inscr. on verso: *98* + caption 51.65/92  
L. goes to heaven, 17 × 25.5 cm., inscr. on verso: *99* + caption 51.65/93  
R. places *tilaka* on Kuśa + Lava, 17 × 25.5 cm., inscr. on verso: *100* + caption 51.65/94  
Bharata + Śatrughna meet R. + L. (brāhman behind), 17 × 25.5 cm., inscr. on verso:   
 *101* + caption 51.65/95  
R. and citizens of Ayodhyā go to heaven, 17.5 × 25.5 cm.,inscr. on verso *102* + caption 51.65/96  
R. + brothers enter Sarayū, 1.7.5 × 26 cm., inscr. on verso: *103* caption 51.65/97  
R. with Viṣṇu’s attributes + S. in chariot surrounded by gods and crowned figures,   
 17.5 × 25.5 cm., inscr. on verso: *104* + caption 51.65/98

Mewar: Jagat Singh Rāmāyaṇa, 1649-53; MB’s notes on motifs in “Further Notes (verbal/general)”; JLB’s handwritten notes on text readings in Eternal Rāma box file; **see** **also** now material online at BL website <www.bl.uk/ramayana> and for 2 *Bālakāṇḍa* folios (ff. 14 + 18) from the Moti Chandra collection not included there **see** Losty 2020: 62-67, nos 23-24; cf. also Löschhorn 1991: 234 -37  
 cf. also Falk and Archer 1981: 257-9, Losty 1982: 104-106 and 124-29 (also 1712 Bālakāṇḍa on p.130) and Desai 2002: 276-7 + 101; marriage of Rśyaśṛṅga also from PoW Mus. ill. at *Ind. Min.* pl. 40; *vānaras* attacking Laṅkā by Sāhibdīn ill. at *Image* 392 (p.206); one of two paintings from Bālakāṇḍa in Baroda Museum (PG 5a.64a, Rāma and Janaka) at slide 62.15 (cf. Gangoly 1961: 83-84); *Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa* (= Jagat Singh Rāmāyaṇa): 2 illustrations (Rāma fighting *ṛakṣasas* in forest, f.9, at *Image* 384, p. 205, and Bharata meeting Rāma, f.24, at *Image* 385, p. 205; Rāma rejecting Bharata’s request, f. 126r, at McGill 2016: 56, no. 19; R. + L. riding Hanumān + Aṅgada, f. 14r, at McGill 2016: 75, no. 36; R. etc. return to Ayodhyā in *puṣpaka,* f.190r, at McGill 2016: 93, no. 50; Hanumān fetches herb mountain, f.100r, at McGill 2016: 186, no. 96; Indrajit employs *nāgapāśa*, f.34r plus text page, Rāvaṇa fights L. + Hanumān, f.60c, Rāvaṇa grieves over Indrajit, f.128r, at McGill 2016: 239-41, nos 128-81; mourning for death of Rāvaṇa, 173r plus text page, at McGill 2016: 245-6, nos 133-4).

RCM ms of 421 folios in devanāgarī with 274 folk-style illustrations, C17, 23.8 × 15.3 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 56.137

group of illustrations in Mewar folk style, C17; cropped or unclear caption at top of most: extensive series in Nat. Mus., New Delhi —  
Daśaratha holding court, 17.5 × 24 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/18  
birth of 4 sons (in 6 panels), 17.7 × 24 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/27  
young princes with queens (in 6 panels), 9 × 7´´ [17.8 × 22.9 cm.] Nat. Mus. 54.67/46  
bringing gifts for Daśaratha (?), 17.5 × 24.5 cm., caption continued on verso  
 Nat. Mus. 54.67/33  
2 princes greet pitcher-bearing woman outside palace with other women inside,   
 17.5 × 22.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/34  
R. + L. walk along river, 17 × 24 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/15  
Viśvāmitra leads R. + L. , followed by 2 pupils, 18 × 24 cm., caption continued on verso Nat. Mus. 54.67/66  
R. + L. guard Viśvāmitra’s sacrifice, 17.7 × 24 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/28  
Viśvāmitra instructs R. + L. to kill Tāṭakā, 9.7 × 7´´ [17.8 × 24.5 cm.],   
 caption continued on verso Nat. Mus. 54.67./79  
R. + L. kill Tāṭakā, watched by Viśvāmitra, 17.5 × 25 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/91  
Śiva’s bow in centre surrounded by all the suitors (Rāvaṇa on l.), 18 × 24 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 54.67/97  
R. breaks bow, watched from window by S. with garland (Rāvaṇa among other suitors on r.), 17.5 × 24 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/92  
marriage (?) procession, 17.8 × 24.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/39  
wedding scenes (4 panels), 1700, 17.5 × 24.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/55  
R. + S. return from wedding in chariot, 17.5 × 24.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/80  
R. meets Paraśurāma, 1699, 18.8 × 22.5 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 54.67/14  
4 panels: R. + L. salute queen (top l.), Daśaratha on knees to Kaikeyī (top r.), R. + L. confer (lower l.), R. salutes fainting Kausalyā, 17.5 × 24.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/94  
4 panels: Daśaratha fainting (top l.), queen with attendant (top r.), R. + L. walking  
 (lower l.), R. + L. greet/ bid farewell to queen, 17.5 × 24.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/87  
Daśaratha’s killing of ascetic boy, 17.5 × 23 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/6  
 (also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: II, 145)  
exiles leave on chariot, watched from palace by Daśaratha and women, C17, 9.7 × 7´´  
 Nat. Mus. 54.67/2  
R. + S. + L. on bank as Guha comes in boat, 17.5 × 25 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/38  
R. + S. + L. walk beside river, 9.7 × 7´´ [17.8 × 24.5 cm.] Nat. Mus. 54.67/45  
R. + S. + L. greeted by tribesmen, 1700, 17.5 × 25 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/56  
R. + S. sit under tree as L. bathes in river, 17.5 × 24.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/16  
Rāma kills Virādha, watched by L. + S., 17.5 × 23.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/64  
R. + S. + L walk away from dead Virādha (?), 17.5 × 24.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/21  
Rāvaṇa meets Mārīca, 17.5 × 24 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/42  
golden deer near S. in hut, 17 × 25 cm. [no caption] Nat. Mus. 54.67/37  
R. + L. chase golden deet, 17 × 24.7 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/22  
Rāvaṇa as mendicant approaches S., 17.5 × 24.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/26  
Rāvaṇa carries S. off on his chariot, 17.5 × 24.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/71  
Rāvaṇa in aerial chariot with S. wounds Jaṭāyus, 17.3 × 24.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/81  
mournful R. + L. outside empty hut, 17.5 × 24.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/67  
R. + L. find dying Jaṭāyus, 17.5 × 24.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/20  
R. + L. cremate Jaṭāyus, 16.5 × 23.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/77  
R. + L. on bank speak to 2 washermen in river, 17.5 × 23.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/72  
R. + L. bathe in river, 17.5 × 23.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/73  
R. + L. with 2 *vānaras* beside river/lake, 18 × 24 cm. [no caption] Nat. Mus. 54.67/17  
[ascetic meditating on hillock (top r.), another on rock (lower l.), 18 × 23.5 cm.   
 Nat. Mus. 54.67/29]  
R. + L. approach the Śabarī seated by cave, 18 × 23.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/41  
*vānaras* humbly approach standing R. + L., 17.5 × 23 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/90  
Sugrīva (?, Hanumān behind) kneels in supplication to R. + L., 17.5 × 23 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 54.67/36  
R. (L. behind) shoots Vālin, watched by Sugrīva, 18 × 23.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/31  
L. seated before Sugrīva, surrounded by *vānaras,* 17.5 × 24 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/88  
*vānaras* pay homage to R. + L. seated under canopy, 17.5 × 24 cm., caption on verso  
 Nat. Mus. 54.67/32  
*vānaras* pay homage to R. seated under canopy (L. behind) on l.,   
 Sugrīva under similar canopy on r., 12.8 × 24 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/65  
R. on *caukī* (L. behind) greeted by Hanumān, 17 × 23.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/23  
*vānaras* (*jābavaṃta* named) meet Sampāti, 8.7 × 7´´ [17.8 × 21.9 cm.] Nat. Mus. 54.67/48  
Hanumān stands in water (? = makes leap), watched by 3 *vānaras,* 18 × 22.5 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 54.67/40  
Hanumān on rock prepares to leap,18 × 22.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/50  
Hanumān sets fire to Laṅkā, 18 × 23 cm. [no caption] Nat. Mus. 54.67/98  
Hanumān, tail alight, leaps back over ocean,18 × 23.5 cm. [no caption]  
 Nat. Mus. 54.67/52  
*vānaras* grouped round R. on *chaukī* with L. behind (recto), R. + L. with *vānaras* beside ocean (verso), 1700, 18 × 24 cm., figures individually captioned Nat. Mus. 54.67/57  
Rāvaṇa on *chaukī* with 3 *rākṣasas* before him and female attendant behind, 9.4 × 7´´  
 Nat. Mus. 54.67/58  
Rāvaṇa in walled palace surrounded by sea (bird’s-eye view), 17.5 × 24 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 54.67/74  
Rāvaṇa in walled palace with sea below (bird’s-eye view), 18 × 24 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/83  
Rāvaṇa in chariot with charioteer, 17 × 24.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/51  
Rāvaṇa’s brother (? Khara) on chariot, 18 × 24.5 cm., unclear inscr. at top  
 Nat. Mus. 54.67/61  
Triśiras on chariot, 18 × 24.5 cm. , unclear inscr. at top Nat. Mus. 54.67/63   
*vānaras* advance into battle, 17.5 × 25 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/93  
*vānaras* attack Rāvaṇa’s charioteer, 1700, 17 × 24.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/53  
battle scene (Rāvaṇa falling, Hanumān wrestling with *rākṣasa*), 1700, 18 × 24.5 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 54.67/54  
waking Kumbhakarṇa, 17.5 × 23 cm. [no caption] Nat. Mus. 54.67/30  
R. + L. shoot from chariot (l.) as Hanumān fights Kumbhakarṇa (r.), 17.5 × 25 cm.  
 [no caption, perhaps lost in tear at top. l.] Nat. Mus. 54.67/95  
L. supported by Vibhīṣaṇa (?) on l., R. + attendant on r., 18 × 24.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/82  
Hanumān lifting mountain, 17 × 25 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/24  
R. drawing bow + L. pointing beside river with Hanumān carrying mountain (above l.), 17.5 × 23.5 cm. [no caption] Nat. Mus. 54.67/76  
R. stands fighting 3 *rākṣasas,* 17.5 × 23.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.67/99  
R. + S. on *caukī,* greeted by L.(r.) and watched by *vānaras* (l.), 17.5 × 24.5 cm.,  
 caption on verso Nat. Mus. 54.67/35  
R. + S. + L. on chariot driven and surrounded by *vānaras,* 17.5 × 24.5 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 54.67/75

‘Mālvā’ set, c. 1690-1700  
wedding of R. + S. and another painting, c. 1690, 16.9 × 27 cm. Sotheby’s 22.04.99: 320  
rejoicing at birth of Daśaratha’s sons, c. 1690, 18.8 × 27.1 / 20.5 × 28.6 cm., inscr. on verso || *śrīrāma satyā* || *2* || *dutīyai śrīnārāyaṇa daśaratha kai avatāru bhayau* || *sūryavaṃśa*  
 [see Bautze 1991: 202-05, no. 88 (**scan**)] Linden-Museum, Stuttgart, SA 38 733 L  
R. frees Ahalyā from stone, c. 1690, 18.5 × 26.81 / 20 × 28.2 cm., inscr. *6* || *ṣaṣṭhe śrī rāmacaṃdra ahilyā tārata bhaai* ||   
 (ex Sammlung Reichart; see Bautze 1991: 202-15, no. 89 (**scan**)] Rietberg 2023.38  
R. + S. + L. greeted by Guha and his queen, c. 1680-90, 20.5 × 28 cm. Ducrot coll. MW 3  
R. + S. meet Atri + Anasūyā, 16 × 27 / 20 × 28.5 cm.; on verso *ghīs aumye travūḍyāmana* || and *20* (folio 20; Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 27)Rietberg RVI 1526   
R. + L. + S. meet Agastya (?), 16.8 × 27 / 20.3 × 28.6 cm.; on verso || *śrīrāmasutīkṣṇa ke āśramagamana* || and *25* (Metzger coll.) Rietberg RVI 1924   
 (Bautze 1991: 202-15, no. 88; Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 29; *Rām. illustré* II, 236)  
R. greeted by Bharata on return, 18.7 × 26.7 / 20.3 × 28.5 cm.; on verso   
 || *śrīrāmabharatasaṃvādaḥ bhayau* || *śrīrāmasatya* ||and *54* (or *84*) (Metzger coll.) (Bautze 1991: 202-15, no. 88; Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 84) Rietberg RVI 1925  
8 paintings (2 in each lot), late C17, various sizes Sotheby’s 28.10.91: 256-9  
*vānaras* enter Svayamprabhā’s cave, c. 1690, 20.3 × 27.9 cm. Sotheby’s 26.03.98: 380  
Hanumān leaps across to Laṅkā (f. *48*)*,* late C17, 19.7 × 27.9 cm. Emory 2015.016.001  
Hanumān visits Sītā and wrecks Laṅkā, late C17, 19.7 × 28.3 cm. Emory 2014.016.002  
R. + L. + *vānaras* attack Rāvaṇa’s palace, c. 1690, 16.2 × 26.6 / 20 × 28 cm.  
 Pundole’s 26-27.09.14: 15

also: 8 paintings, late C17 (Hanumān fights a *rākṣasa*, Virādha’s attack, various Yuddhakāṇḍa scenes), up to 20.6 × 28.5 cm. (ex Gump coll.) Christie’s 18.03.15: 4051-54

‘Mālvā’/Kotah school, c. 1700  
Rāvaṇa fights with Jaṭāyus (Morley 1981 fig. 537) BKB  
R. pierces seven *tālas* (Morley 1981 fig. 538) BKB  
Hanumān sets fire to Laṅkā (Morley 1981 fig. 539) BKB

Malwa, c. 1700  
R + L. leading a procession, 14.1 × 18.3 cm. Sotheby’s 26.04.90: 39  
ascetics revered by R. + S., 14.6 × 18.2 cm. Sotheby’s 26.04.90: 40  
R +S revered by devotees, 14 × 18.2 cm. Sotheby’s 26.04.90: 41

Isarda: Rāmāyaṇa album (watercolour on paper), c. 1680:  
birth of Rāma, by Wajid (?), 23.6 × 26 / 25.7 × 28 cm. Sotheby’s 19.9.08: 236

Panna: 3 paintings from a Rāmāyaṇa series, c.1700-30 (cf. Seitz 2015: II, 200-13, 57.1-3)   
3 scenes in Janaka’s palace around breaking of bow, 34 × 25.5 / 35.6 × 27.3 (Seitz 57.1 )  
 Rietberg 2021.157  
R. on Mt Prasvaraṇa (top) as L. warns Sugrīva + Tārā in his palace (main), 33.5 × 24.9 / 35.5 × 27.1 cm. (Seitz 57.2) Rietberg 2021. 158  
the gods honouring R., the restoration of the *vānara* warriors, Mandodarī grieving  
 in the golden palace of Laṅkā, 32.5 × 25.1 / 33.9 ×25.1 (Seitz 57.3) Rietberg 2021. 159

[Bikaner (?):] 1511 page ms in *nasta‘liq* script of RCM (??) with 77 illustrations in folk style,   
C16 (??), 25.5 × 14.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 86.154/2

Bikaner or early Pahāṛī (Mandi?): dream castle of Laṅkā, 43.6 × 33.2 cm. Binney coll.  
[ill. at *MARG* 1986: 104, fig. 9]

Bikaner: Hanumān worships enthroned R. + S. with 3 brothers behind, c. 1650,   
25.7 × 18.4 cm. (from an *avatāra* series; 3 ll. of *nāgari* on yellow panel at top, poem on verso) McInerney 1982a: 54-55, no. 21 = Sotheby’s 28.03.96: 153

Bikaner (probably): 218-folio ms of Masīḥ’s *Dastan-i Ram wa Sita* in *nasta‘liq* script, with 132 illustrations, mid C17–mid C18, 31.6 × 19.5 cm. Christie’s 23.04.15:145

Bikaner: illustrated ms. in Urdu script, early C18 [cf. preceding item]:  
Hanumān destroying *aśokavana,* early C18, 31.5 × 19 cm. Bonhams 8.10.09: 270  
Hanumān before Rāma, 31.2 × 19 cm. Bonhams 8.10.09: 271

Bikaner/Alvar: illustrated ms. (306 ff., 64 ill.) in Nastaliq script of anon. Persian trans.,   
early C18, 24.5 × 14 cm. Nat. Mus. 59.268

Bikaner-Deccani mixed style, early C18 (c. 1734) —   
R. + brothers hunting deer, 16 × 13.8 cm. (ill. at Sharma 1974, p.16) Nat. Mus. 47.110/189  
R. + brothers studying with Vasiṣṭha, 15.6 × 17 cm., inscr. on verso *79*  (B) Nat. Mus. 47.110/197  
Viśvāmitra leads R. + L. through forest, 16.3 × 18.8 cm., inscr. on verso: *14* + *19* and illegible caption (B) Nat. Mus. 47.110/216  
R. kills Tāṭakā, 16 × 19 cm., inscr. on verso: *15* + *20* and *tārīkā namāradyaḥ*  (B) Nat. Mus. 47.110/240  
Paraśurāma challenges R. (L. behind), 16 × 18.7 cm., inscr. on verso: *36* + *47* and *parasarāmajī* (B) Nat. Mus. 47.110/228  
Kausalyā welcomes R. + L. with S. + Urmilā, 16.8 × 19.3 cm., inscr. on verso: *48* + *vīkṣaḥ* (B) Nat. Mus. 47.110/226  
Śabarī welcomes R. + L., inscr. on verso: caption + *97* Nat. Mus. 47.110/190  
Hanumān pays homage to R., 18.5 × 16.6 cm., inscr. on verso *115* (B) Nat. Mus. 47.110/250  
Hanumān pays homage to S., 16 × 18.6 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 47.110/202  
Vibhīṣaṇa pays homage to R., 15.8 × 17.8 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 47.110/232  
R. grieves over wounded L., 16.5 × 19 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 47.110/251

Kotah: [“... the Kotah Master’s delightfully inventive *Rāmāyaṇa* set, probably commissioned by Rao Ram Singh (r. 1696-1707) and left unfinished at his death.” Welch 1997: 28]  
R. + L. + *vānaras* attack Rāvaṇa, c. 1710-20, attrib. to Kotah Master, 31 × 22.5/35 × 28.7 cm. [Welch 1997: 31, fig. 19; Bautze 1999: 211-15, no. 97; Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 81; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 239 (detail); Sammlung Horst Metzger] Rietberg RVI 2048  
battle for Laṅkā (composite scene), c. 1740, 31.4 × 21.6 cm. Sotheby’s 26.03.98: 8  
 [detail:*vānaras*attackKumbhakarṇa, c.1710-20, 34×23.5 cm., Nancy Wiener Gallery]  
drawing, R. + L. + S. worshipped by crowd, early C18, attrib. to Kotah Master,   
 17.5 × 16 cm. (ex Welch coll.) Harvard (Sackler) 2009.202.114

Mewar: Bālakāṇḍa of 1712 in BL (Add. 15295; 201 paintings, 212 ff.; cf. Topsfield 2002: 142),   
 21.5 × 38 cm. (commissioned by mahārāṇā Saṅgrām Singh II)  
gods request Viṣṇu to descend to earth (f.38) Lessing archive: 03-07-03  
*aśvamedha* (horse and Kausalyā shown twice) *Rām. illustré*: I, 79  
R. + L. asleep beside Viśvāmitra *Rām. illustré*: I, 125  
Viśvāmitra tells R. story of Sagara *Rām. illustré*: I, 133  
Aṃśumān meets *diggajas* *Rām. illustré*: I, 136  
Aṁśumān recovers sacrificial horse *Rām. illustré*: I, 137  
Vasiṣṭha’s *āśrama Rām. illustré*: I, 158  
Śabalā provides feast for Viśvāmitra’s army *Rām. illustré*: I, 163  
Śabalā fights her attempted captors *Rām. illustré*: I, 164  
Indra thwarts Triśaṅku *Rām. illustré*: I, 173  
Viśvāmitra’s austerities *Rām. illustré*: I, 182  
Ikṣvāku genealogy *Rām. illustré*: I, 200  
Videha genealogy *Rām. illustré*: I, 201  
wedding night of Rāma and his brothers (f.210) Losty 1982: 130 (no. 98)  
[? part of this set] Garuḍa visits Rāma, 26 × 42 cm., numbered 166 Christie’s 26.05.16: 19

Topsfield 2002: 104 fn. 59 — “Illustrations to the Balakanda, probably not all from the same series, are in National Museum, New Delhi; Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; Central Museum, Jaipur; San Diego Museum (Binney coll.); Kanoria coll.; Gahlin coll., London; also Christie's 5.5.1977: 139. A Kishkindhakanda page is in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares (no. 9079). A mediocre group of Ramayana (and other) illustrations, with uninscribed text panels, is in the reserve collection of the City Palace Museum, Udaipur, inventoried as J 28/1-144, and there catalogued as Ramcaritmanas. Also noteworthy is a Ramayana series of smaller format and mixed, partly folkish Mewar style in the National Museum, New Delhi, of which one page (54.67/85) bears an inscription dated 1699 (vs 1756 pos sudi I). Some Mewar Ramayana pages, one bearing a date equivalent to 1688, were reportedly in the Sawai Man Singh Museum, Jaipur, but have not been traceable.”

Mewar: series from c. 1710 (upwards of 80 paintings noted) based on *RCM,* widely dispersed; panels in yellow at top of each painting contain usually *kāṇḍa* name (often abbreviated) and number, along with a brief description in Hindi of the episode depicted —   
**see** listing in sequence (including at end some doubtful items) with some comment in “Further Notes (visual)”.

brief reference to a *Rāmāyaṇa* series from Sawar, near Ajmer, dated 1723, at Beach 1992: 187   
other leaves in Kanoria and Goenka collections (cf. *In the Image of Man* p.206 no. 393)

possibly Isarda, c. 1725:   
Rāma kills Virādha, no. 88, 16.5 × 18.8 cm. MFA 29.1048  
Rāma + brothers before Janaka’s palace, no. 138, 15.4 × 17.7 cm. MFA 29.1049  
R. + L. meet Kevata (= Guha), no. 26, 16.5 × 19.4 cm. MFA 29.1050  
his 3 brothers pay homage to R., no. 12, 17.6 × 15.7 cm. MFA 29.1051  
R. + L. converse on a mountain, 19.2 × 16.5 cm. MFA 29.1052

ms. of *Candanamalayagirivartā* by Bhadrasena (active c. 1620), expanded by Karamacand in 1629–30, dated *saṃvat* 1802 (= 1744–45) in Kiṣangaṛh:  
2 scenes of S.’s abduction (Jaṭāyus fights Rāvaṇa and swallows stones; L. informs R. with Jaṭāyus in background), f.18, 1744-5, 28.8 × 20 cm. Cleveland Mus. 1968.108  
Hanumān at siege of Laṅkā, 28.9 × 20 cm., 32 ll. of text on verso Philadelphia 1968-12-2  
R. + S. return from Laṅkā, c. 1745, 28.9 × 20 cm. San Diego 1990.753

Jaipur-Datia mixed style, artist Gumān, mid C18, based on *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*:  
Śravaṇa story, mid C18, 31.5 × 43 cm., caption + no. *32* on verso (B) Nat. Mus. 47.110/188  
Bharata + Śatrughna on way with army and levelling of road, caption on verso  
 Nat. Mus. 47.110/184  
Bharata meets Guha beside Gaṅgā, 31.5 × 42 cm., lengthy caption in top margin  
 and main figures named, caption + no. *44* on verso (B) Nat. Mus. 47.110/186  
Bharata + Śatrughna meet Bharadvāja, 31.5 × 42.8 cm., caption + no. *48* on verso  
 (B) Nat. Mus. 47.110/187  
Bharata + Śatrughna at Bharadvāja’s *āśrama*, 27.2 × 38.4 cm., caption + no. *49* on verso  
 Nat. Mus. 47.110/185  
Bharata + Śatrughna at Bharadvāja’s *āśrama*, caption + no. *50* on verso  
 Nat. Mus. 47.110/183  
meeting at Citrakūṭa , 31.5 × 41.8 cm., caption + no. *53* on verso and all figures named)  
 (B) Nat. Mus. 47.110/182   
Bharata returns with R.’s *pādukās,* 30.5 × 41 cm., caption + no. *57* on verso  
 Nat. Mus. 61.1453

Mewar: Rāmāyaṇa series, 2nd half C18, 19 × 32 cm.  
R. + L. fight *rākṣasas* as brāhmans eat ritual meal (|| *10* || + *bālakāṃda* at top left,   
 caption in top margin)  
multiple scenes with figures named (*laṃkākāṃḍa 10* at top left, caption in top margin)  
 multiple panels of Virādha episode (*āraṇyakāṃḍa 6* at top left, caption in top margin)  
R. downcast and with L. searching for S., with multiple names (*āraṇyakāṃḍa 36* at top left, caption in top margin)  
Bharata (named) sets out for Citrakūṭa (?) in chariot (*43* [over erasure] *ayodhyākāṃḍa saṃpūrṇa* in left margin, caption in top margin) Christie’s 14-25 Oct.16: 18 (5 folios)  
before siege of Laṅkā (in 5 compartments), inscr. *laṅkākāṃḍa 8* at top left and 5 ll. of text in top and bottom margins Ader 28.05.14: 81  
Hanumān going to fetch herb (figures named), C18, 19 × 32 cm. (*laṃkākāṇḍa 72*   
 in l. margin, text in top and bottom margins) Nat. Mus. 96.154

Uniara Rāmāyaṇa ms., 1760-80, produced in reign of Sardar Singh (r. 1740-77), attributed to workshop of Mira Bagas, totalling several hundred folios  
1 folio from coll. of Rajkumar Rajendra Singh, Uniara: ascetic and ruler seated under canopy, surrounded by seated courtiers Beach 1972: 125 + pl. LXXb  
2 folios then in collection of Rao Raja Rajendra Singh, Uniara:   
 R. approaches Janaka’s palace in chariot (bow prominently in front of Janaka) Sugrīva receives R. + L. as other *vānaras* frolic round them  
 Beach 1974: 24-25 + xlix-l, figs 50-51

8 folios (ex Indian coll.) Pundole’s 21.01.21: 2-5  
 city of Ayodhyā, 20.3 × 30.1 / 24.7 × 38.1 cm., inscr. at top left *vālmī*° *12,* two lines of  
 1-2 *akṣaras* eachdeleted, then in later hand *559*;   
 text on verso: 1.230\*8(mid.)-26,31-33,27-30; 1.5.23; 1.6.1-5; 248\*1(part)  
 Romapāda sends courtesans to Ṛśyaśṛṅga’s *āśrama,* 21.6 × 30.7 / 25 × 38.1 cm., inscr. at top left *vālmī*° *1*6above upside down *44,* then *563* in later hand;  
 text on verso: 288\*2(fin.)-3, 289\*; 290\*; 295\*; 8.23cd; 309\*1-25(part) [i.e. as N]  
 *aśvamedha* begins beside Sarayū, 21.3 × 30.7 / 24.7 × 38.1 cm., inscr. at top left *vālmī*° *21* above upside down *44,* then *568* in later hand (similarly at bottom right);  
 text on verso: 1.11.7b(part)-12.10b(part) including N \*passages  
 Tāraka scaring forest animals, 18.8 × 31.4 / 25.5 × 39.1 cm., inscr. at top left *vālmī*° *38,* then *prabo*° *27,* then in later hand *585*;  
 text on verso: 1.23.24b(fin.)-30d; 24.1-17, including NE \*passages Bali and *vāmana* (Viśvāmitra’s tale)*,* 20 × 31.3 / 25.7 × 38 cm., inscr. at top left *vālmī*° *42,* then in later hand *589*;  
text on verso: 28.5a(fin.)–742\*11(mid.) including NE \*passagesVasiṣṭha refuses Viśvāmitra’s demand for *kāmadhenu,* 19.1 × 30.8 / 26.4 × 38.7 cm., inscr. at top left *vālmī*° *67,* then in later hand *618, 67* only at bottom right;  
 text on verso: 1.52. 16b(most)–53.20a(most) including N \*passageswedding and departure for Ayodhyā, 20.9 × 33 / 26.3 × 38.4 cm., inscr. at top left *vālmī*° *87,* then in later hand *634, 67* only at bottom right;  
 text on verso: 1.72.16d(most)–73.11b(most) including N \*passages  
8 folios (ex private Indian coll.) Pundole’s 5-10.06.22: 1-4  
 courtesans take Ṛṣyaśṛṅga to Romapāda’s court, 20 × 32.4 / 24.2 × 38 cm inscr. at top left *vālmī*° *18,* then *prabo*° *53,* then in later hand *565*;   
 text on verso 1.309\*72-90, including 314\* + 315\*1-14  
 Daśaratha’s procession reaches Mithilā, 19.9 × 30.7 / 26.2 × 38.4 cm., inscr. at top left *vālmī*° *81,* then in later hand *628*;   
 text on verso: 1.1244\*1-7, 1.68.1-16, including N \*passages  
 R. protects Viśvāmitra’s sacrifice, 19 × 30.8 / 25.9 × 37.6 cm.; inscr. at top left *vālmī*° *43,* then in later hand *590*; text on verso: 1.742\*11(fin.)-51; 1.30.1-5b  
 Aṃśumān retrieves sacrifical horse, 20.8 × 33.2 / 26.1 × 38.5 cm.; inscr. at top left *vālmī*° *54,* then *prabo*° *22,* then in later hand *601*;   
 text on verso: 1.40.5-41.3, including NW \*passages  
 Mantharā reminds Kaikeyī of *devāsurayuddha* episode, 21.5 × 32.4 / 26.4 × 38.8 cm., inscr. at top left in later hand *659*;  
 text on verso: 2.9.7b(fin.)- 23d (part), including S \*passages  
 Sumantra tells R. to go to Daśaratha, 21.3 × 31.7 /26.5 × 38.4 cm., inscr. at top left in later hand *677*; text on verso: 2.13.27a(most)–14.7b(part), including S \* passages  
 Bharata + Śatrughna reach Bharadvāja’s *āśrama,* 19.5 × 31.7 cm. / 26.4 × 38.7 cm., inscr. at top left *rā*° *a*° *2,* then *252,* then in later hand *694*;  
 text on verso: 2.83.15d(fin.)-22; 1982\*; colophon; 84.1-14b  
 R. asks animals about S.’s whereabouts, 20.1 × 31.8 / 27 × 38.8 cm., inscr. at top left *rā*° *a*° *84,* then in later hand *823*;  
 text on verso: 3.1125\*3(fin.)-6; 3.58.20-35; colophon; 59.1-5; 1139\*; 6-7b(init.)  
12 folios photographed by Jean-Louis Nou on website akg-images [Archiv für Kunst und Geschichte]  
 Hanumān announces arrival of R. + L. to Sugrīva (?) AKG22720  
 Hanumān seeks to propitiate R. (?) AKG227208  
 death of Vālin AKG228348  
 R. + L. leave Kiṣkindhā for the rains AKG228350  
 R. kills Tāṭakā AKG234151  
 Rāvaṇa abducts Sītā [detail from top] AKG384620  
 Daśaratha giving the *pāyasa* to his wives (?) AKG384626  
 R. + L. + S. in/near their hut and bathing in a river AKG385531  
 R. fights *rākṣasas* as L. outside guards S. inside hut AKG385537  
 Viśvāmitra narrates to R. + L. (top r.) churning of the ocean AKG385572  
 fight between Rāvaṇa and Jaṭāyus AKG385601

Jodhpur: large-format illustrated *Rāmcaritmānas* set (91 folios) produced in Vijay Singh’s reign (1752-93), c. 1775, format c. 64 × 135 cm. Mehrangarh Museum Trust [= RJS no.]  
 [**see** Diamond and others 2009: 27, 44-46 and 118-35 + notes and plates]  
Daśaratha comes to Ṛṣyaśṛṅga’s āśrama *Rām. illustré*: I, 70-71  
R. frees Ahalyā *Rām. illustré*: I, 152-3  
Mantharā turns Kaikeyī against R. *Rām. illustré*: II, 27  
Daśaratha faints at Kaikeyī’s demand *Rām. illustré*: II, 42  
R. tells S. about exile *Rām. illustré*: II, 70-71  
R. + S. +L. leave Kosala *Rām. illustré*: II, 110  
R. enters the forest, 62.7 × 134.5 cm. [ill. at Diamond 2013 no. 17A] RJS 2524  
R. in the forest, 62.7 × 134.5 cm. [ill. at Diamond 2013 no. 17B; *Rām. illustré*: II, 188-9]  
 RJS 2527  
woods of Citrakūṭa *Rām. illustré*: II, 195  
Rāvaṇa abducts S. *Rām. illustré*: III, 10-11 + 26-27 (detail)  
Śūrpaṇakhā’s story *Rām. illustré*: III, 54-55  
Jaṭāyus attacks Rāvaṇa *Rām. illustré*: III, 116-7  
Daṇḍaka forest (detail) *Rām. illustré*: III, 165  
S. lets down her clothes to the *vānaras* *Rām. illustré*: III, 129  
monkeys and bears in the Kiṣkindhā forest, 63.5 × 136.5 cm. RJS 2150  
R. + L. on mt. Prasvarana (detail) *Rām. illustré*: IV, 73  
death of Vālin, R. + L. wait out the monsoon, 62.7 × 134.5 cm., f.28 RJS 2534  
 [ill. at Crill 1999: 158-9, fig. 132]  
arrival of monkeys and bears *Rām. illustré*: IV, 100-1  
Hanumān leaps ocean *Rām. illustré*: V, 14-15  
Hanumān reaches Laṅkā (detail) *Rām. illustré*: V, 29  
Hanumān wrecks *aśokavana* *Rām. illustré*: V, 144-5  
Indrajit attacks Hanumān *Rām. illustré*: V, 146-7  
R.'s army beside ocean *Rām. illustré*: VI, 26-27  
R.’s army crosses *setu,* 63 × 125.8 cm. RJS 2548  
 [= (?) R. + L. + *vānaras* cross *setu*, *Rām. illustré*: VI, 60-61]  
R. + L. + *vānara* chiefs on hilltop (detail) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 70  
R. and Rāvaṇa face each other, with armies, 62.7 × 134.5 cm, f. 74   
 [ill. at Crill 1999: 160-61, fig. 133] **sorty by Rāvaṇa's sons *Rām. illustré*: VI, 170-1  
Indrajit in sky (detail) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 213  
snake arrows (detail) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 252-3  
R. + S. in Puṣpaka (detail) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 304-5  
R. in an *aśoka* grove (detail) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 98-99  
R.’s *abhiṣeka*, 64 × 125 cm. [ill. at Jasol 2018: 182, cat. 22] RJS 2592  
Sarayu palace, 60.9 × 128.2 cm. RJS 2594**

**Jodhpur: 5 Rām. paintings (incl. exile and *agniparīkṣā*), lat C18, 19** × 32.5 cm., identifications on painting, text in top red border Sotheby’s 30.04.92: 274

**Marwar:** set of folios depicting scenes from *Bālakāṇḍa* (44 ff.), *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* (25 ff.), *Sundarakāṇḍā* (46 ff.) and *Uttarakāṇḍa* (36 ff. but f.5 missing) of a *Rāmāyaṇa* (based on a version fairly similar to Northern recension of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*), late 18th century,   
c. 19.2 **× 32 cm.**; captions/descriptions in a form of Hindi in top margin (often continued in lower margin and sometimes in side margins) [own photos] Chester Beatty InE 1444

**Marwar: dispersed RCM (?) series, c. 1780  
R. + L. + *vānaras* fight *rākṣasas*, 19.2 × 32 cm. (top l. margin: *72*) Blohm p.2   
R. + L. view dying Rāvaṇa, c. 1780, 19.2 × 32 cm. (*laṃkā 63*) Blohm p.3   
multiple battle scenes (compartments), 19 × 32.3 cm. (*laṃkākāṃḍa 69*) Blohm p.4   
Hanumān + others fight Rāvaṇa’s sons, 19.1 × 32.3 cm. (*laṃkākāṃḍa* *44*) Blohm p.5   
Rāvaṇa with courtiers (compartments), 19.2 × 32 cm. (*laṃkākāṃḍa 7*) Blohm p.6  
R. + L. face Kuśa + Lava, all armed, c.1780, 14.7** × 27.7 cm. / 19 × 31.7 cm., **text starting   
 || *caupaī* || in top margin, *31 bālakāṃḍa* inn top left margin Pundole’s 26-27.08.14: 16  
2 paintings, one showing Hanumān dismembering a *rākṣasa,* C18, 19 × 32.5 cm.** Sotheby's 22.4.1999: 321 **[**from same series as Christie's 10.10.1989: 46, (like Sotheby’s lot given just as  
 “Central India, 18th-century”) and (?) related to preceding set]

Bundelkhand (Datia):   
Ahirāvaṇa arrives at Rāvaṇa’s palace, C18, 17 × 27 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.514  
Rāvaṇa in his palace talks with Ahirāvaṇa, C18, 17 × 25.6 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.532  
Ahirāvaṇa from fort observes R.’s army in hills, C18, 17.2 × 24.8 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.530  
R. + L. sleeping with *vānaras* etc., guarded by Hanumān with encircling tail, C18,   
 17.8 × 26.3 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.513  
R. + L. seated before Ahirāvaṇa, C18, 18 × 27 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.522  
Ahirāvaṇa’s family goddess in golden shrine, C18, 17.9 × 27.3 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.523  
Ahīrāvaṇa carrying off R. + L., late C18, 17.5 × 26 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 62.851  
R. + L., hands bound, are brought to Ahīrāvaṇa’s palace, C18, 17.5 × 26.5 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 62.511  
Ahirāvaṇa questions R + L., C18, 17.5 × 26.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 62.512  
Ahirāvaṇa prepares to sacrifice R. + L., C18, 18 × 27.2 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.535  
Hanumān attack Ahirāvaṇa with trident, C18, 17.9 × 27 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.533  
Hanumān fights Ahirāvaṇa, watched by R. + L., C18, 17 × 26.2 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.534  
Hanumān wrestles with Ahirāvaṇa, c. C18, 17.5 × 26.8 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.517  
Hanumān wrestles with Ahirāvaṇa, watched by R. + L. in *nāgapāśa*, C18, 18 × 26.7 cm.   
 Nat. Mus. 61.528  
Hanumān frees R. + L. from *nāgapāśa* as Ahirāvaṇa lies defeated, C18, 17.5 × 25.6 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 61.531  
Hanumān kills Ahirāvaṇa, cutting off his arms, C18 Nat. Mus. 61.526  
Hanumān holds Ahirāvaṇa’s severed head over fire, C18, 17.8 × 17.3 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.529  
Hanumān sets fire to Laṅkā, after killing Ahirāvaṇa, C18, 17.5 × 27 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.524  
*rākṣasa* brings news to Rāvaṇa seated in palace, C18, 17 × 25 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.536  
Rāvaṇa seated in palace with Hanumān + severed arms before him (top l.),   
 Sugrīva + *vānaras* confer (lower r.), C18, 18.2 × 27.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.527  
Rāvaṇa seated in palace with severed arms before him (top l.), Hanumān reports to   
 Sugrīva + Vibhīṣaṇa + *vānaras* (lower r.), C18, 18.2 × 27.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.525  
R. applies tilak to Hanumān after he has killed Ahīrāvaṇa, c. 1800, 19 × 28 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 61.519  
Sugrīva + Vibhīṣaṇa sit talking, C18, 17.8 × 27.1 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.518  
Aṅgada about to seize Rāvaṇa’s crown, C18, 18 × 27.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.520  
Vibhīṣaṇa, Sugrīva and Jāmbavān converse, c. C18, 17.9 × 26.4 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.521

Datia set, late C18  
R. visits S.’s palace after wedding, late C18, 31.3 × 44 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 63.993  
S. hosts reception for R., late C18, 31.8 × 44.8 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 63.994

Jaipur, illustrated *RCM* ms (194 ff. with 179 ill.), signed and dated by Rāmcaran Kāyasth,   
VS 1853 (= 1796-97 AD), 29.3 × 20 / 40.4 × 31 cm. Christie’s 12.06.18: 76

Jaipur series, c. 1800 [ascribed by Olympia Auctions to Bilaspur, mid-late C18]  
R. + S. + L. talking to a holy man, c. 1800, 25.4 × 36.2 /21.9 × 32.8 cm.  
 (ex George P. Bickford coll.) Virginia Mus. 67.43.4  
R. receives Vibhīṣaṇa, late C18, 21.3 × 32.3 cm. Olympia 12.11.15: 197 *vānaras* disrupt Indrajit’s sacrifice, late C18, 22.3 × 32.7 cm. Olympia 12.11.15: 196  
2 folios – *vānaras* attack *rākṣasas* and R. blesses Hanumān, mid C18, 22 × 33 cm.  
 Olympia 23.11.16: 159  
2 folios – *vānaras* attack *rākṣasas* and Sugrīva blesses Hanumān, mid C18, 22 × 33 cm.  
 Olympia 24.05.17: 77Hanumān bound before Rāvaṇa, mid C18, 21.5 × 32 cm. Olympia 22.11.17: 135

Bundi series, C18–early C19, yellow panel for caption + no. above picture:   
killing of Tāṭakā, 17.2 × 20 cm., caption: *tārākāmārī*  + *14* Nat. Mus. 61.778  
R. + S. + L. by river, Guha in boat, Sumantra leaving, 17.2 × 20.3 cm., caption: *nadītaṭāsīhā* + *28* Nat. Mus. 61.778  
preparations for a *yajña,* 17.3 × 20.3 cm.,caption: *sāgīrāmī kī barahahuva* | + *38* Nat. Mus. 61.783  
R. + L. go after deer, S. in hut, 16 × 20 cm.; in top border caption: *rāmalachamana kau mūgadīṣāidaīḥ* || + *46* (also ill. Sodhi 1999: pl. 34) Nat. Mus. 61.784  
Śūrpaṇakha complains to Rāvaṇa, caption in top border (yellow panel blank: *sapanaṣākī pukārā ...* + 42 Nat. Mus. 61.780  
R. embraces dying Jaṭāyus, L. behind him, 17.5 × 20.5 cm., caption: *śrīrāmacaṃda jaṭājū kī gatākarīḥ* || + *50* Nat. Mus. 61.782  
R. + L. fight Kabandha, 16 × 20 cm., caption at top: *kavaṃdharāchīsabadha* | + *51* Nat. Mus. 61.787  
Hanumān fights Jambumālin, 16.7 × 21.6 cm., caption at top: *jambumālīvadhaḥ* || + (in top border) *85* Nat. Mus. 61.785  
Hanumān fights Mahāparśva, 17 × 21.7 cm., caption at top: *māhāpārsvabadhaḥ* || + *85*  
 Nat. Mus. 61.779

Rajasthani set of devotional pictures, c. 1800:   
H. carrying R. + L., woman on balcony, 20.6 × 16.8 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.72  
H. reveres R., L. standing, 30.6 × 20.6 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.82  
R. enthroned, S. + L. + H. standing, 30.9 × 20.5 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.83  
R. + L. + H. on elephant, 31.3 × 20.4 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.85  
H. carrying tiny R. + L., 30.8 × 20.4 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.86

another such set, Rajasthani (?), c. 1800 (backed by recycled list):   
R. + S. seated, H. and female attendant, 21.7 × 30.3 BM (M) 1940,0713,0.132  
Garuḍa carrying R. + S. on throne, 21.8 × 29.8 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.133  
H. reveres R., Garuḍa, S. + L. attend, 21.4 × 30.15 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.134  
H. carrying enthroned R. + S. + L. 30.3 × 20 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.135  
R. + L. + H. on elephant, 20.8 × 29.7 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.136

Deccani (?) narrative set or sets [**see** notes on catalogue], 1801-05:   
Daśaratha shoots Śrāvaṇa, 19.4 × 32.9 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.155  
Daśaratha brings water to parents, 26.5 × 40 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.156  
R. + L. kill giant *rākṣasa*, 19.3 × 32.8 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.157  
R. + L. pursue golden deer, 21.5 × 36.3 cm BM (M) 1940,0713,0.158  
H. carrying mountain, 24 × 38.6 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.159  
H. observes Rāvaṇa wooing S., 25.2 × 39.9 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.160  
H. gives S. R.’s ring, 19.4 × 33 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.161  
S. gives H. a jewel for R., 19.2 × 32.9 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.162  
H. killing a *rākṣasa,* 25.7 × 40 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.163  
captured H. before Rāvaṇa, 24.6 × 39 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.164  
building the causeway, 24.8 × 39 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.165  
Indrajit shooting at R. + L. + *vānaras,* 22.2 × 36.8 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.166  
H. sent to get herbs, 24.6 × 38.2 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.167  
death of Kumbhakarṇa, 22.6 × 37 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.168  
armies in battle (Rāvaṇa on l., R. on r.), 22.15 × 36.5 BM (M) 1940,0713,0.169  
S. in fire with Agni, while R + L. + H. watch, 21.95 × 37.2 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.170  
S. emerges from fire, H. announces to R., 21.3 × 36 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.171  
R. + S. reunited and enthroned, 21.45 × 36.2 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.172  
R. + S. enthroned, revered by H., 22.7 × 36.8 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.173  
R. + L. attack Śūrpaṇakhā, 19.5 × 32.8 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.174  
Bharata shoots at H. carrying mountain, 25.8 × 40.2 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.175  
R. + L. + H. fight *rākṣasas,* incl. Kumbhakarṇa, 19.4 × 32.9 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.176  
H. carrying R. + S., 21.6 × 35.8 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.177  
R. addresses S. after her release, 22.6 × 37 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.178  
R. addresses the *vānaras,* 25.9 × 39.9 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.179  
R. and brothers reunited, H. looking on, 21.5 × 36.5 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.180  
R. + S. visit Bharadvāja with L. + H., 22.2 × 37 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.181  
R. + L. protect *ṛṣis’* sacrificial fire, 24.5 × 38.8 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.182  
Sītā playing *caupār* with Lakṣmaṇa, 22.6 × 37 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.183  
Rāvaṇa watching S. + 2 females worshipping *liṅga,* 23 × 37.2 BM (M) 1940,0713,0.184  
*rākṣasas*bearing R. + L. on palanquin, 24.4 × 38.3 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.185  
R. + L. inside Laṅkā, 26 × 40 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.186  
S. inviting R. to join her on a swing, 21.1 × 35.6 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.187  
R. mounts S.’s swing, 21 × 36.1 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.188  
Viṣṇu on Garuḍa addresses R. + L. + Viśvāmitra, 18.2 × 33 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.189  
S. addressed by Vasiṣṭha, departs with L., 22.5 × 36.8 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.190  
R. + L. in chariot, attacked by 2 *rākṣasas,* 21.6 × 36.8 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.191  
R. + L. with a false head, 21.8 × 36.6 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.192  
*vānaras* plunder *madhuvana,* 19.4 × 32.9 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.193  
Śūrpaṇakhā approaches R. + L., 19.4 × 32.9 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.194  
Sītā visited by sage, 3 sages in huts, 22.7 × 36.3 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.195  
S. entrusts Kuśa + Lava to Hanumān, 22.2 × 36.4 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.196  
Kuśa leads captured horse, 22.5 × 36.6 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.197  
R. reunited with Kuśa and Lava, 19.3 × 33 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.198  
(?) lady watching arm write a note, 22.1 × 36.15 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.199  
R. + L. sitting under *kadamba* tree, 37.1 × 23.8 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.205  
H. wrestling with Garuḍa, 23.25 × 32.4 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.214  
marriage of R. + S., 24.8 × 37.3 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.233

illustrated Bālakāṇḍa in the Jaipur sub-style for Raja Patti Mall (?some leaves ?whole ms)  
in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi – from this (?):   
Rāma’s mystical appearance to Kausalyā, ill. to *RCM,* early C19, 28.5 × 19.5 cm., acc. no. 3308/3309 (**see** Morley 1981 pl.P; Tandon and Giri 2002: 2-3 and pl. 1);   
Sītā and companions gather flowers in Janaka’s garden, watched by R + L., early C19,   
38 × 27 cm., acc. no. 3269 (**see** Tandon and Giri 2002: 2-3 and pl. 3)

illustrated complete *VR* ms, C18, 24.5 × 12.6 cm. (1171 ff., 3 ill.) Nat. Mus. 62.1807  
[62.1807(1) begins after invocations *atha kiṣkiṃdhākāṃḍo likhyate* **||** || *tau tu dṛṣṭvā mahātmānau* (i.e. 4.2.1 = start of *kāṇḍa* in N mss); 62.1807(4) ends *samāptaś cāyam ayodhyākāṃḍaḥ* || *ataḥ param āraṇyakāṃḍo bhaviṣyati ...* ; 62.1807(7) ends: *samāpto yaṃ kiṣkiṃdhākāṃḍaḥ* **||** *5* **||** *ata paraṃ suṃdarakāṃḍo bhaviṣyati* *6* **||** ]

Rājasthānī: leaf from ill. *VR* ms, C18, 20 × 41 cm., painting (Sugrīva consults leading *vānaras*) flanked by text of 4.2.22a-25d with comm. above and below Millon 13.12.22: 519

Jaipur: 8 illustrations from a Rām. series, c. 1790, 29 × 41 cm. (largest); captions and labelling of figures in gold –  
R. + L. + Visvāmitra on journey (top); killing of Tāṭakā (bottom); in top margin: *20* and captions  
R. + L. protect sacrifice and destroy *rākṣasas*; in top margin: *22* and caption  
Viśvāmitra leads R + L. to Ahalyā’s *āśrama* (top) and R. touches stone [on which Ahalyā shown standing] (bottom}; in top margin: *adhyāya 5* [above] *23*   
R + S. + L. visit Vālmīki’s *āsrama* (top left) and his life as bandit (top right and lower register); in top margin *ayodhyākāṃḍe sarga 6 pāṃno 28 ... ...*  
Daśaratha kills ascetic boy and has him cremated (3 registers); in top margin: *ayodhyākāṃḍa sarga 7 pāṃno 32 rājā daśaratha ...*   
R. + S. + L. arrive at Atri and Anasūyā’s *āśrama;* in top margin: [tear] <*a*>*yodhyākā*<*ṇ*>*ḍe sarga 9 pāno 61* and caption  
Virādha attack exiles and seizes Sītā (top); burying him in pit; meeting Śarabhaṅga (×2); in top and bottom margins: captions beginning 3 [above] *pāṃnu 4 āraṇyakāṃḍa 2*   
Bharata’s meeting with Rāma (top) and Rāma gives him sandals; in top margin: *56* [gap] *māṃdākanī maiṃ stāṃnakaristhāna maiṃ jāyavaiṭhā* [gap] *bharatajī hāthajo rāmajī ... ...*  
 Christie’s 28.10.21: 61

Kishangarh: Avadhī ms with text and paintings on each side of folios, c. 1800:  
56 double-sided ms pages, C19, 41 × 28.5 cm. Christie’s 20.09.00: 230  
mutilation of Śūrpaṇakhā (*vana° 154*), C19, 41 × 28.3 cm. (ex Christie's 20.09.00: 238; Bonhams NY March 18, 2013: 103) Emory 2013.011.002  
Hanumān fighting Rāvaṇa (*abba*° [?] *66*), c. 1800, 41 × 28.6 cm. Emory 2020.015.002  
Rām. scene (*laṃkā* *254*), c 1800, 41 × 28.3 cm. Emory 2020.015.003  
Rām. scene (*laṃkā* *298*), c 1800, 41 × 28.3 cm. Emory 2020.015.003  
Rām. scene (*uttar*° *336*), c 1800, 41 × 28.6 cm. Emory 2020.015.004  
R. confronts Rāvaṇa (both on foot), (*laṃkā* *271*), c. 1800, 40.8 × 28.4 cm.  
 Todywalla 16.04.24: 29  
double-sided folio from Rām. ms. with illustrations, c. 1800, 41 × 28.2 cm. Blohm p. 22

Chambā: group of 7 drawings in red ink, 1800-10 Wereld Mus. RV-3025-11-17  
wedding ceremony for R. + brothers, 29.8 × 42.2 cm., *16* + names of characters on recto  
departure from Mithilā, 30.5 × 41.1 cm.  
citizens follow R. into exile, 30 × 42.9 cm., *5* + names of characters on recto  
arrival at Gāṅgā, crossing in Guha’s boat, 30 × 42.9 cm., *7* at top  
exiles reach Bharadvāja’s *āśrama*, 30 × 42.9 cm., *8* + names of characters on recto  
Daśaratha’s death and sending for Bharata, 30 × 42.9 cm., names of characters on recto  
procession to Sarayū, followed by Vasiṣṭha and Kuśa + Lava, 28 × 41 cm., names of characters on recto

illustrated Rām. ms., c. 1800, 24 cm. (c. 275 ff., 16 full page paintings) Doyle 1.11.10: 275

Marwar, 2 Rām. scenes (one being Hanumān’s leap to Laṅkā), c. 1840, 13.7 × 29.4 cm.  
(ex Peter Cochrane) Bonhams 6-7.04.06: 391

Marwar, 2 folios from vernacular ms., c. 1820-40, 31 × 19.6 cm.: Agastya giving sword to Rāma, R. + L. greet Jaṭāyus, R. + L. with Jaṭāyus; Vālin fighting Dundubhi, R. kicking Dundubhi’s head Blohm pp.9-13

Marwar, 11 folios from set (some compartmentalised), c. 1830, numbered *bālakāṃḍa 10, ayodhyākāṃḍa 43, ayodhyākāṃḍa 50, āraṇyakāṃḍa 6, āraṇyakāṃḍa 23, āraṇyakāṃḍa 36, āraṇyakāṃḍa 38, laṃkākāṃḍa 10, laṃkākāṃḍa 50, laṃkākāṃḍa 56, laṃkākāṃḍa 86*  
 Heil coll. 15ff-ffffffffffff

Marwar: 2 folios from set, c. 1840   
 *rākṣasas* waken Kumbhakarṇa, 33.3 × 50 cm. Christie’s 8.10.70: 121  
Sugrīva and *vānaras* attack Kumbhakarṇa, 33.6 × 51.8 cm. Christie’s 8.10.70: 122

Marwar: 2 folios from Hindi ms (both numbered *18* in Arabic numerals*)*, C19 –  
(recto) 7 ll. of *devanāgarī* above painting of R. + S. + L. + Hanumān + Bharadvāja (all figures named), C19, 21.8 × 33.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 85.24/A  
(recto) 8 ll. of *devanāgarī* above painting of S. + Trijaṭā in carriage preceded by Trisalā   
 (? = Triśiras) + Supranaṣā (i.e. Śūrpaṇakhā), (verso) further text. C19,   
 21.5 × 33.5 cm. Nat.Mus. 85.24/B

Jodhpur: folio 74 from ill. ms., armies of R. + Rāvaṇa clash, 1st quarter C19, 62.7 × 134.5 cm.  
(ill. at Diamond 2000: 149-50) Umaid Bhavan Palace, Jodhpur

Jodhpur: 4 folios (text on verso), R. + S. with worshippers, Lakṣmaṇa fighting, R. + L. with worshippers, 1st half of C19, 23 × 15 cm. Sotheby’s 11.12.73: 179

Jodhpur: folios from Naraharadāsa’s *Avatāracaritra* containing paintings in panels within text, c. 1850, 35.5 × 24 cm. — including: R.’s birth (23 × 24.3 cm.; *22*), R. breaks the bow   
(32 × 24.3 cm.; *23*), Kākabhuśuṇḍa speaks to R. (35 × 24 cm.; *131*), Brahmā, Garuḍa + Sarasvatī (33.5 × 24.2 cm.; *135*), Garuḍa + Bhuśuṇḍa converse (33.5 × 23.5 cm.; *138*),   
R. repudiates S. (35.5 × 24 cm.; *139*), S. with Vālmīki (13 × 20cm.;*140*), S. with sons at *āśrama* (14 × 19 cm.; *141*), honouring of R. (13 × 19 cm.; *143*), honouring of S. (13.5 × 19 cm.; *144*), R. bestows kingship on sons (14 × 19 cm.; *145*), return on Puṣpaka (14.5 x 19.5 cm.; *145*) (Alice Boner coll.) Rietberg RVI 1153-1164

Jaipur: 2 folios, early C19: Hanumān destroying *aśokavana*, 11 ll. of text on verso (*suṃdara 8*); Mandodarī sees L.’s head in fire (*laṃkā 47* on verso) (ex Günter Heil coll.)  
 Roseberys 12.06.19: 106

Jaipur: *RCM* set with bright yellow borders and several blocks of *devanāgarī* text in margins (captions at top, extracts from *VR* and *RCM* in other margins, variously dated   
 c. 1825/early C19, all c. 36 × 50 cm.  
Śūrpaṇakhā entices Rāvaṇa to abduct S., 36.5 × 49.4 cm. Christie’s Online 2016: 92  
4 paintings: R.’s armies besiege Rāvaṇa’s palace, Daśaratha’s last days in Ayodhyā, Hanumān brings herb mountain, multiple numbered episodes in one scene;   
 25.2-26.5 × 40.2-42.3 / 35.4-38.5 × 49.4-55 cm. Christie’s 12.09.18: 385-8  
Daśaratha sends R. + L. with Viśvāmitra, 36.7 × 50.2 cm.  
 Christie’s 20.04.07: 454  
Rajasthani: S. before Rāvaṇa in Laṅkā, early C19, 36.7 x 50.2 cm. Christie’s 20.04.07: 456  
R. + S. + L. say farewell to Daśaratha and depart into exile, early C19, 35 × 50 cm.; on verso: *ajodhyākāṃḍo patra 5* Hannam’s 18-21.06.24: 437  
R. + L. + *vanaras* attack Rāvaṇa, yellow borders filled with *devanāgarī* text,   
 early C20, 38.4 × 55.2 cm. La Salle 93-O-195  
6 leaves*,* c. 1800, 26.7 × 41.3 / 38.1 × 54.6 cm. Kapoor Galleries website  
10 paintings, 1st half C19, 35.3 × 49.5 cm. Ader 8.10.12: 25  
4 paintings, c. 1800, all inscribed in upper margin – Christie’s 22.09.21: 471  
 Daśaratha with young sons, 24.1 × 37.5 / 37.5 × 49.5 cm., f. no. *9*  
 Viśvāmitra visits Daśaratha, 24.1 × 38.1 / 36.5 × 50.2 cm., f. no. *19*  
 R. + L. + Sugrīva, 10.4 × 40.6 / 36.5 × 50.2 cm.  
 Rāvaṇa’s court, 25.1 × 41.9 / 38.7 × 55.2 cm.  
2 paintings, *vānaras* fighting *rākṣasas* and Rāvaṇa conferring with ministers (inscr. on verso *suṃdarakāṃḍa ko tṛtīya patraḥ 3*), R. shooting through *sālas* and fight between Vālin and Sugrīva (inscr. on verso *atha kiṣkiṃdhamāṃḍa patra prathamaḥ 1*),   
 25.7 × 40 / 36.2 × 50.2 cm. Christie’s 28.03.24: 91

Jaipur style, mid C19: ms. of Keśarāja’s *Rāmayaśorasāyana* with 213 paintings   
[**see** Keśarāja 1990]; cf. R. + S. blessed by Jain monk, C18, ill. at McGill 2016: 27

Jaipur: illustrated *RCM,* mid C19 Fußman cat. 57-62  
Earth appeals to gods, 25.5 × 23 / 28 × 26 cm.  
Śiva tells Pārvatī story of Garuḍa (3 horizontal panels), 23.5 × 24.5 / 28 × 26 cm.  
Viśvāmitra comes to Daśaratha, 24.5 × 24 / 27 × 26 cm.  
R. holds court in Ayodhyā on return (2 horizontal panels), 25 × 23 / 28 × 26 cm.  
narrating the Rāma story (4 quarters), 24.5 × 23 / 27 × 25.6 cm.  
Bhuśuṇḍi plays with infant R., 24.5 × 23 / 27.5 × 26 cm.

Jaipur: illustrated Rāmāyaṇa ms., C19 —  
162 ff. with 124 paintings, 11.4 × 14.9 cm. (paintings) / 31.1 × 22.2 cm. (folios)  
 Sotheby’s 19.09.96: 160  
98 ff. each with painting, 31 × 22 cm. [pages shown: *bā· 66* with 1.70.12c(fin.)-19a(most) and *a· 2* with 2.1.37c(fin.)-2.3d(init.)] Millon 21.7.20: 449

illustrated ms. of Giradhara’s Rām. written in 1830s [**see** Wadekar 2012]

N. India: folios from illustrated *RCM* ms — MAP, Bangalore  
Tulsīdās meditates on Hanumān, 1812, 47.3 × 35.1 cm.; *rā° su° 1* PTG.02202  
*rāmarājya,* 1814, 47.4 × 35.2 cm.; *rā° u° 16* PTG.02209  
Garuḍa is deluded by Hari’s *māyā,* 47.5 × 36 cm.; *rā° u° 31* PTG.02217  
Garuḍa dispels doubts about R.’s divinity, 47.4 × 35.7 cm.; *rā° u° 33* PTG.02218

Vārāṇasī: illustrated *RCM* ms, c. 1850 BKB  
(ill. at Morley 1981: 244 + figs 526-8)

Rajasthani: illustrated *RCM* ms, 19th century (Bharany donation) Nat. Mus. 76.460  
[ill. Tillotson 2014: 144 fig. 3]

Mewar: 2 paintings, C19, 18.7 × 34 cm., 6 ll.of devanāgarī on versos Ader 25.11.13: 73  
Kausalyā and Daśaratha separately nursing R., inscr. centre top of painting: || *ṣaṣtama pū*(?) || and || *15* ||  
Daśaratha receives Viśvāmitra on steps of palace, inscr. centre top of painting: || *aṣṭama patra 3* || and || *23* ||

illustrated *RCM* ms. for Sawai Rām Singh II of Jaipur, copied at Vārāṇasī between *saṃvat* 1914 and 1921 (A.D. 1857-64), with 134 paintings (most half-page, 35 full-page);   
bound paginated ms. Husaini Arts website

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**various ‘Mālwā’ paintings up to 1700:**

battle scene, c. 1620-40 Michigan, Robbins coll. 15034

birth of Bharata, c. 1630 Heeramaneck coll. (1966) no. 323

R. + brothers say farewell to *vānaras,* c. 1630, 16.4 × 21.8 / 18 × 23.1 cm.   
 Christie’s 20.03.19: 312

sages pay homage to R. + brothers, attended by Hanumān, early C17,   
24.4 × 13.7 / 25.3 × 18.5 cm. Christie’s 20.03.19: 699

R. + S. enthroned in palace, c. 1630-40, 17.6 × 19.8 cm. Ash. Mus. EA 2012.203

R. + S. + L. visit a sage, C17, 19 × 15 cm. Krannert Art Museum, Illinois, 1969-11-1

R. + S. + L. visit a sage, C17, 17.5 × 16 cm. Sotheby’s 1.07.69: 258 = Christie’s 12-13.10.06: 648

R. + L. discover dying Jaṭāyus (G.K. Kanoria coll.), c. 1630, 16.5 × 21 cm.  
 *Central Indian Painting* pl. 6

R. + S. in chariot and visiting ascetics (upper register), R. + L. + S. on chariot etc. (lower register), c. 1630-70, 20 × 26.5 cm. Todywalla 25.02.22: 52

Hanumān and Rāma, c. 1635, 17.0 × 22.5 cm. V & A: IS.98-1965

Hanuman and monkeys in conversation with Laksmana and Tara, c. 1635,  
12 × 20.6 / 17.9 × 22.5 cm. V & A: I.S. 98-1965

[Barrett and Gray 1963: 150 mention a dispersed Rāmāyaṇa series dated 1634, of which  
the “most successful pages” are in the Bharat Kala Bhavan]

Hanumān killing Akampana (no. 41 in Agrawal’s list: ), c. 1635 BKB 6785  
(illustrated at *Image*: 206, no. 389)

R. + L. talk with sage in forest, S. with his wife, c. 1635, 17.3 × 23 cm. [identical style to   
*CIP* pl. 6 (above) and next; ex Welch coll.;] also ill. at McGill 2016: 123-4, no. 60]  
 Harvard (Sackler) 1995.69

Hanumān’s leap to Laṅkā, c. 1635, 20.6 × 22.9 cm. private collection  
[ill. Kramrisch 1986: 96, pl. 89]

coronation of Vibhīṣaṇa, c. 1635-40, 13.3 × 22.9 / 18.4 × 22.9 cm. Philadelphia 1994-148-523

enticement of Ṛśyaśṛṅga, c. 1635-40, 11.6 × 21.7 / 17.8 × 23 cm. Philadelphia 1994-148-524

Rāvaṇa tricks Sītā, c. 1640, 17.9 × 22.5 cm. Philadelphia 1996-120-8

Rāma chases (non-golden) deer, c. 1635-50, 18.7 × 15.6 cm. Michigan 1964/2.111

R. + L. discover dying Jaṭāyus, c. 1640, 18 × 16.2 cm. Harvard (Sackler) 1995.70  
(ex Welch coll., ill. also at McGill 2016: 66, no. 27)

R. + S. perform the *aśvamedha,* c. 1640-80, c. 20.3 × 17.9 cm. (ex Bickford coll.)  
 Christie’s 26-27.09.17: 250(3)

birth of R., c. 1640, 17.8 × 23 cm. MFA 66.150

R. + L. confront Kabandha, c. 1640, 20.9 × 17.4 cm BKB 6811

R. + L. watch 3 *vānaras* leaping water, c. 1640, 18.7 × 15.4 cm. LACMA M.71.1.13  
(also ill. at Pal 1983, no. R3; Krishnan 2010: 107)

Jaṭāyus fights Rāvaṇa, c. 1640 (V.K. Kanoria coll., Patna) *Rām. illustré*: III, 124

Rāvaṇa abducts S. [seated on his forearm], c. 1640 (BKB) *Rām. illustré*: III, 125

death of Jaṭāyus, c. 1640 (V.K. Kanoria coll., Patna) *Rām. illustré*: III, 154-5

Sugrīva pays homage to R. + L., c. 1640 (C. + R. Benkaim coll.) *Rām. illustré*: IV, 63

R. + S. + L. receive homage, c. 1640 (private coll.) Heeramaneck 1984: pl. 19

set of folios [no descr.] Ahuja 2013 (= *Body*): 253, fig.285

three *vānara* leaders report to Rāma, early 17th cent., 18.4 × 26.4 / 20.3 × 27.9 cm.  
[= Sotheby’s 14.11.02: 3] Walter coll. 3

R. + L. converse on a mountain, Malwa early 17th cent., 24.6 [?] × 27 / 20.3 × 28.3 cm.  
[= Sotheby’s 14.11.02: 4] Walter coll. 4

R. + L. + 3rd male leave sleeping S. in hut, c.1650, 20.3 × 28.0 cm. Bonhams 22.10.19: 98  
[same set as Walter coll. 3+4, acc. to Bonhams]

4 *vānara* leaders meet on hilltop, c. 1650, 12 × 16 cm. Christie’s 9.11.77: 114

[in 2 panels] 2 bowmen + brāhman pay homage to R + L. + S.; 3 warriors greet Hanumān  
+ Jāmbavān, c. 1650, 14.8 × 16.2 cm. Christie’s 9.11.77: 115

Hanumān approaches S. in *aśokavana,* with Rāvaṇa + 2 wives to right, c. 1650,   
15.5 × 16.5 cm. Christie’s 9.11.77: 116

multiple scenes, c. 1650, 16.4 × 15.2 cm. (ex Khajanchi coll.) Saffron Art 9.03.17: 34

a hero kills a demon, C17, 20.4 × 36.5 cm. Christie’s 22.04.16: 485

Rāvaṇa makes offering (l.) as *vānaras* molest Mandodarī (r.), C17, c. 30 × 23 cm.  
 Olympia 8.11.23: 717

R. + L. hunting, S. in hut, c. 1650, 17.3 × 22.8 cm. Bonhams 24.04.12: 261

R. approaches S. as female attendant approaches outside building, C17, 14.7 × 20 cm.  
 Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-64-21

Rāma entrusts Hanumān with his ring, from a Rāmāyaṇa series, mid C17,   
6 × 16.6 cm. (on verso 3 ll. of devanāgarī text) Sarabhai Foundation SFP 95

Lakmaṇa returns after leaving S. in exile, from a Rāmāyaṇa series, mid C17,   
21.7 × 16 / 24.5 × 18 cm. Sarabhai Foundation SFP 51

R. + S. + L. visit an ascetic, mid 16th century [sic], 17.5 × 21.5 cm. Roseberys 23.10.17: 140

Hanumān sets fire to Rāvaṇa’s palace, 16th century, 19 × 27 cm. Roseberys 23.10.17: 141

Hanumān kills Prahasta's 7 sons, c. 1650-75 (Nat. Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: V, 113

Kabandha seizes R. + L., c. 1660 (Nat. Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: III, 159

L. returns to R. after abandoning S., c. 1650-75 (Nat. Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 117

Hanumān kneels before enthroned R. + S., c. 1660, 15.8 × 15.8 cm. Sotheby’s 1.06.87: 26

defeat of Kumbhakarṇa, c. 1670 (identification of scene on verso) Met. Mus. 2001.541

Vibhīṣaṇa approaches R., 1675-1700, 20.3 × 27.0 cm., anon. collection  
 ill. at McGill 2016: 76-77, no. 37

Sītā enters the earth, c. 1675, 16 × 15.5 cm. Jñāna-Pravāha (Neotia coll.) 99.116  
(also ill. at Ahuja 2013 (= *Body*): 17, fig.3)

Rāma shoots Rāvaṇa via reflection, c. 1680 BM 1955,1008,0.45

R. receives L. + attendant, S. sleeping in chamber to l., c. 1680, 16.4 × 26.5 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 12.10.90: 8

Hanumān brings *saṃjīvanī* herb, c. 1680-1700, 15.5 × 15.5 Christie’s 17-27.05.16: 47

R. + S. before ritual fire + priests, c. 1680, 16.5 × 26.7 / 20.3 × 28.6 cm. (ex Doris Wiener) Bonhams 11.09.12: 56

R. + L. visit an *āśrama,* c. 1680s, 20.3 × 28.6 (ex Pratapaditya Pal; cf. Christie’s 20.03.08: 236)  
 Santa Barbara Museum of Art 2008.47.29

R. + S. confer with priests, c. 1680, 20.32 × 28.58 cm. Virginia 2018.187

R. + L. + S. walking to Citrakūṭa, c.1680-90, 24.4 × 40.5 cm., watercolour on paper  
[ill. Cummins 2011: 165, no. 78] Catherine and Ralph Benkaim coll.  
 [Cummins 2011: 247 fn. 55, “The inscription at the top indicates that the painting illustrates passages in chapter 56 of the Ayodhya Kanda, in which Rama, Lakshmana, and Sita arrive at Chitrakuta.”]

Hanumān brings *saṃjīvanī* herb, c. 1680-1700, 15.5 × 15.5 cm. Christies 13536: 47

R. + L. + *vānaras* attack Rāvaṇa, c. 1690, 20.5 × 28.6 cm. San Diego 1990.965  
 ill. at McGill 2016: 235, no. 124)

Hanumān enters Surasā’s mouth, c. 1690, 20 × 28.3 cm. Bonhams 7.10.10: 291

Hanumān fights Kumbhakarṇa, late C17, 12 × 32 cm. Olympia 22.11.17: 127

R. + L. on *vānaras’* shoulders fight Rāvaṇa, late C17, 37 × 26.8 incl mount; on verso:   
*.. ma autāraghare* **||** *30* **||** Chiswick 3.5.19: 370

Hanumān brings mountain to heal Lakṣmaṇa, c. 1700 Heil coll. 15f  
[Bautze assigns to same sequence as Heeramaneck 1984: pl. 18+19 (above)]

*vānaras* cross to Laṅkā (BKB 595) from ms assigned to c. 1700. *Image* 391, p. 206

Rāma despatches Hanumān, 19 × 32 cm.; some text in Hindi (devanāgarī script); gouache, ink, gold, silver on paper; S.D. Giles collection ill. at Guy 1982: 36 (Pl. 7)

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**other single paintings/drawings**

Bikaner: Hanumān approaches S. (in hut), C16 [sic], 7.5 × 6.5 inches Nat. Mus. 47.110/202

Marwar folk style (?), c. 1625-50, 13.3 × 22 cm., in 3 compartments: top left shows Daśaratha enthroned with chaurī bearer, 2nd shows R. + L., in foreground 2 ladies meet Viśvāmitra (?), inscr. at top *lāla guvala* (perhaps Lāla Gopāla as painter or owner)  
 Lalit Kalā Akademi, Khajanchi cat. 66

Orcha: births of Bh. + L. + Śatrughna, 1634-50, 12.38 × 22.07 cm. LACMA M.83.105.13

Aurangabad: Śūrpaṇakhā accosts R., c. 1649-50, 16 × 19 / 14.2 × 17.2 cm. CSMVS 2009: 89

Malwa (?): R. sends Hanumān and other *vānaras* on search for S., late C17–C18, 19 × 32 cm.   
 S.D. Giles coll. (see Guy 1982 no.7)

Malwa: R. shoots through 7 trees, c. 1710, 22.1 × 27.8 cm. Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-81-39

Mewar: wedding scene, folio from a Rāmāyaṇa, 1649 (!), 16.8 × 33.6 / 17.8 × 35.4 cm.  
 LACMA M.71.49.10

Rājasthānī (drawing): R. + L. set out hunting, with S. in hut, C17, 10.9 × 7 ´´  
 Nat. Mus. 47.110/668

Rājasthānī (drawing): R + S. enthroned, worshipped by Hanumān, C17, 25.1 × 20.6 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 47.110/1192

Rājasthānī (drawing): R + S. enthroned, worshipped by Hanumān, C17, 25.4 × 20.6 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 47.110/1269

Rāghogaṛh: R. + S. + L. return to Ayodhyā in *puṣpaka* carried by winged figures, attrib. to Mohan, c. 1675-80, 17 × 20.9 / 19.8 × 24 cm. J + K Mittal Mus. 76.357 (P.357 Cl 22)  
(Seyller + Mittal 2019: 88-91, cat. 23; also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 311)

Rāghogaṛh: Bharata hugs R. on return from exile, attrib. to Mohan, c. 1675-80, 17.6 × 21.4 / 20.3 × 24.2 cm. (Seyller + Mittal 2019: 92-95, cat. 24) J + K Mittal Mus. P.358 Cl 23

Bundelkhand, Indra revives *vānara* army, c. 1680 (E. + K. Seitz coll.) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 294

Mewar: Daśaratha swoons, C17, 22.1 × 31.6 cm. BKB 11105  
(ill. at Goswamy 1986: 136, no. 97)

Mewar: exiles camping in forest, c. 1660 (G.K. Kanoria coll.) GKK 152

Mewar: R + L. by lake Pampā, c. 1670, 24.9 × 46.8 / 27.5 × 49.5 cm. Freer F2012.4.1  
(= Sotheby’s 23.04.96: 17, ex British Rail Pension Fund)

Mewar, R. + L. + Viśvāmitra converse at night, c. 1680, 22.3 × 36.6 / 26.1 × 39.7 cm.   
(Binney coll.) San Diego 1990.608

Daśaratha’s killing of ascetic boy (Nat. Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: II, 145  
(**n.b.** parents in baskets hung in tree)

Mewar: R. + L. in forest, leaping *vānara* below, 1700, 17 × 24 cm. Nat. Mus. 54.6710

Mewar: S. enters fire and is restored to R., c. 1690-1710, 24.7 × 16.7 cm. private coll., Zürich  
(Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 83)

Mewar: R. + L. on way to Viśvāmitra’s hermitage, c. 1700, 20.3 31.8 / 23.5 × 35.4 cm.  
 Florida PA-69-3

Amber: Sītā purified by fire, c. 1680, 30.8 × 41.3 cm. San Diego 1990.852

Bikaner: Bharata and Śatrughna greet R. + S. + L., 1st half C17, 16 × 12.7 / 23.1 × 17 cm. Todywalla 16.04.24: 22

Bikaner: Hanumān pays homage to R., c. 1650 (Kronos Collections) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 95  
[3 ll. of Skt text above painting]

Bikaner: Rāma with army attacks Rāvaṇa with army, c. 1685, 10.3 × 15.9 / 17.4 × 22 cm. (Binney coll.) San Diego 1990.788

Bikaner: R. meets Guha before crossing Gaṅgā, c. 1700, 21.4 × 32.4 / 26.4 × 35.9 cm. Philadelphia 1984-139-4

Bikaner: Hanumān enters *aśokavana*, early C18 (BKB) *Rām. illustré*: V, 48

Bikaner: Hanumān praying to Śiva (5-headed) and Pārvatī on Kailāsa, c. 1720 (private collection, Belgium) Ahuja 2013 (= *Body*): 258, fig.295

Bikaner: R. talking with 2 brothers, attended by Hanumān, c. 1720, 18.2 × 11.8 cm.  
 Seattle Art Museum 75.53

Bikaner: Hanumān before R., c. 1730, 33 × 21.8 / 37.2 × 27.2 cm. Christie’s 22.03.23: 405  
(= Sotheby’s 21.03.12: 217)

Bikaner: celebrations in Daśaratha’s court, 46.0 × 30.5 cm. (private collection, London; acquired from Kapoor Galleries Inc., New York) Osian 29.10.09: 9

S. Rajasthan: Hanumān worships seated R + S., late C17, 133 × 10 cm. Sotheby’s 1.07.69: 284  
[sold to Kasmin]

Rājasthānī: R. + S. + L. bless Hanumān, late C17, 7.8 × 9.5 in. Nat. Mus. 51.34/6

Rājasthānī: R. + L. with *vānara* army, late C17/early C18, 13.4 × 19.1 / 16 × 21 cm., 16 ll. of Hindi text on verso Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin  
(Fußmann exhibition cat.: 48-49, no. 19 [**scan**])

Rāghogaṛh (?): Rāma’s reunion with Bharata on return, c. 1700, 30 × 40.5 / 32.2 × 42.5 cm., inscr. in bold devanāgarī on recto Bajid (? painter’s name) and on verso one line caption in neat devanāgarī Goenka coll. (Goswamy 1999: 172, no 134)

Sawar: Rāma receiving kneeling Vibhīṣaṇa, 67 × 45 cm. (ex Howard Hodgkin collection, ill. at Topsfield + Beach 1991: 64-65; Filippi 1997: 53, no. 11; Topsfield 2012: 220-21, no. 93) [**see** notes on Howard Hodgkin collection] Ash.Mus. LI 118.11 = Met. Mus. 2022.218

Sawar, R. + L. in the forest, c. 1755, by Vazid (?), 65 × 41 cm. Kanoria coll. GKK 203

Sawar: page of sketches and figure studies, incl. R. + S. in forest, S. visiting a *ṛṣi,* R.’s *abhiṣeka,* early C18, 40.6 × 62.9 cm. Ash.Mus. LI 118.16 = Met. Mus. 2022.223  
(ill. at Topsfield 2012:218-9, no. 92)

Sawar: Rāma fighting Khara’s army*,* c. 1700, 29.2 × 23.1 / 33.3 × 27.9 cm.   
(ill. at Krishnan 2010: 107 and McGill 2016: 60-61, no. 23) LACMA M.73.34

Malwa: *vānaras* + Vibhīṣaṇa (?) approach R. + L. seated under tree, C. 1710,   
19.8 × 22.6 / 21.9 × 28 cm. Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-82-42

Marwar: Rāvaṇa approaches S. (l.), R. + L. and golden deer (r.), c. 1720,   
14.6 × 27.8 / 19 × 32 cm. Lempertz (Köln) auction 1053: 528

Kotah: pounced drawing, R. + S. + L. + Hanumān in boat drawn by birds, C18, 10.4 × 20 cm.  
(ex Welch coll.) Harvard (Sackler) 2009.202.120

Bundi: R. + L. (**or** Kuśa + Lava) in forest, S. in hut, *vānara* in foreground, early C18,   
26.3 × 18.7 cm. Christie’s 21.03.98: 710

Bundi: R. + L. (**or** Kuśa + Lava) in forest, S. in hut, *vānara* in foreground, C18,   
24.1 × 17.1 cm. Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-1520

Bundi: R. + L. + S. + Hanumān in forest, c. 1780-70, 24.1 × 16.4 cm. Fitzwilliam 3463

Bundi (?): Rāmāyaṇa scene (?), C18, 13 × 16.7 cm. Waddington’s 16-21.10.21: 227

Bundi: Vasiṣṭha anoints R., enthroned with S., attended by Hanumān and others, c. 1760, 29.8 × 23.4 cm. Bonhams 7.10.14: 325

Āmber: S. kneeling before Rāvaṇa, C18, 21.5 × 32.3 cm. Sotheby’s 10.10.89: 50

Jaipur, R.’s palace at Ayodhyā, early C18 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: I, 63

Jaipur, Sutīkṣṇa’s hermitage, C18, 24.6 × 39.4 / 36.8 × 52.2 cm.  
 Cantor Art Center, Stanford University 2005.93

Jaipur: R. + S. worshipped by Hanumān (reverse of double-sided folio), c. 1720,   
28.6 × 32.2 / 20.7 × 29 cm. Rietberg RVI 2047b

Sirohi, Hanumān attacked by Indrajit, early 18th. cent., 21.9 × 33.6 cm. San Diego 1990.909  
(Sardar 2016: 89 – “This [text at top of painting] has been identified as text from the *Ram Raso,* a version of the Rama story in Dingal, a literary language used in Rajasthan.” [fn. As read and identified by Justin Ben-Hain.])

Rāghogaṛh: R. + S. + L. return to Ayodhyā in *puṣpaka,* c. 1720-25, 26.2 × 17.5 cm.  
(Seyller + Mittal 2019: 138-9, cat. 39) J + K Mittal Mus. P.361 Cl 26

Rāghogaṛh, R. severs Rāvaṇa’s multiple arms, c. 1720-40   
(Jain + Mathur 2015: 62) Nat. Mus. no. not given

Rāghogaṛh, R. + S. seated on hexagonal dais under tree, attended by L. with chaurī and Hanumān, c. 1730-40 (Jain + Mathur 2015: 32) Nat. Mus. 51.72/201

Rājasthānī: Hanumān in audience with R., c. 1725, 18.8 × 30.1 / 20.6 × 31.9 cm.  
 Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco 1982.2.81

Rājasthānī: R. + L., gathering flowers, see S. in palace garden, C18, 13.3 × 21 cm.  
 Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-906

Rājasthānī: composite Rāmāyaṇa scene, C18, 24 × 39.2 cm. Olympia 5.06.24: 300  
(ex private coll., ex Christie’s 30.04.85: 12)

Rājasthānī: Sugrīva receives *vānara* leaders (page from ms, painting flanked by columns of text), C18, 20 × 41 cm. Millon 13.12.22: 519

Malwa, Rāma visits Bharadvāja, c. 1725-50, 18.4 × 27 / 20.3 × 28.3 cm. LACMA 1999.127.39  
(ex Greenough Green coll.)

Malwa, Hanumān approaches R. + S. + L. in forest, C18-19, 29.5 × 17.2 cm. Nat. Mus. 63.1702

U.P. or Malwa: Viśvāmitra teaching, C18, 14.5 × 20 / 16 × 21.5 cm.; verso blank (Boner coll.)  
 Rietberg RVI 1053

Malwa: R. marshals the *vānara* army, C18, 19 × 32 cm. Fogg cat.17, no. 93

Malwa: king/prince before seated R. + L., c. 1750, 17.8 × 26 / 20.3 × 28 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 1.04.05: 105

Malwa: Mandodarī approaches Rāvaṇa, C18, 19.2 × 32.3 cm.  
 Ader 26.06.19: 115 = 7.07.20: 129

Central India: R. + L. with *vānaras* kill a *rākṣasa,* C18, 18 × 22.5 cm. Sotheby’s 11.07.73: 97(1)

Marwar: 2 Rām. scenes: building the causeway, R. talks to Hanumān, c. 1740,   
19.2 × 31.8 cm. Bonhams 8.04.14: 255

Rāghogaṛh: R. + S. seated on carpet, attended by L. with chaurī and Hanumān, c. 1740-50   
(Jain + Mathur 2015: 14-15) Nat.Mus. 69.5

Rāghogaṛh: S. offers fruits to R. in Dandaka forest, late C18, 32 × 23 cm.  
(cf. Jain + Mathur 2015: 63) (B) Nat. Mus. 51.34/50

Rājgaṛh: R. + L. attack Rāvaṇa (all on foot), c. 1750, 26.6 × 25.5 / 31.5 × 23.4 cm.  
 Sala Jung Mus. ACQ-78-66

Sirohi: Rāvaṇa enthroned, attended by *rākṣasas,* C18, 30.7 × 32.5 cm. CSMVS 2010.25

Sirohi/Bundi/Kotah: R. + S. enthroned, mid 18th cent. Met. Mus. 1979.12.5

Bikaner: R. + S. enthroned, attended by L. + Hanumān, mid C18, 23.5 × 18.5 cm.  
 Todywalla 24.02.23: 33

Bikaner: R. + L. with dead Rāvaṇa, c. 1750, 19 × 13.7 cm. Christie’s 12.0912: 598

Bikaner: R. + S. + L. with Hanumān, late C18, 22.8 × 14.5 cm. Christie’s 14.09.10: 195

[Rājasthānī:] wedding of R. + S., lat C18, 32.4 × 23.5 cm. Sotheby’s 26.03.98: 13

Marwar: Rāvaṇa approaches S. (l.), R. + L. and golden deer (r.) in charbagh, c. 1720, 14.6 × 27.8 / 19 × 32 cm. Lempertz 05.06.15: 528

Marwar: R. + L. arrive at city and have audience with ruler, C18, 26.4 × 20.5 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 9.04.74: 117

Marwar (?), young R. + L. fight *rākṣasas*, watched by Viśvāmitra in hut, c.1750-75,   
13.8 × 24 / 17.6 × 276 cm. Rijksmuseum RP-T-1993-295

Marwar: R. + S. on couch, attended by L. and Hanumān, C18, on verso (in pencil) *Marwar 18th* Nat.Mus. 47.110/600

Alvar, Hanumān prepares to leap, C18 (Government Mus., Alwar) *Rām. illustré*: IV, 149

Alvar, palaces of Laṅkā (detail), C18 (Government Mus., Alwar) *Rām. illustré*: V, 35

Alvar, S. reproves Rāvaṇa, C18 (Government Mus., Alwar) *Rām. illustré*: V, 63 (detail: 64-5)

Alvar, walls and palaces of Laṅkā (Government Mus., Alwar) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 21

Alvar (?): view of Laṅkā, C19, 39.6 × 35.4 cm. Government Mus., Alwar  
[ill. at Aitken 2022: 104]

Alvar(?): R. + L. fight fight Rāvaṇa, C19, 24.1 x 15.2 cm. Government Mus., Alwar  
[ill. at Aitken 2022: 47]

Alvar (?): Hanumān bows to R. + L., C19, 17.8 × 12.7 cm. Government Mus., Alwar  
[ill. at Aitken 2022: 125]

Alvar (?): R. + L. enthroned with attendants, C19, 16.5 × 15.2 cm. Government Mus., Alwar  
[ill. at Aitken 2022: 127]

Alvar: Hanumān starts for Laṅkā, 16.5" x 13" [= c. 42 × 33 cm.] Govt Mus., Alwar 1516

Alvar: R. [from *avatāra* series?], 13.5” x 8.5” [= c. 34.3 × 21.6 cm.] Govt Mus., Alwar 1523

Alvar: R. + S. enthroned, attended by brothers and *vānaras,* 26” x 18.5” [= c. 66 × 47 cm.]  
 Govt Mus., Alwar 1535

Alvar: view of Rāvaṇa’s palace on Laṅkā, c. 1820, 34 × 24.4 cm. Roseberys 30.10.23: 490

Jodhpur: R. + S. return to Ayodhyā, mid/late C18, 28.5 × 41.5 cm. Bonhams 23.10.18: 123

Jodhpur: R. and *vānaras* attack Rāvaṇa in Laṅkā, C18, 27.8 × 19.5 cm. Bonhams 23.10.18: 124

Jodhpur: R. + S. enthroned, with *vānaras* in palace setting, c. 1760, 32.5 × 21.5 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 8.10.79: 103

Jodhpur: 2-sided folio with muliple scenes, c. 1790, 18.6 × 18.1/ 20.6 × 21.2 cm.  
 Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-81-60

Kishangarh: Rāma and Rāvaṇa in combat, c. 1730-60, loan to Met. Mus. (**see** “Met NY – Rāmāyaṇa exhibition” doc.)

Kishangarh: R. + L. + S with wounded bird, 1750-75, 19 × 15 cm. private coll.  
[ill. at Pal 1983, no. R21 (**scan**)]

Kishangarh, L. hangs deer carcase in tree as R. + S. sit below, c. 1760, 30 × 19.2 cm.; inscr. on verso: *śrīraghunāthajī kā pañcavaṭī kā citra* (B) Nat. Mus. 63.807  
[also ill. at Mathur 2000: 77, no. 20 (**scan**)]

Kishangarh, R. + S. + L. outside Ayodhyā, c.1770-80, 25 × 17 cm. ex. Kasturbhai Lalbhai coll.  
[ill. at Khandalavala 1991: 28-29, pl. IV (**scan**)]

Kishangarh, R. defies R. Jāmadagnya, 2nd half C18 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: I, 209

Kishangarh, R. + S. in landscape, c. 1760 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: I, 33

Kishangarh, R. + S. (+ peacocks) in Daṇḍaka, 2nd half C18 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: I, 48-49

Kishangarh, death of Virādha, 2nd half C18 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: III, 18

Kishangarh, Sītā’s warning against violence, c. 1750-75 (Navin Kumar coll., N.Y.)  
 *Rām. illustré*: III, 28

Kishangarh, death of Jaṭāyus, c. 1770-80 (private coll.; ex. Gahlin coll., London)  
(also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: III, 156) Ader 31.05.13: 103

**n.b.** a Kishangarh Rām. series (post 1760) from a private collection used in illustrations for the de Sellier Rām. (i.e. *Rām illustré*), possibly commissioned by the usurper Bahādur Singh who ousted Sāvant Singh [so Heidi Pauwels at Oxford Rām. symposium]

Kishangarh, R. + S. + L. on river bank, C18 Jaipur (Albert Hall): 3739  
(also *Rām. illustré*: III, 31)

Kishangarh: Tulsīdās reveres R., 18.9 × 24.2 cm. Kanoria collection VKK 63

Kishangarh: R. chases golden deer (mid to top) as Rāvaṇa disguised as mendicant approaches S. in hut (bottom left), c. 1775, 16.1 × 20.8 cm. Nat. Mus. 59.284/9  
[ill. at Mathur 2000: 101, no. 32 (**scan**)]

Kishangarh, Bharata receives R. + S., c. 1780 (formerly Birla Acad., Kolkata)  
 *Rām. illustré*: VI, 313

Kishangarh, S. accompanied by L. approaches R., c. 1780, 9.5 × 20.3 cm., signed by Git Govin  
 Indar Pasricha archive = Bonhams 1.05.03

Kishangarh: R. + S. enthroned, worshipped by gods, *rṣis* etc., c. 1800, 22.2 × 16.5 cm.  
 Cornell 69.010

Mewar: death of Rāvaṇa, c. 1710-20, 47 × 37.7 / 52 × 44 cm. Sotheby’s 26.04.94: 21

Mewar: Rāvaṇa with his counsellors, c. 1715, 24 × 21 cm.   
 [ill. at Tandan 1982: fig. 64/pl. XXXIV]

Mewar, Tulsīdās offers his ms to Viṣṇu, c.1720, 25.9 × 40.6/54.6 × 64.8 cm. Florida PA-70-10

Mewar, Surabhi’s tears (Brahmā in centre), 1720-25 (Nat. Mus.) *Rām. illustré* II, 165

Mewar: R. + L. in Daṇḍaka (detail), c. 1730-40 (BKB) *Rām. illustré*: IV, 17

Mewar: R. + L. leave home by footbridge, c. 1740, 21.2 × 18.3 cm. Spink, Apr. 1976: 9

Mewar (folk style): R. + S. + L. asleep under tree, mid 1700s, 17.7 × 24.7 cm. Nat. Mus. 62.2654

Mewar (folk style): R. + S. + L. under tree, approached by hunters, late 1700s, 17.7 × 24.7 cm. Nat. Mus. 62.263

Mewar: L. + Hanuman revere enthroned R. + S., early C19, 26.3 × 19.5 cm.  
 Olympia 6.11.14: 188

Mewar, 4 Rām. illustrations, 22.9 × 36.8 cm. [descr., no picture] Sotheby’s 15.10.01: 177

Mewar, 4 Rām. illustrations [probably not above 4] Sotheby’s 20.09.02: 120

Marwar: Hanumān bows to R. with L. behind, 3.8 × 5.1 in. Nat. Mus. 49.19/228

Bundi, S. with Kuśa and Lava, c. 1750-75, 25.2 × 15.8 cm. (Boner coll.) Rietberg RVI 1083  
(also in *Rām. illustré*: IV, 13 as R. + L. hunting in forest)

Bundi, final battle between R. and Rāvaṇa, c. 1760, 27.3 × 19.5 / 24 × 16.2 cm.  
 Ducrot coll. KB 5

Bundi or Uniara: Hanumān seated in a banana grove, c. 1760-70, 26 × 16.5 cm /   
31.3 × 21.8 cm. (ill. at Ahuja 2013 [= *Body*]: 258, fig. 294) J + K Mittal Mus. 76.146

Bundi or Uniara: R. + S. enthroned, attended by L. + Hanumān, c. 1750-70, 25.2 × 17.3 /   
30.6 × 21.8 cm., inscr. at top and on verso Sotheby’s 12.12.72: 108

Kotah: Rāvaṇa in his chariot (detail), c. 1775, Subhash Kapoor coll., N.Y.   
 *Rām. illustré*: VI, 260-1

Kotah: Daśaratha eating with queens and sons, late C18, 28.5 × 22 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 62.450

Kotah: R. + S. seated on white carpet, attended by L., Hanumān + female with *morchal.* late C18, 6.3 × 4.4 in. Nat. Mus. 51.72/56

Kotah: R + S. enthroned, attended by L. + Hanumān, late C18, 9.1 × 11.8 in.; on verso: *16*  
 Nat. Mus. 51.72/112

Kotah: R + S. enthroned, attended by L. + Hanumān, late C18, 7.81 × 10.8 in.  
 Nat. Mus. 51.72/217

Rāghogaṛh: R. + S. seated on dais, attended by L. and Hanumān, c. 1770-80  
(Jain + Mathur 2015: 60) Nat. Mus. 51.72/172

Rājasthānī: R. + S. enthroned separately, attended by L. + Hanumān, late C18, 8 × 11.8 in.  
 Nat. Mus. 51.72/34

Mewar: R. + S. enthroned, with 2 attendants, Garuḍa and Hanumān, late C18, 19.7 × 11 cm. Sotheby’s 11.12.73: 267

Mewar (?): R. + L. asleep, guarded by *vānaras,* 1780-1800, 32 × 38.7 / 33.3 × 40 cm.  
 Christie’s 27.10.23: 22

Datia: R. + L. enthroned, late C18, 30.3 × 21.1 / 34.1 × 24 cm., inscr. on verso: *śrīrāmacaṃdrajī* (also *A. 10/35 No.1 of 15 paintings*) Chester Beatty 70.3  
[ill. (b.+w.) at Leach 1995: 1024, no. 10.65; photo]

Datia: R. + L. being blessed before searching for S., in two panels, 17.7 × 17.7 / 19.1 × 19.6 cm. Christie’s 11.10.79: 172

Datia: R. + L. + S. before dead giant, c. 1770, 19 × 28 / 21 × 29.8 cm. (ex Benkaim coll.) Cleveland 2018.122

Datia: Hanumān fights enemy (human form), c. 1780-90, 16.8 × 26 / 16.8 × 26.6 cm.  
 Sotheby’s **20.02.13: 306**

**Datia: R. embraces Hanumān in palace setting, 1775-1800, 16.4 × 25.4 cm.  
(ex Cynthia Hazen Polsky coll.)** Bonhams NY 16.3.15: 84

**Datia: *vānaras* besiege Rāvaṇa in palace, 1775-1800, 17 × 25.4 cm.** Bonhams NY 16.3.15: 85

Datia: Hanumān embraces R. in courtyard, c. 1775, 42.5 **× 25.4 cm. Christie’s 23.03.10: 208**

**Datia: Rāvaṇa in palace threatens S., 1775-1800, 17 × 25.4 cm. Christie’s 23.03.10: 206**

**Datia: illustration to a Rāmāyaṇa series/avatāras of Viṣṇu, c. 1800,   
26.1 × 38.8 cm. / 29.9 × 42.6 cm.** Christie’s 7428: 338

Datia: Rāvaṇa shows S. severed arms as *vānaras* besiege Laṅkā, cf. 1800-10, 17 × 26.6 cm.  
(Seitz coll.) Rietberg 2021.171

Datia: Mahīrāvaṇa performing *pūjā,* late C18, 18 × 27 cm. Nat. Mus. 61.515

Datia: Agni gives *pāyasa* to Daśaratha, 1800-20, 38 × 53 cm. Todywalla 24.02.23: 54

Bikaner: R. + S. in aerial palanquin, Hanumān below, c. 1800, 24.5 × 17.7 cm.  
 Christie’s 11.04.14: 24

Bundi, R. hunting by moonlight, c. 1790; 22.5 × 29.7 cm. Welch coll.  
(catalogued at Welch and Beach 1965, no. 57)

Bundi, R. + S. paid homage by raja of Bundi, late C18, 28.5 × 21.3 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 51.72/135

Marwar, R. sends Hanumān to search + H. meets S., c. 1790, 12.2 × 20.8 cm. Blohm p.6

Jaipur: R. + L. + *vānaras* fight Rāvaṇa and army, c. 1760, 22.5 × 32 cm Bonhams 25.10.21: 301

Jaipur: scenes in forest (compartmented), late C18, 28.2 × 403 cm. Blohm p.7

Jaipur: R. + S. enthroned, c. 1780, 50.1 × 40.5 cm. Bonhams 17.9.14: 142

Jaipur: Hanumān pays homage to R., late C18–C19, 20.3 × 15.8 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 60.1732

Jaipur: Hanumān pays homage to R. + S., c. 1780, 22.4 × 30.3 cm. Christie’s 16.10.80: 199

Jaipur: *vānaras* before R. (with L. behind), late C18 Salar Jung Mus. MSP-705

Jaipur: R.'s palace at Ayodhyā, end of C18 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 13

Rāghogaṛh, R. + S. on Citrakūṭa, end C18 (Nat. Mus.) *Rām. illustré*:II, 198

Rāghogaṛh, Hanumān carrying herb mountain, late C18, 27.5 × 16.5 cm., caption on verso  
 (B) Nat. Mus. 51.72/248

Rāghogaṛh, R. + L. in howdah on white elephant, late C18, 43 × 33.2 cm. San Diego 1990.703

Nāgaur or Deccan, Hanumān finds S., 18th cent., 27.6 × 19.1 / 31.1 × 22.4 cm.  
 Philadelphia 1967-80-4

Nāgaur: R + L. fight a *rākṣasa* (ill to a *devanāgarī* ms.), c. 1800, 7.3 × 2.7 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 22.11.76: 164

Gujarat, Hanuman sees S. + jumps back from Laṅkā, c. 1775-1800, 16.51 × 31.75 cm.  
(also ill. at McGill 2016: 180-1, no. 92) LACMA M.72.11

Gujarat, multiple episodes in Pañcavatī, c. 1775-1800, 14.28 × 29.52 / 16.51 × 31.75 cm.  
 LACMA M.79.191.7

Gujarat, man greets R. + L., c. 1775-1800, 21.27 × 15.4 / 22.54 × 16.82 cm. LACMA M.74.61

Rājasthānī: Rāma shoots flying Rāvaṇa (?), C18, 33.6 × 24.6 cm. Christie’s 21.03.08: 711

Rājasthānī: Hanumān reverencing R. + L., c. 1750-1800, 13.8 × 23 cm. Ash.Mus. EA2012.239

Rājasthānī: Daśaratha with Kaikeyī in palace room, 1750-1800, 19 × 32.3 cm., caption in top margin and *8 ayodhyakāṇḍa* in l. margin Wereld Mus. TM-4767-2

Rājasthānī: ms. page R. + L. + S. in forest, c. 1745, 12.7 × 14.6 / 33 × 21.4 cm.  
 Philadelphia 1994-148-431a

Rājasthānī (?): R. prepares to rescue S., c. 1770 Peabody Essex E300647

Devgaṛh, Kuśa + Lava learning from Vālmīki (?), c.1780, 8.3 × 12.1 cm. Florida PA-70-48

NW India: Hanumān sets fire to Laṅkā (recto), citadel, text, Hanumān cooling tail, late C18, 21.5 × 34 cm. Chiswick 29.10.21: 404

Bundelkhand: R. + L. worshipped by *vānaras,* with Laṅkā in background, late C18,   
6¾ × 10¼ in. Wisconsin 2005.1.14

Bundelkhand: R. + S. enthroned, early C19, 26.6 × 17.5/38.3 × 26.6 cm. Todywalla 16.04.24: 41

Rājasthānī: R. + S. (seated) + L. + H. before palace, c. 1790-1810, 27 × 20.2 cm. BM 1880,0.2169

Rājasthānī: R. + S. + L. + H. before palace, c. 1790-1810, 27.7 × 22.9 cm. BM 1880,0.2175

Rājasthānī: R. + S. seated under tree, L. + H. attending, c. 1790-1810, 25 × 19.3 cm.  
 BM 1880,0.2186

Rājasthānī: R. + S. (seated), H. massaging R.’s leg, c. 1790-1810, 27.1 × 19.6 cm. BM 1880,0.2196

Rājasthānī: Hanumān carrying R. + L. , c. 1790-1810, 25.1 × 18.3 cm. BM 1880,0.2254

Rājasthānī: R + S. enthroned, L. + H. attending, c. 1790-1810, 15.5 × 19.1 cm. BM1880,0.2255

Rājasthānī: R + S. enthroned, L. + H. attending, c. 1790-1810, 24.5 × 18.5 cm. BM1880,0.2328

Rājasthānī: R. + S. (seated) + L. + H., c. 1790-1810, 24.4 × 18.4 cm. BM 1880,0.2331

Rājasthānī: R. + L. before bird in tree, c. 1790-1810, 21.9 × 16.1 cm. BM 1880,0.2332

Rājasthānī: R. + L. worshipped by Hanumān, c. 1790-1810, 26.2 × 18.8 cm. BM 1880,0.2333

Rājasthānī: R. + S. (seated) + L. + H. , 18th-19th C, 18.9 × 12.2 cm. BM 1880,0.2338

Rājasthānī: R. + L. before bird in tree, c. 1790-1810, 20.9 × 15.2 cm. BM 1880,0.2341

Rājasthānī: 3 scenes – Hanumān in Laṅkā + return, c. 1790-1810, 36.8 × 25/8 cm.  
 BM 1880,0.2344

Rājasthānī: Hanumān in *añjali mudrā,* c. 1800 BM 1931,0427,0.11

Rājasthānī: R. worshipped by Garuḍa + H., late C18, 21.3 × 30 cm. BM (M) 1940,0713,0.119

Rājasthānī: Rāma-Sītā darbar, c. 1800 [ similar style to 119] BM (M) 1940,0713,0.120

Rājasthānī: R. + S. on *caukī,* attended by 3 brothers and worshipped by Hanumān, C19,  
35.5 × 28.3 cm. Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-90-20

Rājasthānī: R. + S. + L. going to forest, C19, 19.3 × 29.5 / 31.5 × 40.5 cm.  
 Salar Jung Mus. MSP-1-373

Rājasthānī: R. + S. seated in courtyard with 2 female attendants, C18, 25.4 × 21.6 cm.  
 Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-1352

Rājasthānī: R. talks with 2 *vānaras* (top l.), L warns Sugrīva (top R.), Sugriva issues instructions (centre), C.18, 38.7 24.1 cm. Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-1386

Rājasthānī (drawing): Janaka ploughing for sacrifice, C18 Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-382-15

Rājasthānī (drawing, part coloured): S. in *āśokavana,* Hanumān returning with herb mountain, etc., C18-19, 46.4 × 26.7 cm. Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-113

Rājasthānī (drawing): R. + L. at Pampāsaras, meeting with Hanuman, etc. (in 2 registers), C18-19, 40.6 × 30.5 cm., captions above each scene Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-164

Rājasthānī (drawing): R. and Sugrīva pledge friendship (in 2 registers), C18-19,   
30.5 × 39.4 cm., caption in top margin Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-162

Rājasthānī: R. + L. shoot at golden deer (top) as Rāvaṇa approaches S. (bottom), C18-19,   
20.3 × 12.7 cm. Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-609

Marwar: 4-armed Hanumān carries R. + L. on his shoulders, C18-19, 40 × 27 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 60.441

[Rājasthānī:] battle for Laṅkā, C18-19  
 Mus. delle Civiltà, Rome, Muciv/ex-Mnao, inv. 20.S48-1.165

Rājasthānī: folio from vernacular Rāmāyaṇa, Hanumān seizes Mandodarī etc. (4 lines of text above and 4 below), C18-19 Mus. delle Civiltà, Rome, Muciv/ex-Mnao, inv. 21826

[Rājasthānī:] R + L. attended by L. + Hanumān, late C18–early C19, 25.7 × 15 / 32.2 × 21.5 cm. Zacke 28.06.24: 316

Rājasthānī folk style: R. + L. lead *vānaras* against Rāvaṇa’s forces, c. 1800, 16.5 × 31.5 cm.  
 Christie’s 12.10.78: 106

Datia: Raja Vijay Bahadur pays homage to R. + S., early C19, 34 × 25 cm.; on verso:  
illegible caption, *naṃbā 22,* Datia coll. stamp in purple with no. *3,* (sideways) *naṃbā (3)* Nat. Mus. 63.982

Rājasthānī: R. + S. + L. worshipped by Hanumān, early C19, 32.7 × 221.7 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 59.196/4

Mewar: *vānaras* bring stones for causeway, C18-19, 31.7 × 24.1 cm., caption at left  
in top yellow margin *samudrapāṭana* Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-114I

Rājasthānī: R + L. at Viśvāmitra’s sacrifice, late C18 – early C19 Sotheby’s 23.10.2020: 39

Rājasthānī: Garuḍa before enthroned R. + S., late C18 ­– early C19 Sotheby’s 23.10.2020: 39

Rājasthānī folk style, R., L. + *vānaras* fight Rāvaṇa + army, c. 1800, 16.5 × 31.5 cm.  
 Christie’s 12.10.78: 106

Rājasthānī: R+ L. with *vānara* army, 19 × 32.4 cm. c. 1800 (probably) Christie’s 28.07.94: 256

Malwa: R + L. at court, C18–C19, 20.8 × 28 cm. Chiswick 29.10.20: 343

central India: crow Bhuśuṇḍi narrates Rāmāyaṇa to Garuḍa, c. 1800 (Rietberg, Boner coll.)  
[not on Rietberg website] *Rām. illustré*: VII, 185

Mewar: R. + S. in Puṣpaka (?) with Hanumān flying below, early C19,   
21.7 × 13.1 / 27 x 21.2 cm. Sotheby’s 23.04.96: 52

Alipura (?): Daśaratha seated with queens and sons, c. 1800, 23.6 × 16.4 / 31.5 × 24 cm.  
 Christie’s 16.10.80: 220

Alipura: S. with attendants under canopy, c. 1800, 17.5 × 26.7 cm. Sotheby’s 11.07.73: 99

Alipura: R. + L. + S. + Rāvaṇa before a prince (?), c. 1820, 17.2 × 24.7 cm. Sotheby’s 9.07.74: 58

Alipura: R. + S. stand round altar under canopy, c. 1800, 22.2 × 13.5 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 11.07.73: 238

Alipura: R. + S. worshipped by gods and *ṛṣis,* c. 1800, 20.5 x 26 cm. Sotheby’s 11.07.72: 100  
[from same series as preceding item, acc. to cat.]

Alipura: wedding of Rāma and Sītā , c. 1800, 22 × 26 cm. Archer coll. A279  
(Mildred Archer 1967, no. 15)

Alipura: Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa worship Śiva, c. 1800, 22 × 26 cm. Archer coll. A282  
(Mildred Archer 1970, no. 10)

Alipura, R. + L. near Śiva temple, c. 1800, 21.4 × 26 cm. San Diego 1990.998

Alipura: Daśaratha with wives and sons, c. 1800, 31.2 × 24 cm. San Diego 1990.1000

Alipura: Sītā’s fire ordeal, c. 1800, 25.2 × 31.2 cm. San Diego 1990.997

Alipura: Daśaratha with queens and sons, c.1800, 23.6 × 19.9 cm. Sotheby’s 27.04.82: 63

Marwar (probably): R. + L. with *vānara* army on march, early C19, 3 5/16 × 7 15/16 in.  
 Wisconsin 1982.165

Marwar: Rāvaṇa fights from donkey-drawn chariot, early C19, 11.8 × 15.8 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 7.12.77: 84

Marwar: Rāvaṇa fights opponent wielding skeleton, C19, 27.6 × 21.2 cm. Nat. Mus. 60.1345

Marwar (folk style): Rāma durbar, C19, 17 × 29 cm.; extensive but damaged text from a *Harivijaya* on verso Nat. Mus. 84.195

Marwar: Hanumān sets fire to Laṅkā, early C19, 19 × 31.8 cm. Cornell 2002.009.002

Marwar: R. greets return of Aṅgada’s search party, c. 1820, 14.6 × 27.2 cm.  
 Bonhams 25.10.07: 395

Marwar: R. fights Rāvaṇa, both on chariots, as *vānaras* fight *rākṣasas* in foreground, c. 1830, 27 × 33.7 cm. Sotheby’s 20.06.83: 118

N. India: R. + S. enthroned, mid C19, 28 × 36 cm. Olympia 22.11.17: 129

Alvar (?): R. + S. enthroned worshipped by Hanumān as L. stands behind with chaurī, C19, 21.5 × 15.8 / 27.6 × 20.6 cm. Sarabhai Foundation SFP 190

Alvar (?): R. + L. fight Rāvaṇa, C19, 24.1 × 15.2 cm. Govt Mus., Alwar

Kotah: (drawing) Hanumān brings herb mountain, c. 1800, 27.5 × 14 cm.  
(ill. at Topsfield + Mittal 2015: 192-3, no. 87) J + K Mittal Mus. 76.680

Kotah: duel between R. and Rāvaṇa, c. 1810-20 (Rietberg, Metzger coll.) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 265

Devgaṛh: return from Laṅkā in Puṣpaka, attrib. to Chokha, from Arturo Schwarz coll.,   
c. 1815-18 (**see** Prahlad Bubbar cat. no. 9 on pp. 20-21) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 300

Jodhpur: *vānaras* reverencing sage, c. 1820, 26.4 × 33 cm. Christie’s 14.10.05: 311

Jodhpur: crossing Gaṅgā into exile, c. 1820-40, 22.4 × 33.2 cm. Chiswick 16.07.21: 29

Jodhpur: Vasiṣṭha installs R. as king, early C19, 33.6 × 24.7 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 61.916

Kishangarh: S. garlands R. at Janakpur, early C19, 15.5 × 24 cm. Todywalla 25.02.22: 22

Kishangarh: R. + L. + S. in forest, c. 1820, Edwin Binney 3rd coll. reproduction

Kishangarh: R. + S. + L. by rocky river bank, c. 1820, 25 × 17.1 cm. San Diego 1990.771

Kotah: battle scene: c. 1840, 33 × 51.5 cm.  
 Osian 09.02.13: 9 = Bonhams 14.10.04: 139 = 28.04.05: 219 = 13.10.05: 411

Kotah: L. arriving at a hermitage, c. 1840, 33.5 × 51 cm.   
 Bonhams 14.10.04: 140 = 28.04.05: 221 = 13.10.05: 230

Kotah: Rāma anointed as king by Vasiṣṭha, c. 1840-50, 31 × 24 cm. Bonhams 25.10.21: 300

Kotah: R. + S. enthroned, receiving Hanumān, C19, 12.7 × 20.9 cm. Sotheby’s 22.11.76: 138

Kotah: R.’s installation, attended by gods and *vānaras* (Kishor Singh and Ram Sin of Kotah in one corner, c. 1860-70, 30.2 × 21.5 cm. Sotheby’s 11.12.73: 170

Kotah: (coloured drawing) Hanumān as Hanubhairava trampling Mahīrāvaṇa and carrying Gandhamādana, c. 1870, 47 × 40.6 cm. Todywalla 16.04.24: 60

Kotah: R. + S. enthroned and receiving Hanumān, C19, 17.8 × 23.8 cm. La Salle 08-O-206

Kotah: S. kneeling before seated Vālmīki, C19, 24 × 16.5 cm. incl. red border   
 Millon 30.11.15: 142

Rāghogaṛh: Hanumān fetches mountain of herbs, c.1810-15, Nat.Mus. 51.72/209  
(ill. at Seyller + Mittal 2019: 77, fig. 11)

Rāghogaṛh: Śravaṇa carries parents in *baṅghis*, c.1820, 22.5 × 28.5/26 × 31.7cm. Blohm p.8

Rāghogaṛh, battle between R. and Rāvaṇa, early C19, 25.6 × 17.5 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 51.72/54

Jaipur, 4 <young> princes visit a sage, c. 1820-40, 25 × 39.3 / 31 × 45.5 cm. Chicago 1998.176

Jaipur, R. + L. + S. visit ascetics, c. 1830, 36 × 49.8 cm., extensive nāgarī text in wide yellow border (ex Kraus coll.) Bonhams 19.4.16: 248

Jaipur: R. anoints a *vānara*, c. 1800, 25.9 × 36.8 cm. Bonhams 2.10.12: 176

Jaipur: R. + L. with *vānaras*, Jaipur, c. 1800, 48.2 × 37.4 cm. private coll.  
[ill at Pal 1983: 236, no. R23 (**scan**)]

Jaipur: R. + S. enthroned, attended by brothers, Hanumān and Garuḍa, c. 1800, 28 × 35.3 / 34.2 × 42.2 cm. Christie’s 10.06.13: 38

Jaipur: recognition of Kuśa and Lava (?), c. 1805 [ill. at calendar 49] Nat. Mus.

Jaipur: Vasiṣṭha enters palace, R. kneels to him with S. + L., devanāgarī identifications of figures, early C19, 26.5 × 28 cm. Salar Jung Mus. XXXVII-41

Jaipur, R. + L. in council with *vānaras*, c. 1800, 22 × 38.5 cm. Christie’s 18.10.02: 292

Jaipur, Durgā fights *rākṣasas*, c. 1820, 17.3 × 27.1 cm. Christie’s 1.10.12: 253

Jaipur, Hanumān leaping to Laṅkā and talking to Jāmbavān, c. 1820, 12.3 × 26 cm.  
 Bonhams 16776: 155

Jaipur: Hanumān strides over prostrate *rākṣasī* carrying R. + L. seated on his raised arms, c.1820, 43 × 35 cm. Sotheby’s 10.10.89: 56

Jaipur: R. on horseback sees form of S. with Laṅkā in background, 1820-30, 36.6 × 26.5 cm.  
 Bonhams, Edinburgh, 11.7.18: 77

Jaipur: return to Ayodhyā, c. 1830-40, 21.6 × 32.4 / 28.5 × 39.3 cm.; inscr. in gold at top left: *śrīraghunāthjī jāṃnakījīsahit puṣpakavimāṃnapeṃcamḍh ayodhyā cale*  
 Art Passages 2024, cat. no.15

Jaipur: S. in *aśokavana* (Rāvaṇa shown twice), c. 1835, 23.3 × 34.2 cm. Todywalla 16.04.24: 32

Jaipur: R. + S. enthroned, revered by *vānaras* and gods, c. 1840, 11.8 × 26 cm.  
 Christie’s 8.10.79: 96

Jaipur: R. + S. IOL: Add.Or.3810

Jaipur: Daśaratha consults Vasiṣṭha, mid C19, 26×37.6/30×40.7cm. Sotheby’s 18.3.17:1209

Jaipur: R. kills Khara’s army, mid C19, 11 × 21 / 17 × 27.5 cm.; verses in devanāgarī on verso (ill. at Fußmann exhibition cat.: 122-3, no. 56) Mus. für Indische Kunst, Berlin

Jaipur (?): battle scene including R. + Rāvaṇa, mid C19, 19.5 × 29 / 25.5 × 36.5 cm.  
 Olympia 13.11.24: 219

Jaipur: R + S. enthroned, attended by L. + Hanumān, mid C19, 7⅛ × 9⅜ in. [18.1 × 23.8 cm.]   
 Wisconsin 2005.1.6

Jaipur: R. + S. + L. with various ascetics (composite scene), mid C19, 26 × 40.5 cm. (visible)  
(ex. Bourelier coll.) Ader 6.02.24: 199

Bonhams 6.04.23: 135

Jaipur: departure into exile (in 2 registers), C19, 26 × 37.7 cm. Salar Jung Mus. XXXVII-44

Jaipur, R. + L. chase golden deer (top), Rāvaṇa approaches S (lower), C19, 21.3 × 16.5 cm.  
 V&A D.1494-1886

Jaipur, painting on cloth of Rām. scenes, C19, 105.4 × 121 cm. Sotheby’s **19.03.14: 19**

Jodhpur: R. + L. + S. with Viśvāmitra worship a *liṅga* in forest, c. 1840, 33.6 × 27.9 cm. Christie’s 11.10.79: 163

**Jodhpur: S. within** Rāvaṇa’s palace, c. 1850, 25.5 × 12 cm. Blohm p.17

**Jaipur: Hanumān bows to R. + L., C19, 8.8 × 14.5 cm. Blohm p.18**

Jaipur: R + *vānaras* lying wounded, flying Hanumān above, mid C19  
 Bonhams 14.10.04: 147 = 28.04.05: 227

Jaipur: R. + S. + L. meet Bharadvāja (from *Adhy.Rām.*), 1st half of C19, 26.5 × 37.4 /   
29.5 × 42.5 cm. [= Christie’s 10.106.13: 27] Musée Guimet MA 12694

Jaipur: Rāvaṇa enlists help of Kālanemi (top), *rākṣasas* wake Kumbhakarṇa (below), c. 1840, 18 × 15 / 30.5 × 21.4 cm. Emory L2017.019.001

Jaipur: Rāma durbar, mid C19, 40.5 × 30.5 / 42 × 31.8 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 86.133

Jaipur: 4 Rām. illustrations – R. views dead Rāvaṇa, Indrajit sacrificing (?), a *vānara* reports to R + L., 2nd half C19, c. 28.5 × 45.5 cm. Christie’s 10.06.13: 201

Jaipur: R. + S. + L. seated in European-style carriage, c. 1860, 24.3 × 36.3 cm.

Jaipur: R. + S. enthroned, attended by Hanumān + L., c. 1880, 25.5 × 22.3 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 17.07.78: 107

Jaipur: R. strings Śiva’s bow, c. 1880-1920, 42 × 32 cm. incl. frame  
 Chiswick Auctions, 12.07.23, lot 480

Delhi or Jaipur, R. + L. fight Rāvaṇa, C19, 24.8 × 15.8 / 28 × 19.2 cm. V&A IM.293-1914

U.P.: folio 238 from illustrated Hindi ms showing Daśaratha with R + L. going to wedding (recto), 4 female musicians, C19, 18.7 × 15.5 <cm.> Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-87-64

U.P.: folio from illustrated Hindi ms. showing Viśvāmitra seizing *kāmadhenu* (recto), Śiva + Pārvatī performing *pūjā* (verso), C19, 14 × 17/16.7 × 17.3 cm. Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-87-65

Deogarh, R. + S. enthroned, by Baijnāth, dated 1840, 33.4 × 24.7 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 62.96

Kishangarh (?), Rāvaṇa escorted by *rākṣasas*, c. 1850, 11.2 × 21.3 cm. Bonhams 9.06.14: 282

Rājasthānī: installation of R + S by Vasiṣṭha, c. 1800, 11¾ × 8⅛” Leland Little 22.02.24: 1178

Rājasthānī: Hanumān kneels to enthroned R + S., C19, 39.3 × 24 cm. Sotheby’s 13.12.72: 147

Bundi (?): R.’s army outside Laṅkā, c. 1800-20, 26.5 × 19.7 cm. Chiswick 28.10.22: 268

Bundi: Hanumān worships R., C19, 25.2 × 17.4 cm. Chiswick 16.07.21: 25

Rājasthānī: Hanumān before R + S, C19, 22.7 × 17.5 cm. Sotheby’s 27.03.73: 152(1)

Rājasthānī: marriage ritual of R. + S., C19, 28.5 × 23 cm. Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-8.01

Rājasthānī: R. + S. seated, attended by L. + Hanumān + women, C19, 37.5 × 26.7 cm.  
 Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-1220

Rājasthānī: R. fights Rāvaṇa, S. in *aśokavana* at top r., C19, 39.4 × 24.8 cm  
 Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-1277

Rājasthānī: R. + S. enthroned under canopy with 2 attendants, 27.2 × 21.9 cm.  
 Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-82-49

Rājasthānī: R. + S. enthroned, attended by L. + Hanumān, C19, 23.5 × 16.8 cm.  
 Mount Holyoke MH 1971.13.O.PI

Rājasthānī (?): folio cut from illustrated ms. with (recto) Śūrpaṇakhā appeals to Rāvaṇa and (verso) Rāvaṇa goes to Mārīca, C19, 21.6 × 12.9 cm.; captions in top margins Waddington’s 26.08.22: 287

Rājasthānī (?): R. fights Rāvaṇa, C19, 28 × 45.7 cm. Christie’s 3.04.09: 355

Rājasthānī (?): R. + allies fighting Rāvaṇa, C19, 28 × 45.7 cm. Christie’s 3.04.09: 356

Rājasthānī: L. + Hanumān bringing dead deer to R. + S. before hut, C19, 25.4 × 19.6 cm.  
 Christie’s 19.03.13: 287

Rājasthānī: Hanumān carrying mountain, c. 1850, 15.2 × 10.8 cm. Christie’s 21.10.16: 296

Rājasthānī: R. + S. carried in procession, mid C19 V&A D.409-1889

Rājasthānī: R. breaking bow watched by Janaka and courtiers, mid C19 V&A D.410-1889

Rājasthānī: Jaṭāyus with Rāvaṇa’s chariot in his beak (drawing), mid C19 V&A D.411-1889

Rājasthānī: S. in fire, C19, 16.5 × 21.4 / 17.5 × 21.6 cm., inscr. *cauthī 52* Philadelphia 1994-148-456a

Rājasthānī: R. + S. meet citizens, C19, 15.1 × 23.3 cm. / 15.6 × 23.3 cm., inscr. *pāṃcamī 11* Philadelphia 1994-148-456c

Rājasthānī: Sugrīva’s installation, C19, 14.8 × 22.9 / 15.7 × 23.7 cm., inscr. *tīsarī 32*  
 Philadelphia 1994-148-456d

Rājasthānī: Rāvaṇa consults Kumbhakarṇa, C19, 19.3 × 32 cm. Ader 3.06.16: 120

Rājasthānī: Vasiṣṭha anoints R. as king, C19, 24.5 × 16.7 cm. Roseberys 12.06.19: 207

[Rājasthānī]: Śūrpaṇakhā appeals to Rāvaṇa (double-sided painting), C19, 21.6 × 12.9 cm., nāgarī identification in top margin Waddington’s 26.08.22, lot 287

[Rājasthānī?]: *vānaras* fighting *rākṣasas* (upper panel), Hanumān brought before Rāvaṇa and escaping with tail alight (lower), C19 Bellmans 1.02.16: 1458

Mewar: 3 Rām. illustrations, C19, 19.2 × 32.1 cm. Christie’s 7.10.11: 457

Mewar: Daśaratha with R. + L. behind receives mounted visitors, C19, 26.3 × 40.3 cm.  
 Ader 8.10.12: 42

Mewar: page from ms – 6 ll. of Hindi above painting of killing of Tāṭakā, C19, 18.5 x 25 cm. Ader 25.11.2013: 75 = 3.12.14: 92

R. + S. enthroned, 19th cent., 4.6 × 6.8 cm. MFA 17.2293

N. India: mutilation of Śūrpaṇakhā, C19, 28.1 × 45.3 cm.; inscr. in top margin: *āraṇya 9 sarga 18* MAP, Bangalore PTG.02160

N. India: Rāvaṇa’s harem, C19, 28.1 × 45.3 cm.; inscr. in top margin: *vālmīkī su° 8 sarga 20* MAP, Bangalore PTG.01213

Jodhpur, Hanumān worships R. + S. enthroned, with L. behind, c. 1870, 20 × 14.6 cm.  
 Roseberys 12.06.19: 197

Jodhpur: R. attended by Hanumān + L., c. 1875, 13.5 × 9 / 19 × 14 cm. Rietberg RVI 1103

Punjab, Destruction of Rāvaṇa from a Rāmlīlā performance, c. 1850  
 Kiran Nadar Museum of Art [website vignettes no. 70]

Punjab: 3 paintings, numbered 88-90, of contest between R. and Rāvaṇa (Rāvaṇa shoots varied arrows at R. + L.; wounded L.; Hanumān brings herb mountain), late C19,   
25 × 46 cm. Fogg cat. 17, no. 94

Punjab plains, Pakistan, R. + S. in chariot driven by L. and led by Hanumān, late C19  
 V&A IM.2:91-1917

Punjab plains, Pakistan, R. fights Rāvaṇa, late C19, V&A IM.2:92-1917

Lahore: Coronation of R., c. 1861, 28.4 × 23.1 / 30.1 × 22.9 cm. Ash. Mus. EA1965.207

Varanasi, gods praise R.'s defeat of Rāvaṇa, c. 1875-1900, 54.8 × 36.6 / 56.9 × 38.5 cm.Rietberg (Boner)

Rajasthan/Gujarat: Hanumān’s 5-headed form, late C19, 48.9 × 42.5 cm. Met. Mus. 2019.209

Rajasthan: L. observes approach of Bharata and Śatrughna, late C19, 23.5 × 27 [? 37] cm.; in yellow panel at top || *rāmāyaṇa ro patra* || *ayo°* || *153* plus caption) Tennants 18.01.20: 143  
[close copy (with same no.) of same scene in Mewar painting series, c. 1710]

Rajasthan: priest sacrifices for Daśaratha (?), 2nd half C19, c. 15 × 31 cm.  
 Roseberys 19.06.24: 183

Rajasthan: R. + L. kill Tāṭakā, C19, 24 × 37 cm. Tennants 18.01.20: 144

Marwar: Hanumān worships R. + brothers on c*aukī,* S. in pavilion above, late C19,   
16.3 × 15 cm. Nat. Mus. 60.450

Marwar: R.’s *abhiṣeka,* late C19, 27.2 × 41.3 / 33.8 x 48.2 cm. Pundole’s 26-27.08.14: 14  
(ex Dehejia coll. of Krishna Art)

Marwar: R. + S. enthroned, attended by Hanumān, courtiers, musicians and dancer, late C19, 30.5 × 24.5 cm. Roseberys 26.10.21: 452

Marwar: folio 18 from Hindi ms, text at top, painting of R. + S. + L. + Hanumān + Bharadvāja

Mewar or Nāthdvāra: R. + S. + L. leave Ayodhyā, by Ghasiram Hardev Sharma, c. 1890,  
36.5 × 26.4 / 44.1 × 34.3 cm. Christie’s 13-28.09.23: 550

Jaipur: R. consults with *vānaras,* c. 1880 Blohm p.23

Jaipur: R. + S. enthroned, late C19–early C20, 35.4 × 25.4 cm. Chiswick 16.07.21: 27

Malwa (?): Rāma killing Tāṭakā, late C19- early C20, 20.2 × 28.3 cm., inscr. on verso:   
|| *caturthe śrīrāmacaṃdratārakāvadhaḥ* || and *4* Chiswick 24.10.23: 239

?: six Rāmāyaṇa illustrations, mainly on death of Rāvaṇa, C19-C20, 10 × 16.5 cm. (largest)  
(ex private English coll.) Lyon & Turnbull 15.09.22: 286

Rājasthānī: 3 paintings of *vānara* army, C19/C20, 30 × 27.3 cm. (largest); devanāgatī text at top and bottom Lemperz 05.06.15: 529

?: armed warrior approaches R. + S. seated under tree Olympia 10.04.14: 195

Jaipur, R. + S. with Hanumān (drawing), early C20, 18.5 × 26 cm.MFA 17.3078

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**paintings on cloth**

Gwalior or Bundelkhand, C10, group of 4 painted on cloth and then lacquered:  
R.’s betrothal to S., 22.8 × 28.5 cm. RVI 1031  
wedding of R. + S., 21.5 × 30 cm. RVI 1032  
exiles’ departure (Dasāratha grieving in palace), 20.5 × 29 cm. RVI 1033  
R. + L. + S. meet Vasiṣṭha, 22 × 28 cm. RVI 1034

Rajasthan, multiple scenes on cloth, C19, 145 × 500 cm. Christie’s 12.10.00: 297

Rajasthan, painted *patāka* (banner), Hanumān bearing herb mountain, c. 1800,   
130.2 × 116.2 cm. (also ill. at McGill 2016: 168-70, no. 81) Met. Mus. 57.70.6

Rajasthan: painted textile with Rām. scenes, late C19, c. 1.45 × 5 m. Sotheby’s 22.04.99: 326

Jaipur: Rāma and Rāvaṇa fight before Laṅkā, painted cloth, C19, 105.4 × 121 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 19.3.14: 19

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**paintings on wood, etc.**

Marwar: lacquer painted wooden ms cover, Hanumān salutes seated R. + S. with L. behind,   
early C19, 22 × 11.8 cm. Nat. Mus. 60.1649

Jaipur: painted wooden ms cover, Hanumān + *vānaras* worship enthroned R. + S., C19  
35.6 × 14 cm. Wereld Mus. TM-4767-4

Rajasthan: wooden panel carved with Hanumān bowing to R. + L., ?, 75.5 × 24.1 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 87.31

Lahore/ Amritsar: woodcut of Rām. battle scene, c. 1870 V&A IM.2:34-1917

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**miscellaneous other items**

?? : crudely written devanāgarī ms. with line drawn Rāmāyaṇa scenes, C17, 14.5 × 6.4 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 82.380

??: ms. text folio with line drawings of Rāvaṇa (8 heads, centre) S. in *aśokavana* (l.), Hanumān with R. + S. on shoulders + *vānaras* (R.), C19 Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-1667-3

?? : ms. text folio with line drawings of L. drawing *rekhā* round S., Rāvaṇa begging from S.,   
R. killing Mārīca (?), C19, [no dimensions given] Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-1667-5

*RCM* ms: 8 leaves with painting below text on each side, C19  
 Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-1787-13

copper alloy figure of Hanumān with R. + L. sitting on his raised arms, N. India, C18-19,  
9.1 cm. Lempertz 8.12.23: 20

marble stele of Hanumān with herb mountain in left hand, Rajasthan, C19, 44 cm.  
 Olympia 21.11.18: 322

**Pahāṛī**

[Bahu, Baśohli, Bilaspur, Chambā, Guler, Hindur/Nālāgaṛh, Jasrota, Kāṅgṛā, Kulū, Maṇḍi, Mankoṭ, Nādaun, Nūrpur, Tehri Garhwal (Tehrī Gaḍvāl)]

After the listing of sets/series (including illustrated mss), this list is divided into:  
 single paintings (other than next 3 categories)

various Kāṅgṛā (incl. Kāṅgṛā/Guler) paintings or drawings after c. 1700

various Guler paintings or drawings

other paintings or drawings – 19th century onwards

paintings on cloth   
 paintings on wood

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large size *Rāmāyaṇa* from Maṇḍi, attrib. to “Early Master at the court of Mandi”, c. 1635-50;   
only 5 leaves known, **see** Glynn 1983: 52-54 (formerly attributed to Bikaner c. 1680, cf. Beach 1992: 244 §4), Glynn 2011; 408 + 415-7, and repro. in Met. Mus. (Wonder) folder   
 [Hari Sen (r. 1623-37), an avid patron of painting, probably commissioned   
 several large *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* paintings in a rather Mughal style]  
imminent arrival of the groom, 32 × 49 / 34.9 × 52.1 cm. Met. Mus. 2022.240  
 (ex Howard Hodgkin coll., cf. Ash. Mus. LI 118.28)  
arrival of the groom, c. 1640-50, 31.7 × 48 / 34 × 50 cm. (ex Benkaim coll.)  
 Freer F2017.13.1  
wedding procession, 31.2 × 47.5 /33.6 × 49.5 cm. (ex Benkaim coll.) Freer F2017.13.2  
R. is installed at Ayodhyā, c. 1645-50, 38.1 × 30 / 42.1 × 33 cm. J + K Mittal Mus. 76.232  
R. + S. + *vānaras* leave Laṅkā in multi-storey *puṣpaka*, 43.5 × 33.6 cm. (Binney coll.)   
 (also at Welch 1973 fig. 33, *Rām. illustré*: VI, 299) San Diego 1990.1121

Chamba/Maṇḍi: 2 folios from a Rām. (??) series, c. 1675, 10 × 21 cm. (ex Walter coll.)   
Hanumān venerating R. + S. + L. Bonhams 21.03.18: 116 (1)  
Brahmā riding on bull, flanked by two outsize flowers Bonhams 21.03.18: 116 (2)

“Shangri” *Rāmāyaṇa* (c. 1700):**see notes within “Further Notes (visual)”**

“Siege of Laṅkā” series: **see notes within “Further Notes (visual)”**

“small Guler”, Mankoṭ (?) or Nūrpur Rām. mss., c. 1700-25: **see notes within “Further Notes (visual)”**

another series (?) of drawings by Mānaku, c. 1740, evidently based on Kālidāsa’s *Raghuvaṃśa* or a derivative: Goswamy 2017: 494 “It is not possible, in the state of our present knowledge, to determine whether Manaku, and/or his associates, also worked on a separate *Ramayana* series, in the same format and clearly the same style as the *Bhagavata Purana.* So far, these images, scattered over several collections, have been seen as belonging more or less to the *Bhagavata Purana* series, but here they have been taken out from that series and brought together to form a separate group.”  
 The drawings Goswamy lists (pp. 494-99) are:  
king Raghu bestows gifts, 22 × 33 cm. with *ṭākrī* inscr. and no. *215* at top  
 Rietberg RVI 1765  
Raghu with his son Aja, identified in *ṭākrī* at top, also no. *220* location unknown  
Raghu retires to forest after installing Aja, identified in *ṭākrī* at top, also no. *220*  
 Philadelphia 2013-68-9v1  
Vasiṣṭha consoles Aja over Indumatī’s death, identified in *ṭākrī* at top, also no. *232*  
 collection Nona and Jyoti Datta  
R. protects Viśvāmitra’s sacrifice, identified in *ṭākrī* at top, also no. *256*  
 private collection  
R. kills Tāṭakā, identified in *ṭākrī* at top, also no. *266* private collection  
R. kicks Dundubhi’s corpse, identified in *ṭākrī* at top, also no. *273* Rietberg RVI 2119  
 (Metzger coll.; Britschgi and Fischer 2008, no. 41, Goswamy and Fischer 2017: 42-43, no. 18; Goswamy and Fischer 2017, from p. 42 “Inscribed on the top border in *Takri* characters, with the words: “*rāmachandre ki sugrive galaya. racchasa (ramshasa) dundabhi pairan kane sattya. racchasa purana moa hoya tha. sukka hoy a tha”* [Sugriva spoke to Ramachandra. He (Rama) touched the demon, Dundubhi, with his foot. The demon had died earlier; his body was dried up]”)  
*vānaras* and *rākṣasas* fighting, identified in *ṭākrī* at top, also no. *32x* Rietberg RVI 1515  
R. kills Kumbhakarṇa (?), top border trimmed J + K Mittal Mus. DR 174  
sons of L., Bharata and Śatrughna, identified in *ṭākrī* at top, also no. *378*  
 collection Nona and Jyoti Datta  
births of Vasiṣṭha and rājā after mutual curses, identified in *ṭākrī* at top, also no. *396*  
 location unknown  
Kuśa’s sons, identified in *ṭākrī* at top, also no. *385* collection Eberhard Rist  
warrior [? Dilīpa] saving cows from leopard, identified in *ṭākrī* at top, also no. *26*  
 collection Eberhard Rist  
Triśaṅku is freed from curse by Viśvāmitra, identified in *ṭākrī* at top, also no. *140*  
 collection Eberhard Rist  
Mitra + Varuṇa converse with other gods, identified in *ṭākrī* at top, also no. *398*  
 Konrad and Eva Seitz collection

Maṇḍi set by “Master of Mandi Court”, c. 1725-30 —   
Lakṣmaṇa (mid l.) about to shoot at Rāvaṇa, with Rāma behind him and Sītā (!) + Hanumān behind him to left, 19.9 × 28.7 cm.; on verso 1 line inscr. in Pañjābī script + 4 ll. in *devanāgarī* Fondation Custodia, Paris, 1989-T.46  
(Gahlin 1991: 87-88, no. 94 = pl.97 [**scan**]; Chandra 1957-59: 87-88 + pl. 97)

Hanumān encircled by flames, c. 1700, 21.9 × 16 cm. Fondation Custodia, Paris, 2002-T.4  
(Gahlin 2002: 70-71, no. 45 – **scan**)

another page from similar if not same ms, perhaps commissioned by rājā Sīdh Sen of Maṇḍi (r. 1684-1727) in W.T. Brown and P. Wonner coll., California, showing Hanumān’s audience with Rāma

Maṇḍi**: a group of paintings in Nat. Mus., New Delhi, “said to bear an inscription giving Mandi as the place of painting and the date 1765” (Barrett and Gray 1963: 169)**

Maṇḍi: apparent series, c. 1770 (or c. 1850-60), comprising:  
Daśaratha and Viśvāmitra, c.1760-80, 28.4 × 41 cm. Blohm p.1  
Indra reveres Viṣṇu & R. + L. meet a sage, c.1780, 23 × 41 / 28.2 × 43.5 cm.,  
 4-line inscr. on verso Sotheby’s 14.12.87: 103 = Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 56  
20 Rām. (most/all *Bālakāṇḍa*) illustrations, c. 1850, max 23.2 × 36.2 / 29.2 × 42.5 cm.   
 [? related/identical to Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 59-65] Sotheby’s 1.04.05: 130  
20 Rāmāyaṇa illustrations, c. 1760-70, max. 22.6 × 40.4 / 29.2 × 46.3 cm. [note to lot:   
 “For more works from the same series, see Sotheby’s, New York, April 1, 2005,   
 lot 130”] Sotheby’s 29.03.06: 159  
R. + L. with Viśvāmitra (multiple scenes), c. 1760-70, 29.8 × 46.5 cm. (acquired from Sotheby’s, New York; ex Royal Mandi Library) Osian 13.04.13: 3  
Viśvāmitra received by Daśaratha, c.1760-80, 28.4 × 41 cm.; on sheet attached to verso: seal of royal Mandi library and *29* (ex Husaini Arts [q.v.]) Todywalla 24.02.23  
Viśvāmitra visits Vasiṣṭha, c. 1780, 24 × 37 / 29.5 × 42 cm. Wilkinson 18  
R. + L. defend Viśvāmitra’s sacrifice, c.1780, 23.5 × 41/29.5 × 46 cm. Wilkinson 24  
8 paintings, c. 1840 (**see** Aijazuddin 1977: 66 no. 12 + pl. 86) –  
 R. + L. received at *āśrama,* 27.5 × 41 cm. Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 58 = S. 10.10.88: 114  
 R. + L. carry Jaṭāyus to pyre, 27.5 × 41 cm. Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 59  
 R. + L. consult with *vānaras,* 26 × 38 cm. Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 60  
 *vānara* army encamped outside Laṅkā, 28.5 × 41.5 cm. Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 61  
 Hanumān sets fire to Laṅkā, 28.5 × 41.5 cm. Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 62  
 2 white *vānaras* wrestle, S. in cave on r., 26 × 38 cm. Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 63  
 Kumbha<karṇa> attacked by *vānaras* and *ṛkṣas,* 27 × 40 cm. Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 64  
 *vānaras* fight *rākṣasas* as R. + L. consult on hilltop, 28.5 × 41 cm. Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 65  
5 Rām. illustrations (R. killing Tāṭakā, R. v. R. Jāmadagnya, R + L. at Bharadvāja’s   
 *āśrama,* R. pursuing golden deer; acquired from Mandi Royal Library in 1969;   
 cf. Sotheby’s 29.03.06: 159), c. 1770, max. 23.5 × 41 / 29.2 × 46.3 cm. Sotheby’s 19.03.08: 204 = 01.05.19: 111 = 10.06.20: 85 = 25.10.23: 63

Chambā series of drawings, c. 1730-40, **see** Fischer 1998: 32 (in “Further Notes (visual)”) and Parimoo 2013; cf. below for painting series produced between c. 1760 and 1785   
Sugrīva anointed by his forces, Chambā, c. 1735, 20 × 27.6 cm. Brooklyn 81.188.8  
Hanumān kills Prahasta’s 7 sons, Laharu family atelier, 17.5 × 25.8 cm / 20 × 28 cm.   
 (Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no 57) Rietberg RVI 941  
Rāvaṇa in his golden city, 26 × 16.9 / 27.1 × 19.6 cm Rietberg 2008.53  
Sītā scared by *vānaras* in aśokavana, 25.9 × 18.1 / 27.7 × 19.9 cm. Rietberg 2008.54  
*vānaras* and *rākṣasas* fighting, c. 1725-50, 17.14 × 26.03 / 19.05 × 27.94 cm.  
 LACMA M.72.82.3  
Hanumān with a *vānara* troop, c.1720-30, 19 × 27 cm. (ex Welch coll.)  
 Sotheby’s 31.05.11: 63A  
Hanumān’s conflict with Kālanemi, c. 1735, 28.6 × 19.7 cm. Minneapolis 81.116.2  
R. fights Rāvaṇa, c. 1740, Laharu family atelier, 17.8 × 26.5 / 19.6 × 28.2 cm.  
 (Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 79) Rietberg RVI 1846  
Battle scene, c. 1735, Chambā, 16.8 × 25.7 / 19.7 × 28.6 cm. Brooklyn 80.261.24  
Jaṭāyus attempts to thwart Rāvaṇa’s abduction of Sītā, labelled no. 34,   
 takri inscr. illegible, 20.6 × 28.1 cm.. J + K Mittal Mus. 76.787  
R. + L. wait on Mt Praśravaṇa, c. 1730-35, 19 × 26 cm. (ex Paul Walter coll.)  
 Francesca Galloway *Indian Drawing, Summer 2020*, item 25  
L. brings Sugrīva to R. in a palanquin borne by *vānaras*, inscr. at top in takri,   
 21.2 × 28.8 cm. J + K Mittal Mus. 76.785  
Aṅgada and his *vānaras* meet Sampāti, 18.4 × 26.5 cm. J + K Mittal Mus.76.786  
Rāvaṇa wounds Lakṣmaṇa with a divine weapon, inscr. at upper right in takri,   
 19.8 × 27.3 cm. J + K Mittal Mus. 76.788  
Kumbhakarṇa consumes animal food, inscr. at top in takri, 19.5 × 28.3 cm.   
 J + K Mittal Mus. 76.789  
Kumbhakarṇa fights Hanumān, inscr. at top in takri, 19.2 × 28 cm.  
 J + K Mittal Mus. 76.790  
battle between *rākṣasas* and *vānaras*, c.1730-35, 19.1 × 28.6 cm. (Harris + Truelove coll.) Philadelphia 2013-68-15  
2 sketches of R. + S. enthroned amid different courtiers/attendants, mid-late C18,   
 19 × 28 cm. (ex private Italian coll., ex private American coll.) Chiswick 28.10.22: 274

[Pahāṛī ?] ill. Rāmāyaṇa ms. —   
Gaṇeśa and attendant seated on tigers, 18.8 × 16.3 cm.  
 Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco 1963.24.670  
R. + L. (Hanumān above) shooting Rāvaṇa, 18.9 × 16.5 cm.  
 Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco 1963.24.669

Kulū (?): Rāmāyaṇa series, 1st quarter C18 (?) [for more details and probable sequence of all illustrated folios **see** in “Further Notes within “D. Ancillary material”] –  
66 Rāmāyaṇa illustrations (perhaps Chamba) on 50 leaves each with text + numerals, c.1730, 11.8 × 27.3 cm. (3 illustrated in b+w) Sotheby’s 17.10.83: 63  
12 Rām. illustrations, c. 1725-50, max. 12 × 27.7 cm. Sotheby’s 22.03.07: 148  
 (items 1 + 3 resold at Osian 12.07.14: 3-4)  
Pahāṛī: 9 illustrations from an Indian epic, 16th or 17th century, 11.2 × 28 cm.  
 (2 illustrated, 2nd same as 3rd in Sotheby’s 17.10.83: 63) Christie’s 8.04.11: 386  
Kulu: Daśaratha kneeling at head of Kaikeyī in boudoir, c. 1720-50, 11.5 × 27 cm.,   
 inscr. *36* at top left Pundole’s 12.03.14: 32(1)  
Kulū: 32 folios (10 double-sided), c. 1725-50, 11.5 × 27.9 cm. Christie’s 10.06.15: 64  
Kulū: Viśvāmitra leads R. + L. on after killing of Tāṭakā, 11.1 × 28.0 cm. Osian 07.04.17: 17  
Pahāṛī (Nurpur or Mankot ?): 4 double-sided folios, c.1690-171 Met. Mus. 2018.360-363  
 [ex Gunther Heil coll., ex Forge and Lynch 12-23.03.2018: 11(2)]   
Kulū: 3 leaves from Ramayana series, c. 1680-90, 11.7 × 28 cm. Bonhams 22.10.19: 130  
Kulū: 2 leaves from Ramayana series (1 double-sided), c. 1740, 11.5 × 27.5 cm.  
 Bonhams 5-13.08.20: 144  
W. India: 5 paintings from a Ramayana, C18, 11.5 × 27.3 cm. Bonhams 29.09.24: 82

Kulū: flower-dressing (*phulasajya*) of R. + S. (?), c. 1700-10, 12.7 × 23.5 cm.  
 [source: Aijazudddin 1977: 57, Kulu 1 + col. pl. XI] Lahore Mus. I.22   
 [unusual dimensions in favour of it belonging here, **but** Archer 1973: I, 331 (Kulu 12) identifies more plausibly as flower-dressing (*phulasajya*) of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa]

Kashmiri (?) ms of a Rāmāyaṇa with 7 illustrations within text, C18 (?), 4.25 × 8.5 / 7.75 × 13.25´´ on website of Buddenbrooks, Inc. ABAA, 28.01.2022

series produced at Chambā between c. 1760 and 1785 (in perhaps three phases): **see** notes from Ohri 1983 and Fischer 1998: 32 (both located in “Further Notes (visual)”), Goswamy and Fischer 1992: 149-63 on Lāharu of Chamba, and Vogel 1909: 23-26 for listing (**photocopied**); cf. also Mittal 1955 and 1989. Lāharu was active from c. 1735 and died c. 1767. Ohri 1967 notes their names as artists who worked on a *toraṇa* of the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple there, with a date of 1747 A.D.

Goswamy and Fischer 1998: 151 – “It seems that only episodes of the *Balakanda* and the *Ayodhya kanda* were rendered. It is generally accepted that they were executed in the period between 1760 and 1765, which correspond to the last years of Laharu’s life.”

2 thumbnails (Daśaratha recalls killing of ascetic boy and R. gives away his goods) at Goswamy 1990: 151/ Goswamy and Fischer 1992: 151. Bhuri Singh Mus., Chambā  
birth of R. and his brothers, 23 × 33.7 / 27 × 35.4 cm.  
 [ill. at Goswamy 1990: 160-1, no. 62] Bhuri Singh Mus., 1908 D 69  
freeing of Ahalyā, c. 1765. (ill. at Randhawa 1980, fig. 4 [scan]) Bhuri Singh Mus.  
Paraśurāma challenges R., c. 1750-75, by Laharu (?) 26.5 × 35.3 cm. [ill. at Goswamy and Fischer 1992: 162, no. 63, *Rām. illustré*: I, 210] Bhuri Singh Mus., 1908 D 86  
Chambā, Mantharā with Kaikeyī in *krodhāgāra*, c. 1760-1800  
 [ill. at Bhalla 2015 figs. 19.1-2] Bhuri Singh Mus., Chambā  
Chambā, R. distributes possessions before exile, c. 1760-65, 23.2 × 34 cm.  
 [ill. at Fischer in Ohri + Craven (eds), 1998, fig. 4] Bhuri Singh Mus., Chambā  
cremation of ascetic boy + parents, by Laharu, c. 1750-75, 23 × 25.6 / 27.2 × 34 cm.   
 [ill. at Goswamy and Fischer 1992: 163, no. 64, *Rām. illustré* II, 147]  
 Bhuri Singh Mus., 1908 D 103  
Chambā or Kangra, *āśrama* at Pañcavaṭī (exiles + Jaṭāyus), c. 1760-80   
 [ill. at Bhalla 2015 fig. 19.3 + *Rām. illustré*: III, 41] Bhuri Singh Mus., Chambā  
Chambā or Kangra, Rāvaṇa at Mārīca's *āśrama,* c. 1760-80   
 [ill. at *Rām. illustré*: III, 88] Bhuri Singh Mus., Chambā  
Chambā, Mārīca as golden deer approaches exiles’ *āśrama*, c. 1760-80   
 [ill. at Bhalla 2015 fig. 19.4] Bhuri Singh Mus., Chambā  
Chambā or Kāṅgṛā: L. leaves S. after drawing *rekhā,* c. 1790. Salar Jung Mus. 75.20  
 [ill. at Varma 1990, pl. 1; Bhaskara Rao 1996, ph. 1]  
Chambā or Kangra, sinister omens (detail), c. 1760-80   
 [ill. at *Rām. illustré*: III, 135] Bhuri Singh Mus.   
Chambā or Kangra, R. + L. despondent before hut, c. 1760-80, 21.8 × 32.3 / 27.5 × 35.6 cm.   
 [also ill. at Bhalla 2015 fig. 19.5; *Rām. illustré*: III, 143] Bhuri Singh Mus.: 08.277

Chambā group of drawings, c. 1765/1780:   
Viśvāmitra demands R. + L. from Daśaratha (l.) and leaves with them (r.), inscr. at top + number *355* Nat. Mus. 62.2066  
S. garlands R. at *svayaṃvara,* inscr. at top + number *32x* Nat. Mus. 62.2199  
R. frees Ahalyā from curse, inscr. at top + number *358* Nat. Mus. 62.2061  
Bharata pays homage to R.’s *pādukās,* 22 × 33 cm., inscr. at top Nat. Mus. 62.2245  
Hanumān feeds healing herb to Lakṣmaṇa Nat. Mus. 62.2191  
R. spares Rāvaṇa when his chariot is shattered Nat. Mus. 62.2157

Chambā group, late 18th C:   
Rām. scene (? R. + L. as boys), 17.5 × 27.6 cm. BM 1923,0716,0.4  
Daśaratha greets Janaka, 17.5 × 27.5 cm. BM 1923,0716,0.5  
Daśaratha greets Janaka (?), 17.5 × 27.5 cm. BM 1923,0716,0.6  
[wedding of R. + S., 1735-45, 14 × 23.8 cm. BM 1923,0716,0.7]  
servants dragging in the bow, 17.6 × 27.6 cm. BM 1923,0716,0.8

Guler, c. 1770-75: R. + L. watch the *vānaras* bring three captured *rākṣasas*; 17.4 × 25.8 cm., brush drawing (provenance Ananda Coomaraswamy; Francesca Galloway)  
“In Coomaraswamy 1976 (2nd edition), pl. 25 (xxv) is another drawing from this series depicting the Siege of Lanka.” Losty 2015 item 30

Guler-Kāṅgṛā series – “There is however in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir a *Ramayana* series, on the reverse of every miniature of which appears the date 1769. It is a strange uneven series, which if accepted as evidence shows the end of a version of the Guler Style and the beginnings of the Standard Kangra” (Barrett and Gray 1963: 185);  
cf. Khandalawala 1958: 144-45, 179 + figs 54-55 (giving no. of folios in Jehangir coll. as 28, date as *VS* 1826 ≈ 1769 A.D., assigning it to court of Ghamand Chand of Kāṅgṛā, and noting that there is a line of RCM text on the verso of each painting).

Śūrpaṇakhā seeks to entice R., 12” × 8” Khandalavala 1958 fig. 54  
R. + L. + S. at Agastya’s hermitage, 12” × 8” Khandalavala 1958 fig. 55

Second “Guler Rāmāyaṇa” series, earlier section, c. 1780 (1770-75 acc. to Losty 2017:29-30),   
otherwise also known as the “Bharany *Ramayana*” after the Delhi art dealer and connoisseur Chhote Bharany or a “Kangra *Ramayana* series”, dated c. 1775-80 by Archer 1976, nos. 40-42; illustrations of the *Bāla* to *Araṇya kāṇḍas* (and occasional folios from the *Kiṣkindhāṇḍa*); dispersed since c. 1973, with a large group of 16 folios in Museum Rietberg Zürich (**see** Rietberg and “Met. Mus. Wonder of the Age” folders);   
 25 × 35.5 (average page size), plain dark blue border, mostly no inscr. or folio nos.; published: Archer 1976: 72-77, nos. 40-42; Pal 1978, nos. 67ab; Ehnbom 1985, nos. 111-18; Goswamy 1998, nos. 189, 190; Goswamy 119, nos. 189, 199; Goswamy and Smith 2005, nos. 97-99; Britschgi and Fischer 2008, 17, 42-107; **see** also Sotheby's London, April 24, 1979, lot 151; Sotheby’s New York, September 24, lot 111.  
 Goswamy and Fischer 1992: 313 — “Clearly ascribable to this very family [descendants of Pandit Seu, specifically (p.340) the second generation after Mānaku and Nainsukh] is a large, extensive *Ramayana* series, now widely dispersed. Since it was once in the possession of the art dealer C.L. Bharany, it is sometimes referred to as the «Bharany» *Ramayana.* ... Of this series more than a hundred paintings may have survived.” Ohri 1998: 101 argues for a specific attribution to Gauḍhu, the second of Nainsukh's four sons but Mason 2001: 190-91 [scan] doubts the reason given (similarity to a Rām. in Bhuri Singh Mus., Chambā), as well as the “romantic claim” of its creation for Sansar Chand’s wedding in 1781, first suggested by Archer (Archer 1976: 72) but for which there is no concrete evidence.   
[**n.b.** Narvdeshwar/Narbadeśvara temple, Sujanpur, built by Sansar Chand’s queen, has Kāṅgṛā style murals of Rām. + Mbh. (**see** doc. in “visual background (non-archive)”)]

Nārada visits Vālmīki, Vālmīki greets Brahmā, 21 × 31.5 / 24.8 × 35.4 cm. Walter coll. 67a  
Vālmīki sees hunter kill *krauñca,* early C19, 24 × 35 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 80.627  
Rāma and his brothers learning archery, c. 1770, 23.1 × 35.1 cm.  
 Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-75-15  
Viśvāmitra asks Daśaratha for Rāma’s aid, c. 1780, 24.5 × 35.4 cm., on verso: *13* Met. Mus. 1976.14  
R. + L leave Ayodhyā with Viśvāmitra, 1775-80, 21.3 × 31.4 / 23.5 × 34.9 cm.  
 Christie’s 22.03.22: 466  
R. + L. with Viśvāmitra in āśrama (l.) and in boat (r.), 20.7 × 31.2 / 25 × 35.5 cm.  
 (Goswamy 1999: 248-51, no. 189 [scan]) Goenka coll.  
R. + L. kneel to Viśvāmitra (l.), follow him towards river (centre), 21.4 × 31.3 cm  
 Sotheby’s 24.04.79: 151  
R. kills Tāṭakā (all figures shown twice) private coll.  
R. kills Subāhu, defeats Mārīca, late C18, 24 x 35.2 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 75.506

freeing of Ahalyā, c. 1775, 22 × 32.7 / 24.2 × 35.4 cm.  
 Berlin, Mus. für Asiatische Kunst, 93.603  
R. + L. enter Mithilā, 1st generation after Nainsukh (? Gauḍhu), c. 1775-80, 21 × 31.2 cm. / 24.4 × 35.6 cm.; no inscr. Kronos cat. 87  
 [= Sotheby’s 11.12.73: 344; Christie’s 12.06.14: 126, **see** notes to this]  
Janaka confers with Daśaratha accompanied by his sons, delegation enters courtyard below, 20.2 × 30.8 cm. Sotheby’s 11.12.73: 345  
arrival of brides at Ayodhyā, attrib. to 1st generation after Nainsukh, 1770-75,   
 20.3 × 31.1 cm. (ex Walter coll.) [= Sotheby’s 14.11.02: 77; Losty 2020: 144-7, no. 56]  
 Minneapolis 2021.7  
wedding ceremony of R. and his brothers, 19.2 × 30.5 / 20.3 × 31.7   
 (Goswamy 1999: 248-51, no. 190 [scan]) Goenka coll.  
Paraśurāma tests R.’s prowess, by descendants of Nainsukh (ex Binney coll.)  
 San Diego 1990.1266  
Daśaratha enters palace with R., c. 1770-75, 21 × 31.2 / 24.5 × 35.5 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 9.07.74: 226  
Daśaratha, attended by R. + L., receives messenger, by descendants of Nainsukh,   
 c. 1780, 24.5 × 35.4 cm. (ex Binney coll.) San Diego 1990.1268  
preparing offerings for Rāma’s installation, 20.2 × 30.7 / 24.6 × 35.4 cm.   
 (Seitz coll.; Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 8) Rietberg 2005.93 (old B 22)  
R. + L. before Daśaratha, 19 × 30 cm. Rietberg (Fischer donation) REF 53  
 (also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: II, 10-11)  
Daśaratha approaching sulking Kaikeyī, by descendants of Nainsukh (ex Binney coll.), 24.7 × 35.5 cm. San Diego 1990.1269  
Daśaratha instructs Sumantra Himachal State Museum  
R. + L. take leave of mothers + Daśaratha, late C18, 24.7 x 35.5 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 77.9  
putting on leaf garments for exile, 19.7 × 30.5 / 24.6 × 35.1 cm. Rietberg (Seitz coll.) A 7   
 (also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: II, 88 + detail at 90; McGill 2016: 121, no. 58; see Losty 2017: 28-29 + 108-13 no. 19)  
R. + L. bid farewell to Daśaratha, Kangra, c. 1770-75, 21.2 × 31.6 / 23.7 x 35 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 9.07.74: 227  
Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa matting their hair, 20.2 × 30.8 / 25.1 × 35.6 cm.   
 (cf. Desai 2002: 150 + 302-3, q.v.) CSMVS 89.10/1  
1st night, beside r. Tamasā, c. 1775-80, 19.4 × 30 / 24.6 × 35 cm. (Seitz coll.)  
 (*Rām. illustré*: II, 106-7) [Losty 2017: 114 compares Brooklyn 80.181 for the unusual yellow border (also a night scene)] Losty 2017: 114-17: no. 20  
first night in exile, c. 1775-80. 20 × 30.8 / 24.4 × 35.2 cm. Brooklyn 80.181  
the exiles cross the Gaṅgā, 20.4 × 31 / 24.5 × 35.5 cm.; on verso: *devanāgarī* 162 (ex Archer coll.; Britschgi + Fischer 2008: 52-53, no. 13; *Rām. illustré*: II, 121;   
 McGill 2016: 55, no. 18,) Rietberg (Fischer gift) REF 40  
crossing the Yamunā (S. on raft), 20 × 30.5 / 25 × 30.5 cm. Rietberg RVI 981  
 (Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 14; *Rām. illustré*: II, 128-9; Reinhart gift)  
Bharata and Śatrughna return to Ayodhyā, 20 × 30.8 / 24.8 × 35.8 cm.   
 (Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 16; Goswamy 2014: 160-61, no 81) Porret coll.  
mourning the death of Daśaratha (in *tailadroṇi*); Bharata maltreats Mantharā, gouache,   
 20.1 × 30.9 cm. / 25.1 × 35.8 cm. [= Sotheby’s 14.11.02: 78; ex Walter coll. 78/67b] (ill. at Ahuja 2013: 38 (fig.15); *Rām. illustré* II, 173) Rietberg RVI 2200  
Daśaratha’s funeral procession and cremation, 20.5 × 30.7 / 25 × 35.5 cm.  
 (Gahlin 1991:78 = no.82 + pl. 86-88; *Rām. illustré* II, 169) Fondation Custodia 1990-T4  
*śrāddha* ritual for Daśaratha, 20.3 × 30.9 / 24.2 × 35.6 cm. [ex Archer coll.]   
 (Britschgi + Fischer 2008, 19) Rietberg (Fischer gift) REF 39  
Rāma pursues Jayanta/Kākāsura, c. 1775-80, 19.8 × 30.5 / 24.3 × 35.7 cm.   
 (also ill. at Sotheby’s 22.07.02: 47; *Rām. illustré*: V, 99) Philadelphia 2002-11-1  
R. + S. + L. welcomed at Bharadvāja’s hermitage Archer 1976 no. 40  
R. + S. + L. at Pañcavaṭī, 20.6 × 31.1 / 25.4 × 35.6 cm., verso blank Christie’s 21.09.22: 432  
 (ex Huntington coll.)  
Bharata and Śatrughna set out from Ayodhyā, 1775-80, 20.5 × 31.5 / 24.9 × 35.7 cm.  
 (ex Benkaim coll.; also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: II, 179) Cleveland 2018.119  
Bharata meets Guha at Gaṅgā, 20.4 × 31.2 / 25 × 35.6 cm. Rietberg (Seitz coll.) B 23  
Bharadvāja receives Bharata and Śatrughna Rietberg (Fischer loan) REF 43  
 (Britschgi + Fischer 2008, 22; *Rām. illustré* II, 187; ex Archer coll.)   
R. + S. near hut as L. prepares meal with (l.) Bharata’s army approaching, c. 1775-80,   
 19.7 × 30 / 24.9 × 35.6 cm. Sotheby’s 12.10.81: 107  
exiles perform śrāddha, school of Nainsukh, c. 1780, 23 × 33 cm. Jñāna-Pravāha 99.134  
 (Suresh Neotia coll. cat. no. 135; also at Ahuja 2013: 38, fig.16; *Rām. illustré* II, 213)   
Bharata begs Rāma to return, by descendants of Nainsukh, c. 1780, 19.7 × 30.3 / 24.8 × 35.6 cm. (Binney coll.) (also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: II, 209) San Diego 1990.1267   
Bharata installs and worships R.’s *pādukās,* attrib. to Nainsukh, c. 1780, 23 x 33 cm.   
 (ill. at Daljeet 2002; Ahuja 2013: 60, fig. 50) Nat. Mus. 88.529  
Anasūyā gives clothes to Sītā, by descendants of Nainsukh, c. 1780, 20.8 × 31.12  
 (also at *Rām. illustré*: II, 240) San Diego 1990.1265   
Agastya gives sword to R.*,* 20.6 × 31 / 24 × 34.3 cm. Rietberg RVI 2114  
 (Metzger coll.; ex Sotheby’s 11.12.73: 343; Francesca Galloway Nov. 1993; Britschgi + Fischer 2008, 31; Goswamy + Fischer 2017, no. 24; *Rām. illustré*: III, 37; formerly B 45)   
R. + S. + L. at Bharadvāja’s āśrama, c. 1780, 20.6 × 30.8/25.2 × 35.7 cm. Met. Mus. 1976.15  
 (verso blank; also *Rām. illustré*: II, 124; Guy + Britschgi 2011: 167 no. 87)  
R. + S. visit ascetics, 20.8 × 31.2 / 25 × 35.7 cm. Rietberg (Fischer loan) REF 41  
 (Britschgi + Fischer 2008, 28; *Rām. illustré*: III, 13; ex Archer coll.)   
*ṛṣis* request R.'s protection, 20.8 × 31 / 25.2 × 35.5 cm. Rietberg 2011.2  
 (Porret coll.; also at Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 23; Goswamy + others 2014, no. 82)  
[Nurpur style] Śūrpaṇakhā’s arrival, late C18, 23 x 29 cm. (B) 60.1549  
L. mutilates Śūrpaṇakhā (and R. + S. + L. meet Jaṭāyus at top left), 21 × 31.2 /   
 25.2 × 36 cm. [ex Ehrenfeld, Ehnbom 1985, no. 116] Rietberg RVI 1701  
 (Sotheby’s 5.12.92: 161; Britschgi + Fischer 2008, 32; *Rām. illustré*: III, 51; unrelated [?] sketch on verso)  
Śūrpaṇakhā recalls her encounter with R. + L. to Khara, 20.3 × 21.8  
Rāma defeats Khara’s army, 20.6 × 31.1 / 24.8 × 35.6 cm. (ex Walter coll.)  
 Sotheby’s 26.03.03: 128  
Śūrpaṇakhā tells Rāvaṇa, 21 × 31 / 25 × 36 cm. [ex Ehrenfeld, Ehnbom 1985, no. 117]   
 (Britschgi + Fischer 2008, 36; *Rām. illustré*: III, 83 [detail: 85]) Rietberg RVI 1699  
Rāvaṇa consulting Mārīca, 24.8 × 35.6 cm. (Polsky gift) Met. Mus. 1985.398.14  
 (also at McInerney 1982b no. 21; *Rām. illustré*: III, 95; McGill 2016: 228-9, no. 119)   
Rāvaṇa abducts S. (R. shoots Mārīca at top left), 20.5 × 31.2 / 25 × 36 cm.   
 [ex Ehrenfeld, Ehnbom 1985, no. 118] Rietberg (Reinhart gift) RVI 2170  
 (Sotheby’s 22.03.02: 48; Britschgi + Fischer 2008, 37)  
abduction of S., c. 1775, 20.3 × 30.65 / 24.8 × 35.7 cm. [**see** details] Brooklyn 78.256.3  
 [also ill. at McGill 2016: 132-3, no. 66]  
[Chambā] R. + L. searching for S. find Jaṭāyus, c. 1770, 25 x 36 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 74.73  
 (also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: 10)  
Rāma pines under tree as L. goes in search of S., c. 1775-80, 20.8 × 31 / 25.9 × 36.4 cm.   
 [also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: III, 147; Topsfield 1986: 46-47, no. 27; McGill 2016: 64-65,   
 no. 26] Philadelphia 2004-149-73   
death and cremation of Kabandha, c, 1775-80, 20.5 × 30.6 / 25 × 36 cm. [ex Archer] (Britschgi + Fischer 2008, 39; *Rām. illustré*: III, 163] Rietberg (Fischer loan) REF 42  
R. + L. visit Śabarī’s hermitage, from *Araṇyakāṇḍa* of a Rām. series, attrib. to Kama   
 or Gauḍhu (two elder of Nainsukh’s 4 sons), Guler style, c. 1780,  
 20.5 × 30.9 cm / 24 × 35.1 cm. J + K Mittal Mus. 76.278  
Vālin enters cave to fight Dundubhi, c.1775-80, 19.4 × 29.5 / 25.1 × 35.6 cm.  
 (ex coll. of Alma Latifi; ex Sotheby’s 28.10.91: 53 = Sotheby’s 5.12.92: 163)  
 Christie’s 13-27.09.23: 501  
Rāvaṇa’s golden citadel, c. 1775-90, 21.5 × 31.7 cm. (ex Doris Wiener Gallery)  
 Sotheby’s 20.3.09: ?  
Indra visits S. in *aśokavana,* c. 1775-80, 20.5 × 31 / 25.1 × 35.9 cm.   
 (detail also at *Rām. illustré*: V, 76) Philadelphia 1977-11-1  
Sampāti flies away after leaving *vānaras* by ocean, 19.5 × 29.6 / 25.4 × 34.8 cm.  
 Rietberg 2008.188  
Hanumān gives R.’s ring to S., c. 1775, 24.4 × 35.7 cm. San Diego 1990.1260   
 [also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: V, 93]

Second “Guler Rāmāyaṇa” series, later section of c. 1790-1810 (probably by 2nd gen. after Mānaku and Nainsukh), 2nd part of the “Bharany” Rāmāyana; illustrations of the *Sundara* and *Yuddha kāṇḍas*; a few folios available as (unfinished) primed drawings; dispersed probably since 1972; 25.5 × 35.5 (average page size), dark blue border (yellow for night scenes) with scroll decoration, few folio numbers, no inscriptions;   
published: Pal 1978, no. 68; Britschgi and Fischer 2008, nos. 54, 56, 58, 78; Losty 2017: 118-25, nos 21-22

R. + L. + S. at Bharadvāja’s *āśrama,* 1790-1800, 26 × 35.6 cm. Christie’s 12.06.18: 26  
R. + L. fight Kabandha, 23.2 × 31.8 cm. Ader 8.10.12: 43  
Hanumān before Rāma in forest, C18, 25.5 × 36 cm. Israel Mus. B76.0067  
Hanumān disguised as ascetic meets R. + L. private coll.  
Hanumān flies with R. + L. (top l.) to meet Sugrīva seated at mouth of cave (top r.),   
 c.1800, 23 × 32.4 / 25.1 × 34.3 cm. (ex Maharaja of Tehri-Garhwal, ex Doris Wiener,   
 ex Robert and Bernice Dickes; Sotheby’s 27.10.21: 153) Kiran Nadar Mus. of Art  
fight between Vālin and Sugrīva, early C19, 25.1 × 34.3 cm. (Polsky coll.)  
 McInerney 1982b no. 23  
Vālin’s funeral pyre, c. 1780, 24.8 × 34 cm. Met. Mus. 2004.367  
Tārā weeps over Vālin’s body, 1825-30, 22.9 × 32.4 / 24.8 × 34.3 cm. Walter coll. 87  
 [= Sotheby’s 14.11.02: 87]  
Rāvaṇa gives audience and sends out troops, end C18, 22.1 × 32.3 / 25.3 × 35.5 cm.  
 Mus. für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin, 93.605  
Hanumān + search party enter Svayamprabhā’s cave, c. 1780-1800, 24.5 × 34 cm.  
 (ex Carter Burden coll.) Sotheby’s 16.09.99: 182 = Galloway 2006: 136-7, no. 53  
Rāvaṇa’s golden palace, c. 1775-80, 21.5 × 31.7 cm. Christie’s 20.03.09: 1314  
Hanumān surveys city of Laṅkā, c. 1800, 20.1 × 30.1 cm. Sotheby’s 23.04.97: lot 149  
Hanumān spies on Rāvaṇa, early C19, 24.7 × 34.2 cm. Christie’s 10.06.13: 270  
Hanumān enters Rāvaṇa's palace (drawing), c. 1790, 20.6 × 31.6 / 26 × 35.9 cm.  
 (Britschgi + Fischer 2008, 54; *Rām. illustré*: V, 39) Rietberg (Seitz coll.) B 66  
Hanumān jumps back across ocean, 20 × 30.2 / 25 × 35.5 cm. (ex Seitz coll.; *Rām. illustré*:   
 V,141) [dominated by ocean; Hanumān small in air at top left] Losty 2017 no. 21  
Sagara appears before Rāma, Guler or Kangra, 1790, 20.3 × 30.2 / 25.1 × 35.2 cm.  
 [= Sotheby’s 14.11.02: 84] Walter coll. 84  
Vibhīṣaṇa and retinue bearing gifts approach R., 1790-1800, 25.5 × 35.8 cm.  
 (ex private coll., Germany)) Bonhams 12.11.24: 182Vibhīṣaṇa bows before R., c. 1790, 20.3 × 32.2 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 16.09.99: 180 = Sotheby’s 21.03.12: 210  
Vibhīṣaṇa is anointed by L., 1775-1800, 20.6 × 30.2 / 24.9 × 34.9 cm. Cornell 87.011.002  
*vānaras* bring captive *rākṣasas* to R. + L., c. 1775-1800, 25.2 × 35.2 cm. Baltimore W.877  
*rākṣasas* return to city, folio 101, c. 1785-1800, 25 × 35.2 cm. Michigan 2002/1.166  
Hanumān kills Jambumālin, c. 1790; no. 102 (? also 101) on verso   
 (Britschgi + Fischer 2008, 56; *Rām. illustré*: V, 111) Rietberg 2006.181  
R. confers with *vānara* army, 20.3 × 30.5 / 25.4 × 35.2 cm. Christie’s 22.03.23: 380  
 (ex Christie’s 8.07.82: 144, ex California private coll., ex Kapoor Galleries)  
Rāvaṇa sends out a warrior, 20.3 × 30.4 / 25.4 × 35.4 cm. Sotheby’s 12.10.81: 108   
Rāvaṇa sends out Indrajit, 20.3 × 30.2 / 25.2 × 35.4 cm.  
 (Britschgi + Fischer 2008, 58) Rietberg (Seitz coll., ex Ehrenfeld) 2005.110 (old B 39)  
R. + L. and *vānaras* lie wounded, c.1790, 20.3 × 30.5 / 24.7 × 35.3 cm.  
 (ex Marco Polo Gallery; ex private coll.) Sotheby’s **20.02.13: 319**Hanumān brings healing herbs, 20.2 × 30.2 / 25 × 35.2 cm., numbered *162* on verso  
 (Britschgi + Fischer 2008, 78; McGill 2016: 186-7, no. 97; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 185)  
 Rietberg (Seitz coll.) B 40  
Hanumān presents herbs to R. + L., c. 1790, 25.2 × 35.4 cm., numbered *163* on verso  
 Met. Mus. 1987.424.13  
awakening of Kumbhakarṇa, c. 1800, 25.7 × 35.3 cm. San Diego 1990.1282  
 (also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 144)  
fight between Hanumān and Kumbhakarṇa, c. 1810-20, 25.4 × 35.1 cm.  
 Mount Holyoke College MH 1981.6  
Rāvaṇa receives Kumbhakarṇa, Guler or Kāṅgṛā, c. 1790 Sotheby’s 14.11.02: 82  
Kumbhakarṇa carries off unconscious Sugrīva to Laṅkā, 20.3 × 30.4 / 25.3 × 35.4 cm.  
 [follows San Diego 1990.1282 and Sotheby’s 14.11.02: 82, acc. to Seyller and Mittal   
 2014, no. 99] J + K Mittal Mus. 76.314  
deaths of Mahodara, Devāntaka and Triśiras, c. 1790, 20 × 30.2 / 24.9 × 35.3 cm.  
 (ex Habighorst coll.; ill. at *Rām. illustré VI, 173*) Francesca Galloway 2020, no. 19  
Rāma kills Makarākṣa, c. 1790, 20.3 × 30.5 / 24.9 × 35.2 cm. San Francisco 1992.95  
 (no. *166* on verso: Pal notes other folios in W.G. Archer and Paul Walter collections; Margaret Polak gift; ill. at McGill 2016: 86-87, no 45; detail at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 125)  
Rāvaṇa greets Indrajit, c. 1790, 20.3 × 30.2 / 25.1 × 35.2 cm. Sotheby’s 26.03.03: 127  
Meghanāda’s sacrifice, c. 1780-90, 25.1 × 35.6 cm. Philadelphia 1982-34-1  
 (also at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 204)  
*vānaras* fight Indrajit, c. 1790-1800, 20.3 × 30.2 / 25.1 × 35.2 cm. Christie’s 22.03.22: 467  
Lakṣmaṇa fights Indrajit, c. 1775-1800, 21.3 × 31.7 cm. Baltimore, Walters W.902  
battle scene, late C18, 25.3 × 35.5 cm. Mus. für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin, I 5417  
battle scene, c. 1780, 20 × 30.2 / 25.2 × 35.4 cm. Ader 3.06.15: 83  
battle scene, watched by R + L. + Vibhīṣaṇa, c. 1790-1800, 25.7 × 35.9 cm.   
 (ex private coll., Germany) Bonhams 12.11.24: 183  
Rāvaṇa has illusory head shown to S. private coll.  
night battle, c. 1780-90, 20.3 × 30.6 cm. / 24.9 × 35.2 cm. (detail, *Rām. illustré*: VI, 130-1) Philadelphia 2002-12-1  
R.’s army attacks Laṅkā by night, c. 1800, 20.32 × 30.48 / 24.77 × 35.24 cm. (original blue border overpainted with gold) LACMA M.78.31  
 (also ill. at Pal 1990, fig. 8; Krishnan 2010: 108; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 192)  
night battle between *vānaras* and *rākṣasas,* c. 1790, 20 × 30.5 / 25.1 × 35.2 cm.  
 (yellow border) Sotheby’s 22.03.02: 59  
R. shatter Rāvaṇa’s chariot, as *rākṣasas* help him to escape, c. 1790,   
 20.3 × 30.5 / 25.4 × 35.6 cm. Sotheby’s 22.03.02: 60  
R. fights Rāvaṇa, both on chariots, c. 1790-1800, 25.6 × 35.7 cm. Bonhams 25.10.22: 138  
S.’s *agniparīkṣā,* c. 1800, 25.5 × 35.8 cm. (also ill. Ahuja 2013: 232, fig.271)  
 (B) Nat. Mus. 85.333  
R. + S. + followers start return to Ayodhyā in Puṣpaka, Kāṅgṛā, c. 1800-10, 20.3 × 30.6 /   
 25.6 × 36 cm., numbered 33 on verso (Seitz coll. = Seitz online 17)   
 (ill. at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 296-7) Losty 2017: 122-25, no. 22

? also belonging here:   
(drawing) building the bridge to Lanka,attrib. to Seu family, possibly Manaku, mid C18,  
 22.2 × 33 cm. Met. Mus. 2008.359.6   
(drawing) R. + L. visit ascetic’s *āśrama,* attrib. to 1st-generation master after Nainsukh,   
 c. 1775–80, 21.3 × 28.9 cm. (**see** “Met NY – Rāmāyaṇa exhibition” doc.)  
 Met. Mus. 2008.359.23

set(s) commissioned by/for Sansar Chand (? for his wedding in 1781)   
[on the dispersal of Sansar Chand’s collection of paintings **see** Randhawa 1954: 29-33]:   
Nārada visits Vālmīki, c. 1775-1800, 23.5 × 34 cm. Baltimore W.909  
Vālmīki witnesses hunter killing *krauñca,* c.1775-1800, 21.9 × 32.2 / 25.2 × 35.7 cm. (ex Tom Maschler coll.) Sotheby’s 24.04.24: 125  
R. + L. worship the goddess, 20.3 × 30.7 / 25 × 35.5 cm. Pierpont Morgan M.1060.5  
 (ex Paul F. Walter coll.; cf. Pal 1978, no. 68A; two other folios reproduced in colour in Christie’s 25.04.78: 121-2 and attrib. to Tehri-Garhwal)  
musician before reclining R. + L. surrounded by *vānaras,* late C18, 20.1 × 30.2 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 26.04.91: 152 = Sotheby’s 1.12.93: 157 = Sotheby’s 21.09.95: 131   
R. + L. carried by *vānaras,* 20.3 × 30.5 / 24.1 × 34.3 cm. Christies 25.04.91: 30  
Rāvaṇa shows counterfeit head of R. to S., c. 1785-1800, 20 × 30.2 / 25 × 35.3 cm.   
 [? commissioned by Sansar Chand; **n.b.** note to painting] Christie’s 25.03.04: 202   
Rāvaṇa attended by *rākṣasas*, c. 1780-1800, 29.4 × 38.9 cm. Christie’s 31.03.04: 229  
 [**n.b.** note to painting]   
Rāvaṇa receives *rākṣasa* messenger as armies leave, late C18, 20.3 × 30.5 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 28.10.91: 268  
Hanumān spies on *rākṣasas* outside Laṅkā, Guler or Garhwal, c. 1800, 20.1 × 30.1 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 23.04.97: 149  
R. + L. in *nāgapāśa* within circle of *vānaras,* Guler, late C18, 20.1 × 30.1 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 28.04.93: 20  
Rāvaṇa receives Kumbhakarṇa, Guler or Kangra, 1790, 20.3 × 30.2 / 25.4 × 35.2 cm.   
 Walter coll. 82  
Rāvaṇa attacks Rambhā [identified on painting as *Urvasī*] and receives her curse, personified [= *srāpa*], 1810, 24.1 × 34.9 cm. Sotheby’s 21.09.01:172  
Vālin defeats Rāvaṇa and tuck him under his arm, 1810, 23.5 × 33.7 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 21.09.01: 173  
wives mourn dead Rāvaṇa (r.) as Vibhīṣaṇa approaches R. (l.), late C18, 20 × 30.5 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 28.10.91: 67

Kāṅgṛā: 9 drawings from numbered set, 1775-1800 Wereld Mus. RV-3025-1-9  
R. pierces 7 *tālas* and kicks away Dundubhi’s corpse, 26.7 × 32.7 cm., *2* at top  
R. shoots Vālin as he and Sugrīva fight, 26.6 × 31.9 cm., *3* at top  
dying Vālin asks R. to take care of Aṅgada, 26.8 × 32 cm., *4* at top  
Sugrīva’s installation, as R + L. wait outside Kiṣkindhā, 25.7 × 31 cm., *5* at top  
Hanumān reminds Sugrīva of his promise, 27.5 × 32 cm., *8* at top  
Lakṣmaṇa comes to reprimand Sugrīva, 25.6 × 32.2 cm., *9* at top  
R. entrusts his ring to Hanumān as *vānaras* muster for search, 25.6 × 32 cm., *10* at top  
southern search party on its travels, 26.3 × 30.5 cm., *11* at top  
encounter with Sampāti, 26.3 × 30.6 cm., *13* at top

Kāṅgṛā: *Uttarakāṇḍa* set (13 drawings), 1790-1800; folios 112, 114-5, 124, 126-34; not based on *VR* from scenes shown (Parimoo 2013a: 268-80, q.v. [photocopy], + 2013b; final sentence on 2013b: 285: “These drawings could be the work of not later than the first generation painter after Nainsukh, hence between the chronological bracket 1790-1800 CE.”)  
 N.C. Mehta 202

illuminated *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* scroll ms, 18th/19th century, width 15.5 cm., written in   
Vārāṇasī by the Kashmiri Paṇḍit Ghāsīrāma, in original painted wooden tube  
(ill. in Formigatti 2019: 34 and 97; download) Bodleian MS Sansk.e.13(R)

*RCM Uttarakāṇḍ* ms with 7 full-page paintings (Hanumān announces R.’s return to Bharata, R. returns on Puśpaka, R + L. touch Vasiṣṭha’s feet, R.’s installation, R. bids farewell to Sugrīva and *vānaras,* Nārada greets R. and brothers, Śiva ends his narration to Pārvatī), *saṃvat 1869* (= 1812), 25.9 × 16.5 cm. Todywalla 16.04.24: 11  
[= Chambā (?): ms. of *RCM Uttarkāṇḍ* in 67 folios with 7 full-page paintings VS 1869   
(= 1812 A.D.), 26 × 16 cm. Husaini Arts]

“Nādaun Rām.” (text on versos from *Kuśalavopākhyāna* of the *Jaiminīyāśvamedhikaparvan*) –  
 [Ducrot 2009: 210 – “Some other paintings ... can be found ... at the Himachal Pradesh Museum in Simla, ... They might be from the workshop of Gaudhu, ...”]  
(drawing) L. departs after leaving S. at Vālmīki’s *āśrama*, 1800-25, 26 × 34.1 cm., text on verso: *adhy.* 28-29 in *Kuśalavopākhyāna* of *Jaiminīyāśvamedhikaparvan*  Met. Mus. 1975.192.27  
Vālmīki’s hermitage, c. 1820, 27.94 × 36.83 / 33.66 × 43.82 cm.; text on verso  
 [approximately = 29.9-15] (ex Greenough coll.) LACMA 1999.127.45  
Lava + Kuśa tying sacrificial horse to banyan in Vālmīki’s āśrama, c. 1820,   
 33 × 42 cm.; text on verso: 29.62cd to 30.3ab, then 3cd partially deleted with yellow Nat. Mus. 87.501/2]  
Lava attacks Śatrughna’s army; Śatrughna wounds Lava, Nadaun, Kangra, c. 1815,   
 27.9 × 36.8 / 33.7 × 43.9 cm. Ducrot coll. P 1-2  
battle between Lava and Śatrughna, c. 1820, 27.3 × 36.5 / 33.7 × 43.8 cm.; text on verso  
 [approximately 30.43 to 31.18] Brooklyn 75.203.2  
Vālmīki’s narration, 1830-40, 27.7 × 36.5 cm.; text on on verso: 31.19b–31d  
 Ackland Mus. 83.25.4  
Lava and Kuśa fight Rāma’s army, c. 1810-20, 31.1 × 40 cm. (visible, framed);   
 attrib. to Purkhu [shows R. and others fainting (cf. *adhy.* 36] Emory 2014.017.001

Kāṅgṛā series of c. 1830-40  
Śūrpaṇakhā appeals to Rāvaṇa for vengeance, c. 1830-40, 28 × 41.8 / 39 × 53 cm., on verso *vanakāṇḍa* and *15,* also *150 citra* (same set as next [LACMAM.2006.128], acc. to Losty; ex private Swiss coll., then USA coll.) Losty 2015b: 60-61, item 28  
Sugrīva sends Hanumān to search for Sītā, c. 1830-40, 26.4 × 38.7 / 40.6 × 53.1 cm.   
 (also ill. Krishnan 2010: 109) LACMAM.2006.128

Kāṅgṛā group of c. 1830-40 [dimensions differ from preceding series]  
Hanumān burns Laṅkā, 34 × 46.5 cm. Amir Mohtashemi no. A4253  
R. + L. find dying Jaṭāyus and prepare to cremate him, 34 × 46.5 cm.  
 Amir Mohtashemi cat. entries (2)  
Vālin prepares to fight Dundubhi (l. and centre), R. + L. meet Sugrīva (top r.),   
 34 × 46.5 cm. Amir Mohtashemi cat. entries (2)  
R. prepares to shoot as Vālin and Sugrīva fight, R. garlands Sugrīva (top l.),   
 38 × 46 cm. Amir Mohtashemi cat. entries (2)

Pahāṛī, two pages from a *Rāmāyaṇa*: R. pursues the golden deer while Rāvaṇa approaches Sītā; Hanumān finds Sītā in the aśoka grove, C18, 20 × 14 and 21 × 14 cm.  
(ex Welch coll.) Sotheby’s 31.05.11: 51

Pahāṛī, 2 paintings: R. attending wounded L. and attacking Rāvaṇa; Rāvaṇa lying dead and R.’s army paying homage to him, 1775-1800, 19.9 × 30.4 cm.   
 Christie’s 11.03.11: 449 = 12.09.11: 283

Kashmir: Śāradā Rāmāyaṇa ms. of 410 folios with 20 illustrations, 19 × 24 cm.  
 [descr. at Ranade 1983: 112-3] BORI 1182/7376

Chambā: R. honoured by Daśaratha, c. 1780, attributed to Nikka, 16.2 × 25.5 / 18.4 × 27.5 cm. (ex Sotheby’s 16.10.96: 109; private coll., England) Forge and Lynch 2012, no. 13

[Chambā:] Sītā and twins in Vālmīki’s *āśrama*, c. 1800, attributed to Chajju, son of Nikka  
 Bhuri Singh Mus.

Chambā: c. 1800-10, set of 15 paintings of Hanumān in Laṅkā from Sundarakāṇḍa,  
 22.2 × 31.7 / 26.8 × 36.6 cm. (or similar) **see** Losty 2016a  
Hanumān explores Laṅkā, 1800-10, 22.5 × 32.3 / 26.7 × 36.9 cm. Christie’s 27.10.22: 106  
 (ex coll. of Alma Latifi)  
Hanumān fights *rākṣasas* within Laṅkā, 26.8 × 36.5 cm. Bonhams 7.06.23: 49  
 (ex coll. of Alma Latifi, ex private coll., London)  
R. receives Vibhīṣaṇa as he flees Laṅkā, 1800-10, 22 × 31.8 / 26.7 x 36 cm.  
 Christie’s 22.03.22: 475

*Ramayana* drawing series by Rāñjhā, dated 1815/16:  
Beach, Fischer and Goswamy 2011: II, 693 – ‘The series – in the collection of Bharat Kala Bhavan in Varanasi – consisting of over 700 drawings is nearly complete. The colophon in Sanskrit on the last folio reads “in the *Vikrama samvat,* calculated by *Rama* (3), *Rishi* (7), *Vasu* (8) and *bhu* (1) [i.e. VS 1873 = 1816] ...in the town of Basohli ... the learned Sudarshan, born in the family of Kashmir (Brahmins) composed, according to his best understanding, this *bhasha* for the artist Ranjha who gave visual form to these verses.”’; cf. Beach 1992: 214 §3 and 239 fin. and more in Goswamy 1971 [**see** in “Further Notes (visual)”]; 702 drawings are in BKB, Varanasi; cf. (?) Rāma and Sītā enthroned (Guler style, atelier of Raja Govardhan Chand, 1745-73, attrib. to Rāñjhā, c. 1777, N.C. Mehta collection [acc. no. NCM 66] 18.3 × 25.2 / 20.8 × 27.8 cm., **see** Khandalavala n.d. fig. 19). [Rāñjhā was his nickname, given name Rāmlāl; cf. listing of Paṇḍit Seu descendants in “Further Notes (visual)”]

artist named Chaitu [more exactly Cettū], a descendant of Mānaku, employed at Tehri Garhwal under Raja Sudarshan Shah produced c. 1820 a Rāmāyaṇa series (Bhatia, Usha 1998: “Chaitu at Tehri Garhwal”, in Ohri and Craven 1998: 141-48 [scan])   
R. + L. + S. leave Ayodhyā, 2nd ¼ of C19, 17 × 24.5 cm. Tehri Raj coll.  
Dāśaratha receives Sumantra, c. 1820-30, 30.5 × 43.2 / 33 × 45.7 cm.  
 (ex Lanier coll.) Sotheby’s 15.3.17: 322  
palanquin entering city/palace gate, 2nd ¼ of C19, 19 × 29 cm., inscr. on verso:   
 *caitū e de ghare de* (“from the house of Caitū”) BKB  
R. + L. + S. meet a group of ascetics, c. 1820, 27.3 × 41.3 / 29.2 × 42.9 cm.   
 [Walter coll. 86 = Sotheby’s 14.11.02: 86, then Francesca Galloway] Osian 7.04.17: 24   
R. + S. + L. in forest, c. 1820, 29.8 × 43.5 cm. (ex George P. Bickford coll.; ex private   
 UK coll.) [same series as Walter coll. 86 acc. to Bonhams’ cat. entry]  
 Colnaghi 1978 cat., no. 88 = Bonhams 25.10.21: 268  
R. + L. leave Ayodhyā, c. 1820-30, 31.1 × 46 / 34.3 × 47.6 cm. (ex Lanier coll.)  
 Sotheby’s 15.3.17: 321 = Christie’s 11.09.19: 404

small Guler-Kāṅgṛā Rām. series, 1820-30, 2nd/3rd generation after Nainsukh and Mānaku Daśaratha’s sacrifice into fire, 23.5 × 34.4 / 27.3 × 38.6 cm. Rietberg 2008.1  
 (= Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 1)   
R. + S.’s first night in exile, 24 × 35 / 37.5 × 39 cm.; *7 ajodhyā* on verso Rietberg RVI 1344  
 (= Britschgi and Fischer 2008: 50-51, no. 12; *Rām. illustré*: II, 109)

Kāṅgṛā style (?), 1824: illustrated ms (62 illustrations) of *Bālkāṇḍ* and *Ayodhyākāṇḍ* of *Rāmcaritmānas*, bound in one volume of 330 folios but separately numbered (*Bālkāṇḍ* ends on f.188v, followed by 3 blank folios and 2 ruled, then *Ayodhyākāṇḍ* from f.1); written in *devanāgarī* and Persian scripts in separate columns; *daṇḍas, colophons,* etc. in red (but often omitted); erasures in yellow with most corrections *propria manu* but in second hand on ff. 166v and 167r of *Bāla* and in third hand on ff. 172r of *Bāla* and ff. 32v, 42v, 61v 75v and 87 v of *Ayodhyā* Chester Beatty InE 1442

Kāṅgṛā style, early C19: ill. ms. of *Rāmcaritmānas,* attrib. to family of Purkhu:  
gods beseech Śiva to wed, 22.8 × 34.2 / 27.7 × 38.9 cm. MFA 65.420  
wedding of Śiva and Pārvatī, 23.6 × 34.7 / 27.9 × 38.6 cm. MFA 65.419  
Śiva and Pārvatī in Himālayas, 23.3 × 34 / 27.7 × 38.5 cm. MFA 65.421  
king Pratāpabhānu meets an evil hermit, 27.7 × 38.6 cm. MFA 65.422  
Kaikeyī orchestrates R.’s exile, 23.9 × 35 / 27.8 × 39 cm. MFA 65.423  
Nārada’s instruction, c. 1810-15, ascr. to Purkhu, 24 × 35.2 / 28.2 × 38.8 cm., inscr. in *devanāgarī* on verso *bāla* (= Goswamy and Fischer 1992, no. 168; Losty 2017: 130-33, no. 24) [*Bālkāṇḍ* *dohās* 131-45 in Growse’s trans.] (promised gift of Eva + Konrad Seitz) Rietberg 2018.1247 (previously A 09)   
worlds of gods and demons, 1800-15, by Purkhu, 22.8 × 34.2 / 27.7 × 38.7 cm.; on verso: *vāla 13* (= Goswamy and Fischer 1992, no. 168; gift of Carlo Fleischmann)  
 Rietberg RVI 986

gods hatch a plan, 24.3 × 35.3 / 26.5 × 37.7 cm., labelled on verso *vāla 14* (Binney coll.)  
 San Diego 1990.1303  
R. sacrifices with golden statue of S., attrib. to Purkhu’s workshop, C19,   
 27.3 × 35.9 / 33.7 × 42.5 cm. (ex Lanier coll.)  
 Sotheby’s 25.03.87: 152 = Sotheby’s 15.3.17: 317 = Emory L2017.014.001  
R. defeated by his sons, attrib. to Purkhu’s workshop, C19, 40 × 31.1 cm.  
 Emory 2014.017.001

large format Kāṅgṛā Rām. series, 1825-30, Purkhu’s atelier:  
Vasiṣṭha sends to recall Bharata, 30 × 34 / 41.5 × 54.5 cm. Rietberg RVI 1357  
 (= Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 15)   
Bharata performs Daśaratha’s funeral rituals, c. 1820-30, 40.6 × 53.3 cm.; on verso:   
 *42 ajudhyākāṃḍa* Philadelphia 1955-11-2  
deliberations in Bharata’s camp, 30 × 42 / 41 × 53 cm. Rietberg RVI 1358  
 (= Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 20)  
R. defeats Khara’s army, style of Seu-Nainsukh family workshop, c. 1850, 33 × 47 cm.  
 Jñāna-Pravāha 99.138 (Neotia coll. cat. 136)  
Hanumān quenches tail in ocean, 28.7 × 42.2 / 41.5 × 54.2 cm. Rietberg RVI 1851  
 (Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 60)   
Rāvaṇa scorns Vibhīṣaṇa who flies to Rāma, 30.2 × 44 / 40 × 53.5 cm. Rietberg RVI 1359 (Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 67; details at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 43 and 45)   
Rāvaṇa sends Śuka to Sugrīva, 30.5 × 44 cm. Rietberg RVI 1360  
 (Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 69; detail at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 488-490)   
Rāma consults *vānaras* beside ocean, 30.4 × 44.1 / 40 × 53.6 cm Rietberg RVI 1361 (Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 66)   
Śuka is brought before Rāma, 29.4 × 42.6 / 34.7 × 50.6 cm.; on verso in devanāgarī   
 *17 laṅkākāṇḍa* Rietberg RVI 2140  
 (Metzger coll.; Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 71, Goswamy + Fischer 2017, no. 46)   
death of Kumbhakarṇa, 28.3 × 41.9 / 30.6 × 44.2 cm. Rietberg RVI 2141  
 (Metzger coll.; Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 77, Goswamy + Fischer 2017, no. 47)  
R. kills Rāvaṇa as gods rejoice in sky, 29 × 37.5 cm. Bonhams 25.10.22: 126  
 (ex private UK coll.)

Jammu, complete ill. ms. of 294 leaves, c. 1820, page 23.8 × 15.5 cm. Sotheby’s 8.06.12: 15  
[294 leaves, ṭākrī script in black ink, ill. frontispiece, 16 miniatures, later binding]

Kashmir, ill ms., dated 1826-27 Rampur Raza Library Misc. 3

Maṇḍi, 3 paintings from one series, c. 1830-40 [source: Aijazuddin 1977: 65, Mandi 12(i-iii)]  
S. first sees Mārīca as golden deer, 27.6 × 41.2 / 39 × 53 cm. Lahore Mus. E.136  
abduction of S., 27.3 × 41.2 / 39.6 × 53.6 cm. Lahore Mus. E.134  
Hanumān destroys aśokavana, 28.8 × 43.5 / 40.6 × 54.3 cm. Lahore Mus. E.135  
 [2 more from this set now in Chandigarh Mus.]

Maṇḍi, 2 paintings from one series, c. 1830 [source: Aijazuddin 1977: 66, Mandi 12(i,ii)]  
R. gives sandals to Bharata, 29.8 × 41.5 / 39.3 × 52.3 cm. Lahore Mus. E.74  
Himavat applies antidote to R., 27.3 × 39.6 / 38.4 × 51.4 cm. Lahore Mus. E.77  
 [3 more from this set now in Chandigarh Mus.; cf. also two further Maṇḍi sets listed below (mid. C19 and c. 1840)]

Maṇḍi (?), mid C19, 14 folios in Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, showing scenes from *Rāmcaritmānas* (source: Jain-Neubauer 1981: 21-22 + plates XXV-XXVIII: she compares 2 folios in Chandigarh Museum, E.75 and E.76) –  
Śuka and Śaraṇa spy on Rāma’s army MIK I 5183  
Hanumān brings Suṣeṇa to prostrate L. MIK I 5187  
Hanumān goes for healing herbs MIK I 5186  
Hanumān returns with whole mountain MIK I 5189  
Hanumān is shot at by Bharata MIK I 5188  
Suṣeṇa applies herbs to Lakṣmaṇa MIK I 5190  
Suṣeṇa is taken back by Hanumān MIK I 5184  
multiple scenes: Rāvaṇa fighting Hanumān, Rāvaṇa approaching S. in *aśokavana,*  
 R + L. conferring with *vānara* leaders, Rāvaṇa lying dead MIK 1 5185  
multiple scenes: Rāvaṇa and army lie dead, R + allies stand on battle field,   
 gods hail R.’s victory MIK I 5191  
Rāvaṇa’s queens come to mourn; Indra on Airāvata in the sky MIK I 5192  
S. is fetched from *aśokavana* by Hanumān and others MIK I 5193  
S. enters the fire (multiple scenes) MIK I 5194  
Vibhīṣaṇa presents gift; farewell between Vibhīṣaṇa and R. + *vānaras* MIK I 5195  
R. + L. + S. + *vānara* return in Puṣpaka to Ayodhyā; Hanumān embraces Bharata  
 at Nandigrāma MIK I 5196  
fight between Aṅgada and Vajradanta (J.-N. pl. XXVIII, fig. 62) Chandigarh E.76  
R. threatens Ocean (J.-N. pl. XXVIII, fig. 63) Chandigarh E.75

Mandi, c. 1840 (**see** Aijazuddin 1977: 66 no. 12 + pl. 86)   
R. + L. received at an āśrama, 27.5 × 41 cm. Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 58  
R. + L. cremate Jaṭāyus, 25.7 × 41 cm. Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 59  
R. + L. consult with *vānaras*, 26 × 38 cm. Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 60  
R. + *vānaras* encamped before Laṅkā, 28.5 × 41.5 cm. Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 61  
Hanumān sets fire to Laṅkā, 28.5 × 41.5 cm. Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 62  
two white monkeys wrestling, S. in cave, 26 × 38 cm. Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 63  
Kumbhakarṇa attacked by vānaras, 27 × 40 cm. Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 64  
*vānaras* fighting *rākṣasas*, R. + L. on hilltop, 28.5 × 41 cm. Sotheby’s 11.04.88: 65

Hindur: courtesans lure Ṛṣyaśṛṅga to Lomapāda’s court, c. 1850-60, 33.7 × 53.2 cm.,   
figures identified in *ṭākrī* on paintings Sotheby’s 11.10.82: 104  
Hindur: 4 Rām. scenes (courtesans escort Ṛṣyaśṛṅga to Lomapāda’s court, Bhagīratha worshipping Śiva [?], king Janaka riding, Viśvāmitra leading R + L.), c. 1850-60,   
 34.7 × 52.6 cm., text on verso Sotheby’s 13.10.89: 46  
courtesans lure Ṛṣyaśṛṅga to Lomapāda’s court, c. 1850-60, 34.7 × 52.6 cm.  
 [? = 1st of above 4 scenes] Sotheby’s 24.04.79: 146  
courtesans return to Ṛṣyaśṛṅga next day, 33.9 × 43.5 cm. Sotheby’s 24.04.79: 147  
Daśaratha listens to Nārada (l.), Kausalya shows R. to Vasiṣṭha (r.), R. manifests divine  
 form to Daśaratha + Kausalyā (below), 35.2 × 53.4 cm., verso with 43 lines of text Sotheby’s 24.04.79: 148 = Sotheby’s 16.10.97: 529  
R. + L. with Viśvāmitra beside river, 33 × 50.6 cm. Sotheby’s 24.04.79: 149  
R. + L. with Viśvāmitra arrive by boat at palace, 33 × 51.2 cm. Sotheby’s 24.04.79: 150

Pahāṛī (?): scroll-form Rāmāyaṇa illuminated ms., c. 1860, c. 1290 × 9.6 cm.  
 Bonhams 2.10.12: 203

[Pahāṛī (?]): scroll-form Rāmāyaṇa illuminated ms. Olympia 10.04.14: 190

Chambā: mid C19 – a Rāmāyaṇa series painted by Tara Singh (d. 1871) during reign of Sri Singh (1844-71) (referred to at Randhawa + Randhawa 1982: 55) Bhuri Singh Mus.  
Ayastya’s *āśrama,* 1840-50, 19.7 × 25.1 cm., on verso partially erased *99* Wereld Mus. RV-3025-20

Chambā: 5 Rām. paintings (R. + L. hunting, *vānaras* aiding R.) in style of Tara Singh, 1840-50, 21 × 27 cm. Sotheby’s 29-30.03.82: 157

Guler/Kāṅgṛā: group relating to Kumbhakarṇa  
awakening of Kumbhakarṇa, mid C19, 29.1 × 42 / 37.5 × 52 cm.  
 Francesca Galloway (Losty) 2016, no. 36  
Kumbhakarṇa awake, late C19–early C20, 23.5 × 18.8 (?) cm. Chiswick 22.04.20: 298  
Kumbhakarṇa greets Rāvaṇa, 1840-60, 39.2 × 52 cm. (ex Walter coll.)  
 Sotheby’s 14.11.02: 81 = Christie’s 26-27.09.17: 229  
R. about to kill Kumbhakarṇa (?), 1830-50, 28.2 × 41.3/31.7 × 45.2 cm.  
 Bonhams NY 19.3.18: 3095  
R. kills Kumbhakarṇa, 1st half C19, 28.5 × 42 / 30.8 × 44.3 cm. Sammlung Metzger  
 [**see** Bautze 1991: 210-12, no 96 (**scan**)]

Pahāṛī: 7 paintings from Rāmāyaṇa set, 2nd half of C19, 22 × 39 / 28 × 45.5 cm. –  
R. receiving messenger in palace, etc. Sotheby’s 11.12.73: 355  
Rāvaṇa abducts S., R. + L. converse with ascetics, etc. Sotheby’s 11.12.73: 356  
Hanumān approaches R.+ L., etc. Sotheby’s 11.12.73: 357  
*vānaras* harass Indrajit’s sacrifice, etc. Sotheby’s 11.12.73: 358  
*vānaras* slaughtered by a *rākṣasa,* Hanumān comes to rescue, etc Sotheby’s 11.12.73: 359  
*vānaras* and *rākṣasas* in combat, Rāvaṇa fights R. + L., etc. Sotheby’s 11.12.73: 360  
S. reunited with R., return in Puṣpaka, etc. Sotheby’s 11.12.73: 361

[Pahāṛī:] 7 paintings from *RCM* set, late C19  
R.’s marriage to S. Davison Art Center 1972.12.1.1  
banishment of R. (3 scenes in one) Davison Art Center 1972.12.1.2  
R. chases golden deer (other scenes behind) Davison Art Center 1972.12.1.3  
fight between Vālin and Sugrīva, etc. Davison Art Center 1972.12.1.4  
Hanumān sets fire to Laṅkā, etc. Davison Art Center 1972.12.1.5  
fight between R. and Rāvaṇa, etc. Davison Art Center 1972.12.1.6  
return in Puṣpaka and R.’s installation Davison Art Center 1972.12.1.7

Pahāṛī: 2 folios from a Rāmāyaṇa series, late C19, 8¼ × 9¼ in. [21 × 23.5 cm.] –  
R. (with L. behind) fights Rāvaṇa in empty landscape Wisconsin 1983.147  
R. plays *caupaṛ* with S. on canopied terrace Wisconsin 2005.1.29

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**single paintings or drawings** (other than next 3 categories: “various Kāṅgṛā (incl. Kāṅgṛā/ Guler) paintings/drawings after c. 1700”, “various Guler paintings or drawings” and “other paintings or drawings – 19th century onwards”)

Chambā: Death of Daśaratha (drawing), c.1640-50, 31.6 × 18.6 cm. J + K Mittal Mus.76.767

Maṇḍi: Agastya drinking up ocean, c. 1630-45, 23.4 × 36 cm., gouache on Japanese paper   
(ex Mandi royal coll., Sotheby’s 11 July 1973, lot 3170) Fondation Custodia 1973-T.49

Maṇḍi: Agastya's exploits, 1650-60 (Fondation Custodia) *Rām. illustré*: III, 34

Basohli: Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, c. 1660-70, 22.5 × 25.5 cm. (verse from *Rasamañjarī* on verso)  
 V & A: IS.51-1953

Basohli (?): L. pulling thorn from R.’s foot, c. 1680, 17.5 × 26 cm. private collection

Basohli: Hanumān approaches R. + S. + L., C17, 11× 9 cm. Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-62-71

Bilaspur: Daśaratha and Rāma, C17, 22.3 × 33 cm. Birla A-39

Bilaspur: Daśaratha receiving Viśvāmitra, C17, 22 × 31.3 cm. Birla A-41

Bilaspur: Bharata meets R. in forest, late C17, 22.5 × 30.5 cm. Bonhams 25.10.22: 140

Bilaspur: R. + S. + L. walking, c. 1685-90, 15.87 × 22.22 cm. LACMA M.87.278.10

Bilaspur: Rāma fighting a *rākṣasa*, c. 1700-10, 18 × 11.4 / 22 × 15 cm. Sotheby’s 29.03.06: 171

Bilaspur: Hanumān searches for S., c. 1700 (N.C. Mehta Gallery, L.D. Mus., Ahmedabad)  
 *Rām. illustré*: V, 43

Bilaspur: Trijaṭā's dream, c. 1700, 19.5 x 28 cm. Baroda Mus. PG/5A/39  
(ill. at Doshi 1995: 97; *Rām. illustré*: V, 75)

Bilaspur (?): Hanumān walking, c. 1700-20, 21.5 × 15 cm with border  
 Galloway 2006: 130-1, no. 49

Bilaspur(?): R. + L. fight Rāvaṇa, f. 5 from a *daśāvatāra* series, 21.5 × 14.5 cm. with border  
 Galloway, *Asia Week NY 2024, Decorative arts and paintings,* no. 7

Maṇḍi: fierce Hanumān enveloped in flames, c. 1700, attrib. to “Master of Mandi Court”,   
21.9 × 17.0 cm. (ex Alma Latify, Frits Lugt, Francesca Galloway, Sven Gahlin)  
(ill. at *Rām. illustré*: V, 127) Fondation Custodia 2002-T.4

Kulū: woman entertains three visitors, c. 1690-1700 Nat. Gallery, Australia, NGA 89.349

Basohli: R. enthroned, c. 1700 (J. + K. Mittal Mus., Hyderabad) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 10-11

Basohli: Hanumān pays homage to enthroned R + S., early C18, 20 × 31 cm. Nat. Mus. 67.54

Chambā: R. and his brothers, c. 1700, 12 × 17.5 cm / 15.7 × 21 cm. Christie’s online: 516

Chambā: L. pulling thorn from R.’s foot, c. 1710-10, 17.5 × 26 cm. Harvard (Sackler) 2011.97  
(ex Welch coll. [Sotheby’s 31.05.2011 lot. 54]; also ill. at McGill 2016: 79, no. 40)

Jammu: Rāma and Sītā (from a *Rasamañjarī*), c. 1720, 21.9 × 33.7 cm. V & A: IS.116-1960  
(also ill. at McGill 2016: 122, no. 59)

prob. Nūrpur: [from a *Svapnadarśana* series], c. 1700:   
Hanumān, 12.9 × 8.5 / 13.9 × 9.3 cm. MFA 17.2771  
Rāvaṇa enthroned, 13.2 × 8.7 / 14.7 × 9.3 cm. MFA 17.2772

Nurpur: R. + S. enthroned, attrib. to Devīdāsa, c. 1695 (Subhash Kapoor coll.)  
 *Rām. illustré*: I, 12

Nurpur: S. lets down her clothes to *vānaras*, c. 1720 (Lahore Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: III, 131

Nurpur: R. + L. fight Rāvaṇa, c. 1730, 15.5 × 21.5 cm. [fragmentary] Nat. Mus. 76.32

Himachal Pradesh: Sugrīva bows to R., c. 1700-25, 15.3 × 26 /19.4 × 30.5 cm. Baltimore W.868

Bilaspur: Hanumān at Laṅkā, c. 1720, atelier of Raja Ajmer Chand (1712-41), 21.3 × 29 /   
23.5 × 31.4 cm.; shown at Khandalavala n.d., col. pl. L) N. C. Mehta Coll. NCM 273

Bilaspur or Chambā: 1st half C18, Rāma’s departure for exile, 17 × 28.6 / 19 × 31.4 cm.;   
blank verso Rietberg RVI 937

Kulū: Sītā’s purification by fire, c. 1725-30, 18 × 26 cm.  
(ill. at *Image* 386, pp. 73 + 205) J & K Mittal Mus., Hyderabad, 76.222

Kulū/Bahu red-ink drawing: R. + L. march with *vānaras*, C18, 20.4 × 32.8; on verso 2 ll. of verse in red devanāgarī Chiswick 3.5.19: 389

Rajput style: Rāma kills Vālin, c. 1720. Harvard (Sackler) 1958.124

Rajput style: R. + L. meet Hanumān for first time, c. 1720. Harvard (Sackler) 1958.125

Maṇḍi (?): c. 1720, Vibhīṣaṇa + Hanumān bow to R. + L., 36 × 28.7 cm. Christie’s 7.04.06: 416  
R. + L. shooting arrows, c. 1720, 36 × 28.7 cm. Christie’s 7.04.06: 417  
R. + L. shooting arrows, c. 1720, 36 × 28.7 cm. Christie’s 7.04.06: 418

Maṇḍi: Hanumān’s audience with Rāma, c. 1725, 7½” × 12” [= 19 × 30.4 cm] Pal 1976: no. 5

Maṇḍi: R + S. seated and attended by L. + Hanumān, C18, 19.8 × 26.5 cm. Christie’s 9366: 444

probably Maṇḍi: Rāma pierces 7 sāls, c. 1725-50, 21.6 × 35.6 cm. Philadelphia 2004-149-28

[Pahāṛī:] R. + S. enthroned attended by L. + Hanumān, 1725-50, 22.9 × 15.2 / 37.8 × 24.4 cm. Santa Barbara 1994.53.2

Pahāṛī: R. + S. enthroned, attended by L. + Hanumān, surrounded by panels of deities,   
early C18, 29.1 × 25.4 cm. Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-768

Mankot: Hanumān paying homage to R. + S., from a Daśāvatāra series, c. 1700-10,   
16.3 × 23.8 / 19.8 × 27 cm. (Alice Boner coll.) Rietberg RVI 1206

Mankot: Hanumān paying homage to R. + S. (2nd), from a Daśāvatāra series, c. 1700-10,   
16.3 × 23.8 / 19.8 × 27 cm. (Alice Boner coll.) Rietberg RVI 1212

probably Mankot: S. undergoes fire ordeal, c. 1725-30, 17.9 × 26.3 / 20.2 × 29 cm.  
 J + K Mittal Mus. 76.222

Mankot: R. and *vānaras* invade Laṅkā, 1730-40, 25.4 × 34 cm., promised to San Francisco  
 ill. at McGill 2016: 78, no. 39

Mankot: Hanumān worships R. + L., from a *daśāvatāra* series, C18, 14.92 / 20 × 13.5 cm.  
 Dorotheum 2.12.2015, lot.4

Chambā, Aṅgada as R.’s envoy before Rāvaṇa, early C18, 40 × 53 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 49.19/272

Chambā, R. + L. + Hanumān fighting Rāvaṇa, c. 1720, 17.6 × 23 cm. Minneapolis 91.40

Chambā, 2 drawings: Rāvaṇa in chariot and on throne, S. among *vānaras*, c. 1735,  
19.5 × 26.9 and 20.1 × 27.5 cm. [ex Benkaim coll.] Christie’s 16.09.08: 453

Chambā, wedding of R. + S., 1735-45, 14 × 23.8 cm. BM 1923,0716,0.7  
[ill. Ahluwalia 2008: 140, fig. 92 (scan)]

Chambā, drawing: *vānaras* and *rākṣasas* fighting, c. 1725-50, 17.14 × 26.03 / 19.05 × 27.94 cm.  
 LACMA M.72.82.3

Chambā, drawing: *vānaras* and *rākṣasas* fighting, c. 1730-35, 19.2 × 28.6 cm.  
 Philadelphia 2013-68-15

Chambā, drawing: Hanumān’s conflict with Kālanemi, c. 1735, 28.6 × 19.7 cm.  
 Minneapolis 81.116.2

Chambā, drawing: battle scene, c. 1735, 16.8 × 25.7 / 19.7 × 28.6 cm. Brooklyn 80.261.24

?, drawing: Sugrīva anointed by his forces, c. 1735, 20 × 27.6 cm. Brooklyn 81.188.8

Chambā, marriage procession of R. + S., 1735-40, 14.6 × 24.4 / 17.6 × 27.3 cm.  
 V & A IS.168-1952

Chambā: R. + L. fight Rāvaṇa, c. 1750, 10.2 × 13 / 12.8 × 15.5 cm. Rietberg 2012.50

Chambā: drawing: Daśaratha strides through forest, c. 1765 Nat Mus 62.2176

Baśohli: portrait of R. seated on lotus, early C18, 14.8 × 10.2 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 63.1043

Baśohli: freeing of Ahalyā, early C18, 16.7 × 27.3 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 47.110/326

Baśohli: Hanumān pays homage to R. + S., early C18, 20 × 31 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 67.54

Baśohli: R. meets L. after abduction, c. 1730, 20.1 × 31.1 / 21.6 × 31.8 cm. Kapoor Galleries  
(ex R. Hale coll.)

Baśohli (? Mandi): Hanumān in Laṅkā, mid 18th cent., in N.C. Mehta coll.,   
 Gujarat Mus., Ahmedabad: *LK* 4:1

Baśohli: Hanumān before R. + S. + L., c. 1750 Salar Jung Museum, acc. no. 62.71

Basohli: R. + L. + S. beneath tree, 1750, 22.2 × 16.1 cm. Seattle Art Museum 51.54

Pahāṛī (possibly Baśohli): scene from Rāmāyaṇa, c. 1760 Christie’s 16.09.95: 620

Maṇḍi: Rāma + army attack Rāvaṇa [+ Sītā!], c. 1750, 15.7 × 22.2 cm. San Diego 1990.1127  
(ex Binney coll.; cf. Binney 1968: 88, no. 66)

Maṇḍi: Rāvaṇa challenges Rāma’s army, c. 1750, 11.1 × 16.5 / 15.6 × 19.7   
(also ill. at McGill 2016: 238, no. 127) Brooklyn 1994.11.1

Maṇḍi: Hanumān worships R. + S. seated on stool, mid C18, 20 × 12.7 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 11.12.73: 389

[Pahāṛī (?):] R. + S. enthroned attended by L. and Hanumān, c. 1750-1800, 20.3 × 14 cm.  
 Yale University Art Gallery 1974.91.6

Basohli (? Mandi): *vānaras*, led by Hanumān and Jāmbavān, investigate a cave, c. 1760,   
8¼ × 1315/16 [20.9 × 35.4 cm.]; “further leaves in many American private collections”   
 Heeramaneck coll. (1966) no. 184

Basohli (?): L. brings slaughtered deer to R. + S., c. 1780 or later, 24 × 17.7 cm.  
 Christie’s 4.10.11: 83

Maṇḍi: R. + S. enthroned, attended by Hanumān and female courtiers, c. 1770,   
23.3 × 16.5 / 30.5 × 23.5 cm. CSMVS 2009.134

Maṇḍi, Hanumān carrying R. + S. over mountains, 1775, 23.5 × 15.6 / 29.2 × 20.6 cm.  
[= Sotheby’s 14.11.02: 73] Walter coll. 73

Maṇḍi, Rāma fights Rāvaṇa, c. 1790, 14.8 × 20.9 cm. Christie’s 20.03.12: 218

Maṇḍi, Rāvaṇa approaching Kailāśa, c. 1790-1800, 30 × 16 / 32 × 17 cm. Nat. Mus. 60.1662   
[on website; also in Gupta 1985: 126, no. 161; Daljeet 2002: 94]

Maṇḍi, R.’s coronation procession, c. 1800, 33 × 23.7 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 49.19/119

Maṇḍi: Viśvāmitra brings R. + L. to Sarayū, c. 1800, 29.5 × 42.5 cm., inscr. on verso with Hindi text and no. *37* (ex private German coll., ex Mandi Royal Library)  
 Roseberys 12.06.19: 129

Maṇḍi (?): L. cooks meal as R. + S. sit before hut, c. 1800, school of Sajñu, 18 × 13 cm. Christie’s 15.10.96: 18

Maṇḍi: gods etc. worship R. + S., c. 1820, 25.2 × 33.9 cm. Christie’s 21.03.07: 357

Maṇḍi: Indrajit in sky shooting R. + L. with *nāgapāśa,* c. 1820-30, school of Sajñu,   
19.1 × 28.5 / 21 × 30.4 cm. V&A IS.242-1951

Maṇḍi: *vānaras* surround wounded L. as Hanuman flies off, c. 1830, 22 × 32.2 cm.  
[ill. at Chakraverty 1996: 87] C.L. Bharany coll.

Raghugarh: R. welcomed after victory, c. 1720, 19.5 × 26.5 cm. Sotheby’s 20.10.95: 133

Raghugarh: Rāma on horseback, 1750-75, 17⅜" × 14⅝" Walter coll. 42  
[ill. at Pal 1978: 130-1, no. 42]

Raghugarh: Rāma receives adoration, c. 1750-70, 17.8 × 30.5 cm. Sotheby’s 15.3.17: 275

Chambā (?): birth of R. and brothers, mid C18, 21 × 29.5 cm. (ex Bickford coll.)  
[misdescribed in Christie’s cat.] Christie’s 9.11.77: 71

Chambā: R. + L. fight two *rākṣasas,* watched by ascetic (? = fight with Mārīca and Subāhu), mid C18, 13.9 × 24.1 cm. Sotheby’s 17.07.78: 151

Chambā: marriage of Bharata and Māṇḍavī, c. 1760, 26.7 × 37 cm. (ex Binney coll., ex Hodgkin coll.; Binney 1968: 107, no. 83) San Diego 1990.1194

Chambā (drawing): Bharata pays homage to R.’s *pādukās*, c. 1765, 22 × 33 cm., caption in  
top margin Nat. Mus. 62.2244

Chambā (drawing): *vānaras* and *rākṣasa* fight, c. 1769, 20.6 × 28 cm.  
(ex Welch coll.) Sotheby’s 31.05.11: 63B

Chambā: Rāma frees Ahalyā, c. 1765 (ill. at *Chambā* fig. 4) B.S. Mus., Chambā

Chambā: Hanumān worships R. + S. enthroned on lotus flower, attended by L.  
 Sotheby’s 11.12.73: 364

Chambā, R. + S. attended by L. and Hanumān, c. 1765, 9" × 6½"   
(Archer 1976 (*Visions*): 22-23, no. 13) Archer coll.

Chambā, R. + S. + L. worshipped by Hanumān, c.1765-70, 25.8 × 16.8 / 33.7 × 23 cm.  
(also at Peerless slide 28) V&A IS.33–1949

Chambā, *pāyasa-*bearer emerges from sacrificial fire, c. 1770, 21.8 × 32.3 / 22.5 × 32.9 cm.  
 San Diego 1990.1195

Chambā, R. + L. take leave of Daśaratha, c. 1770, 21.1 × 32.1 / 22.1 × 33.1 cm.  
 San Diego 1990.1196

Chambā, R. searching for S. finds Jaṭāyus, c. 1770, 25 × 35.8 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 74.73

Chambā: Paraśurāma killing Arjuna Kārtavīrya, c. 1775-80, 23.5 × 31.30 cm.  
[also ill. at Ahluwalia 2008: 160, no. 107 (scan)] BM 1966,0725,0.3

Chambā, Rāma’s court, c. 1775-1800, 14.3 × 17.8 / 15.7 × 19.4 cm. LACMA 1999.127.36  
(ex Greenough coll.)

Chambā: R. + L. bemoan loss of S. before hut, c. 1790, 21.8 × 32.3 / 27.5 × 32.3 cm.  
(ill. at Ohri 1975: 183, fig. 66) Bhuri Singh Mus. 08.277

Chambā, L. prepares food, S. makes garland, late C18, 15.5 × 23 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 49.19/126

Chambā, R. discusses with Sugrīva, Vibhīṣaṇa and Hanumān, late C18, 40 × 53.4 cm.  
 (B) Nat. Mus. 60.130

Chambā, Garuḍa pays homage after freeing R. + L. from *nāgapāśa,* late C18,   
38.5 × 50.2 cm. (also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 115) (B) Nat. Mus. 49.209

Chambā: Bharat milāp, late C18 ?? Bhuri Singh Mus.  
(ill. at Ohri 1975 plate I)

Chambā (?): R. + L. + Hanumān watch Śabarī’s immolation, c. 1820 BM 1925,1016,0.5

Chambā (?): R. going into battle on elephant, late 18th C, 22.8 × 31.5 cm. BM 1925,1016,0.6

Chambā, Rāvaṇa abducts S. as Jaṭāyus attacks, late C18, 23 × 33.8 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 71.137

Chambā, Tārā + Aṅgada receive L., late C18, 25.2 × 35.7 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 75.507

Chambā: armed L. leaves S. to aid R., c. 1790, 24.6 × 35.6 cm. Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-75-20  
(also ill. at Varma 1990, I, no.1)

Chambā, R. + S. enthroned with L. + Hanumān, c. 1790, 14.5 × 23 / 20 × 28.3 cm.  
 Francesca Galloway, Asia Week New York, 2014, no. 23

Chambā: *vānaras* cross *setu,* 1800-10, 21.6 × 31.7 / 26.4 × 36.4 cm. Christie’s 22.03.23: 381  
(ex Latifi coll; ex private coll.)

Chambā: *vānaras* entertain R. + L., 1800-10, 18 × 26 / 24.4 × 32.3 cm.  
(ex Sotheby’s 19.03.14: 11; ex private coll., Europe) Forge and Lynch 2019: 29

Chambā or Baśohli: R. + S. enthroned, attended by Hanumān + L., C19, 18.4 × 27.5 cm.  
 Chiswick 16.07.21: 25a

Nurpur, Vasiṣṭha with R. + L.; hunter killing *krauñca,* C18, 14 × 21 cm. Sotheby’s 24.10.18: 100

Nurpur, Rama giving audience, c. 1765, 23.7 × 15 / 40 × 28.6 cm. (ex Catherine and Ralph Benkaim coll.) (also ill. *Rām. illustré*: VII, 91) Cleveland 2018.117

Nurpur, Śūrpaṇakhā’s arrival, late C18, 23 × 29 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 60.1549  
(also ill. *Rām. illustré*: III, 47)

Bilaspur, R. + L. fight Rāvaṇa, perhaps from an avatāra set, c. 1750, 21.2 × 15.8 /   
26.8 × 19.4 cm. (ex Heeramaneck coll.) Cleveland 1953.357  
[others in this *avatāra* set at Archer 1973: II, 181, in Seattle Mus. [H. Trubner et al., *Asiatic Art in the Seattle Art Museum* (Seattle: 1973) no. 47], Brooklyn Mus. 41.1026, Archer + Binney 1968, no. 74]

Bilaspur: Hanumān, c. 1750 (Rietberg, Boner Coll.) *Rām. illustré*: IV, 144

Bilaspur: meeting of R. and Bharata, C18, 22.5 × 30.5 / 43 × 51 cm.; *ṭākri* inscr. towards top left (ex Sotheby’s 17.12.69: 166; private London coll.; Chiswick 29.10.20: 352)  
 Bonhams 5/06.24: 177

Bilaspur: Indra praises Rāma for his victory, c. 1765, 28.5 × 36.5 cm. San Diego 1990.1171

Bilaspur, Vibhīṣaṇa seeks refuge with R., c. 1760, 21 × 32 cm. Alex Renard cat. 2016: 3

Bilaspur, vānaras disrupt Indrajit’s sacrifice, c. 1760, 21 × 32 cm. Alex Renard cat. 2016: 4

Bilaspur: Viśvāmitra’s sacrifice (with Mārīca and Subāhu), c. 1760, 21.5 × 32.3 / 22.8 × 33 cm. (ex Tandan coll.) Saffron Art 14.12.15: 29

Bilaspur, Indra praises Rāma for his victory, c. 1765, 28.5 × 36.5 cm. San Diego 1990.1171

Bilaspur, R. + S. + L. take leave of Kaikeyī / greet her on return, c. 1780, 21.2 × 32.8 /   
25.7 × 36 cm. (Binney coll.) San Diego 1990.1172

Bilaspur, Hanumān as small monkey before S., c. 1770, 30.5 × 40.5 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 61.1478

Bilaspur, L. swooning in R.’s lap, c. 1775, 22.23 × 32.39 / 26.04 × 36.83 cm. LACMA M.81.209

Bilaspur: illustration of Rāmāyaṇa (? – group bearing provisions in landscape), c. 1770  
 Salar Jung Mus. 72.30

Bilaspur: R. anoints Vibhīṣaṇa (?), c.1780, 21.2 × 32.8 cm. Sotheby’s 20.11.86: 145

Kulū, Hanumān worships enthroned R. + S., late C18, 17 × 25.7 cm. Bonhams 24.04.12: 294

Garhwal, R. + S. + L. beside a well, c. 1780-90, 23.7 × 15.2 cm. BM 1923,0728,0.1

Garhwal: R. + L. in cave at night, c. 1780 Tandan 1982, pl. XLIX

Garhwal: courtesans visit Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, C18, 30.7 × 24 cm.  
 Indian Museum, Kolkata R.13290/S.614

Pahāṛī, Virādha attacks R + L. (drawing), 1730-40, 20 × 27.3 cm. Berkeley 1984.13

Pahāṛī, Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa (drawing), c. 1740s, 21.2 × 33 cm. Berkeley 1984.14

Pahāṛī, L. pulling thorn from R.’s foot, late C18, 22.8 × 16.5 / 23.5 × 17.8 cm. Emory  
(ex Sotheby’s 21.03.12: 209)

Pahāṛī, L. pulling thorn from R.’s foot, C18, 21 × 15.2 cm.  
 Indian Museum, Kolkata R14918/S908

Pahāṛī: R. pining for S., C18, 29.5 × 24 cm. Indian Museum, Kolkata  
[ill. at Aitken 2022: 54]

Pahāṛī: demise of the demons, c. 1770 Christie’s 16.09.95: 615

Pahāṛī drawing: Kumbhakarṇa fighting *vānaras,* c. 1780 Nat. Mus. 58.54/1277

Pahāṛī drawing: R. talks with Nārada (l.), Vasiṣṭha with Daśaratha (r.) [figures captioned],  
C18, 12.8 × 8.4´´ [unrelated picture and text on verso] Nat. Mus. 58.54/1284

Pahāṛī drawing: R. + S. enthroned, attended by L. + Bharata + Śatrughna, C18, 31 × 25.4 cm. Nat. Mus. 58.52/1292

[?] drawing: R. + L. + SugrIva in conference [i.e. sending out of search parties], folio 204,   
late C18–early C19, 20.5 × 32 / 24.8 × 34.6 cm. Michigan 1975/2.149

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**various Kāṅgṛā (incl. Kāṅgṛā/Guler) paintings/drawings after c. 1700**

7 drawings: Daśaratha kills ascetic boy; Daśaratha in Kaikeyī’s boudoir; Bharata + Śatrughna return to Ayodhyā; exiles at Bharadvāja’s *āśrama*; in Citrakūṭa forest; R. pierces 7 sāls; Daśaratha’s grief,watching R.’s departure), C18  
 Seth Kasturbhai Lalbhai coll., Ahmedabad

2 sketches attrib. to Mānaku, c. 1730, 21.8 × 32.3 cm. Christie’s 20.03.12: 325

death of Rāvaṇa, 18th century, 29 × 36 cm. Roseberys 23.10.17: 179

R. + *vānaras* battling Rāvaṇa’s army, C18, 20.5 × 28 cm. Israel Mus. B78.1147

drawing: R. on horseback, attended by L. + Hanumān + *vānaras*, 11.6 × 9.3 in.; on verso: 7½ lines of Hindi Nat. Mus. 47.110/1546

Rāvaṇa has S. placed in *aśokavana,* c18, 14.3 × 10.2 in. Nat. Mus. 51.207/2

Ṛśyaśṛṅga decoyed by courtesans, C18, 27.9 × 17.1 cm. Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-317

R. + S. enthroned under canopy, attended by L. + Hanumān + 2 devotees, C18, 33 × 20.3 cm.  
 Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-449

Rāvaṇa in his palace and going out in chariot, 2nd half 18th cent., 22.7 × 31.2 cm. Princeton University Art Museum y1930-309

L. brings dead deer to R. + S. under tree, c. 1775, 29.2 × 19.7 cm. Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-626

Daśaratha finds Kaikeyī in *krodhāgāra,* Guler/Kangra c.1775-80 (San Diego, Binney coll.)  
 *Rām. illustré*: II, 33

bending of the bow, c. 1775-80, 20 × 29 cm. BM OA 1948,1009,0.124  
[also ill. at Archer 1952: 8-9, pl. 3; Ahluwalia 2008: 156-7, fig. 104; *Rām. illustré*: I, 190]

Bharata and the empty palace, c. 1775-80, 25 × 36 cm. Nat. Gallery, Australia, NGA 90.1265  
(also at *Rām. illustré* II, 231)

R. + S. attended by rājā Jagat Prakash of Simur, late C18, 9⅞ × 7⅞ in. Wisconsin 69.28.15

drawing: Rāvaṇa’s defeat, late C18, 23 × 31.5 cm. Alexis Renard 2019 cat. no. 36

R. wins S., Guler/Kāṅgṛā, c. 1775-80 Himachal State Museum  
(ill. at Ohri 1991 col. pl. G; *Rām. illustré*: I, 190)

wives mourn over Daśaratha’s corpse, Guler/Kangra, c. 1775-80 (private coll.)  
 *Rām. illustré* II, 154

Bharata’s arrival at Ayodhyā, Guler/Kangra, c. 1775-80 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré* II, 160

Sumantra returns to Ayodhyā, Guler/Kangra, c. 1775-80 (CSMVS) *Rām. illustré*: II, 116

R. + S. + L. dress hair in *jaṭā,* Guler/Kangra, c. 1775-80, 20.2 × 30.8 cm.   
(ill. at *Rām. illustré*: II, 119; part only at Ahuja 2013: 276, fig.324) CSMVS 89.10/1

L. guards R. + S. by night, Guler/Kangra, c. 1775-80 (Smith gift) Brooklyn 80.181  
(also *Rām. illustré*: II, 115)

R. + S. + L. in forest, c.1775-80, 24.8 × 35.7 cm. [R., seated on hillock. adjusts S.’s hair as L. comes with dead deer, fire burning near hut behind; Bharata’s army on l. across river]  
(ill. at *Rām. illustré* II, 197; Cummins 2011: 165, no. 79) Ramesh and Urmil Kapoor coll.

L. in tree sees Bharata's army, Guler/Kangra, c. 1775-80 (Nat. Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: II, 201

enthronement of sandals, Guler/Kangra, c. 1775-80 (Nat. Mus.) *Rām. illustré* II, 232

exiles leave hermitage, Guler/Kangra, c. 1775-80 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: II, 241

R. fights rākṣasas, Guler/Kangra, c. 1775-80 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: III, 66

R. + L. seated beside r. Pampā, Guler/Kangra, c. 1775-80 (J. + K. Mittal Mus., Hyderabad) *Rām. illustré*: III, 171

R. recognises S.'s garment, Guler/Kangra, c. 1775-80 (BKB) *Rām. illustré*: IV, 29

Hanumān meets Sītā and sets fire to Laṅkā, Guler/Kāṅgṛā, 1775-1810, 24.1 × 35.6 cm.  
(Judy Wilbur collection) ill. at McGill 2016: 176-7, no. 90

Vibhīṣaṇa kneels to Rāma and is anointed by Lakṣmaṇa, 1775-1800,   
20.6 × 30.2 / 24.9 × 34.9 cm. Cornell 87.011.002

baby twins at Vālmīki's *āśrama*, Guler/Kangra, c. 1775-80 Bhuri Singh Mus., Chambā  
[Ohri 1975 plate II; *Rām. illustré*: VII, 130-1 (details: 9 + 128)]

Sītā greets Lakṣmaṇa in sage’s hut, c. 1780-90, 20.9 × 31 cm. Binney coll.  
[ill. at *MARG* 1986: 101, fig. 6]

Ravana and the Asuras [sic], c. 1780-1800, 29.4 × 38.9 cm. Christie’s 31.03.04: 229

R. + S. enthroned in forest landscape, late C18, 22.7 × 14.8 cm. Fitzwilliam PD.101-1948

R. + S. + L. converse with ascetics in *āśrama,* c. 1775-1800, 26 x 18.4 cm. Coomaraswamy coll.  
(ill. in Pal + Glynn 1976: 68, no. 57)

R. + L. + Viśvāmitra on bank of Śonā (?), c. 1775-80 (coll. Navin Kumar, N.Y.)  
 *Rām. illustré*: I, 126

first meeting of R. + S., c. 1780, 24 × 35.8 / 28 × 39 cm. (ex Doris Wiener inv.no. P.688,   
ex Carter Burden coll. ) Sotheby’s 27.03.91: 70 = Christie’s 10.06.13: 25

R. breaks Śiva’s now, late C18 Lahore Museum E.7

S. in *aśokavana* (detail), c. 1780 (Chandigarh Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: V, 55

S. in despair at abandonment, c. 1780 (Lahore Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 109

R. kills Tāṭakā, watched by Viśvāmitra, 21.4 × 31.8 cm. (private collection)  
 McGill 2016: 49-50, no. 14

Hanumān finds S. in *aśokavana* (drawing + watercolour), c. 1780-90, attrib. to Nainsukh,   
20.6 × 31.6 / 26 × 37 cm. (also *Rām. illustré*: V, 91) MFA 17.2435

Indrajit attacking Hanumān as he fights guards (drawing + watercolour),   
c. 1790, 26.1 × 37 cm. (also *Rām. illustré*: V, 108) MFA 17.2436

preliminary sketch for 17.2436, c. 1775-1800, 21.2 × 28.3 cm. MFA 17.2447

Vālin’s funeral pyre, c. 1780 (also ill. *Rām. illustré*: IV, 66) Met. Mus. 2004.367

exiles in Pañcavaṭī, c. 1780 (Chandigarh Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: III, 44

Kuśa and Lava face protectors of sacrificial horse, c. 1780, 43 × 33 cm. Ind. Mus. 87.780

Hanumān and Jambavān embrace beside ocean, c. 1780, 19.5 × 13.5 cm., attrib. to 1st generation after Nainsukh Alexis Renard 2013 cat. no. 18

rāga Rāma, c. 1785-90, 26.2 × 17.7 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 87.1211

rejoicing at birth of Daśaratha’s sons, 1780-1800 (Philadelphia) *Rām. illustré*: I, 91

Daśaratha distributes gifts, c. 1780-1800, 27.6 × 20 cm Philadelphia 1959-93-85

Rāma testing the bow (drawing), late C18 BM 1926,0616,0.3 (*Rām. illustré*: I, 189)

R. wins S., c. 1780 (British Museum) *Rām. illustré*: I, 191

Kāṇgṛā or Chambā: Daśaratha garlands seated R, with 3 brothers seated behind, late C18,   
16 × 25.2 / 18.4 × 27.5 cm. Sotheby’s 16.10.96: 109

S. garlands R. after he breaks bow, late C18, 26.5 × 31.5 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 58.54/1074

R. + S. + L. in forest, c. 1790, 20.2 × 13.7 cm. San Diego 1990.1280  
(skinning blackbuck for sacrifice – *Rām. illustré*: II, 135)

L. with dead deet faces R. + S., c. 1790, 18.5 × 12.7 cm. Ind. Mus. 14512

R. + L. fight Khara’s army, late C18, 27.5 × 41.5 cm. Waddington’s 2.12.13: 43

R.’s *abhiṣeka,* C18 N.C. Mehta coll. 402 (Parimoo 2013: 267)

R.’s *abhiṣeka* procession, late C18 N.C. Mehta coll. 209 (Parimoo 2013: 266-67)

R. + L. with *vānaras* at *setubandha,* late C18 N.C. Mehta 404 (Parimoo 2013: 264-66)

R. + L. confer with *vānaras*, late C18, 20.5 × 30.5 / 25.3 × 35.5 cm. Bonhams 11.09.12: 89

L. pulls thorn from R.’s foot, late C18, 22.8 × 16.5 / 23.5 × 17.8 cm. Sotheby’s 21.3.2012: 209

Nārada + Brahmā arrive at Vālmīki’s *āśrama*, c. 1790 (Pierpont Morgan Lib., N.Y.)  
 *Rām. illustré*: I, 51

Sugrīva sends Hanumān to R. + L., Guler/Kāṅgṛā, c. 1790 (private coll.)  
 *Rām. illustré*: IV, 23 (detail: 20-21)

death of Vālin, Guler/Kāṅgṛā, c. 1790 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: IV, 61

Hanumān sets Laṅkā on fire, c. 1790, attrib. to Nainsukh, 20.4 × 30.8 / 26 × 36.7 cm. MFA 17.2437

Hanumān returns to *vānaras*, Guler/Kāṅgṛā, c. 1790 (coll. E. + K. Seitz) *Rām. illustré*: V, 140

Rāvaṇa in chariot, Guler/Kāṅgṛā, c. 1790, private coll. *Rām. illustré*: VI, 9

walls of Laṅkā (detail), Guler/Kāṅgṛā, c. 1790 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 18-19

R. + L. + *vānaras* cross ocean, Guler/Kāṅgṛā, c. 1790 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 25

Vibhīṣaṇa leaves, rebuffed by Rāvaṇa, Guler/Kāṅgṛā, c. 1790 (private coll.)  
 *Rām. illustré*: VI, 41

R. threatens ocean, Guler/Kāṅgṛā, c.1790, Chandigarh Mus. *Rām. illustré*: VI, 51

Sāgara appears to R., Guler/Kāṅgṛā, c. 1790, coll. Ashwath + Malika Mehra  
 *Rām. illustré*: VI, 53

Hanumān kills Dhūmrākṣa, Guler/Kāṅgṛā, c. 1790, private coll. *Rām. illustré*: VI, 119

battle scene, Guler/ Kāṅgṛā, c. 1790, private coll. *Rām. illustré*: VI, 129

R. destroys Rāvaṇa's chariot, Guler/Kāṅgṛā, c. 1790, private coll. *Rām. illustré*: VI, 135

Kumbhakarṇa bows before Rāvaṇa, Guler/Kāṅgṛā, c. 1790, private coll. *Rām. illustré*: VI, 149

Sugrīva fights Kumbakarṇa, Guler/Kāṅgṛā, c. 1790, Mittal Mus., Hyderabad  
 *Rām. illustré*: VI, 161

Hanumān decapitates Triśiras, Guler/Kāṅgṛā, c. 1790, coll. L. Habighorst, Koblenz *Rām. illustré*: VI, 173

Indrajit lays low R. + L. + *vānaras*, Guler/Kāṅgṛā, c. 1790, private coll. *Rām. illustré*: VI, 183

Indrajit offers fire sacrifice, c. 1790 (Pierpont Morgan Lib., N.Y.) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 211

Lakṣmaṇa decapitates Indrajit, c. 1790 (private coll.)

Lakṣmaṇa decapitates Indrajit (Kāṅgṛā/Guler, c. 1790 private coll., Belgium   
[ill. at Ahuja 2013: 258, fig.296; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 224-5]

R. receives Mātali's aid, Guler/Kāṅgṛā, c. 1790 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 249+250

Hanumān revives R. + L. with herbs, c. 1790 Met. Mus. 1987.424.13  
(also *Rām. illustré*: VI, 186 and McGill 2016: 86-87, no. 44)

Bharata shoots at Hanumān as he flies over with herb-mountain, 19.2 × 28.5 cm.  
 Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin, I 5188

Rāvaṇa receives a *rākṣasa* general, c. 1790-1800, 21.8 × 32.1 cm. Ackland Mus.

R.’s encounter with Paraśurāma, Kāṅgṛā/Guler, c. 1795-1800, 21.3 × 32.4 cm. Ackland Mus.

Pahāṛī, gate of Laṅkā (?) (drawing), 1800 or earlier, 17.2 × 18.9 cm. MFA 17.2758  
 [also at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 234; study for next]

Rāvaṇa sallies out of Laṅkā, Guler/Kangra, c. 1790 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 235

*vānaras* fight Rāvaṇa's army, c. 1790 (Mus. As. Kunst, Berlin) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 237

Rāvaṇa's wives lament his death, Guler/Kangra, c. 1790 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 275

R. + S. etc. set off in Puṣpaka, Guler/Kangra, c. 1790 (E. + K. Seitz coll.) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 296-7

Viṣṇu appears to other gods, Guler/Kangra, c. 1790 (BKB) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 24

Hanuman flying back with herb mountain, Kāṅgṛā/Guler, c. 1790 (private coll., Belgium)  
 Ahuja 2013: 258, fig.296

Hanumān worships enthroned R + S., 1790-1810, 21.8 × 13.3 / 22.6 × 15.2 cm.  
 Rijksmuseum RP-T-1993-362

Hanumān revives R. + L. with herbs, c. 1790 Met. Mus. 1987.424.13  
(also *Rām. illustré*: VI, 186)

drawing: breaking of the bow, 1790-1820, 35 × 28 cm., colour indications on recto  
 Wereld Mus. RV-3025-18

R.’s installation, 1800-20, 27.4 × 20.8 cm., 6 ll. of nāgarī on verso Wereld Mus. RV-3025-19

courtesans visit Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, c. 1800, 23 × 17.3 cm. Sans Francisco ??

mt. Maināka offers Hanumān help, c. 1800, 25.4 × 35.6 cm. Virginia Mus. 2008.20  
(also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: V, 16)

Viśvāmitra demands R. from Daśaratha, c. 1800, 27.5 × 38.5 cm. Bonhams 23.10.18: 133

a palace scene, c. 1800, 26.5 × 41.5 cm. Roseberys 22.10.19: 334

building the bridge to Laṅkā (drawing), c. 1800 Met. Mus. 2008.359.7

S. in *aśokavana* and Rāvaṇa in his palace, c. 1800, 32.1 × 46.4 / 39.7 × 54 cm.  
 Detroit Institute of Arts 70.729

Rāvaṇa enthroned, c. 1800 (Nat. Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: III, 79

Rāvaṇa receives his spies, c. 1800, 28.2 × 41 cm. C.L. Bharany coll.  
(ill. at Chakraverty 1996: 86)

Sītā garlanding Rāma at *svayaṃvara* (drawing), c. 1800, 23.7 × 33.4 cm.  
(ex Rothenstein collection) V&A IS.138-1951

R. + S. + L. at Atri’s *āśrama,* c. 1800, 23.5 × 36.5 cm. Amir Mohtashemi, no. A4523

L. shoots game, with R. + S. under tree (drawing) c. 1800  
(ill. at Khandalavala 1958, fig. 53) Kasturbhai Lalbhai coll., Ahmedabad

women mourn exiles’ departure, c. 1800 (Chandigarh Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: II, 103

R. goes to pursue golden deer, c. 1800 (Lahore Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: III, 100  
[R. and deer shown twice]

S. in *aśokavana,* c. 1800 (Nat. Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: V, 76

Rāma leaving the palace in chariot, c. 1800, 24.5 × 30.3 cm. Sotheby’s **18.11.13: 125**

R. + S. + L. at Bharadvāja’s hermitage, c. 1800, 22 × 30 cm. Sotheby’s **18.11.13: 126**

R. + L. riding Garuḍa to Laṅkā, c. 1800-10, 14.9 × 20.8 / 19.6 × 27.6 cm. Sotheby’s 9.10.13: 207

battle scene, c. 1800, 20.3 × 30.4 / 25.3 × 35.5 cm. Christie’s 11.10.79: 100

battle scene, c. 1800, 20 × 30.2 cm. Christie’s 1212: 215 = Christie’s 1552: 240

R. + S. enthroned + Hanumān, by Kāma, son of Nainsukh, c. 1800, 24.7 × 18.5 cm.  
(ex Binney coll., ex Ramesh Kapoor) San Diego 1990.1283

R. on horseback surrounded by *vānaras,* c. 1800, 25 × 22.3 / 20.2 × 15.8 cm. IOL Add.Or. 20 (also as Peerless 27)

siege of Laṅkā (late 18th-19th cent., in ACM, Singapore) Krishnan 2010: 63

celebration at birth of Rāma and brothers (drawing), c. 1800, 25.1 × 18.4 cm.  
(also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: I, 92-93) Nelson-Atkins Gallery, Kansas: 34-111

preparations for *aśvamedha,* beginning of C19 (Nat. Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 157

R. sending horse off, beginning of C19 (Nat. Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 159

R. + S. + L. (thrice) prostrate before Bharata + Śatrughna and queens, early C19,   
23.7 × 43.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 80.630

Sugrīva watches L. kick away Dundubhi’s skeleton and R. shoot arrow through 7 *sāl* trees, early C19, 20.8 × 30.9 cm.; figures named in *devanāgarī*  Sotheby’s 20.06. 83 = Sotheby’s 15.10.84: 64

R. + S. take part in rituals after return to Ayodhyā, c. 1800-10, 28 × 36.2 / 34 × 43.5 cm., figures identified in *devanāgarī*; on verso: *daśamapatraṃ 10* and 3 ll. of text  
(ex Doris Weiner Gallery, ex Carter Burden coll.) Sotheby’s 20.09.21: 396

L. removes thorn from R.’s foot as S. fans him, c. 1800-10, 20.8 × 14.9 / 28.6 × 22.7 cm.  
(ex Douglas Barrett coll.; Christie’s 23.04.12: 313; also ill. at Lerner 1984: 172-3, no. 65)  
[promised to Met. Mus., NY] Kronos cat. 93

R. + L. + S. before ascetics (drawing), c. 1800-25, 25.72 × 18.41 cm. LACMA M.77.154.32

R. meeting Hanumān, c. 1800-25, H: 8 7/16"; W: 12¾" [21.5 × 32.3 cm.]  
 Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, Colorado Springs 1972.38

(drawing) fight between Vālin and Sugrīva, 1800-30 Wereld Mus. RV-3025-2

Rāvaṇa abducts S., c. 1810, 23.5 × 32.4 / 34.9 × 48.2 cm. Harvard (Sackler) 1984.478  
[also ill. at McGill 2016: 124-5, no. 61]

Bharata with queens + Vasiṣṭha arrive at Citrakūṭa, c.1810, 34 × 26 cm. BKB 5460

R. pines for S., c. 1810, 39.4 × 28.9 cm. Ind. Mus. 14875/S.473

Sītā at Vālmīki’s hermitage (?), c. 1810, 22.7 × 29.7 cm. Minneapolis 91.24.2

Rāvaṇa molests Rambhā, c. 1810, 24.1 × 34.9 cm. [no picture] Sotheby’s 15.10.01: 172

R. standing before seated Vasiṣṭha, c. 1810-20, 27.7 × 36.9 / 34 × 43.5 cm.  
[? ill. to *Yogavāsiṣṭha*] Sotheby’s 22.03.07: 163

Agni returns S. to R., c. 1810 (Nat. Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 290 (detail: 285)

S.'s despair at abandonment (detail), c. 1810-15 (Nat. Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 110-11

feasting at Rāma’s birth, c. 1810, 23.5 × 34.7 / 27.7 × 39.4 cm. Cleveland 2018.121

Bharata departs in search of Rāma, c. 1810-20, 18.4 × 23.5 / 25 × 29.5 cm. (Kāṅgṛā or Mandi)  
 Sotheby’s 17.3.15: 1168 = Sotheby’s 16.3.16: 850

Daśaratha in palace and (top r.) consulting Vasiṣṭha, school of Purkhu c. 1810-20,   
26 × 36.8 / 38.1 × 46.4 cm., figures identified in *devanāgarī*; on verso: *Ayodhyā* and *1* Bonhams 20.03.24: 802

R. releases Ahalyā from stone, early C19, 20.3 × 16.5 cm. Salar Jung Mus. XXXVII-26

R. + S. enthroned, attended by 3 brothers, worshipped by Vibhīśaṇa (?), Hanumān, etc., early C19, 18.3 × 14.1 / 19.6 × 15.6 cm. Salar Jung Mus. XXXVII-75

R. + L. seated in cave, 1st ¼ of C19, 26.5 × 33 cm Kanoria coll. VKK 120  
 (ill. at Goswamy 1986: 128, no. 89; *Rām. illustré*: IV, 76-77)

R. + S. + L. arrive at Bharadvāja’s *āśrama,* c. 1820, 17.8 × 28 / 24.2 × 34.2 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 20.9.21: 395

R. seated in cave, being consoled by L., c. 1820, 23.5 × 17.2 / 34 × 23.5 cm.  
 Bonhams 23.10.18: 135

R. + L. + Hanumān watch Śabarī’s immolation, c. 1820 BM 1925,1016, 0.5

Daśaratha receives sages (l.), a queen in her chamber (r.), c. 1820, 22 × 34 cm.  
 Spink, April 1976: 184

R. + L. entertained by *vānaras*, c. 1820, 20.6 × 28.5 / 24.2 × 31.1 cm. Sotheby’s 19.3.14: 11

Lava + Kuśa at Vālmīki’s *āśrama*, c. 1820, 26.7 × 19 / 30.5 × 22.5 cm. Sotheby’s 19.3.14: 13

Lava + Kuśa at Vālmīki’s *āśrama*, c. 1820, 27.9 × 37.1 / 34 × 43.8 cm, 13 ll. of *devanāgarī* on verso Sotheby’s 22.03.02: 66

Lava + Kuśa fighting R.’s army, Vālmīki’s *āśrama* top left, c. 1820, 33.5 × 42.5 cm.  
 Bonhams 23.10.18: 130

return of R. for *abhiṣeka,* early C19 Lahore Mus. E.18

Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa (detail), c. 1820 (Lahore Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: VII, 47

R., atttended by Vibhīṣaṇa and other *vānaras,* receives L. + Sugrīva + Hanumān, c. 1825,  
21.7 × 31.4 cm. Cornell 2010.019

R. on horseback with army, early C19, 23.9 × 19.4 cm. Fitzwilliam PD.107-1948

drawing: R. + S. enthroned, attended by L. + Hanumān, early C19, 13.9 × 17.7 cm.  
(ex Barbara Janeff, ex Paul Wonner) Bonhams NY 17.09.14: 117  
[also ill. at Del Bontà 2007: 46-47, no. 21]

drawing: R. + L. + S. prepare meal in forest, c. 1820-30, 9.3 × 13.5 cm. (ex Sotheby’s 7 July 1975, lot 209, Sven Gahlin, Carlos von Hasselt) Fondation Custodia 1975-T.16  
(Fond. Custodia 1986: 58, no. 82 + pl. 76)

drawing: elephant tramples Kumbhakarṇa to wake him, C19, 27 × 31 cm.  
 Wereld Mus. RV-3025-10

Rāvaṇa at Laṅkā (composite scene), C19 Albert Hall, Jaipur, 3868 P157

suitor attempts to lift Śiva’s bow, C19, 20.5 × 29 cm. Chiswick 28.04.23: 332

birth of R. + brothers, c. 1820-30, 25.1 × 34 / 29.9 × 38.5 cm. Cleveland Mus. 1953.13

R. + S. in forest, c. 1820-30, 20 × 29 cm. (Mildred Archer 1967, no. 45) Archer coll. A130

R. + S. + L. in forest, c. 1820-30, 20 × 29 cm. (M. Archer 1970, no. 30 Archer coll. A327

L. mutilates Śūrpaṇakhā, c. 1820-30, 20 × 29 / 24 × 32.5 cm.   
(ex Archer coll. A328; M. Archer 1970, 31) Bonhams 9.6.15: 436

palace scene perhaps from Rāmāyaṇa, c. 1820-30, 21.8 × 14.7 cm. Bonhams 18-26.05.23: 427

R. + L. + S. cook and eat in forest, c. 1820, 21.6 × 16.5 / 25.4 × 20.3 cm.  
 Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2007.1856

Rāma and Sītā enthroned, with Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān Peerless 58

drawing: R.’s installation, C19, 21 × 22.8 / 30 × 42.4 cm. Rijksmuseum AK-MAK-1539

Ahalyā worshipping Rāma, early C19 Salar Jung Museum 26/xxxvii

Nārada asks Vālmīki to compose Rām., early C19, 40.6 × 55.7 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 49.19/276  
[also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: I, 44-45]

marriage procession reaches Mithilā, early C19, 30 × 38.8 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 49.19/277

Bharata + Śatrughna take leave as they depart for Kekeya, early C19, 40.7 × 55.5 cm.  
 (B) Nat. Mus. 49.19/233

S. reproves Rāvaṇa in *aśokavana,* early C19, 20.2 × 27.6 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 72.90

Kumbhakarṇa before Rāvaṇa, early C19, 26 × 43.5 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 60.1727

Rāvaṇa seated on golden throne, early C19, 23 × 21.5 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 60.121

R. + S. + L. pay respects to queen mothers, early C19, 33.7 × 43.5 (B) Nat. Mus. 80.630

R. applies tilak to sacrificial horse, early C19, 33.7 × 43.6 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 88.420

Janaka consults Nārada, early C19, 26.8 × 36.2 cm. Christie’s 25.04.17: 71

L. abandons S., S. meets Vālmīki, early C19, 33.5 × 43.5 cm.; extensive text on verso  
from *Jaiminīya Āśvamedhikaparvan* 28-29 (B) Nat. Mus. 80.619  
(detail ill. at *Rām. illustré*: VII, 114)

Lava + Kuśa tie up horse in Vālmīki’s *āśrama,* early C19, 33.7 × 43.6 cm.; extensive text on verso from *Jaiminīya Āśvamedhikaparvan* 29-30 (B) Nat. Mus. 87.501/2

Sītā enters Earth, early C19, 33.2 × 42.5 cm.; inscr. on verso with caption and *patraṃ 53*   
(also ill. Ahuja 2013: 233, fig.272; *Rām. illustré*: VII, 168) (B) Nat. Mus. 76.696

drawing: Daśaratha’s funeral procession, C19 Nat. Mus. 58.54/246

drawing: meeting of Daśaratha and Janaka, C19, 12.2 × 10.8´´ Nat. Mus. 58.51/290

Rāvaṇa enthroned, early C19, 20.2 × 27.6 cm., inscr. at top *rāvaṇa rākṣasa* Nat. Mus. 60.121

Kiṣkindhā scenes (drawing), early 19th C BM 1955,1008,0.65

Kiṣkindhā scenes: search (drawing), early 19th C BM 1955,1008,0.66

Kiṣkindhā scenes: Vālin’s pyre; R. + L. in/by cave; Bharata returning with sandals, ? C19  
 Seth Kasturbhai Lalbhai coll., Ahmedabad

Rāma’s installation, opaque pigments and gold on paper, early C19, 11.2 × 18.4/19 × 26 cm. Sotheby’s 8.06.00: 43 = Christie’s 10.06.15: 63

3 drawings, c. 1820 (source: Aijazuddin 1977: 50-51, 28 (i-iii)):  
 Vibhīṣaṇa visits R., 26 × 36.1 cm. Lahore Museum J.14  
 R. + L. + *vānaras* on shore, 26 × 36.1 cm. Lahore Museum J.15  
 R. threatens Ocean, 26 × 36.4 cm. Lahore Museum J.16  
 (another in Chandigarh Mus., perhaps others in Nat. Mus., New Delhi)

*vānaras* set fire to Laṅka, c. 1816 (BKB) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 193

R. + S. receive homage from Hanumān and R’s 3 brothers, early C19 V&A IM.225-1924

R.’s victorious return to Ayodhyā, early C19, family of Nainsukh, 26.5 × 20 cm. MFA 17.2546

horse chased by Kuśa and Lava, c. 1810-20, 26.7 × 35.6 / 33.3 × 42.5 cm.  
 [possibly same set as Brooklyn 75.203.2 (below)] Christie’s 19.03.14: 1104

battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, c. 1810-20, 27.3 × 36.5 cm. Christie’s 19.03.14: 1105

battle between Lava and Śatrughna, c. 1820, 27.3 × 36.5 / 33.7 × 43.8 cm. Brooklyn 75.203.2

Indrajit binds R. + L. in *nāgapāśa,* Vibhīṣaṇa comforts Sugrīva, 1810-20, 20.5 × 30.5 cm. (private collection) McGill 2016: 82-83, no. 42

Daśaratha’s palace, c. 1820, 26 × 38 cm. Christie’s 12-13.10.06: 650

Sugrīva watches L. kick Dundubhi’s corpse and R. pierce 7 sāls, early C19, 20.8 × 30.9 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 14.12.87: 90

**R. killing Khara and Dūṣaṇa, c. 1820, 31.1 × 45 cm. Christie’s 16.04.16: 73**

R. + S. + L. in forest hut, c. 1820, attrib. to Nainsukh, 17.9 × 12.8/18.9 × 15.7 cm. MFA 17.2562

R. + L. + S. at the hermitage, c. 1820, 17.3 × 25 cm. Sotheby’s 8.10.14: 320

R. defeating Khara and Dūṣaṇa, c. 1820, 29.2 × 41.3 / 30.8 × 44.8 cm.   
[ex estate of T.A. Heinrich) Sotheby’s 8.10.14: 323

Bharata receives sandals, c. 1820 (Lahore Mus,) *Rām. illustré*: II, 229

death of Vālin, c. 1820, 22.5 × 31 cm. Philadelphia 1975-148-3  
(also ill. at McGill 2016: 72, no 33)

Sugrīva shows S.’s jewels to R., c. 1820, 20.8 × 30.5 / 23.8 × 34.6 cm. Philadelphia 1976-74-1

Sugrīva sends Hanumān to search for Sītā, c.1820, 26.5 × 32.4 cm. Philadelphia 1981-3-1  
 (also ill. at McGill 2016: 176, no. 87)

coronation of Sugrīva, c. 1820, 24.1 × 35.9 cm. Philadelphia 1994-148-510

Ayodhyā without its king, Kangra, 1820-30 (Philadelphia Mus.) *Rām. illustré* II, 152-3

part-coloured drawing: coronation of R., c. 1825, 18.7 × 25.7 / 23.5 × 32.4 cm.  
 LACMA M.79.252.3

R. + L. travel to Mithilā with Viśvāmitra (gift of divine weapons at top left, c. 1820-30,   
24.2 × 35.6 / 25.7 × 36.8 cm. Sotheby’s 19.03.08: 224 = Sotheby’s 21.03.19: 984

story of crow molesting S., c. 1820-30 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: V, 97

Viśvāmitra demands R. + L. from Daśaratha, c. 1820-40, 13 × 18.4 cm. Blohm p.15

R. pursues golden deer, as S. watches from hut, c. 1820-40, 38.1 × 56.8 cm.  
 Christie’s 10.10.14: 83

L. pulls thorn from R.’s foot [source: Aijazuddin 1977:51-52, 36(i, ii)]:  
drawing, 25.4 × 15.5 cm. Lahore Museum J.13  
stencil for drawing, 26.6 × 20.3 cm., damaged Lahore Museum A.528

L. pulls thorn from R.’s foot, c. 1825-50, 20.3 × 14.5 cm. Chiswick 28.04.23: 333

R. + L. + S. at their hut, Kāṅgṛā or (?) Hindur, c. 1850-75, 17.7 × 12.9 / 28.6 × 21.9 cm. (Metzger coll.; Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 25, Goswamy + Fischer 2017, no. 45)   
[Goswamy and Fischer 2017: 94 – “This picture compares stylistically well with the painting in the Kronos collection, *A thorn is removed from Rama’s foot,* see McInerney, 2016, no. 93.” (above, dated c. 1800-10)] Rietberg RVI 2139

R. + S. + L. visit a hermitage, c. 1830, 21 × 14.3 / 29.3 × 22 cm. V&A IM.82-1912  
(also ill. at Peerless 25)

*ṛṣis* congratulate R. on killing rākṣasas, c. 1830 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: III, 76

R. + S. + L. visit a hermitage, c. 1830, 26.6 × 35.5 cm. Bonhams 7.10.10: 364

R. + S. + L. visited by a sage, c. 1830, 24.4 × 35.2 cm. Sotheby’s 27.03.73: 122

R. + S. + L. at their hut, c. 1830, 30.1 × 24.8 cm. (ex private UK coll.) Bonhams 30.4.19: 196

R. + L. find and cremate Jaṭāyus, 1830-40, 36.6 × 45.7 cm. San Francisco 2015.40

R. + brothers with brides, Kāṅgṛā or Maṇḍi, 1830-40, 20.3 × 29.2 cm. Christie’s 25.05.17: 54

R. + L. seated with sages outside palace, 1st half C19, 36.2 × 47.3 cm. Christie’s 25.05.17: 68

R. + S. + L. leave Janaka’s (?) palace, 1st half C19, 23 × 32.4 cm. Christie’s 12.06.18: 128

R. + S. + L. at forest hut, 1st half C19, 30 × 24.7 cm. Chiswick 16.07.21: 28

Sugrīva narrates Vālin’s encounter with Dundubhi, 1830-40, 25.8 × 38.6 / 34 × 46.5 cm. Losty and Kwiatkowski 2016: 94-95, item 35

raja Anirudh Chand and Tulsīdās pay homage to R. + S., c. 1825-30, 28.4 × 20.1 cm., text  
on verso in devanāgarī (B) Nat. Mus. 60.1000

marriage festivities, Kāṅgṛā or Gaṛhwal, c. 1825, 23.8 × 34.3 / 27.9 × 38.7 cm.  
[cf. Pal 2004: 58-59, pl. 22] Norton Simon P.2000.09.4

L. brings killed deer to R. + S., c. 1825-50, 22.5 × 14.5 cm. private coll., Zürich  
(ill. at Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no.24; perhaps from a set)

R. + S. + L. in the forest, c. 1830, 21.5 × 15 / 22.2 × 16.1 cm. (ex Bharany)  
 Cleveland Mus. 1989.332

R. + S. + L. approach Atri’s āśrama, c. 1830, 27 × 35.7 cm. San Diego 1990.1304  
[= Sotheby’s 13.12.72: 156, giving dimensions as 19.8 × 28.6 cm.]

Śūrpaṇakhā pleads with Khara, c. 1830, 21 × 31.6 / 28.3 × 38.5 cm. Sotheby’s 26.04.94: 158

R. + S. + L. in forest, c. 1830, 70 × 114 cm. Ducrot coll. P 5

Rāvaṇa shakes Kailāsa, c. 1830, 14.5 × 22.7 / 21.4 × 29.5 cm. Christie’s 1.04.82: 121

Rāvaṇa in chariot approaches R. + L. + S., c. 1830-40, 20.8 × 31.5 / 28 × 38.4 cm.  
 Christie’s 1.04.82: 122

R. + S. + L. leave Ayodhyā (drawing + watercolour), c. 1825-50, 23.3 × 31.8 cm. MFA 17.2560

Rāvaṇa shakes Kailāsa (drawing + watercolour), c. 1850, 15.3 × 26.4 cm. MFA 17.2597

Agastya receives R. + S. + L., c. 1840, 21.3 × 16.8 / 29.6 × 24.9 cm. V&A IM.307-1927  
(also ill. at *Rām. illustré*: III, 39)

R. + L. asleep, making offering with sage, departing, c. 1830-40, 23.5 × 34.4 / 27.2 × 38 cm.; inscr. on verso: *vāla 69* [same series as next acc. to cat.]   
 Spink, April 1976: 186 = Sotheby’s 24.04.24: 173

*rākṣasī* attacks R. but killed, c. 1830-40, 24.1 × 35.1 cm. Spink, April 1976: 187

R. + S. enthroned, c. 1840-60, 8.5 × 14.2 cm.; on verso *laṃkā jī tarāma āe* ||  
(ex Raghunandan Gaind coll., ex Sotheby’s in early 1980s) Chiswick 28.10.22: 269

R. + S. enthroned, post 1850, 32.5 × 29.5 cm. Chiswick 28.10.22: 272

Tārā cradles dying Vālin, watched by R. + L. + Sugrīva, mid C19, 18 × 26.7 cm., *tākṛī* inscr.   
at top Sotheby’s 4.04.78: 298

R. + S. in forest, mid C19, 20.8 × 15.7 cm. Christie’s 11.10.13: 557

Daśaratha + Vasiṣṭha welcomed to Mithilā by Janaka and others, C19 Nat. Mus. 58.54/243

Queen with musicians, marriage party, C19 Nat. Mus. 58.54/244

drawing (with some colour) R. + S. stand on throne, attended by L. + Hanumān, C19,   
7.2 × 10.2 in. Nat. Mus. 58.54/398

R. releases Ahalyā from stone, C19, 21.5 × 16.5 cm. Chiswick 29.10.20: 315

*vānaras* exit *ṛkṣabila*, Guler/Kangra, c. 1850 (Chandigarh Mus.) *Rām. illustré*: IV, 125

Hanumān takes leave of S., Guler/Kangra, c. 1850 (Rietberg Mus.)  
 *Rām. illustré*: V, 132 (detail: 131)

L. offers flower to R. + S. seated under tree, C19, 15.2 × 22.9 cm. Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-772

R. + S. enthroned under canopy within palace, C19, 23.5 × 18.4 cm., on verso: 3 ll. of devanagarī text Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-391

Śatrughna worshipping *liṅga,* offerings made to R. and to L., Daśaratha, Vasiṣṭha etc. on chariots (red line drawing), C19, 40.6 × 29.8 cm. Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-829

R. + L. + *vānaras* seated beside ocean, Guler/Kangra, c.1850   
(ill. at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 29) Asia Society, N.Y., [Rockefeller coll.]

R. resting on S. as L. pulls thorn from foot, c. 1845, 21.4 × 15 cm. Fitzwilliam PD.115-1948

S. imprisoned (S. shown 4 times), c. 1840, 25.1 × 36.1 / 26.9 38.1 cm.  
[source: Aijazuddin 1977: 54, no. 49] Lahore Museum E.19

building causeway, c. 1850, 32.7 × 43.5 cm. Philadelphia 1959-93-32

L. prepares meal for R. + S., seated under tree, C. 1850, 30.4 × 25.9 cm. BM 1924, 0406,0.4

Hanumān encounters Siṃhikā on his leap, folio from Sundarak. of a Rām. series,   
c. 1850, 25.9 × 38.4 / 30.9 × 43.2 cm. J + K Mittal Mus. 76.303

R. + S. enthroned, attended by L. and Hanumān, mid C19, 19.4 × 12.8 / 35 × 24.6 cm.  
 Rijksmuseum RP-T-1993-288

building the causeway, mid C19, 29.1 × 42 cm. Bonhams 9.6.15: 438

R. and S. at a sage’s *āśrama* (all in separate huts), C19, 28.3 × 39.1 cm. La Salle 08-O-210

Rāvaṇa receiving *pāśupata* weapon from Śiva, 1859-1900, 23.2 × 27.9 cm.   
(also ill. at McGill 2016: 226-7, no. 116) LACMA M.2009.148.2

Rāvaṇa abducts S., c. 1870, 21.2 × 24 cm. Christie’s 7.04.06: 510

R. + S. with L. tending cooking fire, c. 1870, 21.2 × 23.6 cm. Christie’s 7.04.06: 512

Rāma restores Ahalyā, c. 1880, 17.4 × 23 / 23.2 × 28.5 cm., inscr. on cover-paper with   
4 ll. of descriptive Sanskrit verses BL Add.Or.2773  
[b.+w. ill. at Falk + Archer 1981: 548, no. 549]

Sikh-Kāṅgṛā mixed style: Hanuman adores R. + S. enthroned, dated 1865 A.D., 27 x 21 cm.  
(ill. at Daljeet and others 2003: 54) Nat. Mus. 58.21/6

R. + L. surrounded by *vānaras* [= sending of search parties] (ink and wash), C19,   
21.6 × 31.8 cm. Christie’s 20.03.08: 208

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**various Guler paintings or drawings**

battle between R. + Rāvaṇa + armies, early C18, 31.5 × 42.8 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 60.119

Rāma slays Kumbhakarṇa (drawing), attrib. to Mānaku, c. 1740-50, 18.8 × 29.5 cm.   
 J + K Mittal Mus. 76.739

Garuḍa consults with king of birds, from a Rāmāyaṇa series (?), attrib. to Mānaku, c. 1745, 13.3 × 21.6 cm. Bonhams 22.03.24: 865

H. greets R. + L., Guler, mid 18th C. N.C. Mehta coll. 225 (Parimoo 2013: 264)

R. + S. enthroned, c. 1750, 20.5 × 29.5 cm. San Diego 1990.1225  
(also *Rām. illustré*: I, 38)

battle between R. and Rāvaṇa, mid C18, 25.7 × 20 cm. Santa Barbara 1995.27

death of Vālin, 1750, 20.8 × 32 cm. (Khandalavala collection) CSMVS  
[ill. at Tillotson (ed.) 2014: 25, fig. 10]

hermitage scene (R. + L. + S. prostrate themselves before a sage and his 3 wives in an āśrama beside a stream), 1750-75, 12⅞ × 8⅞´´ [= 32.6 × 22.5 cm] Pal 1976 no. 6

R. + L. observe the Śabarī’s self-immolation, c. 1760, 31 × 21 cm. Minneapolis 81.116.1

R. + S. under tree as L. brings slaughtered deer, c. 1760, 16.3 × 21 / 18.5 × 23.3 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 29.04.92: 24

Rāvaṇa decoyed away by Dhanyamālinī as S. looks up at Hanumān in tree, c. 1760-70,   
22 × 35.2 cm. (part of a set?; ill. at Britschgi + Fischer 2008, 55, *Rām. illustré*: V, 67)   
[ex. Walter coll. 79 (= Sotheby’s 14.11.02: 79)] B.+ E. Fischer coll.

Hanumān in *śiṃśapā* tree, c. 1760-70 (coll. B. + E. Fischer) *Rām. illustré*: V, 82 (+ 81)

Hanumān approaches S. as Rāvaṇa leaves, c. 1760-70, 22 × 35.2 cm. private coll.  
(Britschgi + Fischer 2008, no. 55)

*vānaras* build *setu,* 1760-70, 16.8 × 23.9 / 21 × 27.7 cm. (coll. L. Habighorst, Koblenz)  
[on offer in Francesca Galloway, 2020] *Rām. illustré*: VI, 57

R. + S. + L. in the forest, c. 1775, attrib. to Gauḍhu; 20 × 30.5 / 24.8 × 35.7 cm.  
 Pal 2004: 56-57, no. 21 [Norton Simon, Kapoor loan]

battle between R. + Rāvaṇa + armies, c. 1780, 22.8 × 15.7 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 60.995

(drawing) R. + L. + *vānaras* crossing *setu,* c. 1780-85, 26 × 36.6 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 51.207/1  
(also *Rām. illustré*: VI, 10-11)

worship of the sandals, Guler, c. 1785-90, 23 × 33 cm., attrib. to Nainsukh   
[ill. at Daljeet 2002: 12-13; *Nat. Mus. New Delhi – Treasures,* pp.110-1] Nat. Mus. 88.529

R. + L. + S. at the Śabarī’s *āśrama,* Guler, c. 1780, 24.6 × 30.5 J + K Mittal Mus. 76.278

R. + L. confer with Sugrīva below Laṅkā, late C18, 20 × 30.5 cm. Sotheby’s 19.09.96: 185

Vibhīṣaṇa meeting R., c. 1790, 20.3 × 30.8 / 21.8 × 31.8 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 16.09.99: 180 = Sotheby’s 24.9.04: 112

Rāvaṇa receiving Kumbhakarṇa, c. 1790, 20.3 × 30.2 / 25.4 × 35.2 cm. Sotheby’s 24.9.04: 113

Garuḍa pays homage to R. + L. after freeing them from *nāgapāśa,* late C18, 25 × 35.3 cm.  
 Mus. für Indische Kunst, Berlin, MIK I 5416

meeting of eyes of R. + S., 1790-95, 24 × 35.8 / 28 × 39 cm. (Seitz coll., ex Carter Burden); inscr. above in *devanāgarī* and again on verso: *24 bāla* [set in palace courtyard;   
follows *RCM* C224-34 as in Growse’s 1883 trans. very closely] Losty 2017: 128-9, no. 23

Sugrīva + Hanumān show S.’s clothes to R., late C18, 23 × 16 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 61.1000

R. kills Subāhu, defeats Mārīca, late C18, 24 × 35.2 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 75.506

Hanumān + L. lead *vānaras* against Rāvaṇa’s forces, c. 1800, 20.5 × 30.5 / 25 × 36.5 cm.  
 Christie’s 12.10.78: 131

Kumbhakarṇa devours meal, c. 1800, 20.3 × 30 / 25 × 35 cm. Christie’s 12.10.78: 132

key scenes: Vālin’s cremation, Vibhīṣaṇa’s approach to Rāma, *rākṣasīs* mourning dead Rāvaṇa, lat C18 – early C19, 20 × 30.5 cm. Sotheby’s 20.03.01: 15

Vasiṣṭha and (?) Kausalyā approach R + S. in hut, c.1800, 16.4 × 23.8 / 20.7 × 27.9 cm.  
[**see** Bautze 1991: 207-09, no 95 (**scan**)] Linden-Museum, Stuttgart, SA 37670 L

S. in *aśokavana* (?) (drawing), c. 1800, 14.9 × 22 / 19.5 × 27.8 cm. V&A IS.198-1955

R. + S. seated below tree as L. cooks meal, c. 1800, 22.7 × 17.3 cm. Christie’s 26.05.16: 68

R. + S. enthroned receiving Hanumān + *vānaras*, c. 1800, 20.6 × 27 cm. Bonhams 25.10.07: 437

R. + S. enthroned receiving Hanumān + devotees, c. 1800, 26.1 × 32.7 cm.  
(ex private US coll.) Bonhams 25.10.21: 267

Vasiṣṭha prostrates to Śiva and Pārvatī, c. 1800, 21.6 × 19.8 / 35.3 × 27.7 cm., from a Guler *Yogavāsiṣṭha* series ascribed to Khushala (Metzger coll.) Rietberg RVI 2127  
[Goswamy + Fischer 2017: 78 no. 36 – “The attached dustcover carries eleven lines of text in, at places, corrupt Sanskrit verse in *Devanagari* characters, placed within golden borders, and beginning with the words: “*Vasishta uvacha kailaso nama shailendrah tasminneva girau pura...” ...*’ and ‘The *Yoga Vasishtha* has not until now been known to have been the subject of any Pahari work, but this leaf clearly suggests that a whole series based on the great text might have been painted. The work has all the elegance, and the fluent ease, that one associates with the master artists of the First and Second Generation after Manaku and Nainsukh. Stylistically, it seems also to be closely related to at least two other known paintings, one in the Bellak collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art (Goswamy and Fischer, 1992, no. 138), and the other in the Binney collection at San Diego (Goswamy and Smith, 2005, no. 103).”]

R. + L. received by Janaka, c. 1810-20, 29.3 × 40.9 cm. Christie’s 1.04.82: 130

Janaka receives an armoured warrior, c. 1810-20, 29.2 × 40.7 cm. Christie’s 1.04.82: 131

[or Garwhal] R. + S. enthroned, c.1810-20, 25.5 × 21 cm. Chiswick 16.07.24: 74

Rāma’s installation, c. 1820 Royal Ontario Museum 2003.39.5

R. on piebald horse surrounded by *vānara* army (drawing, some colour), c. 1820,  
25.4 × 19.4 cm. Sotheby’s 20.06.83: 127

R. + S. enthroned, c. 1830, 23 × 17.2 / 25.1 × 19.6 cm. Kapoor Galleries  
(ex private European coll., ill. at Kapoor 2019: 188-89, no. 72)

L. cooks food for R + S. in hut, c. 1830, 14.9 × 22.1 / 16.4 x 23.5 cm., inscr. on verso:   
*SC. 150 1953* [similar miniature in Sotheby’s, 24th April 1979, lot 143] Chester Beatty 71.8

L. cooks food, R. and S. sit below tree, c.1830, 15.3 × 10.7 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 26.04.90: 67 = 24.04.17: 143

<Rāvaṇa> receives *rākṣasas* bringing captured Hanumān, c. 1830, 16.1 × 23.1 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 26.04.91: 150

R. + L. fighting Rāvaṇa, all on foot, c. 1840, 16.6 × 23.2 cm. / 20 × 26.8 cm.  
 Bonhams 6.10.08: 429 = Bonhams 25.10.22: 123

R. kills Kumbhakarṇa, 1st half C19, 28.5 × 42 / 30.8 × 44.3 cm. Sammlung Metzger  
[**see** Bautze 1991: 210-12, no 96 (**scan**)]

R. + S. enthroned in palace, c. 1840, 21.2 × 28.6 cm. Emory 2013.010.001  
[ex Christie’s 19.03.13: 312 (better photo)]

L. at Rāvaṇa’s court, c. 1850, 30.48 × 44.13 / 39.05 × 51.75 cm. LACMA M.73.79

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**other paintings or drawings – 19th century onwards**

Pahāṛī: siege of Laṅkā (drawing), c. 1800, 41.5 × 54.4 cm. V&A IS.526-1952

[Pahāṛī]: Lava + Kuśa fight R.’s army, c. 1810-20, c. 40 × 31.1 cm. Emory 2014.017.1

Pahāṛī: R. + S. + L. in forest with ascetics, early C19, 23 × 36 / 42 × 52.5 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 23.10.19: 195

[Pahāṛī]: *vānaras* fight *rākṣasas* (ill. to a Hindi Rām.), early C19, 21.2 × 13.7 cm.  
 Cornell 74.060.030

Pahāṛī, R. worshipped by H., attended by L., early 19th C, 9.6 × 11.6 cm. BM 1880,0.2426

[Pahāṛī] R. + S. + L. in landscape with ascetics, c. 1830, 12.2 × 19.6 / 14.5 × 21.3 cm.  
 Ash. Mus. EA1958.121

Pahāṛī: R. + S. + L. seated beside hut, c. 1830, 23 × 19 cm. Alexis Renard 2014 cat., no. 6  
(ex George Sheridan coll.)

Pahāṛī: S. in *aśokavana* surrounded by *rākṣasīs,* c. 1840, 28.3 × 21.6 cm.  
 Alexis Renard 2014 cat., no. 7

Pahāṛī: Daśaratha listens to Nārada [? + Viśvāmitra] in palace, c.1830, 33 × 52.5 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 24.04.79: 148 = Sotheby’s 16.10.97: 529

Pahāṛī: Bharata + Śatrughna at Bharadvāja’s *āśrama,* c. 1840, 23.8 × 35.2 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 17.07.78: 142

Pahāṛī: Rāvaṇa makes sortie heading a detachment of *rākṣasas,* 20 × 30.3 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 11.12.73: 331

Pahāṛī: R. + S. worshipped by Hanumān and a hill rājā, bordered by 10 *avatāras,* 2nd half of C19, 38 × 32 cm. Sotheby’s 11.12.73: 334

Pahāṛī: Bharata + Śatrughna bow to Vasiṣṭha, R. + L. bow to Viśvāmitra and Daśaratha,   
C19. 19.8 × 28.3 cm. (= Sotheby’s 11th Dec 1973, lot 337) Smith College SC 2012.53.11

Garhwal/ Hindur: R. + L. in cave, c. 1790-1800 (coll. Shilpa Mehta, Hyderabad)   
 *Rām. illustré*: IV, 10-11

Garhwal, Vasiṣṭha in conversation with Daśaratha, c. 1800, 33.7 × 24 cm.  
(ex private UK coll.) Bonhams 30.4.19: 196

Garhwal, drawing, c. 1800, 29.5 × 20.6 cm., Śūrpaṇakhā approaches R + S. in hut (upper)   
and L. cuts off her nose (lower) Norton Simon P.2003.2.11v

Garhwal, R. + L. watch Vālin and Sugrīva fight, c.1800, 24.8 × 34.2 cm.  
 Seattle Art Museum 75.9

Garhwal: scenes from exile, early C19, 24.1 × 34.6 / 27.9 × 39 cm. Bonhams 14-24.03.23: 650

Garhwal, a king (? Vibhīṣaṇa) arrives to pay court to R. + S., c. 1800-20,   
31 × 44.5 / 41.5 × 54.7 cm. Christie’s 25.04.13: 191

Garhwal (or Kāṅgṛā?): Daśaratha’s funeral, c.1800-20, 30.5 × 42.2 / 40.7 × 53 cm.  
 Christie’s 9.10.15: 65

Garhwal, R. + L. with sages, c. 1820, 23.1 × 33.7 / 27 × 68.6 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 28.10.91: 271 = Sotheby’s 20.09.05: 122

Garhwal, Sagara’s sacrifice and his sons digging, c. 1820, 27.3 × 38.1 cm. Osian 29.10.09: 22  
(private collection, London, previously part of a private U.S. collection)

Garhwal: R. + S. + L. kneel before *rṣi,* watched by *vānaras* and *rākṣasas,* c. 1820-25,   
27.9 × 36.5 cm. Sotheby’s 28.10.91: 68

Garhwal: R. + L. in exile (multiple scenes), c. 1840, 34 × 39.5 cm. Spink, Apr. 1976: 160

Garhwal: Saṃpāti reveals S.’s location, c.1840, 21.5 × 28.3 / 26.8 × 33.6 cm. (Binney coll.) [Saṃpāti shown multiple times] San Diego 1990.1325

Garhwal: marriage of Bharata and Māṇḍavī, 1st half C19, 27.5 × 37.5 cm. Ader 8.10.12: 23

Hindur: R. kicking Dundubhi’s corpse and piercing 7 *sāls*, 1800-25, 20.4 × 30.1 / 21 × 31.5 cm.  
[ill. at Pal 1983, no. P41 (**scan**); Sotheby’s 15.12.78: 177] private coll.

Hindur: R. aims *brahmāstra* at Ocean, c. 1830-40, 28.3 × 41.3 / 40.3 × 53 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 22.09.20: 380

Himachal Pradesh (perhaps Hindur): preparations to cross to Laṅkā, c. 1820, 28.6 × 41.9 /   
41 × 54 cm. [= Sotheby’s 14.11.02: 85; ex Walter coll.] Asia Society 2002.3

Himachal Pradesh [drawings], late C18–early C19:   
Śurpaṇakha incites Rāvaṇa, 19.4 × 26.8 cm. Philadelphia 1986-111-1  
Sugrīva fights Vālin, appeals to Rāma, 19.7 × 26.8 cm. Philadelphia 1986-111-2

Pahāṛī drawing: R.’s *abhiṣeka,* on verso sketches of Hanumān walking and Kṛṣṇa *vaṭapatraśāyin* Nat. Mus. 61.1036

Chambā drawing: exiles leave Citrakūṭa for Atri’s *āśrama*, 1790-1820, 20.5 × 26.1 cm., part coloured, descriptions in top and right margins Wereld Mus. RV-3025-21

Chambā: L. sees Bharata’s approach, c.1800, 22 × 33 cm. Nat. Mus. 75.505

Chambā: R. + L. fighting Rāvaṇa, early C19, 12 × 18.7 / 16.5 × 23 cm. Sotheby’s 24.10.17: 133

Chambā: R. + S. + L. in forest, by Tara Chand, c. 1845, 25.5 × 35 cm. San Diego 1990.1204

Chambā/ Sikh, Lahore or Patiala: R. + brothers circle on horseback *rākṣasas* abducting S.,   
c. 1850, 21.5 × 22.4/25.5 × 26.3 cm. (inscr. on verso in *ṭākrī*: *sītā ki mahīrāvaṇ layi geya tha* || *rāma lacchman, bharath, chatraghana ne rākṣasa mare* ||; ex Latifi coll.)  
 Francesca Galloway,*Indian paintings,1450-1850,* no.23 = *Asia Week NY 2024,* *Kurtz coll.,* no.20

Bilaspur (?): *vānara* chiefs attacking <Indrajit’s> sacrifice, early C19, 21.2 × 32.3 cm.  
 Bonhams 13.10.05: 409

Pahāṛī drawing: R. + L. fighting Rāvaṇa, early 19th C, 11.6 × 15.2 cm. Ash. Mus. EA2012.245.c

Hindur (Nālāgaṛh): R. + S. + L. in the forest, c. 1820, 15 × 20.5 / 16.7 × 22.1 cm.,   
 N.C. Mehta coll. (acc. no. NCM 65); shown in Khandalavala n.d. fig. 72

Hindur (Nālāgaṛh): Mārīca assails Viśvāmitra’s sacrifice, mid C19  
 Michigan, Robbins coll. 15005

Kashmir, R. + Krishna (? = Lakṣmaṇa) greet a demon and the monkey army, C19,   
17.9 × 12 cm. Christie’s 16.01.97: 400

Kashmir, R. + Krishna [sic] with Hanumān and *vānaras*, nasta’liq script above and below,   
2 paintings, C19, 27.5 × 15 cm. (larger) Christie’s 31.07.97: 334

Kashmir: R.’s *abhiṣeka,* C19, 13 × 21.6 cm. Pundole’s 5-10.06.22: 5

Jammu, Rāvaṇa commissions Indrajit, c. 1820 (private coll.) *Rām. illustré*: V, 117  
(= Christie’s 9.11.77: 81; ex George P. Bickford coll.)

Basohi style: R. + L. defend Viśvāmitra’s sacrifice, early C19, 15.1 × 23.7 cm., 6 ll. of text in Gurmukhī script on verso Husaini Arts

Garhwal or Bilaspur: S. in fire, watched by R. + L. + Hanumān, c. 1840-50, 16.3 × 22.5 cm.  
 Bonhams 5-13.8.20: 147

Pahāṛī: Daśaratha’s *śrāddha* Ahuja 2013: 38, fig.16

Pahāṛī: Sumitrā with child Lakṣmaṇa, 1800-50, 19.7 × 15.7 cm. Royal Coll.: RCIN 1005121

Pahāṛī: Hanumān greeting R. + L. + S., early C19, 30.5 × 23 cm. V&A IM.403-1914

Pahāṛī: R. in *nāgapāśa,* early C19, 23 × 31.5 / 30.5 × 39 cm. Olympia 9.11.22: 116

Pahāṛī: R. in *nāgapāśa,* early C19, 23 × 31.5 / 30.5 × 39 cm. Olympia 13.11.24: 221

Pahāṛī: Sumantra drives the exiles away from Ayodhyā, c. 1830, 23 × 31 cm.  
 Roseberys 17.06.20: 163

Pahāṛī: R. + S. + L. discard fine clothes before beginning exile, c. 1830, 23 × 31 cm.   
 Roseberys 17.06.20: 164

Pahāṛī: Hanumān brought before Rāvaṇa, c. 1830, 20 × 27.3 cm. Bonhams 14.10.04: 141

Pahāṛī: Rām. illustration (?) Bonhams 14.10.04: 144

Pahāṛī: prince with young son comes to worship R. + L., c. 1830, 20 × 27 cm.  
 Bonhams 2.10.12: 197

Pahāṛī: R. + L. before *vānaras*, c. 1840, 24.2 × 32.3 cm. Bonhams 18.06.13: 378

Pahāṛī: *vānara* army comes to R’s rescue, 1840-50, 23 × 17cm. Millon 24.06.24: 266

Pahāṛī: R. + S. in hut, L. cooking food, mid C19, 20.3 × 15.1 cm. Sotheby’s 22.11.76: 191

Pahāṛī (?): Rāma routs Khara’s army, c. 1850, 33 × 47 cm. Jñāna-Pravāha 99.138

[Pahāṛī]: R. + L. fight Kumbhakarṇa, 37 × 49 cm. Oriental Art Auctions 5.09.24: 310

Pahāṛī (?): drawing, *vānaras* attack Rāvaṇa, c. 1850, 21.3 × 30.5 cm. Brooklyn 80.261.25

Pahāṛī (?): drawing, Hanumān carries R. + L. on shoulders, c. 1850, 21.3 × 30.5 cm.  
 Brooklyn 80.261.26

Pahāṛī: pounced drawing, R. + L. + S. (!) under tree approached by Hanumān, C19,   
28.4 × 20.4 cm. Bonhams 29.6.16: 9517

Pahāṛī drawings (red crayon, some black, some highlighting with white):   
Rāvaṇa gives orders to 2 *rākṣasas*, 14.5 × 10.3´´, numbered *1* (?) Nat. Mus. 58.54/1145  
Indrajit sacrifices (upper r.) and shoots from clouds (upper l.), as *vānaras* fight *rākṣasas* issuing from fort on right, C19, 14.5 × 10.3´´, numbered *10* Nat. Mus. 58.54/1086  
Indrajit’s wife weeps over his head, C19, 14.2 × 10.3´´, numbered *3* Nat. Mus. 58.54/1092  
courtier points out *vānara* army to Rāvaṇa on tower, C19, 14.4 × 10.3´´  
 Nat. Mus. 58.54/1093  
R. + L. + Vibhīṣaṇa + *vānaras* on hill looking on as Aṅgada flies to Laṅkā, C19,   
 14.5 × 10.3´´ Nat. Mus. 58.54/1087  
Aṅgada sits on coiled tail, seizes crown from Rāvaṇa’s heads, flies off, C19,   
 14.5 × 10.3´´, numbered *6* Nat. Mus. 58.54/1089  
Aṅgada flies back with Rāvaṇa’s crown and, at R.’s bidding, places it on Vibhīṣaṇa’s head, C19, 14.5 × 10.3 ´´ Nat. Mus. 58.54/1088  
Rāvaṇa issues from private quarter, gives order to courtiers, C19, 14.3 × 10.3´´  
 Nat. Mus. 58.54/1091  
battle scene before Laṅkā fort, C19, 14.4 × 10.3´´ Nat. Mus. 58.54/1090  
Lakṣmaṇa lies wounded (l.) and Rāvaṇa embraces Indrajit (r.), C19, 14.3 × 10.3´´, numbered *12* Nat. Mus. 58.54/1169  
killing of Dhūmrākṣa (so caption at top), C19, 14.3 × 10.3´´, numbered *12*  Nat. Mus. 58.54/1170  
killing of Kampana (so caption at top), C19, 14.4 × 10.3´´, numbered *13*  Nat. Mus. 58.54/1171  
Prahasta goes out to fight (so caption at top), C19, 14.5 × 10.3´´, numbered *14*  Nat. Mus. 58.54/1144  
R. + *vānaras* attack Kumbhakarṇa, C19, 14.5 × 10.2´´ Nat/ Mus. 58.54/1085  
Hanumān fights Rāvaṇa, C19, 14.5 × 10.3´´, numbered *15* Nat. Mus. 58.54/1102

Pahāṛī drawing: R. + S. seated on lion throne, C19, 5.1 x 6.1 in. Nat. Mus. 58.54/532

Pahāṛī drawing: L. serves meal to R. + S. seated under tree, C19, 5.7 × 9.2´´, unrelated sketch on verso Nat. Mus. 58.54/536

Pahāṛī drawing: R. + S. seated on throne in central oval, with 2 frames of *avatāras* and *ṛṣis,* C19, 10.7 x 9.4´´ Nat. Mus. 58.54/652

Pahāṛī drawing: S. confined in Rāvaṇa’s palace, C19, 12.2 × 8.2´´, fragment of text on verso Nat. Mus. 58.54/875

Pahāṛī drawing: R. on chariot with *vānaras* behind (l.) faces Rāvaṇa falling from chariot, C19, 11.2 × 6.4´´, numbered *7* (?) Nat. Mus. 58.54/882

Pahāṛī drawing: R. + L. face Rāma Jāmadagnya, C19, 11.5 × 7.4´´, figures named in *ṭākrī,* inscr. on verso Nat. Mus. 58.54/883

Pahāṛī drawing: R. fights Kumbhakarṇa, with Rāvaṇa on chariot behind, C19, 12.8 × 8.6´´, numbered *71* in *ṭākrī* Nat. Mus. 58.54/1323

Pahāṛī drawing: R. on chariot looks towards dead Rāvaṇa, C19, 11 × 8.5´´,   
text + 2 figure sketches on verso Nat. Mus. 58.54/1363

Pahāṛī drawing: R. + S. enthroned under canopy, C19, 11.2 × 9.3´´, text in Urdu on verso Nat. Mus. 58.54/1529

Pahāṛī drawing: R. frees Ahalyā from curse, C19, 24.4 × 19.6 cm. Nat. Mus. 58.54/1634

Pahāṛī drawing: Vasiṣṭha blesses R. + S. + L. + *vānaras,* C19, 33.3 × 25.7 cm.; on verso:   
drawing of Gaṇeśa Nat. Mus. 58.54/1847

Pahāṛī: rākṣasas rouse Kumbhakarṇa, C19, 22 × 39 (laṃ<kā> 54) Alexis Renard (website)

Pahāṛī: rākṣasas feed Kumbhakarṇa, C19, 22 × 38.6 (laṃ<kā> 55) Alexis Renard (website)

Pahāṛī: Rāvaṇa dressed as mendicant approaches S. as R. + L. chase golden deer, C19,   
20.7 × 15 cm. [sold to Soheili] Sotheby’s 1.07.69: 218

Pahāṛī: R. + L. + *vānaras*, C19, 14.8 × 20 cm. Sotheby’s 14.10.99: 513

[Pahāṛī:] L. mutilates Śūrpaṇakhā, C19, in top margin: *āraṇya 9 sarga 28* Museum of Art & Photography, Bangalore

Pahāṛī: *vānara* army faces *rākṣasa* army, C19 22 × 29 cm.  
 Academy of Fine Arts and Literature, New Delhi

Pahāṛī (?), Hanumān before R. + S., C19, 26 × 30.5 cm. Harvard (Sackler) 1973.171

Pahāṛī (?), R. preparing to lay siege to Laṅkā, C19, 24.4 × 35.2 cm. Freer F1907.215

Pahāṛī (?), a rākṣasa council at Laṅka, C19, 21.8 × 33.4 cm. Freer F1907.228

Pahāṛī: Rāmāyaṇa scene (?) of fight outside palace, C19, 19.9 × 27.1 / 29.2 × 39.4 cm.  
 V&A IS.31-1949

Pahāṛī: R + S. enthroned receive Hanumān, C19, 11.1 × 13.7 cm. La Salle 82-O-69

??: Hanumān greets R + L. (top), dead Rāvaṇa (bottom), <from a Gītagovinda ms. f.7>,   
C18-19, 20 × 15.9 / 25.4 × 18.4 cm. Philadelphia 1994-148-515

Pahāṛī: R. killing Tāṭakā, C19, 31.8 × 51.8 / 41.6 × 60.6 cm.; on verso at top *15 vālmīkiye rāmāyaṇe citra patra 15*  then text of CR 1.23.1–25.22 with NW readings (whole *sargas* numbered *24-26* in ms.) Christie’s 28.09.22: 96

Pahāṛī, R. being consoled by L. after abduction, c. 1830, 25.8 × 29.8 cm.   
(ex Huntington coll., ex Pearl King coll.) Bonhams 21.4.15: 190 = Christie’s 28.09.22: 102

Maṇḍi: (drawing + pricked stencil), R. on grey stallion, c. 1820, 24.1 × 17.7 / 30.4 × 24.1 cm.  
[source: Aijazuddin 1977: 65, Mandi 5(i, ii)] Lahore Museum E.18 + A.507

Maṇḍi: R. + S. enthroned on terrace, revered by Hanumān and attended by L., c. 1820,   
18.9 × 14.6 cm. Sotheby’s 20.11.86: 164

Maṇḍi: R. + S. enthroned on terrace, with Vālmīki, the twins and *vānaras* greeting them,   
c. 1820, 21 × 26.7 / 25 × 30.2 cm. Chester Beatty 58.22

Maṇḍi: R. + S. enthroned, attended by brothers, receiving general homage, 1820-30,  
15.8 × 22.7 / 20.7 × 27.8 cm. Christie’s 11.10.79: 109

Maṇḍi: R. + L. about to search for S., 16.5 × 23.5 / 21.7 × 28 cm. Christie’s 11.10.79: 110

Maṇḍi: S. in *aśokavana* (detail), c. 1830-40 (Nat. Mus. of Pakistan) *Rām. illustré*: V, 73

Maṇḍi: Hanumān wrecks *aśokavana,* c. 1830-40 (Nat. Mus. of Pakistan) *Rām. illustré*: V, 105

Maṇḍi: Rāma’s armies fight Rāvaṇa’s, late C18/early C19, 25.3 × 35.5 cm. [ill. at Gadebusch + Doshi 1998: no. 90 (scan); Yaldiz: 2000: 124, no. 194 (scan); Cummins 2011 171, no. 85] Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin, I 5417

Maṇḍi: R. revered by Hanumān + *vānaras*, with S. freed from Rāvaṇa’s palace behind, c. 1830, 27.1 × 35.4 cm. Sotheby’s 29-30.03.82: 162

Maṇḍi: R. + L. fight Rāvaṇa, c. 1840, 17.5 × 20.2 cm. Blohm p.15

Maṇḍi: R.’s *abhiṣeka,* c. 1840, 45 × 37 / 51.2 × 41.5 cm. Francesca Galloway 2022: 20

Maṇḍi: Bharata leaves Māṇḍavī to go to Nandigrāma, c. 1845, 15.8 × 25.5 cm / 20 × 29 cm., inscr. above Bharata: *śrī rājā bharatha jī* Art Passages 2017 cat. no. 13 = 2020 cat. no. 14

Maṇḍi: R. + S. + L. seated in forest, mid C19, 22.9 × 19.7 / 33.3 × 26.7 cm. Florida PA-70-53

Nalagaṛh: Viśvāmitra takes R + L. to Gautama’s *āśrama,* c. 1855, 32.8 × 47.9 / 42.7 × 58.6 cm. San Diego 1990.1341

Himachal Pradesh: R. + L. + S. in forground with golden deer in distance, c. 1850-75,   
8.4 × 14.1 / 11.5 × 18.4 cm. Philadelphia 1994-148-513

Pahāṛī: Viśvāmitra presents R + L. to Janaka, C19, 8.75 × 15 cm.  
 Bellmans 12-13.10.22: 1287 = 21-23.02.23: 1110

Pahāṛī: R. + S. + L. menaced by *rākṣasas,* c. 1850, 24.2 × 36.7 cm. BM 1926,0301, 0.1

Pahāṛī: Bālakāṇḍa multiple scene, c. 1850, 38.9 × 44.9 cm. Bonhams 15.04.10: 404

Pahāṛī: R. + L. receive *vānara* leaders (upper left), Śārdūla tramples *vānaras*, mid C19,  
23.5 × 33.9 cm. Bonhams 4.10.11: 398

Pahāṛī: Hanumān fighting Triśiras, mid C19, 14.7 × 20.3 cm. Christie’s 4.10.11: 52

Pahāṛī: S. in *aśokavana*, c. 1860, 28.3 × 21.6 cm. Bonhams 23.11.11: 415 / 9.06.14: 373

Pahāṛī, Sītā at Vālmīki’s hermitage, c. 1860, 15.7 × 23 cm. Ducrot coll. P 31

Pahāṛī, 2 illustrations: Rāvaṇa with 5 female attendants, *vānaras* surround R. + L. in *nāgapāśa*, 2nd half of C19, 21.8 × 38.6 cm. Bonhams 6-7.04.06: 392  
[lots 392-3 previously auctioned as Sotheby’s 15.07.70: 204]

Pahāṛī, 2 illustrations: rousing Kumbhakarṇa, dying Kumbhakarṇa, 2nd half of C19,   
22.2 × 39.1 and 22.2 × 38.6 cm. Bonhams 6-7.04.06: 393

Pahāṛī, 2 illustrations: *vānaras* fighting *rākṣasas*, L. leading army against Rāvaṇa,   
2nd half of C19, 22.2 × 39.2 and 20.8 × 36.7 cm. Bonhams 6-7.04.06: 394

Pahāṛī style at Lahore: S. surrounded by *rākṣasīs* in *aśokavana,* mid C19, 27.4 × 20.5 cm.  
 Christie’s 22.04.16: 579

Pahāṛī: R. + S. seated by hut as L. prepares meal, late C19, 33.4 × 27 cm. Christie’s 8.04.11: 389

Mankot (?), R. shoots at Rāvaṇa, 19th-20th century, 30 × 20 cm. Roseberys 23.04.18: 292

[Pahāṛī:] R. + S. worshipped by Hanumān + *ṛṣis,* c.1900, 24 × 28.5 / 28.8 × 34 cm  
 Ader 25.11.13: 200

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**paintings on cloth or on wood**

Leaping Hanuman carrying mountain top, Chambā, late 17th century, cotton embroidered with silk and metallic thread, 76 × 105 cm. (Helen & Alice Colburn Fund) MFA 1983.320

several Rāmāyaṇa scenes, Chambā, C18, 66 × 63.5 cm. Met. Mus. 31.82.4

rumal with Rāmāyaṇa scene, Chambā, 1775-1825, 60.5 × 135 cm.  
 Royal Ontario Museum 969.271.4

R. + S. + L. journey in forest, Chambā, c. 1820, cotton ceremonial cover embroidered with silk thread, 61 × 96.5 cm. Philadelphia 1969-231-1

Hanumān presenting offerings to enthroned R. + S., C19, cotton ceremonial cover (rumal) embroidered with silk thread, 59.7 × 60.3 cm. Philadelphia 1994-148-690

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pair of painted wooden manuscript covers: Matsya and Rāma (*avatāras*); Śiva’s family,   
C18-19, 13.3 × 29.8 cm. Philadelphia 1994-148-514

painted wooden manuscript cover: Kāṅgṛā, c. 1825, 13.5 × 19.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 74.242

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**object (and medium)** paintings (including scroll paintings) and other items

**location (original/present)** Western India (Gujarat and Maharashtra)

**date** 17th-20th centuries

**studies** Dallapiccola, Anna L. 1980: *Die “Paithan”-Malerei: Studie zu ihrer stilistischen Entwicklung und Ikonographie* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner). **Sackler IWg Dah; parts scanned**

Dallapiccola, Anna L. 1998: ‘“Paithan” paintings: the epic world of the chitrakathis’, in Jain (ed.) 1998a: 66-73.

Dallapiccola, A. L. 2010: *South Indian Paintings: a catalogue of the British Museum collection* (London: British Museum Press). **own copy**

Jain, Jyotindra 1998a: *Picture Showmen: insights into the narrative tradition in Indian art*, ed. by Jyotindra Jain (Mumbai: Marg Publications). **Sackler IWg Jain**

Jain, Jyotindra 1998b: “The painted scrolls of the Garoda picture showmen of Gujarat”, in Jain 1998a: 74-89. **Sackler IWg Jain**

Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum 1996: *Chitrakathi: folk painting of Paithan* (Pune: Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum). 76 pp. **Sackler IWgc Raj**[numerous illustrations from museum collection; text slight]

Ray, Eva 1978: “Documentation for Paiṭhān paintings”, *AA* 40.4: 239-82. **download**

Shaffer, Holly 2022: *Grafted Arts: art making and taking in the struggle for Western India, 1760-1910* (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art). **AAAW N7301.S53 SHA 2022**

Stache-Rosen, Valentina 1984: “Story-telling in Pingulī paintings”, *AA* 45.4: 253-86. **download**

Wadekar, M.L. 2012: “The illustrated *Giradhara-Ramayana* manuscript from Vadodara”, *Kriti Rakshana* 7.5-6: 24-26. **download (vol.)**

**notes**

Jain 1998: 74 —

The Garoda tradition of narrating sacred legends with the aid of *tipanu* or scroll paintings was once widely popular in Gujarat. Itinerant Garoda storytellers moved from village to village carrying illuninated paper scrolls. They gathered audiences around them and related stories in prose and verse. This tradition combined the narration of local versions of sacred stories from the epics and Puranas with the *yama pata* tradition. At the end of each Garoda scroll there were three pictures of death, the subsequent journey to heaven or hell, and the punishments in hell.

Paithan paintings so named from place where first sets identified were reported to have been found; the one known centre of production is the village of Pinguli (Sindhudurg dist., Maharashtra; Rossi 1998: 128-37); **see** also Dallapiccola 2010: 278-95.

Dallapiccola 1998: 73   
“The important factor in the dating of the paintings themselves is the paper. As far as it was possible to ascertain, a common aspect among all the sets known is the type of paper used. The rectangular sheets are all of the same size with some minor variations, the paper probably imported from Great Britain, Italy, or Holland. . . . Sometimes the watermarks include names and dates. The most significant among these are dated 1835 and 1841. . . . A five-year span be tentatively allowed from the date of the paper to the date of the paintings.

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Gujarat: Hanuman worships enthroned R. + S., c.1700, 14.5 × 11.3 cm. Sotheby’s 20.10.95: 132

Gujarātī folk style: folio, obverse: two chauri bearers attend a person holding a flower; reverse: Hanuman attends Sita enthroned, late C18, 10 × 6 in. Wisconsin 1977.126

Gujarat: R. + S. kneel before *ṛṣi,* c. 1820, 12 × 27.7 cm. Sotheby’s 9.10.78: 304

Gujarātī: 48 paintings by an unnamed artist in ms of *Ayodhyā* + *Araṇya kāṇḍas* in Giradhara’s version written by Narottama Adhyāru (in *devanāgarī* script) in *śaka* 1759 / *saṃ* 1894   
[= 1838] (**see** Wadekar 2012: 24-26) M.S. Univ. Library, Vadodara, no. 14117

Aurangabad school: R. on Hanumān fights Rāvaṇa, C19, 30 × 21.5 cm. Plakas 24.10.23: 146

Maharashtra: ill. ms of Śrīdhara’s *Rāmavijaya* John Ryland Library Marathi MS 3

Maharashtra: R. + L. fight Rāvaṇa, c. 1800 BM 1974,0617,0.14.33

N. Maharashtra, 2 illustrations: R. enthroned receiving Hanumān; H. + *vānaras* worshipping R. + L., c. 1800, 19.9 × 30 and 18.4 × 30.4 cm. [Paithan] Bonhams 6-7.04.06: 358

N. Maharashtra, 2 illustrations: Rāvaṇa abducting S., princess with entourage, mid C19,  
29.5 × 41 / 30.4 × 42.3 cm. [Paithan] Bonhams 8.04.14: 271

for numerous examples of Paithan painting besides those listed below, **see** b. + w. illustrations in Dallapiccola 1980 + 1998, Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum 1996, and Ray 1978.

Paithan: R. + L. with three *vānaras*, C18, 30.1 × 42.2 cm. Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-73-95

Paithan: R. shoots Vālin through tree, watched by Sugrīva, C18, 29 × 42.5 cm.  
 Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-72-96

several folios from Paithan Rāmāyaṇa sets (dated to c. 1800) Detroit Institute of Arts

Pinguli: double sided painting (recto: *vānaras* construct Rāmasetu; verso: Vibhīṣaṇa meets R. at his camp), c. 1830-40, 30.5 × 41 cm. Todywalla 25.02.22: 40

Pinguli: double sided painting (recto: Akampana reporting to Ravana; verso: Śūrpaṇakhā propositions R. and golden deer), c. 1830-40, 30.5 × 41 cm. Todywalla 25.02.22: 41

Paithan: warrior approaches S. + Hanumān; *rākṣasas* preside over wedding, 1st half C19,   
30 × 41.5 cm. Sotheby’s 10.10.89: 73

Paithan, L. cuts off Śūrpaṇakhā’s nose, 19th cent. 31.8 × 41.9 cm. [cf. note] Sackler S2000.11

Paithan, R. + L. confer with Sugrīva, c. 1850, 30.48 × 42.54 cm. LACMA M.86.345.14

Paithan, *vānara* generals in procession, c. 1850, 30.48 × 42.23 cm. LACMA M.85.297.4

Paithan, Bharata shoots at Hanumān (recto), Hanumān lands with herbs (verso), c. 1850, 42.3 × 27.94 cm. LACMA M.85.297.5a-b

Paithan, Rāma kills golden deer, c. 1830-1900, 30.8 × 42.5 cm., private collection,  
ill. at McGill 2016: 62, no. 24

Paithan, double-sided folio with Rāmāyaṇa episodes, late C19, 32.1 × 41.3 cm.  
 Norton Simon P.2006.01ab

Paithan: Rām. illustration, Sītā in *aśokavana* (?), C19, 30.6 × 41.6 cm. Bonhams 24.09.21: 1262

Paithan, Rām. illustration (?), mid C19, 29.5 × 42 cm. Christie’s 20.03.082: 297

Paithan, Rām. illustration (?), mid C19, 29.5 × 42 cm. Christie’s 16.09.09: 886  
(ex Pal family collection)

Paithan, Rām. illustration (?), mid C19, 29.2 × 40.5 cm. Christie’s 3.04.09: 332

Paithan, Rām. illustration (??), mid C19, 29.5 × 40.5 cm. Christie’s 3.04.09: 333

Paithan, Rām. illustration (? departure from Ayodhyā), mid C19, 30.5 × 40.6 cm.  
 Christie’s 3.04.09: 334

Paithan, R. fights large *rākṣasa*, mid C19, 29.8 × 41.2 cm. Christie’s 20.03.12: 304

Paithan, Rāvaṇa abducts Sītā, mid C19, 30.4 × 42.1 cm. Christie’s 20.03.12: 307

Paithan, Rāvaṇa kills Jaṭāyus, mid C19, 30.4 × 42.5 cm. Christie’s 20.03.12: 308

Paithan, Hanumān brought before Rāvaṇa, mid C19, 30.4 × 41.9 cm. Christie’s 20.03.12: 310

Karnataka (probably), two Rāmāyaṇa illustrations, c. 1830-50, 30.7 × 41.8 cm.   
 Christie’s 29.04.05: 598

Paithan, R. shooting a *rākṣasa,* mid C19, 29 × 42 cm. Roseberys 21.04.15: 51 + 06.10.15: 129

Paithan: S. + R. + Hanumān greet a ruler, C19 Roseberys 30.10.23: 470

Paithan: Hanumān fights Kumbhakarṇa, mid C19, 30.5 × 42.5 cm. Sotheby’s 17.3.15: 890

Paithan: Lakṣmana fights Indrajit, mid C19, 30.2 × 43.5 cm. Sotheby’s 17.3.15: 891

[Paithan]: Rāvaṇa with courtiers, mid C19, 30.4 × 43.1 cm. Sotheby’s 17.3.15: 1192

[Paithan]: Lakṣmaṇa fights Kumbhakarṇa, mid C19, 30.1 × 43.4 cm. Sotheby’s 17.3.15: 1193

Paithan: L. kills Indrajit, mid C19, 39.5 × 46.8 cm. MAP, BangalorePTG.01278

Paithan, S. in *aśokavana,* c. 1850 (Nat. Handicrafts Mus., N.D.) *Rām. illustré*: V, 53

Paithan, S. + Hanumān in *aśokavana,* c. 1850 (Nat. Handicrafts Mus., N.D.) *Rām. illustré*: V, 103

[Paithan] Hanumān and Sītā in *aśokavana,* C19, 31.6 × 42.1 cm. BM 2003,1013,0.11  
(ill. at McGill 2016: 180-1, no. 91)

Paithan, death of Kumbhakarṇa, c. 1850 (Nat. Handicrafts Mus., N.D.) *Rām. illustré*: VI, 167

Paithan, Hanumān carries herb mountain, c. 1850 (coll. Shilpa Mehta, Hyderabad)  
 *Rām. illustré*: VI, 188-9

Paithan, Hanumān interrupts Indrajit's sacrifice, c. 1850 (Nat. Handicrafts Mus., N.D.)  
 *Rām. illustré*: VI, 215

Paithan, Hanumān fights Indrajit, c. 1850, 47.3 × 31.8 cm. (ill. at *Rām. illustré*: VI, 221) Brooklyn 1999.19

Paithan, R. + L. on foot attack Rāvaṇa in chariot, C19, 30.2 × 42.9 cm. La Salle 08-O-211

Pune: Rāvaṇa and a wife play chaupar, 1801-05, 25.2 × 39.9 cm. BM 1940,0713,0.160  
(Moor collection; also ill. at McGill 2016: 226-7, no. 117)

Pune: 60 paintings on Rāmāyaṇa subjects in BM (Moor coll.) folder 1940,0713,0.31 etc.

Savantvadi, R.’s council of war, c. 1890 V&A IS.12-1968

Savantvadi, Rāma and *vānaras* confront a king, retainer and woman, late C19  
 V&A IS.23-1991

Savantvadi, Rāma and *vānaras* meet a king and his wife, C19 V&A IS.26-1991

Savantvadi, [subject unidentified], C19 V&A IS.27-1991

Savantvadi: *setubandhan,* c. 1850, 25.5 × 39.5 cm. MAP, Bangalore PTG.00070

Savantvadi: Rāvaṇa kills Jaṭāyus, c. 1850, 25.5 × 39.5 cm. MAP, Bangalore PTG.00071

Nagpur, R. + L. bid farewell to Daśaratha, end C18, 12.1 × 19.2 cm. Bib.Nat. (Hurel 2010) 269

Nagpur: ms. page divided into 3 panels, r. + l. Hanumān in action round column of text, C19 BM 2000,1003,0.1

W. India: scroll painting on cotton including some Rāmāyaṇa scenes, C19-early C20,   
336.4 × 54.9 cm. BM 2005,0622,0.1

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Hanumān sculpture, copper, Maharashtra or Karnataka, 1500-1800, 62.2 × 35.6 × 8.9 cm.  
(ill. at McGill 2016: 167, no. 80) Peabody Essex E303500

Ascetic’s pectoral plaque with Hanumān, holding healing herb in left hand, C16,   
23 × 18 × 3.8 cm. LACMA M.67.160.1

circular bronze plaque of Hanuman, holding healing herb in left hand, C17-18, Maharashtra (?), 6.75 inches [17.1 cm.] BM 1940,0716.323

circular bronze plaque of Hanuman, holding healing herb in left hand, C18-19, Maharashtra (?), 4.5 inches [11.4 cm.] BM 1940,0716.351

circular bronze plaque of Hanuman, holding healing herb in left hand, C18-19, Karnataka, 21 × 17.5 × 3 cm. BM 1853,0108.8

circular bronze pectoral plaque of Hanuman, holding healing herb in left hand, C18, Maharashtra/Karnataka, 22.9 cm. Zacke 11-13.10.23: 246

brass pendant of Hanuman, holding healing herb in left hand, late C19, 24.5 × 21 cm.  
 Olympia 23.11.16: 139

brass pendant of Hanuman, holding healing herb in left hand, C18, 9 × 10 cm.  
 Olympia 22.11.17: 26

circular bronze plaque of Hanuman, holding healing herb in left hand, C19, 18 cm.  
 Ethnologisches Mus., Berlin I C 48448

silver amulet of Hanumān, flying and holding healing herb in left hand, 4.2 × 3.3 cm. V&A

silver amulet of R. + S. on *siṃhāsana* attended 3 brothers + Hanumān, C17-18, 4.5 × 4.3 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 82.208

Karnataka: bronze amulet of Hanuman, holding healing herb in left hand, C19, c. 25 × 18 cm.  
 Wereld Mus. TM-4351-15

brass amulet of Hanuman, holding healing herb in left hand, C19, 20.1 × 17.9 × 3 cm.  
 Wereld Mus. TM-6211-2

**object (and medium)** paintings (and other items) from Nepal and eastern India

**location (original/present)** various

**date** 17th century (Nepal); mostly 18th century onwards (E. India)

**studies** Archer, W.G. 1953: *Bazaar paintings of Calcutta: the style of Kalighat* (London: H.M.S.O.). **Sackler IWg Arc**

Blurton, T. Richard 1998: “The “Murshidabad” Pats of Bengal”, in Jain (ed.) 1998a: 42-55. **Sackler IWg Jain**

Bose, Mandakranta 2015: "The killing of Sindhu in the painted scrolls of Bengal", in Kaushal and others 2015: 235-41. [on the episode in Kṛttibās and on her own painted scroll acquired in Midnapore dist.] **(IND)**

Bose, Mandakranta 2017: *The Ramayana in Bengali folk paintings* (New Delhi: Niyogi Books). **(IND)**

Cuneo, Daniele 2017: “Vivid images, not opaque words”, in *Indic Manuscript Cultures through the Ages: material, textual, and historical investigations,* ed. by Vincenzo Vergiani, Daniele Cuneo, Camillo Alessio Formigatti, Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 14 (Berlin: De Gruyter): 551-86. **download**

Ghosh, D.P. 1945: “An illustrated *Rāmāyaṇa* manuscript of Tulsīdās and paṭs from Bengal”, *JISOA* 13: 130-38. **scan**

Ghosh, Pika 2000: “The story of a storyteller’s scroll”, *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 37: 166-85. **download**

Ghosh, Pika 2003a: “Unrolling a narrative scroll: artistic practice and identity in late nineteenth-century Bengal”, *JAsianS* 62.3 (Aug 2003): 835-71. **printout**

Ghosh, Pika 2003b: “A Bengali *Ramayana* Scroll in the Victoria and Albert Museum Collection: A Reappraisal of Content”, *South Asian Studies* 19: 157-67. **own copy**

Goswami, Niranjan 1981: *Catalogue of paintings of the Asutosh Museum ms. of the Rāmacaritamānasa* (Calcutta: Asutosh Museum of Indian Art). **Sackler IWgc Cal**

Goswami, Niranjan 1983a: “An illustrated copy of the Rāmacaritamānasa”, in *Aspects of Indian Art and Culture: S.K. Sarasvati Commemoration Volume,* ed. by Jayanta Chakrabarty and D.C. Bhattacharyya (Calcutta: Ṛddhi-India): 143-53. [discussion of ms catalogued in Goswami 1981, see notes below] **Ind. Inst.**

Goswami, Niranjan 1983b: “A folk painted manuscript of the Rāmacaritamānasa”, in Srinivasa Iyengar 1983: 108-23. **own copy**

Pal, Pratapaditya 1985: *Art of Nepal: a catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art Collection* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art). **download**

Korom, Frank J. 2006: *Village of painters: narrative scrolls from West Bengal* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press). [on a contemporary Patua community] **Sackler IWnc Mus**

Williams, Joanna, and J.P. Das 1987: “Raghunātha Pṛuṣṭi: an Oriya artist” *AA* 48.1-2: 131-59. **download**

Williams, Joanna Gottfried 1996: *The Two-Headed Deer: illustrations of the Rāmāyaṇa in Orissa* (Berkeley: University of California Press). **own copy**

**notes** Cuneo 2017 describes the so-called Cambridge Kalāpustaka manuscript (CUL Add.864), which is an accordion-pleated book with 144 miniatures from early 17th-century Nepal, of which pp. 75-104 illustrate the *Rāmāyaṇa*; for details of the scenes shown (which include an analogue of the SE Asian Benjakai episode on pp. 88-89)  
 **see** Cuneo 2017: 568-74.

Goswami 1983 describes illustrated ms of RCM presented to Asutosh Museum, University of Calcutta (T.448), in 1942, by the mahant, Sri Ramdas Aulia, of Sādhakbāg monastery (Murshidabad dist., W. Bengal), written for Janaki Devi of Mahisadal Raj Estate [so Ghosh 1945: 130]; virtually complete at 343 folios with 153 illustrations surviving; (ff. 226-53 are later replacements with no illustrations); with colophons showing that it was written in *nāgarī* by Ichārāmamiśra in Kamalapura, Mahisadal pargana in 1773-75 A.D. (dates in Vilāyati [current in Orissa], Śaka and Vikrama eras); artist not named.  
24.7 × 30.5 cm. (writing area, defined by coloured borders = 17 × 22.5 cm.), on imported English paper (left unprimed for the paintings); some illustrations full page, others placed in upper/middle/lower section of the page; painting style similar to contemporary Orissan mss, with some Mughal features, but broadly in a folk style; no artist named. [sources: Goswami 1981 and 1983a; illuminated ms of Tulsīdās’s *RCM* dated Midnapore 1750 in Asutosh Museum, Calcutta just mentioned in Losty 1982: 113 is evidently the same as this one]

Goswami 1981: 3 — “A study of the text in consultation with an authoritative edition of the *Rāmacaritamānasa* [= Hill’s trans.] reveals that it is a fairly faithful copy of the original composition barring a few episodes, viz., the several reverses of Rāvaṇa at the hands of the Amazonian warriors, and Bali, Balī and Sahasravāhu (folio nos. 55ff.), the out in Tulasīdāsa’s classic but have been incorporated here.”  
[goes on to speculate on possible influence from Kṛttibās]

Bose 2015: 239

. . . The painters of paṭas are known as *paṭuās* and consider themselves as members of a special caste (*citrakar jāti*) belonging neither to the Muslim nor to the Hindu community but practising elements of both. They display their scrolls by unrolling each, frame by frame, and reciting or singing commentaries on each frame, the whole performance sometimes shared by husband and wife or son.

Kathmandu: Nautale Durbar (1770, for Prithvi Narayan Shah) of the Hanuman Dhoka palace shows Rāmāyaṇa scenes in three registers of wood-carving (Banerjee in Srinivasa Iyengar 1983: 161 §§ 1-3).

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illustrated *RCM* ms in 349 folios, 36 × 36 cm., copied in *vikrama* *saṃvat* 1842 (A.D. 1785) in Patna by Vaiṣṇava Dās, who calls himself a servant of Rāma. BL Or. MS. 12867

illustrated *RCM* ms, late C18, 18-19, 18-23 × 16-16.4 / 30.6 × 24-24.2 cm., paintings on each leaf below text (with captions in red in different hand from text)   
(Fußman exhibition cat.: 168-83, no. 80a-v) Mus. für Indische Kunst, Berlin

illustrated *RCM* ms (“Kāñcanacitra Rāmāyaṇa”), 1796-1814, 548 paintings (one to each text page) by artists of several schools for royal court of Banaras  
[exhibition of c. 80 pages at Museum of Art and Photography, Bengaluru, “Book of Gold: The Kanchana Chitra Ramayana of Banaras” 16th September 2023 – 8th March 2024]

illustrated *RCM* ms in 496 folios (*kāṇḍas* numbered separately), *saṃvat* 1874 (A.D. 1817), 12 × 27 cm., copied by Gaṅgā Praśād Kāyasth in Kāśī Wellcome MS Hindi.335  
[see Friedlander 1996: no. 395]

Hindi Rāmāyaṇa ms., C19, 18.3 x 15 cm., in local style (cf. Das Gupta: 1972: 46 + 51) Khoda Bux Oriental Public Library, Patna (P. No. 31184)

illuminated ms (? mss) of *Adhy. Rām.* in Patna style (BL Mss Eur C116/1-2 and C215/1-2). C116 = trans. commissioned by Charles Boddam at Chapra in Bihar, 1803-04.

8 leaves from Persian ill. Rām. trans. in Arabic script from Bengal, late C17 to early C18,  
c.25 × 15.5 cm. Fogg cat. 17, no. 167

Sansipāt folio showing Sundarakāṇḍa text and scene, later medieval, 37.5 × 12.5 cm.  
 [ill. in Aitken 2022: 71] Assam State Museum, Guwahati

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Orissan palm-leaf painting, several scenes, C17, 39.5 × 4 cm. Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-65-5,6,7

Orissan palm-leaf drawings: 6 leaves from a Rāmāyaṇa ms, late C17, 4.3 × 39 cm. and slightly smaller Bonhams 21.05.24: 122

Orissan palm-leaf illustrated ms of 233 ff., C17-18, 4.5 × 26.5 average Olympia 11.11.15: 189

two palm-leaf folios from a Rāmāyaṇa illustrated ms, c. 1700 Albert Hall, Jaipur, 77-1

Orissan palm-leaf painting: obverse – birth of Rāma and brothers (left), Rāma killing Tāṭakā (right), reverse – Rāma killing various *rākṣasas*, c. 1750, 5 × 38 cm.   
(ill. at Sharma 1974, plates 97-98) Nat. Mus. 62.616

Orissan palm-leaf drawings: c. 1750, 4.7-5 × 41.5 cm.  
S. with musicians (recto); S. emerges from palanquin (verso) Nat. Mus. 63.126/1  
R. stands over dead Vālin (recto); R. shoots Vālin (verso) Nat. Mus. 63.126/2  
scenes of relaxation in palace (recto + verso) Nat. Mus. 63.126/3  
prince lands from boat (recto); scenes in palace (verso) Nat. Mus. 63.126/4  
courtiers salute prince (recto); prince standing under tree (verso) Nat. Mus. 63.126/7

Orissan double-sided folio showing R. on horse, Hanumān in tree, plus attendants,   
late C18-early C19, 4.5 × 27.3 cm. Sotheby’s 18.3.17: 1197

Orissan palm-leaf drawings: multiple scenes on 2 palm-leaf folios in Oriya script, C18,   
4.8 × 40 cm. Sotheby’s 26.03.98: 18

Orissan palm-leaf drawings: multiple scenes on 8 palm-leaf folios in Oriya script from the *Sītārāmavivāha* in the *Vaidehīśavilasa Rāmāyaṇa,* C18 Allahabad Mus. AM-MIN-1673

Orissan palm-leaf drawing: multiple scenes (Hanumān brings herb mountain, R. extracts arrow from L., Suṣeṇa heals L. (recto), *vānaras* + *ṛkṣa*s fight Rāvaṇa + *rākṣasas* (verso), from Romance of Chandrabhanu and Lavanyavati of Upendra Bhañja (d. 1740) with names inscribed next to main characters, late C18, c. 4.8 × 40.2 cm. Cleveland 1979.21

Orissa palm-leaf drawings: multiple scenes on ff. 42-43 from work by Upendra Bhañja,   
4.7 × 32 cm. (Boner coll.) Rietberg RVI 1195

Orissa: double-sided palm-leaf drawing of *rākṣasa* army on march, late C18, 4.5 × 40.3 cm.  
 Roseberys 01.04.22: 163

Orissa: 2 double-sided palm-leaf folios from a Rāmāyaṇa series, late C18 – early C19,   
4.5 × 27.3 cm. Sotheby’s 19.03.16: 1318

Orissan palm-leaf painting: Rāmāyaṇa scene, late C18 – early C19, 4 × 39.35 cm.  
 V&A IS.24-1967

Orissan palm-leaf painting: wedding and breaking of bow, c. 1800, 6 × 39.5 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 62.619c

Orissan palm-leaf drawings from *Vaidehīśavilasa* of Upendra Bhañja: R. + S. enthroned and R.’s installation across 4 palm-leaf folios; R.s return, Vasiṣṭha, freeing of Ahalyā on 3 separate folios; all incised by Śatrughna, 4.4 × 39 cm. (Boner coll.) Rietberg RVI 1194

Orissan palm-leaf painting: R. + S. enthroned, 19th cent. 3.3 × 17.1 cm. San Diego 1990.225

Orissan palm-leaf paintings: Rāmāyaṇa scenes, 19th cent. 5 × 40/40.5 cm.  
(ex Welch coll.) Harvard (Sackler) 2009.202.200 + 201

*O*rissan palm-leaf ms with Rāmāyaṇa scenes in ink and colour, C19 V & A IS 24-1967  
[ill. at *Arts of India: 1550-1900*: 38-39]

Orissa: multiple folios of Rāmāyaṇa text with drawings, 6.7 × 36.8 cm. Ackland Mus. 68.46.1

Orissa: 3 folios from illustrated palm-leaf *Vaidehīśavilāsa* ms, late 19th cent., 4.3 × 31.9 cm. Philadelphia 1961-139-1,2,3

Oriya Rāmāyaṇa ms (145 folios, including 102 illustrations), 17th cent., 13.75 × 1.5 ´´  
 V&A IM.8-1920

Rāmāyaṇa ms (68 ff., 78 illustrations), 34 × 4.5 cm. Victoria Memorial Hall, Kolkata, R5410

Rāmāyaṇa ms (26 ff., 32 illustrations), 23.5 × 4.4 cm. Victoria Memorial Hall, Kolkata, R5413

Orissan palm-leaf ms of Upendra Bhañja’s *Lāvaṇyavatī* with incise Rāma story drawings by Raghunātha Pṛuṣṭi, late C19 private coll./Rietberg/Bharata Kala Bhavan  
[**see**Williams 1978, with ill. at plates 20-27]

*O*rissan palm-leaf ms with incised Rāmāyaṇa drawings, c. 1920 BL Or. MS 14201

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Bengal, R. + Katshnua with *vānaras* cross *setu*, 1750-1800, 20.5 × 133 cm. San Diego 1990.236

painted scroll (paper mounted on cotton): 39 panels with Rāmāyaṇa scenes, c. 1800,   
W. Bengal, 836 × 53 cm. V&A IS.105:1 to 3-1955  
(also ill. at McGill 2016: 13-17, **q.v.**, and Blurton 1998: 46, fig. 4 and 54, fig.13)

Bengali *pat* depicting Rāma battling with Tāṭakā (?), c.1800, Murshidabad   
(also ill. at Blurton 1998: 43, fig. 1) [ex French Collection] BM 1955.1008.094

Murshidabad: *pata* in 8 registers: Rāma battling Tāṭakā (above) and R + L. crossing Gaṅgā, with sages offering sacrifice beyond (below), etc., early C19, 133.5 × 62.2 cm.  
(ill. at Blurton 1998: 45, fig. 3) [ex LeRoy Davidson Collection] BM 1994.4-13.01

Bengali *pat* illustrating Rāmāyaṇa by a rural *patua* artist, Murshidabad, c.1820  
(3 panels, central one showing R. piercing 7 tālas) [ex J.C. French coll.]  
(b+w ill. at Archer 1953: 73 no. 45)

Bengali *pat* (on wood), C19-20, 19.3 × 4.8 cm. (?) Nat. Mus. 73.50

Bengali *paṭa* section: L. rejects Śūrpaṇakhā as R. + S. play *caupaṛ* in hut, early C19,   
42.5 × 48.7cm / 45.4 × 51 cm. Philadelphia 1994-148-546

Bengali *paṭa* section: R. confronts Mārīca as golden deer (centaur-like), early C19,   
39.5 × 48.3 / 42.4 × 50.8 cm. Philadelphia 1994-148-547

scroll painting (a reconstructed length + 25 fragments) with Ramayana scenes, by a *patua* artist, West Bengal, c. 1800, 863 × 51 cm. V&A IS.105-1955

scroll painting (W. Bengal, c. 1830): R. bending bow (?) V&A IS.107:1-1955  
R. faces S. across wedding fire (?) V&A IS.107:2-1955  
R. rescuing women V&A IS.107:3-1955  
women pay homage to R. + S. + L. V&A IS.107:4-1955  
R. + S. encounter demons V&A IS.107:5-1955  
L. mutilating Śūrpaṇakhā, golden deer, R + L. playing *caupat* V&A IS.107:6-1955  
R. + S. paid homage by humans and demons V&A IS.107:7-1955

sections of Bengali scroll: Rāma worships Durgā and R. + S. enthroned, mid C19, 382 by 53.5 cm. (also ill. at McGill 2016: 7, fig. 8) BM 1955,1008,0.96

painted scroll (paper mounted on cotton), early 20th century, Bankura dist. W. Bengal,  
now in 3 sections (Kramrisch gift) Philadelphia 1964-169-3a,b + 1964-169-4  
(3rd section also ill. at Krishnan 2010: 118; cf. Ghosh 2000 + 2003a)

painted scroll (paper mounted on cloth), c. 1875-1900, 303.5 × 61.6 cm.  
 San Francisco 2010.465

*paṭacitra* scroll: multiple scenes, 97.5 × 18 inches (ex Frederich and Catherine Asher coll.)  
 Revere Auctions, 18.07.23, lot 101

West Bengal or Bihar, two folios: Sugrīva fighting with Vālin; *vānaras* building the causeway; Sugrīva fighting with Vālin, C19 (ex Welch coll.) Sotheby’s 31.05.11: 149

E. India, prob. Kalkutta: battle between R.’s and Rāvaṇa’s armies, c.1860, 16.8 × 29.8 cm.  
[ill. at Cummins 2011 172, no. 86] Kenneth and Joyce Robbins coll.

Calcutta: R. + S. + L. ferried across river, c. 1860, 18.0 × 31.0 cm. Bonhams 22.10.19: 127

Bengal: S. + companion at Vālmīki’s *āśrama* [?], c. 1860, 21.3 × 33.7 cm. Cornell 2011.100.001

Bengal: R. + L. fight Tāṭakā, Mārīca + Subāhu, 1859, 21 × 33.7 cm. Cornell 2011.100.002

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Orissan wood ms covers, several scenes, C18, 33.7 cm long Christie’s 21.03.07: 355

Rāmapaṭṭābhiṣeka (painting on wood with semi-precious stones, early 19th cent.; ACM 1996-02171) Krishnan 2010: 74

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Kālīghāṭ paintings: Hanumān with Rāma and Sītā enshrined in heart (V & A, 19th cent.) at *Larousse*: 237; Rāvaṇa fighting Hanumān (c. 1860; Archer coll. AA28) at Mildred Archer 1967 no. 41; Jaṭāyus attacking Rāvaṇa (1875-1900; LACMA M.86.118.2) at Krishnan 2010: 110

Kālīghāṭ: Hanumān and Rāvaṇa, c. 1830 V&A IS.198-1950

Kālīghāṭ: Jaṭāyus with Rāvaṇa’s chariot in his beak, c.1830, 44 × 28 cm. V&A IS.200-1950

Kālīghāṭ: Jaṭāyus with Rāvaṇa’s chariot in his beak, c. 1855-60, 43 × 27.8 / 53.5 × 38 cm.  
 V&A IM.2:72-1917

Kālīghāṭ: Hanumān with R. + S in heart, 1865-70, 44.5 × 27.7 / 48 × 32 cm. V & A IS.231-1953  
 (ill. at McGill 2016: 190, no. 99)   
R. attacked by Kuśa and Lava, c. 1865-70, 44.2 × 27.5 cm. V&A IS.235-1953

Kālīghāṭ: Hanumān, c. 1870, 125 × 96 cm. Ash. Mus. EA1966.183

Kālīghāṭ: Hanumān with R. + S in heart, 46 × 28 cm. (ill. in Formigatti 2019: 101)  
 Ind.Inst. Misc.22 fol. 72r

Kālīghāṭ: Hanumān leaps to Laṅkā, 1860-80, c. 29 × 24.5 / 36 × 29 cm. Christie’s 11.10.79: 19

Kālīghāṭ: Hanumān carries R. + S. on shoulders, c. 1880, 44 × 27.5 cm. San Diego 1990.1456

Kālīghāṭ: Hanumān with R. + S in heart, c. 1880, 45 × 27.5 cm. San Diego 1990.1439

Kālīghāṭ: Jaṭāyus with Rāvaṇa + S. in beak, c. 1880, 44.1 × 27.5 cm. Sotheby’s 19.04.83: 11

Kālīghāṭ: Jaṭāyus with Rāvaṇa + S. in beak, c. 1880, 47 × 28.5 cm. BM 1950,1014,0.17

Kālīghāṭ: 2 paintings (Hanumān revealing R. + S. in heart, Hanumān carrying R. + L.), c. 1880, 44.4 × 27.4 cm. Sotheby’s 19.04.83: 14(1-2)

Kālīghāṭ: Hanumān revealing R. + S. in heart, C19, 45.7 × 27.9 cm. Peabody Essex E302104

Kālīghāṭ: Hanumān revealing R. + S. in heart, C19, 42.5 × 27.3 cm. Christie’s 21.03.08: 726

Kālīghāṭ: Jaṭāyus hinders Rāvaṇa’s chariot, C19, 30.4 × 25.5 cm. Cleveland 2003.109.a

Kālīghāṭ: R. + L. + golden deer, late C19, 43.4 × 53.7 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 49.10/40

Kālīghāṭ: Jaṭāyus attacks Rāvaṇa, 1889, 45 × 28 cm. Indian Museum, Kolkata R.10036/s.48

Kālīghāṭ: group of paintings with captions, c. 1890, donated by R.W. Skelton –  
Daśaratha with charioteer Sumantra V&A IS.1-1959  
Kaikeyī with R. + L. in her arms V&A IS.2-1959  
churning of the ocean V&A IS.3-1959  
R. frees Ahalyā from stone V&A IS.4-1959  
Janaka with R. and bow at svayaṃvara V&A IS.5-1959  
R. and Paraśurāma V&A IS.6-1959  
R. + S. + L. going into exile V&A IS.7-1959  
Vasiśṭha tries to persuade R. to return to kingdom V&A IS.8-1959  
R. + S. + L. in Pañcavatī V&A IS.9-1959  
L. cuts off Śūrpaṇakhā’s nose V&A IS.10-1959  
Śūrpaṇakhā before Rāvaṇa V&A IS.11-1959  
R. + L. with dying Jaṭāyus V&A IS.12-1959  
Hanumān with R. + S. enclosed within tail (n.b. caption) V&A IS.13-1959  
R. + L. meet Sugrīva V&A IS.14-1959  
death of Vālin (R. + L. + pale Vālin) V&A IS.15-1959  
Hanumān see Sītā and rākṣasī from tree V&A IS.16-1959  
Jāmbavān counsels R. + L. V&A IS.17-1959  
S. hands Hanumān jewel for R. V&A IS.18-1959  
two *rākṣasīs* see Hanumān in tree V&A IS.19-1959  
Hanumān gets weapon from Mandodarī V&A IS.20-1959  
Hanumān protected in battle by Ugracandrā (on his head) V&A IS.21-1959  
Hanumān on coiled tail before Rāvaṇa V&A IS.22-1959  
Hanumān with R. + S. enshrined in heart V&A IS.23-1959  
R. + S. worshipping *liṅga* at Cape Comorin V&A IS.24-1959  
R + L. in conference with *vānara* leaders beside ocean V&A IS.25-1959  
R. + L. fight Kumbhakarṇa V&A IS.26-1959  
R. + L. kill Makarākṣa V&A IS.27-1959  
Suṣena treats swooning L. V&A IS.28-1959  
R. holds wounded L. as Hanumān stands by V&A IS.29-1959  
R. + L. fight Gavākṣa V&A IS.30-1959  
R. + L. kill Gaya V&A IS.31-1959  
R. + L. fight Vīrabāhu (on elephant) V&A IS.32-1959  
R. + L. kill Tarani Sen V&A IS.33-1959  
R. + S. enthroned, L. beside them, Hanumān prostrate below V&A IS.34-1959  
Hanumān and Sūrya V&A IS.35-1959  
Hanumān attacks Indra (or possibly Indrajit) V&A IS.36-1959  
R. meeting and recognising Kuśa and Lava V&A IS.37-1959

Kālīghāṭ: R. gives a boon to Aṅgada (captioned), c. 1890, 13.5 × 8.4 cm. V&A IS.310-1961

Kālīghāṭ: Kuśa + Lava fight L. as Hanumān watches, c. 1890, 8.8 × 13.7 cm. V&A IS.317-1961

Calcutta: Lava + Kuśa carry bound Hanumān on pole [full painting], c. 1885 V&A IS.555-1950

Calcutta: Paraśurāma offers bow to R. (street performance), c. 1860,   
17.1 × 30.6 / 21.1 × 34 cm. Philadelphia 2007-155-1

19th-century miniatures (school unidentified): Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa visiting Agastya (V& A) at *Larousse*: 212, Hanumān and *vānaras* crossing to Laṅkā (pen and ink drawing) at *Larousse*: 216

Calcutta: album of woodcuts, including incidents from Rāmāyaṇa, mid C19, 36.4 × 26.8 cm. Sotheby’s 27.11.74: 781

Bengal: R. kills Tāṭakā, c. 1900, 17.5 × 57 cm. (Boner coll.) Rietberg RVI 1149

Kālīghāṭ: R. + S. enthroned, late C19–early C20, 49.7 × 32.5 cm. Waddington’s 5-10.03.22: 282

Kālīghāṭ: Hanumān carrying R + L. on his shoulders, late C19–early C20, 63.5 × 53.5 cm. Roseberys 30.10.23: 475

Kālīghāṭ: R. + S. enthroned, attended by L. + Hanumān, c.1910, 45.5 × 27.4 cm.  
 Sotheby’s 20.07.77: 6

Kālīghāṭ: Hanumān flying with herb mountain, c. 1920, 33 × 46 cm. Bonhams 9-16.11.21: 257

painted wooden panel: abduction of Sita, Ravana's combat with Jatayu, R. + L. shooting Mārīca, combat betwen the *vānaras* and *rākṣasas*,W. Bengal, C19 V&A IS.147-1964

painted panel: Rāmāyaṇa scenes, Bengal, C19 V&A IS.149-1964

20th-century Orissan *patachitra* of Saptakāṇḍa Rāmāyaṇa, Rāvaṇa attacked, owned by Mandakranta Bose at Krishnan 2010: 18 + 20; *patachitra* from W. Bengal of Rāvaṇa attacked by Jaṭāyus at Krishnan 2010: 22

Khulna, Bangladesh: kantha embroidery, early C20 (V&A IS 16-2008) ill. at McGill 2016: 5

**also**

Nepal: temple panel (embroidered cotton), battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa,   
C15–C16, 13 × 37.5 [cf. Crill 1989: 30-5, pl.3b.] V&A IM.24-1936

Nepal: textile panel (silk embroidery on cotton), Rāmāyaṇa scenes, 39.1 × 33.3 cm.  
 Met. Mus. 1995.331

Bhaktapur: sketchbooks with Rām. drawings (text in Newari), mid C15 LACMA M.82.169.1  
[ill. with descr. in Pal 1985: 153-4, item D2]

Nepal: pair of wooden ms covers with Rām. scenes, C18, 15.8 × 40.6 cm.  
 Christie’s 3.04.09: 397

Nepal: pair of book covers with Rām. scenes, C19, 10.3 × 38.8 cm. Blohm p.19

Kashmir: painted pen case with Rāmāyaṇa scenes, C19, 6.7 × 25.8 × 8.7 cm.  
 Salar Jung Mus. XLVII-73

Purulia dist., W. Bengal: R. + S. + L. + Hanumān in Daṇḍakāraṇya, bronze,  
12 × 25 × 8 cm. (private collection) ill. at Welch 1985: 105 (no. 58)

W. Bengal: painted wooden panel with Rāmāyaṇa scenes, 6ft 6 in., width 9 3/8 in.  
 V&A IS.147-1964

Bengal: painted wooden ms cover showing (l.) Hanumān standing before seated R. + S. ,   
C18, 13 × 53.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 60.498/b

N. India: ivory panel carved with R. + S. + L. and deer, C18, 6.2 × 16.8 × 0.5 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 61.1280

Murshidabad: ivory tusk carved with Rāmāyaṇa scenes, C19, 44 × 4.2 cm.  
 Indian Museum, Kolkata AT/90/1501

wooden box with ivory fittings carved with Rāmāyaṇa scenes, C19, 18 × 12 × 22 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 74.252

Orissa: double-sided painted wooden ms cover (recto: R. + S. enthroned; verso: *vānaras* fighting *rākṣasas* with Rāvaṇa on Puṣpaka), C18, 15.6 × 38.1 cm S0theby’s21.09.95: 126

Odisha: relief panel of Hanumān striding over a prostrate *rākṣasa*, C19,   
<7.6 × 2.8 cm.> (3 × 2.123 ´´) V&A IM.373-1924

Orissa: relief panel of R.’s installation, C19, 56.5 × 37.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 66.103

Orissa: wooden panel carved with worship offered to enthroned R. + S., C19,  
15.5 × 134.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 75.81/1

Orissa: painted wooden panel, one side showing R. + S. enthroned, other side showing Vaiṣṇava symbols, C18, 43.5 × 19 cm. Nat. Mus. 82.519

Orissa: statuette of R + L with Hanumān behind, C18, 7.6 × 4.9 cm.   
 Mus. für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin, 47.154

**object (and medium)** paintings (and other items) from S. India and Sri Lanka

**location (original/present)** various

**date** mostly 18th century onwards

**studies** Colas, Gérard, Usha Colas-Chauhan, Francis Richard 2022: “Text and Paintings: a preliminary study of Indien 745, a manuscript of the Bibliothèque nationale de France”, *CIS* 24.2: 25-58. **own copy (vol.)**

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**notes** Vijayan 1997 describes and illustrates a palm-leaf ms (codex 12308 in the O.R.I. Library, Trivandrum), dated Kollam 628 = 1453 A.D.. containing incised illustrations on 98 folios of the Rāma story, based on the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa,* with captions in Malayāḷam on 114 sequences (out of over 300).

17th-century paintings from Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnad of Rāmāyaṇa episodes are preserved in the Sarasvati Mahal library, Tañjāvur (Sivaramamurti 1968: 137). The library holds a number of painted leaves and manuscripts on paper; one of the best known is a leaf illustrating the 17th-century Telugu version of the Bālakāṇḍa.

*citrarāmāyaṇa* in the form of 3 painted sheets, 1 each to Bāla, Ayodhyā and Araṇya kāṇḍas, with captions in Telugu, Nāyak period, following Mādhavasvāmī’s text [Mādhavasvāmī, 1676-1713, a descendant of Rāmdās], in Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal library (**see** Sivaramamurti 1985: pl. XXX; Krishna 1994 – **scan**; Michell 1995: 264-5);   
another half page (6⅜ × 4 13/16 inches) with multiple scenes from end of Yuddha kāṇḍa Wisconsin 1983.149

illustrated Rāmāyaṇa from 1st quarter of 18th century in State Museum, Hyderabad, originally 21 × 25 cm. but many trimmed, dominated by paintings, with little text apart from Sanskrit captions in Telugu script accompanying them (Markel 2006]); **see** Michell 1995: 262, Mittal 1969 (extracts photocopied) and doc. “Andhra paintings of Rāmāyaṇa”, summarising Mittal [http://www.artnewsnviews.com/view-article.php?article=discovery-andhra-paintings-of-the-ramayana&iid=21&articleid=530]. Another leaf of this set, mostly in State Mus., Hyderabad, illustrated at Zebrowski 1983: 221 from a private collection, titled ‘Rama’s battle wagon’, 20.7 × 14.7 cm.

Dallapiccola 2010: 18 —   
Another noteworthy manuscript is the Rajahmundry *Ramayana* whose colophon bears the date 9 October 1757, now in the collection of the Völkerkunde Museum in Hamburg.21   
[fn. 21 on p.23:] Acc. no. As. 4673. See J. Mittal 1985 and S. Srinivas 2005. See also Kolapelli Buchenna 2005 — trans. of a commentary in Telugu by K.P., an associate of the painters, on this 86-folio album painted by Nandigam Nagesan and Kamaroutu Venkatesan; all folios have full-page painting on obverse (33 on various holy shrines, 53 on Rāma story) and on reverse text in Telugu at top and Persian at bottom giving content of painting, with name Duplant de Laval in bottom margin on reverse; Pierre Duplant de Laval was a French nobleman who lived in Pondicherry as a merchant with the French East India Company, acquired the paintings a few months after their completion (for a Muslim patron?) and, on his return to Europe, had the paintings bound in book form with leather binding and a printed frontispiece in French stating him as the owner.

from Mittal 2014 –

p.8 – “These scrolls form a distinct but hitherto unknown style crucial to the development of Deccani painting. From at least as early as the beginning of the 17th century they have been produced by artists living in villages of the northwestern region of the present Andhra Pradesh state known as Telangana. They illustrate sacred local legends about the progenitors of certain castes. In some cases, they incorporate episodes from the mythology of Shiva and Shakti, . . . ; in others, they draw upon stories from the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana.* These scrolls were used by the hereditary picture-showmen, locally called *Patamuvaru,* who belong to a community entitled to perform only before a certain caste of people in Telangana.” [scrolls themselves called *patams*]

p.9 – “These Telangana scroll paintings differ in many respects from other Deccani types of painted scrolls as well as those used by picture-showmen in other regions of India. The key difference lies in the purpose for which they are produced, a factor that profoundly affects their content, style, technique, painters, patrons, showmen, and audience.

. . .

By contrast, the Telangana scrolls depict legends about the origin of a particular caste and the heroic deeds of its main character. These legends were meant for performance before people of that caste and they were traditionally fixed to be shown by picture-showmen who belonged to a particular cast/community that was traditionally entitled to perform before people of that patron-caste. The performers belonged to the same caste as the patron, but enjoyed a lower status because they had become performers engaged in showing scrolls depicting their caste legends.

p.11 – “. . . The legends, the castes of the patrons, and those of the picture-showmen are as follows:  
. . . . . .  
(vii) the *Ramayana, Mahabharata,* and *Addam Purana,* performed before the *Mangallolus*   
 (barbers) by showmen of the *Addamuvaru* caste.  
(viii) The *Ramayana, Raja Yayati Katha,* and *Jalandhara-janma katha,* performed before the *Mudirajs* (fruit gatherers and fishermen) by *Kakipadigela* cast people.  
. . . ”

Rajahmundry: c. 1750, 22 × 36 cm with border, Rāma shoots golden deer, inscr. on verso in Telugu plus *19* (ex Peter Cochrane, ex Kasmin) Galloway 2006: 106-7, no 42

Rajahmundry school: series of Rām. illustrations, c. 1750 –  
R. kills Rāvaṇa, C18, 32 × 67.5 cm. Sotheby’s 13.12.72: 55  
R. bends the bow, C18, 34 × 69.5 cm. Sotheby’s 13.12.72: 56 = Sotheby’s 18.10.95: 97  
Rāvaṇa rides into battle, C18, 31.5 × 64 cm. Sotheby’s 13.12.72: 57  
Rāvaṇa carries S. away in chariot, C18, 31 × 32.5 cm. Sotheby’s 13.12.72: 58  
R. + L. find dying Jaṭāyus, C18, 31.5 x 31.5 cm. Sotheby’s 13.12.72: 59  
R. shoots golden deer, C18, 18.5 × 32.5 cm. Sotheby’s 13.12.72: 60  
R. + L. shoot Tātakā, C18, 32.5 × 33 cm. Sotheby’s 13.12.72: 62

Tanjore (Tañjāvūr/Tañcāvūr): painting in 3 panels with Rāmāyaṇa scenes, C17,   
10.7 × 10.5 cm. Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-73-72

S. Andhra Pradesh, c. 1720, set of 100 Hindu deities (Bib.Nat. 293b.96-195; see Hurel 2010)   
of which 20 (.176-182) illustrate Bālakāṇḍa episodes as follows: 176, Daśaratha and Rśyaśṛṅga go to sacrifice; 177, being emerges from flames with *pāyasa*; 178, Daśaratha receives *pāyasa*; 179 D. gives it to 3 wives; 180, Sumitrā with babies L. + Śatrughna; 181, Kaikeyī with baby Bharata; 182, Kausalyā with baby R.; 183, Daśaratha with 4 young sons; 184, Daśaratha entrusts R. + L. to Viśvāmitra; 185, R. + L. + Viśvāmitra leave for Daṇḍaka; 186, R. + L. + Viśvāmitra in boat; 187, Viśvāmitra with R. + L. makes fire oblation; R. + L. ward off Mārīca and Subāhu; 189, Ahalyā freed; 190, Viśvāmitra teaches R. + L.; 191, Viśvāmitra + R. + L. go towards Mithilā; 192, Janaka receives Viśvāmitra, R. + L.; 193, R. breaks bow; 194, Viśvāmitra, R. + L. (left) and Janaka + Vasiṣṭha (right) make marriage arrangements; 195; R. + S. marry in presence of Janaka + Daśaratha

S. India: album of 137 paintings of deities and sages with explanations in French (Rāmāyaṇa items numbered 93-104), pre 1739, 35.5 × 22 cm. Bib. Nat. Indien 745

Masulipatam, then Karikal (Tanjore), c. 1727-58, album of 132 Rām. illustrations to accompany text of one of 4 vols of Abraham Pierre Porcher des Oulches, *Histoire et figures des dieux des Indiens, ou théogonie des Malabariquois,* covering Bāla to Yuddha (no Uttara) Bib. Nat. (Hurel 2010) 297.1-132

Maharashtra or Tamilnadu, 18th century, illustrated ms of (?) *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* ACM 1996-02178

Tamilnad / SE Karnataka (probably), c. 1780-85, company style, set of 89 illustrations to *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* of which nos 61-70 show Bālakāṇḍa episodes: 61, R. kills Tāṭakā; 62, Ahalyā freed; 63, Śūrpaṇakhā mutilated (nose, ears, breasts); 64, Rāvaṇa approaches S.; 65, Rāvaṇa abducts S.; 66, Hanumān finds S. in *aśokavana*; 67, final combat of R. and Rāvaṇa; 68, Rāma enthroned with S., surrounded by brothers, courtiers and *vānaras* install Vibhīṣaṇa as ruler of Laṅkā; 69, S. with twins in Vālmīki’s *āsrama*; 70, Janaka finds S. in furrow. Bib.Nat. (Hurel 2010) 303.61-70

[Andhra Pradesh:] 8 scenes from Rāmāyaṇa, early C19 (paper watermarked 1794),   
each 26.5 × 43.5 cm. Sotheby’s 24.9.18: 102

illuminated ms (c. 1825-30) of the *Bāla, Sundara* and *Yuddha kāṇḍas* of the *Cāmarājoktivilāsa* [written by – or at the court of – the C17 Wodeyar ruler, Cāmarāja Wodeyar III (r. 1617-37) in Kaṇṇada] produced in atelier of Kṛṣṇarāja III (**see** Goswamy 2007: 166-68 and esp. Mittal 2011); including among the 336 illustrations to the *Bālakāṇḍa* —  
 Daśaratha performs sacrifice and receives *pāyasa* (Mittal 2011: 761, fig. 1)  
 R. shoots Subāhu (Mittal 2011: 762, fig. 2)

Sivapriyananda 1997 – one of the 2 mss discussed is an *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* with Skt comm. by Rāma Varmā, size 30 × 16 cm, 320 folios of which 10 missing, with 67 illustrations, varying from full page to insets within text, on European paper (wtermarked S. WISE & PATCH 1806) in *pothī* format between two wooden boards; no Uttarakāṇḍa illustrations; assigned to 1st half of 19th century and Mysore area; in private collection in Mysore

“Under the patronage of the Mysore Rājas, lavish gilded manuscripts in Kannada of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and similar texts were prepared in the 19th century.” Losty 1982: 119.  
[A good example is the late-19th-century Sundarakāṇḍa ms in the Mysore Palace Sarasvati Bhandar Library, lavishly illustrated with much goldwork in the paintings, which show a convergence of various traditions of ms painting, especially from the Deccan.]

illuminated ms of Mādhavasvāmī’s Marāṭhī version produced at Tanjore in mid 19th century see Losty 1982: 141 (BL Or.MS.13535)

2-sided folio from illuminated ms of unidentified Marāṭhī version produced at Nagpur, 1750-75, 33 × 18 cm. (text on recto 9 .25-36 init. and on verso 9.36 fin.–37 + 10.1; islamicised format) [showing on recto: building *setu,* Hanumān as child seizing sun, S. with a guru (??), R. shooting Rāvaṇa] Losty 2013b: 160-1, no. 45

fragment of a Ramayana [Bāla to Yuddha kāṇḍas] and Yayaticharitra Purana Scroll,   
vertical painting on cotton divided into horizontal panels, prob. Karimnagar dist., A.P., c. 1890-1900, 743 × 100 cm. [**see** Mittal 2014: 184-203 **scanned**) J & K Mittal Mus. 76.476

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Hyderabad: R. + L. defeat Rāvaṇa, 1st half C18, 22 × 15.5 cm. Chiswick 29.10.20: 371

Deccani, Nagpur: R. + S. enthroned, c. 1750, 14.8 × 24.7 / 17.8 × 28 cm. (ex Earls of Sandwich, then private German collection, 2005-14) Losty 2014: no. 21

Nāyak style: R + L. follow Viśvāmitra, c. 1750 Nat. Mus.

Karnataka: (drawing) R. + S. worshipped by kings and sages, C18, 26.4 × 61 cm.  
 Christie’s 16.09.09: 846

Rāvaṇa aims an arrow at Rāma, from Rāmāyaṇa ms., S. Andhra Pradesh, c. 1725,  
20.8 × 14.2 cm. J & K Mittal Mus. 76.540

Rajahmundry: R. bends the bow, c. 1750, 36.5 × 72 cm. Christie’s 23.09.04: 166

Rajahmundry: Rāvaṇa abducts S., 1757 (J & K Mittal Mus., Hyderabad) *Rām. illustré*: III, 114

Rajahmundry: R. + L. find dying Jaṭāyus, c. 1750, 35.6 × 35.1 cm. Philadelphia 1975-149-1

Rajahmundry: R. + L. shooting Tāṭakā, c. 1750, 35.9 × 36.7 cm. V & A: IS.233-2006

Rajahmundry: folio, c, 1750, [36.8 × 59.9 cm.] Berkeley Art Mus. EL.1.2007.11

Tirupati (probably): Hanumān and Vibhīṣaṇa (recto), a noble devotee (verso), mid C18, opaque pigments on cotton, 21.8 × 12.3 cm. (inscr. on recto in Persian *jan ...*)  
 Francesca Galloway, *Asia Week, New York, 2018,* no. 21

South India (probably Tanjore): 4 scenes on 1 folio, C18, 6⅜ × 413/16 in. Wisconsin 1983.149

Tanjore: R. enthroned, c. 1725, 15.5 × 24.5 cm. Nat. Mus. 77.108

Tanjore: R. + S. enthroned with multiple other figures, C18, 16 × 36 cm.   
 Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-89-93

Andhra Pradesh: R.’s battle wagon, mid C18, 20.7 × 14.7 cm. (Telugu inscr. at top)  
 Sotheby’s 31.05.11: 161

Andhra Pradesh: c. 1750, Rāma kills Tāṭakā, watched by Viśvāmitra, 35.9 × 36.7 cm.  
(McGill 2016: 48-49, no. 13) V&A IS 233-2006

Andhra Pradesh: Rāma’s installation, c. 1775, 22.86 × 17.15 cm. LACMA AC1993.123.1

S. India (?): Rāma from a *daśāvatāra* series, late C18, 5 × 5¾ in. Wisconsin 68.28.17

Deccan: R. + S. enthroned with L. + Hanumān beside river, C18, on verso: *103*  
 Nat. Mus. 56.48/22

Deccanī: rāga Rāma, late C18, 41 × 24.3 cm. (B) Nat. Mus. 89.287

Deccanī: Lakṣmaṇa and his wife (? drawing – from repeated “Rāma” letters), c. 1800  
 Michigan, Robbins coll. 15031

Deccanī: R. + S. with his brothers (all standing), C19, 16.8 × 22.5 cm. La Salle 82-O-85

Deccanī: S.’s abduction + L.’s reproof by R., C19, 7½ × 12½ in. (numbered *āraṇyakāṃḍa 32* in top left margin and devanāgarī caption in top margin) Emory L2015.24.1

Shorapur: marriage of R. + S., c. 1820-50, 37.5 × 32.5 cm. Todywalla 25.02.22: 39

Company (Tanjore): R. mounted on H. fights Rāvaṇa, 1810-20, 29.5 × 20.3 cm.  
[also ill. in Blurton 2022: 88-89; *Rām. illustré*: VI, 137] BM 1974,0617,0.14.2

Company (Thanjavur): R. about to shoot arrow from sugarcane bow, c. 1820, 22.6 × 17.6 cm.  
 BM 1962,1231,0.13.33

Company (Thanjavur): R. + S. enthroned, surrounded by 3 brothers and 7 *ṛṣis,* c. 1830,  
22.6 × 17.6 cm. BM 1962,1231,0.13.55

Tanjore: R. visits Vasiṣṭha, keeper of kāmadhenu, C18, 26.5 × 35 cm. San Diego 1990.1413

Mysore: *Rāmapaṭṭābhiṣeka,* mid C18, 59 × 44 cm. MAP, Bangalore PTG.00077

Mysore: Hanumān searches for S. in Rāvaṇa’s palace, c. 1800, 28.5 × 20 cm., from ms. comissionedfor rāja Mummundi Krishna Devaraja Wadeyar (1790-1820), text above painting in Kannaḍa Christensen Fund coll.

Mysore: birth of Kārttikeya, c. 1825 (Mittal Mus., Hyderabad) *Rām. illustré*: I, 129  
descent of Gaṅgā, c. 1825 (Mittal Mus., Hyderabad) *Rām. illustré*: I, 139  
 [8 ll. of text in S Indian script from middle to ¾ down]  
Śiva receives Gaṅgā in his hair, c. 1825 (Mittal Mus., Hyderabad) *Rām. illustré*: I, 140  
 [6½ ll. of text in same position]  
Gaṅgā follows Bhagīratha’s chariot, c. 1825 (Mittal Mus. Hyderabad) *Rām. illustré*: I, 142  
 [no text]

Mysore: R. shoots Subāhu, ill. from a *Chamrajoktivilasa* (Kannaḍa script) ms. based on Bālakāṇḍā of VR, c. 1825-30, 28.4 × 18.5 cm. J + K Mittal Mus. 76.817

Mysore: R. + S. + L. worshipped by Hanumān, early C20, 59 × 49.5 cm. Christie’s 20.03.08: 301

Tanjore: R. + L. + Hanumān, c. 1800, 27.9 × 19 cm. San Diego 1990.1420

Tanjore: Daśaratha shoots Śravana, parents in *baṅghī* in tree, early C19, 26.2 × 20.1 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 62.28

Deccani: R. + S. worshipped by gods (l.) and female devotees (r.), C19, 8 × 21.4 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 60.484

Deccani: H. worships R. + S. enthroned, L. behind, C19, 25.7 × 13.7 cm. Nat. Mus. 60.486

Tanjore: R. + S. + L. in chariot, early C19, 21.8 × 28 cm. Nat. Mus. 62.30

Tanjore: *vānaras* lead R. + L. on horseback, early C19, 21 × 25.8 in. Nat. Mus. 62.31

Tanjore: (drawing), Viśvāmitra’s sacrifice, 1826, 22.8 × 19 cm. BM 1962,1231,0.12.14

Tanjore: (drawing), Hanumān conquering the army of Lanka, 1826, 22.8 × 19 cm.  
 BM 1962,1231,0.12.13

Tanjore: Rāma as 7th *avatāra,* c. 1830, 22.6 × 17.6 cm., Telugu inscr. BM 1962,1231,0.13.20

Tanjore: R. + S. enthroned attended by brothers, Hanumān, etc., C19, 23.5 × 11.4 cm.  
 Allahabad Museum AM-MIN-720

Tanjore: R.’s *abhiṣeka,* C19, 44.4 × 33.8 / 56.6 × 46.5 cm. Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-79-16

Tanjore: R.’s *abhiṣeka,* mid C19, 44.5 × 39.7 cm. Bonhams 19.01.11: 374

Thanjavur: coronation of R. + S., mid 19th century, 49.5 × 38.5 cm. Bonhams 23.10.19: 265

Thanjavur: Vasiṣṭha supervises *nāmakaraṇa* for R. + brothers, mid to late C19  
 CSMVS 2019.240

Thanjavur: R.’s *paṭṭābhiṣeka,* late C19, 66 × 55 cm. Sotheby’s 8.05.97: 208

S. India: Sugrīva seated, C19, 35.5 × 23.5 cm. Cleveland 75.73

S. India: two paintings – R. + S. enthroned + R. + L. greeted by sages, C19, 13.5 × 20.5 and smaller Sotheby’s 13.12.72: 73

Company paintings (Trichinopoly): Hanumān, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (V & A, c. 1820) at *Ind. Myth*: 60; Kumbhakarṇa, c. 1820, *Ind. Myth*: 113

Trichinopoly: painting, R. sending Hanumān on search, c. 1820-25 V&A IM.397-1923

Trichinopoly style: Hanumān carrying mountain, c. 1862 BL Add.Or.989

Madras/Tirupati (?): scroll painting sections (paper mounted on cotton), 2nd half of C19  
several registers, incl. L. mutilating Śūrpaṇakhā V&A IS.35-1968  
(lower register) S. give alms to Rāvaṇa, abduction, Jaṭāyus expostulates and points   
 to R. + L., (upper) Hanumān gives ring to S., on tail before Rāvaṇa V&A IS.36-1968  
R. worships goddess as part of larger scene of goddess worship V&A IS.37-1968

?, marriage of Rāma and Sītā, late C19, 13 × 26.5 cm. Jñāna-Pravāha 99.62

Deccan: funeral pyre (? of Indrajit), late C19, 29.2 × 38.9 / 30.8 × 40.6 cm.  
 Philadelphia 1994-148-537

Thanjavur: R.’s *paṭṭābhiṣeka,* late C19- early C20 CSMVS 2019.65

Mysuru: R.’s *paṭṭābhiṣeka,* surrounded by 68 vignettes from Rāma story, 1907  
 CSMVS 2019.253

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S. India: shrine of Veṅkaṭeśvara, including Rāmāyaṇa scenes, pre 1733, h.50 cm. × 140 cm. (extended), in Frankesche Stiftungen, Halle (**see** Michell 1995: 267-8)

S. India: shrines of R. (accompanied by S. and Garuḍa) and Viṣṇu on Śeṣa, late C19,  
13⅛ × 17 in. Wisconsin 69.28.17

ivory panel, Indrajit fires at Rāma and allies, Sri Lanka, 1500-1600, 12.1 × 13.7 × 1.9 cm.   
(also ill. at McGill 2016: 184-5, no. 95) Virginia Mus. 2004.16

ivory panel, R.’s victory over Kumbhakarṇa, C17, 7.6 x 6 cm. Cynthia Polsky coll. (?)  
(ill. at Topsfield 2004: 124-5)

wooden panel with Rāmāyaṇa scenes, Kerala, c. 1600-50, 40.6 × 232.4 × 10.2 cm.  
 Philadelphia 1966-115-2

copper panel showing building of *setu,* S. India, 10 × 20 cm. Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-89-87

carved ivory plaque, R. + S. enthroned, Tamilnadu, 1600-1800, 15.1 × 10.2 × 1 cm.   
(also ill. at McGill 2016: 94, no. 51) Met. Mus. 62.34.2

ivory plaque/panel, R. attended by L., Tamilnadu (Thanjavur?), C16-17, 14.5 × 9.2 cm.  
 BM 1995,1006.1

Tanjore: painted wooden ms cover showing R. + S. enthroned, C18-19, 17.5 × 43.5 cm.  
 Nat. Mu.s 60.1515

Tanjore: wooden panel painted with Hanumān worshipping R. + S. enthroned + 3 brothers, mid C19, 57.8 × 47 cm. Sotheby’s 5.12.92: 361

sandalwood *maṇḍapa* containing seated R. + S. with L. + Hanumān, C19, 47.5 × 32.8 × 15.6 cm.  
 Salar Jung Mus. MS-2-879

sandalwood casket carved with characters from Rāmāyaṇa on sides and Hanumān worshipping R. on lid, C19, 29.5 × 37.5 × 25.5cm. Chiswick Auctions 12.07.23, lot 503

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Vañcaikkaḷam (Kuṭṭanāḍu region, Kerala): Rāmāyaṇa sculptures in wood added in 17th-18th century to much earlier Kēraḷa-Mahādeva temple (**see** Rajarajan 2015b); located as bracket motifs on the ceiling of the eastern porch at *prastara* level, they mostly show figures found in the Bālakāṇḍa (Daśaratha, Sumantra, Visvāmitra, killing of Tāṭakā, release of Ahalyā).

Padmanābhapuram (Kanyakumari dist., Tamilnadu): Rāmasvāmī temple (built 1744 by Marthanda Varma, mahārāja of Travancore) contains as part of its wall decoration 46 painted wooden panels narrating the Rāma story from Daśaratha conducting *putreṣṭi* to Rāma’s installation, including Kabandha attacking R. + L. (Nayar 2016 and 2023).

wooden sculpture of Rāma, C17/18, 32 × 19.7 × 7.7 cm. San Diego 2003.179

wooden sculpture of R. + L. + S., C17/18, 53.7 × 34.9 × 12.7 cm. San Diego 2001.128

Kerala: 2 relief panels of R. and L. (?), c. C18, each 103 cm. high Bonhams, NY, 19.3.19: 855  
(ex Cornette de Saint Cyr, Paris, 31 October 2017, lot 236)

Kerala: wooden lintel showing R.’s installation, c. C18, 78 cm. wide (ex Rumi Mistry coll.) Saffron Art 9.03.17: 80

S. India: hardwood lintel showing R. + S. flanked by *ṛṣis* (l.) and brothers (r.), C18/C19,   
28 × 127 × 9 cm. Lempertz 09.12.22: 11

Chettinadu area: wooden lintel showing Rāma’s installation, 1850-1920, 29 × 203.5 × 63 cm.  
(ill. at McGill 2016: 96-97, no. 53) San Francisco B76S4

[S. India] detail from cart – wooden relief of R. attended by S., L. + Hanumān,   
25.5 × 17.1 <cm.> St Petersburg МАЭ № 2055-23

[S. India] carved wooden panel showing R. bending bow + S. + S. (r.) and Viśvāmitra, R. + L. and (?) Tāṭakā (l.), C19, 65 × 25 cm. Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-67-19-1

S. India: carved wooden panel of R. + S. + 3 brothers + *vānaras*, C19, 30.5 × 10 × 3.5 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 59.193/3

S. India: wooden relief panel of killing of Tāṭaka, C19, 231 × 28 cm. Nat. Mus. 64.233

Kerala: wooden temple relief with Rāmāyaṇa scene, C19, 175 × 21 cm. (Bharany donation) [ill. also at Tillotson (ed.) 2014: 90-91, figs 8ab] Nat. Mus. 76.488

S. India: carved wooden plaque showing Hanumān giving *cūḍāmaṇi* to R., C19, 36.8 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 62.489

relief panel of Hanumān as yogi, carved and painted wood, C19 V&A IS.2564E-1883

wooden sculpture of Hanumān, C19, 107.3 × 90.2 × 97.8cm. Denver 1991.1012

wooden sculpture of Lakṣmaṇa shooting at Indrajit (?), C19 (?) Musée Rodin no. 153

Tamilnadu: ivory relief of enthroned R. with attendants, c. 1700, 15.4 × 10.1 × 3.2 cm. Rijksmuseum BK-VBR-530

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Coromandel coast / Sri Lanka: dyed + painted cloth, battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, C17, 84.2 cm. × 2.21 m. (see Dallapiccola 2010: 240-42, dating it late (?) C18 and provenance perhaps Pulicat) BM 1995,1110,0.1

S. India (? Pulicat), chintz with battle scenes, early C18, 140 × 208 cm. Christie’s 1.10.12: 284

Coromandel coast: ceremonial cloth, combat of Rāma and Rāvaṇa, with VOC stamps found in Indonesia, 1740-60, 100 × 530 cm. Art Gallery of South Australia 20083A31

10 printed and painted cotton cloths of battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, C18, with VOC stamps, various sizes (typically 105 cm. wide), found in Indonesia (Sulawesi or Lombok)  
 Wereld Mus. H-68, H-69, 292-1, 411-1, 430-1, 680-1, 1583-1, 3250-4, 3250-5, 3952-6

printed and painted cotton cloth of battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, late C19, 468 × 94 cm. Wereld Mus. RV-6079-1

Tamilnadu: painted cotton, combat of Rāma and Rāvaṇa, 1750-1800, 87 × 539.1 cm.  
(ill. at McGill 2016: 236-7, no. 125) Met. Mus. 2008.163

Tamilnadu/Sri Lanka: painted + stencilled cotton, 3 registers of scenes from Araṇyakāṇḍa with Tamil inscriptions, early C19, 103 × 755 cm. (see Dallapiccola 2010: 243-50, also ill. at McGill 2016: 18-19, no. 3; ex Spink & Son Ltd via Sotheby’s 29.04.93: 374)  
 BM 1993,0724,0.2

[S. India]: printed and painted cotton hanging with Rāmāyaṇa scenes, 203 × 805 cm.  
 Nat.Mus. 48.7/58

Madras painting on cotton of Rāmāyaṇa scenes, C18, 8' 6" × 4' 4" (259 × 133 cm.) Heeramaneck sale catalogue (1929) no. 266

Coromandel coast, ceremonial hanging, fight between Rāma and Ravaṇa, 18th cent.  
 V&A IS.23-1996

Coromandel coast, ceremonial hanging, fight between Rāma and Ravaṇa, 18th cent.,   
500 × 105 cm. Royal Ontario Museum 2016.42.2

Coromandel coast, ceremonial cloth with Rām. battle scene, 18th – early 19th cent.  
[from Bali] Nat. Gallery of Australia 80.1636

Coromandel coast, ceremonial cloth with Rām. battle scene, 18th cent. [from Sulawesi]  
(ill. in Maxwell 2003: 120) Nat. Gallery of Australia 91.630

Coromandel coast, ceremonial cloth with Rām. battle scene, 18th cent. [from Sulawesi]  
 Nat. Gallery of Australia 91.631

Coromandel coast, hanging with Rām. battle scene, 18th cent.  
 Nat. Gallery of Victoria AS50-1985

Coromandel coast, temple hanging with Rām. battle scene, 19th cent.  
 Nat. Gallery of Victoria AS56-1984

Coromandel coast, heirloom textile (ma'a) with Rāmāyaṇa battle scene, 18th-19th cent.,   
93 × 462 cm. New South Wales Art Gallery 122.1998

Coromandel coast, heirloom textile (ma'a) with Rāmāyaṇa battle scene, 90 × 464 cm.  
 New South Wales Art Gallery 169.2005

Coromandel coast, ceremonial hanging (*maa*), with Rām. scenes, 18th cent., 95 × 450 cm.  
 MFA 2019.1972

[Coromandel coast:] cotton panel with Rām. battle scene, C18, c. 582 × 64 cm.   
 Minneapolis 2018.50.29

[Coromandel coast:] ceremonial cloth, combat of Rāma and Rāvaṇa, C18-19, 101.6 × 480.1 cm. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco 2006.127.5

Coromandel coast, cotton panel with Rām. battle scene, c. 544 × 96 cm.  
 Bonhams 2.04.09: 242 = Bonhams 8.10.13: 214

Karnataka/ Tamilnadu: embroidered temple hanging, 1775-1825, 1040 × 205 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 62.538

*Kalamkari* [*qalaṃkārī*] with scenes from *Rām.*, painted cotton, end C18, 73 × 70 cm.   
 Guimet MA 5719

*kalamkari,* C18 (?), in Govt Museum, Chennai, shows: Nārada asking Vālmīki to compose the *Rāmāyaṇa,* the gods seeking Viṣṇu’s help to defeat Rāvaṇa, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga (with horn) brought to Daśaratha’s court, horse being prepared for Daśaratha’s *aśvamedha,* Prajāpati emerging from *putreṣṭi* fire with pot, Daśaratha giving *pāyasa* to his wives, Rāma chasing the golden deer, Hanumān leaping to Laṅkā, Hanumān revealing himself to Sītā in the *aśokavana,* Hanumān setting fire to Laṅkā with his burning tail, Rāma and Lakṣmana lying prone on the battlefield (no sign of *nāgapāśa*); continuous Telugu captions in borders between scenes (illustrated at Ramani 2007: 54-57).

*Kalamkari* with scenes from *Rām.*, painted cotton, S India, early C19 Brussels

Andhra Pradesh: kalamkari, R + S. in centre, Rām. scenes in 8 bands, mid 19th cent.  
20.3 × 21.4 cm. Bonhams 8.10.09: 384

Andhra Pradesh: temple hanging (painted and dyed) with Rām. scenes, C19, 385 × 128 cm.  
 Royal Ontario Museum 971.361

painted cloth wall hanging, C19, 470 cm. long Christie’s 12-13.10.06: 671

Andhra Pradesh: kalamkari by Panchakalla Pedda Subbarayudu at Chirala (dist. Prakasam), dated 1881-82, 296.5 × 396.5 cm., captions in Telugu  
(full descr. in Dallapiccola 2015: 26-42, q.v. [own copy]) V&A IS.2103-1883

Andhra Pradesh: kalamkari, late C19, 290 × 153 cm. MAP, Bangalore TXT.00035

Machilipatnam, Andhra Pradesh (probably): temple canopy, mid C19, 346 × 338 cm.   
(full descr. in Dallapiccola 2015: 43-55, q.v. [own copy], cf. Dallapiccola 2011d: “The *Ramayana*: two 19th-century canopies from coastal Andhra in the Victoria and Albert Museum”, in Dallapiccola 2011e: 138-55) V&A IS.5457A

Srikalahasti, Andhra Pradesh: hanging, late C19, 399.75 × 380.5 cm., captions in Telugu  
(full descr. in Dallapiccola 2015: 56-69, q.v. [own copy]) V&A IS.75-1886

Srikalahasti, Andhra Pradesh: hanging, early C20 (?), 270 × 252 cm., captions in English  
(full descr. in Dallapiccola 2015: 70-77, q.v. [own copy]) V&A IS.5-1977

Srikalahasti: kalamkari with *Rāmapaṭṭābhiṣeka* in main panel, lat C19, 26 × 127 cm.  
 Olympia 11. 05.22: 144

Madurai region: temple cloth painted with Bālakāṇḍa scenes, C19, 195 × 270.5 cm.  
(full descr. in Dallapiccola 2015: 96-102, q.v. [own copy]) V&A IM.24-1911

Madurai region: temple cloth painted with Yuddhakāṇḍa scenes, C19, 193 × 277 cm.  
(full descr. in Dallapiccola 2015: 103-6, q.v. [own copy]) V&A: IM.25-1911

Madurai region: temple cloth painted with Rāmapaṭṭābhiṣeka, C19, 193 × 274 cm  
(full descr. in Dallapiccola 2015: 107-10, q.v. [own copy]) V&A: IM.26-1911

Sri Lanka: temple hanging with 8 registers of Rāmāyaṇa scenes with Tamil inscriptions,  
C19, 550 × 276 cm. (full descr. in Dallapiccola 2015: 78-95, q.v. [own copy]) V&A 5440(IS)

Kalahasti (?): temple hanging with Rāmāyaṇa scenes, 19th century, 358.1 × 172.7 cm.  
 MFA 42.428

Kalahasti (?): temple hanging with Rāmāyaṇa scenes (and others), 19th century,   
208.3 × 265.4 cm. MFA 42.42

Kalahasti (Chennai dist.): temple hanging with Rāmāyaṇa scenes, 1880-90, 220 × 350 cm.  
 Ash. Mus. EAX.2067

Kalahasti (?): *kalamkari* with Rāmāyaṇa scenes, 1st half C20 (?), 216 × 538 cm.  
 Bonhams 29.03.22: 205

Madras (?): scroll painting sections with Rāmāyaṇa scenes, 2nd half C19 V&A IS.35-1968

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shadow puppet of Rāvaṇa, Andhra Pradesh, 1875-1925, 144.8 × 94 cm.  
(ill. at McGill 2016: 219-20, no. 109) San Francisco 2013.40

shadow puppet of Daśaratha, Andhra Pradesh, early C19, Denver Art Museum 1985.660

shadow puppet of building the causeway, Karnataka, C19-20, 46.36 × 54.29 cm.  
 Virginia 83.147

shadow puppet of Hanumān+ Sugrīva supporting wounded L., Karnataka C19-20,   
58.42 × 82.55 cm. Virginia 84.32

shadow puppet of Hanumān, C19-20, Karnataka, 68.58 × 58.42 cm. Virginia 83.146

shadow puppet of Sītā in *aśokavana* (?), C19-20, 94 × 58.4 cm. Philadelphia 1994-148-384

shadow puppet of Lakṣmaṇa, c. 1850, 45.2 × 30.5 cm. V&A IS. 44-1983

shadow puppet of *rākṣasa*, c. 1850, 76 × 39 cm. V&A IS. 38-1983

**object (and medium)** late terracottas on/from temples

**location (original/present)** W. Bengal, Bangladesh, Bihar and Jharkhand

**date** 17th century onwards

**studies** Banik Pal, Supriya 2021: “Art and cultural heritage of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata: a view through the terracotta temples of Bishnupur, West Bengal”, in *Sacred sites and sacred stories across cultures: transmission of oral tradition, myth, and religiosity,* ed. by David W. Kim (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan): 99-134. **download**

1. Biswas, S.S., and Zulekha Haque 1995: *Terracotta temples of Bengal* (Calcutta: Friendship Publishers). **(IND) 20 E 404; parts scanned**

Gill, Sandrine 2010: “The Kāntānagar Temple: Hindu temples in East Bengal under the Mughals”, in *Archaeology and text: the temple in South Asia,* ed. by Himanshu Prabha Ray (New Delhi, OUP): 124-46. **Sackler BL 1243.78.S64 A73 ARC 2010**

Karmakar, Bikas 2021: “Decoding the impact of the *Srirama Panchali* on Baranagar temple facades: the driving force behind terracotta artisans’ narrativization of Ramayana events”, *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities* 13.4: 1-18. **download**

McCutchion, David 1983: *Brick temples of Bengal, from the archives of David McCutchion,* ed. by George Michell (Princeton: Princeton University Press).  
 **Sackler IWa McC; pp. 130-37 photocopied**

Sinha, Rashmi 2001: "Socio-economic and religious importance of Maluti terracotta plaques", *Purātattva* 31 (2001): 163-64. [for Maluti] **download (vol.)**

**notes** Banerjee 1986: 189-90 has extensive list of sites (many with just a single scene) and Biswas + Haque 1995 is a catalogue listing decorative features of the temples listed (many from the 19th century).

**Amragiri** (Howrah dist.; built 1764 by Ray family), Dadhimādhab temple has Rāmāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇalīlā scenes on front façade and pillars of the arches.

**Bakharpur** (Hooghly dist.): scenes on main façade of Adhkata temple (Śaiva, 18th century) are mainly from Rāmāyaṇa.

**Balihar**(Naogaon dist., Bangladesh): two identical early-19th-century Śiva temples have large terracotta penls above archway with Rāmāyaṇa battle scenes showing R. + L. on Hanumān’s shoulders and a kneeling Rāvaṇa.

**Bansberia** (Hooghly dist.): Ananda Basudeba temple (built 1679 by Rāmeśvara Deva of the Bansberia rāj family) includes among its separately made terracotta panels several Rāmāyaṇa reliefs, including the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa.

**Baranagar** (Murshidabad dist.): terracotta reliefs of Rāma episodes on façades of Charbangla and Jorbangla temples (1755 and 1753 respectively) under patronage of rāṇī Bhabānī of Natore (widow of rājā Rāmkānta); **see** Karmakar 2021. The Gaṅgeśvara Śiva temple (18th century) has Rāmāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇalīlā scenes on its base frieze.

**Bishnupur** (Bishnupur dist.): terracotta plaques on Jorbangla/Keshta Raya temple, built in 1655 by Raghunath Sijgha; third of exterior walls of temple dedicated to Rāma episodes, with those on N and W walls including birth of R. + brothers, Viśvāmitra’s claiming R. + L.’s help against Tāṭakā, R. lifting Śiva’s bow, the brothers’ weddings and the encounter with Paraśurāma, while entire back wall shows battle between R.’s and Rāvaṇa’s armies (ill. at Krishnan 2010: 26, McGill 2016: 3, 11 and Banik Pal 2021 figs 5.4-5.7). The Shyama Raya temple, built by Raghunath Singha in 1643 AD, has terracotta relief panels decorated with Rāmāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇalīlā scenes.

**Bonpas** (Purva Bardhamana dist.): Śiva temple (built 1826 A.D.) has several Rāmāyaṇa scenes, including R. fighting Rāvaṇa and R. + L. roaming forest.

**Chandrakona** (Medinipur dist.): much of the decoration of the Śāntinātha Śiva temple (1828) is now lost but those surviving are mainly Kṛṣṇalīlā and Rāmāyaṇa scenes.

**Cheliama** (Purulia dist.): Rādhagovinda temple (1697) has various Rāmāyaṇa scenes in several locations.

**Dvarhatṭṭā** (Hooghly dist.): Rājrājeśvara temple (Śaiva, 1728-29) includes among the panels above the arches Rāmāyaṇa battles scenes.

**Gangpur** (Purba Bardhaman dist.):Śiva temple (1767-79) includes Rāmāyaṇa terracotta scenes.

**Ghurisha** (Birbhum dist.):Raghunātha temple (Śaiva, 1633) has Rāmāyaṇa scenes on N side of façade.

**Guptipārā** (Hooghly dist.):Rāmcandrajī temple (C17) has Rāmāyaṇa war scenes on the upper part of it outer wall.

**Halisahar**(24-Parganas dist.): panels above arches of side walls of Nandakishore temple (1743) are decorated with Rāmāyaṇa battle scenes.

**Hātīkumrul** (Sirajgang dist., Rajshahi div., Bangladesh): 18th-century Śiva temple shows Rāmāyaṇa battle scene on spandrel above arch.

**Jaydeb Kenduli** (Bhirbhum dist.): Radhabinod temple, built 1683, has Rāmāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇalīlā and Dasāvatāra terracotta carvings.

**Kaichal** (Faridpur dist.): Nārāyaṇa temple (18th century) includes on the lower frieze near its base a depiction of the *Rāmapaṭṭābhiṣeka*.

**Kāntānagar** (Dinajpur dist.):terracotta bas reliefs on the Kāntājī temple,erected 1704-52 A.D. by the zamindar Maharaja Prannath and his adopted son Ramnath; Rām. base frieze has on S. face (from right to left): beginning of story, from R.’s conception to his marriage and return to Ayodhyā (ill. at Gill 2010: 136, fig. 6.7); on E. face (from left to right, i.e. anticlockwise): the exile in Dandaka forest, S.’s abduction, her captivity, pact with Sugrīva, crossing of the ocean and battle with Rāvaṇa (from Gill 2010: 136). Also illustrated at Gill 2010: 142 are Sugrīva’s army (fig. 6.13) and scene dubiously identified as “a tiny boat carrying Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Viśvāmitra, and the boatman on the Ganga on their way to Mithila (Fig. 6.14) is depicted above a big boat of a zamindar.” Battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa illustrated at Krishnan 2010: 25; Rāma piercing 7 sāls on downloaded photo (in “visual background” folder).

**Malūtī** (Dumkhar dist., Jharkhand; near border with W. Bengal): a group of 72 terracotta temples (17th-19th centuries) dedicated to Śiva but their front walls are decorated with plaques showing themes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata,* including Rāma fighting Rāvaṇa and the *vānaras* hurling rocks at *rākṣasas* [sources: *IAR 1981-82,* p.13; Sinha 2001]

**Mathūrāpūr** (Faridpur dist., Bangladesh): 12-sided Mathurapur Deul, C17, with terracotta mouldings including Rāmāyaṇa scenes over door level of temple.

**Mellak** (Howrah dist.): Madangopāljī temple (1651) has on central arched entrance Rāmāyaṇa scenes which include killing of Mārīca.

**Naladāṇga** (Jhenaidah dist., Bangladesh): 18th-century Śiva temples has cusped arches, one spandrel of which shows Rāmāyaṇa battle scenes.

**Pābnā** (Pabna dist., Bangladesh): mid-17th-century Gopīnāth temple has Rāmāyaṇa battle scene in space above central arch.

**Palpārā** (Nadia dist.): the scenes on the arched entrance to the 17th-century Kālī temple are mainly from the Rāmāyaṇa.

**Pūthiyā** (Natore dist., Bangladesh): 18th-century Govinda temple has Rāmāyaṇa battle scenes on space above side arches of main façade; also 18-century Sandhyā or Āhnik temple has Rāmāyaṇa battle scenes on space above southern archway.

**Rāmchandrapur** (Medinipur dist.): Hakandi temple has terracottas on porches with Rāmāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇalīlā scenes.

**Ramnagar:** (Purba Medinipur dist.): Śiva temple (1738) has entrance façade decorated with Rāmāyaṇa battle scenes.

**Śivarāmbati** (Murshidabad dist.): the Navartna Śiva temple has panels above arch and on side walls with Rāmāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇalīlā battle scenes.

**Śrībāṭi** (Purba Bardhaman dist.): Bholanāth temple (Śaiva, built 1836) includes Rāmāyaṇa scenes in its decoration.

**Tārās** (Sirajganj dist., Rajshahi div., Bangladesh): 19th-century Bṛndāvan-Bihārī temple has on central spandrel above archway a poorly preserved Rāmāyaṇa battle scene.

**Uchkaram** (Birbhum dist.): Rāmāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇalīlā scenes on front façade of temple (1768).

**Ujāni** (Faridpur dist.): the *deul* built by Sangram Singh in 17th century has Rāmāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇalīlā scenes in recesses between mouldings across its façade.

terracotta panel of R. fighting Rāvaṇa, C17-18, 96 × 27 cm. Nat. Mus. 77.2

terracotta panel of 10-headed, 4-armed Rāvaṇa with female beside him, 20.9 × 25.5 cm.  
 Nat. Mus. 60.639

terracotta panel of Vālin fighting Sugrīva, 31 × 18 cm. Nat. Mus. 72-288-3ab

terracotta panel from Birbhum, 1700-1900, 21.6 × 20.3 × 7 cm.   
(ill. at McGill 2016: 95, no. 52) San Francisco B62S43.6

terracotta panel from Birbhum (R. shoots at Mārīca), c. 1750-1850, 21.6 × 12.7 × 7.6 cm.  
 San Francisco B62S43.8

terracotta panel from Birbhum (dying deer/Mārīca), c. 1750-1850, 22 × 12.7 × 6.3 cm.  
 San Francisco B62S43.10

terracotta panel (R. + L. ? shooting), c. 1750-1850, 18 × 20.3 × 6.3 cm. San Francisco B62S43.3

terracotta relief panel (R+ L. + *vānara* attack Rāvaṇa), Bengal, C17-18 V&A IS.162-1964

terracotta relief panel (Sītā), Varanasi, C18 V&A IM.37-1909

terracotta relief fragment showing Rāvaṇa, 1733 Victoria Memorial Hall, Kolkata, R4727

terracotta from Sundurush (Hooghly) t. of Lakṣmījanardana (mutilation of Śūrpaṇakhā  
 Victoria Memorial Hall, Kolkata, R4785

terracotta relief panel of *vānaras* (from David McCutchin)  
 Victoria Memorial Hall, Kolkata, R4892

terracotta relief panel of Hanumān giving ring to S. (Bankipore, Bihar), C18, 10.5 × 19 cm.  
 Salar Jung Mus. ACQ-81-45

**object (and medium)** European representations pre 1900

**location (original/present)** various

**date** 17th-19th centuries

**studies**

**notes**

Jacob van Meurs (1619/20-80), ill. of Rāma fighting Rāvaṇa from his *Rams of Ram Katas anders Dajerratha Ramas Autaer de zevende,* c. 1672 McGill 2016: 244, no. 132

reproductive engravings of paintings *La mort de Rāvaṇa* (1875) and *Sita* (1870) by Fernand Corman, 28 × 39 cm. McGill 2016: 247, no. 135 + fig.

colour drawing by Odilon Redon, *Sita,* 1893, 53.6 × 37.7 cm. Chicago 1954.320  
(ill. at McGill 2016: 119, no. 55)