Of course it is possible that Maimonides refers to the particular addressee and sees him as a unique case, of a well-bred man, whose fine education and previous attachment to a good doctor, have provided him with the appropriate tools to be involved in his medical treatment. Another possibility is that Maimonides did not hold al-Afḍal in particularly high esteem, but that this is his way of reprimanding and scolding al-Afḍal's physicians, claiming that they lack the most basic medical knowledge that even a lay person is expected to have.

The last aphorisms also relate to the relationship between doctor and patient, but from a different angle. In these sections, Maimonides discusses the extent of the doctor's responsibility for the patient. More specifically, Maimonides refers to his repeated recommendation of wine. He acknowledges the religious prohibition against drinking wine, but once again leaves it up to the patient to decide. According to Maimonides, "this Servant has not recommended that this should be done, but has mentioned what his Art requires" (pp. 78–79). And once again: "he [al-Afḍal] has the choice" (pp. 80–81).

In other words, as in the case of being responsible for which advice to heed, and which to reject, medically, so is the patient expected to employ his mental abilities to choose when medical advice contradicts a religious commandment and one's values. Once again, Maimonides places great confidence in the client's ability to make informed decisions.

Bos's knowledge and familiarity of Maimonides's works are well felt in the meticulous editing and translation of the text, as well as in the rich footnotes, where the reader may find abundant additional information: identification of ambiguous components in prescriptions; cross-references with others of Maimonides's works, as well as other medical authorities; and in some cases corrections to Maimonides's words (e.g. when wrongly ascribing a prescription to Ibn al-Tilmīdh, see pp. 32–33). The book ends with a rich trilingual glossary, and three indices, one for each edited text.

The book is an excellent edition for historians of medieval medicine, and is important not only for researchers, but also as a teaching tool.

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India in the Persianate Age 1000–1750. By Richard M. Eaton. pp. xiv, 489. London, Penguin Random House, 2019.
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One of the developments in the historiography of South Asia which contemporary scholars deeply regret is that its past has come to be seen through the frame of religion. The reasons for this are several: Persian chroniclers of the period between 1000 and 1750 tended to see the world in terms of Muslims and Hindus; British historians following James Mill's *The History of British India* (1817) divided the region's history into Hindu, Mahomedan and British periods; the British in ruling India, as their gazetteers and censuses reveal, understood its society in terms of its religions; the great political movements of the colonial era, the Hindu nationalist dimensions of the Congress and the All-India Muslim League, drew on specifically Hindu and Muslim pasts to strengthen their present endeavours; the modern states of India and Pakistan, which emerged from this period, do the same; in the hundreds of thousands of

schools throughout the subcontinent, textbooks teach children to look at their past through a religious lens.

Amongst the reasons for regretting the religious framing of South Asia's past are first that it has contributed substantially to the communalisation of politics. It played a significant role in the Partition of India. Since then, it has hardened attitudes in India towards Pakistan, and vice versa, and played a significant role in the rise of Hindu nationalism to dominate India's politics. Second, religious framing has produced gross distortions of history. The truth of the matter is that the Hindu and Muslim worlds, far from being separate, distinct and perennially hostile to each other, were instead interdependent, drawing freely from each other's symbols of power and authority and resting on the diverse skills which each had to offer. So, for instance, in 1347 Marappa, one of the founders of the Deccan kingdom of Vijayanagara, declared that he was a 'Sultan among Indian kings'. So, too, the *jharokha*, a small raised pavilion projecting from the palace walls in which an Indian king might show himself to his people, was adopted by the Mughal Emperor, Humayun, and descendants continued his practice of showing himself to the people until it was abandoned by Aurangzeb. In the same way in the 1420s the army of Deva Raya II of Vijayanagara employed 10,000 Turkish soldiers, while the skilful management of the Mughal treasury, as well as government in general, owed much to Hindu Khatris, Kayasthas and Brahmins. The examples of interdependence are legion.

Richard Eaton's answer to the problem of 'framing' is inspired by the Sanskritist, Sheldon Pollock's, coinage of the 'Sanskrit Cosmopolis' to describe the large area of South Asia from the fourth to the fourteenth century in which ideas developed in Sanskrit texts circulated above the boundaries of vernacular languages, ethnic groups and regions. Sanskrit texts carried the knowledge and values of high civilisation, ranging from grammar, architecture, how to behave, how to rule, how society should be regulated, and so on. It bred shared values, shared styles, shared idioms. This formulation has encouraged Eaton to propose a second cultural formation which from the eleventh to the nineteenth century embraced much of West, Central and South Asia—the Persianate Age. Comparing the Persianate world with the Sanskrit cosmopolis, Eaton states:

> Both expanded and developed well beyond their land of origin, giving them a transregional, 'placeless' quality. Both were grounded in a prestige language and literature that conferred elite status on its users. Both articulated a model of worldly power—specifically universal dominion. And while both elaborated, discussed and critiqued religious traditions, neither was grounded in a religion, both rather transcended the claims of any of them. Decoupled from particular religious systems, both of these transregional traditions could and did spread over great expanses of territory, and were embraced by peoples of varied ethnic and religious backgrounds. (pp. 11–13)

So, the Persianate world becomes the new framing device. Much of India's history between 1000 and 1800, Eaton tells us, "can be understood in terms of the prolonged and multifaceted interactions between the Sanskrit and Persianate worlds".

What does Eaton's reframing do for the history of South Asia? As he promises, it means a history with a much stronger emphasis on the interdependence and interpenetration of the Persianate and Sanskrit worlds—crudely put, the Muslim and the Hindu worlds. Indeed, he delights in the many examples of this he draws to our attention. It also means reinterpretation of behaviour and events. For instance, it used to be assumed that, when the Ghurid Turks in their attacks on the Delhi region desecrated the temples of Hindu rulers and carried off their idols, these Muslim Turks were engaging in religiously-motivated iconoclasm. Understanding however, changes when the practice is placed in the context of the Sanskrit cosmopolis. The Ghurid forces were behaving in exactly the same way as Indian

rulers when defeating rival kings. By destroying their temples and their idols, they were separating their rival from the most visible signs of their sovereignty.

Another benefit of Eaton's framing is that the world of the Deccan is enabled to play a more substantial role in the history of the period than before. We benefit from Eaton's life of research on the Deccan as represented by his *Sufis of Bijapur 1300-1700: Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India* (Princeton, 1978) and, with Philip B. Wagoner, his *Power, Memory, Architecture: Contested Sites on India's Deccan Plateau, 1300-1600* (OUP Delhi, 2014). Thus, the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara, which long resisted the attempts of the Deccan sultanates to expand south of the Krishna river, is brought centrally into the story. We are told that we should regard the peninsula of India at the time as "a single, interconnected zone". A good example of this is the way in which people used coinage. The Bahmani Sultanate minted coins, *dinar*s and *tanka*s, based on those of the Delhi Sultanate, while Vijayanagara minted a gold coin, the *hon*, which derived from the earlier Hindu Chalukya dynasty of kings. The *hon*s, despite their Sanskrit titles and images of Hindu deities, came to drive out the *dinar*s and *tanka*s in the Deccan sultanates in spite of attempts to enforce the use of Sultanate coinage. We should not be surprised by this, Eaton tells us:

> … for in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries ruling elites on both sides of the Krishna were actively reviving the memory of the Chalukya past. In Vijayanagara, government officials … ordered a large Chalukya-period stepped tank to be disassembled and transported from its original site to the Vijayanagara capital, where it was laboriously reassembled in the heart of the city's Royal Centre. Meanwhile, Bijapur's Sultan Ibrahim I (r. 1534-58) installed Chalukya-period stone inscriptions and an ensemble of Chalyukya-period columns in the main gate way to his city's citadel, while at the foot of Kalyana—the Chalukya's former capital—his grandson Sultan Ibrahim II built a palace around a carefully preserved Chalukya-period temple. (p. 193)

A splendid example of the interpenetration of the Sanskrit and the Persianate worlds.

Of course, Eaton's Persianate framing helps emphasise the connections between South Asia and the Iranian world. He makes clear how Sultan Firuz Bahmani set out to Persianise his court, every year sending ships to the Persian Gulf to recruit Persian-speaking scholars, administrators, soldiers and artisans. He built a new palace city, Firuzabad, which would mimic Timur's aesthetic vision in his White Palace at Shahr-i Sabz south of Samarqand. The copying went down to the level of placing a pair of lions on the spandrels of the western gateway of Firuzabad as Timur had placed them on the spandrels of his White Palace. This is just one example of the host of influences and people that flooded into the Deccan at the time.

Right down to the nineteenth century there was a similar movement of people and ideas into northern India. Eaton leaves us in no doubt that the extraordinarily diverse community that gathered at the Mughal court and its successors from all over the Persianate world. Strangely however, he does not refer to two of the more substantial legacies they left in South Asia. One was the transfer of high-level skills in *ma'qulat*, the rational sciences, from Iran and Central Asia to northern India, creating the basis for the *Dars-i-Nizami,* the curriculum, or better put the way of teaching, which has dominated madrasa education down to the present. The second, although Eaton may regard himself as protected by his 1750 cut-off date, was the establishment of several powerful Shia courts so that the region has become, after Iran, the most powerful centre of Twelver Shiism in the world.

Finally, and this has less to do with Eaton's Persianate framing than with his quality as a historian, the text is full of powerful vignettes and significant conclusions. We are reminded that Ghurid invasions opened up economic opportunities for Indian merchants in the Middle East. We are reminded,

too, that these invasions hastened the decline of Buddhism. There is a constant awareness of the significance of the military labour market which was a feature of South Asia from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. Associated with this labour market, there is a fascinating section on the emergence of the idea of Rajput, initially an open category which only subsequently came to be martialled in clans with genealogies and warrior heroes. There is the no less fascinating story of the military revolution brought to the Deccan by gunpowder technology. Unlike much of the rest of the world, because of the topography of the Deccan and because of technological innovation both in guns and in fort design, the introduction of gunpowder advantaged defenders against attackers. Then, Eaton delights in telling us about Persian dictionaries, many more of which in the period were produced in South Asia than in Iran.

India in the Persianate Age is a brilliant achievement, and one which is easy to read. I noted only one flaw. Eaton has Nur Jahan buried in her husband's mausoleum in Shahdera (Lahore), rather than in the separate mausoleum she constructed for herself. This said, the book offers a new way of thinking about South Asian history in the years 1000–1750 which avoids some of the distorting and damaging ways of the past. It should be rapidly adopted outside the highly politicised contexts of South Asia. One can only hope that, despite the calls of nationalist histories, its influence is felt there as well.

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Forgotten Masters: Indian Painting for the East India Company. Edited by William Dalrymple. pp. 192. London, The Wallace Collection, 2019.
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Life in Lady Impey's menagerie—in Calcutta, around 1780—must have been a riot, if the portraits of its denizens made by Shaikh Zain ud-Din and his colleagues are as true to life as they seem. The cheetah looks a companionable type, more likely to regale the sambar deer with a hunting story than to gobble her; and the pangolin and the Malabar squirrel also appear to have tales to tell. Even the fish have personality. This is a consistent quality in the best of so-called 'Company' painting—meaning works made by Indian artists for European patrons in the period of Company rule. Running through every attempt to record examples or types, is an attention to particular character. The same spirit—poised equally between the scientific and the affective—pervades Haludar's drawing of a gibbon, of around 1800, and Shaikh Muhammad Amir of Karraya's depictions of dogs and horses in the 1840s. It even extends to people, such as the villagers, including those being recruited to join Skinner's Horse, as portrayed by the artist of the Fraser album around 1815. They are as thoroughly and convincingly individualised as any portraits can be.

It is indeed the *best* of Company painting that is offered in this book, and in the exhibition of 109 works held at the Wallace Collection in London (December 2019—April 2020) for which it is the catalogue. Edited by William Dalrymple, the book makes a leap forward in the study of Company painting, by bringing together under one cover the recent work of leading experts in various aspects of the field.