

I would like to acknowledge the help and support of my supervisor, Professor Emeritus, Michael Rogers for countless invaluable intellectual jousts and for his original idea to study the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī in depth. I thank the Ouseley Memorial Trust and SOAS for two years of scholarship funding. I would also like to thank Dr Isa Waley at the British Library for giving me unfettered access to the manuscript in question and to Dr Andrew Topsfield for reading chapter two. I would also like to thank Robert Skelton and Dr Barbara Brend for their help and detailed clarifications on numerous occasions.

I thank Dr Anna Contadini for her help and cooperation on my visit to the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin in 1996; I am also similarly grateful to Colin Wakefield at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Peter Mc Niven at the John Rylands Library, Manchester, Peter Hardie at the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, and Susan Strong at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the help of friends Dr David Angluin, Firuza Pastakia and Malcolm Sired, and to thank them many times over for their proof-reading skills and emotional and intellectual support, all of which are so vital in enterprises of this kind.

ProQuest Number: 10672679

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10672679

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

1

**Painting Awareness: A Study into the Use of Exotic Cultural  
Traditions by the Artists of the Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* of  
Nizāmī**

Gregory Minissale

School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, September, 2000.

## **Abstract**

The main objective of this doctoral research is to analyse a group of miniature paintings produced between 1593 and 1595 for the Mughal Indian Emperor Akbar, who reigned from 1556 to 1605. These miniatures are illustrations in a manuscript of five epic poems (known as the *Khamsa*) by the Persian poet Niżāmī (1141-1209). This manuscript is now in the British Library (Or. 12, 208).

It is the argument of this thesis that more than any other Mughal illustrated manuscript, the painting in the *Khamsa* exemplifies a refined synthesis of the artistic traditions of three major cultures with which the Mughals came into contact: the European, Persian and earlier Indian. Many elements in the illustrations may be traced back to these origins.

The miniatures represent the finest of Akbar period painting. This is true in terms of finish and technique but the paintings of the *Khamsa* of Niżāmī are also important because they mark the use of a new visual language in painting to convey complex thoughts and ideas. Knowledge of other artistic traditions led the Mughals to adjust their own painting. The thesis demonstrates that the paintings of the *Khamsa* of Niżāmī are an extraordinary record of the elevated status of the art of painting at the Mughal court.

**CHAPTER I**  
**The Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* of Nizāmī**

---

List of Illustrations	06		
Introduction	10		
The Manuscript	12		
Margin Designs	15		
General Characteristics of the Painting in the <i>Khamsa</i>	17		
The Scale of the Miniatures	20		
The <i>Festaiuolo</i>	22		
The Artists of the <i>Khamsa</i>	26		
Bhūra	27	Khem Karan	43
Bulāqī	28	La <sup>c1</sup>	43
Farrukh Chela	33	Mādha Chela	44
Dhanrāj	36	Maddū Khāna-zād	44
Dharmdāsa	36	Mādhav	45
Nand Gvāliyārī	39	Manōhar	46
Bhim Gujarātī	40	Miskīna	47
Sūr Gujarātī	40	Mukund	50
Jaganāth	41	Nānhā	51
Kanak Singh Chela	41	Narsingh	52
Khvāja cAbd al-Samad	42	Sānvala	53

<b>CHAPTER II</b>	
<u>Features From Pre-Mughal and Early Mughal Painting</u>	<u>56</u>
Representations of the Imperial Mughal Court	59
Costumes	63
Animals and Pastoral Scenes	69
Architecture	74
Trees	77
Other Aspects Indebted to Earlier Manuscript Painting	79
A Humāyūn Period <i>Khamsa</i>	82
The Keir <i>Khamsa</i>	85
The SOAS-Bristol <i>Sharaf-nāme</i>	87
<b>CHAPTER III</b>	
<u>The Influence of Persian Painting</u>	<u>93</u>
The Transference of Compositions from Persian to Indian Painting	94
The Shiraz Connection	99
The <i>Makhzan al-Asrār</i>	105
<i>Khusrāu va Shīrīn</i>	115
<i>Laylā va Majnūn</i>	121
The <i>Haft Paykar</i>	128
The <i>Iskandar-nāme</i>	133

CHAPTER IV  
European Influences 149

---

The Impact of European Art on Mughal Albums and Miniatures 165

The Impact of European Art on the *Khamsa* 175

CHAPTER V  
Reflexivity and Meaning in the *Khamsa* 183

---

Reflexivity in Mughal Art 186

The Uses of Reflexivity 191

Conclusion 205

*Appendix: The SOAS-Bristol Sharaf-name* 213

*Bibliography* 221

### List of Illustrations and Photographic Credits

All pictures of miniatures from the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* are taken from B. Brend, *The Emperor Akbar's Khamsa of Nizāmī* (London, British Library, 1995), unless stated otherwise.

1. *Majnūn Mourns His Father's Death*, British Library *Khamsa* of Niṣāmī (Or. 12, 208), f. 132a.
2. *The King is Carried Off by a Giant Bird - The Story of the Princess of the Black Pavilion* (Or. 12, 208), f. 195a.
3. *Sanjar and the Old Woman* (Or. 12, 208), f. 15b.
4. *Faridān and the Gazelle* (Or. 12, 208), f. 19a.
5. *Aflatūn Playing Music to the Animals*, (Or. 12, 208), f. 298a.
6. *The Disputing Physicians*, (Or. 12, 208), f. 23b.
7. Detail from *The Unfaithful Wife*, Bodleian Library *Baharistān*, MS. Elliot 254, f. 42v. Reproduced in E. Wellesz, *Akbar's Religious Thought, Reflected in Mogul Painting* (London, 1952). *op. cit.*, 1952, pl. 28.
8. *Iskandar Builds a Wall Between the Peoples of Gog and Magog*, BM 1982. 5-29. 01. J. M. Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures* (London, 1993), fig. 57, p. 89.
9. *The Weighing of Prince Khurram*, loose leaf, originally from a *Jahāngīr-nāma*, now British Museum 1948.10-9.69. Rogers, *ibid.*, fig. 58, p. 92.
10. Detail from *Hamza-nāma*, publ. H. Glück, *Die Indischen Miniaturen des Haemzae-Romanes* (Vienna, 1925). Tafel 12 (W.32).
11. *Shāpūr Brings Khusrau News of Shīrīn* (Or. 12, 208), f. 52a. Detail.
12. *Iskandar and the Dying Dārā* (Or. 12, 208), f. 26b (Walters Art Gallery, 631).
13. *Battle of the Clans* (Or. 12, 208), f. 159a.
14. *Bahrām Gār Seizes the Crown of Iran* (Or. 12, 208), f. 184b.
15. *The Qipchāq Women Veil Themselves* (Or. 12, 208), f. 266b.
16. *Iskandar and Nūshābā Entertained* (Or. 12, 208), f. 244b.
17. *Khusrau Goes Hunting* (Or. 12, 208), f. 82a.
18. *Shīrīn Entertains Khusrau* (Or. 12, 208), f. 65a.
19. *The Champion of Rus*, f. 273a.
20. *The Death of Majnūn on the Grave of Laylā* (Or. 12, 208), f. 165b.
21. *Niṣāmī Presents His Son to the Son of the Shīrvānshāh* (Or. 12, 208), f. 117a.
22. Detail, of inscription on f.117a (Or. 12, 208).
23. *Majnūn and Laylā Faint* (Or. 12, 208), f. 123a
24. *Shīrīn Kills Herself at the Grave of Khusrau* (Or. 12, 208), f. 102a.
25. *Khusrau Carouses*, (Or. 12, 208), f. 40b.
26. *Majnūn With His Father*, (Or. 12, 208), f.153b.
27. *Iskandar Travels Through the Land of Magic Stones* (Or. 12, 208), f. 312b.
28. *Iskandar Assumes the Crown of Iran* (Or. 12, 208), f. 34a (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 613).
29. *Mānī Painting the Lid of a Well*, (Or. 12, 208), f. 262b.
30. *The Princess Paints a Self-Portrait – Story of the Princess of the Red Pavilion* (Or. 12, 208), f. 206a.
31. *Khizr Washing Iskandar's Horse in the Fountain of Life* (Or. 12, 208), f. 281a.
32. *Khusrau Consults Buzurg Umid About Shīrīya* (Or. 12, 208), f. 99b.
33. *Shāpūr Before Shīrīn* detail (Or. 12, 208), f. 45b.
34. *Khusrau Defeats Bahrām Chūbīn* (Or. 12, 208), f. 72a.
35. *Khusrau and Shīrīn Meet Hunting* (Or. 12, 208), f. 63b.
36. *Iskandar Watches the Invention of Mirrors* (Or. 12, 208), f. 16b (Walters Art Gallery 613).
37. *The Seven Sages* (Or. 12, 208), f. 305a.
38. *Khusrau Honoured with Gifts* (Or. 12, 208), f. 54a.
39. *Farhād Before Khusrau* (Or. 12, 208), f. 5a (Walters Art Gallery 613).
40. *Majnūn Visited by his Mother and Uncle* (Or. 12, 208), f. 150b.
41. *The Garden of Bathing Women –Story Told by the Princess of the White Pavilion* (Or. 12, 208), f. 220a.
42. *The Priestess of Kandahar Beseeches Iskandar* (Or. 12, 208), f. 317b.
43. *The Priestess of Kandahar Beseeches Iskandar* (Or. 12, 208), f. 318a.
44. Infantryman, Victoria and Albert Museum, *Hamza-nāma*, detail, publ. D, Nicholle, *Mughal India 1504-1761* (London, 1993), p. 10.

45. Detail of folio from the *Tūti-nāma*, Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio, publ. Mélitiqāw Chirvānī "L'école de Shiraz et les origines de la miniature moghole" in R. Pinder-Wilson, ed., *Paintings From Islamic Lands* (Oxford, 1969).
46. *Iskandar Shows Gifts from the Kāyd*, f. 254a (Or. 12, 208).
47. *Donkey and Buffalo Yolked to an Arhat*, British Museum 1921.4-11.04, publ. J. M. Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures* (London, 1993), p. 44.
48. *Dinna is Condemned*, *Iyar-i-Dānish*, A. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.
49. *Bahrām Gūr Seizes the Crown of Iran*, Goloubew Collection, Museum of Fine Arts Boston. Publ. A.K. Coomaraswamy in *Ars Asiatica XIII 'Les Miniatures Orientales de la Collection Goloubew au Musée Fine Arts, Boston'* (Paris and Brussels, 1929), pl. LXVIII.
50. Detail from *The Rats Pick at the Teeth of the Dead Lion*, *Iyar-i-Dānish*, A. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, publ. L. Y. Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings From the Chester Beatty Library* (2 Vols. London, 1995), pl. 1.34.
51. *The Son of the King Sees the Disguised Brahmin Bathing*, *Tūti-nāma*, Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio, f. 234r, publ. M. C. Beach, *Early Mughal Painting* (Cambridge Mass., 1987), fig. 36, p. 56.
52. Colophon, Or. 12, 208, f. 325b.
53. *The People Listen to Mary the Copt*, f. 294a (Or. 12, 208).
54. Folio from a *Candayāna* manuscript, 1550-60, J. Rylands Library, Manchester. Publ. P. Chandra, *The Tūti-nāma of the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Origins of Mughal Painting* (Graz, 1976), pl. 112.
55. *A Vijayantī Forest*, painting from a *Mahāpurāṇa*, 1540, Śrī Digambara Jaina Atīśaya Kshetra, Jaipur, publ. in J. Bautze, *Indian Miniature Painting 1590-1850* (Amsterdam, 1987), p. 76.
56. *Anūshirvān and his Vizier in the Ruined City* (Or. 12, 208), f. 13b.
57. Akbar period *Vilāval Ragīnī*, publ. in J. Bautze, *op. cit.*, no. 2, p.14.
58. *Caṇupāñcāśikā* manuscript, Sanskar Kendra (Culture Centre), Ahmedabad, K. Khandalawala and M. Chandra, *New Documents On Indian Painting - A Reappraisal* (Bombay, 1969), pl. 20, p. 81.
59. *Iskandar and the Mirror*, undated loose leaf, the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Publ. by J. Strzygowski, H. Glück, S. Kramrisch and E. Wellesz, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei* (Klagenfurt, 1933), Abb. 257.
60. Detail from *Iskandar and the Dying Dārā* (Or. 12, 208), f. 26b (Walters Art Gallery, 631).
61. Detail from *Hanżā-nāma* folio, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, reproduced in H. Glück, *Die Indischen Miniaturen des Haemzae-Romanes* (Wien, 1925), abb. 2 (reitl. 1), p. 26.
62. *The Battle Between Gāv and Talband*, the Mohammad Jūkī Shāb-nāme, Royal Asiatic Society, MS. 239, B. Gray, *Persian Painting* (1930), p. 89.
63. *Anūshirvān and His Vizier in the Ruined City*, Kasturbhai Lalbhai Khamsa, Ahmedabad., Chandra. *Op. cit.*, pl. 97.
64. *Khiṣr Wasbing Iskandar's Horse in the Fountain of Life*, f. 81a, SOAS Sharaf-nāme MS. 10102.
65. *Saṇjar and the Old Woman*, Or. 13297, 16a. N. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1983), fig. 29.
66. *Ghazān Khān Meeting a Young Girl by a Stream*, folio from the *Chingiz Khān-nāme*, Tehran, publ. H. Knížkóva and J. Marek, *The Jengiz Khan Miniatures from the Court of Akbar the Great* (Prague, 1963), pl. 34.
67. *A Learned Discussion*, Bodleian Library, MS Elliot 287, f. 24a in B. Gray, *ibid.*, pl. 6.
68. *Khusrau and Shīrū Meet Hunting*, Miscellany, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, J. 4628. N. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1983), fig. 21, p. 53.
69. *Bahrām Gūr Seizes the Crown of Iran*, Topkapi Sarayı Museum, Ms. H. 781/K. 404.
70. Folio f. 72r from an Iraqi/Irani fourteenth century *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt*, in the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg branch, E-7, publ. Y. A. Petrosyan, et. al., *Pages of Perfection, Islamic Paintings and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg* (Milan, 1995), p. 168.
71. Folio from an Iraqi *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt*, 1280 AD at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich c. Arab 464 f. 65b., *ibid.*, p. 88.
72. *Aflāṭūn Playing Music to the Animals*. Published by Schulz, *op. cit.*, 1914, pl. 77, now in the Vever Collection.
73. *St. Sebastian*, Simon Bening, cuttings from a book of hours, circa 1520-30, Bruges, publ. *Art at Auction, The Year at Sotheby's 1983-84* (London, 1984), p. 156.
74. Detail from the *Geographiae libri octo*, Colonia, Gottfried von Kempen, 1524, publ. R. Messina, *Biblioteca Geografica* (Rieti, 1991), p.108.
75. View of Calcutta, detail from the *Civitates orbis terrarum*, *ibid.*,p. 274.
76. Detail from A View of Cadiz in the *Urbium praecipuarum mundi theatrum quintam*, *ibid.*, p. 316.
77. Engraving by H. S. Beham, mid-sixteenth century, publ. G. Pauli, *Hans Sebald Beham, Ein Kritisches Verzeichniss* (Strasbourg, 1901), Z10ii.
78. Burgundian bathhouse scene, engraving, mid-sixteenth century, publ. H. P. Duerr, *Nachtbeit und Scham, Der Mythos vom Zivilisationsprozess* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1988), fig. 26.

79. Print depicting Ganymede lifted to the heavens by Zeus in the form of an eagle, publ., G. Kempler, *Ganymede, Studien zur Typologie Ikonografie und Ikonologie* (Würzburg, 1980).
80. Picture of St. Luke painting the Virgin Mary and infant Jesus by the Master of the Augustinians' altarpiece, 1487, publ. V. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-painting* (Cambridge, CUP, 1997), fig 24.
81. *The Artist in his Studio*, Vermeer, c. 1666-1673, Oil on canvas, 130 x 110 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, from N. Bryson, *Vision and Painting, The Logic of the Gaze* (London, 1983), cover.
82. *Las Meninas*, Velasquez, Las Meninas, 1656, oil on canvas 10'5" x 9'1", Museo del Prado, Madrid, reproduced, frontispiece, M. Foucault, *The Order of Things. An Archaeology of Human Sciences* (London, 1970).
83. *Tabernacle Painting*, A. Lomi, c. 1581, Genoa, Santa Maria in Castello, see, Stoichita, *op. cit.*, 1997, fig. 38.
84. *Young Woman Reading A Letter*, Gabriel Metsu, c. 1664, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, Beit Collection, reproduced *ibid.*, fig. 77.
85. *The Cabinet of Cornelius Van der Geest*, William Van Haecht, 1628 wood, Antwerp, Rubens' house, reproduced, *ibid.*, fig. 68. Detail.
86. *A Cabinet of Curiosities*, William Van Haecht, *ibid.*, fig. 69.
87. *Apelles and Campaspe* (last third of the sixteenth century, Antwerp), print by Jan Wierix, publ. *Ibid.*, fig. 70.
88. Mughal copy of an engraving of *Geometria* by Georg Pencz (1500-1550), margin, Gulshān Album, M. C. Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington DC, 1981), p. 165.
89. A European woman holding up a picture of Christ, for worship, Gulshān Album, *Ibid.*, p. 158.
90. Mughal lady reverently holding a picture of the Emperor Jahāngīr, early seventeenth century, M. C. Beach, *The Grand Moghul: Imperial Paintings in India 1600-1660* (Williamstown Mass., 1978), p. 159.
91. Mughal Virgin and Child, San Diego Museum of Art, published in Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters, Indian Miniatures from the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Paris, 1992), fig. 84, p. 87.
92. Hindu ascetic at a shrine, publ. Sotheby's sale catalogue, *Important Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, London, July 9, 1969, Lot 100
93. *Submission of the Maharana of Mewar to Prince Khurram*, publ. J. Guy and D. Swallow, eds. *Arts of India, 1550-1900*, (London, 1990), pl. 53.
94. *Artist's Studio*, Jahāngīr Album, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, publ. S.C. Welch, *India, Art and Culture, 1300-1600* (New York, 1985), pl. 105.
95. Detail, *ibid.*

### The Illustrative Cycle of the Khamsa of Nizāmī, Or. 12, 208.

#### MAKHZAN AL-ASRĀR

1. *Anūshirvān and His Vizier*, f. 13b (Manōhar).
2. *Sanjar and the Old Woman*, f. 15b (La'l).
3. *Faridūn and the Gazelle*, f. 19a (Mukund).
4. *The Disputing Physicians*, f. 23b (Miskīna).

#### KHUSRAU Ú SHIRĪN

5. *Khusrau Carouses*, f. 40b (Dharmdāsa).
6. *Shāpūr Before Shirīn*, f. 45b (Madhū).
7. *Shāpūr Brings Khusrau News of Shirīn*, f. 52a (Dharmdāsa)
8. *Khusrau Honoured by His Subjects*, f. 54a (Narsingh).
9. *Khusrau and Shirīn Meet Hunting*, f. 63b (Nānhā).
10. *Shirīn Entertains Khusrau*, f. 65a (Farrukh Chela).
11. *Khusrau Defeats Bahrām Chubīn*, f. 72a (Manōhar).
12. *Khusrau Goes Hunting*, f. 82a (Khvāja 'Abd al-Samad).
13. *Khusrau Consults Buzurg Umid About Shirīya*, f. 99b (Maddū Chela).

14. *Shirin Kills Herself at Khusrau's Tomb*, f. 102a (Dharmdāsa).  
 15. *Nizāmi Gives His Son to the Son of the Shirvānshāh*, f. 117a (Bulāqī and Khem Karan).

#### *LAYLĀ Ü MAJNŪN*

16. *Laylā and Majnūn Faint*, f. 123a (Farrukh Chela and Bulāqī(?)).  
 17. *Majnūn Mourns His Father's Death*, f. 132a (Manōhar).  
 18. *Majnūn With His Father*, f. 153b (Nand Gavāliyārī).  
 19. *Majnūn Visited by His Mother and Uncle*, f. 150b (Sānvala).  
 20. *Battle of the Tribes*, f. 159b (Nānhā).  
 21. *The Death of Majnūn on Laylā's Grave*, 165b (Sur Gujarātī and Bulāqī).

#### *HAFT PAYKAR*

22. *Bahrām Gūr Seizes the Crown of Iran*, f. 184b (Mukund).  
 23. *The King is Carried Off by a Giant Bird - The Story of the Princess of the Black Pavilion*, f. 195a (Dharmdāsa).  
 24. *The Princess Paints a Self-Portrait – Story of the Princess of the Red Pavilion*, f. 206a (Jaganāth).  
 25. *The Story of the Garden of Bathing Women* f. 220a (Sānvala).

#### *ISKANDAR-NĀME*

##### *Sharaf-nāme*

26. *Iskandar and Nūshāba Entertained*, f. 244b (Bhura).  
 25. *Iskandar Shown Gifts from the Kayd*, f. 254a (Dharmdāsa).  
 26. *Māni Paints a Dead Dog*, f. 262b (Sur Gujarātī).  
 27. *The Qipchāq Women Veil Themselves*, f. 266b (Mukund).  
 28. *The Champion of Rus*, f. 273a (Farrukh Chela and Bulāqī).  
 29. *Khiṣr Washes Iskandar's Horse*, f. 281a (Kanak Singh Chela).

##### *Iqbāl-nāme*

30. *The People Listen to Mary the Copt*, f. 294 (Sānvala).  
 31. *Afḍūn Charms the Animals*, f. 298a (Maddū Khāna-zād).  
 32. *Iskandar and the Seven Sages*, f. 305a (Nānhā).  
 33. *Iskandar in the Land of Magic Stones*, (Bhim Gujarātī).  
 34-35. *The Priestess of Kandahar Beseeches Iskandar to Spare the Idol*, f. 318a (Mukund).  
 36. Colophon, depicting the artist Dawlat, painting the calligrapher of the *Khamṣa*, Abd al-Rahīm.

#### Folios in the the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Ms. 613.

- Farhād Before Khusrau* (Sānvala).  
*Iskandar Watches the Invention of Mirrors*, double page illustration (Shīvdās and Nānhā).  
*Iskandar and the Dying Dārā* (Dharmdāsa).  
*Iskandar Assumes the Crown of Iran* (Bhim Gujarātī).

## **Introduction**

Chapter One describes the manuscript and discusses aspects of the arts of the book such as binding and margin designs. Recurrent characteristics of the miniatures are also introduced here. The chapter provides a context for viewing individual artistic contributions by conducting original research into the art history of each of the artists involved in illustrating the *Khamsa*. This serves to highlight the way in which the artists in the Imperial studio shared artistic motifs and ideas and brings into view the established practice of reworking earlier artistic conventions.

The trees, animals, architecture, costumes and aspects of court etiquette portrayed in the *Khamsa* illustrations are analysed in Chapter Two and are traced back to Sultanate period painting and to provincial Indian art predating the *Khamsa*. The chapter reinforces the view that the Mughal artists consistently adapted imagery from earlier painting traditions and from earlier Mughal manuscripts.

Chapter Three examines evidence of the Mughal artists' exposure to Persian manuscript painting. How the Mughals adapted this tradition in the *Khamsa* is discussed painting by painting. Many of the illustrations of the manuscript are shown to owe their compositional design to a two hundred-year old Persian tradition of visual representation.

Chapter Four provides a history of the contact between the Mughals and the Europeans in the final years of the sixteenth century. The chapter gives a detailed account of how European prints and other artifacts found their way to the Mughal court and into Mughal albums and how they influenced the miniature cycle of the *Khamsa*.

Much of Mughal art and the *Khamsa* illustrations in particular are refined syntheses of European and Mughal elements.

Using the poetry of Niẓāmī, the writing of Abū'l Fażl and the commentaries of the Jesuits, Chapter Five attempts to reconstruct how the Mughals themselves viewed paintings. The thesis investigates the phenomenon of reflexivity, or the representation of the act of painting in Mughal art, attempting to interpret the complex imagery of several key *Khamsa* illustrations.

The miniatures of the present copy of the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī are primarily significant because they reflect a unique process of artistic awareness. This is indicated by the refined adaptation of elements from exotic cultural traditions and in the portrayal of the act of painting itself in the imagery of the illustrations. These qualities show the Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī to be at the zenith of Akbar period painting.

## CHAPTER I

### The Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī

#### The Manuscript

The *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī, also known as the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* after a previous owner, is one of the best known of all Mughal manuscripts and one of the most sumptuously illustrated and decorated of all extant *Khamsas*. Now in the British Library (Or. 12,208), the *Khamsa* is a set of five poems by the Persian poet Abū Moḥammad Ilyās ibn Zakī ibn Mu'ayyad Niẓāmī Ganjavī (1141-1209). These are: the *Makhzan al-Asrār*, or *Treasury of Secrets*, a series of allegorical stories and fables with moral connotations; *Khusrau ū Shīrīn*, an early Persian romance; the *Haft Paykar*, or *Seven Portraits/Pavilions*, a series of tales; the mystical love poem of Laylā and Majnūn and the fifth a poem divided into two, containing stories of the heroic feats of Alexander the Great (the *Iqbāl-nāme*) and tales of his spiritual quest (the *Sharaf-nāme*). The Mughal copy of this work was produced for the Emperor Akbar from 1593-95.<sup>1</sup>

The Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī has 325 folios measuring 302 by 198 millimetres (text area 186 by 116 millimetres) with four columns and 21 lines to a page. There are 37 miniatures but the manuscript originally had 44. Another five paintings originally belonging to the manuscript are now in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore. The other two miniatures are now lost. Three paintings in the larger part of the manuscript have been repainted in the Jahāngīr period and the colophon is a Jahāngīr-period addition dating from 1610. This is a self-portrait of Dawlat shown painting, and a portrait of the

<sup>1</sup>There are four colophons dated according to the *ilāhi* calendar instituted by Akbar as part of the new Divine Faith. *Khusrau ū Shīrīn* was completed on 20 *Mihr* in the 38th year/12 October 1593 (f. 109b); *Laylā ū Majnūn*, 10 *Isfandarmūz*/38th year/1st March 1594 (f. 168a); *Sharaf-nāme*, *Sharīvār* 40th year/August-September 1595 (f. 284b) and the *Iqbāl-nāme*, 24 *Azar*/40th year, December 1595 (f. 325b).

calligrapher of the manuscript, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahīm al-kātib ibn <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Hayy al-kātib ibn <sup>c</sup>Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad al-kātib al-Harawī, known as *'Ambarīn-qalam* (Pen of Ambergreis).<sup>2</sup>

The manuscript was probably copied in Lahore, given its date and the fact that it is stylistically similar to other Lahore manuscripts of the time, which are roughly of the same size, namely, the *Babāristān* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford ( 1595) and the *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusrav Dihlavī, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, W. 624 (1597-98). These also have the same two-tone effect for the gold marginal drawings. A pear-shaped seal of the Shāh Jahān or Aurangzīb period in the middle of the opening *shamsa* has been concealed with gold, perhaps by a later owner.

There are two miniature paintings on the doublures of the lacquer covers of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. The doublure of the front cover is of a prince hunting; the doublure of the back cover is of a king enthroned, painted in the likeness of the Emperor Akbar. The front outer cover is of a *Simurgh* and lion in combat and the outer cover at the back has a design of a lion attacking a dragon.

The text of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* follows word-for-word that of the text edited by Wahīd Dāstagirdī in Tehran, 1887/1318. While the innermost borders of the folios are original, the outermost borders of the folios were at some stage refurbished. The manuscript has been rebound at some stage. There is a gold meandering line on the edges of the folios in the British Library and a looped line with finials in the Walters Art

---

<sup>2</sup>Also responsible for the penmanship of the *Kulliyāt* of Sacdī c. 1604 several folios of which are now in the Prince Šadruddīn Āgha Khān Collection, and possibly for a late sixteenth century Nizāmī signed <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rahīm ibn Muḥammad Qasim. This manuscript has only 44 pages and two miniatures (285x170 mm), see Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 'Persian, Turkish and Arabic Manuscripts, Indian and Persian Miniatures from the Celebrated Collection formed by Sir Thomas Phillips Bt. (1792-1872), the Property of the Robinson Trust', 25/26th. November, 1968, lot. 235.

Gallery folios. Most probably in the process of rebinding, two binding errors occurred in the story of Laylā ū Majnūn that disturbs the proper order of the illustrations. Catchwords written at the bottom of a page are designed to precede the next page beginning with the same word, therefore ensuring continuity. However, when two pages begin with the same word, confusion is possible. This is exactly what has happened here. Folio 120b reads '*āz*' (or 'from') and should have preceded what is now 138a, which begins with the same word. Folio 121a should have followed on from what is now 137b. The result is that *Laylā and Majnūn Faint* and *Majnūn at the Tomb of His Father*, appear too early in the illustrative cycle. The second mistake occurs with the mixing up of pages 153a and 143b, which both begin with '*in*' or 'this'.

It is known that miniatures were removed from the manuscript most probably during the rebinding, because the illustrated folios in the manuscript are numbered, and there are several numbers missing. These are: 12, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32. Number 12 is missing between ff. 72a-82a and the other miniatures are missing between ff. 220a-244b. Only one of the catchwords in these two sections shows any disturbance in sequence. This is at the bottom of folio 239b, which has been rubbed off. The missing folios now at the Walters Art Gallery were obviously taken from the manuscript between folios 239b and 244b.

There is some evidence that pages have been replaced to disguise the removal of the folios. It is possible that f. 230b, for example, which is a whole page devoted to a *shamsa* at the beginning of the *Iskandar-nāme*, and f. 231a, a half page of writing with a drawing of hunting animals in gold ink, were devised to use up the space left by missing a miniature and its accompanying text. The *shamsa* page also lacks the characteristic wormhole pattern on the top right hand corner of adjacent pages. In addition, folios ff.72a-82a

have a peculiar book wormhole pattern in the margins adjacent to lines thirteen and fourteen, and this is absent on page 81b, suggesting that the latter page is a replacement.

### Margin Designs

In dramatic contrast to the ordered rhythms of *nastalīq* set out in neat and regular lines, the often wild and swirling designs that fill the margins of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* represent the dramatic outdoor pursuit of the hunt set in the natural beauty of wooded valleys and hills. The meandering designs of soaring *Simurghs* in deadly combat with fierce lions, and the gentler vignettes of a family of deer, or bounding hares are all rendered in shimmering gold inks.

The main theme running through the marginal designs of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* is the princely hunt, which serves to remind the reader of the royal ownership of the book, echoed by the lavish use of the gold inks. This theme is also in contrast to the more sedate activity of reading, however, the colours are subdued so as not distract the reader. There is no real narrative structure to these designs, which are largely repetitive and usually unrelated to the miniatures they surround. There are also other kinds of marginal painting in the *Khamsa*, some less figural, featuring floral designs or grasses and foliage. Another kind features medallions filled with flowers and birds (ff. 297a, 298a, 313a and 319b).

In the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, the illuminator Khvāja Jān Shīrāzī (whose name appears on f.169b), appears to have been of Persian extraction. The gold margin work in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* Or. 12, 208 is particularly reminiscent of Sultān Ibrāhīm's *Shāh-nāme* c.1435 (Bodleian Ms. Ouseley 176, f. 3a) and several folios of the 1587-97 Chester Beatty Library *Shāh-nāme* Ms. 277. The Royal Asiatic Society *Gulistān* of 1581 also has this style

of two-tone gold margin work. The margin designs of *Simurghs* and chinoiserie lions and hunting scenes in matt and gloss tones of gold are typically Ṣafavid in character. At some point, the Mughal artists must have used Persian models to continue the tradition. Further evidence is the comparable gold marginal designs in Shāh Tahmāsp's *Būstān* of Saṣdī c.1525-30,<sup>3</sup> and a beautiful gold *Simurgh* and ostrich similar in appearance to those found in the margin of f. 281a of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, and in a loose folio from a Persian *Yusūf and Zulaykha* manuscript, dated 1557.<sup>4</sup> Ostriches and *Simurghs* painted in a much more similar style however, appear in the margins of the Mughal *Bahāristān*, folio 21v, now in the Bodleian Library, which was undoubtedly by the same hand. While it is true that the *Khamsa*'s margins of gold inks are very much in the same vein as those Persian manuscripts mentioned above, a closer look reveals a process of synthesis: the marginalia include the Indian banyan, peepul and banana trees and animals such as the nilgai, the Indian cheetah and rhinoceros. Also innovative is one of the earliest appearances in Mughal art of figures painted in colour, which appear to inhabit the gold foliage and environment of the margins. This happens only twice in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*: once in the margin of f. 169, where a young man sits with a book in his hand enclosed in a beveled cartouche, and in the margin of f. 165b where a hunter hidden behind a bush, aims his matchlock at some deer.<sup>5</sup> In another margin on 294b, this time only in gold ink, a man and a horse and a man kneeling before a large bird, feature amongst winding leafy stems and bushes.

<sup>3</sup>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14.608, see P. W. Schulz, *Die Persische-Islamische Miniaturmalerei* (Leipzig, 1914), pls. 68-71 and S. C. Welch, *Wonders of the Age* (Harvard, 1979), pls. 45 and 46.

<sup>4</sup> Formerly owned by F. Sarre. Publ. Schulz., *op. cit.*, pl. 25

<sup>5</sup>The same scene occurs in a margin of folio 16a in the Jahāngīr Album, Orientabteilung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

General Characteristics of the Painting in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*

There was an unusually large number of artists commissioned to paint the illustrations of the *Khamsa* manuscript. Five or six artists were customary for such a relatively small work but in this manuscript, there were a staggering 22 artists involved in the painting of the illustrations, 23 counting the name signed underneath the illumination on folio 169b (Khvāja Jān Shirāzī, also responsible for the illumination in the *Khamsa* of Khusrav Dihlavī, 1597), and 24 counting the colophon by Dawlat, added in Jahāngīr's reign. Those painters who were commissioned to do most work for the *Khamsa* were: Dharmdāsa, 5 miniatures; Mukund, 3; Nānhā, 4; Farrukh Chela, 4; Sānvala, 3; Manōhar, 3; and Sūr Gujarātī, 2. There are three previously unnoticed inscriptions crediting the painter Bulāqī for his overpainting of three miniatures. This is dealt with in more detail in Chapter Two.

It is reasonable to assume that so many artists were involved in such a high profile de luxe manuscript in order to create a kind of portable gallery or showcase bringing together paintings of the finest artists of the era. One of the major effects of using the *Khamsa* as a gallery of artists was an unusual change in the traditional 'division of labour' involved in the production of a painting. Whereas traditionally one artist would concentrate on *rangāmīzī* (colouring), *tarīk* (composition), or *ebibrānāmī* (the painting of faces), in the *Khamsa* an overwhelming number of paintings were done by one artist alone. Only rarely had this happened previously, once in the Keir *Khamsa* of c. 1585-90 and in the *Diwān* of Anwarī, 1588. Written attributions to painters by a librarian or scribe appear in the margin at the bottom of each illustration in the *Khamsa*. There is no evidence to doubt the authenticity or accuracy of the inscriptions. While novices usually began with the *rangāmīzī* (faces being left to more experienced artists), in the *Khamsa* single artists were most often involved in both aspects of the painting. Despite the

increased responsibilities of the artist, this did not lead to a great divergence of styles in the *Khamsa*, mainly because artists freely shared motifs and compositional ideas amongst themselves. This aspect is dealt with further in Chapter Three.

There appears to be a lack of individuality in many of the illustrations, particularly in landscape or background painting where a new taste for rustic elements and blue *sfumato*<sup>6</sup> horizons was often demonstrated. The new taste was obviously shared by many of the artists of the *Khamsa*. Indeed, the landscape in Manōhar's *Majnūn Mourns His Father's Death*, f. 132a (**Fig. 1**) appears to be so stylistically close to that in Dharmdāsa's *The King of Black Carried Away by a Giant Bird*, f. 195a (**Fig. 2**) they appear to be the work of the same artist. This is also the case in the background landscapes of f. 15b, *Sanjar and the Old Woman* (**Fig. 3**) by Laçl, and in f. 19a, *Faridūn and the Gazelle* by Mukund (**Fig. 4**).

Other recurrent features in the miniature paintings of the *Khamsa* are six cases in which artists have attempted to portray details of rural life: yoked bullocks or bullocks pumping water from wells.<sup>7</sup> There are also six miniatures featuring boats on rivers and lakes,<sup>8</sup> and many more depictions of waterways, bridges and tiny figures and farm animals dotted on rolling hills. The boat portrayed in the distance of f. 19a appears to have a single mast with a collection of shields on the bows. The scenes of men towing boats ashore in the background of this page (the European origin of this feature is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four), have parallels in other Mughal manuscripts, namely in folio 67b in the

<sup>6</sup> “Sfumato” may be defined as the deliberate blurring of a line or contour to make an object seem to disappear in the distance, or to add a soft-focus effect to a face or body in the foreground. In the *Khamsa* this technique is used in conjunction with another technique, that of painting distant landscape in pale blue in order to create the appearance of distance through gradual shifts of colour from dark to pale tones towards the horizon.

<sup>7</sup> Ff. 19a, 52a, 65a, 99b, 195a, 294a. A disused well is portrayed in folio 136b, *Anisshirvān and his Vizier*, presumably to symbolise the abomination of desolation. The same feature can be seen earlier in a dispersed folio of a *Gulistān* by Dharmdāsa at the Cincinnati Art Museum, Ohio 1950.288. Publ. L. Leach, *Indian Miniature Paintings and Drawings* (Cleveland, 1986), p. 69 and in the foreground of *Bābur Admiring the Rock-cut Tāqīn Sculptures* in the BM *Bābur-nāme*, where it is also presumably symbolic of an extinct civilization.

<sup>8</sup> Ff. 19a, 52a, 150b, 132b, 195a, 220a. This aspect is dealt with in more detail in Chapter Four.

Bankipore *Tārikh-i Khāndān-i Timūriyya*, 1584-86, where the men also appear in European dress; and in the Victoria and Albert Museum *Akbar-nāme*, (1589-90)<sup>9</sup> f. 359, with several small figures in the landscape similar to those seen in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. Exactly the same scene of men towing a boat ashore also appears in a loose leaf originally from a *Bābur-nāme* manuscript by Miskīna.<sup>10</sup> Another specimen from around 1596-97 is a dispersed folio from an illustrated manuscript of the *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, entitled, *Hindu Fleeing at the Sight of a Dervish*.<sup>11</sup> In the background there are tiny buildings painted on the hills and bridge with people walking across it. These examples illustrate that the European tendencies used in landscape identified in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* had begun a decade or so before 1593 and were used in many other manuscripts after the *Khamsa*. In the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* however, the European backgrounds and landscapes were used more consistently and in a more refined manner than in any other manuscript of the period.

Almost half of the illustrations in the manuscript feature landscapes with high horizons and tiny cities perched on hills. The choice of typically Indian rural settings is indicative of the intention of Akbar's painters, perhaps working under his instructions in this regard, to free the Persian classic from the traditional way it had been illustrated.<sup>12</sup>

The emperor's artists employed on the *Khamsa* project used faint tones for the horizon in almost all the miniatures. This is often combined with the deliberate blurring of forms in

<sup>9</sup>Cf. J. Seyller, "Codicological aspects of V&A Akbar-nāme and historical implications" *Art Journal*, vol. 49, no. 4 , Winter 1990 (pp. 379-387.)

<sup>10</sup>Illustrated in B. Robinson, ed., *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book, the Keir Collection*, (London, 1976).fig. 34. V.43.

<sup>11</sup>A. Okada, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court* (New York, 1992), p. 96, fig. 93.

<sup>12</sup>This kind of subject matter had already been developed by Basāwan with his drawings of hermits and dervishes and people of humble origin. His pictures from the *Dārāb-nāme* and *Bahāristān* also have realistic rural and semi-urban settings.

the distance. It is immediately apparent that Mukund, Sānvala, Dharmdāsa, Nānhā and Manōhar were more skilful with the subtle gradations required of the technique, while Farrukh Chela, and Khem Karan were not. Two artists, Kanak Singh Chela, f. 281 and cAbd al-Şamad, f. 82a, used older conventions for backgrounds without any perspective or *sfumato* at all. Thus, there appears to be a contrast between the old and new and particularly between those who blended thin, diluted pigment on the actual paper for gradual shifts of colour and those who preferred to use pigment with a thicker consistency and in a more controlled manner, with little if any blending on paper, the colours being applied already mixed.

#### The Scale of the Miniatures

Not only is the overall standard of the painting consistently high in the *Khamṣa* illustrations compared to other manuscripts but also, each artist has striven to obtain an extraordinary wealth of detail and refinement in each contribution. These particular qualities are clearly seen in the high standard of miniaturisation characteristic of the painting in the *Khamṣa*. The ability to paint on a small scale was a highly regarded talent and the sign of a skilful artist, not only because of the dexterity and accuracy needed for the execution of minute movements but also for the remarkable eagle eye required in the painting of tiny details. The various legends about cAbd-al Ṣamad painting a polo scene on a grain of rice, or in the case of his son, Muḥammad Sharīf, painting a picture of an armed horseman on another grain of rice<sup>13</sup> serve to indicate this important Mughal aesthetic value.

The full size of the *Khamṣa* pages measure 302 x 198 millimetres and even within this

---

<sup>13</sup>One assumes a certain amount of exaggeration, but one cannot be certain. Cf. S. P. Verma, *Mughal Painters and their Work: A Bibliographical Survey and Comprehensive Catalogue* (Delhi, 1994), pp. 41 and 43.

limited space, the artists vie with each other's skills at miniaturisation. In the *Khamsa*, this is done in several rather ingenious ways. Maddū Khāna-zād painted a picture of Aflāṭūn (Plato) playing an organ and painted pictures on the organ on a tiny scale (one of them showing a European painting another, f. 298a, Fig. 5). Miskīna painted several smaller pictures with tiny details 'inside' his miniature painting of the *Disputing Physicians*, f. 23b (Fig. 6). Perhaps most remarkable is Dharmdāsa's *The King of Black Carried Away by a Giant Bird The Story Told by the Black Princess*, f. 195a (Fig. 2), displaying a great range of different scales and planes. Many other pictures in the *Khamsa* appear to enclose vignettes smaller in scale. The effect is often quite fascinating, as each successive diminution of scale appears to take the viewer further into the portrayed space of the picture. Miskīna in particular used miniaturisation frequently in other manuscripts. In the *Akbar-nāme*, Miskīna places within a scene smaller vignettes that are both part of the overall view, yet can also be seen as pictures in themselves. This is the case in *The Great Hunt* where there are a good many subsidiary scenes taking place inside the scarlet tent. In *The Unfaithful Wife* in the *Bahāristān* 1595 (Fig. 7),<sup>14</sup> a great hunt is represented as a design stitched onto the fabric of the tent. This miniaturisation is fairly common in Akbar-period painting. Other examples are the tiny figures and scenes taking place in the background of *Iskandar Building a Wall Against the People of Gog and Magog* (Fig. 8), which appears to have been painted around the same time as the *Khamsa*.<sup>15</sup> In the British Library *Akbar-nāme* Or. 12,988, c. 1604 there is a picture of Humāyūn holding court, with a hunting scene painted on the wall in the background.

This Akbar-period feature continued into the Jahāngīr period.<sup>16</sup> In a miniature of the coronation of Jahāngīr by Abu'l Hasan, 1617-18, two "life-size" paintings, each hung

<sup>14</sup> Elliot MS. 254, f. 42. Reproduced in Wellesz, *op. cit.*, 1952, pl. 28.

<sup>15</sup> BM 1982. 5-29. 01. See Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures* (London, 1993), fig. 57, p. 89.

<sup>16</sup> See A. K. Das, *Mughal Painting During Jahangir's Time* (Calcutta, 1978), ls. 26-29.

over a staircase on either side of the royal balcony are painted on a tiny scale as if they were placed far to the back of the court.<sup>17</sup> In one of Bichitr's portraits of Jahāngīr on the hourglass throne c.1625<sup>18</sup>, a figure in the foreground holds up a picture with details of a man kneeling before an elephant. In Manōhar's *The Weighing of Prince Khurram*, c. 1615<sup>19</sup> from a now dispersed *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, designs woven into the carpet on a minute scale represent three *perūs* appearing to hold up the scales of the balance (Fig. 9). In the Shāh Jahān period, this miniaturisation continues from its origins in Akbar period painting, of which the Dyson Perrins *Khamṣa* is exemplary, taking the form of numerous scenes of paintings within paintings and designs in designs.<sup>20</sup> The subject of paintings within paintings in the *Khamṣa* is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

#### The Festaiuolo

Yet another consistent feature in the *Khamṣa* is the appearance of full frontal faces or faces appearing to stare out from the picture space. In the *Khamṣa* paintings this outward gazing figure may be a courtier who is distinguished from the others by virtue of his direct gaze 'out of the picture' at the viewer. In other words, he or she appears to establish eye contact with the viewer. Such a feature arrests our own process of inspecting a painting, perhaps because of the fleeting illusion, which one has to check, that someone in the picture is looking at us.<sup>21</sup> This figure may be called a *festaiuolo*,<sup>22</sup> a device utilised in fifteenth-century Italian painting taken from theatre, for a character that is meant to urge the audience on by directly addressing it and to rouse the audience into

<sup>17</sup> Formerly the Institute of Peoples of Asia, St. Petersburg. *Ibid.*, pl. 39.

<sup>18</sup> Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC, 42.15.

<sup>19</sup> British Museum 1948 10-9 069.

<sup>20</sup> M. C. Beach and E. Koch, *King of the World, The Padshāh-nama* (Smithsonian, 1997), fig. 9.

<sup>21</sup> Referring to Raphael's *Marriage of the Virgin* N. Bryson writes, "The figures are *adventent*, fully aware of the presence of an unseen witness towards whom they direct their physical stances." N. Bryson, *Vision and Painting, The Logic of the Gaze* (New Haven, 1983), p. 111.

<sup>22</sup>This is a term used by Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 71-5.

further involvement in the play. There are numerous instances of this figure appearing to look out at the viewer in Mughal miniatures in the Akbar period and many appear in Mughal copies of European works that must have been responsible for introducing the device into Mughal art. There are no fewer than five faces peering out at us in an album leaf of the *Crucifixion*, which is a copy of one or more European engravings.<sup>23</sup> As a feature in Akbar period painting generally, the *festainolo* occurs fairly frequently in manuscripts dating from the latter part of the sixteenth century and continues to appear in Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān period illustrations.<sup>24</sup> The *festainolo* appears in at least six pages of the *Chingiz Khān-nāme* 1596<sup>25</sup> and is also evident in the Victoria and Albert Museum *Akbar-nāme*,<sup>26</sup> in the Bankipore *Tārikh-i Khāndān-i Tīmūriyya*, (1584-6); (cf. f. 123b where there are no less than 12 faces staring out at us) and earlier in the British Library *Darāb-nāme* 1580-85 (Or. 4165), f.106b where *Darāb* uproots a tree and appears to stare out of picture as he does so<sup>27</sup>. Perhaps the earliest appearance of this figure is in a folio in the *Hamza-nāme* (Fig. 10).<sup>28</sup> In painting, the effect of the *festainolo* is above all paradoxical. It may draw in the viewer with the illusion of the immediate, appearing to reach through space and time with the interaction of the “shared” gaze. Yet it may also estrange, taking away the viewer’s ability (and automatic tendency) to suspend disbelief. Above all, the outward gazing figure makes us conscious of ourselves as picture viewers.

<sup>23</sup> (BM.1983.10-15). See also a European scene by Kesū Das c.1590 in the Chester Beatty Library, where the European figures peer out, as in portraits. Cf. L. Y. Leach., *op.cit.*, 1995, pl. 1. 234).

<sup>24</sup> A rather striking *festainolo* figure appears in a picture of Jahāngīr enthroned, now in the Freer Gallery, Washington, 46.48, far right, a man carrying a mace appears to turn his head towards the viewer to stare directly out at him or her. See P. Pal, ed., *Master Artists of the Imperial Mughal Court* (Marg, Bombay, 1991), p. 74, fig. 6. In Shāh Jahān painting, the *Padshāb-nāme* has a number of illustrations with *festainolo* figures; see Beach and Koch *op. cit.*, p. 57, pl. 19 and p. 58, pl. 20. See also figs, 44,46 and 51.

<sup>25</sup> See Knížkóva and Marek, *The Jengiz Khān Miniatures from the Court of Akbar the Great* (Prague, 1963), pl. 4, a man with raised hand, centre left; pl. 5a, a man staring out at us while slaughtering a horse; pl. 13, a man just under the strip of text at the top of the illustration; pl. 15a, courtiers to the left of the scene; pl. 23b, more courtiers to left; pl. 32 a fellow with his hair being pulled and another brandishing a sword, centre foreground.

<sup>26</sup> IS. 2- 1896.112/117. P. Pal, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 41, fig. 1.

<sup>27</sup> P. Vaughan, in P. Pal, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>28</sup> H. Glück, *Die Indischen Miniaturen des Haemgaz-Romanes* (Vienna, 1925), tafel 12 (W.35). For the early date of this manuscript see Chapter Two.

Thus, the dual aspect to the *festainolo* engenders viewer involvement and awareness of that involvement.

The device is used as a consistent feature by the artists of Akbar's *Khamsa* to heighten dramatic effect. The first appearance of such a figure in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* is in the central foreground of *Farīdūn and the Gazelle*, f.19a (**Fig. 4**, by Mukund), the outward gazing figure is used to carry the line of the composition along, almost initiating or directing it with his outstretched arm, at the same time inviting the viewer to participate. Another huntsman further into the scene repeats a similar gesture of the outstretched arm and then finally so does Farīdūn himself: this is a series of identifications designed to bring the viewer into the heart of the action. This repetitive gesture suggests different moments in time, a drama unfolding before us. Following these gestures and the directions of the animals in flight, a line in an 'S' shape<sup>29</sup> is created that leads us to the background landscape, which is a series of planes opening up. All action, however, seems to rotate around Farīdūn at the centre of the composition.

The second *festainolo* figure is used less as a compositional device than for emphasis. Situated far to the left of the *Disputing Physicians* picture, f. 23b, (**Fig. 6**) behind a man supporting the swooning physician is a figure whose gaze is direct, his expression that of calm resignation: he invites us to reflect on the action.

---

<sup>29</sup>Almost exactly the same principles of composition may be found in *Mohammad Amin Dāwāna Escorting the Widow of Bairām Khān*. f. 533b of the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nāme*.

Dharmdāsa makes Khusrau appear to stare straight out of the picture in *Shāpūr Brings Khusrau News of Shīrīn* 52a (Fig. 11) and this also happens in his picture of Khusrau in bed with Shīrīn in the *Keir Khamsa*. Khusrau's face in this manuscript appears identical with the face of Khusrau in the later *Khamsa*. In f. 52a *Shāpūr Brings Khusrau News of Shīrīn* (Fig. 11), the main figure is set apart from the rest of the action by enclosing him into a squared off area that appears to be a picture within a picture. The privacy of this internal enclosure emphasised by the tent wall excluding Khusrau's subjects intensifies the intimacy of the encounter. Khusrau leans forward to hear the news relayed to him by an excited Shāpūr and glances out of his cloistered space. The gaze accentuates the immediacy and impact of the scene in a way that Khusrau staring directly at Shāpūr may not have done. Dharmdāsa uses a *festaiuolo* figure in other pictures, one in folio 102a, where a mourner at the tomb of Khusrau invites us to empathize with the tragedy of the scene, and twice in folio 6b (WAG), *Iskandar and the Dying Dārā* (Fig. 12), presumably for the same purposes. That Dharmdāsa is fond of using this device to catch the eye may be seen in *Timūr and his band punish the Siyah-Push* in the Bankipore *Tārikh-i Khāndān-i Timūriyya*, (1584-6) f.73b, where he has painted no less than ten faces peering out of the landscape.

Another artist fond of using such figures is Nānhā. In *The Battle of the Clans*, f. 159a (Fig. 13), the emotional impact of the scene is increased by the detail of a figure to the right peering out from under his shield. Nānhā has carefully painted this direct gaze (the same gaze is repeated for other figures) to create a rapport with the viewer and increase the feeling of immediacy.

Mukund uses the festaiuolo figure two more times for emphasis, once in f. 184b to draw the viewer's attention to the empty throne of Iran, shortly to be occupied by Bahrām Gūr

(Fig. 14). In the second example the outward gazing figure is an onlooker in f. 266b, who clearly expects us to be similarly impressed with the events unfolding before him regarding the talisman and the Qipchāq women (Fig. 15).

Lastly in the *Khamsa*, the artist Bhūra painted a female courtier staring out at us in folio 244b (Fig. 16). Overall, there are 16 figures of this kind in the *Khamsa*. Even though the device of painting the outward gazing figure was most probably acquired from European engravings, it is incorporated into the Mughal visual language of gestures for various effects: reflection on the intricacies of the text, for emphasis, for shared intimacy and most often as a pointer, to lead the eye to other parts of the composition. Clearly, in some miniatures in the *Khamsa*, some artists failed to exploit the potential of such a device to increase visual communication. Certainly in many cases, the use of this device indicates the Mughal artist's heightened sensitivity to the dynamics involved in viewing pictures. This is also evident with the use of several other devices discussed in Chapter Five.

#### The Artists of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*.

Despite the apparent cooperation between artists and the ease with which they traded motifs and artistic ideas amongst themselves, certain individual traits emerge in the *Khamsa* illustrations. These can be more easily appreciated by examining those artists' painting predating the *Khamsa*. What follows is an alphabetically organized list of all the artists involved in painting illustrations for the Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* of Nizāmī. These illustrations are described in the context of some of the artists' previous works. This allows us to look at how artists developed over time and to identify any consistent characteristics of a painter's style, which emerge in the paintings of the *Khamsa*.

Bhūra

Bhūra was one of the lesser-known artists of Akbar's studio. In a majority of his extant paintings Bhūra did the colouring for the *tarb* work of other artists, mainly Miskīnā, from whom he presumably learnt such *tarb* work. The first known painting that is solely his is a folio of the *Dārāb-nāme* (1580-85) where he contributed six paintings, all of indifferent quality. He also worked on the *Razm-nāme* 1588 now in the Maharāja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur,<sup>30</sup> the Bankipore *Tārikh-i Khāndān-i Timūriyya*, (1584-6); the Jaipur *Rāmāyaṇa* (1587-88), the Chester Beatty Library *Bābur-nāme* (c. 1589-90, from the Victoria and Albert Museum *Bābur-nāme*) and the British Library *Bābur-nāme*, Or. 3714 (1591). In folio 417b of the latter manuscript, and in his contribution to the *Khamsa*, the artist's interest in painting architectural detail is clearly seen. The foreground of the *Khamsa's Iskandar and Nushāba Entertained*, f. 244b (Fig. 16), where there are several figures carrying covered trays and wearing unusual fur-brimmed hats, shows the painter using imagery from his earlier work in the *Dārāb-nāme*. In the *Khamsa*, it was not always the case that the *tarb* work was done first and then filled in with colour. Some *tarb* work was re-done over the colouring, perhaps as a form of *pentimenti*. In Bhūra's, *Iskandar and Nushāba Entertained*, f. 244b (Fig. 16) the heads of the female courtiers to the right have outlines indicating that they were originally to wear Chingisid feather headdresses, the kind commonly seen in the *Chingiz Khān-nāme* of 1596 in the Gulistān Palace, Tehran. The painted background may be seen through the *tarb* outlines added later. The same observation may be made of another miniature in the *Khamsa*. A sword, brandished by a figure in the lower left-hand corner of the illustration on folio 82a, *Khusrau Goes Hunting* (Fig. 17) has not been coloured in. Consequently, through the outline of the sword may be seen the background landscape. Clearly in some cases, the background was painted

---

<sup>30</sup> Abu'l Fazl's preface is dated 1588 but the manuscript was probably completed 1584-86.

and the outline for the figures superimposed afterwards, perhaps for alterations and additions and then coloured in or painted over, a practice not known elsewhere in other illustrated manuscripts.

## 2. Bulāqī

There are three previously unnoticed but important inscriptions in the lower margins of three illustrations in the manuscript. These inscriptions attribute *chibranāmī* work (or the painting of faces) to Bulāqī, known better for his contributions to the Shāh Jahān *Padshāh-nāme*. His *chibranāmī* work for the Dyson Perrins pages appears to be so similar in style to his mature work that there is reason to believe that the faces were added later, some considerable time after 1593-95.

Bulāqī appears to have overpainted the faces of several artists' works, particularly Farrukh Chela's whose *chibranāmī* had to be finished for him in another painting in the *Khamsa: Khusrau and Shirin Entertained* f. 65a (Fig. 18). Chela's was originally thought to have painted the faces in folio 273a, *The Champion of Rus Wounds an Elephant* (Fig. 19) and *The Death of Majnūn on Laylā's Grave*, f. 165b (Fig. 20). However, there are previously undiscovered inscriptions on both pages to the left, in very faint, tiny characters, which explain that the *chibranāmī* in each case was done not by Farrukh Chela but by Bulāqī. This artist also painted the faces in the miniature on folio 117a, *Nizāmī Gives His Son to the Son of the Shirvānshāh* (Fig. 21), as another previously unnoticed inscription indicates. The inscriptions have probably escaped detection as they are faint and appear far to the left of the 'official' librarian's inscription at the bottom centre. In reproduction, the inscriptions

are barely visible (Fig. 22).<sup>31</sup>

Bulāqī is known to have painted two miniatures in the *Razm-nāme*, State Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda, 1598,<sup>32</sup> entitled, *Indra Meeting Yūgul and Syamla* 198/3 and the other, *Rāja Sanjīva Attacked by Robbers* 198/4. Also by him are two loose leafs, one a *Razm-nāme* manuscript, present location unknown,<sup>33</sup> and the other in a *Razm-nāme* of 1598, private collection, entitled, *A Worshipper Caught by a Fisherman*, where he is referred to as the ‘son of Hushang’<sup>34</sup> and as ‘kamtarīn-i khāna-qādān’ (‘the most insignificant of the sons of slaves’ [of the household]).<sup>35</sup> These *Razm-nāme* miniatures were all supposedly painted after Bulāqī’s work in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, yet in the latter manuscript, his portraiture appears to be far more accomplished compared to the almost naive caricatures in the *Razm-nāme*. It is impossible to believe that Bulāqī would have reverted to a relatively crude, conventional style of painting faces after having proved himself in more sophisticated portraiture years before. Thus, the *Razm-nāme* paintings were done before, not after, the Bulāqī’s *chibrānāmī* work in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*.

There appears to be a dearth of pictures painted by him in the Jahāngīr period. There is an illustration that has been ascribed to him, possibly intended for the *Jahāngīr-nāme*, c. 1625, called *Jahāngīr Greeting Mugarrab Khān*, now in the Raza Library, Rampur, Ms. 1, f. 7a, with a badly rubbed line telling us that Bulāqī did it.<sup>36</sup> The simple symmetrical composition has much in common with the Akbar period *Khamsa* f. 117a, *Nizāmī Giving*

<sup>31</sup>See Brend, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 30, 52.

<sup>32</sup>No. 198/1-32

<sup>33</sup>Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 25 October 1921, lots 20-79.

<sup>34</sup>See S. C. Welch, ‘Early Mughal Miniature Paintings From Two Private Collections Shown at the Fogg Art Museum’ *Ars Orientalis*, 3, 1959, fig. 6 and Sotheby Sale Catalogue, December 13, 1972; sold by S.C. Welch.

<sup>35</sup>*Sbāb Jahān Watching an Elephant Fight*, reproduced in Milo Cleveland Beach and Ebba Koch, *op. cit.*, p. 223 (Appendix Q), the translation does not quite reflect the truly groveling dimensions of the inscription. There is yet another version of this by the same artist, cf. *ibid.* (Appendix P). Bulāqī was referred to as a *khāna-qādī* in his picture of a Muslim Saint in the Gulshān Album, see Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 116, he is also referred to here as ‘bandī’ or ‘slave’.

<sup>36</sup>See Beach and Koch, *op. cit.*, Fig. 16, p. 120.

*His Son to the Son of the Shirvānshāh* (Fig. 21). The faces are treated in each with Bulāqī's naturalism, eye for detail and precision.

In the Shāh Jahān period, Bulāqī is credited with painting *Shāh Jahān Honouring Prince Dārā Shikoh at His Wedding* in the *Padshāh-nāme*,<sup>37</sup> where he is referred to again as the son of Hushang. Another double miniature, which was probably intended for the *Padshāh-nāme* originally in the St. Petersburg Album was entitled, *A Night Celebration of the Prophet's Birthday*: This, however, is a far from certain attribution.<sup>38</sup> Some of the faces in folio 117a of the Dyson Perrins *Khamṣa* illustration, *Nizāmī Gives His Son to the Son of Shirvānshāh* (Fig. 21) by Khem Karan and Bulāqī, are actually portraits. There is portrait of a dark-skinned and corpulent musician of Akbar's court. Brend mistakenly identified him as Ḡālī Khān Karōrī the *Nōbat Khān* or court musician, as did R. H. Pinder-Wilson and Rogers.<sup>39</sup> The picture published by all three is a British Museum portrait of Misrī Singh, an earlier *Nōbat Khān*, and it is he who resembles the figure in f. 117a of the Dyson Perrins *Khamṣa*.<sup>40</sup> This would support the view that the overpainting dates from the Akbar or Jahāngīr periods (rather than the Shāh Jahān period) given that Misrī Singh was active during both reigns. The other members of the court are carefully painted: the portrait of the attendant wielding a whisk appears to be the same person doing the same job in an illustration comparable also in subject matter, *Abu'l Fażl Presents the Akbar-nāme to Akbar*, f. 176b by Govardhan in the Chester Beatty Library *Akbar-nāme*, Ind. Ms. No. 3.

<sup>37</sup>Only the left hand side can be Bulāqī's work as the right hand side is stylistically far too different (and the faces too naively executed) to be by the same hand.

<sup>38</sup>By Beach and Koch, *ibid.*, p. 219.

<sup>39</sup>Brend, *op. cit.*, p. 27. R. H. Pinder-Wilson, *Paintings From the Muslim Courts of India* (British Museum, 1976), 60-1, no. 85; Rogers, *op. cit.*, 1993, p. 62. See a portrait of Ḡālī Khān Karōrī in A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of Indian Collections at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, pt. VI, (Boston, 1930), p. 39, pl. 28. There is another version of this in the J. Goldschmidt Collection, Berlin.

<sup>40</sup>I would like to thank Robert Skelton for this information.

The figure of Niẓāmī himself is painted with exceptional care. The faces in this picture and in the others painted by Bulāqī in the *Khamṣa* are easily the most naturalistic and psychologically convincing in the manuscript. It is also notable that in Bulāqī's contributions, he must have painted the hands of his figures as they are distinctly advanced compared to the other *Khamṣa* artists' efforts in this area. Thus *chibrānāmī* may also have included hands and perhaps even the figure, as Majnūn, weeping on Laylā's grave (f. 165b, Fig. 20) would not be out of keeping with Bulāqī's precise application of paint in his pursuit of anatomical realism. Bulāqī has also tried to approximate emotional expressions to heighten the pathos of the scene. Compared to the other illustrations where Bulāqī has contributed *chibrānāmī* work, this is a simple picture, with only two figures involved in the scene.

*The Champion of Rus* is primarily impressive because of the *chibrānāmī* work by Bulāqī and the individual poses of the figures. The episode of Iskandar's battle with the armies of Rus (Fig. 19) is a unique miniature in illustrated *Khamṣas* and is painted with great detail and skill. The champion of Rus appears as a fantastic, bloodthirsty giant with horns and bulging eyes. Some of the individual poses (such as the macebearer's on a rearing horse) are sophisticated and the diminution of figures towards the horizon is gradual and impressive.

Again, the faces by Bulāqī appear to be portraits, or at least are highly individualized, and are exceedingly detailed. The figures wear uniforms and armour typical of the period and one of the generals, to the right on horseback, resembles Khān Jahān,<sup>41</sup> the general appointed by Akbar to conquer Bengal. In the bottom corner, far right, there also

<sup>41</sup>Cf. an illustration in the Victoria and Albert Museum *Akbar-nāme*, no. 102/117, G. Sen, *Paintings From the AkbarNāma* (Calcutta, 1984), pl. 68.

appears to be two figures observing the battle, one of them painted in the likeness of Jahāngīr.

It has not been possible to detect exactly how the faces were overpainted.<sup>42</sup> There is however, one face in the *Champion of Rus* picture (Fig. 19), lower left of the picture, which has been rubbed out, perhaps as preparation for overpainting. The range of styles involved in the painting of the faces in the illustration of *Nizāmī Gives His Son to the Son of the Shirvānshāh* (Fig. 21) perhaps indicates that only certain faces were selected for this treatment. The fact that the inscriptions referring to Bulāqī appear to have been added almost as an afterthought to the more carefully written main inscriptions, most probably indicates Jahāngīr period overpainting. Only x-ray exposure would reveal the full extent of this overpainting.

If the new inscriptions cast some doubt on the chronological integrity of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, they may also explain much of its stylistic eclecticism. Not only does the *Khamsa* have specimens of the conservative style of Khwāja Īabd al- Ṣamad but it also has paintings reflecting the late Akbar and Jahāngīr period contact with European art and culture.<sup>43</sup>

Apart from contributing to our knowledge of Bulāqī as a foremost portrait painter, the three new inscriptions discovered in the Dyson Perrins manuscript challenge our assumptions about the Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī of 1593-95. The manuscript was originally presumed to have been painted between these dates as a complete Akbar period illustrated manuscript, with only the colophon added at a later date in the Jahāngīr

<sup>42</sup>Overpainting was a very common practice in the Jahāngīr period. See, J. Seyller, 'Recycled Images: Overpainting in early Mughal Art' in S. Canby, ed., *Humayun's Garden Party* (Marg, 1994).

<sup>43</sup>See for example, *The Disputing Physicians* by Miskīnā, f. 23b, reproduced in Brend, *ibid.*, p. 11.

period. The inscriptions and overpainting go hand-in-hand with the colophon and show Jahāngīr to have been more involved with the painting of the Emperor Akbar's *Khamṣa* than hitherto believed. The Bulāqī *chibrānāmī* work, like the colophon, which cannot have been painted in the Akbar period, express the Emperor Jahāngīr's interest in the de luxe manuscript and his proud ownership of a book passed down to him from his father.

### 3. Farrukh Chela

Twenty miniatures by this artist survive. It seems he began his career working on the *Dīwān* of *Hāfiẓ* 1582-85 (ff. 116, 177) and the *Dārāb-nāme* (ff. 92b-93b), the latter a rather standard, and in terms of quality, uneven manuscript. He also worked on the Jaipur *Razm-nāme* 1588. In this manuscript, he is credited with two miniatures. Farrukh Chela appears not to have been a very highly regarded artist, as he contributed no more than one or two paintings to manuscripts such as the *Akbar-nāme* (Or. 12988), *Bābur-nāme* (Or. 3714) or the Bankipore *Tārīkh-i Khāndān-i Timūriyya*. In all these cases, his contributions are characterized by unsteady figure work. He seems most at home with *rangāmīzī* work. The artist must have learnt much whilst working on his two miniatures for the *Dīwān* of *Hāfiẓ*, distinguished not only for its minute scale but also for its lavish, if somewhat European, palette and use of *sfumato*.

All of these aspects must have prepared him for his work on the Dyson Perrins *Khamṣa*. We know from the inscriptions in this manuscript that Farrukh Chela began colouring two pages for which he is credited with other artists, but in the inscription under the picture, *The Champion of Rus Wounds an Elephant*, f. 273a (Fig. 19), alongside the name of Farrukh Chela appears the Bulāqī inscription discussed above. In the other picture, supposedly solely by him in the Dyson Perrins *Khamṣa*, *Majnūn's Death on the Tomb of Laylā* (Fig. 20) Bulāqī was again responsible for the faces.

As mentioned above, Farrukh Chela was also not responsible for the *chibrānāmī* work for *Khusrau and Shīrīn Entertained* f. 65a (Fig. 18), where Dhanrāj finished the faces. Farrukh Chela was only involved in the *rangāmizī* (colouring) of this illustration. The inscription below it reads "rangāmizī-yi Farrukh Chela, chibra bā-tamām kār-i Dhanrāj" (colouring by Farrukh Chela, faces entirely ("completed by") the work of Dhanrāj). There is another version of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* illustration painted by Dhanrāj and Farrukh Chela. This appears to be an unpublished tinted drawing now at the Victoria and Albert Museum (IS 61-1949). It is not possible to ascertain whether this was a *tarḥ* preliminary sketch, or a copy after the original painting, as there are no indications that either picture was pricked, both however, could have been from a stencil. The Victoria and Albert painting is the same size as the miniature in the *Khamsa*, and apart from one or two rose and blue areas of colour, it is composed almost entirely of lines and strokes of black paint. The Victoria and Albert drawing/painting is almost identical to the miniature in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. The only differences between the two are that in the *Khamsa*, Khusrau is depicted as a clean-shaven youth; in the loose painting, he is an older man with moustaches, resembling Akbar. Shīrīn is represented wearing different clothes. Although there are no inscriptions to indicate who painted this monochrome work, in aspects of facial and figural types and architectural details, it conforms to the known corpus of Farrukh Chela's works.

Given that Bulāqī overpainted Farrukh Chela's faces in f. 273a (Fig. 19) and in f. 65a (Fig. 18) by Dhanrāj, it is not unreasonable to assume that the faces in another folio of his were by another artist. It is probable that Bulāqī also overpainted the faces in Farrukh Chela's *Laylā and Majnūn Faint*, f. 123a (Fig. 23). The *chibrānāmī* work is so accomplished and individualized and so extremely close to Bulāqī's style that one must conclude that

the work is also his and that the court librarian has not recorded this. It is probable that Farrukh Chela simply was not considered a *chitrānāī* specialist of repute in this period. One of the most characteristic features of Chela's *chitrānāī* was its clumsiness, apparent in the depiction of heads, usually too large for the bodies, and set at an awkward angle.<sup>44</sup>

There were other aspects of the artist's work that must have been admired. In common with many of the other artists who worked on the same manuscript, Farrukh Chela attempted to show figures in mid-action, in the case of *Laylā and Majnūn Faint* (Fig. 23), they are depicted in the moment when they are just about to fall down. The traditional way of portraying the scene is to show them unconscious. The drama of the central action, executed by Farrukh Chela with, for him, an uncharacteristic understanding of anatomy, has been strengthened by providing a landscape and surroundings that are particularly rich in detail: jagged rocks and exuberant foliage, including the traditional cypresses circled with blossoms. The raging river swelling over and about to burst its banks because of the monsoon, the traditional season of passion and romance in Indian culture, is a particularly apposite image to accompany the main scene.

The colouring work of Farrukh Chela in the folios attributed to him is distinct and easily identifiable as his. The artist found a novel way of rendering transparency by overlaying one colour over another for a diaphanous effect (f. 65a, Fig. 18). This technique is used far more often in later Mughal painting. However, overall, Chela's peculiar treatment of material reflects difficulty with blending and a preference for hard-edged clarity and hotter colour. This is the case with his use of unblended, opaque white for highlights of drapery, which results in a peculiar metallic sheen (see the blue curtains on Shīrīn 's pavilion in folio 65a, *Laylā*'s robes in folio 123a, Fig. 18 and the roughly blended

---

<sup>44</sup> For support of this view, see R. Morris, 'Some Additions to the Work of the Mughal Artist Farrukh Chela', *Ara*

landscape background of f. 237a, Fig. 19). In all examples in the *Khamsa*, his colouring style is strong and lacks any direction of light and thus objects appear to be lit from within. This peculiar effect is also extended to architectural surfaces. The architectural structures themselves are usually complicated,<sup>45</sup> showing a desire to come to terms with perspective, often not very successfully.<sup>46</sup>

#### 4. Dhanrāj

There is no record of any miniature by this artist before the date of the late British Library *Bābur-nāme* that is not a shared work. This suggests that unlike the other artists of the *Khamsa*, Dhanrāj was not sufficiently established at the time of the production of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* to contribute a painting unaided by another artist. It is thus unlikely that he did any *tanḥ* work in this period and that he was involved only with finishing the series of doll-like faces for *Khusraw and Shirīn Entertained* (Fig. 18), f. 65a. Little survives of this artist's miniatures even though he continued to work right up until the 1630s when he painted a Timurid genealogical tree, replete with small round portraits.<sup>47</sup>

#### 5. Dharmdāsa

Two hitherto unknown paintings by Dharmdāsa belong to a now dispersed *Sharaf-nāme* shared between the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery and the School of Oriental and African Studies Library. One of these reveals interesting details of the identity of the artist. The inscription beneath reads "Dharmdāsa bakk dāst." The translation in the

*Orientalis*, 13, 1982, p. 141.

<sup>45</sup>See Morris, *op. cit.*, figs 2 and 5.

<sup>46</sup>In a painting from an *Anwār-i Subayḥ* at Varanasi, dated 1596-7, f. 30, Farrukh Chela repeated the general composition of the animals in *Laylā-Majnūn Faint* in the *Khamsa*, using exactly the same poses for the two symmetrical leopards and the tiger with its striped back turned towards the viewer and its head turned left, see Verma, *op. cit.*, 1978, pl. VIII.

<sup>47</sup>Sadruddīn Āgā Khān Collection, see A. Okada, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court* (New York, 1992), p. 34, fig. 34.

Bristol Museum caption "right-handed" is incorrect, for *haqq* ('right') is not spelt with the Urdu small 'h' (the 'h' in the name Dharmdāsa is written this way<sup>48</sup>). With this 'h', *Hakk* means 'a strike, cut or blow from a sword'. If the caption written by the original scribe was a misspelling, this does not explain why an artist would have been referred to as right-handed: this is not a remarkable fact to be commented on, as most people are right-handed anyway. The word in Persian for 'hand' is *dāst*. *Hakk dāst* must be an epithet, 'cut hand'. This might lend weight to the idea that Dharmdāsa had only one hand and that he was in fact, left-handed.

*Iskandar in Battle with the Russians* in the *Sharaf-nāme* has Persian painterly conventions with gold used for the armour and a flat horizon and little indication of perspective. The intricate interrelationships of those involved in battle indicate the self-assured style of a mature artist. One of the most prolific of Akbar's painters,<sup>49</sup> Dharmdāsa painted five miniatures for the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. All of these are by him alone and most of them are remarkable for their shading and modeling of clothes and drapery. The figures in the picture of *Shīrīn Kills Herself at the Grave of Khusrau* (Fig. 24) wear clothes that are shown with unusually dark folds. Also noticeable here are the curtains, which have been realistically rendered with distinct areas of highlight and shade as is the door, opened onto a dark outer room. This technique is also used for the detailed study of the folds of drapery for the tent in *Shāpūr Brings Khusrau News of Shīrīn* 52a (Fig. 11), where the folds of cloth appear to fall far more convincingly than the notional, barely articulated blocks of colour of earlier painting and point to an experiment with complementaries (paralleled in Europe by Velasquez's famous advice about using blue in the shade of pink or vice versa).

<sup>48</sup>See *Khamsa* of Nizāmī Or. 12, 208, f. 52a, reproduced in Brend, *op. cit.*, fig. 6.

<sup>49</sup>Verma lists 54 miniatures to which must be added one from the Bristol portion of the *Sharaf-nāme* and possibly three with the suffix '*Lamj*' or 'cripple'. Cf. Verma, *ibid.*, pp. 137-141.

Dharmdāsa's work in the Keir *Khamsa* reveals no inclination for such modeling. The rather simple rendering of folds in his paintings for the latter manuscript shows a less experienced hand. The treatment of folds and modeling is thus a key to dating the artist's work. Also remarkable for its European shading is folio 40b, *Khusrau Carouses* (Fig. 25), where much attention has been paid to shading around figures as well as portraying flowing rather than lifeless robes. In his paintings for the *Khamsa*, Dharmdāsa keeps asset of facial types established in the Keir *Khamsa*. His miniatures also betray a delight in geometrical forms found in the complexity of distant cityscapes and minute textile patterns.

One of the most remarkable illustrations in the *Khamsa* and possibly Dharmdāsa's greatest work is *The King is Carried Away by a Giant Bird – The Story of the Princess of the Black Pavilion*, f.195a (Fig. 2). It is rich in incidental detail and rural vignettes on a minute scale. Most of all, however, the image on folio 195a is an opportunity to show off the new techniques of *sfumato* and perspective, not to mention a new aerial viewpoint. The *Simurgh* is here shown soaring above the earth, over farms, towns and figures absorbed in the minutiae of everyday life, all oblivious to the *Simurgh*, except for the spectators in the castle who raise their hands in wonder and bewilderment.

*The King of Black Carried Away by a Giant Bird – The Story of the Princess of the Black Pavilion* f.195a (Fig. 2) is a complex exercise in rendering of the illusion of distance: there are no fewer than seven receding planes and several rustic, Flemish-style vignettes. This miniaturisation accentuates the feeling of distance and dizzying height. There is also a play on contrasts of scale: the tiny figure in the talons of the monstrous bird and the diminution of objects in the distance. The use of this form of stereoscopic perspective is

a decisive break with the earlier techniques of Persian painting where figures near the horizon differ little in size from those in the foreground and where objects appear stacked, one upon another. The rolling hills, dotted here and there with a focal point - a tree or an animal perhaps - are subtly blended from ochre, to green and blue. Forms become ethereal, eventually fading into a barely detectable horizon. Such deliberate blurring of forms is also uncharacteristic of the sharper linearity of forms and the use of flat, gold leaf backgrounds in Persian and earlier Mughal art.

#### 6. Nand Gvāliyārī

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about Nand Gvāliyārī (meaning from Gwalior in north Madya Pradesh) is his collaboration with Basāwan over several years. Seven miniatures were finished by Nand Gvāliyārī after the *tarḥ* work of his master teacher.<sup>50</sup> His contribution in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* is *Majnūn With His Father*, f. 153b (Fig. 26). Basāwan's influence may be seen in the background feature of two diminutive figures dressed in European clothes and in another favorite device of Basāwan's, also borrowed from European art, which is the depiction of figures wearing flowing robes. The most impressive aspect of the illustration is that although the episode has never lent itself to depiction of movement (they merely sit and talk), Nand Gvāliyārī has subtly introduced a note of pathos into the scene. The appearances have been carefully rendered with facial expressions of sadness and gestures of grief. They have much in common with Bulāqī's execution in folio 165b of *Majnūn's Death on the Grave of Laylā* painted with Sūr Gujarātī (Fig. 20).<sup>51</sup> The Nand Gvāliyārī miniature represents some of the first steps in Mughal

---

<sup>50</sup>See Verma, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-314.

<sup>51</sup>This composition also has origins in Persian art history: see A. S. Melikian Chirvani 'L'école de Shiraz et les origines de la miniature moghole' in R. Pinder-Wilson, ed., *Painting From Islamic Lands* Oxford, 1969), pl. 84 for a loose folio of the fourteenth century, depicting *Majnūn on the Grave of Laylā*.

painting toward portraying the psychological dimensions of the narrative by concentrating on the details of gesture and facial expression.

### 7. *Bhim Gujarātī*

This artist was also closely associated with Basāwan with whom he painted around a third of his known works. An earlier work in the *Tārīkh-i Khāndān-i Tīmūriyya* (1584-86) coloured by him and composed by Basāwan entitled, *Tīmūr With 600 Men Cross the Jaibūn* (f. 16b) was probably where the artist learned how to render complex crowd scenes. His contribution to the *Khamsa, Iskandar Crossing The Desert with the Magic Stones* f. 312b (Fig. 27), is a lattice of crossing lines, creating a series of interstices containing a series of heads and patterned bundles of material. The other picture by him is *Iskandar Assumes the Crown of Iran* (Fig. 28) another complex scene with groups of people portrayed as a mass of moving limbs.

### Sūr Gujarātī

Sūr Gujarātī was one of the few artists working on the *Khamsa* who had worked on the early Akbar period *Tūti-nāme* (ff. 69b, 73a and 79a).<sup>52</sup> Sūr Gujarātī also worked on the *Tārīkh-i Khāndān-i Tīmūriyya* (1584-86) and the Jaipur *Rāmāyana*. Easily the most sophisticated miniature of his that remains is *Mānī Painting the Lid of a Well*, f. 262b (Fig. 29) in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. This illustration appears to be a picture gallery all of its own. Again, as in all the superior pictures in the *Khamsa*, the emphasis has been to create several planes for an effect of great distance in the background and to fill each with credible, down-to-earth scenes of Indian rural life, always with the omnipresent city

---

<sup>52</sup> Mentioned in Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 357. This, however, is not conclusive, as he is only referred to here as Sūr Jīv, a name commonly associated with Gujarātī. There are several inscriptions mentioning the name Sūr Jīv Gujarātī, which tends to confirm this hypothesis, cf. *ibid.*

overlooking the main scene from a distance. In the foreground, fowlers pass by with their baskets and nets;<sup>53</sup> at the centre is Mānī painting the lid of a well, to the right of this there is a subsidiary scene of a goat tearing off some leaves from a bush and behind this is a peaceful, rural vignette, beautifully painted, of sheep and goats drowsing in the shade of some tall trees. Further behind, there are three men with arms outstretched appearing to have a heated discussion before some vividly painted rocks, balanced on the pinnacles of which are mountain goats, another Persian convention. Even further in the distance there is a detailed townscape with three men on the embattlements of a fort. This picture is dealt with in more detail in Chapters Three and Five.

### 9. Jagāñāth

Only a dozen or so miniatures of this artist's work are extant and all of them painted in the last decade of the sixteenth century. No picture prior to his single contribution in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* prepares us for the quite unusual depiction of the episode in the *Haft Paykar*, told by the Princess of the Red Pavilion about a princess who paints a portrait of herself (Fig. 30). Jagāñāth drew heavily upon the Indian *rāgamala* painting tradition to portray the episode.

### 10. Kanak Singh Chela

The only miniature that remains of this artist's work is his contribution to the *Khamsa*, *Khiṣr Washes Iskandar's Horse in the Water of Life*, f. 218a (Fig. 31). A direct precedent for this miniature is a very similar treatment of the same subject in the SOAS portion of the *Sharaf-nāme*, f. 82b possibly painted by the same artist. The appearance of *Khiṣr*: bald with grey beard, half-naked, even the details of the face, is the same in both manuscripts. There is a similar treatment of the dark cave and the rocky landscape. The

---

<sup>53</sup>Fowlers of this kind are ubiquitous in the Chester Beatty Ms. 4, the *Iyar-i Dānish*.

unprecedented aspect to the Kanak Singh Chela miniature is the night sky, contrasting with what appear to be luminous rocks. The picture is one of the earliest night scenes in Mughal painting, the other being a folio by Miskīn in the *Bahāristān*. **Fig. 7.**<sup>54</sup>

11. Khvāja ḡAbd al-ṣamad (*Širīn Qalam*)

*Khusrau Goes Hunting*, by Khvāja ḡAbd al-ṣamad, f. 82a (**Fig. 17**) must have added much value to the manuscript, not only because of the high regard for this master painter but also because the artist must have been very old when he painted it. Miniature paintings by him from this period are extremely rare.<sup>55</sup>

The story of *Khusrau n Širīn* is the second in the *Khamsa*, with a colophon dated October 1593. Assuming that the Khvāja ḡAbd al-Samad miniature was done a year or so before this completion date, the artist most probably painted it around 1591-92 when Bayazid the writer is known to have been visited him in Lahore.<sup>56</sup> This would strongly suggest that Lahore was the location for the production of the whole of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*.

Throughout his painting career, the master artist never adopted European motifs or techniques and *Khusrau Goes Hunting* (**Fig. 17**) is essentially Safavid in style. Although the artist has portrayed his heroes in Mughal dress, the riders on rearing horses and the treatment of rocks have hardly any modeling or shading follow traditional Persian painterly conventions. If the miniature lacks the remarkably minute finish for which the artist was renowned, it does however, have a certain charm, complementing the sparse

<sup>53</sup>Fowlers of this kind are ubiquitous in the Chester Beatty Ms. 4, the *Iyar-i Dānish*.

<sup>54</sup> Elliot MS. 254, f. 42. Reproduced in Wellesz, *op. cit.*, 1952, pl. 28.

<sup>55</sup>There are many more from around 1585-90 A. Okada, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court* (New York, 1992), pp. 64-67.

<sup>56</sup>See Verma, *op.cit.*, p. 42.

and rocky landscape and the drama of the hunt contained therein with the charged atmosphere of a gathering storm represented by an overcast, slate grey sky dotted with birds.

### 12. Khem Karan

Most of this artist's miniatures were done without any help or collaboration with other artists. This indicates an all-round proficiency in the different areas involved in painting, and this also from an early stage in his career. His early work was for the Jaipur *Razm-nâme*, for which he painted at least five miniatures, two of them solely by him. His contribution to the *Khamsa* folio 117a, *Nizâmi Gives His Son to the Son of the Shirvânshâh* (Fig. 21), is a traditional composition for a court scene, a diagonal line of scholars leading up to the king at the centre of the picture and is discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

### 13. Lacl

One of Lacl's outstanding achievements was his *tarâf* work for no less than 29 miniatures in the Jaipur *Râmâyana*. As the *Khamsa* was a kind of portable gallery representing the full range and scope of Akbar's studio-scriptorium, the collection of works by Mughal artists would have been incomplete without this particular artist's contribution. By the time of the production of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, Lacl was Akbar's most prolific, principal artist. Lacl painted *Sultân Sanjar and the Old Woman* (Fig. 3) in the Dyson Perrins manuscript, and the artist used the composition again for *The Friendship of the King and the Faqîr* in a copy of Jâmî's *Bahâristân*, in the Bodleian Library (c.1595).<sup>57</sup> Here, the poses of the four principal figures are the same, as is the treatment of the landscape painted with a similar palette: a pale yellow ground, a golden sky and a pearly glow reflected off the hills

---

<sup>57</sup> Ms. Elliot 254, f. 15. See P. Brown, *op. cit.* 1924, pl. XI., fig. 1.

in the distance. The king wears the same turban with long plume; the incidental rustic detail (another well) and even the cityscape, rendered with receding planes, are all comparable to the artist's earlier version, painted perhaps a year or two earlier. Far removed from the Persian tradition of startling colour contrasts, La<sup>cl</sup>'s illustration is an exercise in muted harmony, structured with natural, autumnal tones. These warm amber, pink and yellow tones seem to glow in the presence of the vermilion of the Sultān's robe and umbrella.<sup>58</sup> Exactly the same chromatic structure is evident in Mukund's *Farīdūn and the Gazelle* (Fig. 4), which appears only a few pages after the La<sup>cl</sup> miniature.

#### 14. Māddū Chela

Apart from the inscription beneath the Dyson Perrins miniature of Khusrau and the story of Shīrūya, the name Māddū Chela appears only two other times in extant manuscripts.<sup>59</sup> Although the background features of f. 99b in *Khusrau Consults Buzurg Umid About Shīrūya* (Fig. 32) are comparable to the miniature by Mādhav described below, the treatment of these similar subjects of cattle next to a water wheel is sufficiently different to preclude any suggestion that Mādhav and Māddū Chela were the same person. Although the background of the work of the latter is very fine, the figure work is clumsy and the execution not as refined as the painting by Mādhav.

#### 15. Maddū Khāna-zād

One of the most interesting paintings in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* is *Aflātūn Playing Music to the Animals*, f. 298a (Fig. 5). The origins and possible meaning of this image are discussed in later chapters; in terms of painting, the illustration is accomplished and well balanced. This may be seen in the use of soft pastel shades and the meandering lines

<sup>58</sup> Vermilion or saffron robes were associated with royalty and blue was considered a colour of mourning. In northern India and Pakistan today, purple is a colour associated with infancy and childhood, and red is a bridal colour.

<sup>59</sup>The Victoria and Albert *Bābur-nāmeh* IM, 274-1913 and in the *Rāmdyana* AG.2018.

created by the rather complex arrangement of sleeping<sup>60</sup> animals surrounding Aflāṭūn (Plato) Fig. 5. The dreamlike quality is accentuated by the remarkable miniaturisation evident in the lucid decoration of the organ played by the philosopher. No other work is known by this artist.

#### 16. Mādhav<sup>61</sup>

Mādhav was a highly regarded master artist in Akbar's studio and a large corpus of works of 38 miniatures is ascribed to him. By the time of the *Dīwān* of Hāfiẓ, the artist is referred to as *ustād*. Many works were done for the Baroda *Razm-nāme* and *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh*. There seems to have been sufficient incentive and time for him in the *Khamṣa* project to inspire him to do something extraordinary. This is also the case with many other artists involved in the painting of the manuscript. At first glance, *Shāpūr Before Shīrīn*, f. 45b (Fig. 33) appears to be a rather formal and static composition. However, the background is painted with an understanding of movement and with exceptional finesse. Not only do we see the image of two farmers convincingly rendered straining under the pressure of their labour but we see the refinement of the painted surface, animating their bodies with a suggestion of glistening sweat and stretching muscle. This exceptional care with detail is extended to animals, trees and folds of cloth.

---

<sup>60</sup> These appear to have been modeled on earlier pictures of dead animals (see Chapter 2 below).

<sup>61</sup> Mistakenly referred to as Mādhū in Brend, *op. cit.*, 1995, p. 66 and needlessly confused with Mādhā, another artist. This artist should also not be confused with Maddū Khāna-zād.

### 17. Manōhar

Perhaps one of the most prolific artists over the Akbar and Jahāngīr periods (115 miniatures are attributed to him), Manōhar was the son of Basāwan who was one of the earliest artists to use European painting techniques in Akbar's studio.<sup>62</sup> Manōhar seems to have learnt how to use European-style shading for the furrows of the landscape in the grim scene of folio 132a: *Majnūn Mourns His Father's Death* (Fig. 1). The elephant that takes centre stage in folio 72a, *Khusrau defeats Bahrām Chūbīn* (Fig. 34) is also indebted to his father's similar achievements in the study of the great animal. Manōhar's work also stands out for its incidental detail: very finely painted birds in trees, and a dog that appears on a leash in 132a. Most of Manōhar's landscapes appear predominantly in golden or cooler yellow tones with pastel shades for rocks. This palette for the ground may be seen clearly and consistently in the Victoria and Albert Museum *Akbar-nāme*, 1589-90, particularly in the work of Lačl who seems to have established the ideal type for landscapes in the latter manuscript (ff. 189, 200, and 201). These also prefigure the *Khamsa* landscapes in their careful and very fine miniaturisation of architectural detail on a high horizon. Folio 261b, *Akbar's Entry into Ranthambore Fort in 1565*<sup>63</sup> by Lačl, even has a *sfumato* effect, achieved with subtle blue tinges added to the clump of trees in the distance. Very similar *sfumato* effects are also to be found in the Bankipore *Tārikh-i Khāndān-i Timūrijya* (ff. 113b, 126b, and 128b).<sup>64</sup>

Manōhar seems to have excelled in portraiture quite early on in his career. His first

<sup>62</sup> See Basāwan's European style drawings in P. Pal, *Indian Painting* (Los Angeles, 1993), figs. 9-12.

<sup>63</sup> publ. W. Staude, *Mughalmalerei der Akbarzeit* (Wien, 1935), pl. 8.

<sup>64</sup> Folio 128b is published by J. Strzygowski, H. Glück, S. Kramrisch and E. Wellesz, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei* (Klagenfurt, 1933), pl. 4, fig. 11. The others remain unpublished apart for a monograph of photographic plates produced by the Bankipore Library (undated).

known miniature is a self-portrait with the scribe Muḥammad Hussain Kashmīrī. This forms the colophon of a *Gulistān* (Royal Asiatic Society), dated 1581. By the time of the *Khamsa* of 1595, however, it is clear that the artist had reached maturity in several fields. His landscape technique seems to have developed along the same lines as those of Dharmdāsa. Manōhar was also capable of minutely observed nature and animal studies, with crisp, accomplished lines, as his miniatures in the *Khamsa* show, but they are also remarkable for their colour harmonies. In this manuscript, Manōhar clearly demonstrated that he was an all-round artist capable of engaging meaningfully in all aspects of picture-making.

#### 18. Miskīna.<sup>65</sup>

One of a handful of Muslim artists at Akbar's studio, Miskīna is perhaps best known for his seventeen contributions to the Victoria and Albert Museum *Akbar-nāme*, some of which are highly accomplished double-page compositions. Miskīna soon made his mark as a master draughtsman primarily interested in the visual effects of pattern and design. The compositional scheme found in *The Disputing Physicians* (Fig. 6) is taken directly from a European source. This is dealt with in Chapter Four. The picture indicates both Miskīna's willingness to adapt from European models and his own great interest in the intricacies of pictorial composition. Out of the 36 miniatures known to have been done by Miskīna, all are *tarḥ* or *chibra* work, except for four that indicate that he did the colouring as well. Miskīna was thus more of a draughtsman than a colourist, which makes his achievements with palette and modeling in folio 23b appear quite remarkable.

---

<sup>65</sup> In Persian, Miskīn means 'musk-like', or 'made of musk', a term usually reserved for calligraphers. This was most probably meant for the artist discussed here, although added meaning is conveyed by the Hindi diminutive suffix, meaning small or little, see Verma, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

Perhaps the best and most graceful modeling of folds in the *Khamṣa* is in f. 23b, *The Disputing Physicians* (Fig. 6). The robes of the figure supporting the swooning physician are painted with a remarkable naturalism; the material has been rendered with a subtle blending of dark to pale blue with tinges of pale yellow to represent highlights. The curtains surrounding the wall painting in dark saffron have also been treated with some confidence in the new manner. The same use of translucent pink over pale yellow and the treatment of drapery may be seen in folio 52a by Dharmdāsa, another case of an artist adapting the techniques of another.

Some of Miskīna's earlier work shows a consistent development of compositional ideas and devices that may be seen to reach maturity in *The Disputing Physicians*. Similar to the *Disputing Physicians* in terms of composition is a miniature from the Bankipore *Khāndān-i Timūrijya* entitled, *Amīr Tahamatān Receiving a Cloak of Honour From Timūr*.<sup>66</sup> This remarkably complex composition is based on a lattice structure radiating from a central, dominant octagonal space. This octagonal aperture is bounded above by several tent canopies and below by a row of seated guests. The straight sides of the page itself serve to complete the octagonal space. The poses and alignment of guests seated in the scene appear similar to those found in the *Disputing Physicians* miniature, in particular, one figure appears in both: second from the left in the row, seated above the trays is a fellow with moustachios wearing a *pāqbrī*.<sup>67</sup> The figure makes another appearance in the *Disputing Physicians* miniature, behind the fainting physician, staring out at the viewer. Although there is no evidence for this, it is possible that this figure that appears to look out at the viewer from both of Miskīna's pictures is a likeness of the artist himself.

<sup>66</sup>See P. Vaughan, *ibid.*, fig. 3, p. 21.

<sup>67</sup>This is a turban with crenellated flaps worn in the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan.

Miskīna's expertise in composing and planning pictures is very well illustrated in *The Siege of Chittor* in the Victoria and Albert Museum *Akbar-nāme*.<sup>68</sup> This scene would not have been possible without a significant understanding of the basic principles of perspective. The composition is based on a series of concentric circles, the distant fort on the hill acting as the axis. The action seems to gather momentum closer to the fort and to become more intense with every stage of miniaturisation. The same circular composition is repeated in another double miniature in the *Akbar-nāme*, the *Great Hunt Near Labore* in 1567.<sup>69</sup> Both works demonstrate careful deliberation over composition.

Also evident in the *Akbar-nāme* is Miskīna's preoccupation with miniaturisation, placing within a scene smaller vignettes that are both part of the overall view, yet can also be seen as pictures in themselves. This is the case in *The Great Hunt* where there are a good many subsidiary scenes taking place inside the scarlet *shamiana* (tent). Miskīna's tendency to miniaturise in this way reaches its most refined expression in the *Disputing Physicians* (Fig. 6) where the European pictures in the background are skillfully miniaturised to add new detail to the narrative.

The *Disputing Physicians* picture by Miskīna, f. 23b (Fig. 6) is one of the most sophisticated images in Mughal painting. Incorporating images inside images, the picture presents a spectacle of miniaturisation, perhaps as a showcase for the artist's own skill and as an appreciation of European painting. Miskīna demonstrates his own ability to respond to the techniques of European painting, and in the inclusion of European images, the illustration of the story of the *Disputing Physicians* refers also to the debates held between the Jesuits and Muslims at the *cibādatkhāna* at Fatehpur Sikri. This is discussed in more

<sup>68</sup>Vaughan in Pal, *ibid.* fig. 6, p. 25.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, fig. 7, p. 26.

detail in Chapter 5. Miskīna was known to have been at Fatehpur Sikri, judging by his contributions to manuscripts dating before 1585, when Akbar's court moved from there.

### 19. Mukund.

Mukund appears to have been one of the most prolific of Akbar's painters. He also tended to contribute more miniatures to individual manuscripts than most other artists. This is certainly the case with the Jaipur *Razm-nāme* for which he painted 16 miniatures. Many of these are finished or coloured by him and only in a minority was he allowed to work on his own, or do the *tarkh* work, reinforcing the view that this was his first major commission. His second major engagement appears to have been five miniatures for the Keir *Khamsa*. Four of these are solely by him and for the fifth, an *Iskandar and the Dying Dārā*, he was responsible for the *tarkh* work. Outstanding work in this manuscript includes *Khusrau Spies Shirin Bathing*, f. 53a, which demonstrates an interest in natural settings clearly developed in his later work. The other work by him in the Keir *Khamsa* is the only picture by him that foreshadows his customary penchant for painting dramatic scenes with excited, gesticulating protagonists. Such a formula, characterized by figures holding a finger up to their mouths to signify astonishment is repeated in two miniatures in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa: Babrām Gūr Seizing the Crown of Iran by Ordeal* (Figs. 14), and *The Qipchāq Women Veiling Themselves* (Fig. 15).

Six of Mukund's miniatures for the Victoria and Albert Museum *Akbar-nāme* break away from the rather static representations typical of the Keir *Khamsa*. Many of the *Akbar-nāme* miniatures are complex illustrations showing a great interest in the portrayal of dramatic, physical movement. This is continued in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* where the artist also paid particular attention to landscape in the hunting scene in folio 19a, *Farīdūn and the Gazelle* (Fig. 4). This has a complex winding composition, which in its rhythms seems to

echo the twists and turns of the chase. The drama of the gazelles in terrified disarray and the snags of twisted rock are contrasted with an idyllic autumnal background of golden leaves and a bare ground of ochres and browns. Following the pattern of many of the other miniatures in the *Khamsa*, the artist has painted a landscape filled with detail. A farmer tills the land in a circular motion, while far behind, a woman approaches him carrying a tray of food over a bridge. Beyond the bridge is an inlet where there are boats moored to the shore, and in the distance are pale white mountains and a resplendent sunset. As mentioned earlier, it is hard to believe that the same artist was not involved in the painting on folio 15b, *Sanjar and the Old Woman* (Fig. 3), which appears so very similar in terms of palette, autumnal atmosphere, details of facial types, landscape (including white mountains), and the same dappled horse. Both pictures, in common with those of Dharmdāsa, use a series of markers: small figures, trees, buildings, which gradually diminish in size to convey the idea of a great distance.

## 20. Nānhā

Nānhā did work on four miniatures for the Keir Niẓāmī (Pontresina, c.1585 to 1590) and painted three for the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nāme* before coming to the *Khamsa* of 1593-95. Only a few years later, he matured into an artist capable of devising complex compositions with a high technical finish, something that distinguishes the illustrations of the *Khamsa* throughout. One of his most distinguished pieces is *The Battle of the Clans*, f. 159a (Fig. 13) where he has achieved portrayed the dramatic tensions and chaos of battle. This is one of the most commonly illustrated episodes in *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī but Nānhā was able to avoid cliché by breaking up a usually symmetrical composition. An example of the latter, is *The Battle of the Clans* in the Keir *Khamsa* by Tārā the Elder, which is static in comparison with Nānhā's painting. Of all the battlefield scenes in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, Nānhā's appears to be the most graphic. The dreadful sight of internecine strife

is depicted in detail, yet the artist has achieved a balanced composition with a visual pattern of gestures, dominant lines and cleverly distributed colours.

In great contrast to this is Nānhā's *Khusrau and Shīrīn Meet on the Hunting Field*, f. 63b (Fig. 35). This is remarkable for the fine handling of landscape and careful symmetry. The landscapes in Nānhā's contributions appear largely consistent in treatment of rock formations and palette for cityscapes. The compositions for folios 6b (WAG), *Iskandar Watches the Invention of Mirrors* and 16a (Fig. 36), *Iskandar and the Seven Sages* (Fig. 37) are also very similar to each other. However accomplished an all-round artist Nānhā was, he tended to repeat facial types before he became an accomplished portraitist in later years. The result is that a figure, usually a man with a grey beard, appears to feature in several stories.

Nānhā distinguished himself quite early in his career in seven miniatures in the *Dārāb-nāme*, which stand out for their execution where the quality of painting is largely unremarkable. In the *Dārāb-nāme* it is obvious that central control was exercised over artists who were relatively inexperienced. It is clear that artists were given more opportunity to experiment technically in the *Khamsa* and develop their individuality somewhat more. Like many of his fellow artists, Manōhar, Mukund, Miskīna and Dharmdāsa, Nānhā, came of age with his contributions to Akbar's de luxe *Khamsa* of 1593-95.

#### Narsingh

The majority of Narsingh's extant works are in the British Library *Akbar-nāme*, painted after his contribution to the *Khamsa*.

Narsingh appears to have specialised in crowded scenes of

festivities or entertainment and music. In the *Khamsa* miniature, Narsingh portrays Khusrau being honoured with gifts in front of a full court retinue (Fig. 38). At first glance, Narsingh seems to have relied heavily on convention in his portrayal of the royal court. However, closer inspection reveals the subtle use of European modeling for the red curtain in the background and for the clothes of the protagonists. Also significant is the European style treatment of light and shade for the face of Khusrau and the architectural details, particularly the doorway to the right of the picture and the far bank of the stream running horizontally across the scene. The background is a peculiar translucent bright blue, applied in a manner akin to the medium of watercolour, with light dabs and washes of pigment. Also unusual is the choice of maroon for Khusrau's robes and the mauve and violet robes of the figure paying homage before him to the left. Narsingh has arranged the composition along almost identical lines to *Farbād Before Khusrau*, f. 5a (Fig. 39) by Sānvala in the very same section of the *Khamsa*.

## 22. Sānvala

Sānvala was known for joint work with Lacl, in particular, for their work on the Keir *Khamsa*. However, the four miniatures by him in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* are by him alone. One of these, *Farbād Before Khusrau*, f. 5a (WAG, Fig. 39) shares common features with the Narsingh miniature mentioned above. Sānvala's composition is very similar and so is the choice of colours for the robes of the attendants. Even the colour of Khusrau's shirt is the same in each miniature. As Sānvala was by far the senior artist, it is reasonable to assume that the particular configuration of colours and figures originated from him.

Sānvala's other contributions to the *Khamsa* are remarkable for idealised background landscapes treated consistently with *sfumato*. In folio 150b, *Majnūn Visited By His Mother and Uncle* (Fig. 40), Sānvala creates an idyllic scene of animals, rocks, trees and a distant

city on a hill, all illuminated by a great golden sun. The picture is also remarkable for individual studies of animals. Some of these have been copied from earlier renditions of animal physiognomy and appear somewhat wooden but the overall effect is a scene bristling with movement, vitality and light. The use of rocks to frame and clearly demarcate the several vignettes that structure the scene is a device much indebted to Khvāja cAbd al- Ṣamad. *The Story of the Garden of Bathing Women* f.220a (Fig. 41) is a less crowded composition. The focus of attention is the pattern of arms and heads created by the bathers in the pool. There is also a sense of movement based on a more diligent study of the human figure.

By giving these accounts of individual artists this chapter has tried to show that those involved in illustrating the Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* were artists who were chosen to work on this manuscript because they had already proved themselves on a number of other projects before being allowed to make a contribution. The manuscript is also important in preserving the only extant works of several artists. The unusually large number of artists employed for such a relatively small project, which nevertheless took three years to complete, combined with the ambition to create a deluxe *Khamsa* containing the best and most representative work of the age, enabled individual artists' styles to come more to the fore than with other illustrated manuscripts. This was especially so because the traditional division of labour between artists involved with *tarḥ*, *rangāmizī* and *chibrānāmī* seems to have been suspended in work for the *Khamsa*, with only one work shared, by Farrukh Chela and Dhanrāj.

Individual styles were encouraged for the *Khamsa* illustrations perhaps also for the reason of creating a contest between the artists to create a portable picture gallery. But although this relatively new individualism seen most clearly in the works of Manōhar, Dharmdāsa

and Miskīna may be seen more easily in the *Khamsa* than in other manuscripts, there were still many artistic styles and ideas that were shared among the artists. Thus any judgement about the emergence of individual styles has to be balanced with what we know was taken or borrowed from other illustrated manuscripts. Indeed, many artists borrowed motifs for their work that had also been previously “borrowed” by other artists. A probable reason for this kind of repetition of pictorial elements was the emperor’s taste. It is reasonable to assume that Akbar’s favorable comments on a particular aspect of a painting led to this being copied several times and by various artists in an attempt to please him.

The temptation to use pre-existent motifs and images from other manuscripts was particularly strong also because the Mughal artists worked closely with three great painting traditions: the Indian, Persian and European. These, and the Mughals’ relationship with them, form the subjects of the following chapters.

## CHAPTER II

### Features From Pre-Mughal and Early Mughal Painting

---

This chapter traces aspects of the *Khamsa* illustrations to pre-Mughal and early Mughal painting. An examination of these earlier manuscripts reveals that the dominant source of imagery for the artists of the *Khamsa* was not primarily the study of real life but in fact motifs and conventions found in illustrated manuscripts dating from earlier in the century. Chapter Three goes on to examine how Persian illustrated manuscripts were also used as models for the paintings of the *Khamsa*.

Central to any analysis of the origins of mature Akbar period painting exemplified by the *Khamsa* is the Cleveland Museum of Art *Tūti-nāme*.<sup>1</sup> Until recently this was considered to be an early Akbar period synthesis of regional and earlier painting styles. There is evidence, however, that this manuscript was a refurbishment of an earlier *Candāyana*-style manuscript,<sup>2</sup> overpainted by Mughal artists at a later date. Despite this, the manuscript is

---

<sup>1</sup>For connexions between pre-Mughal early Mughal painting, see M. C. Beach, *Early Mughal Painting* (Cambridge Mass., 1987).

<sup>2</sup>P. Chandra's thesis that the Cleveland *Tūti-nāme* was the first Mughal stylistic synthesis of pre-Mughal and later Mughal painting (*The Tūti-nāme of the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Origins of Mughal Painting* (Graz, 1976), has now to be viewed with rather more caution, as J. Seyller has convincingly demonstrated that the *Tūti-nāme* is actually a refurbished Ms., with over a hundred, or half of the illustrations overpainted in a later, c. 1570 Mughal style. See 'Overpainting in the Cleveland *Tūti-nāme*', *Aribus Asiae* LII, 1992, pp. 283-318. It thus appears almost impossible to date the original *Candāyana*-style illustrations that formed the basis for the later overpainting and Chandra's complex exercise in dating it no longer appears relevant.

evidence of Mughal appreciation of the *Candāyana* style.<sup>3</sup> It also explains how details from the *Candāyana* style are found in Mughal painting.

There were also other seminal manuscripts exploited for ideas by the artists of the *Khamsa*. Such specific parallels as do exist between the *Khamsa* illustrative cycle and earlier Akbar manuscripts suggest that the painters of Akbar's studio in the late sixteenth century had access to (or shared common sources with) the paintings of the *Hamza-nāme* (1562-77 or 1557/8-1572/3; an astrological treatise in the Raza Library, Rampur (c.1567-70);<sup>4</sup> the *Anwār-i Subaylī* in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (1570-1) and the *Dārāb-nāme* in the British Library mentioned in Chapter Two.

Mughal painters were constantly adapting each other's paintings. Many details evident in the paintings of the *Khamsa* were 'borrowed' from manuscripts roughly contemporary with the *Khamsa*, such as the Rampur *Diwan* of Hafiz (c 1590); the Jaipur *Razn-nāme* (1582-86) and *Rāmāyaṇa* (1588 and the Freer Gallery version, 1587-98); the Bankipore *Tārikh-i Khāndān-i Tīmūriyya* (1584-8); the Fogg Art Museum *Diwan* of Anwārī (1588);<sup>5</sup> the Chester Beatty *Iyar-i Dānish* (c.15900 and *Tuti-nāme* (c.1580). In addition to these

<sup>3</sup>As Seyller states *ibid.*, Mughal artists must have found aspects of the earlier style "quite acceptable", hence they have been spared and are still there to be seen, despite the overpainting.

<sup>4</sup>Also known as the 'Tilasm and Zodiac', 'tilasm' meaning talisman. See K. Khandalawala and J. Mittal, 'An Early Akbari Illustrated Manuscripts of Tilasm (sic) and Zodiac' *Lalit Kala* 14 (1969), pp. 9-20.

<sup>5</sup>A. Schimmel and S. C. Welch, *Anwāri's Diwan, A Pocket Book for Akbar* (New York, 1983).

manuscripts, there are also several Mughal *Khamsas* of Nizāmī pre-dating the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* served as models for the illustrations in the later *Khamsa*. These are largely refurbished manuscripts such as the Kasturbhai Lalbai *Khamsa* (c. 1525-50), the Keir *Khamsa* of (c.1585-90) and the Arthur M. Sackler Art Gallery *Khamsa* (originally c. 1470 but overpainted possibly in the late Akbar or Jahāngīr period). Another refurbished manuscript is the *Sharaf-nāme*, now divided between the Bristol Museum and School of Oriental and African Studies library, University of London, dating probably from the latter part of the 1580s. This is described in Appendix I.

Access to early Mughal illustrated manuscripts was not the only way that aspects of antiquated and regional painting styles found their way into the mature painting of the late Akbar period. Artists themselves were responsible for contributing provincial elements to the painting of the imperial studio-scriptorium. At least four of Akbar's artists working on the *Khamsa* itself were possibly from provinces of the empire. This may be indicated by Punjabi, Kashmiri or other regional names, and specific appellations such as Sūr and Bhim Gujarātī (Gujarat), or Nand Gvāliyārī (Gwalior).<sup>6</sup> However, this is not conclusive as some of these names may have been family names going back several generations. In addition, painters such as Nānhā, from the Deccan, Khvāja Ābd al-Samad and Dharmdāsa, also contributors to the Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa*, painted miniatures for some of the earlier manuscripts mentioned above, thus bringing to the

---

<sup>6</sup>See also, for example the appendix of artists' names in E. Smart, *Paintings From the Bābur-nāme, A Study of Sixteenth Century Mughal Historical Manuscript Illustration* (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of London, 1977), p. 329.

*Khamsa* some of the earlier motifs and styles. This chapter examines how many of the details of the imperial court, rural life, illustrations of animals and architecture portrayed in the *Khamsa* originate in earlier Indian painting or have connections with contemporary manuscripts.

#### Representations of the Imperial Mughal Court

Although many of the *Khamsa* illustrations reflect aspects of Mughal and Indian subcontinental culture they were also supposed to illustrate the legendary Persian courts described in the Niẓāmī text. Thus real-life elements lie cheek-by-jowl with Indian and Persian painterly conventions and imaginary elements. Here, as ever in Mughal manuscript illustration, it is extremely difficult to disentangle details reflecting historical reality and details originating in the imagination of the artist.

One of the most consistently seen figures in the court scenes of the *Khamsa* is the attendant wielding a *chaurī* or *chamari* (a flywhisk made from the tail hairs of the Tibetan yak). Although this type of court attendant is evident in earlier illustrated manuscripts this does not necessarily preclude that he was not present as a real attendant at the court of Akbar. Some figures such as the court recorder may be seen in folio 317b (Fig. 42) with pen and paper recording the orders and sayings of the emperor. The figure is mentioned by Abū'l Fażl in the *A'in-i Akbarī* and thus the illustration features an example taken from real life. While it is probable that the flywhisk attendant, the sword bearer and the

attendant holding an umbrella really existed as features of everyday life at court but it is important to be aware that these figures were also used to signify kingship in art for centuries before the Mughals. It was fitting for the emperor to be portrayed in illustrated manuscripts with these particular attendants, and these figures conformed to expectations and standards that are part of an age-old pictorial tradition. As a pictorial symbol of kingship, the attendant with flywhisk is clearly indebted to earlier Indian painting. The flywhisk originated from Deccani (and Gujarati) painting. Both male and female attendants fanning their monarchs with flywhisks may be seen in the Sultanate fifteenth-century *Qissa-i Amir Hamza*.<sup>7</sup> The detail may, however, be traced as far back as c.1370-80 to a Gujarati *Kalpasūtra*.<sup>8</sup> The flywhisk continues to be featured in a 1445 manuscript where it appears frequently in throne scenes<sup>9</sup> and also in similar circumstances in a later *Pingalatattvavyākhyā* manuscript dated 1491-2, from Bihar.<sup>10</sup>

Similar to the flywhisk attendant is a figure fanning a folded cloth over a prince or king, instead of using a flywhisk. This detail is featured less frequently in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* (ff. 54a (Fig. 38), 65a (Fig. 18) and 317b (Fig. 42). Generally, this particular detail occurs less frequently in Akbar period painting<sup>11</sup> than it does in provincial, mainly

<sup>7</sup> In the Berlin Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Ms. Or. 4181, f.167a.

<sup>8</sup>In the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, see K. Khandaawala and M. Chandra, *New Documents Of Indian Painting - A Reappraisal* (Bombay, 1969), p. 163, fig. 2.

<sup>9</sup>See *Trisāla's Sorrow and Joy*, folio 23b, from a Jain Ms., Or. 13700, reproduced in J. P. Losty, *Indian Book Painting* (London,1986), p. 6.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 14. The flywhisk may also be seen in the Lalbai *Khamsa* where, uniquely, an attendant waves one over Laylā, see Chandra (1), *op. cit.*, 1976, pl. 102.

<sup>11</sup>See a miniature of *Hūmāyūn and Two Hajjis* by Bhāgvatī, c. 1556-60 in M. C. Beach, *op. cit* (1987), fig. 12, p. 25 and in the painting of an attendant waiting on the scribe Muḥammad Husayn Kashmīrī and Manōhar, in the colophon of the

Deccani, painting. The folded cloth fanned over royalty (or a god) may be seen as far back as 1414 in a Gujarati *Kālakācārya-kathā*.<sup>12</sup> The detail also occurs in the Bengal *Sharaf-nāme* of 1531-2,<sup>13</sup> in the portrait of Sultān Murtazā Nizām Shāh, Ahmednagar, c. 1575;<sup>14</sup> in a *Tārikh-i Husayn Shāhi* manuscript copied in Ahmednagar c.1565,<sup>15</sup> and in another Deccani painting, this time from Bijapur, in the *Pemnem* by Hasan Manjhū Khaljī.<sup>16</sup> It may also be seen in the *Lalbai Khamsa* c.1525-50<sup>17</sup> and makes an appearance in the Bankipore *Tārikh-i Khāndān-i Timūriyya*, c. 1584-6, f. 72a.

The other main symbol of kingship, the umbrella, or *chhatra*, is a feature found in both earlier Indian<sup>18</sup> and Iranian painting.<sup>19</sup> It appears only twice in the *Khamsa*: in the illustration to the story of *Sultān Sanjar and the Old Woman*, f. 15b (Fig. 3) and held over a general in f. 273a (Fig. 19). This picture is greatly indebted to Persian models where the

Royal Asiatic Society Library *Gulistān* (on loan to the British Library, Or. 5302). It also appears to have been revived sporadically in the *Bābur-nāme*

c. 1590-1 (ff. 196b, 256b) and in the Bankipore *Tārikh-i Khāndān-i Timūriyya* 1584-6, for examples from both manuscripts see P. Vaughan, 'Begums of the House of Timur and the Dynastic Image' in S. Canby, ed., *Humayun's Garden Party* (Marg, 1994), figs. 11, 12, p. 131.

<sup>12</sup>In the P. C. Jain Collection, Bombay, reproduced in Khandalawala and Chandra, *op. cit.*, 1969, p. 164, fig. 5.

<sup>13</sup>Folio 32a of the British Library Ms. Or. 13836, reproduced in Losty, *op. cit.*, 1986, p. 12.

<sup>14</sup>See M. Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting* (London, 1983), pp. 21-22, and pl. 11.

<sup>15</sup>In M. C. Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting* (Cambridge Mass., 1992), p. 36, fig. 21.

<sup>16</sup>Folio 210a in Add. 16880, reproduced in Losty, *op. cit.*, 1986, p. 53.

<sup>17</sup>See P. Chandra (1), *op. cit.*, 1976, pl. 104.

<sup>18</sup>See a folio from a *Kalpasūtra* of 1439, National Museum, Delhi, in Khandalawala and Chandra, *op. cit.*, 1969, fig. 17, and an even earlier *Kālakācārya-kathā*, c. fourteenth century in M. Chandra, 'An Illustrated Ms. of the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakācārya-kathā* Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin No. 4 (1953-4), pl. XIII, fig. 1.

<sup>19</sup>See for example, a folio from the *Zafar-nāme* of Sharaf al-Din Ḡālibān of Timūr's Triumphal Entry into Samarkand, Shīrāz, c. 1434 in B. Gray, *Persian Painting* (Skira, 1961), p. 97. Another prominent example is from a folio from a *Khamsa* painted in Tabriz, reproduced in G. D. Lowry and S. Nemazee, *A Jeweller's Eye, Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection* (New York, 1988), pl. 45 and many others listed below in Chapter Three. The Gulbenkian Foundation's Miscellany of Iskandar Sultān, d. 1410 also features the same style of umbrella held over Iskandar in a scene entitled, *Dārā Taken Prisoner by Iskandar*, f. 166, see B. Gray, *ibid.*, p. 74. The earliest image of a king sheltered by an umbrella held by an attendant is a sixth century BC carved relief on the north entrance to the harem of Xerxes, east jamb, in the palace of Persepolis. Here, Xerxes is also accompanied by an attendant with a flywhisk.

umbrella invariably appears as an attribute of royalty. The motif appears nowhere else in the *Khamsa* and occurs rarely elsewhere in late Akbar period manuscripts.<sup>20</sup>

Another aspect of the *Khamsa* illustrations inherited from pre-Mughal Indian painting is the seated posture of Khusrau, derived ultimately from representations of the Bodhisattva in eleventh-century Buddhist (Pala and Nepalese) manuscripts,<sup>21</sup> where an elaborate iconography of seated postures had developed, meant to symbolise different states of being. This peculiar way of sitting, often called the *padmāsana*<sup>22</sup> or lotus position, was meant to symbolise the transcendence of bodily impulses and sensations. It was also a standard posture for Buddhist meditation practice. Khusrau is shown consistently to be seated in this position in no less than four miniatures: ff. 40b, (Fig. 25), 52a, (Fig. 11), 54a (Fig. 38) and 65a (Fig. 18). The figures of the son of the Shirvānshāh, f. 117a (Fig. 21) and Shīrīn in f. 45b (Fig. 33) are also represented assuming this seated position. The appearance in the *Khamsa* of such a detail of Buddhist and Hindu<sup>23</sup> painting must have been transmitted to it by artists trained in such traditions, or it was taken from earlier Mughal manuscripts, such as in a copy of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī's *Duval Rānī Khīzr Khān*,

<sup>20</sup>An early Akbar example is in the *Dīwān of Rānī Khīzr Khān*, d. 1568, reproduced in Beach, *op. cit.*, 1992. It appears sporadically in the *Tārikh-i Khāndān-i Timūriyya*, c. 1584-6, Patna, see S. P. Verma, *Art and Material Culture in the Paintings of Akbar's Court* (New Delhi, 1978), p. 138; even less frequently in the Jaipur *Razm-nāme*, see *ibid.*, p. 77 and several times in the 1598 *Bābur-nāme* at the National Museum Delhi, see several miniatures reproduced by G. N. Pant, *Mughal Weapons in the Bābur-nāme* (New Delhi, 1989).

<sup>21</sup>See B. Gray and D. Barrett, *Indian Painting* (Skira, 1963), p. 52.

<sup>22</sup>See M. Stutley, *Illustrated Dictionary of Hindu Iconography* (London, 1985), p.105.

<sup>23</sup>See the Hindu figures in shrines portrayed in a *Laur Chanda* manuscript and in the Cleveland *Tītī-nāme* both in A. Krishna, 'A Reassessment of the *Tītī-nāme* Illustrations in the Cleveland Museum of Art (and Related Problems on Earliest Mughal Paintings and Painters)', *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 35, no. 3, fig. I and J, p. 259. Seated monks portrayed in manuscripts of the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāārya-kathā* assume the cross-legged position with the sole of the right foot raised up, but more often with both feet resting on the loins, soles raised up, see a Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* Ms., 1465,

dated 1567-8.<sup>24</sup> Although in the Persian tradition of illustrated manuscripts kings are shown in similar seated positions, never is there a foot exposed in this manner, and never is the sole painted raised up.<sup>25</sup> Whatever the exact precedent for this unusual seated position, the occurrences of it in the *Khamsa* show a willingness to assimilate aspects of Hindu and Buddhist culture. Its appearance, mainly in the story of Khusrau and Shirin, shows a remarkable cooperation between the artists involved in these illustrations so as to represent Khusrau consistently over several illustrations.

### Costumes

There are two sources for the representations of costumes in the illustrations of *Khamsa*. The first source is earlier illustrated manuscripts, exploited for the purpose of evoking a past era. An obvious example of this historicism is the peculiar crown worn by Humayun. The second source is direct observation, recording costume contemporary with the production period of the *Khamsa*. This occurred when Akbar's artists portrayed the legendary heroes of Nizami's stories dressed in Mughal uniforms and armour. In this way, the Mughal army could be associated with the legendary victories of Nizami's stories.

reproduced in Khandalawala and Chandra, *op. cit.*, 1969, fig. 31, p. 166, and p. 164-5, and a *Kālakātārī-kathā* example in Losty, *op. cit.*, 1982, fig. 25, p. 59.

<sup>24</sup>At the National Museum, New Delhi, see P. Chandra (1), *op. cit.*, 1976, pl. 36. The raised sole of the foot may also be seen in representations of painted idols (now defaced by zealots) in a folio from the Victoria and Albert Museum portion of the *Hansag-nāma*, published by Chandra, *ibid.*, pl. 11.

<sup>25</sup>Also noted by B. Brend, 'The British Library's *Shāhīnāma* of 1438 As a Sultanate Manuscript' in R. Skelton, et. al., *Facets Of Indian Art, A Symposium Held at the Victoria and Albert Museum On 26, 27, 28, April and 1 May 1982* (London, 1986), p. 90.

The male costumes in the *Khamsa* miniatures tend largely to be based on Persian dress. This is especially true of the elaborate turbans and long-sleeved, full-length *qabās*, worn as overcoats. These are often associated with scholars or visiting dignitaries (ff. 40b and 117a). In some cases, outfits are copied straight from earlier fifteenth century Persian models. This may be seen with the figure of the prince's macebearer in the picture of *Sultān Sanjar and the Old Woman*, f. 15b (Fig. 3). He wears a short *jāma* and short breeches and garters with a white cloth tucked into his belt. But there is an earlier Mughal precedent for the outfit and the whole composition in a folio of the *Hamza-nāme*.<sup>26</sup>

In *The Champion of Rus* f. 273a (Fig. 19), another figure is dressed in a scarlet, short-sleeved tunic, cut short at the front and long at the back (much like the tailcoat in Western clothing); he wears a fur-lined hat and plume, short breeches and an extremely short *jāma*. The same uniform appears again in *The Priestess of Kandahar*, f. 318ab (Fig. 43, double miniature); in f. 54a (Fig. 38), *Khusrau Honoured With Gifts*, and ff. 45b (Fig. 33) and 52a (Fig. 11). He is shown wearing an older costume of the groom of legendary kings in countless Persian manuscripts. An identical figure appears in the foreground of a miniature by ḠAbd al-Ṣamad entitled, *Jāmshid Writing on a Rock*, dated 1588,<sup>27</sup> and there are several appearances of this figure in the *Hamza-nāme* (Fig. 44).<sup>28</sup> A similarly dressed foot soldier is painted brandishing an axe in the *Khamsa* (ff. 317b, and 82a). The foot soldier in

<sup>26</sup>See G. Eggar, *Early Indian Codices Selecti* (Graz, 1974), v. 27 (I).

<sup>27</sup>Irreer Gallery of Art, Washington D. C. reproduced in P. Chandra (1), *ibid.*, 1976, pl. 65.

<sup>28</sup>See D. Nicholle, *Mughal India 1504-1761*, (London, 1993), 1993, p. 10.

all these illustrations is based on an identical figure found in Persian painting.<sup>29</sup> Such details may also be found in the Bankipore *Tārikh-i Khāndān-i Tīmūriyya* along with the older style conical fur-brimmed hats (f. 72). Although it is difficult to tell whether this costume is an example of historicism or direct observation of the costume of a real groom of Akbar's court, in either case, the dominant influence of Persian culture cannot be denied.

The several tall hats with unusual brims that appear in f. 244b of the *Khamsa* have their origins in the earlier Akbar period and are rarely seen in later manuscripts. A similarly wide range of hats of this kind may be seen in the *Dārāb-nāme* Or. 4615<sup>30</sup> and in the *Bābur-nāme* of 1589.<sup>31</sup> There are also the so-called 'Chaghatai', conical caps,<sup>32</sup> this time worn by women in the *Khamsa*. These women are also often depicted wearing a long-sleeved tunic (the *qabā*), which often covers the hands. The costume as a whole is a Mughal interpretation of Turco-Mongol culture and this is why it appears consistently in the Mughal *Chingis Khān-nāme*.

The Hindu women in the foreground of f. 318a, *The Priestess of Kandahar Beseeches Iskandar to Spare the Idol* (Figs. 42, 43) wear long skirts or *lahangās* (or *ghāgbrās*) and short bodices

<sup>29</sup>See a Tabriz *Khamsa* of Niżāmī, dated 1525, in Lowry and Nemazee, *op. cit.*, 1988, pl. 45, and the same figure in the Timurid Pers. Ms. No. 9, f. 52a in the John Rylands Library and in f. 16a, Or. 13,297.

<sup>30</sup>See P. Chandra (1), *op. cit.*, 1976, pl. 46.

<sup>31</sup>See M. Goedhuis, ed., *Indian Painting* (P and D. Colnaghi and Co., Ltd., London, 1978), no. 94.

<sup>32</sup>Cf. ff. 102a, 220a, 244b. For several Iranian examples see the chapter on Persian sources below.

(or *cholis*), revealing their midriffs. They also wear transparent veils (or *dupattas*) and small, black bobbles or tassels around their wrists. Although it is difficult to tell in this case if the artist was portraying the costumes he observed around him, artists in manuscripts dating almost a century earlier portrayed Hindu women in exactly the same costumes and designs and significantly in some cases in the same poses. Whether the result of direct observation or not, knowledge of precedents for the depiction of Hindu subjects in earlier manuscripts must have encouraged Mukund to portray the people of Kandahar in f. 318a as Hindus when there is no justification for it in the text. Hindus were obviously used here as a type for idolaters.

The details of costumes and figure types in f. 318a are consistently found in the *Caurapañcasikā* manuscript in the N. C. Mehta Collection, Ahmedabad, c.1500-50,<sup>33</sup> in the *Tūti-nāme*<sup>34</sup> (Fig. 45) in the *Hamza-nāme*,<sup>35</sup> in an astrological manuscript,<sup>36</sup> in the Freer *Rāmāyaṇa*, (1587-98)<sup>37</sup> and in the Fogg Art Gallery *Diwān* of Anwārī.<sup>38</sup> A strikingly similar detail found in earlier painting is the interlaced quatrefoil pattern on the *lahangā* of one of the women of Kandahar, seen to the left of the picture: this clearly has its origins in the same *Caurapañcasikā* manuscript. These long-established features continue in the

<sup>33</sup>See P. Chandra (1), 1976, *op. cit.*, pl. 83.

<sup>34</sup>Stchoukine, "L'école de Shiraz et les origines de la miniature moghole", R. Pinder-Wilson, ed., *Paintings From Islamic Lands* (Oxford, 1969).

<sup>35</sup>H. Glück, *Die Indischen Miniaturen des Haemzge-Romanes* (Vienna, 1925), Tafel 30, W. 22.

<sup>36</sup>Khandalawala and Mittal, *op. cit.*, 1969, fig. 13, f. 15.

<sup>37</sup>Beach, *op. cit.*, 1981, pl. 62 and p. 140.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, p.132.

*Tūti-nāme*,<sup>39</sup> now in the Cleveland Museum of Art. Illustrations in the *Dārāb-nāme* of the 1580s also contain the feature of the *lahangā* with the interlaced quatrefoil pattern and other similar *Caurapañcasikā* devices painted by artists Nānhā (f. 98a), Sānvala (108a) and Bhim Gujarātī (f. 208b). Lcal too, had earlier painted Hindu women wearing similar clothes in the Jaipur *Rāmāyaṇa* c.1588<sup>40</sup> of the same type as those seen in *The Priestess of Kandahar Beseeches Iskandar to Spare the Idol* (Fig. 42, 43).

The most easily identifiable sartorial details taken from real life instead of from earlier manuscripts are the uniforms and armour in battle scenes in the *Khamsa* such as plated vambraces and mail and plate armour for horses and elephants. The turbans featured in the *Khamsa* also appear to reflect what the Mughals actually wore.<sup>41</sup> The turban most consistently to be found in the *Khamsa* illustrations is the Deccani, usually white, with one or two bands of a darker colour wrapped around it. Khusrav is painted wearing this type in ff. 54a (Fig. 38) and 63b (Fig. 35), Sultān Sanjar in f. 15b (Fig. 3) and Iskandar in ff. 16b (WAG, Fig. 36), 254a (Fig. 46) and 312b (Fig. 27). These were adapted by the Mughals and are seen frequently in most illustrated manuscripts up to and including, the Shāh Jahān period.

<sup>39</sup>See for example, Beach, *op. cit.*, 1987, fig. 9, p. 20.

<sup>40</sup>In A. K. Das, 'An Introductory Note On the Emperor Akbar's *Rāmāyaṇa* and its Miniatures' in R. Skelton, et. al., *op. cit.*, 1986, fig. 5, p. 98.

<sup>41</sup>Examples of these are now at the Royal Armouries, Leeds Castle, see D. Nicolle, *ibid.*, p. 38, fig. a and pp. 20-21.

For women, the shawl (or *chādar*) is worn over the head and covers most of the body, it is worn with a full-length dress (a *peshwāz*, cf. f.318a, Fig. 43). At other times, the short tunic or tail-coat (*jāma*) is worn with a pair of cotton trousers tied with a cord (a *shalwār*, cf. f. 220a, Fig. 38, foreground right), a fashion that appears to have originated in the Mughal court and depicted accurately in the *Khamsa* illustrations. The *chādar*, *peshwāz* and *shalwār* are worn in Pakistan and Afghanistan today.

Sometimes the female courtiers are depicted wearing a *shalwār* under a skirt made of a diaphanous material, possibly a fine muslin or voile (f. 65a, Fig. 18). This is also the main costume of female *kathak* dancers. The outfit, however, may also be seen in early Indian fifteenth-century illustrated manuscripts.<sup>42</sup> It appears to have originally been a male costume in manuscripts such as the *Candāyana* of c.1500-50.<sup>43</sup> The transparent skirt worn over a *shalwār* is sported by a plump, dark figure in *The Princess Paints a Self-Portrait* (f. 206a, Fig. 30). He also wears a thick sash (*patkā*) around his waist and rests his hands on a staff. The muslin is square-cut, and one can see all four corners of the garment (thus it is often called the *chākdār-jāma*). Painting it in this particular way conforms to earlier painterly conventions, for example in the *Caurapañcāśikā* mentioned above.<sup>44</sup> The four-

<sup>42</sup>One is reminded here of B. Gray's remark that muslin was 'an Indian material eminently suited to the Indian climate and never used in Persia' and that the wrap-coat *jāma* worn in most illustrations to the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* was 'not a Persian dress-style. It is not found even once in this form in a Persian miniature', 'The Development of Painting in India in the Sixteenth-Century' Marg 6, (1953), p. 23.

<sup>43</sup>P. Chandra (1), *op. cit.*, 1976, pl. 107 and also in the *Laur Chanda*, Jaunpur, 1525-30, reproduced by Khandalawala and Chandra, *op. cit.*, 1969, fig. 158, p. 160.

<sup>44</sup>The ex-N. C. Mehta manuscript now in the Sanskar Kendra (Culture Centre), Ahmedabad, reproduced in Gray, 1953, pl. 18.

cornered garment was said to have originally been Rajput before Akbar ordered it to be cut round.<sup>45</sup>

#### Animals and Pastoral Scenes

Many aspects of pastoral scenes and scenes depicting animals are not unique to the illustrations of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. A recurrent detail in the *Khamsa* illustrations is a device for raising water from a well so as to supply a fountain or irrigate the fields. This is called an *arhat* and is similar to a Persian or Roman lantern wheel, consisting of several earthen pitchers tied with ropes to a vertical wheel rotated by way of crank-driven gears powered by animals.

This piece of technology makes perhaps its earliest appearance in Islamic book painting in a design seen in al-Jazari's *Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices*<sup>46</sup>. A Mughal version of this thirteenth-century work was copied in 1585.<sup>47</sup> Again, although the device was probably used in real life, it soon became a formula copied by several artists, even in the *Khamsa*. A related but much cruder device may be seen in an earlier, pre-Mughal

<sup>45</sup> Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 94. There has been considerable controversy over the origins of this costume. In the 1950s, K. Khandalawala rejected the idea that it was Rajput, perhaps because he believed with many contemporaries of his that Mughal painting influenced regional styles and not vice versa, see K. Khandalawala, 'Leaves from Rajasthan: A Dated *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*' of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona' *Marg* 4 (1950), p. 23. Suffice it to say, this view became outmoded and scholars began to realize, especially with the discovery of the Cleveland *Tūt-nāme*, that a great deal of the traffic of painterly conventions was headed in the other direction, that is, from the provincial to the Mughal. For a more reasonable view on the *chākdār-jāma* point, see P. Chandra, 'Outline of Early Rajasthani Painting', *Marg* 11 (1957-58), where he writes that the *chākdār-jāma*, 'may be a revival by Akbar of some out-moded provincial Indian fashion', p. 14.

<sup>46</sup> See also, the Vatican *Bāyad wa Riyād* in Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, (Skira, 1962).

<sup>47</sup> L. Y. Leach *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings From the Chester Beatty Library* (2 Vols. London, 1995), vol. II, 534-535.

detail in a leaf from a *Kalpasūtra* of 1475 where a farmer uses a lever to pull up a bucket from a well.<sup>48</sup> The same technology may also be seen in an illustration from a dispersed manuscript contemporary with the *Khamsa*, the Fogg Art Museum *Dīwān of Shāhī*,<sup>49</sup> and in an illustration from the probably earlier *Dīwān of Hāfiż* (c. 1590) in the National Museum Delhi.<sup>50</sup> The latter miniature shares many compositional similarities with the picture of Khusrau and Shīrīn in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. Not only is the water-wheel present in each case, but so are the flowerbeds of red and white poppies and the rather convoluted architectural schema. It is probable that the same artist, Farrukh Chela, was responsible for the painting of both illustrations.<sup>51</sup>

The *arhat* also appears in the *Bābur-nāme* at the National Museum, Delhi, f. 122,<sup>52</sup> in a loose leaf of *A Yōgi and a Dervish in Dispute* in the Keir Collection,<sup>53</sup> and in the *Jog Bāshisht* c.1602 in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.<sup>54</sup> An undated picture, now in the British Museum,<sup>55</sup> has been attributed to Basāwan and is a rural scene of a bullock and donkey yolked to a very similar water-wheel contraption (Fig. 47). Another loose leaf depicting an audience before the king has in the background two bullocks pulling a rope connected

<sup>48</sup> In Khandalawala and Chandra, *op. cit.*, 1969, fig. 168.

<sup>49</sup> See *The Poet Disappointed by His Friend* in S. C. Welch, 'Early Mughal Miniature Paintings From Two Private Collections at the Fogg Art Museum', *Ars Orientalis* III, 1959, pl. 4, fig. 5.

<sup>50</sup> S.C. Welch, 'Miniatures From a Manuscript of a *Dīwān-i Hāfiż* [Rāz-i-yūz]' *Marg* 11 (3), 1958, p. 58, fig. 4.

<sup>51</sup> See R. Morris *op. cit.*, 1982, pp. 135-53.

<sup>52</sup> Verma, *op. cit.*, 1978, p. 103.

<sup>53</sup> Robinson, ed., *op. cit.*, 1976, pl. 123.

<sup>54</sup> Leach, *op. cit.*, pl. 2. 19.

<sup>55</sup> BM. 1921. 4-11. 04. See M. Rogers, *op. cit.*, 1993, p. 44.

to a bucket held over a well.<sup>56</sup> Yet another loose leaf features the water-wheel built into a two-storey building.<sup>57</sup> Lastly, there is a remarkable night scene by Manōhar of *A Garden of Fairies* c.1590s, which also features the animal-powered water-wheel.<sup>58</sup> From the examples cited, it may be seen that although the *arhat* device was originally a product of direct observation, it quickly turned into a stock image, copied from one manuscript to another, and used repeatedly as a background detail in late sixteenth century painting.

The *Hamza-nāme* is one of the earliest Mughal manuscripts to illustrate Indian rustic scenes. A rural village is featured in the background of a *Hamza-nāme* folio in the Victoria and Albert Museum, *The Dismay of Koj on Finding the Giant Zummurūd Asleep*.<sup>59</sup> Here, women at a well carry clay pots or *mutkas* on their heads; nearby, a shepherd with a staff tends sheep and goats. In the *Harivansha* (c. 1585) there is a folio containing many details also found in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*: the banana tree, bullocks and a shepherd.<sup>60</sup> In the *Bābur-nāme* 1591, pictures of farm animals appear frequently.<sup>61</sup> These details and subjects anticipate many of the background scenes in the *Khamsa*. But the tradition may go back much further. Rural scenes of grazing cows and farmers ploughing the land and

<sup>56</sup>See Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais, *L'Inde des légendes et des réalités, miniatures Indiennes et Persanes de la Fondation Custodia, The Collection of F. Lügt* (Paris, 1986), pl. 8.

<sup>57</sup>Victoria and Albert Museum, D383-1885.

<sup>58</sup>In the Metropolitan Museum publ. Sir Leigh Ashton, ed., *The Art of India and Pakistan, Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition held at the Royal Academy Library, 1947-8* (London, 1948), p. 124.

<sup>59</sup>No. 1510-1883, I. S., *ibid.*, pl. 11.

<sup>60</sup>M. C. Beach, *The Imperial Image, Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington DC, 1981), p. 47.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 50.

other farm scenes may be seen also in a *Mahāpurāṇa* dated 1540, painted probably at Palam, near Delhi.<sup>62</sup>

Several paintings of animals in the *Khamsa*, which appear to be the result of direct observation, are actually copies of representations in earlier manuscripts. The animals in *Dimna is Condemned* (Fig. 48) in the *Iyar-i Dānish* of the 1590s in the Chester Beatty Library Dublin were copied by Farrukh Chela in *Laylā and Majnūn Faint*, f. 123a (Fig. 23). The animals not only appear in the same order in each picture (from left to right: two leopards, two tigers and lions) but the symmetry of the leopards that face each other is repeated in the later version and there is also the same deer situated far right in the picture. There is a large tree in the middle of each composition, which is placed on a central plateau, or raised piece of ground, to provide a stage for the main action. Even the rocks in the foreground of the earlier version have been indicated in the later illustration.

Another incidence of adaptation from an earlier work is the miniature of *Bahrām Gūr Seizing the Crown*, f. 184b, (Fig. 14), which is based on a detached folio now in the Goloubew Collection folio at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Fig. 49).<sup>63</sup> The resemblance to the *Khamsa* version is immediately apparent. In both pictures Bahrām Gūr

<sup>62</sup>At the Śāṭ Digambara Jaina Atīśaya Kshetra, Jaipur reproduced in Khandalawala and Chandra, *op. cit.*, 1969, fig. 155.

<sup>63</sup>A.K. Coomaraswamy in *Arts Asiatiques XIII 'Les Miniatures Orientales de la Collection Goloubew au Musée Fine Arts, Boston'* (Paris and Brussels, 1929), pl. LXVIII. See also, the Keir *Khamsa* version, which closely resembles earlier Persian versions.

wears identical clothes, holds a similar sword and assumes an identical pose in each miniature.

The dead lions in the two pictures are both clearly indebted to a folio in the Chester Beatty *Tūti-nāme*, 1580. What the latter manuscript may lack in finesse and elegance, it makes up for with startling naturalism: f. 52, features rats gnawing at the carcass of a dead lion (Fig. 50).<sup>64</sup> This lion is the model for the ones in the two *Babrām Gūr and the Two Lions* scenes in the Dyson Perrins and Goloubew *Khamsas* mentioned above (Figs. 14, 49). It may also be mentioned here that Maddū Khāna-zad's sleeping lion in *Aflātūn Charms the Animals* (Fig. 5) is also extremely similar to the *Tūti-nāme* model. Whereas the *Tūti-nāme* version was most probably the result of direct observation, the others are almost certainly copies of the *Tūti-nāme* folio.

There are other paintings of animals in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* that have been copied from the Chester Beatty *Tūti-nāme* and the *Iyar-i Dānish*. Folio 71v of the *Tūti-nāme*<sup>65</sup> is an illustration of an elephant painted with the same details and with the trunk curled in profile in the same manner as the elephant featured in f. 72a (Fig. 34) of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. The picture of the *Brāhma Escaping into a Tree* in the same *Tūti-nāme* manuscript features a tiger, with one paw crossed and curled over, its head held back and

<sup>64</sup>Reproduced in Leach, *op.cit.*, pl. 1.34.

<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*, col. pl. 4.

mouth open; these details are repeated in folio 69v. In the *Iyar-i Dāniš*, the lion in *Dimna is Condemned* (Fig. 48)<sup>66</sup> is represented in the same way, and the lion in a scene from the *Laylā-Majnūn* section of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, f. 153b (Fig. 28) is also clearly copied from these earlier versions, with paws crossed, head raised up and mouth open. Although it may be argued that lions do tend to behave in this way and that the artist recorded this, the very consistent repetitions of representing the animal in this exact manner are evidence that what we are seeing in the *Khamsa* is a copy of an earlier artist's direct observation.

#### Architecture

Certain architectural forms and details of buildings represented in illustrations in the *Khamsa* first appeared in Mughal painting in the *Hamza-nāme* and the *Tūti-nāme*. Perhaps the most common convention observed in the representation of palace scenes in Akbar period painting is the court or palace enclosure. This serves to provide the central, interior scene with certain exclusivity, often emphasized by a guard or *chākidār* in a doorway barring entry to outsiders. The convention is actually based on Herat precedents<sup>67</sup> but the architectural space created by the enclosure and the subsidiary scenes that take place outside of it, are elaborated in Mughal painting.<sup>68</sup> The architectural convention begins to be established in Mughal painting by the time of the *Hamza-nāme*.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, col. pl. 8.

<sup>67</sup>See for example, the illustration by Bihzād in the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī, Or. 6810, f. 135r.

<sup>68</sup>See *A Marriage Scene* in the *Tārikh-i Khāndān-i Timūriyya* in Beach, *op. cit.*, 1987, fig. 62, p. 88.

An illustrated folio from that manuscript has several features that were to be utilized in miniatures of the *Khamsa*.<sup>69</sup> These include the same wall enclosure, double-tiered pavilion, pool with double-spouted fountainhead and banana tree, also essential aspects of the composition of the *Khamsa*'s *The Garden of Bathing Women – The Story Told by the Princess of the White Pavilion*, f. 220a (Fig. 41), which is undoubtedly based on this, or on a common prototype. The Cleveland *Tūti-nāme* also has a folio that is strikingly similar in spatial and architectural terms to the latter miniature. *The Son of the King Sees the Disguised Brahmin Bathing*, f. 234b (Fig. 51) features a woman bathing in a pool in front of a pavilion with an attendant and an onlooker.<sup>70</sup> Sānvala's *The Story of the Garden of Bathing Women*, f. 220a (Fig. 41) of the *Khamsa*, is an elaboration of this scene. Although it includes more figures and activity, in terms of composition, it still betrays its origins.

A significant architectural structure copied from earlier painting is the long, slender tower rising to a point illustrated in *The King Carried Off by a Giant Bird – The Story Told by the Princess of the Black Pavilion* f. 195a (Fig. 2) of the *Khamsa*, which appears first in the *Hamza-nāme* where identical towers with the same architectural details frequently occur.<sup>71</sup> Also common in the earlier manuscript are the decorative tiles on the domes of pavilions or other buildings (seen in f. 102a in the *Khamsa*, Fig. 24), and the greenish tiles used for

<sup>69</sup>In H. Glück, *op. cit.*, 1925, abb. 37, now Sir Howard Hodgkin Collection.

<sup>70</sup>Beach, *op. cit.*, 1987, fig. 36, p. 56.

<sup>71</sup>In H. Glück, *op. cit.*, 1925, abb. 4. 37 and Tafel 45.

the floors of many interior scenes.<sup>72</sup> In the *Hamza-nāme*, these are usually star and cross tessellations.

Other architectural features in the *Khamsa* that date from the early Mughal period are the pillars holding up the pavilion in an illustration of *The Priestess of Kandahar Beseeches Iskandar to Spare The Idol*, f. 317a (Fig. 42). They are carved with a chevron pattern. The decorative detail appears in the Cleveland *Tūti-nāme*<sup>73</sup> and in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, 1500-50.<sup>74</sup> This architectural motif is probably of Deccani origin, as may be seen on the minaret of the *madrasa* of Mahmūd Gawān of 1472, in the Bahmani capital of Bidar<sup>75</sup> and in the *Caurapāñcāśikā*. The chevron pattern also appears on decorative pilasters in a Sultanate *Miscellany* manuscript at the Chester Beatty Library<sup>76</sup> and appears on pillars represented in the *Hamza-nāme*.<sup>77</sup>

Another feature of later Mughal painting that is rooted in earlier Indian art is the characteristic background of a white-washed wall with niches (usually with cusped arches) in which are placed coloured glass and glazed bowls and jugs. Such a feature for the

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.*, hexagonal and star-form tiles on domes: abb. 31; on floors: abb. 10, 18, 19, 20. green tiles are also evident in the Victoria and Albert *Akbar-nāme*, IS 2:48-1896, in the *Khamsa*: Ff. 52a, 294a, 318a and 305a.

<sup>73</sup>P. Chandra, (2) *The Cleveland Tūti-nāme Manuscript and the Origins of Mughal Painting* (Graz, 1976), pl. 16.

<sup>74</sup>P. Chandra, (1) *op. cit.* 1976, pl. 89.

<sup>75</sup>See B. Brend in Skelton, et. al., *op. cit.*, 1986, p. 91.

<sup>76</sup>Accession number Persian 124, f. 223b, see *ibid.*, p.90.

<sup>77</sup>Glück, *op. cit.*, 1925, Tafel 40.

background of an interior scene continued as a painterly convention in Mughal illustrated manuscripts well into the Jahāngīr period. It is seen in the colophon of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* f. 325b (Fig. 52), and in ff. 117a (Fig. 21), 294a (Fig. 53) and 305a (Fig. 37). One of the earliest examples of this convention on which the others are based, is in the John Rylands *Candayana* 1540-50 (Fig. 54).<sup>78</sup>

### Trees

Banana, *banyan* and date-palm trees are fairly common in the illustrations of the *Khamsa*<sup>79</sup> and the use of them to add a familiar location and atmosphere to a scene is clearly indebted to the *Tūtī-nāme*, *Hamza-nāme*, and *Anwār-i Subhaylī* manuscripts.<sup>80</sup> These consistently feature the same details and were the earliest Mughal manuscripts to illustrate Indian trees and flowers rather than just the conventional Persian cypresses and plane trees.

In the Cleveland *Tūtī-nāme*'s *The Merchant's Daughter Meets the Gardener* f. 100v, Indian banana trees have been boldly placed in dominant positions above the line of the heads of figures. The thick jungle portrayed here is entirely native. A similar use of native trees and plants may be seen clearly in Jain painting in Mewar as early as 1422-23,<sup>81</sup> in Gujarati

<sup>78</sup>Chandra (1), *op. cit.*, 1976, pl. 112.

<sup>79</sup>Banana trees: ff. 15b, 52a, 54a, 5a (WAG), 206a, 220a, 16b (WAG), 262b, 294a and 318a. Banyan trees: ff. 13b, 52a, 132a, 165b, 195a, and 262b.

<sup>80</sup>The kind of banyan tree found in the *Hamza-nāme* and some aspects of women's costumes were also passed on to some of the folios of *Bābur-nāme* of 1589 and the *Rāmāyana* of 1588.

<sup>81</sup> See a folio from a *Supasāhabāchariyam* painted at Delwada in the Hemachandra Gnana Mandir Collection, Patan, in S. Andhare, *op. cit.*, 1987, pl. 5.

painting of the fifteenth century and Rajput painting in the 1540s. These trees also feature quite prominently in various copies of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (1500-50), and in the *Mahāpurāṇa*, 1540 (Fig. 55)<sup>82</sup> where such trees appear in registers. An elaboration of the composition of registers in the *Khamsa* is *The Princess Paints a Self-Portrait* (Or. 12, 208), f. 206a (Fig. 30). In the *Hamza-nāme*, the use of native plants and trees for the backgrounds of the illustrations increases. The *Hamza-nāme* painting of foliage reflects a detailed knowledge of Indian trees. In *Ilyās Preserves Prince Nūr al-Dahr From the Sea*,<sup>83</sup> the artist responsible for the background has delighted in the diversity of trees, leaves, colours and shapes, modeling every leaf with precise care. A similar spirit of naturalism is manifest in the folios of the Rampur astrological work, c. 1567-70, especially in an inspired study of a waterfall (f. 22a), a bird in a tree (f. 25b) and a camel (f. 26a).<sup>84</sup> The manuscript is full of specimens of indigenous flora and fauna, prefiguring similar studies in the various dispersed pages of the *Bābur-nāme* dating from the 1590s. In one particular painting, f. 86, there is a scene featuring grapevines growing over a wooden lattice-work structure that may well have served as a source for the same feature in the *Khamsa* illustration in f. 40b, *Khusrau Carouses* (Fig. 25).

Such attention to Indian natural forms in the earlier Akbar period manuscript is passed on to the *Anwār-i Subaylī* where banana trees are painted with details of light and shade

<sup>82</sup>Chandra (1), op. cit., 1976, pls. 85 and 86.

<sup>83</sup>Published in J. M. Rogers, *op. cit.*, fig. 15, p. 38.

<sup>84</sup>Khandalawala and Mittal, *op. cit.*, 1969, figs. 20, 26, 27.

for a more naturalistic effect.<sup>85</sup> Such details may also be seen less frequently in the Keir *Khamsa* and in the Victoria and Albert Museum *Akbar-nâme*.

#### Other Aspects Indebted to Earlier Manuscript Painting

The Hindu idol portrayed in the *Priestess of Kandahar* miniature, ff. 318a-317b (Figs. 42, 43) has four arms and is not completely free standing, carved into a beveled niche. The image lacks any specific iconographic detail and so identification is difficult. The general stance, niche and four arms suggest, however, that the idol might represent one of the more benign aspects of Siva. In the Mughal *Harivamša*, a manuscript pre-dating the *Khamsa* and having many landscape precedents for it, Krishna is portrayed in much the same manner.<sup>86</sup> However, the crown of flowers, the lotus flower in the hand, the jewellery and general attire, more strongly suggest that the sculpture represented in the *Khamsa* miniature is of Vishnu.<sup>87</sup>

In folio 206a of the *Khamsa*, *The Princess Paints a Self Portrait* (Fig. 30) in the *Haft Paykar*, a woman sits with a painting on her knee; in front of her, a maid kneels down holding up a mirror. Nowhere does there appear to be a woman painting a picture of herself in Iranian

---

<sup>85</sup>See *The Monkey's Attack*, in the SOAS *Anwâr-i Subhayî*, 1570, reproduced in Beach, *op. cit.*, 1987, fig. 47, p. 70.

<sup>86</sup>See R. Skelton, 'Mughal Painting From a Harivamša manuscript.' *Victoria and Albert Museum Year Book* 2, (London, 1970), figs. 5 and 7.

<sup>87</sup>P. Pal, *Indian Sculpture*, 2 vols (Los Angeles, 1988), vol. 2, p. 85.

prototypes but there is a late Akbar period provincial *Vilāval Raginī* example (Fig. 57).<sup>88</sup>

The image of a woman looking into a mirror or a woman painting a picture is a common one in *Rāgamāla* paintings. *Devagirī Raginī*<sup>89</sup> is usually represented as a woman looking into a mirror held by a maid; the same motif is used for *Vilāval Raginī* in a Jodhpur *Rāgamāla*.<sup>90</sup> In the Laud Album (Laud 149) at the Bodleian Library, *Dhanasirī Raginī* paints a picture of her absent lover in very much the same way as the seated princess in the *Haft Paykar* illustration.<sup>91</sup> Such a scene also makes an appearance in the *Caurapāñcasikā* c.1500-50 (Fig. 58) with a scene of a seated woman and a mirror.<sup>92</sup> The fact that kneeling maids also hold round mirrors up to their mistresses in a *Mahāpurāṇa* of 1540<sup>93</sup> and several times in a *Laur Chanda*, 1550<sup>94</sup> point to an earlier, provincial source for the similar image in the *Khamsa*. Also noticeable here is the fact that the *Khamsa* illustration shares a common feature of earlier Indian painting, namely a compositional scheme that consists of series of horizontal registers, in this case five in all, from the background garden at the top, to

<sup>88</sup>J. Bautze, *Indian Miniature Painting c. 1590-1850* (Amsterdam, 1987), pl. 13. There was also a Mughal style *Rāgamāla*, now dispersed, painted in 1591 in Chunar, mentioned by M. C. Beach, *Rajput Painting at Biudi and Kota* (Ascona, 1973), p. 233.

<sup>89</sup>Cf. M. S. Mate and U. Ranade, *Nasik Rāgamāla* (Poona, 1982), pl. 23.

<sup>90</sup>In H. Goetz, 'Marwar' Marg. 11, (3), 1958, p. 44. The earliest example appears to be a Rajput version from the fifteenth century in P. Brown, 'Some Early Rajathani Raga Paintings' *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, vol. XVI, 1948, p. 6.

<sup>91</sup>See H. J. Stooke and K. Khandalawala, *The Land Rāgamāla Miniatures, A Study in Indian Paintings and Music* (Oxford, 1953). For other examples of the tradition of the mirror held by a maid for her mistress, or held up for Krishna, see J. Naudou, 'Symbolisme du miroir dans L'inde' *Arts Asiatiques* XIII, 1966, pp. 59-76. There are numerous seventeenth-century examples of the *Vilāval Raginī* demonstrating the persistence of the image, see R. Krisnadasa in the *Chaavi Felicitation Volume*, Banares, figs. pl. 9 and pl. 41 and M. C. Beach, *Rajput Painting at Biudi and Kota* (Ascona, 1974), figs. 32 and 63. A significant and abundant collection of images of *Vilāval Raginī* and *Dhanasirī i Raginī*, all sharing very similar compositional features with the Dyson Perrins *Princess Painting a Self-Portrait*, may be found in the Johnson Collection, *Vilāval*: 30.28, 30.30, 33.8, 35.15, 37.13 and 43.9, *Dhanasirī*: 30.17, 30.31, 33.14, 35.30, 37.20, 39.29 24.29 and 43.15.

<sup>92</sup>Khandalawala and Chandra, *op. cit.*, 1969, pl. 20, p. 81.

<sup>93</sup>Possibly painted at Palam, near Delhi, now at the Śrī Digambara Jaina Arisaya Kshetra, Jaipur, see Khandalawala and Chandra, *ibid.*, cover illustration.

<sup>94</sup>In the Chandigarh Museum, reproduced in S. Andhare, *op. cit.*, 1987, pl. 21.

the central action and thence to vignettes of attendants of court. Placed just above this may be seen details of an architectural frieze representing figures, which is in turn placed above more people at the bottom of the picture, outside the castle walls.

The other major scene in the *Khamsa* using the image of a mirror is *Iskandar Ordering the Invention of the Mirror* (Fig. 36). This appears in folio 18b in the Sackler Art Gallery *Khamsa* of Niżāmī, which has 64 Mughal style miniatures, added to a corpus of earlier Iranian illustrations.<sup>95</sup> A more sophisticated version than the one in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* is an undated loose folio at the Indian Museum, Calcutta<sup>96</sup> where Iskandar wears the same crown and looks at his mirror image while his advisors look on to the right (Fig. 59). The workmen, polishing the round metal disks below, take up similar poses as those in the *Khamsa*, although in the loose folio they are painted in a far more accomplished manner. The faces of all the characters are individualised and indicate a late Akbar period manuscript, possibly an *Iskandar-nāme*.

Another detail in the *Khamsa* that provides evidence that Akbar's artists continually adapted each other's works, as well as paintings from the earlier generation of artists, may be seen in a detail from folio 26b of the *Khamsa*, *Iskandar and the Dying Dārā* (Walters Art Gallery, Figs. 12, 60). In the foreground is a horse and rider who have been struck down. The head and neck of the horse have been stretched back so far that the line

<sup>95</sup>See G. S. Lowry, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Veer Collection* (Washington D.C., 1988), no. 237.

<sup>96</sup>J. Strzygowski, H. Glück, S. Kramrisch and E. Wellesz, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerie* (Klagenfurt, 1933), Abb. 257.

leading from the throat and torso to the belly and hind legs appears as one continuous semi-circle; in the process of falling, the rider is shown neatly tucked into the centre of the semi-circle created by the horse's twisted body. The exact composition of both rider and horse may be seen in a battle scene in the *Hamza-nâme* (Fig. 61), indisputable evidence that the artists of the *Khamsa* assimilated details from earlier Mughal illustrations.<sup>97</sup> In turn, the detail from the *Hamza-nâme* was almost certainly based on a feature in a folio from the Mohammad Jukī *Shâh-nâme* (Fig. 62), which bears a strong resemblance to the fallen warrior and horse found in the later manuscripts.

#### A Humāyūn Period Khamsa

There are three extant Mughal *Khamsas* or *Khamsa* fragments pre-dating the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* with illustrations comparable with those found in the latter. The *Khamsa* of Nizāmī in the Kasturbhai Lalbhai Collection, Ahmedabad (c. 1525-50) has 34 miniatures, some painted in the style of Safavid Tabriz, others in a style traceable to Bukhara and a third kind is early

Mughal. Seven are repetitive compositions of Bahrām Gūr entertained by the seven princesses. Of the nine published by Chandra, at least two could have served as models

---

<sup>97</sup> H. Glück, *Die Indischen Miniaturen des Hamza-Romanes* (Wien, 1925), abb. 2 (recitl. 1), p. 26, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

for compositions in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*.<sup>98</sup> These are: *Aflātūn Playing Music to the Animals* and *Anūshirvān and His Vizier* (Fig. 63).

The subject of *Aflātūn Plays Music to the Animals* appears only three times in Indian *Khamsas* of Niẓāmī: once in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* (Fig. 5), once in the Lalbai *Khamsa* and in the *Iskandar-nāme*, probably painted near Delhi in the late fifteenth-century.<sup>99</sup> This version has not yet been identified as *Aflātūn Playing to the Animals* but appears very likely to be this, given that it represents a musician surrounded by animals and the detail of the magic square mentioned in the text. The Lalbai version differs from the others in several ways: amongst the animals listening to *Aflātūn* play there is a man who is dancing, this does not appear elsewhere. Moreover, this is the only case where *Aflātūn* plays a *viñā* or *yantra*, a traditional Indian musical instrument. In the Lalbai *Khamsa* and the *Iskandar-nāme*, the animals appear stiff and alert, rather than asleep, as they do in the Dyson Perrins miniature. The fact that there were earlier Indian illustrations of this episode may have set an example for later generations. The innovation of representing the *viñā*, may have encouraged Maddū Khāna-zād in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* to further disregard the Persian convention (where *Aflātūn* usually plays a lute) and alter the scene even further, with the inclusion of the Western organ. Similarly, although there is little in the Lalbai *Khamsa*'s *Laylā and Majnūn in the Desert* that appears to

<sup>98</sup>Chandra (1), *op. cit.*, 1967, pp. 97-105.

<sup>99</sup>See Khandalawala and Chandra, *op. cit.*, 1969, fig. 109.

have inspired later Mughal illustrations of the same subject, the typical Indian setting of banana trees may well have given later artists ideas about how to modify what had hitherto been a fully Persian tradition of illustrating the scene.<sup>100</sup>

The general composition of *Anūshīrvān and His Vizier* in the Lalbai *Khamsa* prefigures that of the later version. More specifically, however, in the Lalbai *Khamsa*, Anūshīrvān points to the owls perched on the ruins and looks back to his vizier; this he does also in the later version. However, more remarkable is the angle and position of the horse's legs and hooves, which appear identical in the later version. The National Museum, New Delhi *Dīwān of Hāfiẓ* miniature, *The Arrival of a Guest* c. 1585, also has a claim to have been a model for the Anūshīrvān scene in the *Khamsa* (Fig. 56). Similar details include careful study of the little dogs featured in both, the same costumes and headdress for the horsemen, and a significantly similar treatment of background landscape. The miniatures may have been painted by the same hand, both cases showing some appreciation of the Lalbai *Khamsa* illustration. The close relationship of this *Dīwān of Hāfiẓ* manuscript with the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* may also be demonstrated in two other miniatures. One of these has similar compositional features and the detail of a water-wheel contraption in the background discussed above. In the example of the *Hāfiẓ's Enthronement Scene*, the treatment of faces can be likened to that in the *Khamsa's Iskandar and the Seven Sages* (Fig.

---

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., pl. 102.

37). This is not surprising given that Nānhā painted both miniatures, with the *Divān* of *Hāfiż* version serving as the immediate model for the later illustration.

The Keir Khamsa, c.1585

The illustrations of the subject of *Sultān Sanjar and the Old Woman* in both the Keir and the Dyson Perrins *Khamsas* are very similar, which is understandable as the basic composition follows old Iranian conventions and there are countless illustrations of this *topos* in Iranian manuscript painting. The illustrations to the Keir manuscript are about half the size of those in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. The particular choice of the miniature cycle was dictated by the fact that the original manuscript was copied between 1502-6 in Iran (three colophons are dated) with spaces left for the illustrations that were provided by the artists of Akbar's studio between 1585 and 1590.<sup>101</sup> The manuscript is the immediate precursor to the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* and is a bridge backwards to the earlier Iranian prototypes.

In the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, the treatment of background detail and evocation of atmosphere give the illustration a particular late-Akbar period appearance. In the Keir *Khamsa*, large paragraphs of text reduce the picture space and backgrounds to make the illustration appear almost incidental. In the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* (see Fig. 3 for example), illustrations have been given a fuller treatment and afforded richer detail so as

---

<sup>101</sup> R. Skelton in B. Robinson, ed., *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book, the Keir Collection*, (London, 1976), p. 247.

to appear rather opulent compared to the Keir *Khamsa*. While the Keir illustrations are flat and conventional, in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, the devices favoured most in the manuscript are receding planes and the illusion of depth, used to make a more dramatic stylistic break with the hitherto formal and traditional way of illustrating the *Khamsa*.

In the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, the hunting scene of *Farīdūn and the Gazelle* (Fig. 4) is very much indebted to Persian conventions. There is, however, a similar hunting scene in the School of Oriental and African Studies' *Anwār-i Subaylī* (MS. 10102, dated 1570) where the horseman strikes the conventional pose: in mid-motion, he plucks the string of a bow releasing an arrow, despite the rearing of his horse. This is a convention continued in the Keir *Khamsa*, f.157b, in *Babrām Gūr Slays a Dragon*, where the same pose is evident. Around 1602, Prince Salīm was painted in the same pose with bow: in a hunting scene in a *Dīwān* of Hasan Dihlavī<sup>102</sup> where the fleeing deer and white hunting dog, as well as the general composition follow the Dyson Perrins illustration. An early Mughal miniature c.1555 of *Prince Akbar Hunting a Deer* appears to have established the Persian idiom in Mughal painting and shares a good many parallels with the two hunting scenes in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*: Mukund's *Farīdūn and the Gazelle*, f. 19a (Fig. 4) and Khvāja 'Abd al-Samad's *Khusrau Goes Hunting*, f. 82a (Fig. 17). All three versions have the traditional rearing horse and rider.

---

<sup>102</sup>Hasan Dihlavī (1253-c.1338). The manuscript is in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore W.650, see Losty, *op. cit.*, 1982, pl. XXVI.

Other parallel versions in the Keir and Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* manuscripts are the colophons. In 1610, Dawlat added his self-portrait to the *Khamsa* (Fig. 52) at Jahāngīr's request, almost as an extension of the tradition seen in the Keir *Khamsa* and the colophon of the Royal Asiatic Society *Gulistān* of Sa'cdī, which both share a similar compositional format and feature artists or calligraphers and their art. This kind of subject matter may also be seen in the Jahāngīr Album at the State Library in Berlin, with marginal pictures of burnishers, papermakers, calligraphers and painters.<sup>103</sup> This tradition carries on with a whole series of portraits of artists by Dawlat in the *Gulshān* Album.

#### The SOAS-Bristol Sharaf-nāme.

Perhaps overshadowed by the better-known Mughal *Anwār-i Subaylī*, MS. 10102 in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, the *Sharaf-nāme* MS. 24952, in the same library, appears to have been neglected by scholars of Mughal art. This is surprising as the manuscript, the first part of Niẓāmī's fifth poem in the *Khamsa*, the *Sharaf-nāme*, has amongst its text pages three mature Akbar period illustrations. In addition to these, it can now be confirmed<sup>104</sup> that there are nine illustrations at the Bristol Museum and Art

<sup>103</sup>There are more thematic and compositional examples that establish this kind of colophon as a *topos* (not to mention the author portraits of an older tradition leading back to texts of Dioscorides), notably a folio from the *Akbāraq i-Nasīrī* manuscript of c.1590, featuring artists and scribes of the studio-scriptorium at work. This is published by M. Brand and G. S. Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art From the Mughal City of Victory* (New York 1985), no.19.

<sup>104</sup> It was Barbara Brend who first suspected that there might be a link between the two fragments. I would like to thank her and Peter Hardie at the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery for their encouragement in the writing of this section. The accession date for the Bristol miniatures is 1976 when they were discovered by Peter Hardie in several glazed frames hung in a corridor at the Victoria Art Gallery, Bath. They are now on long-term loan at the Bristol Museum. The SOAS portion was donated to the library in 1931 by the late Lieutenant-Colonel D. C. Phillote.

Gallery, which complete the miniature cycle of the same *Sharaf-nāme*. These, together with the SOAS *Sharaf-nāme* illustrated folios are described in Appendix One.

The Keir *Khamsa* of c.1585-90 and the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, are closely related to the SOAS-Bristol *Sharaf-nāme*, in some cases sharing similar compositions. Dharmdāsa was responsible for painting miniatures in all three manuscripts. The *Sharaf-nāme* ranks as one of the finest illustrated Mughal manuscripts and is an important stylistic link between the Keir and Dyson Perrins *Khamsas*.

1976/13, *The Khaqan of Chin Entertains Iskandar* features an organ played by a man in a European outfit with a Portuguese-style hat. The robes of most of the figures are painted with a European-style play of light similar to that seen in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa's* *Disputing Physicians* illustration, f.23b (Fig. 6). The Khaqan's violet robes have been modeled very carefully and the portrayal of light and shadow is extremely accomplished. A comparable example of this very European modeling and palette is from the nativity scene in the *Nafābat al-Uns*, f. 142a.<sup>105</sup> On the organ itself, are two pictures of a man and a woman, both in a European portrait-style, with a *chiaroscuro* contrast of resplendent countenances and gloomy backgrounds. An organ found its way to the Mughal court in 1581 and may have had similar inset designs on it to serve as a model for the illustration in the *Sharaf-nāme* and in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* (Fig. 5). This would confirm that the

former manuscript was produced some time after 1581. It is possible, however, that the later miniature featuring an organ in the Dyson Perrins manuscript is adapted from the earlier version in the Bristol portion of the *Sharaf-nâme*. In the later version, f. 298a, it is Aflâṭûn who plays an organ to charm the animals around him (Fig. 5). There are four inset scenes painted on to the panels of the organ, one of them a portrait of a European, a picture of Majnûn, one European painting another and a *Presentation at the Temple*. An image of figures playing the organ also appears in a margin of the Berlin Album where the organ is painted with an angel and a picture of a saint.<sup>105</sup>

The last illustration of the *Sharaf-nâme* and the last comparison to be dealt with in this chapter, is *Khiżr Washing Iskandar's Horse in the Fountain of Life*, f. 81a (Fig. 64). Closely related is the same illustration in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* of Nizâmî, f. 281a (Fig. 31). In both manuscripts Khiżr is painted as an old man. The subdued mauve and pale green palette of the rocks and the particular combination of vermillion, bright green and yellow for various attendants' robes in both the SOAS and Bristol illustrations immediately recall the same colour schemes in the miniatures of the SOAS *Anwâr-i Suhaylî* of 1570. Kanak Singh Chela, the artist of the *Khiżr Washing Iskandar's Horse in the Fountain of Life*, f. 281a (Fig. 31) undoubtedly had access to the earlier picture on which to base his version in the *Khamsa*.

---

<sup>105</sup>This page is also inscribed with the word "awwâd" meaning "first"; according to J. Scyller this refers to the first order of merit and implies that in their inscription notes in illustrated books, the Mughals evolved a system of classifying paintings according to their artistic value.

<sup>106</sup>See E. Kühnel and H. Goetz, *Indian Book Painting* (London, 1926), p. 28.

This comparative study of the illustrations in the *Khamsa* and earlier paintings has thrown light on the choices available to the artists in completing their illustrations. One option was to copy aspects from older manuscripts, another was to consult the works of contemporaries, and a further option available to the artists of the *Khamsa* was to paint from direct observation, thus recording of aspects of the world around them.

Many of the motifs taken from earlier illustrated manuscripts had been absorbed by Mughal painting over a long period and were widely dispersed. The survival of earlier Indian painting in the Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī appears to have been in the form of representations of costume and architecture, the *padmāsana* position; the use of the image of the *Vilāval Ragīnī*; the *Candayana* jugs and bowls placed in niches to form the backgrounds of palace scenes and in the depiction of rural scenes and indigenous trees such as the *banyan*, mango and banana.

This chapter has established that there was obviously much more adaptation from the paintings of previous generations of artists than has been assumed by scholars of Mughal art. Several rural scenes and some aspects of battle scenes in the *Khamsa* may be traced to the *Hamza-nāme*, the first great innovative fusion of Indian and Persian traditions in Mughal art and in the repainted *Tūti-nāme* and in other earlier Akbar period manuscripts such as the *Iyar-i Dānish*. The Lalbai *Khamsa* offers us the chance to see that even

Humāyūn period illustrations were consulted for precedents on how to depict certain scenes in the *Khamsa*. These are numerous enough to point to the probability that Mughal artists had access to the original, earlier manuscripts in the imperial library, or to albums of intermediary sketches that are no longer extant.

What begins to emerge with a comparison of the *Khamsa* manuscript and illustrations in manuscripts immediately preceding or roughly contemporary to it is the exchange and borrowing of artistic ideas between artists. This resulted in the frequent duplication of aspects of picturemaking such as background scenes, animals (taken especially from the Chester Beatty *Tūti-nāme*) and in other Akbar period manuscripts such as the *Iyar-i Dānish*, the SOAS-Bristol *Sharaf-nāme*, the *Dīwān* of Anwārī, the Bankipore *Tārikh-i Khāndān-i Timūrijya* and the Keir *Khamsa*.

There is less evidence of Mughal artists painting directly from observation of real life in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. Often what appears to be a detailed study of an animal or a landscape can be traced to an earlier picture. Manōhar's contributions to the manuscript however, show a consistent, and in this period unparalleled, interest in painting natural forms such as the intricacies in the surface of a tree trunk in *Anūshirvān and the Vizier* (Fig. 56). Compared to the rather perfunctory treatment of a tree trunk by Dharmdāsa in *Shāpūr Brings News of Shirīn* (Fig. 11), Manōhar's tree clearly stands out as the end product of a process of direct observation. This must have been quite selective however, as

Dharmdāsa's observation of the play of light and shade in the folds of a tent curtain in the same miniature of *Shāpūr Brings News of Shīrīn* and Miskīna's execution of the folds of cloth in the *Disputing Physicians* miniature (Fig. 6) show that some isolated details were the results of studying real life, while other details were taken from a repertory of stock types. As the next two chapters confirm, the main sources of imagery for the *Khamsa* and for all Mughal versions of Persian works of the Akbar period were illustrations from earlier manuscripts, and from within the artistic community itself.

### CHAPTER III

#### The Influence of Persian Painting

---

A survey of the literature dealing with the Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* of *Nizāmī* of reveals that there has been no attempt has been made to place one of the most important Mughal manuscripts in its art historical perspective.<sup>1</sup> Some of the most important aspects of the *Khamsa* remain unclear: for example it is not known if its illustrations are unique or if they are based on other miniatures. This chapter is a comparative study, which reveals numerous, hitherto unknown relationships between the Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* and earlier Persian manuscripts, revealing the true character of its illustrative cycle. This in turn helps bring into view both the innovation and traditional continuity in the miniatures of the Dyson Perrins manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> See F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Paintings and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey, from the 8th to the 18th Century* (London, 1912); G. Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins, DCL, FSA, 2 vols.* (Oxford, 1920); P. Brown, *Indian Paintings Under the Mughals, A.D. 1550 to AD 1750* (Oxford, 1924); S. C. Welch, 'The Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* of *Nizāmī*', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XXIII, 1960, pp. 87-96; T. J. Brown, 'Manuscripts From the Dyson Perrins Collection', *The British Museum Quarterly*, XXIII/2, 1961, pp. 28-30; G. M. Meredith-Owens, *Handlist of Persian Manuscripts 1895-1966* (London, 1968); N. Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts in the British Library and the British Museum* (London, 1977); J. P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India* (London, 1982); H. Marshall, 'An Analysis of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Mughal Painting: With Reference to Persian Cultural and Political Influences' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1981); J. M. Rogers, *Islamic Art and Design 1500-1700* (London, 1983); M. C. Beach, *Early Mughal Painting* (Harvard, 1987); A. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters, Indian Miniatures from the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Paris, 1992); J. M. Rogers, *Mughal*

The Transference of Compositions from Persian to Indian Painting.

Mughal culture is essentially Persian in character. Although in Sultanate India Islamic dynasties adopted Persian cultural forms, which were manifest in court etiquette and in such arts as book illustration and poetry, it was not until the advent of the Mughal dynasty that the Persian language<sup>2</sup> and Persian culture more generally were established as essential components of an imperial style of government throughout the whole of north and much of central India.

The first generations of Mughals in India under Bābur (1483-1530), and Humāyūn (1508-56), were Turks from Central Asia who spoke Turkī (or Chaghatay) with Persian as a second language. By Akbar's time, this very important Mongol-Timurid heritage was filtered through Persian culture:

[The Mughals] brought with them sundry of their nomadic origins such as the Turkish title *Khān*, the horse-tail switch, the love of horseflesh and the chase, their drinking bouts and the architecture of their public halls which were tents frozen into stone. But they came under the charm of the radiating Persian culture and adopted it so thoroughly that it was this that they passed on to India. They had the zeal of the convert for his new faith. For them things Persian *were* civilization so that their attitudes carried with them the force of assured conviction.<sup>3</sup>

Given this remarkable veneration for Persian culture and the adoption of Persian as the language of government, it is not surprising that the Mughals treasured Persian literature and avidly collected Persian manuscripts. Every aspect of the Mughal arts of the book: margin designs, calligraphy, binding, covers, illumination and illustration are indebted to the Persian. We know that the Emperor Akbar had a huge library,

---

<sup>1</sup>Minatures (London, 1993); S. P. Verma, *Mughal Painters and their Work: A Bibliographical Survey and Comprehensive Catalogue* (Delhi, 1994) and B. Brend, *The Emperor Akbar's Khamsa of Nizāmī* (London, 1995).

<sup>2</sup>The Persian language of the Indian subcontinent was eventually to develop into Urdu which makes use of a very large Persian vocabulary especially in government and literature. Urdu and a variant of it known as Hindī, also similarly related to Persian, are the languages spoken by the majority of people of both India and Pakistan today.

<sup>3</sup>P. Spear, *A History of India* (London, 1975), vol. 2, p. 48.

estimated at 24,000 volumes at the time of his death in 1605.<sup>4</sup> Many of these were undoubtedly illustrated Persian manuscripts from which a taste for the Persian tradition of painting episodes of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī and Firdausī's *Shāh-nāme*<sup>5</sup> was nurtured and sustained. One of the best known Persian illustrated manuscripts in the Mughal library was the Muhammad Jukī Herat *Shāh-nāme* c.1444, now in the Royal Asiatic Society library. The book bears the seals of five Mughal emperors. One of the folios, *Yazdigird Hiding in the Mill*, has been repainted in the late Akbar period style.

Also known to have been in the imperial library was a copy of the *Zafar-nāme* or *History of Tīmūr*<sup>6</sup> produced for Sultān Husayn Mīrza in Herat presented to Akbar by a Mir Āla al-Dīn Husayn Injū from Shiraz, with six double page miniatures attributed to Bihzād. There was also a *Nizāmī Haft Paykar*, specially presented to the Emperor Akbar by his Khān Khānān, Mun'im Khān in 1580. This manuscript now has five miniatures.<sup>7</sup>

The British Library *Gulistān* of Sa'adī Or. 5302,

<sup>4</sup>For details of some of the individual books and works translated and/or illustrated which were in the imperial library at Akbar's time, see H. Blochmann, tr., *The Ā'in-i Akbarī of Abī'l Faḍl Ḥallāq* (Calcutta, 1873), Vol. I, pp. 103-108. See also H. Marshall, unpublished doctoral thesis (University of London, 1976). This thesis is useful for a list of Persian books in the Mughal Imperial Library (although this is by no means the limit of our knowledge of the subject), and goes some way to exploring Persian influences in Mughal painting. However, the author has not a large number of Persian manuscripts, and thus consequently misses many important parallels between Persian and Mughal art. This is particularly so in her discussion of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī of 1593-5 where she claims only five or so illustrations are Persian in character (p. 214), when it is obviously the case this is actually true of a majority of illustrations in the *Khamsa*.

<sup>5</sup>An Akbar period *Shāh-nāme* with 37 miniatures by Mukund, Miskīnā, Iṣṭiqlāl, Basāwan and Madhū, among others, was sold by Sotheby's in 1994; the text itself dates from the fifteenth century. See Sotheby's sale catalogue, *Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, October 19, 1994, Lot 112. There are only a few loose leaves of Mughal, particularly Akbar period, *Shāh-nāme* manuscripts that survive. Most of these are dispersed in private collections. See Sotheby's sale catalogues, *Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, July 15, 1970, Lot 21; 'Abd al-Šamad's last known miniature, a *Shāh-nāme* loose leaf (c. 1600), was sold at Christies, see sales catalogue, *Islamic, Indian and South-East Asian Manuscripts from the Pan-Asian Collection*, June 13, 1983, Lot 121; other Mughal *Shāh-nāme* loose leaves appear in Sotheby's catalogues: *Highly Important Manuscripts, The Property of the Kevorkian Foundation* December 6, 1967, Lot 114; *Important Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, July 1, 1969, Lot 101; Christies sales catalogues: *Oriental Manuscripts, Miniatures and Two Court Portraits in Oils, Isfahan, Circa 1650*, July 11, 1974, Lot 52 and *Islamic, Indian, South East Asian Manuscripts, Miniatures and Works of Art*, November 21, 1986, Lots 131 and 132.

<sup>6</sup>Johns Hopkins University, dated 1467. All of these appear to be late fifteenth, earlier sixteenth century. There are five leaves from an earlier Mughal *Shāh-nāme*, possibly from the Humāyūn period in Sotheby's sale catalogue, *Western, Hebrew and Oriental Miniatures and Manuscripts*, December 7, 1970, Lots 97-101.

<sup>7</sup>A. W. Jackson and A. Yohannan, *A Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Cochran Collection* (New York, 1914), p. 73.

bearing dedications to Akbar and copied in Bukhara from 1567-68, had illustrations added in India at a later date.<sup>8</sup> Other Persian manuscripts in Mughal possession were specimens of calligraphy and illumination gathered into an album, and a single miniature signed by Bihzād of a youth and teacher in a meadow.<sup>9</sup> Also kept in the Mughal library was a *Khamṣa* of Nīzāmī of 1525, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York;<sup>10</sup> a Qazwin *Iskandar-nāme*, found in India;<sup>11</sup> a *Būstān* of Sa‘dī in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris<sup>12</sup> and a *Tuhfat al-Ahrār* of Jāmī.<sup>13</sup>

The British Library *Khamṣa* of 1494-95 (Or. 6810), painted in Herat found its way into Mughal hands. The manuscript does have certain features comparable to the Dyson Perrins *Khamṣa*, the most similar illustration being *Iskandar and the Seven Sages*, where Iskandar is painted in the likeness of Sultān Husayn Bāyqarā. Probably also in Mughal possession was the *Khamṣa* of Nīzāmī (Add. 25,900), many its miniatures are in the Herat style of the late fifteenth century (three are signed by Bihzād). Four illustrations appear to be additions from the Ṣafavid period c.1540. The picture of *Anushirvān and His Vizier* appears to have been used by Manōhar in the Dyson Perrins *Khamṣa*, f. 13b (dealt with in greater detail below). But there are two illustrations from the Mughal

<sup>8</sup> Thirteen miniatures, seven by Mughal artists, see E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting: XII-XVII Centuries*, tr. L. Binyon (London, 1929), pl. CXVIII. There was also another *Gulistān*, a Marquess of Bute Ms., supposedly given to Mun‘im Khān by Akbar in 1568 and later returned, see Robinson, *op. cit.* 1976, p. 181 and Marshall, *op. cit.* 1981, p. 230. There was also an early sixteenth century *Khamṣa* in the Ghosh Collection, Calcutta and a *Shāb-nāme* of the 1560s, location now unknown in both cases, *ibid.*, p. 225.

<sup>9</sup> Freer Gallery, see B. Robinson, *Persian Drawings* (London, 1991), p. 31.

<sup>10</sup> P. J. Chelkowski, *Mirror of the Invisible World* (New York, 1975).

<sup>11</sup> Now in the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, Ea 6817 with nine miniatures measuring 11.8 x 20cms, unpublished.

<sup>12</sup> With four miniatures; see Blochet, *op. cit.*, 1929, pls. CXVI and CXVII.

<sup>13</sup> Three miniatures, one apparently bearing Akbar's seal. See Binion, Wilkinson, Gray, *op. cit.*, 1933, pl. LXXXIIB.

(Keir) *Khamsa* of c. 1585 that also have compositions based on those found in Add. 29,500.<sup>14</sup> There is no evidence that there was another original common to both manuscripts. Add. 29,500 was most probably in the Mughal library before the completion of the earlier Keir *Khamsa* (c. 1585) and its presence in the imperial library was another reason why the Mughal artists appeared so familiar with Persian idioms in the *Khamsa* illustrated cycle.

Persian manuscripts were also present in the Mughal library in the form of certain refurbished manuscripts. The Sackler Art Gallery *Khamsa* of c.1470 has 64 Mughal miniatures added to a manuscript that also contains Sultanate Indian and Shiraz style miniatures.<sup>15</sup> A *Lisān al-Tayr* by Mīr cĀlī Shīr Nawaī (Herat, c.1553),<sup>16</sup> was retouched by a Mughal artist. One of the pictures, folio 23b, featuring a company of scholars may well have been a model for the Miskīna's *Disputing Physicians* illustration in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. The signatures of Mughal artists Lacl and Farrukh appear in the pages of a *Dawān* of Mīr Shīr cĀlī Nawaī in the Windsor Royal Library where there is also a Bukhara *Khamsa* of Mīr cĀlī Shīr Nawaī, 1540-1, which contains five miniatures.<sup>17</sup> Several pages of a *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh* in the Rampur State Library also have later Mughal additions, as do folios in a *Zafar-nāme* at the India Office Library,

<sup>14</sup>Farhād Carrying Shirin's Horse, f. 70a, appears almost identical to the same illustration in the Keir *Khamsa* f. 73b, and in addition, the scene of *Laylā and Majnūn at School* in the Keir *Khamsa* appears similar to the corresponding illustration in the Persian manuscript both in terms of composition and in the way the figures are painted in each miniature.

<sup>15</sup>See G. S. Lowry and S. Nemazee, *op. cit.*, 1988, no. 237, said to be Jahāngīr period. See the thought-provoking article by J. Seyller, 'Recycled Images: Overpainting in early Mughal Art' in S. Canby, ed., *Hunayn's Garden Party*, (Marg, 1994). Another re-styled *Khamsa* of Nizāmī is the Chester Beatty Library Ms. 141, Shiraz c. 1465.

<sup>16</sup>Ms. Supp. Turc. 996.20, pub. Blochet, *op. cit.*, 1914-20, pl. XLIII. See also a repainted *Makhzan al-Asrār*, *ibid.*, pls. CXI, CXIV and CXV.

<sup>17</sup>Press mark A/8. For a reproduction , see J. Seyller in Canby, ed., *op. cit.*, 1994, fig. 22. Figs 24, 25 and 26 are Bukhara miniatures overpainted by Akbar period artists.

Ms. 137, Ethé 175.<sup>18</sup> There is also a Turkoman *Shāh-nāme* in the Keir Collection with seven illustrations that have been re-touched by Mughal artists.<sup>19</sup> *Bārbad Playing Music to Khusrau*, a folio from a *Khamsa* of *Nizāmī* of 1539-42 (Or. 2265) served as the model for a *Court Scene* by Āqā Rizā Haravī painted in Mughal India,<sup>20</sup> even though it was never taken to India. In the face of evidence that this original never left Iran, it has been suggested that there were intermediary sketches or album folios brought over to India by Persian artists.<sup>21</sup>

The artists who were undoubtedly responsible for the margin designs in gold inks in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* were also responsible for the same work in the Bodleian Library's *Bahāristān*, where the names *Husaynī*, *Shīvdās* and *K'him* appear in the margins. Some of the most striking aspects of these margin designs in both manuscripts are the *Simurghs* and highly unusual ostriches (f. 281a in the *Khamsa* and f. 21v in the *Bahāristān*) and human figures (f. 132a in the *Khamsa* and f. 22v in the *Bahāristān*). The ostriches are pre-dated however, in a margin in a loose illustration from a Persian *Yūsuf ū Zulaykha*, dated 1557, possibly Tabriz, mentioned earlier in Chapter One. The margins of gold inks in the *Khamsa* Or. 2265, c. 1539-43, Tabriz (see ff. 157b, 128a and 202b), are also other aspects of that manuscript that appear to have been a model for the Dyson Perrins margin designs. Other probable models for these Persian style designs were manuscripts such as the *Zafar-nāme* and the

<sup>18</sup>Repainting is also evident in the British Library (India Office Library) J. 27. 5 and J. 28. 7 and Ms. 297, Ethé 194 and Ms. 737, Ethé 1342.

<sup>19</sup>See, *op. cit.*, Robinson, 1976, p. 164.

<sup>20</sup>See A. K. Das, 'Persian Masterworks and Their Transformation in Jahāngīr's *Taswir Khāna*' in Canby, ed., *op. cit.*, 1994, figs. 7 and 8, pp. 144 -145. The composition (the same positions and types of tree, pool, musician with lute to left, lower boundary) was used again in the c 1590 British Library *Bābur-nāme*, f. 295b.

<sup>21</sup>The use of master copies was widespread amongst Herat artists, see P. Soucek, *Illustrated Manuscripts of Nizāmī's Khamsah 1386-1482*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Department of Fine Arts, University of New York, 1971, p. 567.

Muhammad Jukī *Shāh-nāme*. It is also probable that many aspects of illumination were culled from books produced or collected in kingdoms conquered by Akbar. In 1572, for instance, 'Abd al-Qadir Bada'ūnī mentions that Akbar seized all the books in the library of the Governor of Gujarat.<sup>22</sup>

The artists of Akbar's studio undoubtedly also must have learnt the intricacies of Persian design through direct contact with Persian craftsmen. When Humāyūn brought Mīr Sayyid CAlī and 'Abd al-Ṣamad with him from the court of Shāh Tahmāsp at Tabriz, there were most probably illuminators, and certainly a bookbinder, Mulla Fakhr, and assistants who also made the trip, with sketches and portfolios of work. They in turn, must have passed on their skills to illuminators and margin designers in Mughal India.

#### *The Shiraz Connection and Sultanate Painting*

The city of Shiraz in the province of Fars in Iran had a flourishing trade with India for long periods in the sixteenth century and had a large turnover of commercial, illustrated manuscripts, many of them exported to the Indian ports. Some of the illustrations in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* share similarities with illustrations from Shiraz manuscripts from the Timurid and Ṣafavid periods. Examples of parallels and similarities with Shiraz painting have been pointed out in the footnotes in this chapter. There are unfortunately no known library seals in Shiraz manuscripts indicating Indian possession from the Sultanate period and no extant Sultanate manuscripts before the fifteenth century to establish a very early exposure to Persian

---

<sup>22</sup>*Muntakhab-i Tawārikh* II, p. 205.

art. There are, however, a number of later Sultanate period manuscripts that attest to a well-established Persian influence on the Indian arts of the book. The origins of a number of Timurid manuscripts dated from between 1417 and 1455 have been reconsidered.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, it has been plausibly suggested that the British Library's *Shāb-nāme* of 1438 (Or. 1403) is a Delhi Sultanate manuscript. This has also been claimed on the basis that the Indian *peorī* yellow used in the manuscript was never used in Persian painting.<sup>24</sup> A copy of Jāmī's *Yusūf u Zulaykha* of 1508 (Or. 4535), . . . . . is probably from Golconda, and it features numerous miniatures in the Indo-Persian idiom.<sup>25</sup>

It is with more confidence that one can place the provenance of Malwa manuscripts that tend to show Persian influences. The *Nīmat-nāme* manuscript at the India Office Library (Ms.149) dates from sixteenth-century Malwa and its miniatures are clearly indebted to Persian painting.<sup>26</sup> There are also two British Library manuscripts of this kind, one a glossary (Or. 3299), the other a work on automata (Or. 13718), both strongly Turkoman in style. A third, a Mandu *Būstān* of Sa'adī (National Museum, Delhi, No.48.6/4), not only has a distinctly Herat style 'unwān but several illustrations featuring rock formations in the miniatures are Persian in character.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup>Much of the evidence put forward for these claims is based purely on remarks about the style and content of the miniatures. For the list compiled by Basil Robinson of fourteen manuscripts formerly considered Timurid Persian and a critique of it, see K. Adahl, *A Khamsa of Nizāmi of 1439* (Uppsala, 1981), p. 104. Eight more may be added to the list, cf. I. Fraad and R. Ettinghausen, *Sultanate Painting in Persian Style: Preliminary Study* (Benares, 1972).

<sup>24</sup>J. Losty, *op. cit.* 1982, p. 58.

<sup>25</sup>Cf. N. M. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1983), pp.182-183.

<sup>26</sup>See R. Skelton, "The Nīmat Nama: A landmark in Malwa painting", *Marg*, vol.XII, no.3, 1959 and N. M. Titley, *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup>See Titley, *ibid.*, pp. 175-176.

Shiraz influence on book illustration in the Indian subcontinent also extended to Bengal with a *Sharaf-nāme* (the first part of Nizāmī's *Iskandar-nāme*) dated 1531-2, now in the British Library (Or. 13836).<sup>28</sup> This may be seen not only in the style of the miniatures but also with the triangular 'thumbpieces', seen frequently in early Timurid Shiraz and Ṣafavid Tabriz manuscripts. This influence was also felt in Golconda, particularly in a copy of the '*Sindbad-nāme*' c.1575<sup>29</sup> with compositions that appear to be in a mid-sixteenth century Ṣafavid style.<sup>30</sup> Strong links exist between Persian prototypes and the late sixteenth century Deccani folios of Qazwīnī's '*Ajā'ib Al-Makhluqāt*'.<sup>31</sup> The Qutb Shāhīs had a Persian Shī'ī background. Sultān Qulī was a Qārā Qoyunlū Turkoman prince who had emigrated from Western Iran to Bidar in 1478 bringing Shi'ism to Golconda. He established long-lived ties with the Ṣafavids and patronized poets and artists from Iran. Although it was not until 1687 that the Mughals conquered Golconda, a strong commercial and cultural relationship had existed between that state and the Mughal empire for centuries. The illumination seen in a *qur'ān* in the Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad Ms.179, which was made for Sultān Qulī, matches some of the finest Akbar period illumination that followed. The Salar Jang manuscript certainly shows that highly skilled artists and illuminators trained in the Persian idiom were present in the subcontinent well before the Akbar period and long enough for such skills to be passed down to second generation Persian-Indians able to travel to different courts.

<sup>28</sup>R. Skelton, 'The Iskandar Nama of Nusrat Shah', *Indian Painting* (London, 1978).

<sup>29</sup>India Office Library Persian Ms. 3214.

<sup>30</sup>The *Simurgh* on folio 2r, the type also seen in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*.

<sup>31</sup>See S. Carboni, 'Constellations, Giants and Angels from al-Qazwīnī Manuscripts', in *Islamic Art in the Ashmolean Museum* (Part One), ed., J. W. Allan (Oxford, 1995), pp. 83-99.

There are a number of library seals bearing the name of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh to show that the patronage of the arts of the book continued to 1580<sup>32</sup> and became further refined in the Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh period (1580-1611). A splendid example from this period that demonstrates links with Mughal art is the same Sultān's *Kulliyāt* in Dakhni, now at the Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad, which is in an archaic Timurid or early Ṣafavid style. Folio 29b, *Solomon Enthroned*, has a brilliant *Simurgh* flying over a throne around which are a good many other birds and sleeping animals. This feature is repeated in the *Khamsa's Aflāṭūn Playing Music to the Animals* (Fig. 5) and in the 'Sindbād-nāme' of c.1575 mentioned above. This feature stems from a specifically Shiraz painting tradition wherein a *Simurgh* flies over the throne of Solomon who is surrounded by obedient, or sleeping animals.<sup>33</sup> The Shiraz tradition of frontispieces featuring the kingdom of animals brought under submission by Solomon also tends to depict animals in a similar manner. Besides Solomon, a visual link is also made with Aflāṭūn and Majnūn, both of whom are often portrayed surrounded by a similar selection of animals arranged two-by-two. This link is made explicit in the painting of *Aflāṭūn Playing Music to the Animals* (Fig. 5) in which there is a picture of Majnūn in the desert 'carved' into the organ played by Aflāṭūn. Both Aflāṭūn and Majnūn go into the wilderness to meditate and it appears that the artist, Maddū Khāna-zād attempted to communicate this shared ingredient in both stories. Several years later, the same artist painted a picture of Solomon and the kingdom of the animals indebted to the Shiraz tradition in what must have been a Mughal *Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* manuscript, c.

<sup>32</sup>Victoria and Albert Museum *Kalila ni Dimma* I.S. 13 (1-26) 1962; Chester Beatty Library Hatīff Pers. Ms. 261.

<sup>33</sup>Many of these have been published by S. Bağci, 'A New Theme of the Shirazi Frontispiece Miniatures: The *Dīvān* of Solomon', *Mugarnas* 12, 1987, pp. 101-111. See also footnote 153 below.

1600, now dispersed.<sup>34</sup> To further complicate matters, Solomon is compared to Majnūn in the poetry of Nizāmī, not because of self-exile but this time because both appear to make the kingdom of animals obedient to their respective wills (while Aflātūn does this by charming them with music).

India in the Sultanate period and in later periods was a market for commercial Shiraz illustrated manuscripts and shows that the imperial atelier's familiarity with Persian idioms was long-standing and sometimes even filtered through provincial styles. Painterly idioms that were independent of the Persian tradition may well have crept into the Mughal art from other Indian courts of the Indian subcontinent.<sup>35</sup> When Mandu, a major entrepôt for trade with the West, including Persia, came under Mughal rule in 1562, it is certain that some Shiraz and Shiraz-influenced Sultanate and post-Sultanate illustrated manuscripts came into Mughal possession.<sup>36</sup> For example, the early sixteenth-century Mandu *Būstān* of Sa‘dī, National Museum Delhi 48. 6/4 mentioned above, copied for Nasir Shāh, was presented to the Emperor Akbar by a Pazand Chānd at Ahmednagar.<sup>37</sup> There is a Shiraz-influenced *Candayāna*<sup>38</sup> of unknown provenance but a the Turkoman-style *Miftāh al-Fuzalā* BL Or. 3299<sup>39</sup>, which attests to the kinds of manuscript illustration produced at Mandu. There is

<sup>34</sup>See S. C. Welch, 'Early Mughal Miniature Paintings From Two Private Collections at the Fogg Art Museum', *Ars Orientalis* III, 1959, fig. 11, pl. 7.

<sup>35</sup>A list of conquests reveal that before 1595 some Akbar period artists may potentially have had access to many different kinds of painting traditions, if they did not themselves come from such areas: Malwa 1560-62; Jaunpur 1561; Mewar; Bihar; Bengal; Gujarat 1573-1576; 1586 court moves to Lahore; Kabul taken 1585; Rajput states 1585; Kashmir annexed 1586; Sind 1591, Baluchistān and Kandahar, 1595.

<sup>36</sup>The same must also have been the case with the conquests of Surat in 1573 and Bengal in 1574 with the possible exposure of Mughal artists to the kind of manuscripts as the British Library *Sharaf-nāme* of Nusrat Shāh, Or. 13836.

<sup>37</sup>Cf. Losty, *op. cit.* 1982, p. 68.

<sup>38</sup>Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Acc. 57. 1/1-68 in Losty, *ibid.*, p. 69.

evidence of royal patronage of a high standard near Mandu at Ahmednagar, in particular a picture supposedly of Sultān Murtazā at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.<sup>40</sup> This has details found in Mughal court scenes: the flywhisk, the sword bound in cloth, the turban tied with a band around it (as Khusrau is seen to wear in nearly all the paintings representing him in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*). These are in addition to the diaphanous four-cornered skirt, or *chakdār-jāma* over pyjamas and the double-handled dagger. There is no evidence for the dating of the picture that appears in execution to be highly sophisticated in shading and *chiaroscuro* and perhaps also made to appear archaic. The parallels between Indian provincial painting and Mughal representations of certain courtly accoutrements mentioned above and in Chapter Two, do show a strong cultural exchange, largely independent of Persian painterly idioms, although the feature of the bound sword does appear in a Shiraz *Shāh-nāme* of 1542.<sup>41</sup>

Amply demonstrating the relationship between Mughal and Persian cultures are the illustrations of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, a majority of which are adaptations of Persian compositions. Specific pictorial precedents for the *Khamsa* illustrations of 1593-5 are discussed below in the order of appearance of the illustrated folios in the Dyson Perrins (and Walters Art Gallery) *Khamsa* illustrative cycle.

---

<sup>40</sup>1575, cf. M. Zebrowski, *Deccani Paintings* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983), Pl. II.

<sup>41</sup>Ryl. Pers. 932, f. 371a.

### 1. The Makhzan al-Asrār

The subject of Anūshīrvān and his vizier is one of the most commonly illustrated in copies of the *Khamsa* of *Nizāmī*. In the Topkapi Sarayi Museum, Istanbul, this subject appears in no less than twenty Persian manuscripts;<sup>42</sup> in the British Museum in five<sup>43</sup> and three times in Persian *Khamsas* in the British Library.<sup>44</sup> In the majority of cases it is the first illustration in the *Khamsa* of *Nizāmī* (Fig. 56) and this is also true of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. The miniature illustrates an episode in the *Second Discourse: On Justice and the Maintenance of Equity*, with the *Sanjar and the Old Woman* illustration usually following this.

The earliest extant illustration of this scene is in a late fourteenth century *Khamsa* of *Nizāmī*, BM Or. 13297, a simple composition that includes all the main elements to be found in later illustrations.<sup>45</sup> In the Uppsala *Khamsa* of 1439,<sup>46</sup> the subject of *Anūshīrvān and the Owls* is easily identifiable featuring the king accompanied by his vizier, both on horseback and a representation of an old building with two large owls perched on it. One may follow the composition from left to right, as the two figures ride in that direction. This is the case with an illustration of the scene in a 1442 manuscript at the Topkapi Sarayi Museum and in others.<sup>47</sup> In many *Khamsas* after this date however, and in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* (Fig. 56) and in the Lalbhai Khamsa (Fig. 63), the action is reversed, with the rider coming in from the right. This

<sup>42</sup>See I. Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, 1977.

<sup>43</sup>N. M. Titley, *Miniatures From Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1977).

<sup>44</sup>B. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library* (London, 1976).

<sup>45</sup>N. M. Titley, "A Fourteenth Century *Khamsa* of *Nizāmī*", *British Museum Quarterly*, 1977-2. Vol. 36, pp. 8-11.

<sup>46</sup>Cf. K. Adahl, *op. cit.*, 1981.

<sup>47</sup>Folio 21v. Ms. R. 862/K. 402, cf. Stchoukine, *ibid.*, pl. VIII and in the Bodleian Ms. Pers. c. 42 Marsh 579, f. 13a, where the retinue wear typical Šafavid white turbans over red caps.

indicates that a pounced copy was made at some stage and then recopied. In a 1512 Topkapi *Khamsa*<sup>48</sup> and a Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris manuscript, which was in Indian possession and where many illustrations have been repainted by Mughal artists, the action takes place from the right.<sup>49</sup> In the latter folio the ruins have been simplified, in great contrast to the painstaking detail involved is the illustration of the same subject in the Dyson Perrins manuscript. Similarly detailed is the illustration of the scene in the University of Pennsylvania *Khamsa* c.1584. Much detail has also been lavished on the splendid Vever Collection illustration, circa 1525<sup>50</sup> where the artist has rendered scores of coloured tiles on a dilapidated building in a great show of elaborate patterning and design.<sup>51</sup>

Although the basic composition of the Mughal version of *Anūshirvān and the Vizier* painted by Manōhar is the same as that established by the Persian illustrative tradition, the action appears to unfold, as on a stage. This is achieved by portraying the horses in motion, by the depiction of flowing shawls and by having the vizier raise up his arms dramatically. In Persian painting, concerns of design and pattern appear more important than the portrayal of movement. The attempt to show action in the Mughal

<sup>48</sup>I.H. 770/K. 437, f. 16, publ. Stchoukine, *ibid.*, pl. LVII.

<sup>49</sup>Ms. Supp. Persan 985, d. 1545, cf. Blochet, *op. cit.*, 1929, pl. CXI. Cf. also, a detached folio in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14.606, pub. A. Coomaraswamy, *Les Miniatures Orientales de la Collection Goloubew au Musée de Fine Arts, Boston, Ars Asiatica XIII* (Paris and Bruxelles, 1925), pl. XXVIII. There is another illustration in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Marsh 579 (Ethé, 580), see B. Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Persian Paintings at the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1958). A 1505 India Office manuscript, Johnson Ms. 387 (Ethé 976), f. 17a is published by Robinson, *op. cit.*, 1976, pl. 87, where the vizier does not appear to be individualized from the main group of attendants. In the same collection (Johnson Ms. 141, Ethé 973), dated 1567 Shiraz, the subject is treated in a very similar way to the illustration in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, cf. Robinson, *ibid.*, 1976, pl. 304.

<sup>50</sup>S86. 0214, see G. S. Lowry and S. Nemazee, *A Jeweller's Eye: Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection* (New York, 1988), pl. 45 and for the 1584 version, see G. D. Guest, *Shiraz Painting of the 16th Century* (Washington, 1949), fig. 14.

<sup>51</sup>This may also be said of the illustration in the *Khamsa* Or. 2265, pl. 50, published in S. C. Welch, *Wonders of the Age* (Harvard, 1979).

version is in marked contrast to the static, conventional visualization of the event, which may be said to characterize all previous versions.

Next in sequence in the *Khamsa* is *The Sultān Sanjar and the Old Woman*, f. 15b (Fig. 3).

The subject is represented in no less than twenty-six different manuscripts in the Topkapi Sarayı Museum and nine times in the British Library. This is one of the finest illustrations in the *Khamsa* with a wealth of detail and chromatic subtlety hard to parallel in Akbar period painting. The gestures of the principal figures and the overall composition are comparable to the earliest versions of the illustration. Sultān Sanjar on horseback reaches down to an old woman who reproaches him for the misbehaviour of his army. Behind her, also on foot, is the Sultān's groom and behind him are several attendants on horseback. Apart from the reversal of the composition,<sup>52</sup> later versions hardly differ from the Baghdad *Khamsa* of 1386-88, Or. 13,297(Fig. 65), a simple illustration without court attendants but with the old woman, the prince on a horse offering his hand and the macebearer, all painted in a manner to be found in later compositions.<sup>53</sup> In the *Khamsa* of Khwajū Kirmānī, Add. 18113, f. 85a, dated Baghdad 1396, the illustration of Sanjar and the old woman appears in reverse but has many more figures. A 1512 *Khamsa* in the Topkapi Sarayı Museum 770/K. 437 (this time not 'in reverse'),<sup>54</sup> features the convention of the parasol held over the monarch, not required in the text but evident in subsequent

<sup>52</sup>This is also evident in a 1476-7 Shiraz manuscript, Topkapi R. 874/K. 411, f. 19v, Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIII and in Ms. R. 855/K. 406, f. 20, dated 1446, *ibid.*, pl. XXIV, both 'in reverse' of the Indian compositions. This is also the case in two Royal Asiatic Society manuscripts 246 (f. 16b) and 248a (f. 18).

<sup>53</sup>Folio 16a, see E. J. Grube, *Studies in Islamic Painting* (London, 1995), p. 30, fig. 10. Another illustration which dispenses entirely with supporting figures is folio 16a of the British Museum *Khamsa* Or. 6810 dated 1494-5. Cf. also, the Princeton University Library *Khamsa* 779 for another early (1446) treatment of this episode, and another dated 1507-8 in the Saltykov Shchedrin Public Library, inv. Dorn 340, Shiraz, having the same ingredients.

<sup>54</sup>Folio 17v, Stchoukine, *ibid.*, pl. LIX.

manuscripts even 150 years later in the Dyson Perrins version. Also evident so many years later is the white shawl of the old woman and the gesture of the Sultān who offers her his right hand leaning over the left side of the horse. These illustrations show a painterly convention at work: the same convention is present in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* and shows that Akbar's artists were familiar with this visual tradition. The woman appears to grasp the Sultān's stirrup violently and to have eluded his macebearer who walks on ahead, looking back in surprise, or in some versions he appears to turn back to escort her to the sultan. In the Keir and Dyson Perrins *Khamsas*, the macebearer consistently represented as a foot soldier in short breeches and garters, escorts the old woman to the presence of the king, which also appears to happen in the earliest 1386-1388 *Khamsa* Or. 13297.

By the mid-sixteenth century many illustrated *Khamsas* developed increasingly elaborate versions of the scene. The Tabriz *Khamsa* Or. 2265 (c.1539-43), has a busy retinue of court attendants, one of them a macebearer, another the prince's falconer and the last holding a parasol. These also feature in the same illustration in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. An illustration of the scene in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Persan 985), painted in Bukhara in 1545, shows the attendant walking away; there is an attendant holding a parasol; there is also a gold background (transformed in the Indian context to a sunset of orange) and flowers strewn all over the ground. But what makes the painting in Persan 985 a *tour de force* is that it is a very detailed composition over two pages. All of the many individuals

represented, which are already far more in number than in any other version, are rendered in great physiognomic detail, almost to late Akbar period taste.<sup>55</sup>

The basic composition and ingredients of the illustration of Sultan Sanjar and the Old Woman were used in a variety of different contexts to signify the rights of redress of a downtrodden subject forced to seek an impromptu audience with the king. The illustration in the Shiraz style *Gulistān* of Sa‘dī Or. 11847, 1513, entitled, *A Prince Waylaid Riding to the Polo Ground*<sup>56</sup> appears to have exactly the same composition as the illustrations of the Sultān Sanjar scene described above, except that the old woman has been replaced by a man and members of the prince's entourage carry polo mallets. An early fifteenth century illustration from a Shiraz *Shāh-nāme* uses the same composition but is entitled, *Anūshīrvān Conversing with a Peasant*.<sup>57</sup> Even earlier, is an illustration in the Baghdad *Khamsa* of Khwajū Kirmānī of 1396 where Malikshāh ibn Alp Arslān, the Saljuq ruler has been represented on horseback in the familiar composition, instead of Sultān Sanjar. The woman in this miniature is not old and holds the rein rather than the stirrup of the ruler's horse but no doubt the complaints, and the lesson to be learnt, are the same.

<sup>55</sup> For the Or. 6810 version, see F. R. Martin and T.W. Arnold, *The Nizāmī Ms.* (Vienna, 1926). For Or. 2265, cf. L. Binyon, *The Poems of Nizāmī* (London, 1928), pl. III and for the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale double-page, see E. Blochet, *Les Peintures des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris* (Paris, 1914-20), pl. XLII. Cf. also, a 1463 *Sanjar and the Old Woman* in the Goloubew collection, Paris with female onlookers in a building, publ. P.W. Schulz, *Die Persische-Islamische Miniaturmalerei* (Leipzig, 1914), pl. 40; a 1470 folio pasted onto f. 279 of Ms. 3448 (Ethé 2831), a *Zafar-nāme*, publ. Robinson, *op. cit.*, 1976, p. 80. Many illustrations of this manuscript in the Bodleian Library (Ms. Elliot 194) were repainted in India, cf. Robinson *op. cit.*, 1956; Ms. Elliot 192, f. 17a, is a fine Turkoman painting where the monarch wears the crown most frequently seen in the Demotte *Shāh-nāme*. See also a Ṣafavid 1508 version in A. A. Ivanov and O. F. Akimushkin, *Persidskie Minitiatyry XIV-XVII VV* (Akademiya Nauk, St. Petersburg, SSSR, 1968), pl. 26.

<sup>56</sup>See Tidey, *op. cit.*, plate 13, p. 97.

<sup>57</sup>Add.18113. See Stchoukine, *Les Peintures des Manuscrits Timurides* (Paris, 1954), pl. VIII and for the Anūshīrvān illustration, see E. J. Grube, *Islamic paintings from the 11th to 18th centuries in the Collection of Hans P. Kraus* (New York, no date), pl. 49, and pl. 81 for an early c. 1515 Ṣafavid version of *Sanjar and the Old Woman*.

In the Tehran *Chingis Khān-nāme* the same details and composition are used for an illustration of *Ghazan Khān Meeting a Young Girl by a Stream* (Fig. 66), which is a similar complaint of injustice, this time perpetrated by the Turkish mercenaries of the king.<sup>58</sup> Thus, the same composition is used for illustrations of different stories;<sup>59</sup> this interchangeable use of an established composition is also evident in the Mughal period and several examples of this are discussed below.

On the back cover of the Dyson Perrins *Khamṣa* there is a picture of a princely hunt. The illustration is very similar to the same manuscript's f. 19a, entitled *Farīdūn and the Gazelle* by Mukund (Fig. 4). The conventional image of a monarch hunting on horseback has a long tradition behind it.<sup>60</sup> All the legendary kings, Bahrām Gūr Farīdūn, Gushtasp, Iskandar and Khusrau have been painted hunting and all in some manuscript or other in the same pose. A composition from a Baysunghur period *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī (1423-28) was probably pricked and then a pounced copy made for the *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī dated 1525, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, called *Bahrām Gūr's Best Shot*.<sup>61</sup> The latter manuscript, of which only five miniatures survive, is likely to have served as an immediate model for Akbar's studio, as it was presented to him by the governor of the Punjab, Mun'im Khān in 1580.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup>An unusual use of this composition may be seen in the portrayal of Yūsuf in the John Rylands Library Ms. Pers. No. 20, f. 148a

<sup>59</sup>For similar conclusions, see P. Soucek, 'Comments On Persian Painting', *Iranian Studies*, vol. 7, #1-2, 1974, p. 74: "Battle scenes occurring in historical texts and battle scenes found in copies of the *Shāh-nāme* are virtually interchangeable" as, apparently, are hunting scenes.

<sup>60</sup>The scene of *Bahrām Gūr Killing the Dragon* in the British Museum, Add. 27, 261, conforms to the convention, as does *Bahrām Gūr and the Dragon* in Or 6810 and *Bahrām Gūr Hunting Lions* in Or. 2265. In the J. Rylands Library, Manchester, a *Khamṣa* of 1444-5, Pers. Ms. 36, the same scene spills over the frame into the margin. Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, 1977, pl. XII and plate LXXXII, *ibid.*, shows another version from the *Khamṣa*, Add. 25900, f.161. Another copy of *Bahrām Gūr Hunting* is in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms. 144, f. 157b. The Herat *Khamṣa* Or. 6810, f. 157a, has Bahrām Gūr fighting the dragon in much the same way, and was owned by the Mughals.

<sup>61</sup>13, 228, 13, f. 17b, cf. G. S. Lowry and W. Lenz, *Timur and the Princely Vision* (Los Angeles and New York, 1989), p. 379; there is yet another copy, a Topkapi manuscript, H. 781 (G. Lowry and W. Lenz, *ibid.*, 1989, cat. no. 32).

<sup>62</sup>This is recorded in an illuminated medallion, f.1a. See Robinson, *op. cit.*, 1957, p. 389.

In the Mukund painting in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, the basic Persian composition has been elaborated with more attention given to landscape, which suggests autumn, and gesture, with figures portrayed in the heat of the moment running excitedly with hands in the air, some of them appearing to look straight out at us from the page. Indeed, the picture is so rich in detail there appear to be several vignettes of rural labour, each smaller than the last, receding into the background where we have a scene painted in the manner of a Flemish seascape. This aspect is discussed at length in Chapter Four. In the use of perspective and in its *sfumato*, the Akbar-period version has put new life into an old tradition.

In the illustration of *Farīdūn and the Gazelle* (Fig. 4) in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, Farīdūn is painted in the likeness of Akbar.<sup>63</sup> He was not the first Muslim sovereign to choose to be portrayed as a legendary hero inserting his likeness into an illustration of a heroic story. A century and a half earlier, it has been suggested that Ibrāhīm Sultān had himself shown hunting in the *Shāh-nāme* of 1425 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford<sup>64</sup> and it has even been argued that in Or. 2265 there is a picture of Bahrām Gūr said to be in the likeness of Shāh Tahmāsp, pinning an ass's hoof to its ear with an arrow.<sup>65</sup> In the Mughal period, there is a single folio of Bahrām Gūr in the likeness of Akbar fighting a dragon.<sup>66</sup> If Farīdūn has been painted to appear in the likeness of Akbar, it is an unusual choice. The story of Farīdūn in the *Makhzan al-Asrār* and the

<sup>63</sup>The figure does bear a resemblance to that shown repeatedly in the *Akbar-nāme* at the Victoria and Albert Museum, especially ff. 55 and 56, *Akbar Stages a Shikār near Lahore*, cf. G. Sen, *op. cit.* 1984, pls. 38-40.

<sup>64</sup> Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, 1954, pl. XXII.

<sup>65</sup>Folio 211a. Listed in Titley, *ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>66</sup> Early seventeenth century, British Museum 927-4-13-01, listed by Titley, *ibid.*, p. 136.

gazelle is not one revealing unmitigated glory, nor is it a feat of physical strength. It is rather more a humbling experience. Farīdūn fails to shoot the gazelle because he admired it so much and because of his mystical love of nature, he let it escape. It is tempting to draw parallels between this story and what we know of Akbar's so-called mystical experience when, in the middle of hunt he was said to have been overcome with remorse for the captured animals and ordered them to be released.

The next picture to appear in the *Khamsa* is that of the *Disputing Physicians*, f. 23b. Sources for the wall paintings represented in the illustration of *The Disputing Physicians* are examined in Chapter Four, which deals with European precedents for the *Khamsa*. What has not been dealt with is the fact that there are certain Iranian precedents for placing pictures within pictures. Perhaps the most obvious depiction of a painting in a painting in the Persian tradition is an illustration of Bahrām Gūr in a portrait gallery containing seven pictures of seven princesses, in a folio in Or. 2834, 178a painted in 1490 and in the Iskandar Sultan Miscellany in the Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon. There is also an illustration in the Bodleian Library, Oxford<sup>67</sup> where Yūsuf and Zulaykhā are depicted in the room of a palace, where the walls are adorned by over a dozen wall hangings of themselves together. A 1529 *Khamsa* at the Topkapi Sarayı museum shows Munzir admiring a painting that he had commissioned of Bahrām Gūr hunting<sup>68</sup> and there is another wall painting, featured in *Shīrīn Mourning Over the Dead Body of Khusrau*.<sup>69</sup> The bedroom has detailed murals of a king with a cup and animals in a garden. By far the most remarkable illustration to thematize painting in Persian art,

<sup>67</sup>Bodleian Elliot 149 (Ethé 898), f. 199b, mid-sixteenth century; see T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam* (Oxford 1928), pl. XXVIII. Another version of the episode is in the John Rylands Library, Persian Ms. No. 20 c.1518, f. 107b.

<sup>68</sup>R. 865/K. 446. Folio 190, see Stchoukine, *ibid.*, 1977, pl. LXIV.

<sup>69</sup>Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, f. 187, in Arnold and Grohmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 4a.

however, must be illustrations representing the competition between the painters of Chīn and Rum. Although these illustrations feature paintings, they do this to illustrate episodes in the respective stories. This serves to make the *Disputing Physicians* picture in the Dyson Perrins manuscript stand out, as the paintings featured in it are not part of the story. Instead, the feature of having a painting in a painting, perhaps encouraged by some of the Persian precedents listed above, was used in a more sophisticated way by the Mughal artist, Miskīna in the *Disputing Physicians*.

Another aspect of the composition that may be seen to bear a relation to Persian art is the particular grouping of the figures in the paintings. There are several paintings in Persian illustrated manuscripts of the subject of *The Disputing Physicians*, but the subject is not one of the most popularly illustrated, appearing only a handful of times in British Museum and British Library collections and in only five manuscripts in the Topkapi Sarayı Museum. However, a composition featuring two groups of seated figures arranged symmetrically is a more frequent occurrence. The composition in Persian and Mughal art is used in various adversarial depictions: a religious or philosophical debate (Fig. 67),<sup>70</sup> a poetry contest, and even a game of backgammon.<sup>71</sup> It has been used as a fitting way to paint famous poets and philosophers. There are illustrations of scholars and poets surrounding Jāmī,<sup>72</sup> Nizāmī,<sup>73</sup> Sa‘dī,<sup>74</sup> Plato,<sup>75</sup>

<sup>70</sup>Hayrāt al-Abraīr of Mīr Ālī Shīr Nawāī, 1485, Herat, now at the Bodleian Library, Elliot. 287..

<sup>71</sup>See an Anthology of 1427 in the Berenson Collection , f. 50v, which parallels the composition in a picture of *Iskandar and the Seven Sages*.

<sup>72</sup>Collection of B. Berenson, cf. T.W. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pl. XL.

<sup>73</sup> Iskandar-nāme Or. 13529, N. M. Titley, *op. cit.* 1977, p. 136.

<sup>74</sup>See a c. 1515-20 Ms. Marsh 517, f. 34a, for the same symmetrical grouping, publ. Robinson, *op. cit.*, 1958, pl. X and in a Herat manuscript of 1490 entitled, *A Master and his Disciples* in the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva, no. 424, publ. Lowry and Lenz, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 155; see also Ms. Elliot 163, dated 1593, f. 11b: *A Learned Discussion*, pl. XXXIV and another in a 1491 Ms. in Ivanov and Akimushkin, *op. cit.*, 1968, pl. 11.

<sup>75</sup>Topkapi H. 770/K. 437, f. 360, d. 1512. See Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, 1954, pl. LVIIIb.

Firdāusī,<sup>76</sup> and the prophet Muhammad,<sup>77</sup> as well as *Iskandar Discovers a Group of Scholars Fainting*<sup>78</sup> or *Mystics Discoursing in a Garden*,<sup>79</sup> all of which share many strong visual parallels with the grouping of figures in the *Disputing Physicians*. Again, the interchangeable aspect of established compositions in Persian and Mughal art is evident in these paintings.

The earliest known illustration of *The Disputing Physicians* is in a 1430 *Khamsa* painted in Shiraz formerly in the Kraus Collection.<sup>80</sup> The most famous example in Persian art must be from the British Library *Khamsa* Or. 2265 of c. 1539-43 by Āqā Mirāk.<sup>81</sup> This is perhaps an even more startling design than that employed in the Dyson Perrins version. The defeated physician lies horizontally at the bottom of the picture; a prince overlooks the scene from a pavilion; there is a high horizon, no indication of perspective and there is much incidental detail (for example, a gardener digs up the earth, perhaps for a burial). The "poisoned" flower lies at the centre of the picture. Every part of the painting is strategically filled with some eye-catching colour, shape or activity enriching the overall design.

<sup>76</sup>A 1573 *Garsasp-nâme*, Or. 12,985 in A. Welch, *Artists For The Shah* (Yale, 1976), pl. 3.

<sup>77</sup>From a *Hayrât al-Abnâr* of Mîr  Ali Sh r Naw  , 1485, Herat, now at the Bodleian, Elliot. 287, f. 7, see Stchoukine, *ibid.*, pl. LXXII.

<sup>78</sup>Accademia dei Lincei, Ms. A. B. 9, f. 303, c.1590, cf. Arnold and Grohmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 66.

<sup>79</sup>Bodleian Library, Elliot 339 (Eth  2120), f. 95b, 1485, Herat, T.W. Arnold, *ibid.*, pl. XLIII.

<sup>80</sup>E. J. Grube, *op. cit.*, New York, no date, pl. 37. There is also an anthology of 1468, Add. 16, 561 f. 1v-2 of scholars gathering around a fountain, see Stchoukine, *op. cit.* (1954), pl. XLV. in a 1485 manuscript in the Bodleian Library Ms. Elliot 317, f. 21b, courtiers gather around in a similar pattern, waiting for their king (Robinson, *ibid.*, 1956, pl. VIII ), and in a *Meeting of the Clans* from a dispersed folio of Sh h Tahm  's *Khamsa* (Fogg Art Museum 1958, 75) there is a similar grouping, symmetry and composition to that in the Dyson Perrins version, cf. S. Canby, ed., *op. cit.*, pl. 6. Extremely similar is a folio of a *Learned Discussion* in the Bodleian Library c.1575, J.28.5, publ. Robinson, *op. cit.*, 1976, pl. 222. Another picture of a *Disputing Physicians* is published in *J.R.A.S* Bombay, vol. VIII. 1928.

<sup>81</sup>There is also an illustration of this subject in the Walters Art Gallery, datable to c.1550-60, see pl. 42, in Guest, *op. cit.*, 1949 and an illustration of learned men with an elaborate composition of background planes, as in the illustration in the Dyson Perrins Ms., see also a folio from the *Lisan al-Tayr*, by M r  Ali Sh r Naw   Paris Biblioth que Nationale mentioned earlier, which was repainted in the Mughal library.

The Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* version is impressive mainly because of the modeling of forms and the subtle balance of muted complementary colours. The aim has been to add both psychological and physical depth to the scene, lending careful attention to expressions and poses and focusing the eye on particular surfaces: the shading and particular sheen of cloth, subordinating patterns to confined areas of the picture, leading the eye slowly by the sinuous line of the figures' cloaks.

## 2. *Khusrau u Shirin*.

*Khusrau Carousing*, f. 40b (Fig. 25) is the first of three illustrations in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* showing Khusrau being entertained by musicians (the others are Figs. 18, 39, 65). In Fig. 39 and Fig. 25 however, both times to the left, there is a bearded figure playing a lute who is most probably meant to be Bārbad. There are only a few precedents portraying him, one in the British Museum, the earliest extant *Khamsa* Or. 13297 of 1386-88, f. 88a,<sup>82</sup> and others in the Hermitage *Khamsa* of 1431, 23001 in f. 99; the 1439 Uppsala manuscript, where he is shown with Nagisa the female harp player; in folio 43b of the Royal Asiatic Society's Ms. 248a (1478), and in Or. 3714, f. 295a.<sup>83</sup> In the Bodleian Library's Ms. Marsh 579, f. 90b, Bārbad, accompanied by Nagisa on the harp, plays a large, round Safavid lute, inlaid with green and white patterns. He is also portrayed doing this in Or. 2265, c.1539-43, *Khusrau Listening to Bārbad Playing the Lute*, f. 77b. In a late fifteenth century Turkman manuscript Bārbad tutors a young prince.<sup>84</sup> Bārbad was always linked to Khusrau in illustrated

<sup>82</sup>See Titley, *op. cit.*, 1971-2.

<sup>83</sup>See Stchoukine, *op. cit.* 1929, pl. IX.

<sup>84</sup>Sotheby's sale catalogue, *Fine Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, May 3, 1977 Lot 8. See also, Barbād in a tree playing music, an illustration from a mid-sixteenth century Bukhara manuscript, Christie's sale catalogue, *Valuable Books, Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, October 11, 1965, Lot 49; April 29, 1970, Lot 45.

manuscripts as Khusrav's court musician. One evening Khusrav summoned Bārbad to entertain him. He sang thirty songs about the love of Khusrav for Shīrīn. Khusrav then showered him with praise and precious gifts.

The Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, folio 244b has another scene of musicians playing in *Iskandar and Nūshāba Entertained* (Fig. 16) and there are two other references to music in the *Khamsa*: *Aflātūn Charming the Animals* (f. 298a, Fig. 5) and the portrait of Mīrī Singh in *Nīzāmī Gives His Son to the Son of the Shirvānbāh* (f.117a, Fig. 21). So many references to music in the illustrated *Khamsa* reflect its importance at the court of Akbar. The famous musician, Tansen, arrived at Akbar's court in 1562 and a permanent post of royal musician was created.

There are no fewer than fourteen illustrations in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* that feature seated monarchs (fifteen counting the front cover). Most of these show the king seated under a pavilion or canopy granting audiences to courtiers or visitors, usually placed in a semi-circle to the left of the picture (evident in all the pictures of Khusrav enthroned), or in a full circle surrounding the person of the king who occupies centre position. Thus, in a majority of illustrations in the *Khamsa*, Akbar's artists were content to follow conventions without any attempt, except for landscape backgrounds and portraits, to change the basic composition of a court scene. The compositional scheme reached its zenith in Safavid painting. There is an underlying geometrical, hexagonal plan in many of the illustrations to Shāh Tahmāsp's *Khamsa*

Or. 2265 (cf. ff. 48b, 57b, 60b, and 66b),<sup>85</sup> in the Mughal-owned Or. 6810, and in the *Zafar-nāme*, now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. This is carried on in several of the court scenes in the Dyson Perrins Ms. in ff. 34a WAG (Fig. 28); 244b (Fig. 16); 254a (Fig. 46); and 305a (Fig. 37)<sup>86</sup> (representing in each case, Iskandar's court) and in 117a (Fig. 21); 5a (Fig. 39); and 294a (Fig. 53). This tradition of composition is purely painterly and yet again demonstrates that the artists of Akbar's studio-scriptorium were quite familiar with painted Persian precedents in the Mughal library and chose to follow traditional Persian schemata.

For *Shirīn Entertains Khusrau* f.65a (Fig. 18) yet again, the artists of Akbar's *Khamsa* relied on Persian precedents for the main arrangement of the scene, possibly via the Keir *Khamsa*, which has a comparable but less elaborate version, this time of *Bahrām Gur in the Black Pavilion with the Indian Princess* where one sees a female harpist and female cupbearers. A folio from the Bristol *Sharaf-nāme* has Iskandar entertained by a Chinese harpist that is also similar.<sup>87</sup>

*Khusrau and Shirīn Meet on the Hunting Field* (f.63b, Fig. 35) by Nānhā is a symmetrical composition that changes the unusual feature of the court retinue of falconers and fly-whisk bearers, by making them all female on Shirīn's side; even the hills in the background mirror each other. The composition is clearly indebted to Persian precedents. The same symmetry for this subject is found in a folio in the John

<sup>85</sup>For these, see S.C Welch, *op. cit.*, 1979, pls. 54-59. Or. 2265 was copied around 1539-40 and three later Persian miniatures were added in 1675, thus we know that the manuscript was not in Akbar's library.

<sup>86</sup>The same schema is used frequently in the Tehran *Chingis Khān-nāme*.

<sup>87</sup> 76 / 13

Huntington Collection, Cleveland, 17515; in Topkapi H. 773 (1460), f. 50a, and in a Persian *Anthology* of 1420, Shiraz, in the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, J. 4628 (Fig. 68).<sup>88</sup> Yet another example of a Mughal painting based on a Shiraz composition.

*Khusrau Defeats Babrām Chubin*, folio 72a by Manōhar, (Fig. 34) has the same emblematic ingredients to identify the scene also seen in several Persian precedents. The subject is one of the most commonly illustrated in the *Khamsa* cycle, appearing in 21 manuscripts at the Topkapi Sarayı Museum alone. In earlier manuscripts, the illustration is dominated by Khusrau's elephant. This is true of f. 63 v in the Uppsala *Khamsa* of 1439<sup>89</sup> and of several Shiraz examples. In Or. 2265 the elephant appears to the left in an otherwise unrelated composition. The Keir *Khamsa* representation of the scene by Mādhū is closely related to that in the Dyson Perrins manuscript featuring the same groupings, the elephant also taking position centre right but the howdah tending to make the illustration more formal and static than the very lively scene by Manōhar. All the participants in this miniature are Mughal cavalryman, giving the old Persian tale contemporary Mughal familiarity. Yet again, the basic Persian composition has been preserved alongside new modeling techniques and a concern to render the surfaces and textures of objects.

Folio 99b, *Khusrau Consults Buzurg Umid about Shirīya* (Fig. 32) refers to a point in the story when Khusrau retires to pursue a religious life at a fire temple. This is shown in

<sup>88</sup> See Titley *op. cit.*, 1983, fig 21.

<sup>89</sup>The provenance of the Uppsala manuscript is disputed, see K Adahl, *op. cit.*, p. 93 claims Shiraz, while several others, India, for instance, Robinson in Adahl, *ibid.*, p. 88. The Shiraz illustrations of the same scene in a similar vein are illustrated in Guest, *op. cit.*, 1949, a Freer codex dated 1548, FGA 08. 263, pl. 5; and another: App. no. 50, W. 610, pl. 42b. Other versions may be seen in the Bodleian Library, Elliot 192 (Ethé 587), dated 1501, f. 60a and

the background where there is a man worshipping at a fire temple to the left, a unique representation of its kind in *Khamsas* of *Nizāmī*. Another relevant part of the text that the background scene may illustrate, is the point when *Nizāmī* laments that,

At that time the world was purified with fire-worship  
that it is a shame to you, oh Islam.<sup>90</sup>

This refers to the mythology that Zoroastrianism was spread worldwide, and that Islam in comparison was shamefully lagging behind in its expansionism.

The scene of *Shīrīn Killing Herself On Khusrau's Tomb*, f. 102a (Fig. 24), becomes a popular way of ending the story only in the sixteenth century.<sup>91</sup> It was used by the artists of the Tehran *Chingis Khān-nāme* in the scene of *The Death of Möngke*<sup>92</sup> where the women in Mongol style hats and many of the men take up similar gestures of grief. Most significant however, is the background details of curtains and the doors left open in both pictures as if to signify the exit of a soul from this world. In the illustration of the death scene in the Dyson Perrins version, the device of the open door leads the eye up to the idyllic gardens in the background. True to the text, Shīrīn stabs herself and one may see the detail of the bloodied knife falling to the ground before her.

*Nizāmī Gives His Son to the Son of the Shirvānshāh* has been discussed in Chapter One, dealing with individual artists. The picture obviously contains portraits of Akbar's

in the Muhammad Jukī *Shāh-nāme* owned by the Mughals, see J. V. S. Wilkinson and L. Binyon, *The Shahnama of Firdausi* (London 1931), pl. XXIII.

<sup>90</sup>Dāstaghirdī, p. 45, lines 15-16.

<sup>91</sup> See an illustration, possibly by Abd al-Samad, in the John Rylands Library; this is a Tabriz manuscript, d. 1530 (f. 60a). For other versions, see P. Soucek, *op. cit.* unpublished doctoral thesis, 1971, p. 122.

<sup>92</sup>Knížkóva and Marek, *The Jengiz Khan Miniatures from the Court of Akbar the Great* (Prague, 1963), pl. 21.

courtiers (Fig. 21). The full title of this folio may also be given as *Nizāmī Entrusting His Young Son Called Muhammad to the Care of Minuchibr, the Prince of Shirvān, at Whose Request He Wrote the Poem of Laylā ū Majnūn*.<sup>93</sup> This would justify its appearance before the Laylā and Majnūn section of the quintet. The stance of *Nizāmī*, and the general composition of the scene appear to conform to the *topos* of encounters between emperors and sheikhs, or emperors and poets.<sup>94</sup> There appears to be only one Mughal precedent, in the *Hamza-nāme*<sup>95</sup> but many subsequent versions: the mullah receiving the book from the emperor in the picture of *Jahāngīr Preferring a Sufi Shaikh to Kings*, and in *Jahāngīr Giving Books to Shaikhs*.<sup>96</sup> The same composition may be found in an illustration of a now dispersed *Gulistān* of Sa‘dī by Manōhar, *The Undoing of the Ill-natured Wazīr* c.1610-15.<sup>97</sup> *The Presentation of a Book* by Abū'l Hasan<sup>98</sup> is also in the same genre, as is *The Presentation of the Young Ābd al-Rabīm Khān to Akbar and Humāyūn Before Bābur*.<sup>99</sup> Another scene comparable to the Dyson Perrins illustration under discussion is attributed to Dawlat from the same *Gulistān* manuscript mentioned above, entitled *The Padshāh and the Slave Girl*.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>93</sup>See N. M. Titley, *op. cit.*, 1977, p. 143. There is an exact copy of this picture in the Sotheby's Catalogue, *Fine Oriental Miniatures, Manuscripts and Qajar Paintings*, Lot 36, 9 December, 1975. The size of the copy is 375x255mm, slightly larger than the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* folio. Judging by the style of the painting, this copy most probably postdates the overpainting of the picture in the *Khamsa*.

<sup>94</sup>Cf. The illustrations published by Ettinghausen, 'The Emperor's Choice', *De Artibus Opuscula XL* (New York, 1961).

<sup>95</sup>See Glück, *op. cit.*, Tafel 1, (W. 43). Comparable also is *An Author Presenting a Volume to a Prince*, c.1595, in the Johnson Album 8. 3 at the India Office Library, publ. T. Falk and M. Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the Indian Office Library* (London, 1981), pl. 9.

<sup>96</sup>Ettinghausen, *ibid.*, pls. 10 and fig. 14.

<sup>97</sup>Published Beach, *op. cit.*, 1978, fig. 19.

<sup>98</sup>Published Sen, *op. cit.*, 1984, pl. 7.

<sup>99</sup>Folios from an *Akbar-nāme*, private collection, Paris, *Sotheby's New York*, 25-3-1987, lot 183 and lot 184.

<sup>100</sup>Beach, *ibid.*, fig. 16.

There are only a few Iranian precedents for the portrayal of *Nizāmī*. Stchoukine<sup>101</sup> mentions a picture in a *Khamsa* manuscript c.1570 of *Nizāmī* with Toghril Shāh. Much earlier is a picture of *Nizāmī in a Garden*, and a fragment portraying the poet in a Timurid *Khamsa*, both in a manuscript possibly late fourteenth century.<sup>102</sup> An illustration of *Nizāmī* presenting a book may be seen at the same point in the illustrative cycle before the Laylā-Majnūn story in the Royal Asiatic Society's *Khamsa* of 1440, Ms. 246, f. 227. As Firdāusī is shown at the court of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna in a similar composition in f.10b of the *Shāh-nāme* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, we may conclude that the tradition of painting the authors of the epics is both a *Khamsa* and *Shāh-nāme* illustrative tradition.<sup>103</sup> The tradition goes back to the author portraits of Arab and Western medieval book illustration.

### 3. Laylā-Majnūn

The most obvious episode from the cycle, that of Majnūn alone in the wilderness with the animals, has not been illustrated in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. Instead, we have two pictures of him in the desert, one where he is being visited by his father (Fig. 26), and in another, by his mother and uncle (Fig. 40). These episodes appear far less frequently in *Khamsa* illustrations than Majnūn alone with the animals (illustrated 27 times in manuscripts in the Topkapi Sarayi Museum). However, in both these

<sup>101</sup> Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, 1977, p. 172. Khusrav is presented with a book in a 1541-42 Ms. Now in the Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad, no. 214. The *Iskandar and the Dying Dārā* scene is also similar to that in Or. 12,208.

<sup>102</sup> B. Robinson, "The earliest illustrated *Nizāmī?*", *Oriental Art*, Autumn 1957, pp. 96-103.

<sup>103</sup>This may also be seen in a Jalayrid *Kalila ni Dimna*, Istanbul University Library, F. 1422. For the author portraits, see R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Geneva, 1962).

pictures, Majnūn is seen surrounded by animals as is customary, in Noah's Ark style two-by-twos. Of Majnūn, *Nizāmī* writes:

Every wild animal which was in the desert  
rushed to his service,  
the lion, deer, wolf and fox,  
all formed an army camp on his way.  
All of them became obedient slaves,  
he ruled over all of them like Solomon.  
The sheep was freed from the violence of the wolf,  
the lion withdrew his claws from the wild ass,  
the dog made peace with the hare,  
the calf of the deer suckled milk from the lion.<sup>104</sup>

In different contexts and respects, Majnūn has been compared implicitly with Solomon,<sup>105</sup> Orpheus, Plato<sup>106</sup> and perhaps even Adam<sup>107</sup> in Persian painting. As a sign of their poetic skills, wisdom, or asceticism, all these personages held sway over the animal kingdom or animal instincts. Moreover, in Mughal terms, Abū'l Fazl refers to the Emperor Humāyūn in austerities of asceticism and spirituality to Plato.<sup>108</sup> But the theme of living in peace with the animals that runs through the story of Majnūn is also symbolic of an era of ideal harmony and justice in the Old Testament.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>104</sup>Tr. E. Koch, *Sab Jeban and Orpheus* (Graz, 1988).

<sup>105</sup>There is a picture of Solomon and the animals in the Prince Šadruddin Āgā Khān collection illustrated in Koch, *ibid.*, pl. 48 but also notably similar to the Dyson Perrins Majnūn miniature is *King Solomon Consulting the Birds and Animals as to Whether He Should Drink the Waters of Life*, no. 89 in the Chester Beatty *Ṭyar-i Dānish*.

<sup>106</sup>"When Aflātūn played neither did the young wolf attack the sheep nor did the fierce lion pay attention to the wild ass" Nizāmī, *Kulliyāt*, tr. Koch, *ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>107</sup>A Shiraz painting which shows the parallels between Majnūn and Adam is a picture of Majnūn in the desert sitting in front of a tree which has a serpent wrapped around its trunk. See Y. A. Petrosyan, et. al., *Pages of Perfection, Islamic Paintings and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg* (Milan, 1995), p. 243. Another version is the Bodleian Ms. Elliot double page ff.1a -2b with a large selection of animals, including a *Simurgh*, a giraffe, a white elephant and a rhinoceros, surrounding an enthroned figure (Solomon or Adam?); on the other side is a woman (Bilqis or Eve?) with other, more domesticated animals, a mule, donkey, ass, ox, horse and *divs* (unpublished).

<sup>108</sup>In the *Akbar-nāme*, tr. H. Beveridge in Koch, *ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>109</sup>In Isaiah 65.25 after the creation of a new heaven and earth, the wolf sleeps in peace next to the lamb and the lion eats straw like the bullock.

One of the earliest extant illustrations of Majnūn surrounded by animals is in the 1411 Iskandar Sultān *Miscellany*, Add. 27,261.<sup>110</sup> Other versions seem to lapse into sentimentality, with a maudlin Majnūn alone in the wilderness, falling upon the neck of some unsuspecting beast. This may be seen in the Gulbenkian *Anthology*, L.A.161, where the object of his affections is a fawn (according to the text, its eyes remind him of Laylā's); in a splendid version by Āqā Mirāk in Or. 2265, he does the same in a landscape of writhing rocks and trees creating an atmosphere similar to that in the Dyson Perrins illustration of the scene. In the Keir *Khamsa*, the scene of Majnūn alone in the wilderness by Mīr Taqī is a simple version, lacking in attention to nature.

One of the most accomplished illustrations of the story in the Dyson Perrins manuscript is *Majnūn Visited by His Mother and Uncle* (Fig. 40) where Sānvala has painted a broad range of animals. In the Bodleian Library's little known Ms. Douce Or. a. 1, f. 52, there is a similar scene, this time of Majnūn with Laylā accompanied by an even broader selection of animals including a camel, an elephant, a scorpion, some rhinoceroses, a cobra and a tortoise. The scene is also unusual in that it portrays Laylā dressed in the clothes of a typical Mughal courtier. The miniature has two rather puzzling subordinate scenes in the background, one of a female water carrier and a scene of a man combing a woman's hair in a cave.

---

<sup>110</sup>See also a Princeton University Library *Khamsa*, dated 1446, no. 779; a Goloubew Collection folio, 1463 (Schulz, *op. cit.*, 1914, pl. 46); a 1480 version in Robinson, *op. cit.*, 1958, pl. IX, and in one Ms. dated 1501, Ms. Elliot 192 (Ethé 587), f. 134b; a Shiraz manuscript of 1500, f. 120v in the Freer Gallery, and another, dated 1515, f. 162v (cf. Guest, *op. cit.*, 1949, pls. 55; 75); see also a Turkoman style Majnūn amongst luxuriant foliage, India Office Library, Johnson Ms. 387 (Ethé 976, 122), d. 1505, f. 182 and one dated 1481-2 inv. Dorn 338 in the Russian National Library, St. Petersburg; in the same Ms. the animals surround Majnūn while he is weeping over Laylā's tomb.

Whenever Majnūn is visited by his uncle in earlier manuscripts it is usually in a setting of date palm trees, which is most probably a reference to fasting, as in Ramadan, Muslims traditionally break their fast by eating a date.<sup>111</sup> In the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, this convention is also evident but has been reduced to a background feature far to left of *Majnūn With His Father* (Fig. 26). The Bodleian Library's Atkinson *Laylā-Majnūn* Ms. Pers. d.102, has a picture similar to this, by Bahan, folio 82a, which also has some European aspects to the background. The Bodleian manuscript appears to have been painted earlier than the Dyson Perrins version, perhaps in the 1580s (although the painting does not appear to be as mature as that in the Keir *Khamsa* of the c.1580s). There are two other folios from this *Laylā-Majnūn* that bear fruitful comparison with the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* cycle and they are discussed below.

The *Battle of the Clans* (Fig. 13) appears to be the second most commonly illustrated episode in *Khamsas* of Nizāmī. The most frequent appearance in extant *Khamsas* is *Laylā and Majnūn at School*, which is not present in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. Both the *Battle of the Clans* and *Laylā and Majnūn at School* do, however, appear in the Keir *Khamsa*, the former quite conventionally, the latter with the protagonists portrayed in contemporary armour rather than in the more usual Bedouin attire. The *Battle of the Clans* scene in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* (Fig. 13) is a mixture of traditional and contemporary elements. One of the participants is seen using a Mughal-period

---

<sup>111</sup>An Isfahan *Khamsa* 1507-24 (see Schulz, *ibid.*, p. 76); a John Rylands Library *Majnūn Visited by a Camel Rider* in Ryl. Turk Ms. 3, Herat, d. 1485, in Robinson, *op. cit.*, 1980, pl. 480; here the uncle has very much the same appearance as the uncle visiting Majnūn in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* illustration. See also another version in the Calcutta Kanoria Collection 1420-30 and in the Topkapi H. 761/K. 410 (Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, pl. XI.b). For other versions of the scene similar to that in the Dyson Perrins Ms. see Or. 6810, 1494-5, f. 127v by Bihzād (in Martin and Arnold., *op. cit.*, 1926); f. 175r in the 1439 Uppsala *Khamsa* in the Royal Asiatic Society's Ms. 248a, f. 78b and Bodleian Ms. Elliot 192, f. 142b. Tall palm trees also feature in a Timurid Ms. of 1431 in Ivanov and Akimushkin, *op. cit.*, 1968, pl. 3.

matchlock with elaborate inlaid designs. Earlier manuscripts often show Majnūn as a passive onlooker of the event, removed to a far horizon while the battle rages on before him. The camels and the clothes, usually turbans with cloth hanging under the chin<sup>112</sup> to signify the Arab Bedouin are constant features in the illustrated tradition. While Nānhā, the painter of the scene in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, omits the characteristic turbans, he has featured some camels and also depicted traditional Bedouin dress in the form of rather striking black and white striped robes worn by the clansmen in earlier Iranian manuscripts and in the *Battle Between Arjasp and Gushtasp*, f. 270 in the Muhammad Jukī *Shāb-nāme*, present in the Mughal imperial library. In its complexity, the battle scene in the latter illustration appears as a model for Nānhā's *Battle of the Clans* (Fig. 13).<sup>113</sup> Nānhā has chosen to show Majnūn in a more active role, in common with the same illustration in the Keir *Khamsa*, with stone in hand, inciting Laylā's tribe to victory, even though it is the opposing tribe of Nawfal that has championed him.

One of the earliest appearances of the *Battle of the Clans* scene is in Iskandar Sultān's *Miscellany* of 1410-11, Add. 27,261 (and in the Gulbenkian *Miscellany*). Subsequent copies of the scene are: the Hermitage *Khamsa* produced for Shāh Rukh in 1431, VR-1000, f.185a; and an exact copy overlooked by both Adamova, and Lowry and Lenz,<sup>114</sup> now in the Topkapi Sarayı Museum, R. 874/ K. 411.<sup>115</sup> The existence of

<sup>112</sup>See Shāh Rukh's *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī of 1431 in the Hermitage VR-1000, f. 185a and a 1501 Bodleian Library *Khamsa* fragment, Elliot 192 (Ethé 587).

<sup>113</sup>For other battle scenes using the device of breaking up dense areas by inserting the feature of black and white striped robes, see the Bodleian Library's 1573 Ouseley Ms. Add.137, f. 59a which also has a series of criss-crossing diagonal lances evident in the Dyson Perrins illustration, see Robinson, *op .cit.*, 1958, pl. XXIX.

<sup>114</sup>A. Adamova, "Repetitions of Compositions in a Manuscript of a *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī in Leningrad", in L. Golumbek, and M. Subtelny, eds., *Timurid Art and Culture, Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden, 1992), pp. 67-75 and Lowry and Lenz., *op .cit.*, cat. 37. For the illustration, see Stchoukine, *op .cit.*, 1977, pl. XLII. Shiraz.

<sup>115</sup>Dated 1476-7, Shiraz, see Stchoukine, *ibid.*, 1977, pl. XLIV.

these early miniatures demonstrates that the traditional composition of the *Battle of the Clans* episode changed little over a period of several centuries and further demonstrates the Mughals' dependence on Persian *tarkī* work.

In addition to the Hermitage and Topkapi manuscripts, there is a scene comparable to the Dyson Perrins *Battle of the Clans* in the *Anthology* of 1410-11, Shiraz, that has the same margin triangle as the Iskandar *Miscellany*,<sup>116</sup> and other in a *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, British Library Or. 12,856, dated 1435-36, f. 127b, and in Add. 25900, f. 121b,<sup>117</sup> which has Majnūn looking on passively from the very same place as he does in the *Miscellany* version, behind an identically curved horizon. Another similar version, which shows the continuity of the illustrative tradition, is the 1446 Princeton University manuscript, No. 779. From about 1505, it appears that in *Khamsa* illustrations an alternative depiction of Majnūn began to emerge showing him in a more active role clutching a rock, as in the Dyson Perrins version. This can be seen in f. 201b of the British Library's Johnson Ms. 387;<sup>118</sup> in Topkapi H. 783/ K. 439, f. 145<sup>119</sup> and in the 1515 *Khamsa* in the Hans P. Kraus Collection, f.150v, which also favoured the symmetrical composition of confronting clans with complex diagonal lines, usually formed by lances and crossed swords.<sup>120</sup> In the Atkinson *Laylā-Majnūn*,

<sup>116</sup>Lowry and Lenz, *op. cit.*, cat. no.37.

<sup>117</sup>Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, 1954, pl. LXXX.

<sup>118</sup>Robinson, *op. cit.*, 1976.

<sup>119</sup>Stchoukine, *ibid.*, 1954, pl. XXX.

<sup>120</sup> See also the Royal Asiatic Society's Ms. 248a, f. 58b; the Bodleian Library's Ms. Elliot 194, f. 144a, which is a much simpler version; there is a lively version in Ms. Elliot 192, f. 123b, in Akimushkin and Ivanov, *op. cit.*, 1968, pl. 26, and in a Shiraz Ms. 1542-43 in the Rampur Rizā Library, inv. 3941. In the John Rylands Library the image appears in two different manuscripts. In Pers. Ms. No. 907, a Hilālī *Laylā-Majnūn*, dated 1561, f. 66b features a *Battle of the Clans* where the major part of the action, which is incidentally quite chaotic and asymmetrical in appearance, takes place outside of the margin, extending a well established tradition of heightening the drama of the scene by having it spill over into the margin area. In the second Ms. No. 28, a sixteenth century Western Indian *Laylā-Majnūn*, the composition is more static and symmetrical.

*The Battle of the Clans*, f. 41b, by Bhagwan, has Mughal features and is decidedly closer to the later Dyson Perrins version.

The *Laylā and Majnūn Fainting* scene is yet another traditional and very common illustration in *Khamsas* of Nizāmī (Fig. 23). The illustrated tradition may be traced as far back as 1410-11 with the *Miscellany* Add. 27,261, f. 131b, which may be seen as the original from where three other copies were made, all in Herat. These are in Topkapi H. 781, f. 138a (1445-6) and H. 761, f. 140a (1461) and in the *Khamsa* of 1430 in the Keir Collection.<sup>121</sup> A comparable version may be seen in the *Khamsa* Or. 6810, f. 137a,<sup>122</sup> and in the *Khamsa* in the Calcutta Kanoria Collection. In a majority of the earlier versions it was customary to include tents in a rather Spartan setting and to arrange the figures symmetrically in a mirror image of obliviousness.

The illustration of *The Death of Majnūn on the Tomb of Laylā* (Fig. 20) is commonly seen as the last illustration of the story. One of the earliest versions has Majnūn falling on the tomb of Laylā. This is a *Khamsa* of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, c. 1450 and said to be a Sultanate manuscript.<sup>123</sup> The scene usually has an onlooker witnessing Majnūn's

<sup>121</sup>Cf. Lowry and Lenz, *op. cit.*, p. 378. For a Shiraz version cf. the J. Rylands 1445 manuscript, pl. 415 Robinson, *op. cit.*, 1980, where the couple appear to levitate in an oasis setting; in the same collection the scene is represented in f. 16b of Ryl. Turk. Ms. 3, a Nawā'ī *Laylā-Majnūn*, Herat, c.1485. Here, the couple faint amongst onlookers in another oasis setting with several tents. This version has an exceptionally refined treatment of rocks and sky; the illustration is also heavily indebted to the same scene in Iskandar Sultān's *Miscellany*. Another *Laylā and Majnūn Faint* is in the Kraus Collection, dated 1500, which has the same elements. In the Bodleian Ms. Elliot 192, the couple faint, one on top of the other, while a lion attacks an onlooker, a common feature of the scene in many versions. Also common is the inclusion of Bedouin tents near the main action as may be seen in the Bodleian Ms. Pers. c. 42, Marsh 579, f. 152a and in a 1431 Ms. in Ivanov and Akimushkin, *op. cit.*, 1968, pl. 15 and also in a Leningrad *Khamsa*, Saltykov Schedrin Public Library, inv. Dorn 337, Herat 1479-80; this Ms. also possesses unusual scenes of *Babrām Gūr's Ordeal* and a very different *Dying Dārā*. For other Shiraz versions of the fainting scene, see Guest, *op. cit.*, 1949, Ms. D. 1548 and Bodleian Ms. Marsh 579, dated 1549, f. 152a. The same scene is also illustrated less frequently in Herat manuscripts such as H. 781, the Hermitage Ms. 23001 and in the Kanoria Collection *Khamsa* of 1420-30; see Soucek, *op. cit.*, 1979. All these are clearly indebted to Shiraz painting.

<sup>122</sup>Martin, *op. cit.*, 1926, pl. 16.

<sup>123</sup>See M. C. Beach, *op. cit.*, 1981, p. 38.

grief; in the Dyson Perrins illustration this is a turbaned man. In the Royal Asiatic Society Library's *Khamsa* Ms. 246, f. 157b, the witness is dressed in the same manner as the old woman in a white shawl traditionally seen in the *Sanjar and the Old Woman* illustration. Extremely similar to the scene in the Akbar period *Khamsa* is a folio in the Atkinson *Laylā nī Majnūn* at the Bodleian Library.

#### 4. The Haft Paykar

In the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, the fourth story of the quintet opens with an illustration of the principal character, Bahrām Gūr, seizing the crown of Persia from two lions (Fig. 14). As with many illustrations in the *Khamsa*, this heroic feat is associated with other such acts illustrated in other manuscripts. The dramatic act of seizing the crown may be associated with the killing of two lions by Khusrau, Iskandar, and Isfandiyar in the *Shāh-nāme* who are responsible in their own respective stories for similar feats. The ordeal of killing the two lions for the prize of the crown is a well-established composition and conforms to many Iranian prototypes (see for example, Fig. 69, Topkapi Sarayı Museum Ms. H. 781/K. 404); it appears in no less than twenty manuscripts in the Topkapi Sarayı Museum. Mukund must have been familiar with the illustrative tradition, as the picture by him in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* of Bahrām Gūr and the two lions differs in only a few details from some of the earliest Persian precedents. Bahrām Gūr is shown holding the crown aloft from the jaws of two lions and there is an empty throne in the background: a well-established ingredient in the scene. One of the earliest versions of this illustration is the 1439 Uppsala *Khamsa* portraying Bahrām Gūr, sword in one hand, crown in the other, having defeated the two lions that lie behind him. There is a high horizon, scroll-like

clouds and a stream at the bottom of the picture but no vacant throne.<sup>124</sup> The latter tends to appear as a later pictorial device seen in the Indian versions. A 1440 Persian version of the empty throne motif is in a *Khamsa* in the Royal Asiatic Society, Ms. 246. In an unusual version in the Bodleian Library, Ms. Elliot 192, the scene is represented as a past event: Bahrām Gūr is shown occupying the throne, having slain the lions that lie dead at either side of his feet. In the Keir *Khamsa*, Bahrām Gūr appears in the likeness of Akbar<sup>125</sup> and the crown he seizes is the dynastic one associated with Humāyūn and worn by many of the princes in *The Princes of the House of Timūr* and by an unidentified prince in the *Akbar-nāme* at the Victoria and Albert Museum no. 78/117.

The Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* has several illuminated folios featuring the *Sīmurgh* in gold, appearing twice in the margin of *The King Carried Off by a Giant Bird (Story Told by the Princess of the Black Pavilion)*, 195a (Fig. 2), creating a direct contrast between the two different kinds of representation: the full colour of the main picture and the gold ink of the margin painting. There are two splendid *Sīmurghs* on the frontispiece to the *Iqbāl-nāme* section of the quintet, f. 285b, which also bear a close resemblance to the giant bird in the illustration on f. 195a (Fig. 2) represented as a *Sīmurgh*, even though it is not so called in the text. A rather similarly coloured *Sīmurgh* is represented as the foster-parent of Zāl in the Muhammad Jukī *Shāh-nāme* in the Mughal imperial library.

<sup>124</sup> In some versions Bahrām Gūr wields a mace instead of a sword, as in a 1440 Yazd *Khamsa* (Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, 1977, pl. IX), and in the Royal Asiatic Society *Khamsa* Ms. 246. For other similar compositions, see a 1481-2 Ms. (inv. Dorn 338) in the Saltykov Schedrin Public Library; a Topkapi Sarayi Museum Ms. II. 781/K. 404, d. 1445 Herat, in Stchoukine, *op. cit.* and a 1575 Shiraz *Khamsa*, Royal Society, Sir William Jones Ms. P&A 31 (bought in India in the eighteenth century), folio 228b, and with another four folios comparable in composition to corresponding scenes in the Dyson Perrins Ms. The crown Khusrau wears in f. 556, *Khusrau Spies Shirin Bathing*, Robinson, *op. cit.*, 1976, is the kind that Bahrām Gūr holds up in the Dyson Perrins illustration.

<sup>125</sup>This is also the case in BM 1927-4-13-01 where Akbar again appears in the guise of Bahrām Gūr, this time fighting the dragon, see Titley, *op. cit.*, 1977, p. 136.

In the Mughal context, circa 1590, there is a miniature which is closely related to the *Sīmūrgh* image in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* illustration entitled, *The Flight of the Sīmūrgh*, attributed to Basāwan, with a figure in its beak and another hanging onto its talons. There is a similar, very carefully executed *Sīmūrgh* in *Dimna Chained Before the Lion* in the Chester Beatty *Iyar-i Dānish*,<sup>126</sup> and Akbar in the guise of Isfandiyar killing the *Sīmūrgh* in the *Shāb-nāme* Or. 5600, f. 310b.

There appears to be no precedent in extant *Khamsas* of Nizāmī for the illustration in the *Haft Paykar* of the giant bird. Besides possible iconographical European sources discussed in Chapter Four, the mythical bird also has roots in the Persian tradition. The *Sīmūrgh* can be traced back to early IlKhānid tile work at the Takht-ī-Suleimān and in fifteenth-century Shiraz book illumination. In Iskandar Sultān's *Miscellany* (Add. 27261), many of the heroes represented wear gold brocades featuring the *Sīmūrgh*. A *Sīmūrgh* also features centrally in a copy of the Persian *Mantiq al-Tayr* by Attār.<sup>127</sup>

The relevant verse in the *Khamsa* reads:

Better to grasp the bird's leg, and escape this peril, if I can.

This compares closely to an episode in the *Arabian Nights* where Sinbad climbs up to

<sup>126</sup>In the Prince Sadruddin Āgā Khān Collection, no. 57. See P. Pal, *op. cit.*, 1991, fig. 6. The second *Sīmūrgh* in L.Y. Leach, *op. cit.*, pl. 107. For *Sīmūrghs* with the same appearance, i.e., with long, flaming colourful tails and large beaks, see *Isfandiyār Kills the Sīmūrgh* and *The Sīmūrgh Carries Zāl*, both from the 1576-77 *Shāb-nāme*, publ. A. Welch, *op. cit.*, fig. 2 and plate 11 respectively, and a *Sīmūrgh* in the 1593 *Anwār-i Subḥayli*, collection of the Marquess of Bute, fig. 50, *ibid.*, and a splendid, unpublished illustration in a Royal Asiatic Society *Shāb-nāme* 241, cat. 166, f. 49. There is also a *Zāl and the Sīmūrgh* in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, Pers. Ms No. 933, another Indian manuscript, this time dating from the sixteenth century. Many of the pictures are Injū style imitations. An *Āngā* depicted as a *Sīmūrgh* may be seen in an *Āja'ib al-Makhlūqāt* (Shiraz, c. 1440) in the John Rylands Library, Ryl. Pers. Ms. No. 37. Ryl. Pers. Ms. No. 910 is an Isfahan *Shāb-nāme* contemporary with the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. Folio. 289b features Isfandiyar and a *Sīmūrgh*, very similar in appearance to the Dyson Perrins version.

<sup>127</sup>Folio 27v Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin Ms. Or. Oct. 268, d. 1456 in Ettinghausen, ed., *Islamic Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1972), p. 47, fig. 4 and Bodleian Elliot 246, Ethé 628, f. 25b, d. 1493 in Robinson, *ibid.*, 1958, pl. VI.

the nest of the giant bird and hangs on to its legs to escape from a desert island. The same event is illustrated in early copies of Qazvīnī's *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Ghara’ib al-Manjūdāt*. (Figs. 70, 71).<sup>128</sup> There is also evidence that several copies of this work were produced in the late sixteenth century in the Deccan. These have identical features to Iraqi or western Iranian originals and confirm the wide dispersal of Persian illustrated manuscripts.<sup>129</sup>

The third illustration in the *Hāft Paykar* of *The Princess Painting a Self-Portrait* (Fig. 30) appears to have no known precedents in Persian art. One can only point to similar pictures that share affinities with the subject. Rather than expressly following the details in the text, the representation here is rather more related to illustrations of Nūshāba recognising Iskandar from his portrait, and Shīrīn examining a portrait of Khusrau.<sup>130</sup> There is also a closely related unidentified loose leaf.<sup>131</sup> It could possibly be of Shāpūr showing Shīrīn a portrait of Khusrau.<sup>132</sup> The princess sits under a

<sup>128</sup>The Iraqi illustration of 1280 at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich c. Arab 464 f. 65b, (Fig. 70) is published in Y. A. Petrosyan, *Pages of Perfection, Islamic Painting and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences* (St. Petersburg, 1995), p. 168, it shows the miraculous rescue of a stranded voyager demonstrating that the motif of a great bird carrying a man is a long established visual form. An Iraqi/Irani fourteenth century *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt*, f. 72b, entitled, *A Merchant from Isfahan and a Fabulous Bird* in Petrosyan, *ibid.*, p. 88 (Fig. 71). For other versions, see the Bodleian Library's Ms. Laud. Or. 132 c.1480-90, f. 328b and the British Library Or. 12220, f. 72v d. 1503-4 where Simbad is lifted up from the tree carried by the giant bird. In the Royal Asiatic Society's Ms. 246, 1480, a woman is carried off by a giant bird, publ. B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings at the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1965), no. 7. See also, S. Carboni, *The Wonders of Creation and the Singularities of IlKhanid Painting: A Study of the London Qazwīnī BL Or. 14140* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1992), pl. 57. There does not appear to be an extant Mughal version of the Qazwīnī work.

<sup>129</sup>See S. Carboni, in Petrosyan, et. al. *op. cit.*, 1995, pp. 87-88.

<sup>130</sup>Some of the earliest versions of the tradition are from the *Miscellany* of Iskandar Sultān which has a *Nishaba Recognizing Iskandar by his Portrait*. There are several miniatures based on this: a *Humāy in the Fairy Palace* in the Herat *Humāy* and *Humāyīn* of 1427 in the Nationalbibliothek Vienna, N. F. 382, f. 10b, copied for Baysunghur. The scene has a slightly different centrepiece but all the groups of figures around the throne follow the *Miscellany* miniature pattern, which may still be traced in the Dyson Perrins Ms. Also comparable is a *Iskandar Recognized by Nishaba*, in Topkapi H. 762/K. 412, Tabriz 1481, f. 244 and in H. 781, Herat, 1445-6, f. 244b. The same subject is dealt with similarly in a composition in Add. 25900, f. 424b, Herat, 1492.

<sup>131</sup>I. Stchoukine, *Les Peintures Indiennes* (Paris, 1929), pl. VII, Bodleian Library Pers. 61 H. o, 270, L. o, 195.

<sup>132</sup> See A. Topsfield, *Indian Paintings From Oxford Collections* (Oxford, 1994), p. 15, where the author has published the picture as "Beauty is Shown the Image of Heart" as an illustration from *Husn n Dil* by Nishapurī.

canopy, which features a good many *peris* in different poses, carefully and minutely painted, as is the portrait held by the male attendant. The style of the painting as a whole and the architecture, facial characteristics and some of the peripheral action appear so similar to the self-portrait scene in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* that it would be reasonable to assume it is by the same hand.

The final illustration in the *Haft Paykar* is *The Garden of Bathing Women –The Story Told by the Princess of the White Pavilion*, f. 173a, a story told by the Greek Princess (Fig. 41). The subject is infrequently illustrated, appearing only five times in *Khamsas* of Nizāmī in the Topkapi Sarayı Museum. There are comparable compositions in both Or. 12087, a 1420 *Khamsa* from Shiraz and Or. 6810, f. 190r.<sup>133</sup> The illustration in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* is actually modeled on numerous related scenes in other manuscripts from the *Iskandar-nâme* section of the *Khamsa*, namely, illustrations of the story of *Iskandar and the Bathers*. The earliest extant version of this is in the *Miscellany* of Iskandar Sultan. An almost identical scene is present in the Lisbon copy, LA 161. Here, the blue sky and the stars peep through the prunus blossom; the pale, craggy rocks create an intimate setting for the prurient subject.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>133</sup>See also a sixteenth century Shiraz *Khamsa*, Or. 2932, f. 190a for a similar treatment of the subject.

<sup>134</sup> Other versions carry on the visual tradition: the Bodleian Elliot Ms. 339 *Sadd-e Iskandar* 1485; the British Museum Or. 2931, f. 485b, Isfahan, 1474 (Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, 1977, XLVI); a 1405 version in Geneva, Pozzi Collection (Cauby, ed., *op. cit.*, 1990, p. 5), and in the Hermitage *Khamsa*. In the Uppsala manuscript, 1439 (Binyon, *op. cit.*, 1933, fig. C, 58b), the same tradition of representation is transposed into an interior palace scene; this is also apparent in a *Khamsa* of Nizāmī of 1441, H. 724/K. 401, f. 192 (Stchoukine, *ibid.*, pl. IV) and is followed by other versions in Or. 2931 f. 485, in the *Khamsa* of 1494-5, Herat, British Museum Or. 6810, f. 190; a *Khamsa* from Shiraz, d. 1500 in the Hans P. Kraus Collection (in Grube, *op. cit.*, no date, pl. 65) and in the Bodleian Elliot Ms. 192, an *Iskandar-nâme* of 1501, f. 333 and in Add. 25900 (another Bihzâd-period *Khamsa*), f. 3. Under the title of *Bathing Maidens Observed by An Eavesdropping Master*, see a *Khamsa* of 1425-50 from Herat, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York 1913.13.228.13 (Gift of A.S. Cochran), f. 47a, published by Robinson,

Iskandar-nāme

Counting the two double-page miniatures in this section, there are nine different illustrations, two fewer than in the *Khusrau-Shirīn* part of the quintet. The first part of the *Iskandar-nāme* is more properly the *Sharaf-nāme*, or Book of Honour, containing tales of Iskandar's wars, while the second, the *Iqbāl-nāme*, contains tales of Iskandar's spiritual quest. Both parts of the story in Akbar's *Khamsa* are remarkable for the number of unusual or unprecedented subjects illustrated.

*Iskandar Orders the Invention of the Mirror* (Fig. 36) does not appear in any of the many *Khamsas* of Niẓāmī in the Topkapi Sarayı Museum and there appears to be only a handful of known precedents elsewhere. Two Indian versions have been mentioned in Chapter Two. The earliest comparable Iranian version confirms that the tradition of painting the scene is an old one. This is a folio from an *Iskandar-nāme*, datable to around 1400<sup>135</sup> from Timurid Shiraz, entitled *Rassam Making Iskandar's Mirror*. The same manuscript has fragments of Iskandar and his mirror on folio 44.

Another version is in a *Khamsa* manuscript from Shiraz, dated 1516.<sup>136</sup> In f. 18v of the *Khamsa* in the Vever Collection, Sackler Art Gallery, repainted in India in the late Akbar and Jahāngīr periods, Iskandar orders the making of the mirror in a half page illustration dominated by text. If this repainted picture does predate the *Khamsa* illustration, it must have served as the immediate precedent for it. There is another

<sup>135</sup>*op. cit.*, 1957, fig. 11.

<sup>136</sup>Titney, *op. cit.*, 1977, p. 136. There is also a Bodleian Library illustration, Elliot 194 (Ethé 594), *Iskandar looks into a mirror*, folio 317a. The Ms. is dated 1480, Herat, but was evidently repainted in India.

<sup>136</sup>Sotheby's sale catalogue, *Highly Important Manuscripts and Miniatures, The Property of the Haggop Kevorkian Fund*, December 7, 1970, Lot 191.

version of the subject in a *Dīvān* of Hāfiẓ, Add. 7763, but this is an eighteenth-century Kashmir manuscript. In *Iskandar Ordering the Invention of Mirrors* in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, a blacksmith polishes a hexagonal mirror<sup>137</sup> described in the story, evidence again that at some stage of the picture making process there was an awareness of the particular details described in the text.

Next in order in the *Khamsa* is f. 26b (Fig. 12), *Iskandar Comforts the Dying Dārā*, the most frequently illustrated episode in the *Sharaf-nāme* in extant *Khamsas*, appearing as a subject in 32 different manuscripts in the Topkapi Sarayı Museum alone. The illustration follows the traditional Persian compositions closely. However, a majority of the figures are portrayed as Akbar's *abādis* (cavalry officers) in gilded helmets with scale-covered aventails and flaps of mail covering the throat and chest. Most indicative of the rank of officer is the cuirass, studded with gilt rivets.<sup>138</sup> A survey of Iranian precedents establishes that the composition for the scene remains one of the most constant painterly conventions. The 1439 Uppsala manuscript contains all the same poses and elements to be found in the Mughal version, as does the 1435-6 *Khamsa* Or. 12856.<sup>139</sup> A significant number of subsequent Shiraz versions continued the tradition.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>137</sup>Allowing Iskandar to see everything; in Sufi thought hexagonal signified all four directions (forward, backward and side to side) and also up and down.

<sup>138</sup>For further details on Mughal armour, cf. D. Nicolle, *op. cit.*, 1993, p. 38.

<sup>139</sup>Gray, *op. cit.*, 1963.

<sup>140</sup>Shiraz, 1567 Johnson Ms.141 (Ethé 973), f. 271b; Shiraz, 1575 Ryl. Pers. 856 in Robinson, *op. cit.*, pl. 650; Keir ex-Kofler Collection, also Shiraz, see Canby, *op. cit.*, pl. 75; a 1550 Shiraz manuscript dated 1500, pl. 63 in Grube, *op. cit.* (no date), pl. 63 and pl. 109, *ibid.*, for a 1515 Safavid *Khamsa*, yet another Shiraz (*Shāb-nāme*) manuscript of 1539, pub., Robinson, *op. cit.*, pl. 125 and in the Muhammad Jukī *Shāb-nāme* (Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX); the Royal Asiatic Society's Ms. 246, f. 245 and Ms. 248a, f.250a and the Bodleian Library's Ms. Elliot 194, f. 280a and Ms. Pers. c. 42, Marsh 579, f. 245a; Ms. Elliot 192, f. 251 is a very similar version.

In the next picture, *Iskandar Assumes the Crown of Iran* (Walters Art Gallery 613, f. 34a, Fig. 28), the crown is Humāyūn's crown, a split-brimmed cap with plume, and the likeness of Iskandar is that of Humāyūn himself.<sup>141</sup> This is most probably a deliberate attempt to associate the Mughal dynasty with the legend of Iskandar's great conquest of Persia, or indeed, India. The composition of this court scene conforms to the typical Shāh Tahmāsp period hexagonal format, discussed above.

In *Iskandar and Nūshāba* (Fig. 16), f. 244b, the seated figures are entertained by female dancers and musicians. The subject appears infrequently in Persian art but enough times to surmise that the genre of women dancing in 'Chagatay' dress (long sleeves covering the hands, conical hats) was originally Persian. Dancing is featured in a Šafavid manuscript at the Bodleian Library, Ms. Elliot 239 f.1b; in the same library's Ms. Douce Or. b.1 f.12 of a scene at court, with female dancers wearing conical hats and in Ms. Elliot 194, f. 34b, where two women dance in front of a two tiered pavilion. Similar in composition is a dancing scene in a *Dīwān* of Hāfiẓ of 1533,<sup>142</sup> and there is an illustration that shows dancing at Iskandar's court in a folio from Ms. 141, dated 1465 in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. The manuscript was repainted at some stage by Mughal artists.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>141</sup>Cf. *Humāyūn Receiving Kamrān Mīrzā*, a loose folio lent by the Maharāja of Jaipur to the Royal Academy of Arts Exhibition in 1947, reproduced in L. Ashton, ed., *The Art of India and Pakistan* (London, 1950), pl. 127 and in numerous pages of the Mughal *Šāh-nāme* Or. 5600, where the crown links the Mughal dynasty to Rustam's father in f. 54a and to Farīdūn, who meets his three sons in f. 68b.

<sup>142</sup>Gray, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 137.

<sup>143</sup>A. R. Sakisian, *La Miniature Persane du XII en XVII siecles* (Paris and Brussels, 1929), pl. LXIV. See also a dancing scene in the Freer Gallery *Tārikh-i Alfī*, contemporary to the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* in Beach, *op. cit.*, 1981, p. 98, another from a 1535 *Šāh-nāme* from Shiraz, now in the Berenson Collection, similar in detail to the illustration in the Dyson Perrins Ms., and Topkapi H. 786/ K. 405, *A Prince and Princess Dancing* in Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIV.

An impressive court scene is *Iskandar Shown Gifts from the Kayd*, f. 254a (Fig. 46), animated by the pomp and splendour of magnificently embroidered canopies and large numbers of courtiers dressed in brightly coloured robes. The composition has been discussed in Chapter One as a mature picture by Dharmdāsa, consistent with the treatment and style of that artist. By painting the scene in four registers of courtiers with Iskandar at the top, Dharmdāsa has managed to create a formal hierarchy and a sense of height and space. The picture is also interesting as it features the European Savonarola chair and this is discussed in European precedents in Chapter Four.

A rare illustration in this part of the quintet is *Mānī Painting the Picture of a Dog on the Cover of a Well*, f. 262b (Fig. 29). There are three closely related miniatures illustrating the same episode. Perhaps deceived by the image himself, Robinson titled a similar illustration, ‘*The Painter and the Drowned Dog*’ (*sic.*) in Johnson Ms. 387 (Ethé 976, 1200), which is a 1505 Turkoman-style *Khamsa*.<sup>144</sup> There are two pictures in the Topkapi Sarayı Museum, one H. 753/K. 470 from an undated *Khamsa*.<sup>145</sup> In the latter illustration, Mānī is depicted kneeling on the ground with a brush in his hand, and there is a *qalamdān* with brushes and colours in it next to his side, as he appears in the Dyson Perrins illustration.<sup>146</sup> The other version is in a Shiraz *Khamsa*, dated 1490.<sup>147</sup> This is a simple version with little detail: Mānī, with brush in hand, paints the picture of the dead dog while onlookers on the horizon have a conversation; a donkey stands

---

<sup>144</sup>B. Robinson, *op. cit.*, 1976.

<sup>145</sup>Cf. ‘La Khamsch de Nizāmī, H.753 du ‘Topkapi Sarayı Müzesi d’Istanbul’, *Syria*, t. LXI, 1972.

<sup>146</sup>Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, 1977, p. 58.

<sup>147</sup>H. 1008/K. 416 *ibid.*, pl. LI. A comparable image appears in an Ahmadabad *Annār-i Subaylī*, dated 1601, f.43b under the title, *The Hare by a River Causes the Lion to be Drowned in a Well*, publ. in *Painting From Islamic Lands*, ed. R. Pinder-Wilson (Oxford, 1969), fig.105.

behind the artist. Strangely, Mānī stands *in* the well to paint the image, over the surface of the water itself.

The next picture that appears on folio 266b is an illustration of the story of the Qipchaq women who veil themselves because of the magic talisman (Fig. 15). On the Qipchaq plain, Iskandar is alarmed that the Qipchaq women do not wear veils and that this might have an adverse effect on the morale of his soldiers. The sage Apollonius comes to his rescue and carves a talisman of a veiled woman that will charm the Qipchaq women into *purdah*. The reason for choosing to illustrate this story is perhaps much the same as that which lies behind the decision to paint *Mānī Painting the Picture of a Dog on the Cover of a Well*, f. 262b. Both illustrations are opportunities for Akbar's artists to portray the subject of image making, obviously a topic close to their hearts. The interplay that arises from having these pictures appear in the context of Nizāmī's stories is discussed at length in Chapter Five.

There appear to be only two precedents for *The Talisman That Causes the Qipchaq Women to Veil Themselves* (Fig. 15). One is folio 256 in Topkapi H. 724/K. 401, dated 1441.<sup>148</sup> The other is in the Uppsala *Khamsa*, dated 1439, f. 328, which is a simple but very striking image of the talisman depicted in a black *burqa* and two women in white ones. The illustration portrays the talisman as a freestanding sculpture wearing a black veil, while the text actually describes a carving out of black rock with a white veil. The illustration in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* follows the text more closely,

---

<sup>148</sup>Z.V. Togan, On The Miniatures in Istanbul Libraries, in *Publ. Fac. Letters of the Univ. Istanbul*, N.1034 (Istanbul, 1963), p. 260.

showing the talisman as an image carved out of black rock with a white overlay of paint. It appears to look straight out at the viewer and three women in the foreground are shown veiling themselves with expressions of concern. Iskandar's men appear rather bemused, further behind. As in many of Mukund's paintings, there is much pointing and over-use of the conventional Persian gesture of placing the index finger over the top lip to signify astonishment. The scene takes place outside of the city, like so many of the miniatures in the manuscript.

*The Champion of Rus* is primarily impressive because of the *chibranāmī* work by Bulāqī and the individual poses of the figures (Fig. 19). This has been discussed in more detail in Chapter One. Suffice it to say here, there appears to be no Persian precedent for the scene in extant *Khamsas* of Nizāmī.

There are only a handful of Persian versions of *Khiżr Bathing Iskandar's Horse in the Water of Life*. There are several comparable pictures treating this subject in *Khamsas* in the Topkapi Sarayı Museum. The two Mughal illustrations of this episode, one in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, the other in the earlier SOAS-Bristol *Sharaf-nāme*, both opt for a gentle scene of Khiżr ritually bathing Iskandar's horse in a barren, rocky landscape evoking quiet contemplation.

The second part of the *Iskandar-nāme*, the *Iqbāl-nāme* begins here. The first illustration of the section is a rare one, depicting Mary the Copt (or Mary of Egypt, Fig. 53). Mary the Copt was known in legend as one of the main founders of alchemy.<sup>149</sup> In

---

<sup>149</sup> R. Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists, A History and Sourcebook* (Princeton, 1994), p. 71.

the *artis auriferae quam chemiam vocant*, a Latin translation based on an Arabic work, Mary the Copt is identified with Miryam, the sister of Moses, just as Mary the mother of Jesus was identified in the Koran with the sister of Moses (Koran 3:35ff). In some Arabic sources, Mary the Copt or 'Mariya al-Qibtiyya', is described as having carried the infant Jesus on her shoulder.<sup>150</sup>

In the story illustrated by the painters of Akbar's studio, Mary is an exiled princess who learns about alchemy from Aristotle and creates wealth for her country by creating gold, but eventually, she begins to attribute metaphorical, spiritual meanings to her alchemical processes. The alchemical process is given spiritual connotations through Arabic and Persian commentators. It is unlikely that the Mughals were unaware of this interpretation of alchemy, which must have coloured their perception of the figure of Mary the Copt, portrayed in the illustration in the *Khamsa*. The purification of base metals is used as a metaphor for the purification of the soul, which escapes the body, as a vapor rises from heated base metals. The analogy between man and metal, according to Mary is that, just as man is composed of body, soul and spirit so, says she, are the metals.<sup>151</sup> Similarly, if the metal is polished into a reflective surface, it reflects the body or material aspect of man and man reflects the materiality of other forms and objects in space in sharing in their materiality.

In the picture of her in the *Khamsa*, Mary climbs a lavishly decorated tower with two tiers, a textual (and in the case of Akbar's *Khamsa*) visual metaphor for the distilling

<sup>150</sup> In the *Kitab al-Firbi* (c. 987), *ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>151</sup> 'The vapor (produced by volatising the sulphurous substances in the metals) is the spirit of the body.' *Ibid.*, p. 67.

apparatus (or *bain-marie*) associated with Mary. The alembic creates and captures a pure vapor above by heating the (impure) mixture below.

The scene in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* follows the text closely, as Mary's hair is arranged in curls on her forehead and there are pearls on her head, both of these details are described in the text, as is the colourful tower where she stands to deliver her sermon. Below, a group of learned men raise their hands excitedly and outside the palace enclosure, bullocks are yoked to a water pump; a distant hill town breaks the line of the horizon. The only other known illustration of this episode is f. 330 in a *Khamsa* copied in Shiraz in 1435-6.<sup>152</sup> The same elements are present but the composition is much simpler: the tower and background are virtually featureless and the scholars looking up to her are rather frozen and uniform in appearance. More similar in composition to the Dyson Perrins picture is an illustration in the Bodleian Library *Bahāristān*, f. 35v, of a singer looking down from the top floor of a pavilion. The same composition was used for another story in the Keir *Khamsa*, f. 153a, *The Marriage of Zamīb*.<sup>153</sup> The miniature composed by Basāwan has people looking up to a similar two-tiered tower-pavilion as that found in the *Khamsa* illustration with a woman on the top floor. The landscape seen over the wall of the enclosure delicately fades into the background and has charming details such as tiny figures near a lake. All these features are typical of many illustrations of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* and the painting shows how instrumental Basāwan was as an inspiration for the next generation of painters.

<sup>152</sup>B. Gray, 'A Newly-discovered Nizāmī of the Timurid School' *East and West*, N.S. Vol. 14, Nos. 3-4 Rome, 1963, pp. 220-223.

<sup>153</sup>Robinson, *op. cit.* 1976, pl. V. 20.

*Aflātūn Charms the Animals*, folio 298a (Fig. 5), is also a comparatively rare treatment of an episode from the *Iqbāl-nāme*. Only a handful of other versions appear to be extant, one in the Lalbai *Khamsa*. Another version is an Isfahan *Khamsa* dated 1507-24 (Fig. 72),<sup>154</sup> which shows Aflātūn wearing a Ṣafavid style turban and playing a stringed instrument surrounded by sleeping animals (one of them a boar, far bottom left). However, the image undoubtedly has its origins in the Shiraz painting tradition.<sup>155</sup> In many versions, including the Dyson Perrins, Aflātūn is surrounded by the magic square or circle described in the text but in the Dyson Perrins illustration this is represented as a circular stream of water. The obvious difference in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* is the European organ with panel paintings on it. It has already mentioned that this innovation was peculiarly Mughal, with a precedent in the Bristol *Sharaf-nāme*.

The next illustration in the sequence is *Iskandar and the Seven Sages* (Fig. 37), which should illustrate the point when Plato and Aristotle part ways, the former going into self-exile; in which case the chronology is hard to understand, as the Plato scene should thus occur before this in the manuscript. Perhaps the seven sages scene here is set rather at the point when Plato returns, after his discovery of the significance of music. The scene of Iskandar before the seven sages is a very common one and

<sup>154</sup> Published by Schulz, *op. cit.*, 1914, pl. 77, now in the Vever Collection.

<sup>155</sup> Another version of this is in a manuscript in a private collection published in Sotheby's sale catalogue, *Important Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures The Property of the Haggop Kevorkian Fund* 12 April, 1976, Lot 147 (Shiraz, c. 1530-40). A *Simurgh* is also present in the background further emphasizing that the origin of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* version is Shiraz painting. Yet another version is a Turkman style miniature Sotheby's sale catalogue, *Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures c.1470 December 7, 1971*, Lot 193 and *Fine Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures and Qajar Lacquer, Property of Malcolm R. Fraser Esq. and other Properties*, October 13, 1980, Lot 42; yet another Shiraz manuscript, 1510. Also from Shiraz is 1550 illustration in Sotheby's *Oriental Miniatures and Manuscripts* October 19,

portrays the legendary figure as a patron of different branches of human knowledge represented by Apollonius, Aristotle, Hermes, Plato, Porphyrius, Socrates and Thales. Iskandar hears their opinions in a classical contest between knowledge and faith. According to the verse, he decides in favour of the latter because Divine knowledge cannot be comprehended by the minds of men. In the Dyson Perrins illustration, the diagonal line formed by the sages leads up to the point of Iskandar's head, implying a hierarchy of knowledge leading up to Iskandar. The court scene is typically Mughal in style, right down to the attendant flicking his flywhisk and other members of the court entourage such as falconers and swordbearers. In a folio from a copy of the *Dīwān* of Hāfiẓ, Rampur, c.1585, f. 177, painted by Farrukh Chela, a seated prince converses with learned sages who are arranged in a diagonal line leading up to the apex of the prince's head. The same composition with perhaps a deliberate attempt to draw parallels with compositions showing Iskandar with the sages, is used to represent Akbar in a scene showing an evening discussion at the *cibādatkānā* where, instead of sages to the right of Akbar, there are two Jesuits.<sup>156</sup>

The scene of sages in discussion with kings is one of the most popular in Iranian *Khamsas*, appearing in over a score of versions in the Topkapi Sarayi Museum. A precedent for this is the illustration in Or. 6810 and the Royal Asiatic Society's Ms. 246, f. 311; the Bodleian Library's Ms. Elliot 194, f. 360a and Ms. Elliot 339, a fine Herat style *Sadd-i Iskandar* by Mīr ʻAlī Shīr Nawāī. There is also a rather haphazardly

1994, Lot 108 and a 1555 version where the animals are all awake, except for one sleeping lion, publ. Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, 1977.

<sup>156</sup>By Narsingh c. 1605, Chester Beatty Library. However, see also a folio from the now dispersed *Tārikh-i Afī* 1592-94 at the Freer Gallery in Beach, *op. cit.*, 1981, p. 98. See H. Marshall, *op. cit.*, footnote 2, and J. M. Rogers, *op. cit.*, 1993, p. 57 and others. B. Brend does not mention any Persian, Indian or European precedents at all in her monograph on the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*, *op. cit.*, 1995.

composed *Iskandar and the Seven Sages* in Ms. Elliot 192. In most cases, a similar composition of a diagonal line of sages leading up to Iskandar persists. It may be noted here that many of the illustrations given as precedents for *The Disputing Physicians* are also share the same compositional scheme as the *Iskandar and the Seven Sages* illustrations, yet another case of the inter-relationships in the *Khamsa* illustrative cycle.

*Iskandar Crossing the Land of Magic Stones* (Fig. 27) illustrates a story about a strange magical place strewn with stones that make people laugh until they die. Iskandar is able to avoid these effects by blindfolding his men. The painting here, f. 312b, shows them without blindfolds, with the stones loaded onto the backs of their horses. This illustrates the point in the story when Iskandar orders the building of a monument out of the stones, which have been denuded of their power by being taken away from their original place. The composition of the scene, with horses cropped by the picture frame to the right, suggests that it was originally intended for a double page scene featuring the monument being built on the facing folio. However, whether this other half was actually executed or not and left out at the last minute cannot be known; neither can we speculate as to what kind of composition it would have been, as there are no known precedents for the illustration, except perhaps for the different story of Iskandar building the wall of Gog and Magog.

Not counting the colophon by Dawlat added in Jahāngīr's reign, the *Priestess of Kandahar* completes the illustrative cycle of the *Khamsa* (Figs. 42, 43). The illustration is a double page and has no known precedents. Iskandar is seen listening to the

priestess who beseeches him to spare the idol of the people of Kandahar from destruction. The composition of folio 317 verso where the women of Kandahar may be seen through the slender pillars of a pavilion next to the golden idol to the right is highly innovative. The reason why such a story was chosen for illustration is not clear. The miniature may have been an attempt to associate the story of Iskandar's leniency toward idol worshippers in the Iskandar legend with Akbar's tolerant policies affecting the Hindus of his kingdom. But the picture should also be seen in the context of others in the manuscript such as the *Disputing Physicians* (Fig. 6), *The Talisman and the Qipchaq Women*, (Fig. 15), *The Princess Paints a Self-Portrait – The Story Told by the Princess of the Red Pavilion* (Fig. 30), *Mānī Painting the Lid of a Well* (Fig. 29), *Afḍātūn Playing Music to the Animals* (Fig. 5) and the colophon (Fig. 52) that deal with the subject of making representations, whether they are talismans, idols or paintings in paintings. These pictures are discussed at length in Chapter Five below.

Three major conclusions can be drawn from this detailed survey of Persian versions of the illustrations in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. This survey has revealed that the most essential quality running through the miniatures of the *Khamsa* is an indebtedness to Persian schematic conventions, or more specifically, to *tarḥ* work. The most commonly illustrated episodes from the *Khamsa* in Persian manuscripts such as *Sultān Sanjar and the Old Woman* (Fig. 3) *Farīdūn and the Gazelle* (Fig. 4), *The Battle of the Clans* (Fig. 13), *Iskandar and the Dying Dārā* (Fig. 12), *Bahrām Gūr Seizes the Crown of Iran* (Fig. 14), *Khusrau Defeats Bahrām Chubin* (Fig. 34) and *Iskandar and the Seven Sages* (Fig. 37) and almost all the court scenes, show that Mughal artists worked closely with Persian painterly idioms, in some cases using the same details not described in

the text (parasols, gestures, placement of figures in space, old Iranian crowns and hexagonal compositions for court scenes). These details betray an intimate knowledge of Persian precedents from Shiraz painting, seen especially in the Shiraz origins of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa Aflātūn Plays Music to the Animals* (Fig. 5). However, the influence of Indian provincial court painting cannot be ignored, neither can preliminary sketches and loose folios brought over by Persian artists from Herat, Tabriz and Bukhara earlier in the century.

The second major conclusion to be drawn in this chapter is that in the absence of Persian models, Mughal artists had some kind of access to information and descriptions contained in the stories themselves. Details such as the appearance of Mary the Egyptian (or Mary the Copt Fig. 53), the hexagonal mirror in *Iskandar Ordering the Invention of Mirrors* (Fig. 36), the appearance of the talisman in *The Talisman and the Qipchaq Women* (Fig. 15) and the ruby eyes of the idol in *Iskandar and The Priestess of Kandahar* (Fig. 42) are details undoubtedly informed by a very particular knowledge of aspects described in the text because there were no precedents at hand. These details were either the result of a close reading of the texts by the artists themselves, plausible in the cases of grandees such as the Muslim, Mīr Sayyid cAlī, Abd al- Samad and Farrukh Beg but unlikely for many of the Hindu artists of the *Khamsa* who were perhaps only familiar with the Devanagari script, if they were not illiterate. Most probably the artists acquired knowledge of the intricacies of the text through the instructions of a supervisor who may have had to read the text and communicate a description of the scene, as well as assign work to each individual

artist. In addition to this, the Jahāngīr period colophon<sup>157</sup> in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* (Fig. 52) showing Dawlat sitting with the calligrapher involved in the work of the *Khamsa* text, reveals a *modus operandi* that suggests that calligraphers and painters sometimes worked together, the former communicating details of texts to the latter. Finally, there is evidence of a strong oral tradition. Abū'l Fazl in his *A'in-i Akbarī* describes public readings of Persian works, among them the poetry of *Nizāmī* and *Firdausī*.<sup>158</sup> With *The Princess Paints a Self-Portrait – The Story Told by the Princess of the Red Pavilion* (Fig. 30), *Mānī Painting the Lid of a Well* (Fig. 29), *Aflātūn Playing Music to the Animals* (Fig. 5) and *The Talisman and the Qipchaq Women* (Fig. 15), which are pictures that have few or no precedents in Persian art, the Mughal artists obviously had descriptions from the text read to them. More intriguing is the reason behind the unusual choice of illustrations. The only thing these pictures have in common with each other is that they treat in some way or other the subject of making representations (whether idols, talismans, paintings or mirrors). This aspect of featuring the subject of representation as a topic in the miniatures is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

There must have been some kind of painting reference library to contain specimens of Persian art in albums, which would explain how the Mughal artists were exposed to Persian compositions and motifs for many of the other pictures. We know at least, that in Akbar's library were the Muhammad Jukī *Shāh-nāme* Or. 6810 (the Persian *Khamsa* presented to Akbar in 1580, now in the British Library), the *Zafar-nāme* and

---

<sup>157</sup>See also a picture of painters in the Mughal *Achläq-i Nasīri* Ms. of 1590, showing calligraphers and painters together.

<sup>158</sup>Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 110.

*Būstān* manuscripts mentioned in the introduction to this chapter and several other illustrated Persian manuscripts. Other Shiraz-influenced provincial manuscripts (Mandu, Bengal), were also known to have been added to the imperial library in various periods. The preponderance of Shiraz-based compositions, some of which may be traced as far back as Iskandar Sultān's atelier in the early years of the fifteenth century, show how resilient and far-reaching some compositions were.

The third major conclusion we can draw from our study of the relationship between Mughal and Persian painting is that in both cases it was an established practice to interchange compositions so that one visual format used to illustrate a story was used for another. In Persian painting, this can be seen in the variety of applications for the basic composition of Sanjar and the old woman, used also for a story featuring Malikshāh ibn Alp Arslān. In Mughal painting, the same composition was used for a story featuring Ghazan Khān in the *Chingis Khān-nāme* of 1595. In all cases, the prince is warned of the excesses of power. In *Faridūn and the Gazelle* (Fig. 4) a composition used repeatedly for depictions of various Persian and Mughal rulers, the king is seen as hunter, sovereign over the wilderness. In the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* itself, one of the most obvious compositions used repeatedly is *Iskandar and the Seven Sages*, f.305a (Fig. 37) where scholars (usually with books), are placed in a descending order from the prince's right. This format is also used *Nizāmī Presents his Son to the Son of the Shirvānshāh*, f. 117a (Fig. 21). It appears that whenever it was necessary to depict a king's learning, or patronage of the arts and sciences, this compositional scheme was used. The basic *Disputing Physicians* (Fig. 6) composition was also used repeatedly but in order to portray countless debates or contests of different kinds.

Further complex associations arise when we consider that the legendary stories of Iskandar, Bahrām Gūr, Farīdūn and others, were portrayed in the *Khamsa* illustrations as if they were contemporary events happening in the Akbar period. This was done mainly by showing legendary heroes in Mughal dress; by placing basic Persian compositions in recognizably Mughal Indian settings and sometimes by painting a legendary Persian king in the guise of Akbar himself. In painting Akbar as Farīdūn or Bahrām Gūr, Mughal artists reflected a common perception evident in Mughal painting generally: that the Mughals had recreated the Persian civilization in their own image.

## CHAPTER IV

### European Influences

---

European art made a significant impact on the painting style and imagery of Mughal book illustration. This chapter examines how the Europeans established themselves in the Indian subcontinent in the sixteenth century and what they brought with them in the form of European artifacts that the Mughals would adapt and incorporate into the imagery of Mughal book illustration. This chapter then goes on to survey the general impact of European art on Mughal albums and book illustrations. Revealed as result of this, is a comprehensive view of the Mughals' ingenuity in adapting the forms and techniques of an artistic and cultural tradition different from their own.

Among the illustrated manuscripts that survive from the Akbar period, the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* is one of the best examples of the refined use of European motifs and artistic techniques by Mughal artists. The chapter ends with a more detailed analysis of the origins of the European imagery and painting styles found in the *Khamsa*.

The history of the European involvement with India is dominated by the Portuguese<sup>1</sup> who were the first Europeans to discover the sea route to India via the Cape of Good Hope. At the beginning of the sixteenth century they concentrated on forcing their way into the spice trade of the Indian Ocean. Pedro Alvaro Cabral established relations with the ruler of Cochin. In 1501, da Nova established a factory at Cannanor and the presence of the Portuguese was further consolidated by the naval conquests of Vasco da Gama and Francisco de Almeida. The latter built fortresses along the west coast of India

---

<sup>1</sup>They were not the only Europeans who travelled to India. For example, for a survey of Italian merchants, particularly Florentine involvement in India in the sixteenth century, see M. Spallanzani, 'Florentine Merchants in India in the 16th Century', in D. Jones, ed., *A Mirror of Princes, The Mughals and the Medici* (Bombay, 1987), pp. 108-112.

and east coast of Africa to squeeze out Arab traders. It was not until 1509 however, that the Portuguese began to establish permanent settlements in the East.

Under Portugal's Viceroy, Afonso de Alberquerque, the Portuguese began to settle in Goa, a prosperous trading and shipbuilding city on the west coast of India. This was followed in 1533 in Bassein and in 1535 in Diu. From bases like these, the Portuguese wrested control of the seas west of India from the Arabs and the Gujaratis. Along the coast they built strongholds, churches, factories (warehouses and trading posts) and government buildings. Contact between the Mughal court and the Portuguese dominions probably began as early as the 1550s or 1560s. There is mention of a Portuguese called Pietro Tavares, known as Partab Bar, who was lodged at Akbar's court as a military servant long before the Mughal embassy to Goa later in the century.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the Portuguese settlers were skilled craftsmen. The Portuguese must also have brought with them decorated furniture and artifacts for trade as well as for their own purposes. Alberquerque encouraged a policy of intermarriage of Portuguese men with Goanese women, creating new Christian communities.

Although the Franciscans were the earliest orders to arrive in Goa and Cochin in 1520, the Dominicans and Jesuits followed. It was eventually the Jesuits who developed the strongest presence in the Portuguese communities. A majority of the numerous churches that were built were Jesuit.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>*Akbar-nâme* (Bib. Indica), Eng. Tr. H. Beveridge (Calcutta, 1948), III, 350.

<sup>3</sup>'In the countryside were 62 parish churches, and probably about 100 villages', S. J. Correia-Afonso, *Indo-Portuguese History, Sources and Problems* (Bombay 1981), p. 153.

The Emperor Akbar sent his ambassador to Goa in 1578 with the specific task of bringing back European curiosities and information about the arts and crafts of Europe.<sup>4</sup> Such instructions presuppose a curiosity based on earlier exposure to European craftsmanship or paintings. The Emperor's agent had been supplied with ample funds to buy artifacts and he was attended by a number of skilled craftsmen who were instructed to copy anything worthy of imitation. The mission returned to Akbar's court:

dressed in European clothes and seemingly, including some actual Europeans...along with Habibullah [the ambassador] whose craftsmen displayed their skill in newly acquired arts.<sup>5</sup>

It is difficult to surmise what kind of paintings the Goan Jesuit churches were decorated with and what kind of imagery the Mughals saw. Some of the Jesuit churches in Rome, for example, Santo Stefano Rotondo, or the Gesù, had paintings that were generally Baroque in style and were therefore indistinguishable from non-Jesuit Baroque art.<sup>6</sup> Certain Jesuit characteristics in fresco cycles have been identified, these are 'pastoral' settings for torture and martyrdom seen at the church of San Vitale, Rome; similar scenes of martyrdom, spiritual exercises and missions in the chapels of the Gesù; and paintings by Niccolò Circignani of thirty scenes of martyrdom at Santo Stefano Rotondo. Such scenes show that the Jesuits certainly had preferences. These themes were to encourage novices to emulate the martyrs in their great evangelising feats in the outside world. Also favoured by the Jesuits were scenes of the visions of saints (St. Ignatius, St. Francis, St. Luke) that appear to be pictures in pictures.

<sup>4</sup>V. A. Smith, *Akbar, The Great Mogul* (Oxford, 1917), p. 161.

<sup>5</sup>The *Akbar-nâme*, H. Beveridge, Tr. (1948), vol. III, p. 332; 'Abd al-Qadir Bada'ûnî, *Muntakhab-al-Tawârîkh*, vol. II, p. 299. Eng. Tr. W. Haig (Calcutta, 1925).

<sup>6</sup>'The Jesuits were too closely integrated into the very fabric of society to impose any distinct accent of their own...Their influence on the arts can be found everywhere - or nowhere.' F. Haskell, *Painters and Patrons: A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (New Haven and London, 1980), p. 64.

The style of the paintings in the Jesuit churches in Rome is archaic and intended to evoke antiquity, which had received added attention because of the discovery of a large section of the catacombs in 1578. The landscape settings of the frescoes in Santo Stefano Rotondo have a blue-green colour scheme, tiny figures, bridges and the *sfumato* blurring of forms in the background landscapes painted in bright blue; exactly the same kind of treatment and imagery found in Mughal illustrated manuscripts in the late sixteenth century.

However, the blue-green *sfumato* landscapes found in the background landscapes of the *Khamsa* could also have been passed on to the Mughal via English brooches. The same *sfumato* treatment in blue-green for a distant landscape may be seen in portraits by Nicholas Hilliard<sup>7</sup> or by his pupil, Isaac Oliver. The colouring and treatment were copied by the more popular and common limners of the time and portraits made into brooches almost invariably feature this treatment of landscape. The first English contacts with Akbar's court were probably around 1582-3. There is a reference to some English merchants, John Newbury and Ralph Fitch who made their way to India accompanied by a jeweller, William Leedes and James Storey, a painter or limner. James Storey never made it to Akbar's court but was welcomed by the Jesuits as an artist:

capable of painting their church, [he] settled down in Goa, married a half-caste girl and opened a shop and gave up thoughts of returning to Europe.<sup>8</sup>

The jeweller, Leedes, however, had been taken into Akbar's service in August 1583. English miniatures in the form of jewellery, lockets or brooches must have found their way to Akbar's court with the English jeweller, Leedes. It is well known that such

<sup>7</sup>See a portrait of George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, c.1590, at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

<sup>8</sup>Smith, *ibid.*, p. 228.

trinkets were made to be carried on the person, even if not carried as official gifts. Leedes must also have been employed by the Emperor to make brooches. It was around this time that the followers of Akbar's *Dīn-i ilāhi* began to wear effigies of him in the form of brooches in their turbans.<sup>9</sup>

Flemish tapestries may also have found their way to the Mughal court, carried to India from Antwerp by the Jesuits. Brussels remained the main centre for thousands of tapestry weavers in the sixteenth century, while Antwerp was not far behind with weavers and tapestry merchants supplying the royal houses of Europe.<sup>10</sup> An inventory taken at the death of Philip II of Spain in 1598 listed nearly eight hundred tapestries and there were many other European sovereigns with comparable collections. As there was a flourishing trade in tapestries, there must also have been various kinds of tapestries of differing quality. Less expensive were outmoded and coarser tapestries. Many kinds of tapestry could easily have served as models for *sfumato* and perspective for the Mughal artists, especially as many of these tapestries were often copies of famous earlier European paintings. Both Antwerp and Brussels produced tapestries after the likes of Jerome Bosch, Jan Van Coninxloo and Bernard Van Orley.<sup>11</sup> The tiny figures in a landscape with blue *sfumato* effects in the backgrounds were common features of these tapestries. This is especially so with the many tapestries based on popular topographical views and views of people dressed in costumes of the world such as could be found in the three volumes of Braun and Hoefnagel's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* published in Antwerp in 1572 and 1581.

<sup>9</sup> "...the Emperor raised up the suppliant, and, placing a new turban upon his head, gave him a symbolic representation of the sun, and a tiny portrait of Akbar to wear upon his turban." S. A. A. Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign* (New Delhi, 1975), p. 401.

<sup>10</sup> F. Yates, *The Valois Tapestries* (London, 1975), p. 42.

<sup>11</sup> G. Delmarcel, *Golden Weavings, Flemish Tapestries of the Spanish Crown* (London, 1993), cat. 11.

The Mughals certainly used the examples of European prints for their own figural textile hangings. One of the Jesuit fathers wrote of a print depicting *Christ at the Pillar* that was to serve as a pattern for a 'figure woven in silk, like arras' (tapestry) by the Mughals.<sup>12</sup> The Emperor Akbar himself took a great interest in tapestries, hangings and carpets of silk and such work in India was considered to be superior to known European and Persian specimens.<sup>13</sup> The designs on these hangings were of ships and boats and Portuguese figures seen also in the backgrounds of many of the illustrations in late Akbar-period manuscripts and in the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī in particular. It is possible that the origin of this common motif on carpets of drowning men is based on archaic Flemish prints of the deluge and shipwreck folklore. But it has also been suggested that the episode of a drowning man and Portuguese sailors is the death of Bahadur Shāh, Sultan of Gujarat, while visiting the Portuguese fleet.<sup>14</sup> The artist Lal painted this very subject with a clear debt to European painting in the British Library *Akbar-nāme* Or. 12, 988, f. 66a. There is a seascape scene of two boats in a tempest in the Johnson Album (1920-9-17-032), and a *Sea of Galilee* painting at the British Museum (BM 1920. 9-17. 031), which is a tinted European print. This kind of European scene was used several times by the Mughals in the 1590s, once in a picture of Noah's Ark in a *Dīwān* of Hafiz;<sup>15</sup> again in *Iskandar Lowered into the Water* in the *Ā'in-i Iskandari* of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī,<sup>16</sup> and in *Bābur Presented With a Fish* in the Keir Collection.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup>See E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mughal* (London, 1932), p. 239.

<sup>13</sup>Arif Qandahari, *Tārikh-i Akbarī*, p. 45.

<sup>14</sup>C. G. Ellis, 'The Portuguese Carpets of Gujarat', in *Islamic Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1972), pp. 267-289, suggests that the motif indicates manufacture in Gujarat: 'Bahadur Shah was the last great ruler of Gujarat, so would it not be more natural that his memory be perpetuated in his own realm as a theme for art works?', *ibid.*, p. 286.

<sup>15</sup>Freer Gallery, Washington 48. 8, publ. Rogers, *op. cit.*, 1993, p. 42.

<sup>16</sup>Cleveland Museum, gift of A. S. Cochran, publ. L. Y. Leach, *op. cit.*, 1986. The *Ā'in-i Iskandari* is a version of the *Iskandar-nāme* by Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī. The episode of Iskandar lowered into the water in a diving bell appears only in the Dihlavī version and in European manuscripts of the story of Alexander.

<sup>17</sup>B. Robinson, *op. cit.*, 1976, pl. 34. Also in the Keir Collection are an impressive *Coronation of the Virgin*, a court scene of seated Europeans, another Madonna with child and book-carrying attendant, and a *Daniel in the Lions Den*, *ibid.*, pls. 121-122.

By the late sixteenth century, such scenes as the labours of the months, which have some parallels with folios 19a (**Fig. 4**) and 195a (**Fig. 2**) of the *Khamsa*, had become popular subjects in Europe for domestic decoration in the form of wooden plaques, furniture panels and tapestries, reviving the older compositional schemas and motifs.<sup>18</sup> Many of the landscape features found in the *Khamsa* may be seen in the work of Simon Bening (d.1561, **Fig. 73**).<sup>19</sup> These are either lines of birds in the sky and small figures on bridges, or figures engaged in labours of the months or seasons (nearly all of these rustic scenes have bluish-green backgrounds and the blurring of forms in the distance). It is unlikely that an original page from a treasured Book of Hours found its way to Mughal India as these folios were avidly collected in Europe. However, there were single folios in wide circulation, which were meant as samples for potential buyers.<sup>20</sup> At the time of the Kabul expedition of 1581, Monserrate tried to interest Akbar in Christianity by showing him, "illustrated sacred books."<sup>21</sup>

The significant number of European prints found in Mughal albums, and other prints that may be dated to different periods. The first wave of European prints dating from the 1540s must have arrived with Francis Xavier who was sent to India in 1542, or subsequently with fifty of his Jesuit brothers who joined him in Goa after 1555.<sup>22</sup> Some of these mid-sixteenth century prints were probably acquired by the Mughal embassy to Goa in 1575. The second wave, dating from the latter part of the century (and perhaps with some of the earlier engravings mentioned) must have arrived at Mughal court with

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>19</sup> See the British Library's Add. MS. 18855, ff. 108, 109 by Bening who revived the older, Breughel style of painting.

<sup>20</sup> The leaf by Bening mentioned above is described in the text of the label in exhibition case as a sample originally meant for display to potential patrons and was therefore presumably one of many in circulation at the time.

<sup>21</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. LXI, 1896, p. 50.

<sup>22</sup> R. P. McBreine, gen. ed, *Encyclopaedia of Catholicism*, New York, 1995), p. 693.

the three Jesuit missions, the first in 1580, the second in 1591 and the third in 1595. The first wave of prints was mainly German and the second wave, Flemish, French and Italian.

The cultural diversity of these prints was due not only to the fact that the Jesuits were themselves an international order, amongst them Portuguese, Italians, Spanish, French and Flemings but also because individual printmakers wandered all over Europe. The Sadeler family had branches in Brussels, Antwerp, Prague and Venice; the Behams in Munich and Frankfurt; Hubert Golzius (1526-1583) moved to Rome, as did Cornelius Cort (1530-1578). Etienne Delaune (1519-1583) worked in both Paris and Strasburg. Only the German, Georg Pencz whose prints, along with those of the others mentioned in this list that were found in India, lived his life in one place: Nuremberg (1500-1550). The variety of prints in Mughal albums also reflects the political and economic internationalism of sixteenth century Europe. Spanish revenues from the new world fuelled the European campaigns of Charles V, King of Spain, Holy Roman Emperor, sovereign over the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Added to this at least nominal Hapsburg Europe, was the kingdom of Portugal in 1582 when Charles V married Isabella of Portugal, sustaining the imperial dreams of Charles's successor, Philip II.<sup>23</sup>

These often tenuous connections between different European countries under the empire, did at times encourage free trade and helped to lay the basis of a wide circulation of prints. This included much of Europe in the 1570s and Antwerp was at the centre of this widespread trade. The revenues from the new trade routes established by the Spanish and the Portuguese enabled both the ruling classes of Madrid and Lisbon to commission a great many artistic products and luxury items from all over Europe. Much

in demand were Flemish tapestries, prints and paintings. Antwerp became important as a distribution centre for Portuguese spices and as a Spanish warehouse for luxury items. The revenues earned from the sale of Portuguese spices were spent by the Spanish aristocracy on Flemish prints, tapestries and luxury goods. Spanish and Portuguese merchants were present there in great numbers. Between 1535 and 1540 there were 328 Portuguese ships that paid for anchorage in Antwerp ports.<sup>24</sup> It was around this time that Antwerp began to dominate the printing trade in Northern Europe. Of the 3814 books that appeared in the Netherlands from 1500-1540, Antwerp alone produced over fifty per cent.<sup>25</sup> The main printing houses in the Netherlands were headed by Crispin Van Der Passe (1565-1637), Christophe Plantin (1520? -1589), Hieronymus Cock (1510? -1570) and Philipp Galle (1537-1612). Prints from all these publishing houses found their way to India. From 1572, the House of Plantin sent thousands of printed books and engravings to Philip II who then distributed them throughout the Spanish empire.

The later 1570s and early 1580s were periods of decline and chaos, mainly due to Spanish bankruptcy and the destruction caused by the Spanish troops after the revolt of Antwerp against Philip II. The city's financial and maritime stability was severely damaged. The population of Antwerp had declined by a little under fifty per cent by the early 1580s. Plantin himself was forced to leave the city temporarily and had to sell off his huge library of prints for a fraction of their value. Given this period of danger and uncertainty, it is extremely unlikely that the Jesuits embarked for Goa from this port in these years. Lisbon appears to have been a far safer port for this purpose. Many Flemish artists fled to Spain, amongst them Hieronymus Wierix who painted a portrait of Phillip II in 1586. When Antwerp was restored to Hapsburg rule in 1585, it began to recover some of its

<sup>23</sup>Philip II was also proclaimed King of Goa in 1581.

<sup>24</sup>H. Van Der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy (Fourteenth to Fifteenth Centuries)*, Vol. II (Louvain, 1963), p. 156.

losses. It also established itself more strongly as an influential centre for the counter-reformation, dominated by the Jesuits. The Jesuits opened a college in Antwerp in 1585 and for the purposes of producing visual aids for Jesuit evangelical missions; the Jesuits set up their own printing press and employed the Wierix brothers to help them do this. Many of these prints were destined to find their way to the Mughal court.

The Antwerp workshops responded to the demand for certain prints throughout Europe and the pattern of this demand was largely responsible in determining the kinds of prints that eventually found their way to the Mughal court. The first wave of prints and copies dating from around the 1540s was mainly by the so-called 'little masters' influenced by Dürer. Engravings by Georg Pencz and Hans Sebald Beham (1500-1550) are the most frequently found in Mughal albums and part of the *Disputing Physicians* illustration in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* is indebted to one of Beham's in particular (Fig. 6). Another part of this *Khamsa* illustration is based on a print from the Hieronymus Cock workshop. These and other examples are discussed in greater detail below.

Seven volumes of Plantin's *Royal Polyglot Bible* were received graciously by the Emperor Akbar in 1580.<sup>26</sup> Although the volumes have very few illustrations, and their influence on Indian art has been exaggerated, some of these are detailed enough to show perspective, as well as figure to landscape ratios and the type of *chiaroscuro* seen in European prints and painting. More especially, modeling of drapery, examples of which appear in the pages of the *Khamsa*, is also evident in the engraving of the title page to the second volume of the *Royal Polyglot Bible*; this is by Jan Wierix, illustrating a procession with the Ark of the Covenant.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup>J. J. Murray, *Antwerp in the Age of Plantin and Brueghel* (Newton Abbot, 1970), p. 56.

<sup>26</sup>J. S. Hoyland, tr., *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>27</sup>Abb. 105, in J. Strzygowski, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei* (Klagenfurt, 1933).

The presence of these volumes had an effect on Mughal painting that cannot be denied. There is an illustration in the *Gulshān* Album by Manōhar adapted from the frontispiece of the *Royal Polyglot Bible* showing the artist's appreciation of European modeling.<sup>28</sup> At the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin<sup>29</sup> there is an even more remarkable adaptation by the same artist. It portrays Majnūn, the hero of Niẓāmī's third romantic poem, kneeling before a European lady, offering her a rosary. She is obviously modeled on the same figure found in the *Polyglot Bible* frontispiece, also carrying a book.<sup>30</sup> Manōhar also painted a Jesuit (Musée Guimet 3619, G. c) and several monochrome *Madonna and Child* paintings.<sup>31</sup> Many of these works were executed before or around the time of the production of the *Khamsa* and must have served as preparation for much of Manōhar's skilful use of European techniques, evident for example, in the *Khamsa*'s f. 132a, *Majnūn Mourning His Father's Death* (Fig. 1).

The figure of Majnūn appears in a European context again on the panel of Plato's organ in f. 298a of the *Khamsa* (Fig. 5). The miniature also features several animals, both predators and prey sleeping together in harmony. This unusual juxtaposition may be seen in the frontispieces to several Persian manuscripts<sup>32</sup> but the image also appears on the title page of the first volume of the *Royal Polyglot Bible*,<sup>33</sup> where there is a scene from Isaiah of the ox eating straw with the lion, and the lamb lying down with the wolf. In the

<sup>28</sup>Publ. Beach, *Early Mughal Painting* (Harvard, 1987), pl. 59. The frontispiece on which it is based features a framed picture of the Virgin Mary and Jesus. Another frontispiece, plate 58, clearly demonstrates the principles of perspective, in particular the diminution of objects and the fading of forms towards the horizon.

<sup>29</sup>See Leach, *op. cit.*, 1995, pl. 1. 240.

<sup>30</sup>The same figure may be seen in a border painting of a leaf in the Freer Gallery, Washington, reproduced in R. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, 1963, fig. 7.

<sup>31</sup>In at the Fondation Custodia, Institut néerlandais, Paris. Inv. 1974-T. 67 and *ibid.*, Inv. 1972-T. 42. There are several other unattributed works depicting European figures in the same institute, cf. Okada, *op. cit.*, pp. 201, 203, 205 and 207.

<sup>32</sup>See. S. Bağci, 'A new theme of the Shirazi frontispiece miniatures in the *Divan* of Solomon', *Mugarnas*, vol. 12, 1995, pp. 101-122.

<sup>33</sup>1568-1572, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, reproduced in E. Koch, ed. C. Troll, *op. cit.*, 1982, fig. 1.

background, there are elements comparable to those found in illustrations to the *Khamsa*, such as cities on hills; boats on the sea and minuscule figures on the shore.

There were also other illustrated books or individual folios that may have served as models for Mughal painters. In particular there was J. Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (Antwerp, 1593), a Jesuit work containing illustrations labeled with letters.<sup>34</sup> These were designed for mnemonic purposes in prayer and for didactic exposition of Jesuit doctrine.<sup>35</sup> The illustrations in J. Nadal's work have abundant parallels with the landscapes and rural scenes found in the backgrounds of the *Khamsa*. The illustration of the *Parable of the Sower* and the *Parable of the Wheat and the Tares* have similar background features to those found in *Farīdūn and the Gazelle*, f. 19a (Fig. 4), in the *Khamsa*. The European folio of the *Parable of the Wheat and the Tares* was in Mughal possession and was overpainted by Mughal artists.<sup>36</sup> The illustration of the *Parable of the Sower* has the sower, furrows in the land and a boat in the background, all of which are also visible in the *Khamsa* in folios 19a (Fig. 4) and 195a (Fig. 2). Another leaf from the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* was pasted into a Mughal album page.<sup>37</sup> The print illustrates the story of *Christ and the Woman of Samaria at the Well*. There is a well in the foreground and a woman carrying a pot of water on her head in the background. In *The King Carried Off by a Giant Bird, The Story Told by the Princess of the Black Pavilion*, f. 195a. (Fig. 2) of the *Khamsa*, there is also a woman carrying a pot on her head and a European well in the background.

<sup>34</sup> See M.-B. Wadell, *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (Göteborg, 1985). Father Guerriero describes paintings of the acts of the apostles from "the book of their lives which we gave him (Jahāngīr)." Maclaglan, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 240.

<sup>35</sup> T. Buser, 'Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome', *Art Bulletin*, 1976, pp. 424-433.

<sup>36</sup> See 132-1885 (25) at the Victorian and Albert Museum.

<sup>37</sup> In a private collection in Tehran, see R. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, 1963, fig. 5.

There were books in addition to the *Royal Polyglot Bible* listed by Du Jarric<sup>38</sup> that were part of the Mughal library. These were, among others, a *History of the Popes*,<sup>39</sup> and a *Chronicle of St. Francis*,<sup>40</sup> the latter two both have illustrations of events and naturalistic portraits, which must have been useful in broadening the repertoires of Akbar's artists. In 1587, the Antwerp engraver, Philipp Galle published a series of engravings of the life of St. Francis, which featured St. Francis having a vision of Christ and receiving the Stigmata. This series must have been the same edition mentioned by Du Jarric in the Mughal library. Two folios from the edition that certainly did reach India, were to become part of a portrait by Farrukh Beg of 'Adil Shāh of Bijapur, playing on a *rabāb*.<sup>41</sup>

For many years prior to their involvement in India, the Jesuits carried pictures, mainly images of the Virgin and Child, to Japan and to other places in the Far East. The parallels with their dealings in later Mughal India are informative.<sup>42</sup> In 1551 they brought with them from Europe pictures of sea battles, knights and horses in armour, and in 1565, a picture of a *Resurrection of Christ* and an illuminated bible. These were followed in 1583 by a copy of the *Holy Face* after Quentin Matsys, done on brass; there were also numerous medals and reliefs.<sup>43</sup> It is reasonable to assume that the Jesuits brought similar artifacts with them to India. After the Jesuits set up a school of painting in Japan in 1583, there are records that tell of the arrival of a Giovanni Niccolò who had learnt engraving from a pupil of Cornelius Cort. One work of his from this period survives, a painting of St. Lawrence in oils on a copper panel. However, the printing press arrived in Japan in 1590, over thirty years later than its arrival in India. In 1556, a Portuguese missionary,

<sup>38</sup>Op. cit., Payne, Tr., 1926, p. 63.

<sup>39</sup>See F. J. Bayer, *Das Papstbuch Herausgegeben und Eingeleitet* (Munich, 1925), pp. 19-23.

<sup>40</sup>See *Die Darstellung des Franziscus von Assisi in der Flämische Malerei und Graphik des Späten 16. und des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Rome, 1992).

<sup>41</sup> Around 1610-12, see A. K. Das, op. cit., 1978, pl. 24.

<sup>42</sup>See J. E. McCall, 'Early Jesuit Art in the Far East', *Artibus Asiae*, vol. X, 1947, pp. 121-4.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., vol. X/3, pp. 299-300.

Juan de Bustamente, started to use a printing press in Goa that turned out books on catechism, lives of Christian saints, sermons, grammars and vocabularies, and some of these were illustrated.<sup>44</sup>

Prints may have arrived at the Mughal court independently of the Jesuits, as they were not the only carriers of printed material to the East. In 1596, in Nova Zembla, between the Barents and Kara seas, a Dutch vessel ran aground on its way to the East via the Northern Passage. A great number of prints were found aboard and some of them have been published.<sup>45</sup> The ship was probably not the first, nor last merchant ship to carry prints as merchandise for oriental markets. Many of the prints were of the mid to late sixteenth century by engravers such as Jacques de Gheyn, Phillip Galle and Jacob and Hendrik Goltzius of the Haarlem School. Such prints did reach India. In the Gulshān Album there is a coloured copy by a Mughal artist of a rather lewd engraving by J. Goltzius (after H. Goltzius) representing an old man with a young woman.<sup>46</sup> The prints from the Dutch vessel included a broad range of subjects from *Hercules*, nymphs, a *Susannah and the Elders* to an *Adam and Eve*. Many of the subjects are nudes and secular in nature and present an interesting source of Western imagery differing from the religious prints of the Jesuits used for evangelical purposes. Evidence of a commercial trade in prints may explain how such a blatantly secular image as nude bathers may be found in folio 23b of the *Khamsa* (Fig. 6).<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup>See A. K. Priolkar, *The Printing Press in India: Its Beginning and Early Developments* (Bombay, 1958), pp. 2-9, 153, and L. Cardon and H. Hosten, Trs. 'Earliest Jesuit Printing in India', *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (Bengal) New Series, vol. ix, March 1913, pp. 149-67.

<sup>45</sup>J. Braat, J. P. Filedt Kok, J. H. Hofenk de Graaf, and P. Poldervaart, 'Restauratie Conservatie en Onderzoek van de op Nova Zembla gevonden zestiendeeuwse prenten', *Bulletin Rijksmuseum*, vol. 28, 1980, pp. 43-79.

<sup>46</sup>A. K. Das, *Mughal Painting During Jahangir's Time* (Calcutta, 1978), pl. 70; the original is at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (reproduced, *ibid.*, pl. 71).

<sup>47</sup>*Op. cit.*, J. Braat, 1980, fig. 20.

Because engravings are monotone they could not have been very helpful chromatic models for the Mughal artists. There is evidence, however, that Akbar's painters consulted the Jesuits about possible colour-schemes for certain prints. Before becoming emperor, Prince Salim used to select original prints from albums for preparation of coloured replicas. He used to send these to the Jesuit chapel at the Mughal court to ascertain the colours to be given to the costumes represented and told his artists to adhere strictly to their instructions.<sup>48</sup> Monserrate also mentions that at Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar had pictures of Christian subjects adorn the walls of the palace *before* the first Jesuit mission had arrived.<sup>49</sup> There is no way of telling whether these were European paintings or prints, or copied directly on to the walls.<sup>50</sup>

Some prints or painted panels must have made their way to India as objects for trade, or as diplomatic gifts from Persia. Although there is little evidence of European influence on sixteenth century Persian painting, there were a few interpretations of European works to suggest some exposure to Western art. There is a version of Perugino's *Lamentation of Christ*, signed by Sadiq (1585-1635) and an *Annunciation* scene by Sadiq Beg Afshar (1533-1610) interpreted from a mid-fifteenth century Flemish *Annunciation* scene.<sup>51</sup> There is also evidence that engravings from Europe were available at the turn of the

<sup>48</sup>C. H. Payne, Tr. and ed., *Jehangir and the Jesuits* (from Father Fernao Guerriero's *Relação...*), London, 1930, p. 65.

<sup>49</sup>Hoyland and Bannerjee, *op. cit.*, 1922, p. 29.

<sup>50</sup>See. M. C. Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 88-9 for details of wall paintings on the Lahore Fort. See E. MacLagan, *op. cit.*, p. 237, for mention of the remnants of two wall paintings of an *Annunciation* and *Fall* at the *Maryam ki Kothi*. Another painting of the *Annunciation* is published in the *Leningrad Indian Antiquary* VI, December, 1877, p. 353. Father Guerriero described paintings on the palace walls of St. John the Baptist, St. Bernardino of Siena and St. Anthony, as well as life-size portraits of Portuguese soldiers, Christ with a globe in his left hand and a Madonna. These were all placed on the royal veranda. There were more paintings on the oriel recess of St. Paul, St. Ambrose and St. Gregory and in the interior of the palace, were portrayed various acts of the apostles and stories of St. Anna (Johnson Album, 14. 4 with Virgin and Child) and Susannah and the Elders. For more details of these paintings and others copied by the Mughal artists (a picture of the Pope and the Duke of Savoy before the Holy Cross, for example), see R. Ettinghausen, 'New Pictorial Evidence of Catholic Missionary Activity in Mughal India (Early VIIth Century)', *Perennitas* (Münster, 1963), p. 390.

<sup>51</sup>In G. A. Bailey, 'In the Manner of the Frankish Masters' *Oriental Art*, vol. XI., no. 4, Winter 1994/5, pp. 29-34.

century, if not earlier, at a stall in Iran, owned by a Venetian merchant, Scudendoli, mentioned in Pietro della Valle's *Viaggi*.<sup>52</sup>

Besides prints and paintings, there were other ways for Mughal artists to appropriate Western imagery and painting techniques. Many of the features of the landscapes in the *Khamsa* manuscript are found in printed Italian maps of the period with receding landscapes, the archaic boats with shields (Fig. 74) and oars, and lakes or rivers with boats disembarking. In particular, the rural figures working the land, the figure playing the kind of bagpipes and accompanied by a greyhound dog seen in f.195a, *The Giant Bird* illustration, (Fig. 2) may also be seen in a map of 1584, printed by Gottfried von Kempen in an edition of Ptolemy's *Geographiae Libri Octo*.<sup>53</sup>

Many European maps and topographical views of the period featured figural elements and views of ships and distant cities on hills. Folios from Braun and Hoefnagel's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* published in Antwerp in 1572 and 1581 (Fig. 75),<sup>54</sup> the *Urbium praecipuarum mundi theatrum quintam* (Fig. 76)<sup>55</sup> and Abraham Ortelius's atlas, the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570) all have many vignettes of boats and figures pulling in nets from the sea. These are scenes that may be found in so many Mughal miniatures of the late sixteenth century and in the *Khamsa's Shāpūr Brings Khusrau News of Shirīn*, f. 52a (Fig. 11) and *Majnūn Mourning the Death of His Father* (Fig. 1).<sup>56</sup> The Jesuits had certainly brought over maps to their other missions in Japan. One Japanese copy of a map for a screen is from the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* mentioned above.<sup>57</sup> One of the most significant gifts to

<sup>52</sup> *Viaggi* (Geneva, 1674), vol. II, p. 14, in *ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>53</sup> S. Antonio del Monte, first edition 1570, cf. Robert Messina, *Biblioteca Geografica* (Rieti, 1991), p. 108.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 269.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 316.

<sup>56</sup> In the background of *Bābur Presented With a Fish* in the Keir Collection, three men pull in a boat, a detail which also appears in the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, f. 132a.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, McCall, *Artibus Asiae*, 1947, vol. X/3, p. 223.

Akbar from the first Jesuit mission was an atlas of the world.<sup>58</sup> Monserrate reports that on one occasion, while the Jesuits were before Akbar, the emperor called for an atlas and asked where Portugal was in relation to his own kingdom.<sup>59</sup>

#### The Impact of European Art on Mughal Albums and Miniatures

The European elements integrated into the illustrative cycle of the *Khamsa* appear at time in the 1590s when interest in European art was already well developed in the Mughal studio. Many illustrated folios of the astrological work c. 1567-1570, at the Raza Library, Rampur<sup>60</sup> feature devices used to signify depth such as gradual diminution of objects in space, as well as volume rendered with light and shade. Also evident in many illustrations are particular motifs such as boats floating on distant lakes or inlets, figures in landscape dressed in European clothes, rural vignettes and nature studies (a waterfall; a bird in a tree).

Subsequent manuscript illustration employed European devices with increasing sophistication. The Bankipore *Tārikh-i Khāndān-i Tīmūriyya*, c. 1584-6 has several folios featuring blue and green *sfumato* and little figures in the background. An illustration in the Bankipore manuscript shows boats on a distant lake or inlet being pulled ashore with a rope held by several diminutive figures (f. 67b).<sup>61</sup> Many scenes from the Chester Beatty Library's *Iyar-i Dānish* manuscript (MS. 4 Nos. 43, 72), which is undated, have similar figures dotted on the distant hills, European style: this is also a ubiquitous motif in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*. Particularly good *sfumato* backgrounds and the use of perspective

<sup>58</sup>Hoyland and Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>60</sup>See K. Khandalawala and J. Mittal, 'An Early Akbari Illustrated Manuscript of *Tilasm* and 'Zodiac' *Lalit Kala* 14 (1969), pp. 9-20.

<sup>61</sup>Also remarkably reminiscent of European painting, is a folio from the dispersed *Bābur-nāme* of 1589, which features two tiny figures in the background carrying bundles of wood on their backs, see Goedhuis, ed., *op. cit.*, 1978, no. 95, p. 120.

in background landscapes may be found in the illustrated folios of the *Harivamśa*<sup>62</sup> (c. 1580s); various copies of the *Bābur-nāme* and the Fogg *Dīwān* of Anwārī, also remarkable for the palette of muted, earthy tones and pastel colours employed in a majority of its illustrations.<sup>63</sup>

Many undated Mughal copies of European compositions have been assigned to the last decade of the sixteenth century. Kesū Dās, Basāwan, and Sanvalā stand out as the artists most interested in adapting European painting. Between 1588-90 Kesū Dās prepared an album that included pictures of several European imitations.<sup>64</sup> The artist's remarkable appreciation of European modeling and *chiaroscuro* techniques may be seen in the Musée Guimet's *Presentation at the Temple* (MA2475), *Saint Jerome* (MA2476) c.1580-82 and in the British Museum a very European *Crucifixion*, c.1590-2. Another crucifixion scene from around the same period is a painting in the Sadruddīn Āgā Khān Collection with a skull and femur in the foreground and several figures in elaborately draped and modeled gowns in sharp, bright colours.<sup>65</sup> These pictures are based on prints by Anton Wierix (d. 1574) who was known to have executed several scenes with similar features and compositions.<sup>66</sup> Kesū Dās also painted a semi-nude *Madonna and Child* at the Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad with an obvious familiarity with European modeling.<sup>67</sup> In a picture of a Jesuit c.1595<sup>68</sup> Kesū Dās applied the paint thickly, as in the technique of applying oil

<sup>62</sup> *Krishna's Combat with Indra*, see A. Topsfield, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

<sup>63</sup> See A. Schimmel and S. C. Welch, *op. cit.*, 1983, pl. 5, p. 98, a folio from the *Dīwān* that shows a well developed *sfumato* treatment of the landscape and the use of several planes to conjure up the illusion of a great distance in the background.

<sup>64</sup> Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 167-8. Some doubt has been raised as to whether it was only a picture, rather than an album, for an opposing view, see A. K. Das, *op. cit.*, 1978, p. 243, footnote 11.

<sup>65</sup> Pub. B. N. Goswamy and E. Fischer, *Wonders of a Golden Age, Painting at the Court of the Great Mughals, Indian Art of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries from Collections in Switzerland* (Zurich, 1987), pl. 10.

<sup>66</sup> M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les Estampes de Wierix Conservées au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier*, vol. I (Bruxelles, no date), pl. 263.

<sup>67</sup> K. Khandalawala gen. ed., and S. Doshi, ed., *An Age Of Splendour, Islamic Art in India* (Bombay, 1983), pl. 9.

<sup>68</sup> See the Salīm Album, Chester Beatty Library, published L. York Leach, *op. cit.*

paint,<sup>69</sup> with the use *sfumato* techniques seen in the background. Sānvala, who painted two pictures for the *Khamṣa*, painted a European scene of a woman at a window with several enthroned figures dressed in European clothes and European style base reliefs<sup>70</sup> and there is a painting by him that may also have been based on a European print: a *Christ with the Virgin and St. Anne* c.1590.<sup>71</sup>

One of the earliest extant copies of European works is by Basāwan.<sup>72</sup> This depicts an old testament scene of *Joseph Telling His Dream* (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin) by Georg Pencz. Also by him, are several delicately crafted works of ink on paper, indicating the source of monochrome etchings: a *St. Matthew* (or, a *St. Luke*) and the *Angel* (Musée Guimet 3619, J, b),<sup>73</sup> an *Allegorical Figure* (3619, J, a) and a *Female Musician Standing on the Head of a Monster* (The Louvre, Paris, 1929, p. 15, 8). These drawings show intensive study of European shading and modeling of the figure by Mughal artists. But the Jesuit fathers had also brought with them to Akbar's court a Portuguese painter who was ordered by the Emperor to copy a picture of the Virgin that they brought with them from Goa. This was a copy of a painting of the Virgin Mary at the Borghese Chapel in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, presented to Akbar by Father Rudolf Aquaviva in 1580. The Virgin and Child became the most frequently painted European subject.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>69</sup>A similar use of paint in a careful study of European colours and modeling may be seen in a *The Virgin Meets Elizabeth* published in Goswamy and Fischer, *op. cit.*, 1987, pl. 23.

<sup>70</sup>At the Chester Beatty Library. Cf. Okada, *Imperial Mughal Painters, Indian Miniatures from the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Paris, 1992), col. pl. 16.

<sup>71</sup>S. C. Welch, *The Art of Mughal India - Paintings and Precious Objects* (New York, 1963), fig. 14.

<sup>72</sup>Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, 1981), p. 105, fig. 7

<sup>74</sup>This picture was re-copied in the *Khamṣa* Or. 12, 208, f. 23b. All the miniatures from French museums given here, are published by A. Okada, *Miniatures de L'Inde Impériale* (Paris, 1989), pp. 189-215.

See a tondo of a *Madonna and Child* in the Goloubew Collection, *Ars Asiatica* XIII, 1929, p. 83, pl. LXVIII, related to another tondo, possibly after Quentin Matsys, publ. *Rupam*, January 1930, p. 24 and a round painting of a *Mary Magdalen* at the J. Rylands Museum and Library, Manchester; a *Virgin and Child* at the British Museum, BM No. 9-17-0208 and BM 1961. 12-15. 01, Brooke Sewell Fund; four related pictures in the Johnson album 2. 9 (the child wearing bracelets) and 2. 10 (a woman seated on a crescent moon with snake); 6. 3 (a Virgin and Child holding a book) and 2. 4 (attended by two angels). At the Bodleian Library, Oxford, there is a *Virgin With Blue Mantle*, Ouseley add. 171. b., 16v. MS. Douce Or. 6, 2, 36, is an oriental-type *Madonna and Child* with three cherubs in the sky and attendants with the accoutrements and dress of the Mughal court, some carrying books, MS. Douce Or. C. 4 and Or. a. I. f. 43, and Or. b. I. f. 1. See also a Madonna descending near a Hindu temple (Dowdeswell no. 22), the last four examples show Mughal artists synthesizing European works with Mughal imagery. Also in the Bodleian is an *Adoration of the Magi* (Dowdeswell

The fact that the Portuguese painter was present at Akbar's court may also help to explain the many European style works found in Mughal albums. Some may well have been painted by the Portuguese artist himself but most probably many more of these miniatures are by Mughal artists who were encouraged by his example.

The numbers of prints and painted copies of prints found in Mughal albums are significant. A survey of original prints and copies of European prints in Mughal albums reveals that the Mughal artists were exposed to European compositions and subjects primarily by way of prints. These albums are difficult to date, as they are collections of works from the late Akbar period through to Jahāngīr's time. It is not known precisely when the prints arrived. Also unclear is the period when Prince Salīm, known for his European taste in painting<sup>75</sup> began to commission paintings using his father's, or indeed his own, artists. A folio in the Gulshān Album,<sup>76</sup> which also has a copy after Dürer's engraving of Frederik the Wise of Saxony in the border, has a dedication to Shāh Salīm, a title he took in 1600 on his secession to Allahabad. Another painting with the same dedication is a *Virgin and Child* after an engraving by Bernart van Orley (1492-1542).<sup>77</sup>

The Jahāngīr Album in Berlin contains specimens of original European prints<sup>78</sup> that could have arrived at the time of the Jesuits' first, second or third missions; some of the

no. 124); Ms. Douce Or. a. I (Ethé 2069) is a remarkable picture of Christ with a globe in his hand (possibly the one mentioned by Father Guerriero (see footnote 25). Other Christian paintings are two *Circumcision* scenes (Johnson 14. 3 and BM 1920-9-7. 0276<sup>c</sup>); a *Last Supper* (Johnson 6. 6) which appears as a pastiche of several European sources; a *Transfiguration* (Johnson 1. 1); another *Christ* and a *Good Shepherd* (Johnson 6. 7 and 6. 8); a Chester Beatty Library *Christ Carrying the Cross* and an *Adam*; a *Descent of the Holy Spirit* BM 1920-9-17-0276B, and two drawings in the J. Rylands Library, Manchester: a *Good Samaritan* and European women (vols. 14 and 7). A unique scene taken from a European painting c. 1590-1600, is of *Neptune Riding on a Sea Horse* (Private Collection) and a *Madonna With a Peacock* (Bharat Kala Bhavan), again, a synthesis of both European and Indian imagery, both reproduced in the *Chauri Golden Jubilee Volume*, Benares, pl. 35, p. 406 and pl. 36, p. 407, respectively.

<sup>75</sup>Du Jarric, (Tr. C. H. Payne), *op. cit.*, 1926. p. 82.

<sup>76</sup>See *Burlington Magazine*, *op. cit.*, 1935, pl. 1b.

<sup>77</sup>Rogers, *op. cit.*, 1993, p. 21. A. K. Das *op. cit.*, 1978, gives 1599 for this picture.

<sup>78</sup> See E. Kühnel and H. Goetz, *op. cit.*, (1926), pp. 7-12.

prints were taken from earlier albums.<sup>79</sup> Earlier Persian works are also included in this album. In the album borders, there are several paintings based on Dürer's prints: one of the Magi from an *Adoration*, *St. Peter Healing a Cripple* (originally from a Dürer engraving dated 1511); a St. John from a *Crucifixion* (originally 1511 and recopied in ink on paper by Abū'l Hasan in 1600-1);<sup>80</sup> a Burgundian standard bearer (by Hendrik Goltzius); an adaptation from Dürer's well known *Madonna with a Monkey* and a copy of Dürer's *The Virgin and Child Seated By a Tree*, which was also recopied in a miniature now at the Windsor Castle Library. These Mughal copies were most probably after the Wierix printing house's reprints of the Dürer original of 1513.<sup>81</sup> There is also a Mughal miniature after Dürer's *Jesus and Caiaphas* of 1511.<sup>82</sup>

In the Jahāngīr Album there is also a series of images indebted to H. S. Beham of European peasants and huntsmen in the border paintings taken from engravings of the months of the year.<sup>83</sup> Some of the original engravings that were models for these images also feature farmers tilling the land with oxen<sup>84</sup> that may also be seen in the background to *Faridūn and the Gazelle* (Fig. 4). Other pictures in the borders are of European figures with goblets or hunting dogs; a figure dressed in a Roman centurion's attire, after Hendrik or Jacob Goltzius;<sup>85</sup> two portraits, one of an English Elizabethan character from prints or lockets, may also be seen.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>79</sup>Folio 25a has a picture of an old man with a scroll which has a Devanagari inscription on it (*ibid.*, pl. 39), dedicating the picture, or if read as a colophon, the album, to Akbar in 1590. Thus, despite its obviously later Jahāngīr period additions, and with the evidence of dedications to Shāh Salim, some of the album's contents and presumably some of the European prints and copies may be assigned to the Akbar period.

<sup>80</sup>Now at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford Reitlinger Bequest, 1978. 2597.

<sup>81</sup>See Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *op. cit.*, pl. 101.

<sup>82</sup>See E. D. MacLaglan, *op. cit.*, 1932, and Das, *op. cit.*, 1978, p. 238. He mentions two other possible copies based on Dürer's works.

<sup>83</sup>C.f. J. V. S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, 'Indian Paintings in a Persian Museum' *Burlington Magazine*, 1935, pp. 168-177 and Kühnel and Goetz, *op. cit.*, 1926, p. 2, 47-8, pl. 29. Another work based on his prints is an *Eve* or *Allegorical Figure* with lion and banner c.f. Beach, *op. cit.*, 1978, p. 157.

<sup>84</sup>*Op. cit.*, Pauli, (1901), taf. 11.

<sup>85</sup>Seen in the Nova Zembla cargo in J. Braat and others, *op. cit.*, 1980, pp. 43-79.

<sup>86</sup>See Kühnel, 'Die Indische Miniaturen der Sammlung Otto Sohn-Rethel' *Pantheon* 8, 1931<sup>ii</sup> p. 385. A folio of the *Sharaf-nāme* at the Bristol Museum has similar figures painted on to the European organ in *Iskandar Entertained*.

Other original specimens in albums are by the Antwerp printmakers, the Sadeler brothers, (Jan, 1550-1600; Raphael, 1555-1618, and Aegidius, 1570-1629). In the Berlin Album there is a *Flaying of Marsyas* by Theodore Galle (1571-1635) after John Stradanus and a *Resurrection* and *Descent into Hell* from a series of the Little Passion by Raphael Sadeler the younger. On another folio there are two small engravings, one a *Noli me tangere*, the other an *Adoration* by unidentified printers,<sup>87</sup> and yet more representing the four evangelists, the *Descent of the Holy Ghost* and an *Adoration of the Kings*, all pasted into the folios of the album. Copies of European works by Mughal artists include a rendition of a *Holy Family With St. John* based on an engraving after J. Rotenhamer by Raphael Sadeler from the early seventeenth century; then there are pictures of two women at the tomb of Christ (the latter two are prints coloured and overpainted by Mughal artists)<sup>88</sup> and a *Madonna* by Kesū Dās (most of his works in this style are dated from the 1580s, around the same time as the Jesuits' first mission).

Many of the originals from which these copies are taken have landscape features and rural vignettes of the type utilised in the *Khamsa*. The work of Aegidius Sadeler may be traced in a border picture of European huntsmen after J. Savery (d. 1602). A similar figure in the same position on the top border of f. 165b in the *Khamsa* fires a matchlock at some deer, as the figure in the Berlin Album border painting.<sup>89</sup>

Copies after ten small engravings by H. S. Beham may be seen in folios of the Gulshān

<sup>87</sup> For the *Noli Me Tangere* however, compare the Wierix catalogue by Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *op. cit.*, pl. 21. A careful, exact copy of *St. Anthony Abbot* by Raphael Sadeler after Martin de Vos may be seen in a folio of the Gulshān Album.

<sup>88</sup> This was a common practice and may be seen in the BM 1920-9-17-031 where woodcuts of a *Storm on the Sea of Galilee* have been tinted and in *Christ and the Instruments of His Passion* in H. Goetz, "The Early Muraqqa's of Jahāngīr", *East & West*, VIII, Rome, 1957, 157-85.

<sup>89</sup> See Kühnel and Goetz, *op. cit.*, 1926, pl. 27

Album.<sup>90</sup> In these folios, copies of the engravings form the borders of Mughal paintings that appear to be reinventions of European originals. In one painting, we have a woman seated under a canopy writing with a quill pen; a man, dressed in European clothes, bows in front of her to the left and in the foreground to the right, a woman appears to be smoothing out some paper, presumably to allow her mistress to continue in her activity. What is clear is that the picture has a good many Indian and Persian elements: the banana tree; the particular foliage in the background and in the foreground, the square pool seen very often in Persian garden scenes. The copies after the Beham prints surrounding the painting are from a series personifying *Cognitio*, *Prudentia*, *Fortitudo* and *Fides*, then a *St. Mark*. Two rectangular prints fill the spaces at the top and bottom borders, the one above is features two *putti* in scroll-like foliated stems by the German monogramist R (active c. 1530) and at the bottom there is a copy of *La Vignette aux Tritons* by monogramist L b (after I B, active c. 1525-1530).

The second folio is similar in composition to a number of prints in the border (this time a *St. John*; a *St. Luke*; *Charitas*; *Es ist kalt wetter*) and the base panel is *The Battle of Achilles and Hector*. At the top is a panel of winged genii attributable to Allaert Claez (1508-c. 1555). These original engravings surround another Mughal synthesis of painting traditions, this time featuring a seated European woman propping up her sleepy head with her hand. However, the most elaborate synthesis of traditions in the Gulshān album is an adaptation of an engraving of *The Sacrifice of Noah* by Crispin de Passe (1564-1637), after Martin de Vos.<sup>91</sup> While the original scene forms the core of the adaptation, many other elements have been added. The treatment of forms and use of palette very much

<sup>90</sup>See M. C. Beach, 'The Gulshān Album and Its European Sources' *Bulletin Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, no. 332, vol. LXIII, 1965, figs. 1 and 2.

<sup>91</sup>For other syntheses see a picture by L'cal in a private collection, of a *Virgin and Child* with Indian attendants, publ. E. Devapriam, *The Influence of Western Art on Mughal Painting* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Case Western Reserve University, 1972), fig. 40 and a *Holy Family at a Saivait Temple*, *ibid.*, fig. 78.

resemble the work of Farrukh Chela, one of the artists of the illustrated *Khamsa* Or. 12, 208. 'The Disputing Physicians' (Fig. 6) and 'The King of the Black is Carried Off by a Giant Bird' f. 195a (Fig. 2) in the *Khamsa* fall into the same category of works that are syntheses of Mughal Indian and European elements.<sup>92</sup>

Several single figures in the borders of the Gulshān album were extracted from European prints. A figure leaning on a sword is from Georg Pencz's *Joseph Telling His Dream*, as are three other figures in the border of another page<sup>93</sup> and there is an Adonis from *The Death of Adonis* by Etienne Delaune, after Luca Penni.<sup>94</sup> Such a practice leads one to suspect that some of the poses of the figures in the *Disputing Physicians* picture in the *Khamsa* may have been based on various *Crucifixion*<sup>95</sup> or *Deposition* scenes that feature fainting figures caught and held by other figures.

Jan Sadeler's works<sup>96</sup> from the late sixteenth century are well represented in the albums: two in the Berlin Album, the *Holy Family on the Way to Nazareth* and a *Massacre of the Innocents*; in part of the Gulshān Album there are three works of his: a *Madonna Feeding the Christ Child* (originally 1581 after Martin de Vos, c.1531-1603), a *Deposition* and an *Entombment*.<sup>97</sup> There is also an *Entombment* in the Free Library of Philadelphia; the origin of both scenes had remained a mystery; a positive identification may now be made however: folio 247b from the *Theatrum Typographicum* of 1576 by Plantin shares identical

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p.73. Also after Pencz in the Gulshān Album: an *Auditor* from the *Five Senses* and a *Dialectica* and *Geometria* from *The Seven Liberal Arts*, ibid., figs. 6, 7. The latter transformation in the album border is unusual: Geometria examines a carefully detailed picture of the Crucifixion held by an attendant.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., fig. 3a.

<sup>95</sup>See for example, the *Crucifixion* BM 1983. 10-15. 1, reproduced in Rogers, op. cit., 1993, p. 68.

<sup>96</sup>See a copy of *Winter* from *The Four Seasons* after D. Barendz in the Gulshān Album, Beach, op. cit., 1965, fig. 11a

<sup>97</sup>See R. Ettinghausen, op. cit., (1963), fig.4. Also illustrated here are a *Madonna and Child* in an album in Tehran (fig. 6) two Freer Gallery pages, one with border paintings of *St. Francis*, *Jesus as the Master Mariner of The Ship of Salvation*, *God the Father* (based on a picture by Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael) which was also carved in ivory (BM, 1959 7-21 1), and Georg Pencz figures of *Geometry* and *Charity* (fig. 7). The other page (fig. 8) has a woman kneeling in adoration of a picture of a saint (or Christ) at the *jharoka* window; this is held by another woman. Two other women appear here, both holding books, one of them based on the figure in the *Royal Polyglot Bible* frontispiece mentioned earlier.

features.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, the Mughal copy is the reverse of the original, which must have been pricked. Many of the Gulshān copies are similarly reversed. This new information also makes nonsense out of the arbitrary date attributed to it of 1610: it could as easily have been painted around the time of the *Khamsa* illustrations in the 1590s, when familiarity with European forms was developing.

In the Gulshān Album there are almost identical copies of three portraits by Jan Sadeler: a *St. Peter*, a *St. Jerome* and a *St. Matthew*. There is also a seated nude based on a figure of *Adam* by Jan Sadeler after Crispin van den Broek (1524-1591) and his *Adam and Eve After the Fall*, which occurs in Gerard de Jode's *Thesaurus Sacrarum Historiarum Veteris Testamenti* (Antwerp, 1585). The original contains landscape features that are found in several pages of Dyson Perrins *Khamsa*.

Works of other European engravers may be traced from Mughal copies in other albums. The Wantage Album at the Victoria and Albert Museum,<sup>99</sup> which is as chronologically eclectic as the other albums, has as a copy of a *Martyrdom of St. Cecilia* by an unknown female artist, Nīnī, from a Jan Wierix original. A coloured drawing after an Italian original of the *Birth of the Virgin Mary* from the late sixteenth century is identical to a print in the Goloubew Collection by Cornelius Cort, said to be after Taddeo Zuccaro.<sup>100</sup> The same composition was also used by Anton Wierix from an *Humanae Salutis Monumenta* (Antwerp, 1571)<sup>101</sup> but is there called *The Birth of John the Baptist* (hence the baby in the

<sup>98</sup>In A. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *op. cit.*, vol. III, 2262, pl.355. The Philadelphia *Entombment* is published by Beach, *The Grand Mogul, Imperial Painting In India, 1600-1660* (Williamstown, Mass, 1978), pl. 55.

<sup>99</sup>There are also at the Victoria and Albert Museum, several interesting loose folios that demonstrate the Mughal artist's ability to synthesise European painting styles and features rather than just copy them: a *Nativity Scene* D402-1885, a *Lady Reading a Book with an Attendant* IM7-1913, *Englishmen in a Landscape* IM9-1913, *Carousing Europeans* D399-1885 and a *Catherine of Alexandria* IM284-1949.

<sup>100</sup>Beach, *ibid.*, pl. 53.

<sup>101</sup>See Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *op. cit.*, vol. III, no. 2183, pl. 334.

tub). Also in the Wantage album are copies of a *Virgin, Child and Angel*, a picture of Christ, the Virgin and St. Anne and a rather Indian *Tobias and the Angel*.

The 'Leningrad' Album, now in the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg also contains a wealth of European material and even more Mughal syntheses of European work.<sup>102</sup> Another painting depicts a *Tobias and the Angel* and a European man and woman strolling in a European landscape.<sup>103</sup> Other pictures include a Christ seated in the *padmasana* position and insets of the *Crucifixion* by Manōhar Dās and a *Virgin and Child*; an oval picture of a lady in a Spanish gown by Gul Mohammad with insets, one a Pencz print of *Arithmetic* and another Virgin. There are several syntheses of European pictures: an elaborate composition containing thirteen figures, some carrying a coffin, others strolling in the countryside and a central allegorical figure sitting under a tree. The picture is inscribed with the title of *Sūltān Salīm* and thus can be dated from 1600. Another, possibly by Farrukh Beg, is a rather overcrowded *Birth of the Virgin* with Indian servants and attendants. Nānhā contributed another European composition, although there is no way of telling when it was painted, and there is also *Dialectics* by Abū'l Hasan after J. Sadeler and an unidentified *St. George and the Dragon*. There are also numerous portrait studies of European origin, mainly of European dandies and women in ruffs, and a copy of the *Virgin and Child* in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome.

The contents of the various albums described, not to mention numerous loose leaves, are either original European prints, direct copies of prints or paintings based loosely on either of these. The Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahan period albums tell us also that this interest did not

<sup>102</sup>See A. A. Ivanov, T. V. Grék and O. F. Akimushkin, *Indian Albums and Persian Miniatures of the Sixteenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (New York, 1995).

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., pl. 32. European pictures continued to play a part of the Mughal court decor in the time Shāh Jahan (regnal dates 1628-1707). See several Christian figures in a miniature in the Windsor Castle *Padshah-nāme*, M. C. Beach and E.

appear to decline in later years. The albums demonstrate a long period of interest in European art. European prints introduced the Mughal artist to European compositions and techniques and inspired him to create remarkable syntheses of Mughal, European and Persian imagery.

#### The Impact of European Art on the Khamsa

The most obvious synthesis of this kind in the *Khamsa* is *The Disputing Physicians* folio 23b (Fig. 6). The picture features a series of wall paintings in the background, one rectangular panel with another beneath it, is situated in an architectural niche with curtains at the centre. To the left is an arch under which is painted a scene with a background of its own, as if to appear as a window view on to a landscape. In the spandrel of the arch is an angel, painted to appear as a relief. These features in the composition can be compared to a sixteenth-century European print of the *Visitation* from the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (c. 1571)<sup>104</sup> that has the same organization of space: an arch to the left in where there is a subsidiary scene, the *Birth of St. John the Baptist*, and a central panel (the *Journey to Nazareth*), in front of which the main 'real' scene takes place, the *Visitation*. Miskīna, who painted *The Disputing Physicians*, must have adapted the basic composition from this original and added to it a rather conventional Persian scene in the foreground.

The central panel in the background of folio 23b may be identified as *St. Luke and the Angel*. It is clear that the wall painting is based on a version of a very similar scene by Basāwan c.1590.<sup>105</sup> There is an even earlier copy by Kesū Dās, dated 1587-8, now at the

---

Koch, *King of The World, The Padshahnama. An Imperial Mughal Manuscript* (Azimuth Editions and Smithsonian Institute, 1997), p. 94.

<sup>104</sup> By Hieronymus Wierix, publ. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *op. cit.*, vol. III, no. 1992, pl. 307.

<sup>105</sup> P. Pal, *op.cit.*, 1991, fig. 10.

Bodleian Library. This is of St. Matthew (or St. Luke, the patron saint of painting), writing in a book held by an angel. The original European engraving of c.1565, with the kind of boats and far-off townscapes typical of the *Khamsa*, is by Philip Galle, based on a work by Maarten van Heemskerk.<sup>106</sup> The only difference in the *Khamsa*, is that the angel writes on a scroll of paper, while in the other versions, the angel holds open the page of the book for the saint to write upon. Another version of the St. Luke image is a folio from the Plantin *Humanae Salutis Monumenta* c. 1571,<sup>107</sup> which shows an angel encouraging St. Luke to write. The smaller inset below St. Luke in *The Disputing Physicians* picture represents a female reading from a scroll with an attendant standing nearby (Fig. 5).<sup>108</sup> The scene in 23b, is an *Annunciation*: several European engravings by the Wierix family depict the Virgin in bed, receiving an angel with a scroll, bearing good tidings.<sup>109</sup>

To the left of the picture (Fig. 6), is another representation, this time featuring several bathers in a tub. The picture is obviously European in origin, as nudity in Islamic art is extremely rare.<sup>110</sup> The panel to the left appears as a real opening onto a background landscape under a painted arch. It presents itself as problematic: this is either an obvious illusion, or the nude scene is taking place in the same room as the encounter between the disputing physicians.

In contemporary Europe, nude scenes such as *Diana and Actaeon*,<sup>111</sup> or *David Surprising*

<sup>106</sup> Published in Beach, *op. cit.*, 1992, fig. 36.

<sup>107</sup> See de Nave and Imhof, *op. cit.*, 1992, cat. 10.

<sup>108</sup> The only comparable material in Mughal art is a picture of the Virgin Mary and an angel holding up to her an open book, see S. N. Gupta, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Lahore, 1922), pl. VI.

<sup>109</sup> Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, no. 2231, pl. 397.

<sup>110</sup> There appears to be only one other related scene in Mughal art, in a loose leaf at the Victoria and Albert Museum (D399-1885) where, in the background, two nude children play over a barrel.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. an engraving by Georg Pencz in D. Landau, Engl. Tr. A. Paul, *Georg Pencz* (Milan, 1978), pl. B. 79b.

*Bathsheba*<sup>112</sup> were becoming popular in paintings and prints. *Susannah and the Elders*,<sup>113</sup> a biblical story which contains a bathing scene, was frequently represented in the form of prints and tapestries in the sixteenth century.<sup>114</sup> But in these images, the elders are always shown fully clothed.<sup>115</sup> The scene in the *Khamsa* appears not to be based on a bible story or on Ovid but is in fact related to an entirely different pictorial tradition. The image is based on paintings and prints from an fifteenth-century genre, common in the Northern Renaissance with the depiction of women's bathhouses (Figs. 77, 78). The central motif that runs through several of these prints is a tub with scantily clad or nude bathers in it.

In two European engravings, a woman and a man fondle each other in the same way that the figures do in the *Disputing Physicians* illustration in the *Khamsa*, leaving little doubt as to the origins of the scene (Fig. 78).<sup>116</sup> By the sixteenth century, the tradition of representing bath-houses was carried on by Dürer in such drawings as *Im Turspalt ein Voyeur*,<sup>117</sup> which was copied later in that century by Hans Springinklee. H. S. Beham also executed several prints of women bathing in tubs (Fig. 77)<sup>118</sup> comparable to the scene in the *Khamsa*. The reason for its inclusion was meant perhaps as an aspersion on the consistent nudity found in European art, in contradiction to the rather more sacred imagery found in the painting next to it.

<sup>112</sup>*Ibid.*, pl. B. 21.

<sup>113</sup>*Ibid.*, 28B and a print by J. Brae the Younger in Max Geisberg and W. L. Strauss ed., *The German Single Leaf Woodcut 1500-1550* (New York, 1978), pl. G. 396.

<sup>114</sup>See prints by Anton Wierix in Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pls. 70-71, and mention of tapestries featuring the same subject in W. S. Thomson, *The History of Tapestry* (London, 1973), p. 254 and 380.

<sup>115</sup>See an art historical treatment of the *topos* by H. Rosenhagen, *Susanna im Bade* (Dresden, 1925).

<sup>116</sup>See H. P. Duerr, *Nachheit und Scham, Der Mythos vom Zivilisationsprozess* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988), particularly figure 25, a scene of a Burgundian bath-house with two nudes who very much resemble those in the *Khamsa*, f. 23b, and fig. 40, *Jungbrunnen*. Figs 26 (Fig. 78), 31, and 43 are also comparable.

<sup>117</sup>*Ibid.*, pl. 19.

<sup>118</sup>See G. Pauli, *Hans Sebald Beham, Ein Kritisches Verzeichniss* (Strasbourg, 1901), 216, ii and 210, ii, the latter print displays a woman's anatomy as frankly as the representation in the *Khamsa* (Fig. 77)

Another aspect indebted to European prints in the *Khamṣa* is that of a bridge over a river with tiny figures walking over it (seen in the background of *Farīdūn and the Gazelle*, f. 19a, Fig. 4). This was also used by Basāwan in *A Hindu Flees A Dervish from a Dīwān of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī*.<sup>119</sup> The motif can be traced back to a print after Maarten van Heemskerk of *Heraclitus and Democritus*, 1557,<sup>120</sup> which in turn, was revived in the topographical views such as those published by Plantin in the 1570s mentioned above.

Another European detail in Mughal painting, also seen in the *Khamṣa*, is the kind of chair Iskandar is seated on in f. 254a, *Iskandar Shown Gifts from the Indian Kayd, Fur of Kannauj* (Fig. 46). This may be seen in other paintings of European subject matter, and was known in Tuscany in the 15th and 16th centuries as the "Savonarola" chair, which could be folded up and is often structured with cross-slats for this purpose.<sup>121</sup> Various representations of it in Mughal art seem to indicate an Italian source from whence the detail was gleaned.<sup>122</sup> It may be seen in a painting of a European woman with a lute<sup>123</sup> and in another of a woman playing a zither.<sup>124</sup> Other appearances of the cross-slatted variety may also be seen in a picture of a seated woman writing in a book held by an attendant, in a private collection<sup>125</sup> and in an elaborate European scene by Sānvala.<sup>126</sup> There is another appearance in a picture by Kesū Khurd<sup>127</sup> in the Chester Beatty Library

<sup>119</sup>Now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art New York, see S.C. Welch, *op. cit.*, 1963, fig 8a.

<sup>120</sup>Gibson, *ibid.*, fig. 46, p. 78.

<sup>121</sup>Named thus, after one that was found in the cell of Girolamo Savonarola in the convent of San Marco, Florence. It is "descended from the Roman "faldistorium" or "sella plicatilis" similar to folding stools of the mediaeval period", R. M. Cimino, 'The 'Savonarola' Chair in Indian Miniatures' in D. Jones, *op. cit.*, 1987, p. 107.

<sup>122</sup>See a tapestry from a drawing by G. Stradano featuring the 'Savonarola' chair, *Cosimo "Pater Patriae" Supervises the Building of the Badia Fiesolana*, in D. Jones, 'Painting Under the Medici and Mughals, Cultural Parallels and Artistic Exchanges', D. Jones, ed., *op. cit.*, 1987, p. 24, fig. 25.

<sup>123</sup>BM 1948. 10-9. 072, publ. Rogers, *op. cit.*, 1993, p. 84.

<sup>124</sup>Private Collection, reproduced in S. C. Welch, 'Mughal and Deccani Miniature Paintings in a Private Collection' *Art Orientalis* V, 1963, fig. 10.

<sup>125</sup>*Ibid.*, fig. 11. Welch published other paintings that feature the chair: *The Art of Mughal India, Paintings and Precious Objects* (New York, 1963), fig. 100, and *Catalogue of the Exhibition, "India" Held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985-6* (New York, 1985), fig. 100. There are other portrayals of Indian princes sitting on this type of chair, once in the Johnson Album, possibly late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, said to be from Golconda, 27. 1, and a Freer Gallery loose leaf of a *Royal Entertainment*, featuring Jahāngīr on the Savonarola chair, see Beach, *op. cit.*, 1981, no. 21, pl. 88.

<sup>126</sup>Okada, *op. cit.*, 1992, pl. 16.

<sup>127</sup>L. Y. Leach, *op. cit.*, 1995, cat. 1. 234.

and yet another 'Savonarola' chair in a picture of two women (based on a *Virgin and St. Anne and Child*). This also has boats and tiny figures of the kind found in the *Khamsa*.<sup>128</sup> The 'Savonarola' chair also appears in border paintings in Gulshān<sup>129</sup> and Berlin albums.<sup>130</sup>

The *Khamsa's* *The King of Black is Carried Off by a Giant Bird*, f.195a (Fig. 2), illustrating an episode in the *Haft Paykar*, undoubtedly had its origins in the *Shāh-nāme* and *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* illustrated traditions. It has been claimed, however, that the image may have a precedent in European cabinet or panel painting, which preserved the style of earlier Northern European painting.<sup>131</sup> An example of this is *The Fall of Icarus* (Staedtel, Frankfurt-am-Main, no.1689), by the Antwerp painter, Tobias Verhaecht (1561-1631). When considering the landscape and main subject together, the colouring and composition of this painting compare favourably to the *Khamsa* illustration, which also synthesizes landscape elements and deep perspective, largely absent in the Persian versions.<sup>132</sup> Also comparable are prints and paintings of the story of Ganymede, seized by Jupiter in the form of a great eagle (Fig. 79).<sup>133</sup> At least in these works it is a bird carrying off a figure rather than a man with wings. Another print by Stradanus (Jan van der Straet, 1523-1605) of *Magellan's Discovery of the Straits* also features a large bird, this time carrying an elephant in its talons across the sky. The image first appears as a description of the *Garuda* in the *Mahabharata* (I, 1353) and *Rāmāyana* (III, 39) and in Europe from Marco Polo's description of Madagascar.<sup>134</sup> There is a picture from a

<sup>128</sup> C. Welch, *op. cit.*, 1963, pl. 14.

<sup>129</sup> See Das, *op. cit.*, 1987, pl. 69.

<sup>130</sup> Kühnel and Goetz, *Indian Book Painting* (London, 1926), pl. 29.

<sup>131</sup> See M. Rogers, *op. cit.*, 1983, p. 54.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>133</sup> For several images comparable to that in the *Khamsa*, see G. Kempler, *Ganymed, Studien zur Typologie, Ikonografie und Ikonologie* (Würzberg, 1980).

<sup>134</sup> See R. Wittkower, 'Miraculous Birds', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, vol. I, no. 3, pp. 255-257, and for a reproduction of the Stradanus print. The same motif but in the guise of a Persian or Chinoiserie *Simmgh* with an elephant in its beak, or talons, may be seen in BL Add. 18803, f. 15, and in a Jain cosmological design and as a design on a Mughal carpet

manuscript of the *Katha-Sacrit-Sagara* of *A Man Hiding in an Elephant Skin Carried Off by a Giant Simurgh* c.1590-1600.<sup>135</sup>

A Flemish seascape may be identified in the background to the illustration of *Faridūn and The Gazelle*, f.19a (Fig. 4). The seascape with a European boat and a farmer ploughing the land immediately in front of this, bears a remarkable resemblance to a page representing a calendar scene of *February* from a Flemish Book of Hours c.1535.<sup>136</sup> The first picture in the *Khamsa, Anūshirvān and the Vizier*, features a ruined city with pillars and arches that resemble some of the prints of old ruins by Hieronymous Cock done earlier in the sixteenth century.<sup>137</sup>

In *Aflātūn Playing Music to the Animals* (f.298a, Fig. 5), the European organ, probably based on the one brought back from Goa in 1582, is decorated with four inset pictures, one of a European painting someone else; a mother and child with attendant and a picture of Majnūn in the desert. The last inset features a bust of yet another European. All the Europeans featured here are dressed in Portuguese clothes. There is a picture in the Johnson album (16. 6) of similarly dressed figures, although the composition is of a typical Persian court scene: a king enthroned with attendants and a table with a ewer and glasses on it in the foreground. In another miniature at the Cleveland Museum of Art there is a European costume scene that also follows Persian compositional conventions but is dressed up to appear exotic.<sup>138</sup>

---

both at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, reproduced in Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, 1930, vol. II, pls. LXXIII, LXII and CCXCVIII.

<sup>135</sup>E. Binney 3rd., *Indian Miniature Painting From the Collection of Edward Binney 3rd* (Portland, 1973), p. 50.

<sup>136</sup>Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS. lat.23638, fol.3v. Publ. W.S. Gibson, *Bruegel*, (London, 1977), fig. 103.

<sup>137</sup>See T. A. Riggs, *Hieronymous Cock, Printmaker and Publisher* (New York and London, 1977), pls. 19, 22, and 21.

<sup>138</sup>L. Y. Leach, *Indian Miniature Paintings and Drawings at the Cleveland Museum of Fine Art. Catalogue* (Cleveland, 1986), fig.14.

This survey of Mughal paintings and albums in public collections only partly reflects the body of works inspired by European art that must have existed in even greater numbers. Judging by the albums, the prints that were collected by the Mughals arrived in two or three waves from the mid to the late sixteenth century. In the first wave, the Mughals were primarily exposed to versions of works of Dürer and his circle, H. S. Beham, H. Golzius and Georg Pencz. In the second phase, the prints of both the Wierix<sup>139</sup> and Sadeler brothers are more frequently present in Mughal albums. Many copies of these prints are in reverse of the originals, a clear sign that pounced copies were made to form the basis of new paintings. This practice makes the dating of copies hazardous, notwithstanding the fact that freehand copies and adaptations are equally difficult to date. Many copies pre-date the seventeenth century, which is often the general date assigned to most pictures found in Mughal albums. Many Mughal works based on European paintings and prints may well have been painted or collected much earlier in the sixteenth century and placed into later seventeenth century albums.

The Jesuits introduced the Mughal artists to European artifacts such as engravings and prints taken from books, mainly published by Plantin in Antwerp from 1570 to 1595. These prints were used as visual aids to explain Christian doctrines. A large number of these were collected by the Mughals for mainly aesthetic rather than theological reasons. In the process of copying these European works at the express orders of both the Emperor Akbar and Prince Salim, the Mughal artists also used these prints, maps, folios and other artifacts to enhance and embellish the *Khamsa* illustrations. The diminutive boats and figures in background scenes in the *Khamsa* and in many other Mughal manuscripts were taken from European topographical views and maps.

---

<sup>139</sup> Jan Wierix (b. 1549), was known to have been a strong supporter of the Jesuits; he made several small and portable prints suitable for use as bookmarks.

With the kind of synthesis of European and Mughal Indian painting seen in the *Khamsa's Disputing Physicians* (Fig. 6); *Farīdūn and The Gazelle* (Fig. 4); *The King of the Black is Carried Off by a Giant Bird*, f. 195a (Fig. 2); and *Aflātūn and the Animals* (Fig. 5), it may be said that experimentation with European art had moved beyond slavish imitation, to the advanced manipulation of *sfumato*, perspective and the illusion of volume. The *Khamsa* miniatures are fine examples of the fusion of European and Mughal painting. The so-called European elements in the *Khamsa* are thus selective and are used in a sophisticated, self-aware manner. In all of the pictures mentioned here, the artists of Akbar's *Khamsa* took details from Western works and painted them in different environments and contexts for new meaning. The increasingly sophisticated use of European motifs in the *Khamsa* present us with evidence that Mughal painters valued European works of art, studied them for technical reasons and used them for narrative significance. The latter is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

## CHAPTER V

### Reflexivity and Meaning in the *Khamsa*

---

The aim of this chapter is to interpret the meanings of illustrations in the *Khamsa* in the light of reflexivity, a relatively recent discovery in Western art history. After attempting to define reflexivity in art by considering Western examples, the next stage of exposition is to examine the *Khamsa* illustrations that parallel developments in the reflexive process. By means of an analysis of Niẓāmī's poetry and the writing of Abu'l Fażl, Akbar's biographer and historian, I shall attempt to explain the historical and culturally specific motivations that led to the Mughal artists' own version of reflexivity.

In recent years, a phenomenon known as reflexivity has been identified in literature and fine art.<sup>1</sup> Reflexivity is a reference to the book, painting, or play in which the reference itself is enclosed. Thus, reflexivity can be a story within a story, a play within a play, or an image enclosed in an image. Reflexivity in painting draws attention to its own artifice. In addition to this, in the mind of the artist and the viewer, an image within an image can suggest more than one narrative meaning.

Examples of reflexivity in European literature are *Don Quixote* and *Hamlet*. In Cervantes' novel, characters in the first volume discuss the creation of the second volume of the

---

<sup>1</sup>M. Foucault was one of the earliest theorists to identify this process in Western cultural forms. See M. Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice* (Ithaca, Cornell, 1980). In art history, the subject was treated rather cursorily by M. Levey, *The Painter Depicted* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1982). An important study of reflexivity came in the form of L. Dallenbach, trs. J. Whately and E. Hughs, *The Mirror in the Text* (London, Blackwell, 1989), where reflexivity is treated largely as a literary device. Based on this, is V. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-painting* (Cambridge, CUP, 1997), where reflexivity is examined in seventeenth century Dutch and Spanish art.

story with the author. The story becomes a story about a story. In *Hamlet*, the murder of Gonzago reproduces in miniature part of *Hamlet*, staging for the audience a scene within a scene.

Reflexivity is not, however, confined to Western culture. In the *Ramāyana*, the sons of Ramā who do not know the identity of their father seek shelter in a forest where an ascetic teaches them to read. This teacher is no other than Valmiki, the author of the *Ramāyana* and the book they study, the *Ramāyana*. In *The Arabian Nights*, on the tenth night, the king hears from the queen his own story. He hears the beginning of the story (of *The Arabian Nights*), which generates all the others - and also itself.

The literary device has a visual equivalent. In European art, one of the earliest examples of reflexivity may be seen in an altarpiece of *St. Luke Painting the Virgin Mary* by an unknown artist (1487) **Fig. 80.**<sup>2</sup> This altarpiece comprises a series of views: there is a view into the chamber on the left where the Virgin Mary sits (and a view outside onto a landscape); then there is a view of the picture of the Virgin and Child painted by the saint, and a view out of a window onto an idyllic landscape on his side. The most obvious form of reflexivity in art is a picture of an artist painting; another form of reflexivity is the representation of a picture or painting within the illustration or painting itself, and the third way is through the depiction of a window, a map or a reflection in a mirror, both of which create the effect of a scene within a scene.

---

<sup>2</sup> Publ. V. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-painting* (Cambridge, CUP, 1997), fig 24.

In Dutch art, Vermeer's *Artist in his Studio* (Fig. 81)<sup>3</sup> is another picture inside a picture.

In *Las Meninas* (Fig. 82),<sup>4</sup> Velasquez paints a picture of himself painting a picture. There are also many views of pictures in the background of this picture. As in all reflexive pictures, the beholder is shown several views of reality; there is more than one portrayed reality and more than one scene.

These examples of reflexivity feature painters painting. Other examples dispense with the artist and focus on the subject of painting by simply enclosing a view of a painting. Aurelio Lomi's so-called *Tabernacle Painting* c.1581 (Fig. 83),<sup>5</sup> shows a picture of the Virgin as the main narrative event of the painting. Here, the picture within the picture forces the viewer to examine the relationship between the centre and what it is surrounded by. The viewer is meant to be as impressed by the embedded picture as the audience depicted.

In Gabriel Metsu's *Young Woman Reading A Letter* 1664 (Fig. 84),<sup>6</sup> there is a view of a woman drawing back a curtain to view a painting. This reflects back on the viewer's own viewing of the painting. The picture she sees is like a revealed secret, implying another narrative, an absent husband at sea, for example. Franz Franken II's painting of a *Cabinet of Curiosity* around the same period (Fig. 85),<sup>7</sup> was part of a popular genre of showing pictures within pictures, some for the specific purpose of elaborating on the narrative,

<sup>3</sup> See N. Bryson, *Vision and Painting, The Logic of the Gaze* (London, 1983), cover.

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed analysis of this painting, see M. Foucault, *ibid.*, 1980, pp. 3-16 and frontispiece.

<sup>5</sup> Stoichita, *op. cit.*, 1997, fig. 38.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

much like a sub-scene. Another elaborate example by William Van der Haecht (**Fig. 86**)<sup>8</sup> consists of showing many views framed by doorways, windows and mirrors, so that the viewer is involved in a guessing game as to which is supposed to be a painting, or a window view or reflection. The picture within the picture, even if it is not strictly an internal duplication, is reflexive as it reminds the viewer of the illusion of the picture as a whole.

Another European example of reflexivity is an engraving by Jan Wierix of *Apelles and Campaspe* (**Fig. 87**)<sup>9</sup>. Many European engravings of this kind and by this printmaker in particular were brought to India in large numbers by the Jesuits.

#### Reflexivity in Mughal Art

However significant reflexivity may be in cultural production, in painting, it has been unjustifiably associated with European cultures only, with little or no recognition of parallel developments elsewhere. In the case of Mughal painting, there is evidence that one of the ways in which the Mughals were introduced to the idea of painting pictures about painting was through European engravings of the kind described above. A Mughal drawing in the border of the Gulshan Album now in Tehran, which hints at reflexivity is a copy of *Geometria* by Georg Pencz (1500-1550), **Fig. 88**. The Mughal viewer could easily have mistaken Geometria's measuring for the activity of drawing. Such a picture might also have introduced the concept of *prosopopoiea* or personification, to the Mughal

---

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

artists. In the same album there is a drawing based on a European engraving of a European woman holding up a picture of Christ for worship, possibly after a St. Veronica (Fig. 89).<sup>10</sup> This can be likened to another Mughal painting, this time a picture within a picture, which portrays a Mughal lady reverently holding up a picture of the Emperor Jahāngīr (Fig. 90).<sup>11</sup>

Although these copies of European engravings might provide an explanation for the origins of reflexivity in Mughal art, they do not explain why the Mughal artists adopted it in their own art. Whether in the art of seventeenth century Europe, or in the Mughal art of the same period, reflexivity occurs at a crucial juncture when artists or writers begin to re-evaluate tried and trusted methods of representation and to use newer ones. In the Mughal context, artists in the late Akbar period were no longer content to depict stories or the reality around them using predominantly Persian artistic conventions, and reflexivity was adopted by the Mughal artists as a new tool for their own ends. They certainly had no hesitations adopting European painting techniques, as well as imagery, in the form of *sfumato* and stereoscopic perspective.

The willingness to experiment with these techniques, seen in many illustrations of the *Khamsa*, show that the encounter between the Jesuits and the Mughals encouraged in the latter a process of cultural self-examination. Competition or comparison with the Europeans' art led the Mughals to innovate: to search for new ways of painting and new answers to problems of representation.

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 158.

<sup>11</sup> M. C. Beach *The Grand Moghul: Imperial Paintings in India 1600-1660* (Williamstown Mass., 1978), p. 159.

The need to address new modes of representation and new thematic content was a result of changing perceptions about the art of painting. Because the Jesuits used pictures as tools for religious instruction and frequently discussed their religious symbolism at the court of Akbar, the Mughals' appreciation of the potential uses of painting increased. This may be seen in a statement by A'bul Fażl that demonstrates the Mughal belief that European painting could suggest complex and subtle messages:

Although in general, a picture represents a material form...the painters of Europe quite often express, by using rare forms, our latent, natural temperaments<sup>12</sup> and (thus) they lead the ones who consider only the outside of things to the place of inner meaning.<sup>13</sup>

The Mughals and the Jesuits held public debates on many different theological subjects, frequently discussing the meanings of religious pictures. Akbar often commented upon and repeated the remarks of Jesuits relayed by interpreters to the audience of Muslim theologians and courtiers (some of whom, like Abd al-Şamad and Mīr Sayyid cAli, were courtiers-cum-artists). He often asked them to explain such doctrines as the Holy Trinity and the incarnation with the aid of visual material:<sup>14</sup>

Then the priest, at the king's command, unrolled the books; and seizing his opportunity explained the pictures. He told the meaning of the Ark of the Covenant and what was kept in it.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, on more than one occasion, the debates between the Mughals and the Jesuits focused on religious issues extrapolated from the figurative meaning of paintings. In

<sup>12</sup>Expressed in the Persian Arabic as *Khilqī*, an adjective meaning any disposition in human nature, whether intellectual or emotional ("tolerance" or "anger", for example), which helps to form different characters. The singular noun, *khilq* can mean humour, spirit or temper while the plural *ākhlaq*, has the more intellectual meaning of morals, ethics or good manners.

<sup>13</sup>*A'in-i Akbari*, Blochman, tr., 1873, Vol. 1, p. 96.

<sup>14</sup>See J. Correia-Afonso, S. J., *Letters From the Mughal Court* (St. Louis, 1981) p. 34.

<sup>15</sup>J.S. Hoyland, tr. *The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S. J.* (New Delhi, 1992), p. 139.

other words, images were seen to yield inner meanings. That Mughal perceptions about painting were altered by the presence of the Jesuits at Akbar's court cannot be denied. On one of several occasions when a viewing of a picture of the Virgin was held at Akbar's court, one of the Jesuit fathers wrote in a letter to another Jesuit father:

The opportunity was used to explain to them the principal mysteries and the foundations of our belief. The picture affected them in a manner which was highly miraculous...for it aroused in them not only wonder, but remorse for their sins...thus was God glorified and the Christian faith announced and exalted amongst Saracens and Gentiles by means of a picture of the holy Virgin Mother of the Saviour.<sup>16</sup>

The Jesuits had several reflexive attitudes to painting that can be identified, some of which were undoubtedly conveyed to their Mughal audiences. The Jesuits clearly placed visuality at the centre of their learning and communication. Required reading for Jesuit students from the 1570s was *De Arte Rhetorica* by Cypriano Soarez, a textbook on basic lessons of rhetoric and grammar, which included instructions on how students should practice creating dramatic mental images to fix complex ideas in their minds and in the minds of their audiences. This rhetoric connected with visuality became more sophisticated in mnemonic exercises where the Jesuits were encouraged to reduce complex ideas to their essentials and to assign these to a visual representation of a room, and in a reflexive manner, to place paintings within this room.<sup>17</sup> This reflexive process of placing a mental image within another is clearly a mental equivalent of having a painting within a painting.

These rhetorical lessons were bolstered by the *Spiritual Exercises* of the Jesuit order's founder, Ignatius Loyola, who urged the Jesuits to frame or visualise a scriptural scene as if reliving it through the five senses for the purposes of memorising and delivering

<sup>16</sup> Quoted in P. Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits* (London, 1924), p. 171-172.

<sup>17</sup> J. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (London, 1985), 10.

spiritual lessons. Many Jesuit prints portray him seeing a vision, which could understandably have been mistaken by the Mughals as a painting within a painting.<sup>18</sup> Loyola used the word “*imagen*” frequently in his *Spiritual Exercises* to mean his practical (as well as mental) experience and the noun also denotes an actual statue or painting.<sup>19</sup> Thus painting for the Jesuits both reflected thought and conveyed or created new thought in the minds of others. In A’bul Fażl’s musings on aesthetics in the *Ā’īn-i Akbarī*, he demonstrates that the Mughals were aware of this attitude to painting:

What we call form leads us to recognize a body; the body itself leads us to what we call a notion, an idea. Thus, on seeing the form of a letter, we recognize the letter, or a word and this again will lead us to some idea. Similarly in the case of what people call a picture....<sup>20</sup>

In comparing a letter or word to painting, A’bul Fażl implies that painting too, is a kind of language meant to communicate “a notion, an idea”. Abu’l Fażl, however, does not venture to describe what there is in a painting that is equivalent to a letter or word and one can only imagine that he intended to mean the painted expression of a face, or the system of symbols or gestures employed in a painting through which a mental idea may be conveyed. This forms the inner meaning of painting. Elsewhere, the notion that inner meaning is to be “brought out” is reiterated. The Emperor Akbar is described in the *Akbar-nāme* as “Lord of the World, depicter of the *external*, revealer of the *internal*.<sup>21</sup> The implication here is that Akbar was able to reveal and interpret mental ideas from external appearances. This is also the case when A’bul Fażl describes the Emperor as

---

<sup>18</sup> Paintings and prints of visions were a very popular Jesuit choice. Loyola’s visions at Manresa and at the Cardoner were not only repeatedly reproduced in Jesuit prints by Nadal, but so were Philipp Galle’s series of engravings of the life of St. Francis one of which was taken to the court at Bijapur by the Jesuits, and in the Jesuit church at Goa, one of the central frescoes was a scene of the vision of St. Paul (*ibid.*, p. 170).

<sup>19</sup> M. O’Rouke Boyle, *Loyola’s Acts and the Rhetoric of the Self* (Berkeley, 1997), p. 143.

<sup>20</sup> *Ā’īn-i Akbarī*, Vol. 1, pp. 96-97.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, Beveridge, 1948, vol. II, p. 502.

“Perceiver of the links between the Visible and Invisible Worlds”.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, Akbar is also credited with having a “transmuting glance” (*iskrī-i binish*), which transformed the painting of Abd al-Ṣamad from outer form to inner meaning.<sup>23</sup>

### The Uses of Reflexivity

The road to Mughal recognition and use of the Jesuit rhetoric of visuality or reflexivity was to some extent prepared by Persian poetry. In the *Khamsa*, reflexivity appears when the Mughals attempted to glorify painting (or visuality) using references found in Nizāmī’s poetry. Without reflexivity, the representation of paintings and the art of painting itself would not have featured as a theme or subject for illustration. Paintings appear as an important part of the visual narrative in the illustration of *The Disputing Physicians*, f. 23b in the *Khamsa* (Fig. 6). The story illustrated here is a tale of deceit. Two philosophers try to resolve diametrically opposed views of the truth with a trial by ordeal. One physician takes poison and survives unscathed. He then breathes over a flower and offers it to his adversary who loses faith in his own argument and becomes so afraid and heartbroken by what has transpired that he capitulates and faints. His fear of the poisoned flower (that is in fact a deceit) causes his downfall. The painting portrays the moment when the defeated, swooning physician falls to the floor watched by the victor. Their respective followers accompany both of them.

---

<sup>22</sup>Āīn-i Akbarī, vol. 111, p. 451.

<sup>23</sup>Akbar-nāme, vol. 111, p. 298.

Behind the two groups in the background is a representation of murals taken from European art. One of these depicts St. Luke, the patron saint of painters, experiencing a vision of an angel giving him instructions, which he records on some paper. It is also possible to see the European picture as a vision of one of the swooning philosophers. This is paralleled with a common compositional scheme in Counter-Reformation Europe, which consists of the representation of a visionary experience by placing the visionary in the lower part of the picture with the vision in the upper part.<sup>24</sup> Also part of the mise-en-scène is the curtain, pulled aside to reveal the vision to the outside world.

Beneath the main European picture is another picture, this time of a woman reading from a scroll with an attendant holding a sphere, and to the right is a picture of some nude bathers in a tub. The nude bathers panel appears as a real opening on to a background landscape under a painted arch. It presents itself as problematic: this is either another painting, or the nude scene is taking place in the same room as the encounter between the disputing physicians. This kind of reflexivity adds to the meaning of the painting as a whole: it is a picture of contrasts between the profane and the sacred (seen in the two types of European picture portrayed in the background) and the false and the true, (these are both the European pictures compared to the “real” event of the dispute in the foreground).

One possible explanation for the inclusion of European pictures in the background is that they are meant to refer to the theological debates held between the Jesuits and the

---

<sup>24</sup>See V. Stoichita, *Visionary Experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art* (London, 1995), p. 27.

Mughals, described in the *Akbar-nâme*, the chronicle of the Emperor's reign, as an invitation to scholars and theologians of all religions to debate the truth at the *cibadatkhanâ* (or debating chamber), opened at Akbar's splendid palace at Fatehpur Sikri. The *cibadatkhanâ* idea is an old one, portrayed by the epic Persian poets such as Niẓāmī, as a debate between theologians of different sects. In the Mughal setting, the emphasis is more to show that Akbar was the supreme arbiter between the different religions.

The European pictures in *The Disputing Physicians* show it to have a dual narrative: it illustrates a *topos* as well the debate for the truth at the *ibadatkhanâ*. It is reflexivity that is the tool for the artist to present this joint narrative. But reflexivity here may also be seen as a solution to the problem of illustrating Niẓāmī's complex poetic imagery. In the verse in the *Khamsa* text dealing directly with this part of the story of the disputing physicians we read:

Know (reader), that the garden of the world, whose spring time you are,  
to be a place of grief, in which you are a picture.  
Throw stones at these layers of earth;  
throw dust at this *mirage*<sup>25</sup>

Here, Niẓāmī refers to the world as a garden, filled with the life of spring in the form of the reader (or humanity itself). But the spring is short-lived and is only an illusion, like a picture, of the eternal life of the soul. He invites the reader to throw stones at "layers of earth" referring to the garden and all things made of matter, which are in themselves illusions, so as to bury the mirage of the world. As the stones themselves are illusions, the verse echoes the sentiment behind "ashes to ashes and dust to dust". Seen as an illustration of this verse, the European images, which may also represent Christianity, are

---

<sup>25</sup> Niẓāmī's text was read out to Akbar at court, for a list of other authors, see *Aīn-i Akbari*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 110.

the “mirage” referred to in the text. The sentiments of the verse allow us to see reflexivity – placing a painting within a painting – as the illustration of a figurative meaning, in this case, a poetic metaphor, a metaphor that uses a painting to signify the mirage of the phenomenal world of appearances and is extended by the artist to mean that Christian pictures are as false as a mirage and as false as the trickery of the physician who deceives his adversary into believing that the flower is poisoned. In another verse in the *Makhzan al-Asrār*, Nizāmī compares a garden with a beautiful picture and adds that it was “decorated with unreality”<sup>26</sup> meaning that like a picture, a beautiful garden (the world) is an illusion.

*The Disputing Physicians*, *The Princess Paints a Her Own Portrait*, *the Tale Told by the Princess of the Red Pavilion* (f. 206a, Fig. 30), the colophon of the *Khamsa* (f.325b, Fig. 52) and *Mānī Paints a Dead Dog on the Lid of a Well* (f. 262b, Fig. 29) all articulate the idea found in Nizāmī’s poetry that equates the phenomenal world, or the world of the senses, with a deceptively attractive painting, which is an *imitation* of the world of truth (not to be confused with the truth itself, confusing the signified with the signifier). For the Mughal artists of the *Khamsa*, painting a picture within a picture allowed them to illustrate the inner meaning found in Nizāmī’s poetry that painting (and indeed their own painting) is as magically deceptive as a mirage. In the *Disputing Physicians* it is the European painting that is cast in the role of a compelling but deceptive copy of the world. A set of poetic images run through the verses of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī elaborated from a central,

---

<sup>26</sup> Darab, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

theological premise: the temporal world is a false image, idol, talisman or a painting, or is merely a pale mirror or reflection of the real, celestial world of light and truth.<sup>27</sup>

This dualism of original and counterfeit is clearly indebted to the Neo-Platonic tradition, which influenced much Mughal thought. In the Emperor Akbar's letter to Philip II of Spain, the emperor used the expression, "the terrestrial world which is the mirror of the celestial".<sup>28</sup> Neoplatonic thought was made familiar to the Mughals mainly through Nasīruddīn al-Tusī's *Akhlaq-i Nasīrī*. The work is a serious attempt to integrate mainly neo-Platonic concepts into Islamic thought and was one of the works mentioned by Abu'l Fazl that were read out to the emperor on a regular basis. The *Akhlaq-i Nasīrī*<sup>29</sup> deals with the Platonic exemplars, or Ideas, whose pale reflections may be seen in the world of sense particulars.

In Nizāmī's poetry, paintings are used as metaphors for these pale reflections. Hence, in the *Iskandar-nāme*, there is the tale of the painting contest between the artists of China (Chīn) and Greece (Rum). The Greeks paint a life-like picture on one wall while the Chinese polish the other side of the room so that it reflects the painting. Here, painting is depicted as a deceptive as it masquerades as the reality that it copies or reflects and is only a sign (*nishān*) of the truth, not the truth itself.

Reflection is also a key feature in the story of Khusrav and Shīrīn where Shāpūr tries to explain to Shīrīn that "every painting made by the painter has a reflection but no soul." In

---

<sup>27</sup>I'r. G. H. Darab, *ibid.*, p.110.

<sup>28</sup>Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. X.

<sup>29</sup>See G. M. Wickens, p. 213.

*The Princess Paints a Self-Portrait, the Tale Told by the Princess of the Red Pavilion (Fig. 30)*, the illustration also presents the idea of the mirror's reflection; the painting of this reflection; and the princess herself. The ambiguity of reality (which is more real, the reflection in the mirror, the portrait, or the princess herself?) is reflected in the accompanying verse where Bahrām Gūr says,

Praise be...upon that pen from whose tip comes this fair design<sup>30</sup>

This line may refer to the artist, the poet, or to God for creating the 'original design' from which subsequent copies are made.

In these tales, the finest painting is considered to be that which is most deceptive and can thus result in the confusion between what is true and what is depicted. Much like Plato, Niẓāmī sees these pale reflections (or paintings) as deceptive because they are convincing and thus have an almost magical effect on the viewer. The power to deceive by magic skill in painting is a consistent theme throughout Niẓāmī's poetry and Akbar's artists projected these themes so that their own paintings could be associated with this magic skill.

*Mānī Painting a Picture of a Dead Dog the Lid of a Well* depicts Mānī, the founder of Manicheanism and in legend a painter so perfect he is able to deceive people into believing his paintings to be real, is pictured here with brush in hand painting a picture. In Firdausi's *Shāh-nāme*, Mānī appears as a Chinese painter who appears before Shāpūr. Here, he proclaims himself to be "a prophet through painting" or through his *arzhang*, a

---

<sup>30</sup>J. S. McIsami, *The Haft Peykar, A Medieval Persian Romance* (Oxford, 1995), p. 303.

work attributed to him, illustrated with drawings.<sup>31</sup> In Niẓāmī's *Iskandar-nāme*, Mānī is deceived by the Chinese who make a pool out of crystal and then paint ripples on its surface. Fooled by the image, he smashes his pot on the surface and in revenge, and to outdo the Chinese artists, he decides to paint the image of a dead dog upon their own deceptive painting.

The fact that Mānī chooses to paint this particular image is significant. The painting of the dead dog is a reference to another story in the *Makhzan al-Asrār*, in which Jesus takes pity on the carcass of a dog and refers to it as “a picture whose teeth are whiter than pearls” in order to make the point that the appearance of death is but a illusion, much like a painting. Found in the *Tūtī-nāme* is another story familiar to the Mughals about a dog that drowns in a well, deceived by his own reflection on the surface of the water. This association would have been appreciated by the more knowledgeable viewer of Mughal painting and most probably by Akbar himself. Mānī's picture of a dead dog is supposed to be a painting over a painting and Mānī's attempt is so convincing and realistic that he becomes the unrivalled champion of painting in Persian art. The image of the dead dog warns others to stay away from the well and thus his picture has more wit and power of deception than the Chinese painting. His painting has the magically convincing effect of being a “repellent” (*dūr-bāsh*).

As in the disputing physicians, reflexivity allows for the depiction of a dual narrative. The illustration of the story of Mānī is also a tacit claim by the Mughal artists that they were heirs to the great tradition of painting exemplified by Mānī and that the illustrations to

Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* are themselves to be associated in their power and impact with Mānī's *arzhang*.

The compulsive effect of images on human actions is a key element in the illustration of the story of the talisman and the Qipchaq women. *The Qipchaq Women Who Veil Themselves* illustrates a story from the *Iskandar-nāme*. On the Qipchaq plain, Iskandar is alarmed that the Qipchaq women do not wear veils and that this might have an adverse effect on the morale of his soldiers. The sage Apollonius comes to his rescue and carves a talisman of a veiled woman that will charm the Qipchaq women into *purdah*. The illustration is reflexive in that it features the representation of another representation, in the form of a carved relief, which exerts a magical power over those who view it.

In another painting in the *Khamsa*, *The Princess Paints Her Own-Portrait, The Story Told by the Princess of the Red Pavilion*, represents a princess painting her portrait from her reflection in a mirror held by a servant. The story is told of a cruel princess who paints a self portrait under which she writes that she will only allow herself to be married if her suitor can pass several tests,<sup>32</sup> amongst them to pass through the castle walls, guarded by magic talismans (which have also been painted by the Mughal artist, Jaganath in the *Khamsa*). In the story, these talismans behead many suitors. The picture inside the picture in this context serves to illustrate the story and indulge contemporary interest in the subject of an art that compels viewers almost against their will to be hopelessly attracted to the image. This is implied in description of the portrait by Niẓāmī:

---

<sup>31</sup>See the glossary in. Meisami, *ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>32</sup>'The libretto of *Turandot* is obviously based on this story, or a similar imitation of it.

Around that portrait lay from head to toe, a hundred heads. He [Bahrām Gūr] said, "This pearl that's round a shark's neck hung: how shall I flee it? I'm undone."<sup>33</sup>

Yet another painting about painting, this illustration invites the viewer to associate the Mughals' artistic capabilities with the magical painting skills of a legendary figure in Niẓāmī's poetry. This verse may also have served as inspiration for the architectural motif of severed heads surrounding the European pictures in the *Disputing Physicians* used, as in the story of the princess, as a warning to viewers to guard themselves from the "magic" of the picture. There are several examples of other Mughal copies of European pictures surrounded by severed heads.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup>J. S. McIsami, *The Haft Peykar, A Medieval Persian Romance* (Oxford, 1995), p. 164.

<sup>34</sup>The same architectural feature appears in a Mughal Virgin and Child picture, ascribed to Basāwan, now at the San Diego Museum of Art, published in Okada, *op. cit.*, 1992, fig. 84, p. 87 (Fig. 91); it appears again in a miniature in the Johnson album, apparently a last supper, top left of the picture (reproduced in J. F. Butler, *Christian Art in India* (Madras, 1986), p. 103. A folio from the British Library *Bābur-nāme*, Or. 3714, c. 1590, features the heads in f. 478a; *Bābur and the Hindu Rock Sculptures at Urwa*; the heads appear in a frieze on a Hindu temple on a hill. Another example of this architectural feature on a Hindu temple is in a painting of a Hindu ascetic with disciples at the Fondation Custodia, Institut néerlandais, Paris Inv. 1972-T. 9, publ. Sotheby's sale catalogue, *Important Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, London, July 9, 1969, Lot 100. (Fig. 92). Two other examples are a tinted drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum, *St. Catherine of Alexandria with Preceptors* IM. 284-1913, where the heads appear again on an architectural frieze, and in the same museum, *Carousing Europeans* (D399-1885), where the heads appear on a background building. The heads also appear on a plinth of a building in a picture in the Binney Collection, see E. Binney 3rd., *op. cit.*, 1973, p. 54. In the *Kulliyāt* of Sa‘dī, 1604, now in the Ṣadruddīn Āgā Khān Collection, an idol of love in a pavilion is surrounded by pillars at the bases of which are flesh-coloured heads. Hindu iconography was also often accompanied by the motif of a row of severed heads. In the *Jog Bashisht*, there is picture of Bashishta and Rama attributed to Haribans that features a temple with heads on it, see L.Y. Leach *op. cit.*, pl. 2.18. There is a Mughal Akbar period brush drawing of a prince kneeling before a Hindu ascetic who is surrounded by devotees. The Hindu shrine nearby is adorned with a row of heads, see Sotheby's sale catalogue, *Fine Indian and Persian Miniatures*, London, July 9, 1979, Lot 175. Another brush drawing features an ascetic, seated on a tiger skin, surrounded by yogis playing strange instruments. The frieze on the temple entrance just above the head of the ascetic features a row of heads (Sotheby's sale catalogue, *Important Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, London, July 9, 1969, Lot 100). A rather elaborate pastiche of European prints features the arrival of a Portuguese gentleman at a house with several figures seated on Savonarola chairs and servants waiting on them. In the background, there are two main arches, one decorated by angels in the spandrels and the other framed by a row of heads (Sotheby's sale catalogue, *Important Oriental Miniatures, Manuscripts and Qajar Lacquer*, October 9, 1979, Lot 34). In yet another painting, this time a *Presentation at the Temple* attributed to Manōhar, a woman sits on a Savonarola chair signing with a quill pen, an open book held by a maid. In the foreground there is a large ewer with a boldly painted head on it (Christie's sale catalogue, *Important Islamic and Indian Manuscript and Miniatures*, October 16, 1980, Lot 63). Two other instances are a tinted drawing of a the Virgin and Child with St. Anne, the Prophetess in Johnson 14.4 (heads on the architectural frieze and pillar) and in a tinted drawing of a Christian priest kneeling in prayer with the feature of a row of heads in the background and two figures on a wall (Johnson 14.5.) In nearly all examples, the heads surround (European) religious images or are juxtaposed next to mainly Hindu idols or as friezes on temples thus, they appear to warn viewers to beware of subject matter that depicts these religions or cultures. Interestingly, there is related story in the *Tūti-nāme* (Cleveland Museum f. 227r), where the Rāja's son vows to sever his head, and offer it to the image (an idol) if he is united with a princess he has seen in the temple. Kali, the goddess of change, destruction and rebirth, with

Another example of the picture within the picture that allows the viewer to ponder over the magical attributes of the art of image making is the picture of *Aflātūn Plays Music to the Animals*. Aflātūn, or Plato, goes into the wilderness to discover the answer to the mystery of harmony in music, its effects on the emotions and its correspondences with nature. The illustration depicts the magic making of Plato's music, which is able to send to sleep the animals that listen to it and miraculously wake them up with a change of tune. His act of creating music is compared to a magician's spell that is initiated by the act of drawing a magic circle (*khatt i-mandal*) around him to perform his music. Reflexivity here, again, allows for the display of more than one visual narrative. There are several small pictures on the organ, none of them to do with the story *per se*. One is of Majnūn in the wilderness, linking the characters together on the premise that both spend time in self-exile on a spiritual quest in the desert. The other picture is of a European wearing a hat. Particularly reflexive is a third picture showing one European painting the portrait of another. The art of the Europeans is consequently associated with Aflatun's miraculous powers. Abu'l Fażl frequently compared magic with painting and wrote about the European artists' "magic making."<sup>35</sup> He also wrote that there was a danger that some people viewing European pictures that were brought over from Europe by the Jesuits "may mistake a picture for reality".<sup>36</sup> This was because of the illusionist techniques employed by European artists such as the modeling of volume with the appearance of

---

her necklace of human skulls, also springs to mind, as does a picture by Manohar who painted Siva as Gangadhara with a necklace of skulls (P. Pal, *op. cit.*, p.53.)

<sup>35</sup> H. Blochmann, Tr., *The Ā'in-i Akbarī of Abu'l Faḍl 'Allamī* (Calcutta, 1873), 2 Vols., p. 107. Two other times in the same chapter of the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Abu'l Fażl uses the term, magic making to refer to artists and painting. See P. Chandra, *The Tuti-nāma of the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Origins of Mughal Painting* (Graz, 1976), p. 182.

<sup>36</sup> Blochmann, Tr., 1873, p. 96.

light and shade and the adoption of perspective. The concept of an art, which is as magical as it deceptive is an echo of Niẓāmī's attitude to his own poetry:

All things existent, from old to new are enthralled by the word-sorcerer (*jādū sukhān*) that I am  
My art has defeated the sorcerers, my magic spell deceives even the angels<sup>37</sup>

In the romance of Khusrau and Shīrīn, Shīrīn's maids believe the picture of Khusrau painted by Shāpūr to be the work of demons and it is referred to as sorcery (*nīrang-sāzī*).

In the picture of *Aflātūn Playing Music to the Animals*, the picture of the European painting another can be nothing other than an attempt by the artist to associate such an art with the seductive magic and power of the music of the organ over the forces of nature. In such examples, it appears that one of the attributes of the best kind of painting is to have a magical effect on its viewers.

It is easy to see why the Mughal artists wished to emphasize these particular values of magic making and power in the art of painting: by focusing on these qualities they hoped to claim them for their own illustrations in the *Khamsa*. Reflexivity is a sign that the Mughals took pride in their own kind of “magic making”. There is no doubt that the Emperor Akbar himself must take some credit for the new value placed on the art of painting in the late sixteenth century. It has already been mentioned that the Emperor had a “transmuting glance” (*iskrī-i binish*), which transformed the painting of the Mughals “from outer form to inner meaning.” However, it was also because of him that such books as the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī were read out to the court on a regular basis, creating an awareness of the details of the poetic text, which are reflected in the illustrations of the *Khamsa*. The Emperor was also known to have taken a detailed interest in painting. Abu'l

<sup>37</sup> Quoted in J. C. Bürgel. *The Feather of Simurgh, The “Licit Magic” of the Arts In Medieval Islam* (New York, 1988), p. 60.

Fażl tells us, “His majesty, from the time he came to an awareness of things, has taken a deep interest in painting...Consequently this magical art has gained in beauty” and furthermore: “his majesty himself indicated the scenes to be painted.”<sup>38</sup>

In the Jahāngīr period, this new value placed on the art of painting becomes even more apparent. The colophon of *Khamsa* added later in the Jahāngīr period is a clear endorsement of both the *Khamsa*'s paintings and the painting of the Jahangir period as heir to the great tradition of painting. It is a painting about the *Khamsa* itself as well as the art of painting, and clearly signifies Jahāngīr's inheritance of the book. By order of Jahāngīr, the artist, Dawlat added his own painting to the *Khamsa* cycle and thus claimed for the painting of his time a place in the legendary *nighār-i khāne* or picture gallery, claimed also implicitly by the artists of the *Khamsa* in the Akbar period. Dawlat has actually painted himself painting the calligrapher of the *Khamsa* text, ‘Abd al-Rahīm, in a kind of acknowledgement or tribute to the master’s skill and to his own. The reflexive mechanism here allows the artist, surely under instruction from his emperor who greatly admired painting, to put the art of painting near to the level enjoyed by calligraphy. Because it is about the art of painting and calligraphy and a bridge between the Akbar and Jahāngīr periods, the colophon is a deliberate and conscious acknowledgment of the theme of painting as treated by the other reflexive pictures in the *Khamsa*.

Reflexive paintings or paintings about paintings in the Jahāngīr period are motivated by the desire to describe and define the attributes of the art of painting and are concerned

---

<sup>38</sup> P. Chandra, *ibid.*, 1976, p. 184.

to show it as a highly valued activity. There is no doubt that the *Khamsa* must be viewed as an important source for later developments in the Jahāngīr period. This may be seen in the colophon of the *Khamsa* but is also evident in the *Submission of the Maharana of Mewar to Prince Khurram* (Fig. 93). A crowd is depicted gathering to witness the important event of the Maharana's capitulation to the Mughal Empire before the Emperor Jahāngīr's favorite son, Prince Khurram. To the right of the picture, an artist may be seen painting a picture of the event unfolding before him. No longer is the artist anonymous in history making. Here, Nānhā the artist is a witness as well as the recorder of the event, he has included himself in the historical event because the changing attitude to painting meant that his work was to be recognised. The picture he is painting "inside" this miniature is the miniature itself as a whole. The picture of the *Submission of the Maharana of Mewar to Prince Khurram* has two impressions: one that we see and the other seen here in the hands of the artist.

Another picture in the Jahāngīr Album in Berlin is purely about painting and different genres of painting (Figs. 94, 95). It shows an artist painting a hunting scene and another, a picture of the Virgin Mary in front of a window view that is made to look like another picture. There is also a man at the top of the picture who is shown offering up a picture to someone out of the frame to the left. The painting that the man offers up is a self-portrait showing him, again, offering up a picture to a person placed outside of the frame to the left. The picture in the picture features the same green background and the man portrayed has the same beard and wears the same white clothes, gold sash and red shoes. With a magnifying glass, one can also spot a third, further 'internal duplication'

of the same picture of the white figure holding a picture. This picture is remarkable in that it is purely and self-consciously about painting.

The consequence of having a painting within a painting is to put suggest the transcendence of one reality by another so that the overall picture is somehow penetrated or transcended by the second picture portrayed and this in turn by the third impression “inside” the second. The result is that the Mughal artist painting these reflexive pictures succeeds in bringing home to the viewer the fictional nature of painting: with each internal replication, he creates one illusion inside another. Reflexivity thus becomes a reflection on the nature of painting in Jahāngīr’s reign and there are many other examples of such visual jugglery in this period. The *Khamsa* may be seen as the key Mughal manuscript leading to these later developments, particularly in the concerted attempts by Akbar’s artists, encouraged by the example of the Europeans’ art, to build inner meanings into their illustrations. In the *Khamsa*, this inner meaning consisted of associating the art of painting with prestidigitation and magical deception. In making this association with the aid of reflexivity, the Mughal artists not only complimented themselves, they also reflected age old attitudes to painting found in the Neoplatonic tradition and in Niẓāmī’s poetry, namely that painting is as elaborate and attractive a deception as the world of the senses.

## Conclusion

---

One of the major aims of this research has been to examine how and to what extent the illustrations of the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* utilize the three major traditions with which the Mughals made contact. Chapter One examined individual artistic contributions in the *Khamsa*, which reflected the intention to produce an illustrated Nizāmī for the Emperor of the finest quality. The employment of all the better-known artists of the Mughal studio-scriptorium on this manuscript implies that the *Khamsa* was intended as a kind of portable exhibition gallery of all the greatest artistic styles and traditions of the age.

Another indication of how highly the Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* is regarded was Jahāngīr's interest in the volume. His instructions to add to the illustrations using the artists of his own time indicate his enjoyment and proud possession of the manuscript. Both Dawlat and Bulāqī, the latter mentioned in three previously unnoticed inscriptions, were responsible for later, Jahāngīr period additions to the illustrations of the manuscript. These modifications were a claim that in the picture gallery, Jahāngīr's own artists were comparable to, or even an improvement on those of his father.

The survey of pre-Mughal and contemporaneous Indian paintings has revealed the survival of motifs and conventions in the *Khamsa* illustrations from these sources. This may be seen in the depiction of styles of dress (the *chakdar-jama* and *dupatta*, for example), and material objects (the jug in niches, the flywhisk), aspects of architecture, the depiction of banana trees and in the representation of sovereigns in the *padmāsana*, or seated lotus position. In addition, some compositions are based on the principle of organizing

pictorial space in registers. Even with the new techniques of perspective, this kind of composition, seen in older Indian illustrated manuscripts, persisted in some pictures of the *Khamsa*: in the *Princess Paints Her Portrait* and in *Iskandar Receiving Gifts from the Kayd*. In the former painting, the poses of the princess and her maid are clearly indebted to the *Rāgamāla* painting tradition.

The Mughal artist also drew upon the earlier Mughal painting tradition itself. Individual details such as the frequent use of the *arbat* or water-pump and oxen, as a feature of the rural landscape, or certain battle scenes (such as the detail of the twisted horse Fig. 60) demonstrate the accepted practice of copying details from illustrations in different manuscripts such as the *Hamza-nāme* and the *Iyar-i Dānish*. Part of this survey of manuscripts pre-dating the *Khamsa* resulted in the piecing together of a previously unknown *Sbaraf-nāme*, part of a larger *Khamsa* predating the Dyson Perrins. It now exists in two fragments, one part at SOAS, University of London, the other on loan to the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery.

This creative adaptation of earlier motifs tends to modify the view that late Akbar period painting was simply a matter of the observation of nature. Nearly all the representations of animals in the *Khamsa* were copied from earlier manuscripts. Observation of nature occurred rarely, and was selective, rather than consistent in any single illustration. Only Manōhar stands out as an artist with a consistent interest in observing the details of nature and the minutiae of life. Other artists' attempts in this regard are limited to the rendering of realistic details of folds of cloth, or modeling selective objects in pictorial

space. These paintings are dependent on the absorption of European techniques of shading and *sfumato*. However, the fact that Akbar's artists chose to portray the traditional corpus of images associated with Nizāmī's poetry in settings typical of the Indian subcontinent (as opposed to the much more Persian conventions of the Keir *Khamsa*, painted around a decade earlier), underlines the unique character of Akbar's *Khamsa*.

Underestimated by art historians of Mughal art is the interplay between Mughal and Persian culture. The research has surveyed nearly all the extant *Khamsas* in the UK and other manuscripts in collections here and abroad comparable to the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* illustrations. The survey has revealed that pictures such as the *Death of Dārā* (Fig. 60), *Sultan Sanjar* (Fig. 3) *The Battle of the Clans* (Fig. 13) *Bahrām Gūr Seizes the Crown of Iran* (Fig. 14) *Khusrau and Shīrīn Meet on the Hunting Field* (Fig. 35), even pictures that were assumed by scholars in the field to have been unique, such as *Aflātūn Playing Music to the Animals* (Fig. 5) *Mānī Painting the Lid of a Well* (Fig. 29) and *The Giant Bird* miniature (Fig. 2), have their origins in illustrations in earlier Persian manuscripts. Before this research, the Persian models for these Mughal illustrations had not been found. Most admired and copied by the Mughal artists of the *Khamsa* were not aspects of technique, so much as basic composition or *tark* work and illumination and gold margin designs, the latter particularly from the Shāh Tahmāsp period. Around fifteen illustrations in the *Khamsa* feature kings on thrones in overall hexagonal compositions, closely indebted to the same hexagonal principle in Herat court painting of the early sixteenth century.

Another significant finding is that it was an established practice to interchange compositions so that one visual format used to illustrate a story was used for another. This practice was inherited by the Mughals from Persian painting, and may be seen in composition of Sanjar and the old woman, used also for a story featuring Malikshāh ibn Alp Arslān. In Mughal painting, the same composition was used for a story featuring Ghazan Khān in the *Chingis Khān-nāme* of 1595. The Mughals also re-used compositions from the *Seven Sages* for various court scenes.

It may also be seen that Persian book illustration made a sustained impact on the Indian subcontinent's arts of the book long before the Mughal dynasty and the Persian compositions seen in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* thus come at the end of an established tradition. The Mughal library contained Persian illustrated manuscripts and works from provincial states conquered by the Mughals. The affinities of Persian and Mughal compositions illustrating Nizāmī's work were in some cases so close that one has to assume that the artists of the *Khamsa* had unfettered access to the Persian paintings and this presupposes their use in the Imperial library.

This relationship with Persian art in the *Khamsa* reveals that right up to the Akbar period, the Mughals looked to Persian culture first and foremost for aesthetic standards. But this admiration for Persian civilisation was not slavish: the *Khamsa* illustrations show the Mughals actively reinventing Persian culture for their own ends, and synthesizing it with Mughal culture. This survey of Mughal painting has also revealed that although there are a great many copies of European compositions, there are also a significant number of paintings that show Mughal artists creatively synthesized European and Mughal painting.

Chapter Four examined the evidence for Mughal exposure to European artifacts. This has involved an examination of European maps, tapestries and illustrated books as possible sources for Mughal art. A thorough survey of Mughal albums and manuscripts has revealed that for the Mughal artist, the overwhelming source of information on European art was provided by European prints. These arrived in two or three waves, the first consisting predominantly of German works, the later periods Flemish and Italian. The collections of prints in Mughal albums demonstrate Mughal aesthetic preferences and the truly global nature of sixteenth century European trade. European prints were often adapted to Mughal painting to create interesting hybrids, some of them successful and harmonious syntheses. *The Disputing Physicians* miniature containing elements of European secular and sacred imagery and showing the Mughal artist to be adept and using European modeling and spatial organization with Persian compositional values is exemplary in this regard.

The Mughals used Persian painting mainly for the layout and composition of a picture and then 'fleshed' out this basic 'skeletal structure' with European techniques of light and shading for surface effects and *sfumato*, and by adding European vignettes to the background landscapes. The Persian canon of illustrations must have appeared to come alive with the immediacy of this kind illusionist modeling. It was exactly with this kind of synthesis that the Mughal artists proved to be most ingenious, creating a refined, easily recognizable late Akbar period style.

The tracing of pre-Mughal Indian, Persian and European elements in the *Khamsa* illustrations reveal them as complex and refined fusions of these various artistic traditions. But the paintings in the *Khamsa* also show such an interest in the art of painting, and such an extremely high quality of finish and technique that these artists were undoubtedly attempting to compete with the art of these other cultures. Moreover, the Jahangir period additions show that artists of the later period also wanted to lay claim to being the best and most prized of artists by having their paintings lodged in the *Khamsa*, the gallery of artists par excellence.

Many of the illustrations in the *Khamsa* show Akbar's artists to be critically aware of non-Mughal painting styles and traditions, and they were also aware of the complex visual process involved in viewing visual material. The *festaiuolo* figure seen in many instances in the *Khamsa*, appears to look straight out at the viewer, as if to create eye contact. The *festaiuolo* parodies the viewer, mirroring the viewer's gaze. The visual witticism of the *festaiuolo* is that the viewer looks at the picture and it appears to look back at the viewer.

Painting awareness is also indicated by reflexivity. *The Princess Painting a Self-Portrait, Mānī Painting the Cover of a Well, Aflātūn and the Animals* (with the image of one European painting another on the organ) and the colophon of Dawlat painting himself painting *Anbarīn-qalam* who appears to be writing a folio from the *Khamsa* itself, are all reflexive, that is to say, they are paintings about painting. This reflexivity is as much the result of the Mughals' recognition of other painting traditions as a re-evaluation of their own.

As a result of this re-evaluation of their own art, an important development in Mughal painting seen in the *Khamsa* illustrations mentioned above was an understanding of the use of painting as an intellectual product, containing subtle meaning. Many of the pronouncements on the subject of painting or the arts by the Jesuits in their letters and commentaries and by the Emperor Akbar and Abū'l Fazl in the official histories, reveal that the idea of painting was used metaphorically to stand for theological and philosophical concepts about the false world of appearances (the material world), as opposed to the truth (beyond material things.) This debate is clearly indebted (in both the Muslim and Christian cases) to the Neoplatonic distinction between the ideas and their imperfect reflection in sense particulars on earth. Reflexivity was a device used to communicate these ideas. Reflexivity was used by the Mughals to comment on the almost magical effects of the finest painting. In so doing, the Mughal artists complimented themselves with painting the kind of elaborate and attractive deceptions treated also in Niẓāmī's poetry.

This doctoral research has attempted to show that any interpretation of the meaning of these *Khamsa* illustrations would be incomplete without relating them to Niẓāmī's poetry and the Mughal and Jesuit writing of the period, literary sources that reveal the newly elevated status of painting in the late Akbar period. In the *Khamsa*, painting truly finds a new visual language and a new voice. The new voice proudly proclaims painting as an art that can convey complex truths and parody the illusion of the world of appearances.

It is the inherent quality of these paintings, much like the character of Nizāmī's poetry itself, to inspire a mental process of abstraction from the apparent representation. We come closer to apprehending the true nature of the Emperor Akbar's *Khamṣa* of Nizāmī when we consider that, in spite of appearances, it is in many ways dedicated to the endeavours and achievements of the human intellect, regardless of any specific culture and time.

## Appendix

There are various reasons for believing that the manuscripts in both the SOAS library and the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery were originally part of the same manuscript. In the SOAS portion (ff. 1a-82b), there are nine text pages that stand out: these pages are made of paper of a noticeably smoother texture and whiter colour than the others in the manuscript. The nine replacement pages contain the same text found on the nine miniatures now at the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery.

Further evidence that these two fragments were originally part of the same manuscript is that the paintings in both the SOAS and Bristol sections share a similar treatment of rocks and foliage. Moreover, the artists involved in painting the illustrations shared the common practice of extending the compositions over the original ruled lines, into the margins. In several of the illustrations in both SOAS and Bristol, the ruled margins may easily be detected under the paint. The folios in both parts of the manuscript measure exactly 23. 2 x 16 cms. In the SOAS portion, the text pages have 22 lines to a page. The pages of the whole SOAS portion are numbered 1a to 82b, however, these are not the original page numbers. The original numbers have been painted over, and in one or two places there are faint impressions of three digits, indicating that the portion was originally part of a greater volume, most probably a complete *Khamsa* of Nizāmī.

The date of the Keir *Khamsa* illustrations was argued by Robert Skelton to be about 1585-90.<sup>1</sup> The older Persian painterly conventions of the miniatures tend to confirm that this manuscript is earlier than the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* (dated 1593-95). Most of the miniatures in the SOAS-Bristol *Sharaf-nāme* also have a strong influence of Persian-style painting. The colophon indicates that the text in the SOAS portion was written in A. H. 880 (1475 A. D.) and the folios for the illustrations left blank. This was also the case in the Keir *Khamsa*, which was originally copied in 1506 and the miniatures added later in the Mughal period. In both the Keir *Khamsa* and the SOAS-Bristol *Sharaf-nāme*, there are inscriptions on the edges of pages or text frames that describe the subject matter of the illustrations, most probably as instructions to the artists. This shared practice and the addition of new illustrations to old texts in both examples, may indicate that the miniatures of both manuscripts were painted around the same time, rather than after the production date of the more polished Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* (1593-1595), when there was perhaps, less need of a revamped *Khamsa* or *Sharaf-nāme*. What follows, is a list of the illustrations in their proper order in the original text, a description of the miniatures and where relevant, comparisons with similar compositions in other Akbar period illustrated manuscripts.

The first illustration in the manuscript is the SOAS portion's f. 27, *Before the Battle of Mosul*, an unusual choice for illustrated *Khamsas* of Nizāmī. In a dramatic gesture, an old man with outstretched arms, rides his horse between the two armies, symmetrically arranged on either side of the illustration. The inscription at the bottom explains that the man is

---

<sup>1</sup>R. Skelton, in B. Robinson, ed., *op. cit.*, 1976, p. 247.

setting things in order for the forthcoming encounter between the two armies. The cavalry on both sides have Mughal period armour and weaponry and there is much use of gold paint for the gleaming helmets and breastplates of the officers in the scene. Underneath the miniature is an inscription stating that Makra painted the illustration. The earliest known works attributed to Makra are from the last decade of the sixteenth century. He painted three miniatures in the Chester Beatty Library *Iyar-i Dānish* and an undated but probably early 1590s manuscript (nos. 134 and 150, one unnumbered).<sup>2</sup> There are six illustrations by the artist in the *Bābur-nāme*, National Museum Delhi (no. 50. 326), dated 1598, ff. 136, 201, 221, 275, 278a and 278b,<sup>3</sup> one also painted for the Gulistān Palace *Chingis Khān-nāme* of 1598,<sup>4</sup> and a picture of Indian rhinoceroses from the *Bābur-nāme* at the British Library, f.379a

The next miniature in the illustrative cycle is the Bristol *Iskandar-nāme*'s 1976/10, *Iskandar Assembles His Officers*, dominated by a four-column text area of fourteen lines. Iskandar is shown to the left of the picture, dressed in a transparent cotton shirt, seated on a raised dais on a blue carpet. Four of his officers kneel before him and behind him is an attendant with a flywhisk. At the bottom and to the right of the picture, in the space originally intended for the margin, is an architectural landscape and trees.

1976/12 depicts *Dārā and Iskandar at Mosul* and is poorly painted in comparison to the other scenes in the manuscript. It represents a cavalry battle under a tree with red

<sup>2</sup>Cf. L. Y. Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings From the Chester Beatty Library*, 2 vols. (London, 1995), pp. 92, 99, 104.

<sup>3</sup>See M. S. Randhawa, *Paintings of the Baburnama* (New Delhi, 1983).

<sup>4</sup>H. Knížkóva and J. Marek, *The Jengiz Khān Miniatures from the Court of Akbar the Great* (Prague, 1963), pl. 15.

sandstone crags in the background; some of the soldiers hold Mughal period matchlocks. The landscape, figures and general style are unremarkable.

In 1976/15, *The Punishment of Dārā's Betrayers*, the artist makes an impressive use of the limited space available. In a dramatic sweep from left to right, Iskandar is shown seated, giving orders for the execution of Dārā's murderers. In the long, vertical space remaining to the right (the space originally left for the margin), one of the assassins is hanged by means of a rather rudimentary pulley apparatus. The illustration appears to have been the basis for later treatments of similar subjects. The same apparatus may be seen in a comparable illustration at the Walters Art Gallery c.1602-3 titled, *The Martyrdom of al-Hallāj* from a *Dīwān* of Amīr Hasan Dīhlavī.<sup>5</sup> Another miniature of a hanged man, this one attributable to Miskīna c. 1604, is also at the Walters Art Gallery (W.684.B).<sup>6</sup> There are more related illustrations in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore *Tārikh-i Khāndān-i Timūriyya*, f. 89b and in the Victoria and Albert Museum *Akbar-nāme*, entitled, *The Execution of Shāh Abu'l Ma'āli*, IS 2:34-1896.

1976/9, *Iskandar and Nūshāba*, is signed by Imām Qulī. There appears to be only one other work attributed to the artist, a miniature formerly in the Cowasji Jahāngīr Collection, Bombay.<sup>7</sup> 1976/9 is a composition that can be compared with folios in the Keir *Khamsa*, which portray Bahrām Gūr being entertained by several princesses in various pavilions.

<sup>5</sup> A. Okada, 'Le Prince Salim à la chasse: une miniature inédite peinte à Allahabad' *Artibus Asiae*, 52, 1992, pp. 319-327.

<sup>6</sup> Publ. M. C. Beach, *The Grand Mughal: Imperial Painting in India, 1600-1660* (Williamstown Mass., 1978), p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> See Sir L. Ashton (ed.), *op. cit.*, (London, 1947-8), 144, no. 646 (g). There were, however, an Āli Qulī and a Salīm Qulī who were evidently different persons.

The illustration in the sequence is 1976/17, *The Chinese Slave Girl Sent By the Khaqan of Chin*, is also of the same genre. In each manuscript, the thrones, dress, gestures and appearances of maidservants and attendants are similar in the comparable scenes. In 1976/17 of the Bristol *Sharaf-nâme* and *Bahrâm Gûr and the Indian Princess* in f. 195b of the Keir *Khamsa* there is a female musician to the right in both compositions playing the same kind of harp. There is also a comparable scene in the *Kasturbhai Lalbai Khamsa*.<sup>8</sup> In 1976/17, several different hands are evident in the painting of the faces. The *tarb* (preliminary composition work) shows through where paint has flaked and the text frames show through the thin wash of paint.

1976/14, *The Khaqan of Chin Before Iskandar*, is signed by one of Akbar's most famous artists, Dharmdâsa, whose style here appears mature. Several figures reveal shading and modelling indebted to European art. One shawl is elaborately shaded and modelled and the *chibrânâmî* is very fine: dark hair subtly blended around carefully painted ivory-coloured faces.

1976/13, *The Khaqan of Chin Entertains Iskandar* is discussed above in Chapter Two.

1976/11, *Iskandar in Battle With the Russians* has been discussed above in the section on Dharmdâsa in Chapter One.

---

<sup>8</sup>P. Chandra (1), *op. cit.*, (Graz, 1976), pl. 101.

As with most illustrations in the *Sharaf-nāme*, 1976/16, *Iskandar Feasting* is set in a tent. It features the kind of female dancers in ‘Chaghatai’, hats found in the Dyson Perrins *Khamsa* f.244b, *Iskandar and Nūshāba Entertained*, which has two female figures dancing in front of the royal couple. An early Mughal example of this scene, c.1565, is now at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.<sup>9</sup> The dancing scene in the Bristol *Sharaf-nāme* was painted at a time late in the sixteenth century when such scenes were increasingly popular in the Mughal painterly repertoire. Women in the same dress appear several times in the Tehran *Chingis Khān-nāme*.<sup>10</sup> In the Victoria and Albert Museum *Akbar-nāme* there are two, superior dancing scenes, both taking place before Akbar.<sup>11</sup> In f. 295a of the British Museum *Bābur-nāme*, Or. 3714, Bābur appears in a garden watching dancers and listening to musicians.<sup>12</sup> In the British Library *Akbar-nāme*, Or. 12,988, there are another two scenes of the genre: f. 96v, where the monarch is Humāyūn; he appears again in f.112b, entertained by three dancers, while a young Akbar is being presented to him by his nurses. A scene of dancing women in the *Tārikh-i Khāndān-i Timūriyya* (f. 40b)<sup>13</sup> appears to prefigure the dancing scenes in the later *Khamsa* and *Akbar-nāme* manuscript. The rarer spectacle of male dancers appears in the *Akbar-nāme* (IS 2:80:1896), also in the Rampur *Dīwān* of Hāfiẓ<sup>14</sup> and in a detached folio at the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>15</sup>

The remaining two miniatures belong to the SOAS portion. *Iskandar Visits the Sage*, folio

<sup>9</sup>Douce Or. b. 1, f. 12v, reproduced in Beach, *op. cit.*, 1987, p. 75, fig. 52.

<sup>10</sup>See H. Knížkóva, and J. Marek, *op. cit.*, plates 4, 5, 23 and 27.

<sup>11</sup>Acc. Nos. 8/117, 9/117 and 16/117.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. I. Stchoukine, *op. cit.*, 1924, IX.

<sup>13</sup>See also f. 127 in Philippa Vaughan, ‘Begums of the House of Timur and the Dynastic Image’, in Canby, ed., *op. cit.*, 1994, fig. 7, p. 127 which also features a man dressed in the transparent *chakdar-jama*.

<sup>14</sup>Reproduced in S. C. Welch, *op. cit.*, 1958, fig. 3.

<sup>15</sup>1086-1921

48b, is one of the most common scenes in Persian illustrated *Khamsas*. Two of the better known Persian examples are by Mīr Musāwwir in the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī at the British Museum, Add. 25 900, f.250 and in the British Library *Khamsa* of 1494-5, Or. 6810 f. 273.<sup>16</sup> The details in these pictures establish the pattern for representing this scene (and representations of Akbar's encounters with sages) for many decades. The sage kneels in a cave and receives Iskandar who also kneels just outside the cave. A retinue of guards and attendants are made to wait at some distance on the edges of the scene.

In the Akbar period, the composition of the king visiting a sage appears in a loose leaf of a *Dīwān* of Shāhī.<sup>17</sup> In the Chester Beatty Library there are three comparable paintings. In the *Akbar-nāme* (c.1593),<sup>18</sup> Akbar kneels before a sage; in the *Iyar-I Dānish* there is an illustration entitled, *The Impetuous King and the Dervish*<sup>19</sup> and another example, *Akbar Visits Bābā Bilās*.<sup>20</sup> There is also a *Prince Visiting a Hermit* c. 1580, attributed to ḡAbd al-Ṣamad.<sup>21</sup> In the SOAS *Sharaf-nāme*, Iskandar bears a marked resemblance to Akbar himself. This was perhaps an attempt to associate Akbar's interest in spiritual issues with Iskandar's legendary spiritual quest. Iskandar wears saffron robes and a turban and is attended by a retinue of bodyguards, one bearing his sword, another with a matchlock resting on his

<sup>16</sup>See also an illustration of a *Hermit in a Cave* in the Johnson Album 6. 12, c. 1590-1600 and 27.3, 27.8 and 64.41 and in the British Library *Bābur-nāme* Or. 3714, f. 112b.

<sup>17</sup>See A. Welch and S. C. Welch, *Art of the Islamic Book, The Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan* (Ithaca and London, 1982), pl. 59a.

<sup>18</sup>Leach, *op. cit.*, colour plate 14.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, pl. 1.192. Basāwan painted a prince and a hermit c.1595 also at the Chester Beatty Library publ. *ibid.*, pl. 1. 238. Dharamdāsa was responsible for a very similar but more complex *Iskandar Seeking the Advice of Aflātūn* in a dispersed *Khamsa* now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Gift of Alexander Smith Cochran, 1913), reproduced T. Bowie, *et al.*, *East-West in Art, Patterns of Aesthetic and Cultural Relationships* (Indiana University Press, 1966), fig. 309. p. 188.

<sup>20</sup>T. W. Arnold, ed., and J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. A Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures* vol. II (London, 1936), pl. XXVI, p. 89.

<sup>21</sup>Reproduced fig. 3, in R. Skelton, 'Iranian Artists in the Service of Humayun', in S. Canby, cd, *op. cit.*, 1994.

shoulder, there is yet another with a bow and arrow, one with a shield and the last holds the reins of Iskandar's horse. This conforms to the pattern of representing the scene in a majority of the examples mentioned above. In the *Sharaf-nāme*, and in the comparable Akbar period compositions, the sage sits on a tiger skin. Below him, a semi-naked Hindu servant in a gesture of reverence holds a gold jug, pressing it to his forehead. Iskandar kneels before the sage who sits at the mouth of a cave.

The inscription below the last illustration on folio 81b, *Khizr Washing Iskandar's Horse in the Fountain of Life* (discussed in more detail in Chapter Two) reads, "Shiyām". This artist, in common with Makra, appears to have joined Akbar's studio-scriptorium late in the sixteenth century. He painted three pictures in the Chester Beatty Library's *Iyar-i Dānish* (nos. 79, 116, 160); and in the same period, five miniatures in the British Library's *Bābur-nāme* Or. 3714 (ff. 190a<sup>22</sup>, 382a, 382b, 397a, and 397b). Two miniatures are probably Jahāngīr period: *A Butterfly on a Flower* (M. Duffeuty Collection, Paris) and a *Portrait of a Lady* (formerly A.C. Cowasji Jahāngīr Collection, Bombay).<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> J. Strzygowski, H. Glück, S. Kramrisch and E. Wellesz, *op. cit.*, 1933, pl. 3, fig. 9.

<sup>23</sup> See S. P. Verma, *op. cit.*, 1994, p. 356.

## Bibliography.

- 'Abd al-Qadir Bada'ūnī, *Muntakhāb-al-Tawārikh*, 2 vols. W. Haig, Tr. (Calcutta, 1925).
- Abu'l Qasim Firdausī, *Shāh-nāme*, IV, ed. Muhammad Dabirsiyaki (Tehran, 1335).
- Al-Bukhari, *Sabih Abi 'Abdallah al-Bukhari*, eds., Mahmūd an-Nawāwī, et al., 3 vols. (Cairo, 1957).
- K. Adahl, *A Khamsa of Nizami of 1439* (Uppsala, 1981).
- T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam* (Oxford, 1928).
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed., and J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. A Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures* (London, 1936).
- Sir Leigh Ashton, ed., *The Art of India and Pakistan, Commemorative Catalogue of the Exhibition held at the Royal Academy Library, 1947-8* (London, 1948).
- S. Bağci, 'A New Theme of the Shirazi Frontispiece Miniatures: The *Divan* of Solomon', *Muqarnas* 12, 1987, pp. 101-112.
- G. A. Bailey, 'In the Manner of the Frankish Masters' *Oriental Art*, vol. XL, no. 4, Winter 1994/5, pp. 29-34.
- A. Baring and J. Cashford, *The Myth of Goddess, Evolution of an Image* (London, 1991).
- J. Bautze, *Indian Miniature Painting c. 1590-1850* (Amsterdam, 1987).
- M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford, 1988).
- F. J. Bayer, *Das Papstbuch Herausgegeben und Eingeleitet* (Munich, 1925).
- M. C. Beach, 'An Early European Source in Mughal Painting' *Oriental Art* 22, no. 2 (1976), pp. 180-188.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Grand Mogul: Imperial Painting in India, 1600-1660* (Williamstown Mass., 1978).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Imperial Image, Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington DC, 1981).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Gulshan Album and its European Sources', *Bulletin Museum Fine Arts Boston*, no. 332, vol. LXIII, pp. 62-91.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Early Mughal Painting* (Cambridge Mass., 1987).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Mughal and Rajput Painting* (Cambridge, 1992).
- M. C. Beach and E. Koch, *The King of the World, The Padshahnama* (Smithsonian Institution, 1997).
- H. Beveridge, Tr., *Akbar-name*. 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1907, 1910 and 1912).

- E. Binney 3rd., *Indian Miniature Painting From the Collection of Edward Binney 3rd* (Portland, 1973).
- E. Blochet, *Les Peintures des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris* (Paris, 1914-20).
- , *Musulman Painting XII-XVII Centuries*, Tr. L. Binyon (London, 1929).
- H. Blochmann, Tr., *The Ā'in-i Akbarī of Abū'l Fadl 'Allamī* (Calcutta, 1873), 2 Vols.
- T. Bowie, et al., *East-West in Art, Patterns of Aesthetic and Cultural Relationships* (Indiana University Press, 1966).
- M. Brand and G. D. Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art From the Mughal City of Victory* (New York 1985).
- B. Brend, *The Emperor Akbar's Khamsa of Nizāmī* (London, 1995).
- P. Brown, *Indian Painting Under the Mughals* (Oxford, 1924).
- , 'Some Early Rajasthani Raga Paintings' *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, vol. XVI, 1948, pp. 1-10.
- N. Bryson, *Vision and Painting, The Logic of The Gaze* (Newhaven, 1983).
- J. C. Burgel, *The Feather of Simurgh, The Licit Magic of the Arts in Medieval Islam* (New York and London, 1988).
- , *Nizāmi: das Alexanderbuch: Iskandarname* (Zurich, 1991).
- T. Buser, 'Jerome Nadal and Early Jesuit Art in Rome', *Art Bulletin*, 1976, pp. 424-433.
- J. F. Butler, *Christian Art in India* (Madras, 1986).
- M. Camille, *Images on the Edge, The Margins of Medieval Art* (London, 1992).
- S. Canby, ed., *Humayun's Garden Party* (Marg, 1994).
- S. Carboni, *The Wonders of Creation and the Singularities of Ilkhānid Painting: A Study of the London Qazwīni BL Or. 14140* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1992).
- , 'Constellations, Giants and Angels from al-Qazwīnī Manuscripts', in *Islamic Art at the Ashmolean*, ed., J. W. Allan (Oxford, 1995) pp. 83-99.
- A. Casartelli, 'Garuda-Sīmurgh-Roc' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1891, pp. 345-6.
- M. Chandra, 'An Illustrated Ms. of the Kalspasutra and Kalakachariya-katha' *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin* No. 4 (1953-4).
- P. Chandra (1), *The Tuti-nāme of the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Origins of Mughal Painting* (Graz, 1976).

S. K. Chatterji, *The Ramayana, Its Character, Genesis, History, Expansion and Exodus, A Resume* (Calcutta, 1978).

— (2), *The Cleveland Tuti-nâme Manuscript and the Origins of Mughal Painting* (Graz, 1976).

J. Chelkowski, *Mirror of the Invisible World: Tales from the Khamseh of Nizami* (New York, 1975).

A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of Indian Collections at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1930).

—, 'Les Miniatures Orientales de la Collection Goloubew au Musée Fine Arts, Boston', *Art Asiatica* XIII (Paris and Brussels, 1929).

J. Correia-Alfonso SJ, ed., *Letters From the Mughal Court, The First Jesuit Mission to Akbar (1580-83)* (Bombay, 1980).

—, *Indo-Portuguese History, Sources and Problems* (Bombay 1981).

L. Dallenbach, *The Mirror in the Text* (Oxford, 1989).

G. H. Darab, Tr., the *Makhhzanol Asrar: The Treasury of Mysteries of Nezami of Ganjeh* (London, 1945).

See G. Delmarcel, *Golden Weavings, Flemish Tapestries of the Spanish Crown* (London, 1993)

*Die Darstellung Des H. L. Franziscus von Assisi in der Flämische Malerei und Graphik des Späten 16 und des 17 Jahrhunderts* (Rome, 1992).

E. Devapriam, *The Influence of Western Art on Mughal Painting* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Case Western Reserve University, 1972).

P. Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, Tr., C. H. Payne (London, 1926).

H. P. Duerr, *Nachtbeit und Scham, Der Mythos vom Zivilisationsprozess* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988).

G. Eggar, *Early Indian Codices Selecti* (Graz, 1974).

C. G. Ellis, 'The Portuguese Carpets of Gujarat', in *Islamic Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1972).

R. Ettinghausen, 'The Emperor's Choice', *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. M. Meiss (New York 1961), pp. 98-120

—, *Arab Painting* (Skira, 1962).

—, 'New Pictorial Evidence of Catholic Missionary Activity in Mughal India (Early VIIth Century)', *Perennitas* (Münster, 1963), pp. 385-96.

—, ed., *Islamic Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1972).

T. Falk and M. Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the Indian Office Library* (London, 1981).

- M . Foucault, *The Order of Things. An Archaeology of Human Sciences* (London, 1970).
- F. Lugt, , *L'Inde des légendes et des réalités, miniatures Indiennes et Persans de la Fondation Custodia, The Collection of F. Lugt* (Paris, Fondation Custodia, Insitut Néerlandais 1986).
- I. Fraad and R. Ettinghausen , *Sultanate Painting in Persian Style: Preliminary Study* (Benares, 1972).
- M. Geisberg and W. L. Strauss ed., *The German Single Leaf Woodcut 1500-1550* (New York, 1978).
- W. S. Gibson, *Bruegel* (London, 1977).
- H. Glück, *Die Indischen Miniaturen des Haemza-Romanes* (Vienna, 1925).
- Y. A. Godard, 'Les marges du Murakka Gulshan', *Athar-e Iran I*, 1936, pp. 11-18.
- M. Goedhuis, ed., *Indian Painting* ( London, 1978).
- L. Golumbek, and M. Subtelny, eds., *Timurid Art and Culture, Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden, 1992).
- E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study of the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* Oxford, 1977).
- B. N. Goswamy and E. Fischer, *Wonders of a Golden Age, Painting at the Court of the Great Mughals, Indian Art of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries from Collections in Switzerland* (Zurich, 1987).
- B. Gray, 'The Development of Painting in India in the Sixteenth-Century' *Marg* 6, (1953), pp. 19-24.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Persian Painting* (Skira, 1961).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Complexities of Persian Painting', *Apollo* 113/6 June 1981, pp. 410-12.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed, *The Arts of India* (New York, 1981).
- B. Gray and D. Barrett, *Indian Painting* (Skira, 1963).
- E. J. Grube, *Islamic paintings from the 11th to 18th centuries in the Collection of Hans P. Kraus* (New York, no date).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Studies in Islamic Painting* (London, 1995).
- G. D. Guest, *Shiraz Painting of the 16th Century* (Washington, 1949).
- N. Gupta, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Lahore, 1922).
- J. Guy and D. Swallow, eds. *Arts of India, 1550-1900*, (London, 1990).
- F. Haskell, *Painters and Patrons: A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (New Haven and London, 1980).

J. S. Hoyland and S. N. Bannerjee, Trs., *The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S. J.* (Madras, 1922).

A. A. Ivanov and O. F. Akimushkin, *Persidskie Minitatyurni XIV-XVII XB* (Academia Nauk, SSSR, 1968).

A. A. Ivanov, T. V. Grek and O. F. Akimushkin, *Indian Albums and Persian Miniatures of the Sixteenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (New York, 1995).

A. V. W. Jackson and A. Yohannan, *A Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Cochran Collection* (New York, 1914).

D. Jones, ed., *A Mirror of Princes, The Mughals and the Medici* (Bombay, 1987).

H. Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (London, 1997).

K. Khandalawala, 'Leaves from Rajasthan: A Dated Bhagvata Purana of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona' *Marg* 4 (1950), pp. 2-24 and pp. 49-56.

K. Khandalawala and M. Chandra, *New Documents On Indian Painting - A Reappraisal* (Bombay, 1969).

K. Khandalawala and J. Mittal, 'An Early Akbari Illustrated Manuscripts of *Tilasm* and *Zodiac*' *Lalit Kala* 14 (1969), pp. 11-13.

K. Khandalawala gen. ed., and S. Doshi, ed., *An Age Of Splendour, Islamic Art in India* (Bombay, 1983).

H. Knížkóva and J. Marek, *The Jengiz Khan Miniatures from the Court of Akbar the Great* (Prague, 1963).

E. Koch, 'The Influence of the Jesuit Mission on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors', *The Akbar Mission and Miscellaneous Studies*, ed. C. W. Troll, *Islam in India: Studies and Commentaries*, vol. I (New Delhi, 1982), pp. 14-29.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Shab Jehan and Orpheus* (Graz, 1988).

A. Krishna, 'A Reassessment of the Tuti-nāme Illustrations in the Cleveland Museum of Art (and Related Problems on Earliest Mughal Paintings and Painters)', *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 241-268.

E. Kühnel and H. Goetz, *Indische Buchmalereien aus dem Jahangir album der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1926).

\_\_\_\_\_, *Indian Book Painting* (London, 1926).

D. Landau, Engl. Tr. A. Paul, *Georg Pencz* (Milan, 1978).

L. Leach, *Indian Miniature Paintings and Drawings* (Cleveland, 1986).

\_\_\_\_\_, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings From the Chester Beatty Library* (2 Vols. London, 1995).

- H. Liebaers, *Estampes de Breughel* (Brussels, 1972).
- M. Levey, *The Painter Depicted* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1982).
- J. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India* (London, 1982).
- G. D. Lowry, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection* (Washington D.C., 1988).
- G. D. Lowry and S. Nemazee, *A Jeweller's Eye, Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection* (New York, 1988).
- G. D. Lowry and W. Lenz, *Timur and the Princely Vision* (Los Angeles and New York, 1989).
- E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932).
- H. Marshall, 'An Analysis of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Mughal Painting with Reference to Persian Cultural and Political Influences' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1981).
- F. R. Martin, *Miniature Painting of Persia, India, and Turkey*, vol II (London, 1912).
- F. R. Martin and T.W. Arnold, *The Nizami Ms.* (Vienna, 1926).
- M. S. Mate and U. Ranade, *Nasik Ragamala* (Poona, 1982).
- M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les Estampes de Wierix Conservees au Cabinets des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier*, vol. I (Bruxelles, no date).
- I. McCall, 'Early Jesuit Art in the Far East I' *Artibus Asiae*, 1947, vol. X/2, pp. 121-137.  
 \_\_\_, 'Early Jesuit Art in the Far East I' *Artibus Asiae*, 1947, vol. X/3, pp. 216-233.
- H. Masse, *Nizami: le roman de Chosroes et Chirin* (Paris, 1970).
- M. S. Mate and U. Ranade, *Nasik Ragamala* (Poona, 1982).
- E. Mattin and D. Hill, Tr. from R. Gelpke, *Nizami: The Story of Layla-Majnun* (London, 1966).
- R. P. McBreine, gen. ed, *Encyclopaedia of Catholicism*, New York, 1995.
- N. C. Mehta, *Gujarati Painting in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1931).
- J. S. Meisami, *Nizāmī : Haft Paykar, A Medieval Persian Romance* (Oxford, 1995).
- G. M. Meredith-Owens, *Handlist of Persian Manuscripts 1895-1966* (London, 1968).
- G. M. Meredith-Owens, and D. H. Turner, 'Manuscripts from the Dyson Perrins Collection', *The British Museum Quarterly* XXIII/2, 1961, pp. 28-30.
- R. Messina, *Biblioteca Geografica* (Rieti, 1991).

- R. Morris, 'Some Additions to the Work of the Mughal Artist Farrukh Chela', *Ars Orientalis*, 13, 1982, pp. 135-153.
- D. Mortazavi, *Nezami de Ganjeh: le tresor des secrets* (Paris, 1987).
- J.J. Murray, *Antwerp in the Age of Plantin and Brueghel* (Newton Abbot, 1970).
- J. Nadal, *Imagines Veteris Testamenti* (Antwerp, 1587).
- F. de Nave and D. Imhof, *Christoffel Plantijn en de Iberische Wereld* (Antwerp, 1992).
- J. Naudou, 'Symbolisme du miroir dans l'inde', *Arts Asiatique* XIII, 1966, pp. 59-83.
- D. Nicolle, *Mughal India 1504-1761 Men-at-Arms Series* (London, 1993).
- A. Okada, *Miniatures de L'Inde Imperiale* (Paris, 1989).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Imperial Mughal Painters, Indian Miniatures from the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Paris, 1992).
- P. Pal, ed., *Master Artists of the Mughal Court* (Marg, Bombay, 1991).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Indian Sculpture*, 2 vols (Los Angeles, 1988).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Indian Painting* (Los Angeles, 1993).
- E. Panofsky, *Idea A Concept in Art Theory* (London 1968).
- G. N. Pant, *Mughal Weapons in the Bābur-nāme* (New Delhi, 1989).
- C. H. Payne, Tr. and ed., *Jehangir and the Jesuits* (from Father Fernao Guerriero's *Relacam...*, London, 1930).
- R. Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists, A History and Sourcebook* (Princeton, 1994).
- G. Pauli, *Hans Sebald Beham, Ein Kritisches Verzeichniss* (Strasbourg, 1901).
- Y. A. Petrosyan, et. al., *Pages of Perfection, Islamic Paintings and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg* (Milan, 1995).
- R. Pinder-Wilson, ed., *Painting From Islamic Lands*, (Oxford, 1969).
- N. Purinton and R. Newman, 'A Technical Anaylsis of Indian Painting Materials', in E. Smart, and D. S. Walker, *Pride of the Princes, Indian Art of the Mughal Era in the Cincinnati Art Museum* (Cincinnati, 1985), pp. 107-113.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Paintings From the Muslim Courts of India* (British Museum, 1976).
- M. S. Randhawa, *Paintings of the Baburnama* (New Delhi, 1983).
- N. Ray, *Mughal Court Painting, A Study in Social and Formal Analysis* (Calcutta, 1975).

- T. A. Riggs, *Hieronymous Cock, Printmaker and Publisher* (New York and London, 1977).
- S. A. A. Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign* (New Delhi, 1975).
- B. Robinson, 'Prince Baysungur's Nizami, A Speculation', *Ars Orientalis*, II, 1957, pp. 383-391.
- , "The earliest illustrated Nizami?" *Oriental Art*, Autumn 1957, pp. 96-103.
- , *A Descriptive Catalogue of Persian Paintings at the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1958).
- , *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library* (London, 1976).
- , ed., *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book, the Keir Collection*, (London, 1976).
- , *Fifteenth Century Persian Painting: Problems and Issues* (New York, 1991).
- , *Persian Drawings* (London, 1991).
- J. M. Rogers, *Islamic Art and Design 1500-1700* (London, 1983).
- , *Mughal Miniatures* (London, 1993).
- J. M. Rogers and R. Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent* (London, 1988).
- A. R. Sakisian, *La Miniature Persane du XII en XVII siecles* (Paris and Brussels, 1929).
- A. Schimmel and S. C. Welch, *Anwari's Diwan, A Pocket Book for Akbar* (New York, 1983).
- P. W. Schulz, *Die Persische-Islamische Miniaturmalerei* (Leipzig, 1914).
- G. Sen, *Paintings From the AkbarNama* (Calcutta, 1984).
- J. Seyller 'Scribal Notes on Mughal Manuscript Illustrations', *Artibus Asiae* 48, 1987, pp. 261-275.
- , 'Overpainting in the Cleveland *Tūtī-nāme*', *Artibus Asiae* LII, 1992, pp. 283-318.
- , 'A Dated *Hamza-nāme* Illustration', Notice 1, *Artibus Asiae* LIII, 3/4, 1993, pp.
- R. Skelton, 'The *Nīmat-nāme*: A Landmark in Malwa Painting' *Marg* 12 (June, 1959), pp. 393-411.
- , 'Mughal Painting From a Harivamsha manuscript.' *Victoria and Albert Museum Year Book* 2, (London, 1970), pp. 41-55.
- , 'The Iskandar Nāma of Nusrat Shāh' *Indian Painting* (Colnaghi, London, 1978).
- , et. al., *Facets Of Indian Art, A Symposium Held at the Victoria and Albert Museum On 26, 27, 28, April and 1 May 1982* (London, 1986).

- , 'Imperial Symbolism in Mughal Painting', in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. P. Soucek (University Park, PA, and London, 1988), pp. 177-87..
- E. Smart, *Paintings From the Babur-name, A Study of Sixteenth Century Mughal Historical Manuscript Illustration* (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of London, 1977).
- V. A. Smith, *Akbar, The Great Mogul* (Oxford, 1917).
- P. Soucek, *Illustrated MSS. of Nizami's Khamseh 1386-1482* (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Department of Fine Arts, University of New York, 1971).
- , 'Comments On Persian Painting', *Iranian Studies*, vol. 7, #1-2, 1974.
- , ed., *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World* (University Park, PA, and London, 1988).
- J. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (London, 1983).
- W. Staude, *Mughalmalerei der Akbarzeit* (Wien, 1935)
- J. Stchoukine, *Les Peintures Indiennes à L'Epoch des Grandes Moghols* (Paris, 1929).
- K. —, *Les Peintures des Manuscrits Timurides* (Paris, 1954).
- , 'Origine indienne d'un manuscrit persan acrévé en 844 A.H.', *Syria*, t.XLVI, 1969, pp. 105-115.
- , 'La Khamseh de Nizami, H.753 du Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi d'Istanbul', *Syria*, t. LXI, 1972, pp. 239-246.
- , *Les Peintures Des Manuscrits de la "Khamseh" de Nizami au Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi d'Istanbul* (Paris, 1977).
- J. Stooke and K. Khandalavala, *The Land Ragamala Miniatures, A Study in Indian Paintings and Music* (Oxford, 1953).
- V. Stoichita, *Visionary Experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art* (London, 1995).
- , *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-painting* (Cambridge, CUP, 1997).
- J. Strzygowski, H. Gluck, S. Kramrisch and E. Wellesz, *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei* (Klagenfurt, 1933).
- M. Stutley, *Illustrated Dictionary of Hindu Iconography* (London, 1985).
- W. S. Thomson, *The History of Tapestry* (London, 1973).
- R. K. R. Thornton and T. G. S. Cain, eds., *Nicholas Hilliard, "A Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning"* (Northumberland, 1992).

N. M. Titley, "A Fourteenth Century *Khamsa* of Nizami" *British Museum Quarterly*, 1971-72. Vol. 36, pp. 8-11.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1983).

\_\_\_\_\_, *Miniatures From Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1977).

Z.V. Togan, *On The Miniatures in Istanbul Libraries*, in *Publ. Fac. Letters of the Univ. Istanbul*, N.1034, (Istanbul, 1963.)

A. Topsfield, *Indian Paintings From Oxford Collections* (Oxford, 1994).

H. Van Der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy (Fourteenth to Fifteenth Centuries)*, Vol. II (Louvain, 1963)

S. P. Verma, *Art and Material Culture in the Paintings of Akbar's Court* (New Delhi, 1978).

\_\_\_\_\_, *Mughal Painters and their Work: A Bibliographical Survey and Comprehensive Catalogue* (Delhi, 1994).

M. -B. Wadell, *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (Götenberg, 1985).

A. E. Waites, *The Secret Tradition in Alchemy, Its Development and Records* (London, 1926).

G. Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins, DCL, FSA, 2 vols.* (Oxford, 1920).

A. Watts, *Myth and Ritual in Christianity* (London, 1954).

A. Welch, *Artists For The Shah* (Yale, 1976).

E. Wellesz, *Akbar's Religious Thought, Reflected in Mogul Painting* (London, 1952).

A. Welch and S. C. Welch, *Art of the Islamic Book, The Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan* (Ithaca and London, 1982).

J. V. S. Wilkinson and L. Binyon, *The Shahnama of Firdausi* (London 1931).

S. C. Welch, 'Miniatures From a Manuscript of a *Diwan-i Hafiz*', National Museum, Delhi' *Marg* 11 (3), 1958.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Early Mughal Miniature Paintings From Two Private Collections at the Fogg Art Museum', *Ars Orientalis* III, 1959, pp. 133-147.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* of Nizami' *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 23, 1960, pp. 87-96.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Mughal and Deccani Miniature Paintings in a Private Collection' *Ars Orientalis* V, 1963, pp. 221-233.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Wonders of the Age* (Harvard, 1979).

- , *The Art of Mughal India, Paintings and Precious Objects* (New York, 1963).
- , *India, Art and Culture, 1300-1600* (New York, 1985).
- H. Wilberforce Clarke, *The Sikandar Nama, e bara or Book of Alexander the Great (...)*, (London, 1881).
- C. E. Wilson, *Commentary to the Haft Peykar* (London, 1924).
- R. Wittkower, 'Miraculous Birds', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, vol. I, no. 3, pp. 255-257.
- F. Yates, *The Valois Tapestries* (London, 1975).
- M. Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting* (London, 1983).

**Fig. 1**



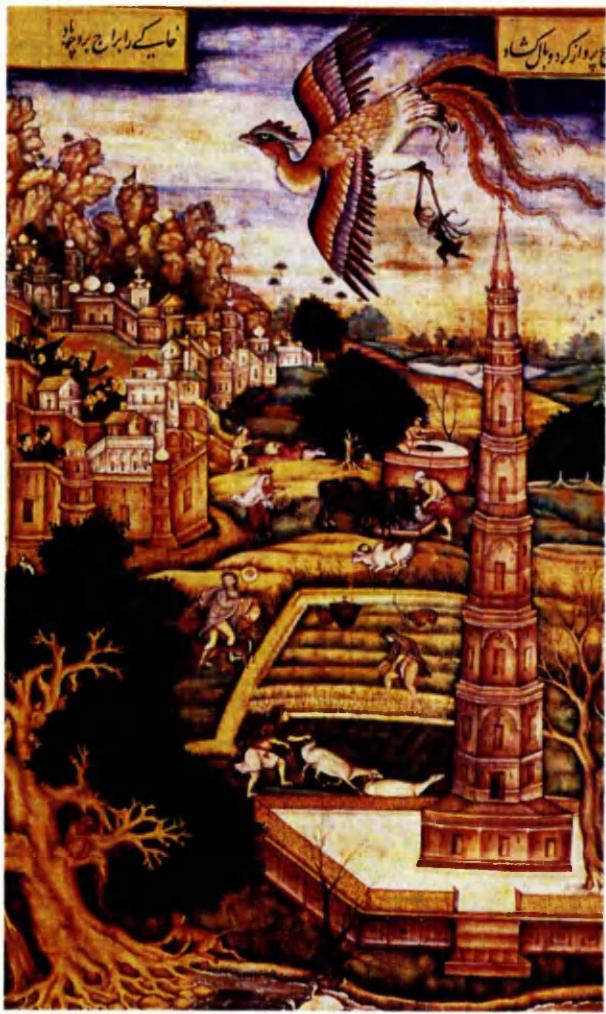


Fig. 2

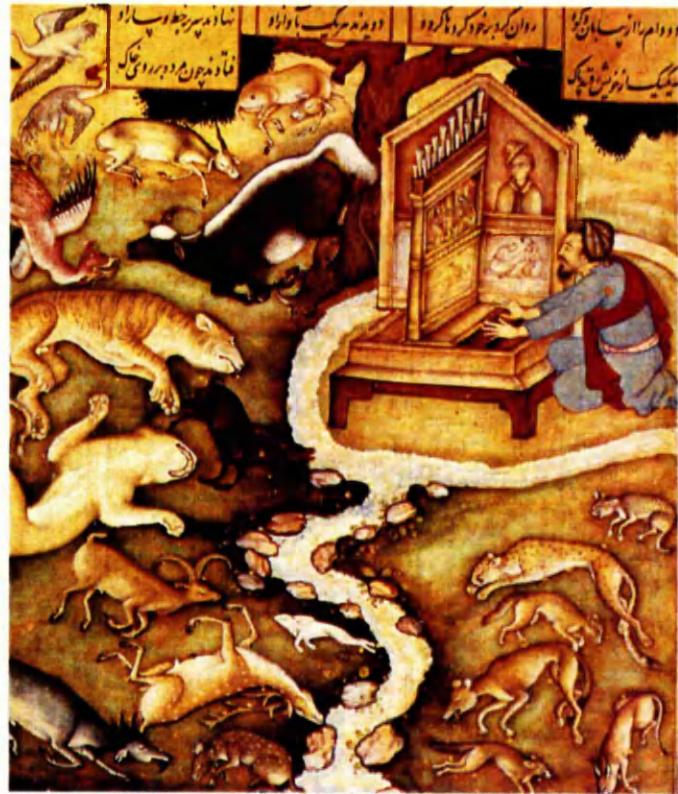


Fig. 5



Fig. 4



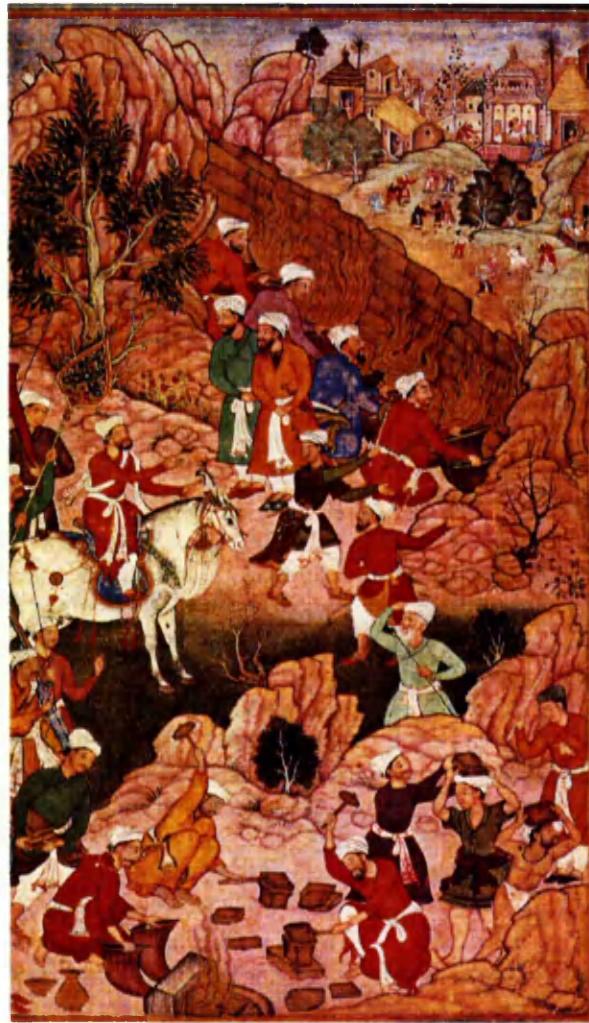
Fig. 3



Fig. 6.



**Fig. 7**



**Fig. 8**



**Fig. 9**

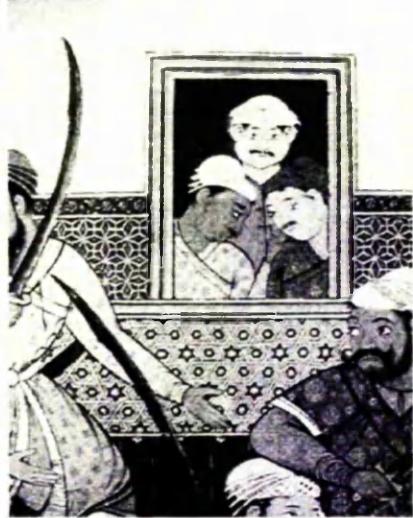


Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12

Fig.13

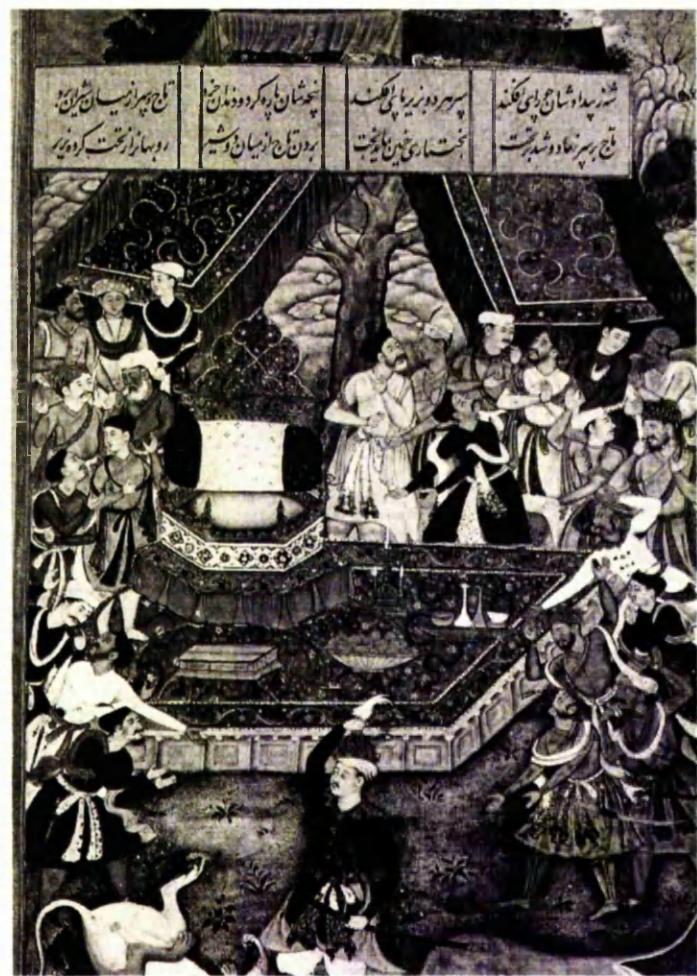
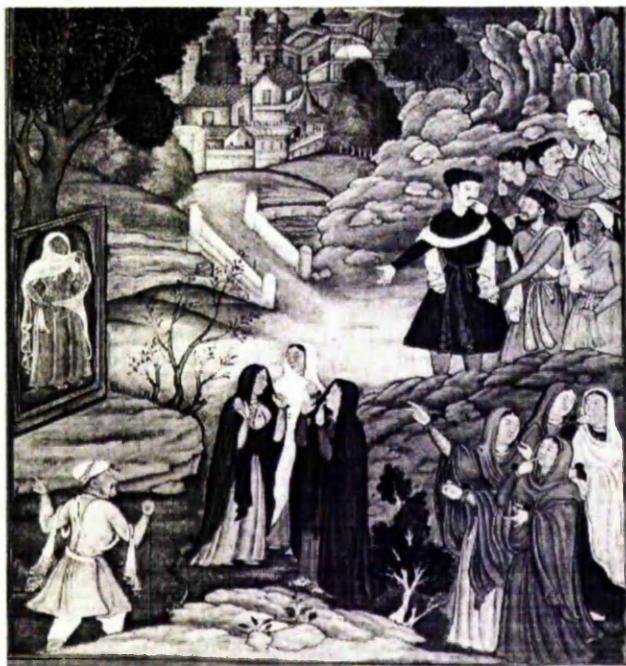
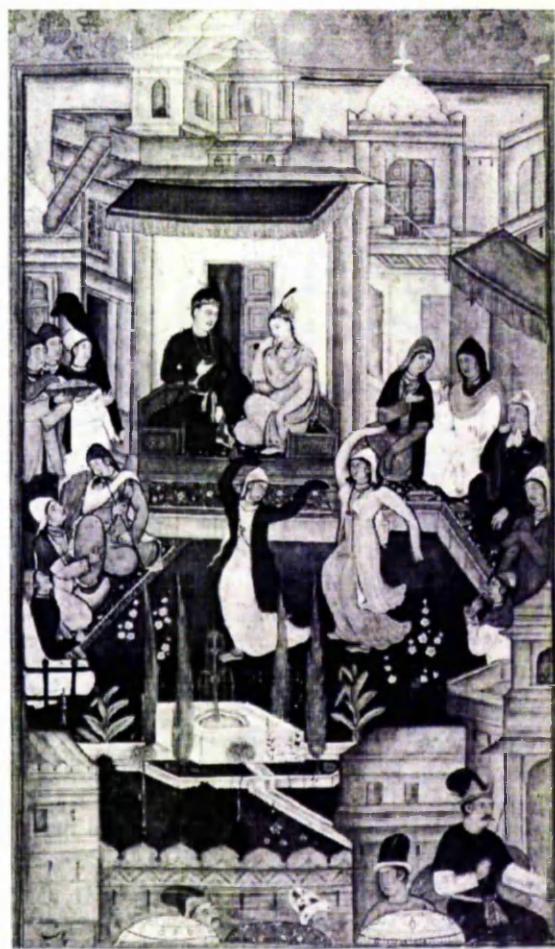


Fig.14



**Fig. 15**



**Fig. 16**

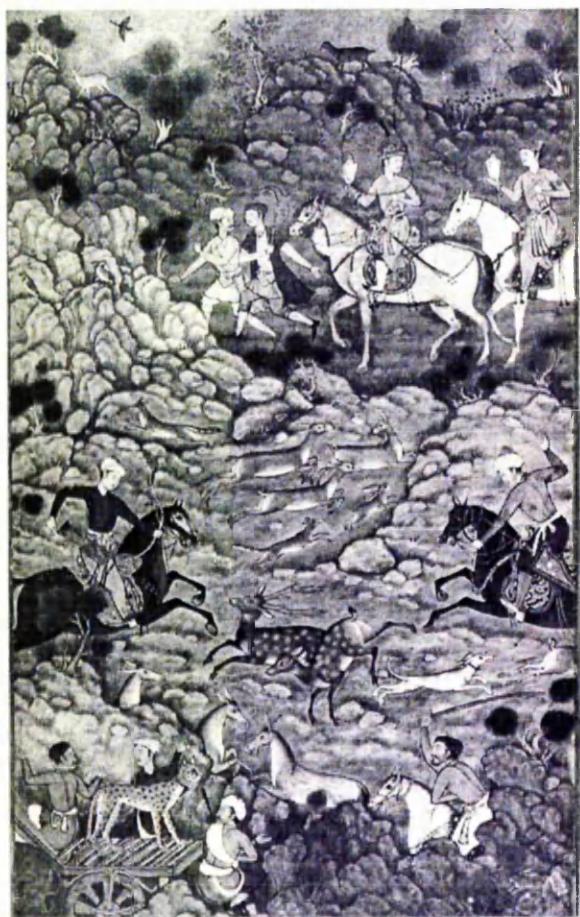


Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19

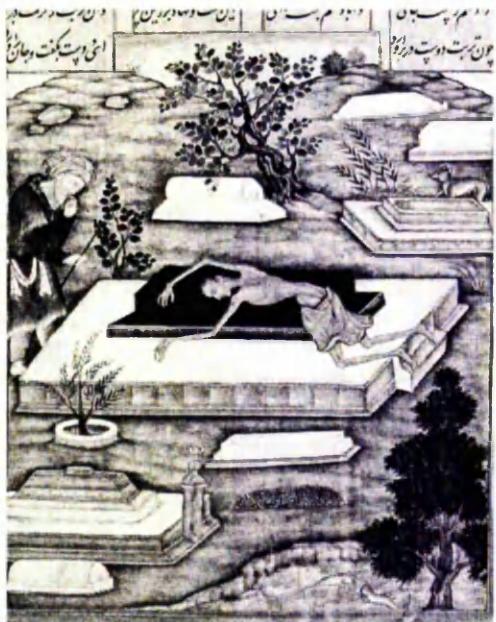


Fig. 20



Fig. 22



Fig. 21

**Fig. 23**



**Fig. 24**



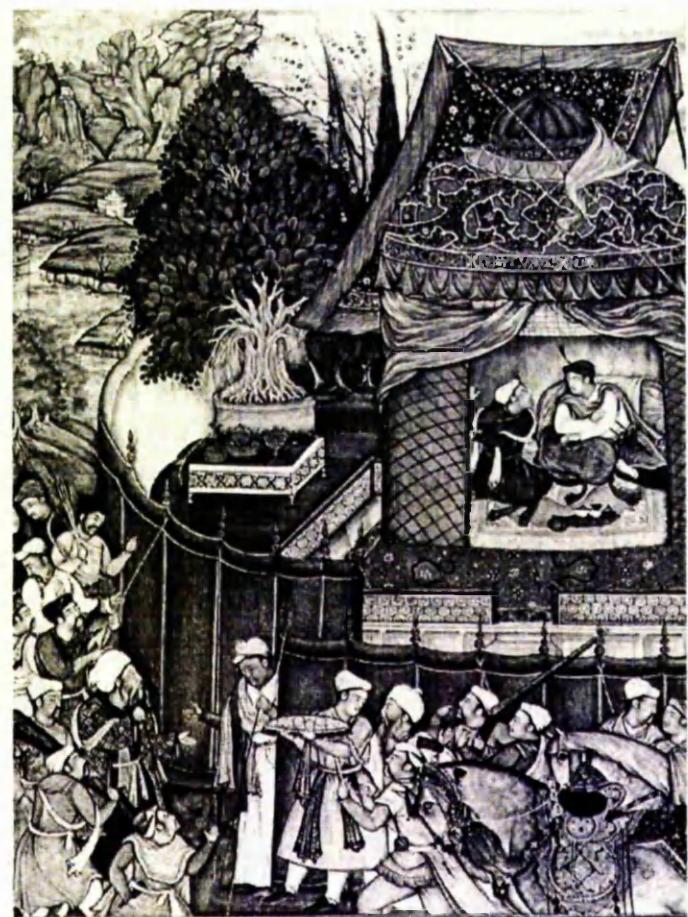


Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28

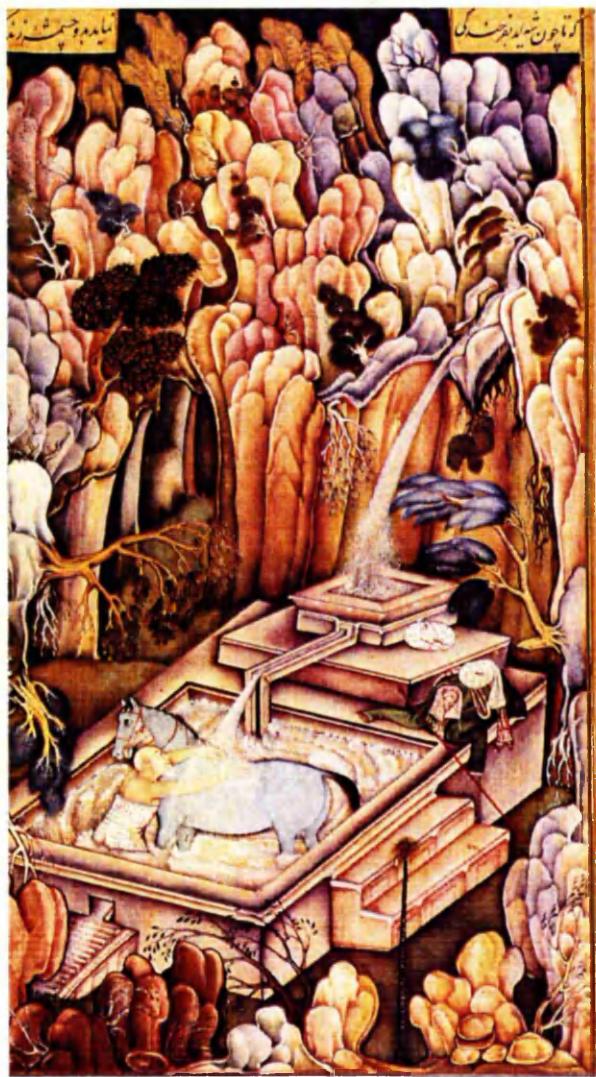


Fig. 29

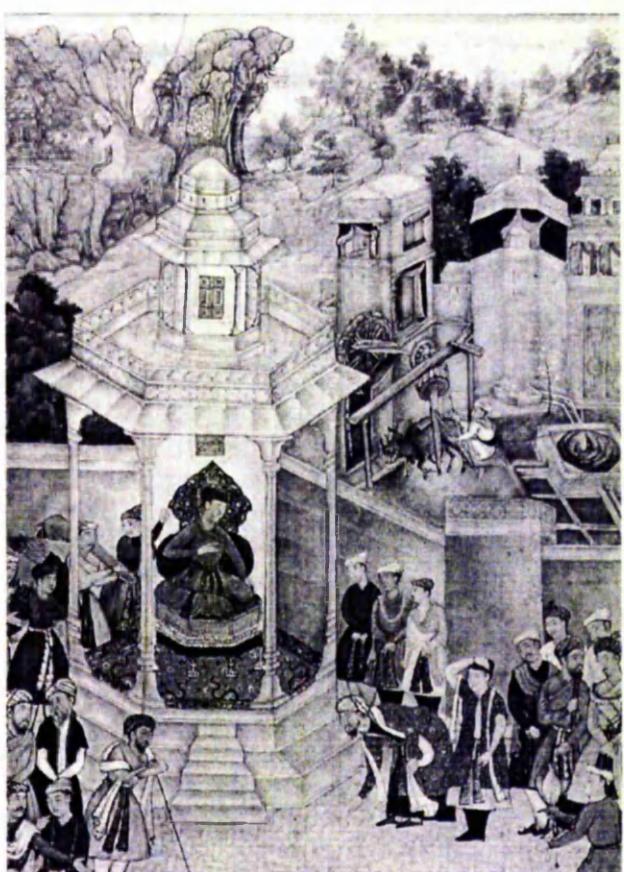


Fig. 30

**Fig. 31**



**Fig. 32**



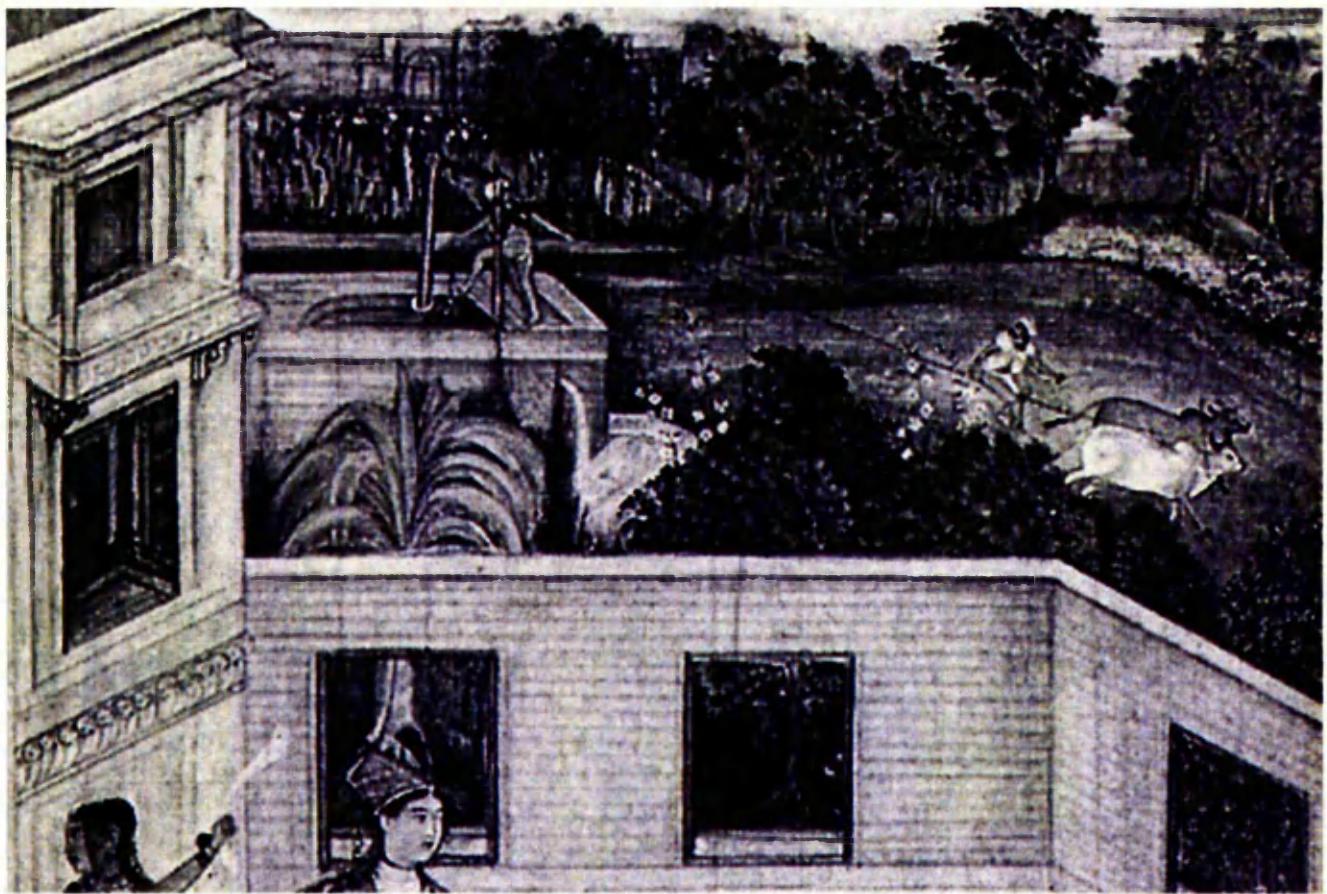


Fig. 33

Fig. 34



Fig. 35





Fig. 36



Fig. 37

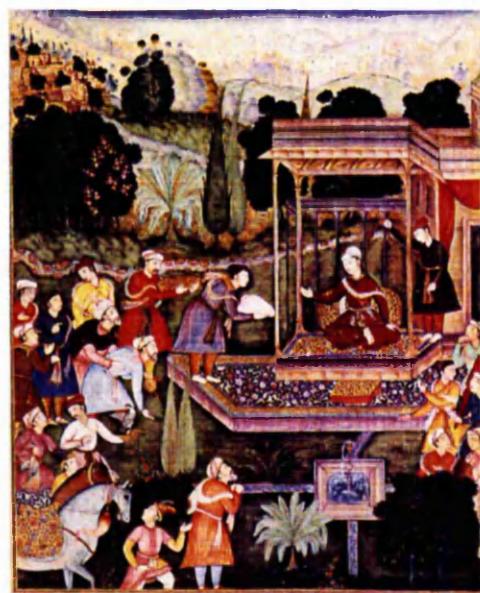


Fig. 38



Fig. 39

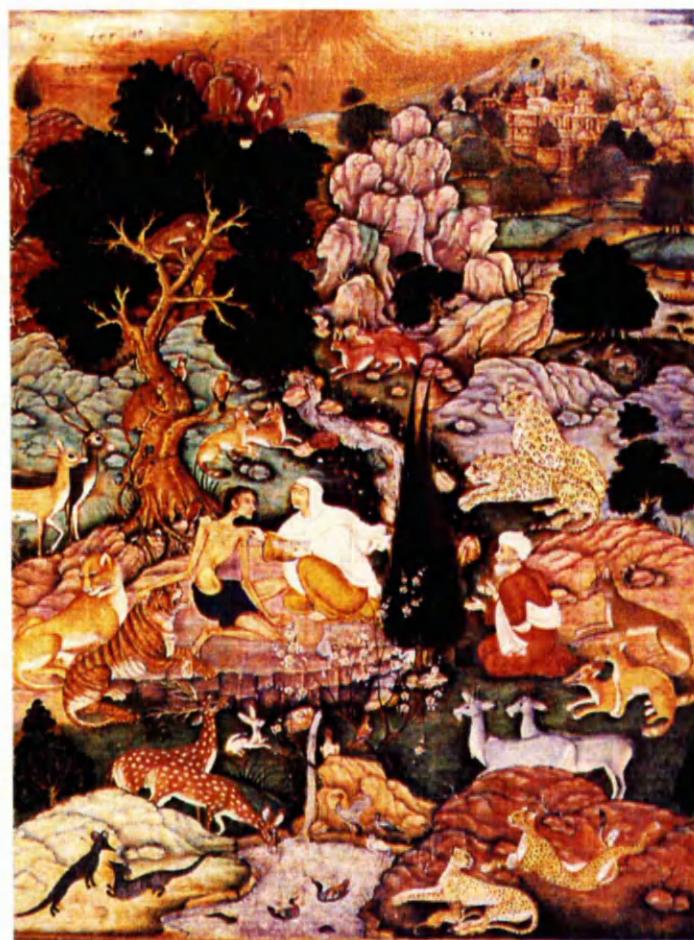
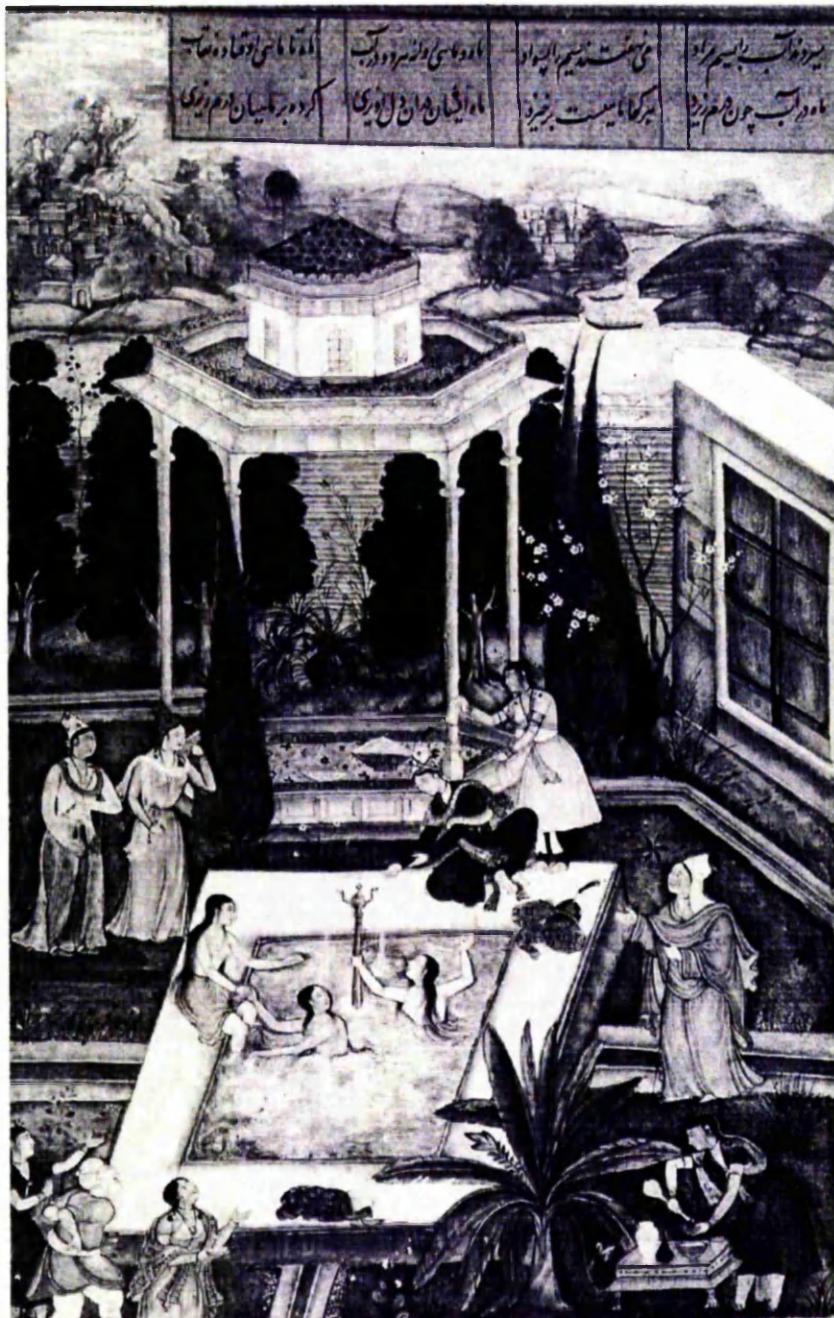


Fig. 40

Fig. 41



**Fig. 42**



**Fig. 43**



Fig. 44



Fig. 45



Fig. 46

Fig. 47

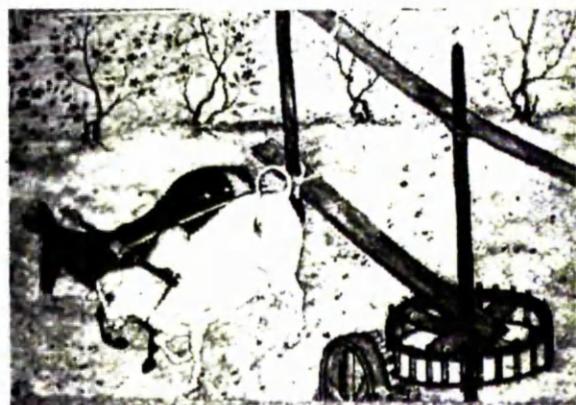
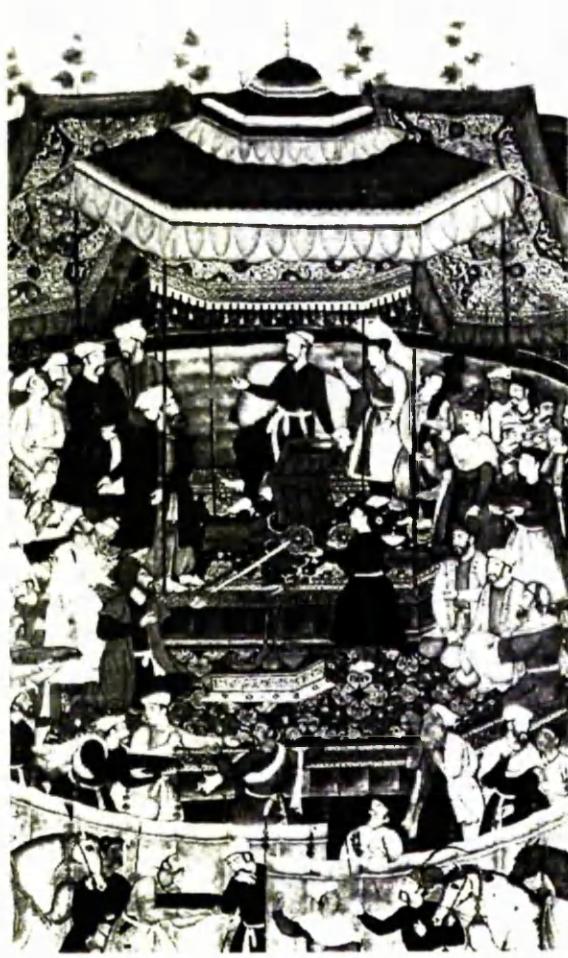




Fig. 48

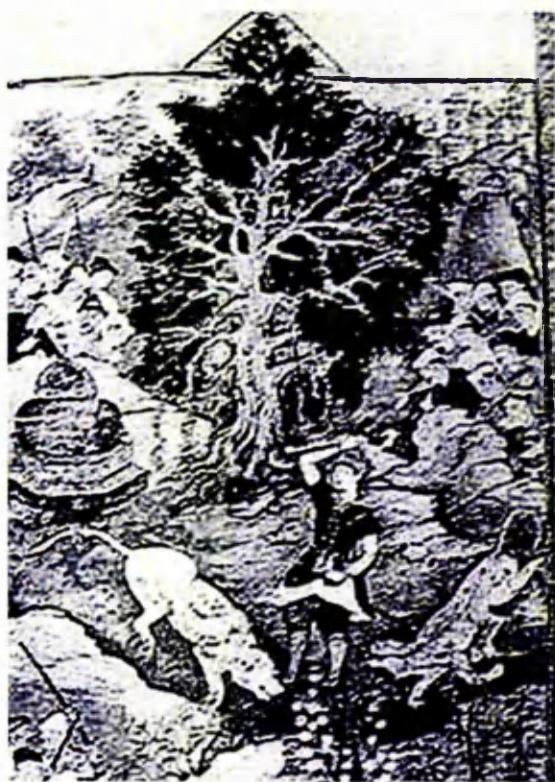


Fig. 49



Fig. 50

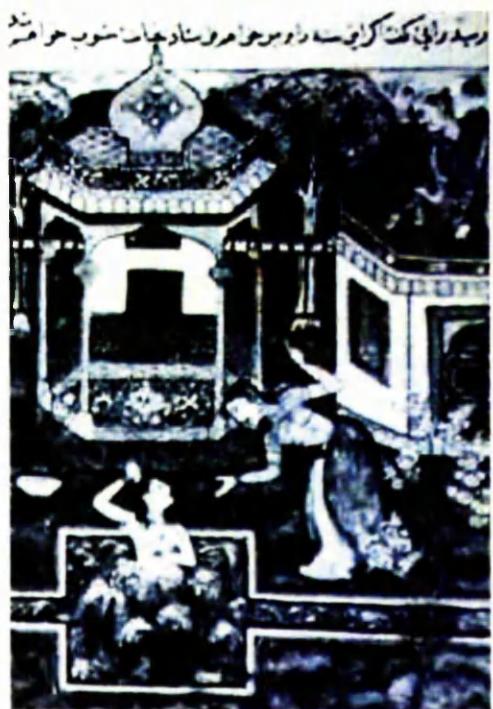


Fig. 51

Fig. 52



Fig. 53



Fig. 54

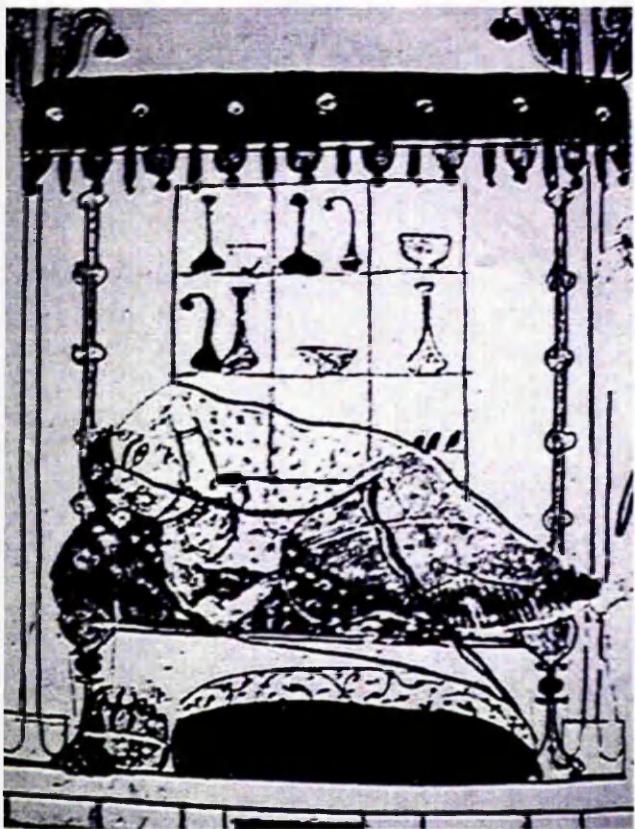


Fig. 55

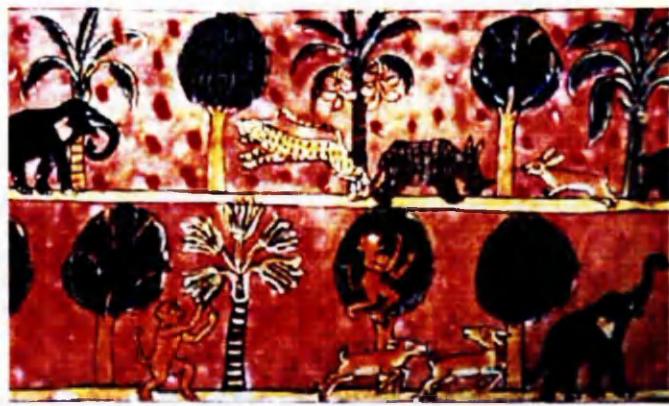


Fig. 56





Fig. 57



Fig. 58

Fig. 59

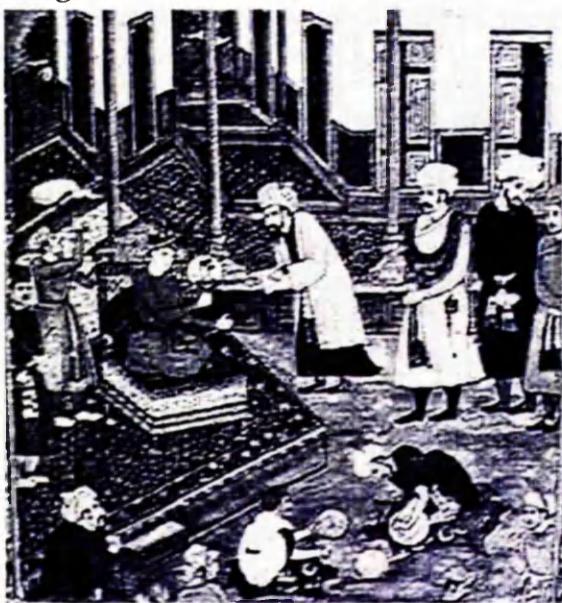
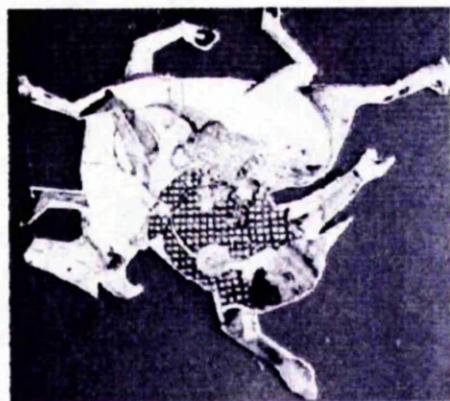


Fig. 60



**Fig. 61**



**Fig. 62**



**Fig. 63**





Fig. 64

Fig. 65



Fig. 66



Fig. 67

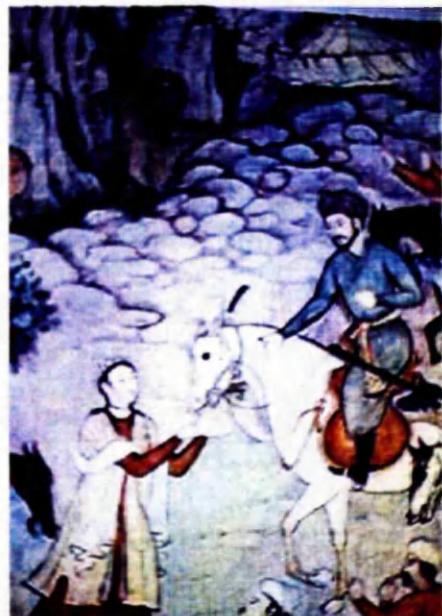




Fig. 68



Fig. 69



Fig. 70



Fig. 71



Fig. 72

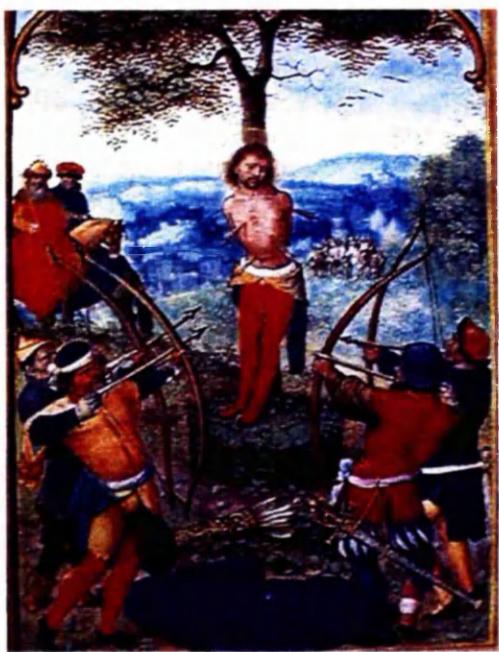


Fig. 73



Fig. 74

Fig. 75





Fig. 76



Fig. 77



Fig. 78



Fig. 79



Fig. 80



Fig. 81

**Fig. 82**



**Fig. 83**



**Fig. 84**

**Fig. 85**



**Fig. 86**



**Fig. 87**

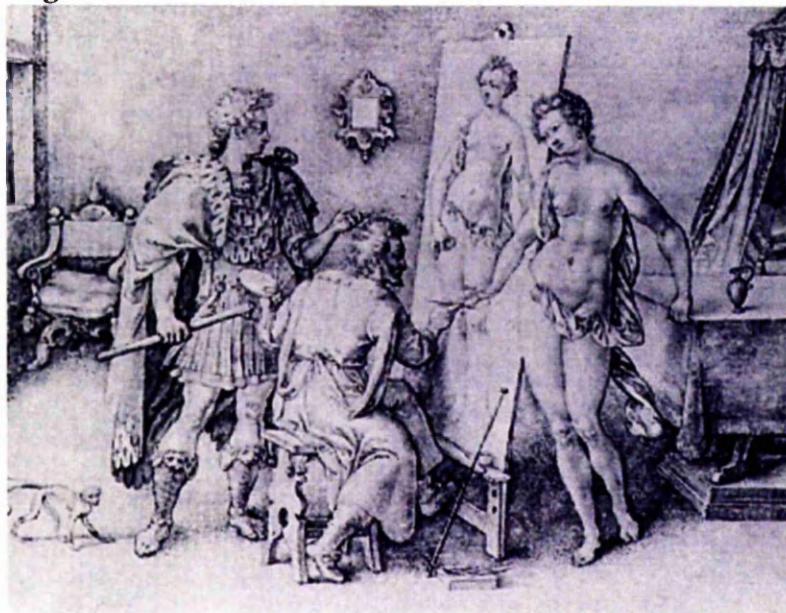




Fig. 89



Fig. 88

Fig. 90



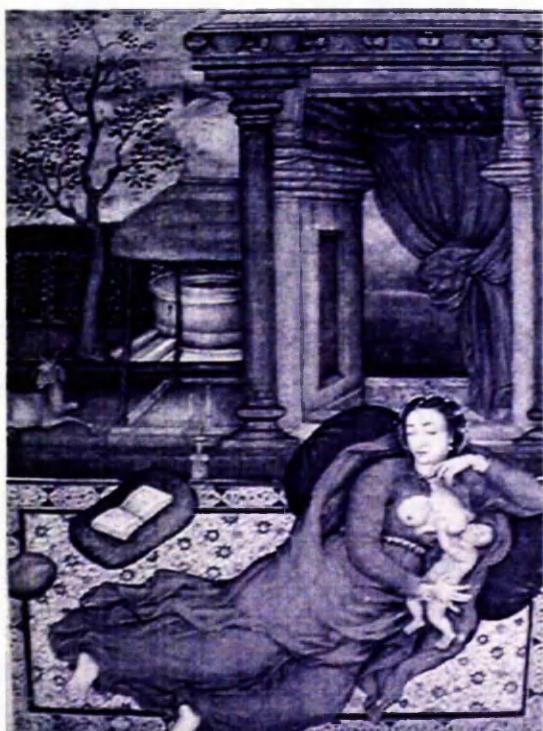


Fig. 91



Fig. 92

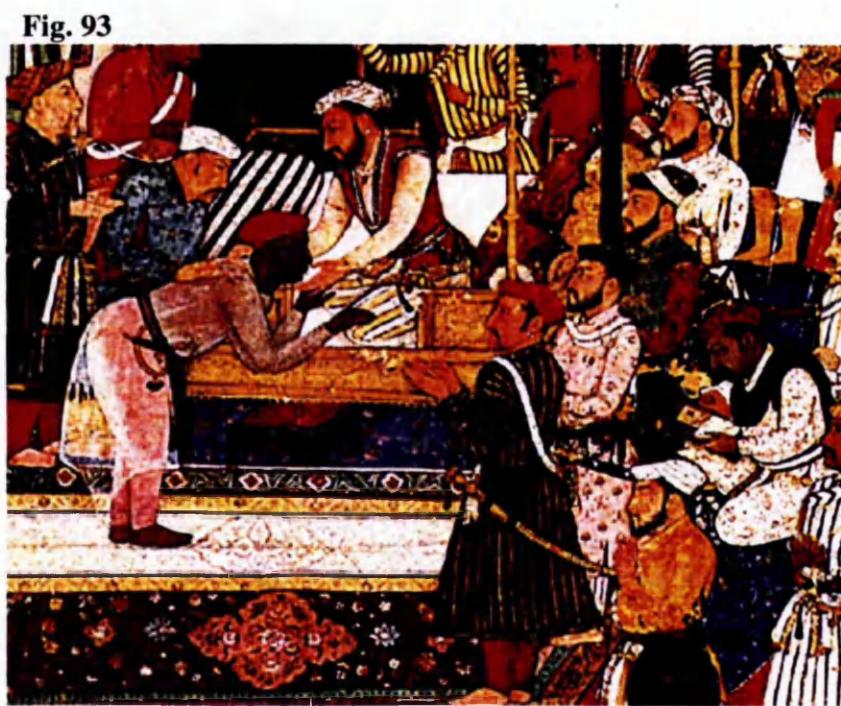


Fig. 93

Fig. 94

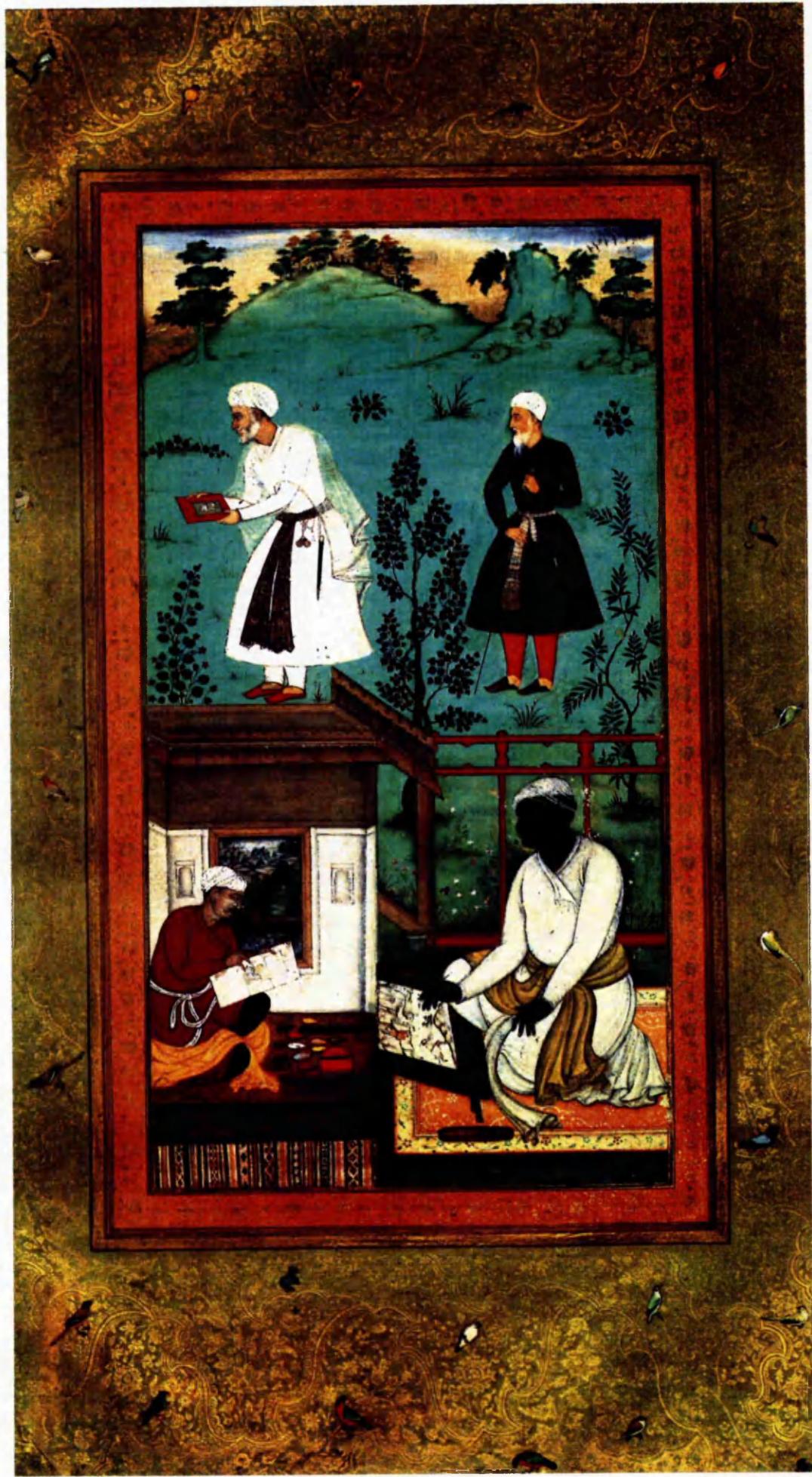




Fig. 95