in their due relation one to another, having decorated them with magnificent raiment and fantastic head-dresses, enriched the saddle-cloths with gold-work and embroidery, and exercised his ingenuity in the patterns upon their robes, the painter appears to have been satisfied with the beautiful decorative effect thus achieved. He was apparently willing to spend hours of work upon the delicate veining of the leaves of a plane-tree or the shades of colour on the petals of an iris, but it does not seem to have occurred to him to devote the same pains and effort upon the countenances of his human figures and make them show by their expressions their mental attitude towards the scene in which they were playing a part. As a rule the actors in these pictures look out upon the scene with unconcerned, emotionless faces, whether they be kings or attendants, soldiers or peasants. Warriors in the frenzy of battle deal blows and receive mortal wounds with apparent unconcern; a head just about to fly from the shoulders at the vigorous blow of a stalwart foe seems to regard the unwonted separation with entire indifference, and a knight from whose body the blood is pouring with an abundance that bears evidence more to the possession of plenty of crimson paint than to any knowledge possessed by the painter as to what happens in such circumstances, stolidly refrains from exhibiting any outward sign of the agony that must accompany such a painful experience. Even moments of ecstatic delight leave the actors in the scene with unimpassioned faces, as though they did not know that they were attaining the zenith of delight in the sphere of human experience.

In consideration of this lack of varieties of emotive expression on the countenance the painters had to devise conventional modes of indicating emotion. One of the commonest of these is the putting of a finger to the lips as a sign of astonishment, and it constantly occurs in cases where, without this characteristic gesture, there would be no indication that the persons concerned were under the influence of any feeling whatsoever. Another conventional sign was the gnawing of the back of the hand to indicate the emotion of despair. Even violent grief makes no change in the features of the mourner, but is shown by the veiling of the face or tossing of the arms.

In this matter of emotional quality the MS. of Rashid ad-Din’s *Universal History*, so often referred to, stands apart from all others, and this deviation from the imperturbability that ordinarily characterizes Muhammadan painting probably finds its explanation in foreign influence, viz. the prevailing Chinese character of the pictures in this manuscript. The predominant horror of the incidents that the artist was called upon to depict seems to have frozen his blood; executions and mutilations, battles and massacres, are repeated on one page after another till the painter must have grown sick of them; at any rate over most of his pictures there seems to hang a heavy pall of melancholy, which expresses itself as much on the faces of the unharmed spectators as on that of the victim who is having his throat cut or his arms and legs slowly hacked off.

Chinese influence of an entirely different character exhibits itself in the work of a particularly attractive artist of a much later period—Muhammad. His name (meaning ‘Muhammadan’) occurs very rarely as a personal name, and suggests that he was a convert to Islam. Of his history nothing whatever is known, and the character of his drawing suggests affinities with Chinese art, and he himself may have been a Chinese convert or a native of some region of Eastern Asia. Dr. Martin[^1] has described one of his works as a copy of a drawing by the Chinese master, Li Lung-mien, but the subject is in every respect Muhammadan and the scene represented may well have occurred in Turkestan or even in Persia. A picture by him in the Louvre, dated A.H. 986 (= A.D. 1578),[^2] enables us to place his *floruit* in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and an inscription on Rizâ ‘Abbâs’s *copy* of a portrait by him refers to Muhammad as already dead, and describes him as having belonged to the city of Harât, but whether this epitaph is to be interpreted as indicating his birthplace or merely as his place of residence, it is impossible without further evidence to determine. In 1578 Harât was under Safavid rule, though the capital was Tabrîz, but the kingdom was racked by civil war, and a few years later Tabrîz was captured and sacked by the Turks. It was no season for painters to hope for the patronage of the Persian Shah, or to find much encouragement for a cheerful outlook upon life; but Muhammad’s drawings show that he was endowed with a sense of fun and was fond of depicting comic figures dancing and capering about as though they really enjoyed their merrymaking; there is no pretence about their frame of mind and no conventional gesture has to be employed in order to serve as a label.

Few other painters who worked in Persia made any attempt to express emotion. A notable exception occurs in the well-known picture[^3] of the rival physicians, which illustrates a story told by Nizâmi in his *Khamsah* to emphasize the power of suggestion. These two court physicians had challenged one another to an ordeal by poison, and the first gave to his rival a poisonous draught, which the second swallowed but rendered harmless

by taking the appropriate antidote immediately afterwards. The latter, in his turn, contented himself with plucking a rose, and after uttering an incantation over it gave it to his rival to smell, whereupon through excess of fear he at once fell down dead. The savage grin of delight with which the tricky victor looks down on the dead body of his weak-minded antagonist is an attempt at emotive expression rare in Persian painting (Plate LXI).

When so many legitimate opportunities for humorous art were neglected, it is strange to find caricature obtruding itself into an otherwise serious and dignified picture. In Shāh Tāh_macro’s copy of the Khamsat of Nizāmī (B. M. Or. 2265, fol. 18) there is a finely conceived representation of the interview between Sultan Sanjar and the old woman who complains that she has been robbed by one of his soldiers; it is one of the finest examples in Persian painting of the illustration of this incident, which the painters were fond of selecting; it is rich in colouring, and full of exquisite detail, especially in the delicate delineation of forms of flowers and trees; but a close examination of the somewhat strange structure of the rocky masses in the background reveals the presence of a number of grotesque human faces, so arranged as to suggest at first merely geological convolutions of the strata.

In Indian art—possibly because so many of the painters were Hindus and had a livelier interest in human character—there are more frequent examples of attempts to give animation and appropriate expression to the features of the persons represented. There are also more instances of the introduction of a comic element; one of the earliest examples is the humorous representation of the strange figure of Mullā Dū-piyāsāt (i.e. the Rev. Two-onions), a wit and buffoon who enjoyed the favour of the Emperor Akbar; he wears an enormous turban, as an indication of his pretensions to ecclesiastical dignity, and is wrapped in a voluminous garment; he rides a lean and sorry nag whose ribs seem just about to burst through his fleshless hide, while bending under his bulky load the poor beast seems just about to collapse.

Perhaps the most successful examples of the expression of emotion are given in the pictures of animals, in the delineation of which both Persian and Indian painters were remarkably successful. They devoted to them the same patient and loving care as they gave to their drawings of trees and flowers. As pointed out in Chapter V, one of the earliest books they were called upon to illustrate was Kalila wa Dimna, that Buddhist collection of

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1 His real name is not known, and he is said to have received this nickname from a dish of which he was particularly fond, the most important ingredient of which was onions. The Awi-Akbar gives the recipe as follows: 7 lb. of meat, muddling far; 1½ lb. of clarified butter; 1½ lb. of onions; ½ lb. salt; ½ lb. fresh pepper; cumin seed, coriander seed, cardamom, cloves, 1 oz. of each; 2 oz. of pepper (trans. Blochmann, Vol. 1, p. 60).
LVIII. Muhammad's Ascension to Paradise

LIX. Coins with effigies
stories in which animals discourse and behave like human beings; from the outset the painters seem to have entered into the original spirit of this ancient work, and were often more successful in imparting expression to the features of these animals than they were in the case of men. The jackals who watch the unwary bull enticed to his doom grin sardonically in enjoyment over the success of their cunning; the crow watches sympathetically over the fate of his friends and wisely devises plans for their rescue; the owls show their spiteful humour and their savage rage as ruin overwhelms them. Similarly, throughout the many works in which animals appear, they receive a sympathetic treatment at the hands of the painters of one generation after another, until this attractive series of animal art attains its finest expression in India.

Plate LXIII.
A CHAPTER OF BIOGRAPHY

THE biographical literature of the Muhammadan world—in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Urdu—is vast beyond all counting. There are many biographies of the Prophets—with many more, of course, specially devoted to Muhammad, the last of the series—of persons who were personally acquainted with Muhammad; Ibn al-Athir (ab. 1254) included more than 7,500 biographies and Ibn Hajir (ab. 1449) as many as 8,986, in the respective works which they compiled on the Companions of the Prophet. There are separate biographical dictionaries devoted to saints, to the members of the various religious orders, even to persons who knew the Qur’an by heart (Dhahabi (ab. 1448) could so early as this date write the lives of as many as 1,168 of them)—to philosophers, scholars, and physicians, to poets, to calligraphers.

But no Muhammadan writer appears to have cared to pay any attention to the painters before Maqrizi (ab. 1442), who tells us that he wrote a history of painters, but we know nothing of the contents of this work; no MS. of it is known to exist, though many of the much more voluminous writings of this prolific author have been preserved, nor does any subsequent writer appear to have quoted it. Such neglect is characteristic of the contemptuous attitude with which the painter was commonly regarded in the Muhammadan world.

The mere names of individual painters are occasionally mentioned, as has already been noticed, but no further details are provided.

It is not until the sixteenth century that mention is occasionally made of painters who happened at the same time to have dabbled in verse or have practised the art of fine writing, so they succeed in finding a place in the biographies of poets or calligraphers. Moreover, from this period also, in consequence of the altered evaluation of pictorial art to which reference has been made, painters might receive some notice among the distinguished persons of the reign of the monarch whose annals were being written.

In order to illustrate how meagre such information is, some extracts will be given from the writings of the historians who have made mention of contemporary painters.

The first is Khwâmdur, to whose sympathetic attitude towards art reference has already been made. He made an abridgement of his grandfather's

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1 See p. 22.
3 p. 57.
4 p. 34.
A CHAPTER OF BIOGRAPHY

Husayn Bayqarā, and through the instruction he received from this prince he came to surpass all his contemporaries and remained continuously in his service. 1

In the Ḩabib as-Siyar nothing is said of Qāsim ‘Ali’s abilities as a painter, and emphasis is laid only on his intellectual and theological attainments; it would appear likely that this Qāsim ‘Ali had abandoned the practice of the art of painting during the course of the thirty years that had elapsed between Khwāndamīr’s writing of his two histories, for otherwise it seems hardly possible that a writer with Khwāndamīr’s interest in painting should have given no intimation should in all this latter account that Qāsim ‘Ali had ever been a painter. It is thus rash to identify him with the much-discussed miniatures which bear his name in the British Museum MS. (Or. 6810). This instance is typical of the difficulties in the way of identifying the few painters of whom there is any historical record with those of the same name to whom the authorship of individual miniatures is ascribed. The name Qāsim ‘Ali is itself so common that there may well have been more than one artist at the same time who was so styled.

This difficulty does not occur in the case of the last of the painters mentioned by Khwāndamīr—Bihzād—which name has occurred so frequently in the preceding pages, though the information forthcoming is scanty enough and does not go beyond the limits of extravagant eulogy.

‘Ustād Kamāl ad-Dīn Bihzād. He sets before us marvellous forms and rarities of art; his draughtsmanship, which is like the brush of Mānī, has caused the memorials of all the painters of the world to be obliterated, and his fingers endowed with miraculous qualities have wiped out the pictures of all the artists among the sons of Adam. A hair of his brush, through its mastery, has given life to the lifeless form. My revered master attained to his present eminence through the blessing of the patronage and of the kind favour of the Amir Nizām ad-Dīn ‘Ali Shir, and His Majesty the Khāṣqān (i.e. Sultan Husayn Bayqarā) showed him much favour and kindness. At the present time too this marvel of the age, whose beauty is real, is regarded with benevolence by the kings of the world and is encompassed with the boundless consideration of the rulers of Islam. Without doubt thus will it be for ever.” 2

An annalist of the early Safavid Shāh, Iskandar Munshi, deals more fully with the painters of his period. The author lived in the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās (1587–1629) and originally brought his narrative only up to the year 1616, but later he continued it up to the death of ‘Abbās and the accession of his grandson, Shāh Şafī, in 1629. He devotes separate sections to the nobles, the ‘ulamā, the physicians, calligraphers, poets, singers, and musicians, and gives four or five pages to painters. His account is here translated in full, as being the most extensive account of painters before the decline of the art of painting in Islam, and as illustrating the meagre and jejune character of such information as is available.

‘An account of eminent artists and gilders with magic-working pen, who were the artists of the day; in those times the pages of the age were gilded and decorated on account of their existence. Vēsa. The scribe, an artist with a hand like Bihzād’s, had thus painted the garment of speech, that his late Majesty (Shāh ‘Ṭāhir) was an incomparable artist, a painter with a fine brush whose work was magic—but it is almost a piece of insolence to count his Majesty among the artists of the time—yet as his life’s page was adorned with such marvellous painting, it is not overboldness to give an account of it.

His Majesty was a pupil of the celebrated painter, Master Sulṭān Muḥammad; he attained perfection in designing and the delicate use of the brush; in his early youth he had a great enthusiasm and love for this art, and established in his well-equipped library the incomparable masters of this art, such as Master Bihzād and Sulṭān Muḥammad, who had reached the greatest height in this noble art and had attained world-wide fame for the delicacy of their brush; and ‘Āqī Mirak, the artist from Isfahān, was his special friend and intimate boon companion.

His Majesty was very friendly with this group; whenever he was at leisure from the business of government and the cares of state, he would devote his attention to practising painting, but in the latter part of his reign the multitude of his occupations left him no leisure for such work, and he paid less attention to the work of those masters, who bestowed life on the beautiful forms produced by their mixing of colours. Some of the officers of the library who were still alive were permitted to practise their art by themselves. Towards the end of his life he appointed as librarian Mawlānā Yūsuf Ghuḷām-khāṣqā, who was a fine writer of Thūlū, and had received instruction from his Majesty, so that he had charge of the royal private collection of books.

Of all the masters of this art who after the death of his late Majesty adorned the pages of the age, the first one, incomparable in his time and unique in his period, was Mawlānā Muṣaffā ‘Ali, who with a hair-splitting brush painted the portraits of models of justice and was a pupil of Master Bihzād and had learned his craft in his service and made progress to the height of perfection; all the incomparable masters, eminent portrait painters, acknowledged him (Muṣaffā ‘Ali) to be unrivalled in that art; he was a fine painter and a matchless draughtsman. The pictures in the royal palace and the assembly hall of the Chalīl Sūrūn were designed by him and for the most part were the work of his golden painting. After the grievous death of his late Majesty, he himself passed away.

Mir Zayn al-ʿAbidīn was a son of a daughter of Master Sulṭān Muḥammad, the painter and teacher of his late Majesty, and was sober in character, pure and upright; he was invariably prudent and courteous; he was honoured both by high and low; he was a good artist and an agreeable companion and his nobility was without compare, and he was a virtuous painter; his pupils carried on the work of the atelier, but he himself always enjoyed the patronage of the princes and nobles and grandees, and the light of the consideration and the favour of the great shone upon him; in the reign of Iṣḥāq Mīrzā, who re-established the library, he became a member of the library staff. 3

1 India Office MS. (Eslāh 77), fol. 399. 2 Ḩabīb as-Siyar, Vol. III, p. 350. 3 I.e. Shīr Iṣḥāq I (1522–1564), the founder of the Safavid dynasty.
part of his time in the company of amirs and nobles and consequently accomplished little.

Khwājah Naṣṣr, his son, acquired some skill like his father, and even more, and used to work with his pupils; but he was especially associated and connected with Husayn Beg Yūzbahā, who was an officer of Sultan Haydar. In the reign of Ismā‘īl Mirzā he became attached to the service of the library. In the time of Sultan Mujaddam, when Khān Aḥmad was appointed to the government of Glīn, he again took service with him and went to Glīn and followed his flag.

Siyāwush Beg the Georgian had been a page of his late Majesty, who having observed in him signs of ability gave him opportunities for the study of painting and he became a pupil of Master Hasan ‘Ali the painter; when he had acquired some ability in that art, the fine work of his brush made an impression on his Majesty, so that he himself looked after his being instructed. While he was a pupil of his Majesty he made excellent progress. He painted some very delicate and fine work, and was an incomparable painter. In the reign of Ismā‘īl Mirzā he was put on the staff of the library, and in the time of the Nawwāb he and his brother, Farrukh Beg, were admitted to the confidential circle of the fortunate prince, Sultan Hanzā Mirzā. In the reign of his present Majesty, the Shadow of God, they both died after having been in his service for a long time.

Mawānīl Shāhī Muhammad Shirāzī, a man of wit, of charming appearance and an agreeable companion, claimed to be unique as a painter and a colourist, and he was in fact justified in his claim, and all the masters of painting agreed with him in this matter. He wrote Nāṣkh and Ta‘līq extraordinarily well, and copied verses written by masters of the calligraphic art so marvellously that even keen-sighted calligraphists could hardly distinguish them from the originals. In Persia he was the man who imitated European models and made this style of painting fashionable. He was unsurpassed in the making of colours and drawing portraits. He went to Sabzavār in the service of Sultan Ibrāhim Mirzā, and while in his company visited ‘Iraq. In the reign of Ismā‘īl Mirzā he joined the staff of the library, and afterwards went to Khurāsān, and during the reign of his present Majesty, the Shadow of God, he was in his service and took part in the building of the new palace of Qazvin, and died while in his service.

Mawānīl ‘Alī Aqbar c of Kāshān, an incomparable master and an accomplished painter; as an artist and as a colourist he was unique, and surpassed his contemporaries in drawings of streets and trees; he also took service with Sultan Ibrāhim Mirzā and in the time of Ismā‘īl Mirzā was on the staff of the library.

His son, Aqṣā Rizā, became the marvel of the age in the art of painting and unequalled in portraying single figures, and his reputation has become firmly established in these days. In spite of the delicacy of his touch, he was so uncultured that he constantly engaged in athletic practices and wrestling, and became infatuated with such habits. He avoided the society of men of talent and gave himself up to association with such persons. At the present time he has a little repented of such idle frivolity, but pays very little attention to his art, and like Śādiq Beg he has become ill-tempered, peevish, and unsociable. But the truth is there is a certain strain of independence in his character. In the service of his present Majesty, the Shadow of God, he has been the recipient of favours and kindnesses and consideration, but on account of his evil
ways he has not taken warning and consequently he is always poor and in distress. The following verse is applicable to his condition:

All the kings of the world are seeking after me,
While in Isfahān my heart has turned to blood in my search for a livelihood.

Mīrza Muḥammad Isfahānī, a painter with a delicate touch, was a pupil of Khwaja 'Abd al-'Azīz Kākā; he was incomparable in decorating assembly halls, and in minute work no one could equal him; in the time of Ismā'īl Mīrza he joined the staff of the library.

Mawlānā Ḥasan Bāghdādī was incomparable and was unsurpassed and unique in his time in the art of gilding; in short he brought the art of gilding almost to a miracle, and all the masters of this art recognized his high attainment in it, and the gilding of Mawlānā Bāri, who had reached the highest height in this art, cannot bear comparison with his minute and fine work. In the last years of the reign of his late Majesty he was accused of having forged the royal signet. In fact his success was almost miraculous. His late Majesty put pressure upon him and constantly threatened to have his hand cut off, but in the end, on account of the fact that he worked on the dome of Ḥażrat Abū 'Abd Allāh Husayn and decorated that sacred tomb, his Majesty overlooked his punishment and accepted his repentance on this condition, that he would not do such a thing again. In the time of Ismā'īl Mīrza he joined the staff of the library, and his son too derived some profit from the artistic skill of his father; they used to do gilding and painting together.

Mawlānā 'Abd Allāh Shīrāzī was also an accomplished worker in gold; after the murder of Sultan Ibrāhīm Mīrza (in 1574) Ismā'īl Mīrza gave him an appointment in the library. At the same period there were other excellent artists and painters, such as Muḥammadī of Ḥarāt and Naqīd Beg, &c.

A selection has merely been made of a few of the more famous masters of this art.1

For the history of the court painters of a powerful and wealthy monarch like Shāh 'Abbās, who appears to have been as generous a patron of art as his grandfather Ṭāḥmāsp, these materials are lamentably meagre and insufficient, and they disappoint us most in respect of that part of a painter's life which is naturally of the greatest interest, namely, the actual works of art which he produced. Iskandar Mūshī might well have mentioned the fact that five of these painters (viz. Zayn al-'Ābidīn, Ṣādiqī Beg, Sīyavūsh Beg, 'All Āṣghar, and Naqīd Beg) co-operated in illustrating a copy of the Shāh Nāma.2 This MS. was exhibited in the Musée des Arts Décornatis in 1912, and contains the only examples of the work of these painters known, unless the painter who signed his pictures with the name Ṣādiq can be identified with Ṣādiqī Beg.3 A few examples of the work of Mawlānā Muḥammad Shīrāzī,4 of Mīrza Muḥammad Isfahānī,5 and of Muḥammadī of Ḥarāt6

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1 Iskandar Munshi, Tarīkh-i-Ālamār-i-'Abbāsī (India Office MS., Ethé 140, foll. 74 b–77).
2 Miniatures persanes exposées au Musée des Arts Décornatis, Jui–Octobre 1912, Prétèce et commentaire par Georges Mantoux et Henri Vever.
3 W. Schulz, Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei, p. 182.
4 Id., p. 183.
5 Id., p. 182.
6 Id., p. 181.

LXI. The rival physicians
LXII. Dervishes, by Muḥammadī

LXIII. The animals in council
have been noted, but of ‘Abd al-Jabbar and Khwājah Naṣīr we know nothing except what Iskandar Munshī has told us. But the fame of all these pales before that of Muzaffar ‘Ali (who painted fol. 217 in the famous copy of the Khamsab of Nizāmī in the British Museum (Or. 2265) and two miniatures in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburg’) and that of Aqā Rizā. The latter of these two has received more attention from critics of Muhammadan art than any other Persian painter, and a considerable mass of literature has accumulated round his name. This Rizā is undoubtedly the same as the artist who so frequently signed his drawings ‘Rizā ‘Abbāsī’, in a neat and characteristic handwriting; from the dates he also added, it is clear that he was actively at work between the years 1593 and 1629, when Iskandar Munshī finished his history. It is impossible that in an account of the court painters of the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās the historian should have omitted to mention the name of an artist of such remarkable talent and such striking individuality, a truly great master in drawing and characterization, whose popularity is evidenced by the large number of the examples of his work in existence even up to the present day. The impression he made upon his contemporaries is shown by the fact that he founded a school of his own and gave to portraiture and figure-drawing a new direction, in which he had many imitators. Brief as the notice given of him by Iskandar Munshī is, it emphasizes certain characteristics which lend distinction to the work of Rizā ‘Abbāsī—his skill in making portraits of single figures and his delicacy of touch. The stress laid upon his independence of character fits in well with the self-assertiveness of Rizā ‘Abbāsī in almost always signing his pictures, and in many cases also writing out long inscriptions giving the exact date and the circumstances under which the pictures were made; this is a new phenomenon in the history of Persian painting, and it needed a man of a certain roughness of temperament to break with the modest habit of his predecessors, who rarely signed their pictures, and when they did so, generally sought out some unobtrusive part of the surface for the purpose. His wild life is reflected in the kind of subjects that Rizā ‘Abbāsī so frequently chooses. The comparison with Ṣādiqī Beg is also significant, as this contemporary painter at one time took to the life of a wandering dervish, and it is just this class of itinerant devotees that appears to have excited the interest of Rizā ‘Abbāsī, and some of his finest and most impressive drawings are devoted to representations of them. The cap fits so well that it is not easy to understand why most writers on Rizā ‘Abbāsī have failed to identify him with the Aqā Rizā of Iskandar Munshī. Some consideration may therefore be given to the difficulties that have been

felt to stand in the way of such an identification; the weightiest of these is based on the erroneous supposition that the famous painter's full name was Rizā 'Ali,' and this supposition was believed to find confirmation in an inscription on a portrait of Rizā 'Abbasī by an ardent admirer, Mu'in Muşavvir; but the word which Professor Mittwoch reads as 'Ali' is clearly 'Abbasī.' All necessity to search Persian literature for a Rizā 'Ali, who might be identified with the painter, is accordingly entirely unnecessary; and the selection that had been made of a certain Mawlānā 'Ali Rizā 'Abbasī was singularly inappropriate; this latter was a famous calligraphist in the reign of Shāh 'Abbas, and wrote out inscriptions for some of the great mosques of Isfahān; he was also appreciated as a copyist of manuscripts, several of which in his handwriting are still preserved in libraries in Europe. But there is no evidence whatsoever that Mawlānā 'Ali Rizā 'Abbasī ever painted a picture in his life, and the calligrapher who owed his fame to the verses from the Word of God which he inscribed on the mosques of Isfahān would probably have viewed with horror the scandalous accusation that he should have so demeaned himself as to create such pictures as Rizā 'Abbasī delighted in—drinking-parties, love-scenes, campaties, and dancing-girls. Moreover, the only signatures in the characteristic handwriting of the artist are Rizā (simply) or Rizā 'Abbasī; there is no evidence that he ever added 'Ali to his name.

Another difficulty has been felt in the fact that while Iskandar Munshi writes about Āqā Rizā, the painter always signs himself Rizā or Rizā 'Abbasī. But Āqā is merely an honorific, and would not be applied by a man to himself, though it would be polite for others to use it when speaking of him. Similarly, the painter who is referred to by the historian as Āqā Mirak signs himself simply Mirak (British Museum, Or. 6810, fol. 15 b), just as Corot signed his pictures with the single name Corot, rather than Monsieur Corot. In cases where the words 'Āqā Rizā' are written on any one of the pictures by Rizā 'Abbasī, they have been added by some owner or cataloguer, and there are several instances of these words 'Āqā Rizā' having been so added, in a handwriting that is clearly not that of the artist himself, on drawings to which Rizā 'Abbasī had not himself attached his signature. It was therefore considered necessary to invent another painter, Āqā Rizā—distinct from Rizā

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1 This was the opinion of Karaboev (Rizā-i-Abbasi, p. 10), of Professor Mittwoch (Zeichnungen von Rizā Abbasi, bearbeitet von Friedrich Sarre und Eugen Mittwoch), and of Dr. Martin (op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 122).

2 Reproduced by F. R. Martin (op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 68) and in colour in The Journal of Indian Art, Vol. XVII, No. 155, Plate 1.


4 Abbāsī—to explain this variation in ascription, as Dr. Martin has done in the case of a portrait in the British Museum, though Rizā Abbāsī had added in his characteristic handwriting an inscription on this portrait setting forth the circumstances under which he painted it. There may quite possibly have been other painters of the name Rizā working at the same period, and an owner of one of their pictures might quite suitably have written the name Āqā Rizā on it, as an indication of authorship; but no painter of the period of Shāh Abbās has yet been discovered, to whom Iskandar Munshi's account of Āqā Rizā better applies, than the artist who signed himself Rizā Abbāsī.

5 This last appellation, Abbāsī, is no part of the name his mother gave him, but was probably adopted by the painter in token of the service he owed to his sovereign Shāh Abbās, who had shown him such kindness, just as the poet Muṣṭākh ad-Dīn styled himself Sa'dī after his patron Sa'd ibn Zangi, the Ṭālabeg of Fars. The calligrapher Mawlānā 'Ali Rizā must also have added Abbāsī to his name for precisely similar reasons.

For the Indian painters in the latter part of the fifteenth and the early decades of the sixteenth century, there are some materials available in the Ā’in-i-Akbarī of Abu'l-Fazl and in the Memoirs of Jahangir; but as both of these works are available in English translations and have served as the basis for more than one careful study of Mughal art, a mere reference to them is sufficient here.

Enough has been said to show how scanty is the contribution that historical sources can make to the study of Muhammadan painting, and how perplexing are the problems which the historical material often presents. The most fruitful direction for future investigations will probably be in the way of the grouping of several schools of painters—an exact determination of the style of each individual painter, so far as that may be possible—such patient study of details and individual characteristics as Giovanni Morelli pursued about the middle of the nineteenth century in Italian picture galleries—the enumeration of the works of the greatest masters, based on principles of sound criticism and on enlightened artistic judgement—and then the co-ordination of these aesthetic researches with such literary sources as are available. Fortunately, the workers in this little-explored field are on the increase, and the publications of Dr. Hermann Goetz have shown what
illuminating results may be obtained from such patient and detailed inves-
tigations.¹

How some connected account may be built up out of scattered information collected from several widely separated continents may be illustrated from the instance of that interesting Persian painter, Muhammad Zamān. That gossip traveller, Nicolao Manucci,² records how he met this painter in India about the year 1660; he describes him as being a man of great intelligence who had been sent by Shah 'Abbās, King of Persia, early in his reign, to study in Rome. Manucci does not say which of the two possible sovereigns of this name showed such interest in Italian art as to wish one of his subjects to acquire the methods and technique of European painting, but from the evidence of other dates in Muhammad Zamān's career it would appear to be 'Abbās II (1642-1667). In Italy he became a Christian and took the name of Paolo Zamān. On his return to Persia, he concealed the fact of his change of faith, but his conversation revealed his predilection for Christianity over Islam, and on account of the suspicions he excited thereby he fled from Persia and took refuge in India; here Shah Jahān (1628-1659) extended to him his protection and assigned him to the salary of an official of the state, and sent him to Kashmir, which appears to have been commonly assigned to such Persian refugees as a place of residence. It was because these Persians, in receipt of allowances from the state, were suspected of concealing the death of one or more of their number and of appropriating the dead man's allowance, that Manucci had an opportunity of meeting Muhammad Zamān, for the Emperor Aurangzib determined to remedy this abuse and ordered all these Persians in Kashmir to present themselves at court, in order that the register of their names might be verified. While in Dīhil, Muhammad Zamān consorted with the Christians, especially with Father Busée, S.J., a Fleming who had come to Agra in 1648 and died at Dīhil in 1667. In the library of this Jesuit he saw a copy of Matteo Ricci's book, De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas, and translated into Persian Chapters II to X, under the title Ta'rīkh-i-Chin, or History of China.³ At this period of his career Muhammad Zamān still declared himself to be a Christian, though his

¹ The last of these is reproduced in V. A. Smith's Story of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 467.
⁴ P. W. Schulz, op. cit., p. 197.

As to the date of his return to Persia we have no information, but in 1686 (= A.D. 1675-6) he was employed to fill up the three blank spaces on fol. 203b, 213, and 221b, which had remained unfilled for over a century in the copy of the Khamsah of Nizāmī (British Museum, Or. 2265) made for Șah Tāhmāsp between the years 1539 and 1543. He was permitted to insert specimens of the new style of painting—so different from that of the court painters of Șah Tāhmāsp—which he had acquired in Italy; the costumes of his figures are in several instances of a European type and the landscapes are copied from late Italian paintings. In the same year (1686) and the two following years he was engaged in illustrating another MS. of the Khamsah of Nizāmī, now in the Morgan Library, New York, and in the last of these years (1688) an inscription states that he was then working in Șisahān.⁴ As in this manuscript, and on the pictures reproduced by Dr. Martin,⁵ he describes himself as 'Muḥammad Zamān, son of Hājj Yūsūf', it seems probable that by this date he had returned to the religion of his birth, as otherwise he would have been unlikely to emphasize in such a manner his Muslim origin. He is said to have remained alive up to the close of the century.⁶ To complete his history what is most needed is some contemporary evidence from Italian sources as to his life and studies in Rome.

¹ Ernst Kühnel and Hermann Goetz, Indische Buchmalereien aus dem Jahn'schen-Album der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Berlin, 1924); English translation, London, 1926; Hermann Goetz, 'Kontinuit and Mode an den indischen Fürstenhöfen in der Grossmogulzeit' (Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst, 1924); 'Die Malereien des Mittelalters und die Anfänge der Mogul-Malerkunst in Indien' (Ostasiatische Zeitsehrif, N.F. III, &c.
³ A MS. of this translation is to be found in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Wladimir Iwanow, Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Carpen Collection, Asiatic Society of Bengal, pp. 96-8, Calcutta, 1946).
APPENDIX A (p. 1)

The long list of such pious princes includes the names of many whose busy lives could hardly have been expected to afford leisure for so toilsome an occupation. In India, Nāṣir ad-Dīn Mahmūd Shāh (1246-1265), one of the early Sultans of Dihli, is said to have made two copies of the Qur'an every year (Tabāqat-i-Akbari, Bibl. Ind., p. 79). Of the Mughal imperial family, Bābur sent a copy to Mecca, transcribed in the special form of script which he is said to have himself devised (A. S. Beveridge, Bābur-nāma, App. p. xi). Prince Dārā Shikōh (ob. 1659) is known to have made several copies, and his brother, the Emperor Aurangzīb (1659-1707), sent to Medina two sumptuously bound and illuminated copies, valued at 5,000 rupees, finely written out by his own hand (Mu'āthir-i-Ālamgīrī, p. 332), and other copies he made still exist in India.

APPENDIX B (p. 46)

Such iconoclastic zeal may on other occasions have been prompted by superstitious fears, as in the case of the frescoes discovered by Professor von Le Coq in Turfan and now set up in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin; many of these have had their eyes dug out and their faces scored across, because the peasants fear that, unless this is done, demons may come out of the figures and torment them.

APPENDIX C (p. 74)

The royal warrant, issued by Shāh Ismā'īl in 1524, appointing Bihzād director of the Royal Library, is of such supreme importance in the history of Persian painting that it may fittingly be added to the other original sources that have been translated in the last chapter from Persian histories. But Khwāndamīr wrote it in language so involved and rhetorical that only the most earnest students are likely to care to puzzle out the meaning of it; it has therefore been here relegated to an appendix.

'The will of the Painter of the workshop of creation and origination, and the volition of the Draughtsman of the picture-gallery of the sky and of the earth—inasmuch as in accordance with His word "He fashioned you and made your forms beautiful,"3 His marvellous design of the existence of the race of men has been wrought by the pen of His power in the most beautiful forms on the page of phenomenal existence, and the picture of the superexcellence of human beings over all the rest of God's creatures, in accordance with His words "We have favoured them beyond many of Our creation", has been drawn by the finger of His wisdom)—have signed the decree "We have made thee a viceregent upon earth"—upon the gilded page of the sun by the pen of Mercury, in our shapely name, and have designed and adorned the pages

of the azure sky in order to write the daily record of our victories and triumphs, by the sprinkling of silver stars and the ruling of vermillion lines of the evening glow. Therefore it seems fitting and suitable that the tablet of our divinely-inspired royal mind, which is the receptacle of rays of heavenly light and the seat of the manifestation of various forms of His benevolence, should be fashioned in such manner that all the weighty matters of our royal court and all the important affairs of our imperial administration shall be entrusted to skilled, intelligent and experienced persons, of distinguished merit, who by the draughting of their subtle intelligence and the colour-blending of their fine natures may make manifest upon the tablet of existence a sketch of the creation of all kinds of ability and a picture of the production of all manner of sagacity, and may lift the veil from the face of that which is sought for and aimed at.

Accordingly, at this present time the marvel of the age, the model of painters and paragon of gilders, Master Kamāl ad-Dīn Bihzād, (who by his painting brush has put Mā'āl to shame and by his limner's pencil has abashed the pages of Arran)—who like a pen (in the hand of a writer) has always set his forehead on the line of our commands to which obedience was due, and has set his foot like a compass in the circle of obedience to the threshold of the refuge of the Caliphate,) has been covered with our royal benefits and our imperial favours. We command that there be assigned and entrusted to him the office of the control and the superintendence of the stuff of the Royal Library and of the copyists and painters and gilders and margin-drawers and gold-mixers and gold-beaters, connected with the occupations above mentioned, throughout our guarded territories. All the enlightened Amīrs and incomparable Wazirs and the secretaries of our world-protecting threshold and the envoys of our heaven-like court and the functionaries of royal business and the officials of our ministries,—in general,—and the staff of the Royal Library and the persons mentioned above,—in particular,—must recognize the above-mentioned Master as the director and the superintendent. They must submit to his control and administration all the activities of the Library, and pay due consideration to all his administrative measures authorized by his seal and signature. There must be no disobedience or neglect of any orders or regulations he may make for the control and conduct of the business of the Royal Library. Everything connected with the above-mentioned business they are to regard as belonging to his special province. He, for his part, must draw and depict upon the tablet of his heart and the page of his enlightened conscience the image of integrity and the form of uprightness. He must set out upon this office by the way of righteousness, shunning and avoiding all partiality and simulating, and not swerve or decline from the highway of truth and virtue. Let all men pay heed heretofore and accept these credentials as soon as this royal decree has been honoured and adorned by the stamp of the seal of his exalted Majesty. Written on the 27th of Jumādā 1, 924 (1524).

APPENDIX D (p. 117)

Another etymology connects Būrāq with the Pahlavi būrāh (the modern Persian būrāh, 'a riding-beast').
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