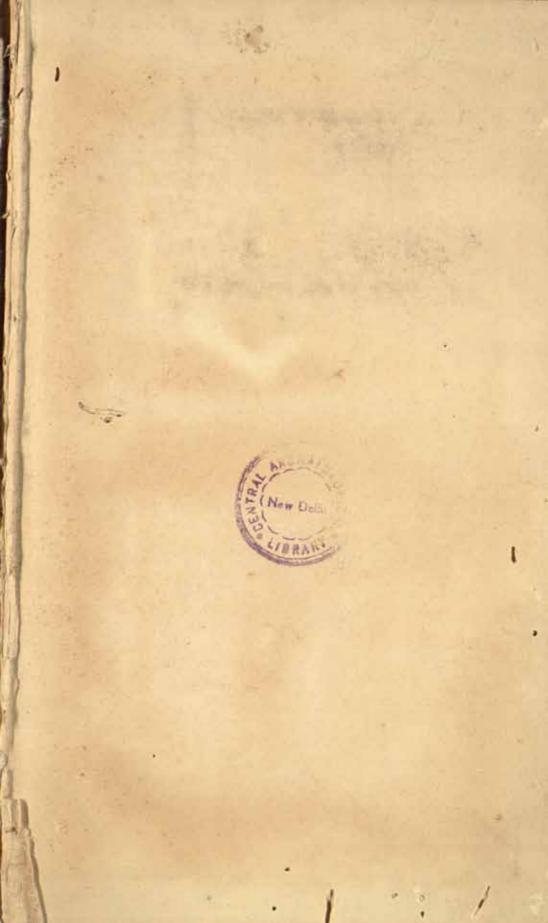
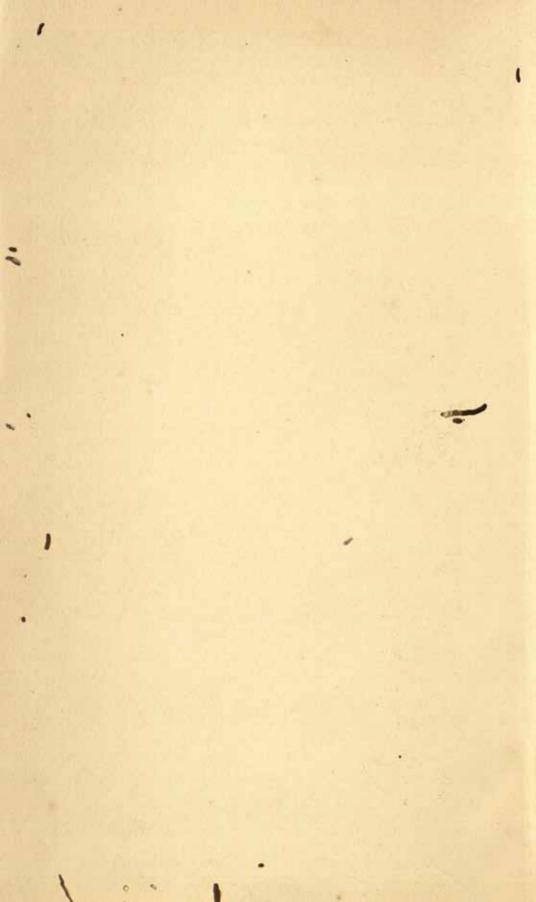
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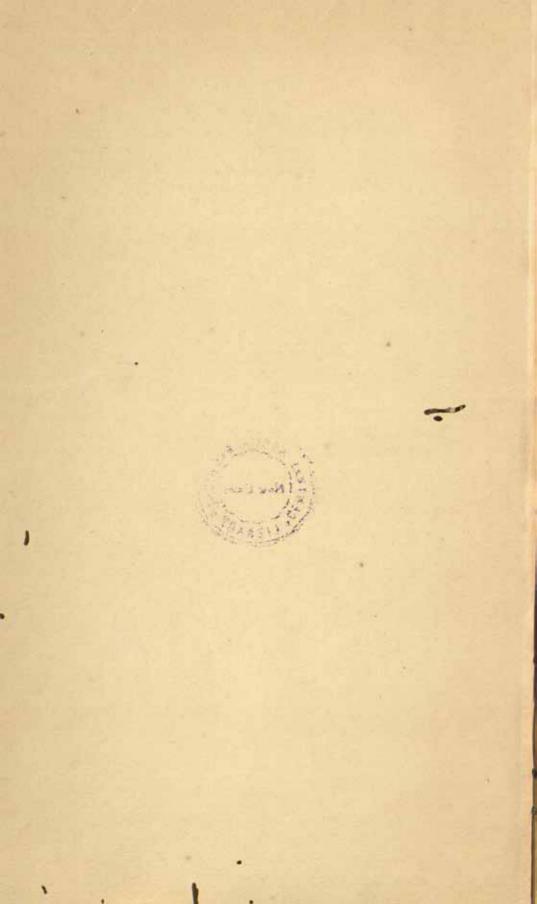
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The Lights of Canopus



# THE LIGHTS OF CANOPUS

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Described

By J. V. S. WILKINSON

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Give beauty all her right!

She's not to one form tied.

—Campion

#### PREFACE

Till the beginning of the present century the prevalent notion about Indian painting was that-apart from the early frescoes at Ajanta, about which most art-lovers in Europe were still ignorant-it was merely an inferior derivation and continuation of Persian "Indo-Persian" was the name commonly given to the art produced under the patronage of the Great Moghuls at Delhi in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When the world was made aware, chiefly through Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, of the Hindu schools of painting that flourished at the same time in Rajputana, with their charming idylls and scenes from popular legend, there was a decided tendency in some critics to depreciate the Moghul school as a hybrid style. In fact Dr. Coomaraswamy in his recent comprehensive work on Indian and Indonesian Art excludes this Muhammadan school altogether from his survey. This is much like excluding the Northern artists who assimilated or attempted to assimilate the Italian style from a survey of the Dutch and Flemish schools. And in India the fusion was more successful. No one who has studied the subject even superficially could mistake a Moghul painting of the seventeeth century for a Persian painting; and this, not because it is merely an obvious imitation and an inferior thing, but because the Moghul painters had positive qualities of their own, and had absorbed the Persian elements so completely that a new and quite different style had been created. In portraiture, and in the delineation of character in subject-paintings, the Indian painters of the Moghul school altogether surpassed the Persians. Even in the miniatures of the classic school of Bihzad the faces are apt to repeat inexpressive types, without personal character. Where the Moghul painters are manifestly inferior to the Persians is in decorative charm of colour. Moghul painters there is nearly always a suggestion of atmosphere; this goes with their stronger bent towards realism, and it inevitably impairs the decorative effect.

In fact, they have more than a little affinity with Western art. European pictures and prints seem to have been introduced into India at this period in some quantity, to judge by the numerous copies to be found among albums of Indian miniatures; and the chiaroscuro of European painting attracted by its novelty. Hybrid this school may be, but it is a noteworthy chapter in the world's art, and in the domain of portraiture it achieved

a signal success.

The miniatures here reproduced are exceptional in Moghul art. For, as a rule, this art is concerned with the portraits of the emperors and their families, or the nobles of their court; durbars, hunting-scenes, battles and episodes in the emperors' careers; favourite horses, elephants, hawks; also gardens and flowers. It was an art the motives of which were taken from the ceremonies, occupations and amusements of the Court. But here is something different. The miniatures are illustrations to a celebrated book of Fables; and the subjects are often taken from the life of birds and animals in their natural surroundings. This gives the series an unusual interest and charm. The whole book, with its singularly beautiful writing, is a very important monument of the Moghul school in one of its earliest phases. The fine characterisation in the faces and figures is remarkable, and the paintings are full of delightful observation and exquisite detail. And though we miss the sumptuous splendour of decorative design that the Persian masters feast our eyes with, there are pages here of rare and lovely colour-combinations. The manuscript is important also because it contains the work, in some cases signed, of eminent painters of Akbar's and Jahangir's courts, very few examples of whose work are known to have survived. Some of them, indeed, seem to be altogether unrepresented elsewhere.

In many respects this book with its series of varied miniatures is one of the most interesting of the not very numerous illustrated manuscripts of this period.

#### I-THE MANUSCRIPT AND ITS CONTENTS

THE aim of the following pages is to give some account of a Manuscript, which has long been recognised as one of the most precious possessions of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts at the British Museum. It has been the property of the Nation since 1851, when it was acquired by purchase, but it has received little or no attention in the standard works on Muslim, Indian, or Mughal Art. One of these, it is true, devotes a few words to praise of the binding, while Sir Thomas Arnold, to whom its merits are well known, in his recent delightful study, "Painting in Islam," reproduces one of the miniatures. But no reproductions in colour have, so far as I am aware, ever been attempted, though the peculiar delicacy of the colouring is the most obvious of the manuscript's merits.

It has, however, other special claims to be introduced to the public. It contains a whole gallery of paintings by different hands, including many by the great Court artists of the short period during which Mughal painting was at its zenith. The work of all of these is rare, of some extremely rare, while several of the paintings are of quite unusual interest. The manuscript differs, moreover, in several respects from others of its few surviving contemporaries. We find the artists here, for the most part, in undress, away from the Mughal Court atmosphere and Court themes, engaged on subjects seemingly nearer to their hearts and more congenial to national feeling. Moreover, while a high level of drawing and general technique is maintained almost throughout, we can clearly trace several distinct styles, and discover a certain amount of individual work, for the different artists have not combined as consistently as they usually do, both in Persian and Indian art, to cover up their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy has written an article on the MS. in "Artibus Asiae" (Dresden), Part 3 of 1927, illustrated with nine reproductions in monochrome.

several idiosyncrasies by conforming to a common standard.

The fables which occasioned the miniatures have a wonderful history. Indian fables can be traced in most of the great story-books of Europe, from the "Gesta Romanorum" to Grimm's "Tales," and no work has left such widespread traces as "The Lights of Canopus" and its prototypes. Two versions, for instance, of the pathetic legend of Llewelyn and Gelert are included in this collection, which is one of the most famous of the scores of versions in which these charming old stories have appealed to the various races and religions of the world. The tale of their travels is itself one of the

strangest of romances.

The Manuscript, which is numbered "Additional 18579," consists of 426 folios, measuring 9½ by 5½ inches. The Persian text is beautifully written in the upright Arabic script known as "Naskhi." The first two pages are ornamented with rich blue arabesque designs, with floral and other patterns in gold, black, red and other colours. The margins are ruled in gold. Headings and quotations are written in red or blue. The whole work is enclosed in a stamped leather binding, richly gilt and ornamented, inside and out, with floral and geometrical raised patterns. The binding, which resembles some Safavi examples, may possibly be later than the MS. The edges of the leaves are gilt and gauffered.

The colophon bears the date 1019 of the Hijri era, corresponding to 1610 or 1611 A.D. It is noticeable, however, that two of the thirty-six paintings are dated six years earlier, which proves that the work was projected long ahead, and, presumably, that it was executed with the most patient care. Apparently the margin-cutter, as was not uncommon, cut his lines too deep, for the whole work has been remounted. Though this has been done with great skill, the names of the artists, which, when not signed, were written beneath

<sup>\*</sup> See Rieu, Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, page 756a.

the paintings by some official or clerk, have sometimes been cut out.

There is a note on the fly-leaf by one Mirza Shir 'Ali in which he states that this MS., written and illuminated for Tana Shah, had been given him on account of pay at the rate of Rupees 500. This note is obviously incorrect, for Tana Shah was the last King of Golconda, who reigned at the end of the seventeenth century, and died about 1700 A.D. Possibly the MS. was remounted in his reign.

## II—THE EARLY MUGHAL EMPERORS AND THEIR PAINTERS

AKBAR, the greatest of the Mughal Emperors, died in 1605 after a reign of nearly fifty years. A direct descendant, in the seventh generation, of the allconquering Tamerlane, and a grandson of Babur, the first founder of the family's Indian greatness, Akbar built better than his ancestors, and bequeathed to his successors an Empire based on enduring foundations of toleration and equity. He left, besides, a heritage of solid prestige, and a tradition of sumptuous magnificence, unparalleled in the history of India. The Empire was to be extended further; the splendour of Akbar's court was to be outshone by that of his descendants; and it was only after the Mutiny of 1857 that the representatives of that extraordinary family were to sit no longer on the throne of Delhi; but it was Akbar's genius that determined the character of the succeeding epoch, and made the Mughal dynasty, for a century and a half, one of the greatest of all time.

We are not here concerned, however, with the epic of the House of Timur, its achievements in peace and war, or with the varied features of the new culture which arose with such strange suddenness and vigour from the grafting of the civilization of the Courts of Central Asia on to the ancient life and institutions of Hinduism. Nor is it necessary, in order to introduce the paintings contained in our manuscript, to attempt any detailed treatment of the subject of this chapter, for, not to mention foreign contributions, two admirable studies have appeared in this country in recent years, both of which explain very clearly the peculiar relationship

between the Emperors and their painters.

Mughal painting has been called a brilliant hybrid,

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls," by Dr. Laurence Binyon and Sir T. W. Arnold; and "Indian Painting under the Mughals," by Mr. Percy Brown. No subsequent writer can fail to be indebted to both of these.

the offspring of Persian and Hindu parents. The description is historically true, but the new art develops, almost from the first, qualities which appear neither in Persian painting, nor in the contemporary religious art of the Hindus. As compared with that of Persia, Mughal painting reveals, indeed, an almost equal delight in colour; but it shows a preference for softer tints, as though inspired by the changing atmosphere and seasons of the Indian year. It is still largely an art of line, but the line is no longer quite the same, and lacks something of the peculiar nervous delicacy, which derived, in Persia, from the art of calligraphy. The new painting is, above all, far more human, deeply interested in personality, eager to portray life in all its variety, and not content with a purely two-dimensional presentation of objects.

Persian painting, for the most part, avoids the expression of facial emotion, and substitutes for it certain conventional gestures. These gestures were not altogether abandoned by the Mughals, and a typical example may be seen in Plate XXIV. But the mastery of realistic character-drawing so frequently displayed shows that the partial adherence to the other tradition was not due

to any lack of skill.

As compared, again, with the pure Hindu (or, as its most eloquent interpreter, Dr. Coomaraswamy, prefers to call it, Rajput) paintings of religious and legendary subjects, the differences are quite as noticeable. The Hindu painter's rhythm is more pronounced, his outline is swifter and more inevitable, in the manner of the traditional wall-paintings which are still common in India. He has little concern, in this style, with individual character, and disdains the Mughal perfection of minute detail. His colours are flat, in the general Oriental manner; he seldom blends them; and, as Dr. Coomaraswamy remarks, the art is in spirit an aristocratic folk art, inconceivable apart from the life it reflects, and not to be understood without a knowledge of the Indian epics, the Krishna literature, music, and

erotics. Some of the artists of our MS. have a touch of the Hindu manner, especially when their themes are concerned with folk-tales and rustic legends, as in

plates XXV and XXVI.

The great age of Mughal painting extends over the reigns of three art-loving Emperors, Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan-a period of roughly a hundred years, beginning rather after the middle of the sixteenth century. Akbar's mother was a Persian, and his father and grandfather had each, in different ways, given clear proof of that sensitiveness to beauty which is discernible, often incongruously, in so many members of the Timurid House. Akbar himself had drawing lessons as a boy, and all his life a passionate love of painting was one of the strongest of his many enthusiasms. His beautiful defence of the painters in defiance of the theologians of Islam is characteristic alike of his independent spirit and of his reverent, mystical cast of mind. The painter, he maintained, was given special opportunities for recognizing the creative power of God; and to encourage the Hindu and Muhammadan artists of India, to import masters from beyond the Himalayas, and to organise his great studios and painting establishments, was, for him, not merely an Emperor's pastime. Possibly his unusual views were influenced by the nature of the European pictures which the Portuguese Jesuit priests, whom he admitted to such close intimacy, used to show him, and which he examined with such delight; but in any case it is curious that he never seems to have tried to change the secular character of his painters' themes. Presumably it was the impulse, rather than the forms, that mattered to him.

Akbar tried to mitigate India's greatest curse, disunion, by a bold blending—to which his temperament quite naturally inclined him—of what was best in her different elements. We can witness this in his experiments in religion, and in the whole character of the culture of his reign: in literature, architecture, and painting. The earliest Akbari paintings manifest an incomplete fusion.

With all their vigour and intensity they are not free from crudity; but the crudity quickly recedes, and the later work of the reign often shows great delicacy in its colour and drawing, with much imaginative power.

Akbar's dissipated son and successor had less original views of art. Yet Jahangir—in some ways a rather engaging character— was a real lover of beauty in nature and in art, and a lavish patron to his painters. He boasts very naively in his memoirs of his infallible discrimination in judging their work; and Sir Thomas Roe, James I's ambassador to his Court, has an amusing story of how the Emperor "was very merry and jovial, and craked like a Northern man," over the skill of one of his artists in copying a European picture.

The best productions of Jahangir's reign, during which painting is generally considered to have attained its zenith, are distinguished by their finished drawing and

the radiant glow of their colours.

Under Shah Jahan, the most magnificent of all the Mughals, the man of taste, Emperor of the Peacock Throne and the Taj Mahal, painting, though it ranked second to architecture, was still enthusiastically patronized, and Shah Jahan's interest is apparent from the notes in his own handwriting which may still be seen on some of the paintings from his collection. Many of these are marked by a sumptuous refinement, and in portraiture and genre subjects, especially, some of Shah Jahan's artists were never surpassed. On the other hand European influence increased during his reign, subjects and treatment tended to become stereotyped, and there are signs that the decline had set in even before the accession of the austere Aurangzeb. great days of Mughal painting, as a distinct and living school, were nearing their end.

Our manuscript bears a date corresponding to 1610 or 1611 A.D.—five years, that is to say, after Akbar's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Jahangir disliked being separated from his wine, and he even had coins struck which show him holding a wine-cup.

death. Two of the paintings are, however, dated six years earlier, and others were probably completed during Akbar's lifetime. It is probable, moreover, that both Akbar and Jahangir were personally interested in the preparation of the MS. The pleasure that Akbar took in the stories of the "Lights of Canopus" is on record, while it would certainly appeal to Jahangir, whose enthusiasm for animals and animal pictures appears alike from his memoirs and from the subjects of much of his artists' work. Moreover, as will be seen, Jahangir's two

favourite artists contributed illustrations.

A blending of the typical characteristics of the Akbari and Jahangiri painters is, then, what we should expect to find in these miniatures; and the general style, though often characteristic of Jahangir's reign, retains unmistakable traces of the earlier period. There are strong Persian affinities, for instance, in seven out of the first eight miniatures. Most of these examples of the Persian manner are, naturally, more brightly coloured than the others. Jahangir's painters, with a growing range of pigments, the subtle blending of which was considered one of their chief excellences, sometimes preferred subdued tints. Much of the work, indeed, manifests an obvious inclination to break with traditional formulas. Shading and perspective are sometimes employed; and we notice European landscape effects-traits which were to become more pronounced a little later. A few of the miniatures might belong, from their appearance, to a period even later than Jahangir's reign.

Mughal painting, after its initial phases, is mainly concerned with State chronicle and portraiture. Here, however, the artists have, partly at any rate, escaped from the Court atmosphere, and they seem to welcome the change with relief. Many of our paintings have a distinctly popular flavour, and there is a pervading feeling of the open air of the country-side, emphasized by the numerous green landscape backgrounds. Nevertheless, the miniatures are extraordinarily varied, and it is rare to find such diversity of subjects and treatment combined

with such a general level of achievement. Only a few

fail to rise above mediocre craftsmanship.\*

The minuteness of drawing and sureness of hand, which only a strong magnifying glass can fully reveal, are such that these miniatures can stand comparison with the most celebrated European Books of Hours. It is not surprising that the selection of brushes—those made from the down on the tails of young squirrels were considered the best—was a most important matter.

The remarkable literary history of the Fables will be referred to later, and it will be seen that they must have struck a sympathetic chord in artists of the country of their origin, who were, moreover, probably already familiar with them, and entered naturally into their spirit. Of the stories' fascinating art-history it will be sufficient to mention that they and their prototypes had provided themes for some of the earliest artists of Islam, and called forth, as Sir Thomas Arnold observes, "perhaps the most successful examples of the expression of emotion" in Muslim painting. He also remarks that "this attractive series of animal art attains its finest expression in India."3 Unfortunately, examples of Indian illustrations of the stories in the best period are extremely rare, and we could gladly exchange some of the series of State chronicles and their pictures, which, with all their historical interest, are nearly all variations on the same limited set of themes, for a few more illustrated versions of our text. The only contemporary manuscript with which I am acquainted, which is comparable with this, is the copiously illustrated "'Tyar i Danish," belonging to Mr. Chester Beatty. It is probably slightly earlier.

It is not difficult to find faults in Mughal painting. It lacks the amplitude of the best productions in the Hindu style—or styles—and the elegance and impeccable taste of Persia. It is liable to be unsatisfying, especially in the more ambitious compositions, from a want of coherence in planning, and a tendency to overcrowd, and to neglect the whole for the parts. It probably

<sup>3 &</sup>quot;Painting in Islam," pages 136 and 137.

attempted too much, and the only branch—apart from animal painting—in which it reached something like perfection is portraiture, and only sometimes in that, as in the well-known drawings which Sir Joshua Reynolds praised so warmly. Yet we would not have it otherwise, and we can rejoice that the painters did not confine themselves to one form or formula, for not only do these miniatures again and again achieve real beauty in unexpected ways, but, in a sense, they "succeed in that they seem to fail"; they preserve the peculiar flavour of their time; and they help us to share in the ideals and impulses of the grand age—an age, too, when in India, as in England and elsewhere, a real intellectual stirring, something deeper than a ruffling of the surface, is discernible.

#### III-THE ARTISTS OF THE MANUSCRIPT

AT least sixteen artists-ten Hindus and six Muhammadans-collaborated in illustrating our manuscript, as appears from the names which are written underneath the paintings, presumably by a Court official, or, in a few instances, from the minute signatures. Four of the miniatures have no names, these having been, apparently, cut out when the leaves were remounted. The name under number VIII is also almost entirely cut away. Whether or not the ascriptions are in all cases correct we cannot say, but there is no reason to suspect any deliberate falsification, and the chances are that the names are given with general accuracy. The difficulty of identifying the work of any given artist with certainty is increased from the painters' habit of adopting different styles, or rather, perhaps, of subordinating their individuality to the requirements of the patron and the studio. Nevertheless we can, I believe, detect individual style in some, at least, of these artists, notably the two most famous of all, Abu'l-Hasan and Bishan Das; also the former's father, Aqa Riza, with Anant and Mirza Ghulam.

In his memoirs Jahangir makes special mention of Bishan Dās and Abu'l-Hasan, and they were considered by him, with two others, Mansur and Farrukh Beg, the greatest of all his Court artists. Of Bishan Dās the Emperor says, "he was unequalled in his age for taking likenesses"; he was sent with a mission to Persia to paint the portraits of the Shah and his nobles; and on his return he was given an elephant as a reward for his labours. The distinctive style of Bishan Dās's painting in this collection (Plate XXVIII) is marked. Ten or twelve works by this famous portraitist are known to exist, besides a fine painting, probably by him, in the collection of Mr. Chester Beatty. Five of his paintings are in the British Museum and at South Kensington.

With regard to Abu'l-Hasan Jahangir is even more

enthusiastic than he is over Bishan Dās. He tells us in the memoirs that before he came to the throne he took into his service a Persian painter of Herat, Aqā Rizā. In the Emperor's opinion however, Aqā Rizā's son, Abu'l-Hasan, was a far more skilful painter than his father; and Jahangir honoured him with the title of Nadir al-Zaman (Marvel of the Time), and with "endless favours," for a portrait of his accession. "His work was perfect, and his picture is one of the chefs d'auvre of the age. At the present time he has no rival or equal." He also says that Abu'l-Hasan and Mansur (the leading animal painter) "have no third."

It is rather surprising, in view of such high praise from so skilled a connoisseur, that little research has hitherto been made into the productions of Jahangir's favourite painter. Most modern writers speak of his work as practically unknown or, at any rate, extremely rare, but it is not quite so rare as is usually supposed. Apart from the portrait of the Jam of Nawanagar (ancestor of the popular Prince who is so well known in England) reproduced in "Indian Book Painting," by Kühnel and Goetz, we have the charming "Pilgrim," reproduced in Plate 17 of Mr. Percy Brown's "Indian Painting under the Mughals," which Mr. Brown very plausibly ascribes to this artist; and two other paintings, one of which is in the Johnson collection at the India Office, and the other is the subject of an enthusiastic chapter by Mr. N. C. Mehta in his "Studies in Indian Painting." But there are in addition three pictures at South Kensington, formerly in the Imperial Collection at Delhi and Agra, about the genuineness of which there can be scarcely any doubt, for all three are actually stated to be Nadir al-Zaman's work in notes written by the Emperor Shah Jahan. Mr. Chester Beatty owns yet another of Abu'l-Hasan's paintings, from the same collection. It is a most elaborate composition.

It is of interest to compare our Plate VI with the "Pilgrim," and with the remarkable equestrian portrait, frequently copied, which appears in most books on

Indian painting, and of which the original is probably the picture now at South Kensington. One of the copies is reproduced by Mr. Percy Brown in his Plate 9. Shah Jahan's inscription tells us that this is a portrait of 'Abd Allah Khan Uzbeg. All these three deal with somewhat similar subjects, and all show a certain similarity of treatment, and an unmistakable intellectual

quality.

Aqā Rizā, called "Murid," or Muhammad Rizā ("Aqā" is actually his title), the father of Abu'l-Hasan, has been the subject of considerable controversy, but in view of the five miniatures ascribed to him in this manuscript (Plates III to V, VII and XXIX) and the two in the Goloubew Collection at Boston, there can no longer be any reason to doubt that he is a different person from either of the famous Persian artists, the other Aqā Rizā and Rizā 'Abbasi. Another of his works may be that reproduced in Schulz's "Persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei," Plate CXLVII, ascribed to him as (the

painter) " of Jahangir Shah."

The best known of the other artists are Anant (Nos. I, XIV, XVII, XVIII and XXIV), Durga (Nos. X and XIII), Husain (XVI and XIX), Dharm Dās (XXI and XXVI), Padārath (XXI), and Nānhā (XXV). All these were recognised Court artists, and their work is more or less well represented in public and private collections. Nānhā is called by Martin "an Indian Holbein"; and he also possessed considerable dramatic power. Anant must have been a most versatile painter. From other examples he seems to have been fond of bringing animals into his pictures. To Padārath is attributed the unusual "Keeper with Lion" at South Kensington (Wantage Bequest). The illustration by Dharm Dās (Plate XXVI—number XXI is only partly his work) is not a very favourable one, but he too was an excellent animal painter. His early work may be studied in the rather crude "Darabnama" at the British Museum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See "Ars Asiatica" XIII, plates 110 and 111 and pages 68-70 (Dr. Coomaraswamy's notes).

Mirzā Ghulām is difficult to identify with certainty, for there were several artists of his name. One of them painted the superb elephant picture now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (see Brown, Plate LVI), but whoever was responsible for the miniatures reproduced in plates VIII, XXVII and XXXVI was clearly one of the

most talented artists of his time.

Of Mohan, to whom is attributed the serenely beautiful "Devotee and his wife" (number XXIII) little seems to be known; and I can recall no work of, or reference to, the obviously gifted Gauhar or (Guhar) Dās (number XXX), the less obviously gifted Rahmān Qulī (number XXII), Salīm Qulī (XXXI and XXXIV), 'Abd al-Salīm (XXXII—perhaps the same as Salīm), or the artist of numbers XV and XX, whose name I cannot decipher with certainty; perhaps it is "Hariyā," who may be the same as Hari, one of Akbar's artists. "Madū," the name written underneath number XXXIII, may be "Mādho" misspelt. Whoever he was, he would be hard to surpass as a bird-painter. There were several artists named Mādho or Mādhava, and Persian writers of the period sometimes made mistakes over Hindu names.

Of the four admirable miniatures which have no name attached we may speculate in vain. Number II appears to be by Aqā Rizā or one of his pupils; and one would like to think that XI, XII and XXXV are, in part at least, by Mansūr, the greatest animal and bird

painter of his age.

#### IV-THE STORIES AND THEIR HISTORY

If an English visitor to the Mughal Court in the early years of the seventeenth century had chanced to be shown our miniatures, they would probably not have reminded him of anything similar in his own country. Yet if, in addition, his Indian hosts had told him some of the stories which the paintings illustrate, he might have noticed their close resemblance to those in another collection, which had appeared in England, not many years earlier, over the name of the first master of

English prose.

It was in 1570, to be precise, that Sir Thomas North, translator of Plutarch, and inspirer of Shakespeare's "classical" plays, first published what corresponds to the earlier parts of "The Lights of Canopus," with additions. The title of the book, "The Morall Philosophie of Doni," gives little indication of its contents, for North's version of the stories is a particularly lively specimen of Elizabethan writing. As it is not so well known as it deserves to be, and as it was the first literary link between India and England, a quotation may be of interest. The incident described is from the story illustrated in Plate XIII:

"And having caused wood to be brought and layd togither as he commaunded, they streight gaue fyre. Now the olde man having fyre at his tayle like a Gloworme, and that it began to partch him (thinke what heart he had) cryed out pittifully as lowde as he coulde. Alas alas alas. Water, water, water. I burne, I burne, I burne, I burne. Helpe, helpe. I am smothered... And many such wordes he spake ,that he made them all ready to burst with laughing. A sirra (quoth my L. Maior) and art thou there in deede. In fayth the spirite is coniured now, he is sure ynough I warrant him. And so he caused the spirit to be pulled out, that God knoweth looked the verye picture of stryfe itselfe. Whan he

sawe the poore olde Deuill howe he was dressed, at the first he laughed, and without any choler did streyght examine him. But when the troth in deede appeared as it was, hee payde them home with their owne deuice, and gaue them that they had iustlye deserved, and delyuered all the treasure to the simple honest man. So that nowe thou hearest howe innocence is rewarded, and iniquitie punished. Let stryfe go, and we shall liue merylie."

Such was the character of the work which its nineteenth-century editor (Mr. Joseph Jacobs) described as the English version of an Italian adaptation of a Spanish translation of a Latin version of a Hebrew translation of an Arabic adaptation of the Pehlevi version of the

Indian original.

North's was the first translation of the stories to reach England-more than a thousand years after they had been first collected. Others were to follow, and the "Fables of Pilpay," especially, was a favourite with our forefathers. This was a translation of a French seventeenth-century version of "The Lights of Canopus," which, under the name of "Le Livre des Lumières," was thus familiar to La Fontaine, and gave him the models for some of his most attractive fables. North's book, meanwhile, was a distant cousin, in a younger generation, of the "Anvār i Suhailī," both descending from a common Arabic ancestor of the eighth century. Details of the extraordinary genealogy of the stories, and of the forms in which they were introduced to all the chief nations of the world, are given in Volume V of "The Ocean of Story," to which Professor Edgerton and Sir E. Denison Ross have contributed. We are only concerned, here, with the particular branch of the family of which "The Lights of Canopus" is the most celebrated Persian representative.

The Indian original of all the branches alike is now lost, but it was composed at some time in the first five centuries of the Christian era. It incorporated a number of still earlier Buddhistic and other fables, many of which

are still preserved in several Sanskrit recensions of the original work-the "Panchatantra," and in the wellknown "Hitopadesa," a new translation of which, by Dr. L. D. Barnett, has lately appeared. As Dr. Barnett points out, the Indian is by nature a lover of stories; and this national trait, combined with a strong moralizing bent, and a close familiarity with the life of animals, produced the beast-fable—one of the happiest of the many literary forms evolved by the Indian genius. Beasts and birds, from their beauty and strength, their mystery and variety, have of course appealed from the first to the imagination of many races; but Indian feeling for animals must have been peculiarly intimate. animal sculpture of the reliefs at Bharhut and Sanchi, dating from the three centuries before Christ, has never, in the opinion of some good judges, been surpassed; the doctrine of transmigration would have been impossible for a race incapable of believing in the kinship between man and the other animals; and something older even than Hinduism is at the root of the differences of opinion which occasionally arise between British sportsmen and Indian villagers.

The Fables, then, must have grown up through many centuries in the country of their origin before setting out on their travels. These travels, when they began, were to be more extensive than those of any other book except the Bible, for the stories were to be translated into all the chief languages of the world, and to leave their traces in the literature and folk-lore of nearly every nation, and of all the chief religions, of mankind.

It was not till the sixth century that the stories, more or less as we know them, made their first migration westwards; for it was Nūshīrvān, or Chosroes I, the illustrious Sasanian King of Persia, who, hearing of their fame, had them brought from India and translated into Pahlavi or Old Persian. From the Pahlavi, in the eighth century, was made the celebrated Arabic version, "Kalīlah wa-Dimnah," of Ibn al-Muqaffa'; and from Arabic, again, the stories passed into modern Persian,

successive versions appearing in the tenth, twelfth, thirteenth, and late fifteenth centuries. "The Lights of Canopus" is the last of these. There was to be yet another Persian adaptation, the "'Iyār i Dānish," which is of interest from the fact that it was written by Abu 'l-Fazl, Akbar's minister, friend and chronicler, at the Emperor's direction.

# V-HUSAIN VA'IZ AND HIS VERSION OF THE STORIES

HUSAIN IBN 'ALI, VA'IZ-Husain, the Preacher, son of 'Ali-known as Al-Kāshifī, author of the "Anvār i Suhaili," lived at Herat during the reign of Sultan Husain Mirzā, king of Khurasan from 1469 to 1506 A.D. The Sultan belonged to the same illustrious and gifted family as the Mughal Emperors, and was renowned, like other members of the Timurid House, both as a soldier and as a patron of letters and the arts. Jami, poet and scholar, Bihzad, the incomparable painter, and Sultan 'Ali, the calligrapher, were among the many celebrities who flourished under Husain Mirzā; and his Court was justly regarded as the most brilliant and cultured in all Asia. | "The whole world," says Babur, Akbar's grandfather, who spent some time at Herat, "has not such a town"; such were the splendour and beauty of its buildings and gardens. Of the Sultan, "slant-eyed" and "lion-bodied," as Babur described him, two portraits, attributed to Bihzad himself, have survived. They are both reproduced in M. Sakisian's recent history of Persian painting. Husain Mirzā was a typical late-Renaissance prince; in appearance, so at least one of the portraits would seem to show, not unlike Henry VIII of England.

"Husain Va'iz was the author, in addition to the "Anvār i Suhailī," of a commentary on the Qur'an—as the appellation "Kāshifī" implies—a treatise on ethics, and various writings on literary and other subjects. He called the stories "Anvār i Suhailī," or "The Lights of Canopus," in compliment to his patron, Shaikh Ahmad al-Suhailī, minister to the Sultan; and his professed object was to simplify and bring up to date the version, then three and a half centuries old, of his predecessor Nasrullah. Nevertheless, the "Anvār i Suhailī" is not exactly a simple work; its style is often florid in the extreme, abounding in tropes and strange metaphors.

Kāshifī is reputed to have had a melodious voice—a dangerous thing in Court preachers—and it has been suggested that his preaching developed in him a taste for ornate phraseology. The "Anvār i Suhailī" has, nevertheless, always been popular in the East; it has had great influence on the style of later writers; it was the begetter of a numerous progeny in Europe as well as Asia; and it is easily the most celebrated of all the

Persian adaptations of the stories. 1

How, then, are we to explain what appears to some people to be the undeserved success of the work? In the first place it is due, I think, partly to the fact that Kāshifī has not really changed the spirit of the stories, which remain true to their origin. They are still the old popular fables, with their quaint blend of morality and worldly wisdom-suiting their first alleged aim, to instruct rulers in the elements of political knowledge, but appealing to humanity at large. They are ingeniously arranged, like Bidpai's precepts in the boxes, one inside another. The animals are characterized with subtlety and humour. They are types of human beings, yet they preserve their animal traits. The lion is the ruler, with the ruler's good and bad qualities, liable to blunder hopelessly unless controlled by his ministers; the jackal is cunning and unscrupulous; the serpent entirely malevolent; the cat a sanctimonious hypocrite; and so on.1 The Arabic and Persian additions to the stories maintain the spirit and standard of the rest.

As for Kāshifi's Euphuism, we are apt to overlook the fact that it is, in a sense, a perfectly natural thing. It derives originally from the ancient Arabic—Semitic, indeed—love of parallelism and verbal cadences, which the Persians imitated with delight. But it is also a native Persian inheritance. A peculiar blend of dignity and delicacy is the unmistakable mark of the Persian genius; and the very sounds of the language have an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The horse appears only once as a character—in the story of Soloman and the Water of Immortality. Trees are made, more than once, to speak—and suffer.

indescribable grace, which lightens the solemnity of its matchless music. Just as an art of almost pure decoration evolved from the massive impressiveness of the ancient sculpture, so, in the national literature, the same love of ornament appears early and becomes increasingly evident, as though an element of playful fancy were trying, with ever-increasing success, to assert itself against the pressure of an austere religion and the haunting consciousness of the frailty of life. Few, even of the very greatest Persian writers, are altogether guiltless of a fondness for playing with sounds and meanings in a way which only the rarest genius can quite reconcile to our standards of appreciation.

It cannot be denied that Husain Va'iz indulges his love of verbal arabesques to a degree distressing to modern European taste. The condemnation of so great an authority as the late Professor E. G. Browne has, however, tended to obscure his indisputable merits, which won the approbation of the leading Orientalists of a few generations ago. He is not always tediously ornate, and he often tells a story with economy and charm; while his metaphors and terms of expression can be graphic and felicitous. Though he is seldom inspired, his command of language, and his power of combining exquisite words, are astonishing. Fashions in style, after all, vary, and simplicity has not always been considered the highest virtue, even in a literature like that of England.

"The Lights of Canopus" contains over a hundred stories, but the following summaries and notes are confined to those which the miniatures illustrate. I have usually, but not invariably, taken Eastwick's excellent translation as authority on doubtful points.

## VI-THE LIGHTS OF CANOPUS

Husain vaiz begins his book with a long preface, of which Eastwick remarks that "it would really seem as if a preface were intended, like a thorny hedge, to repel all intruders, and to preserve the fruit within from the prying eyes of readers." The criticism is deserved, for the preface is almost intolerably flowery and prolix. All that need be said of its contents is that they include an account of the literary history of the Fables and a summary of the fourteen books into which the whole work is divided.

The attractive introduction, which follows the preface, provides, as it were, the ornamental frame into which all the stories are fitted. It begins with an account of the Chinese king, Humayun Fal, who one day, after hunting, ascends a mountain to escape from the heat of the plains, accompanied by his Vazir, Khujistah Rai. They come upon a delightful flowery meadow by a lakeside, haunted by nightingales and watered by streams, and as they are resting the king notices a swarm of bees in a tree. They discuss the bees, and consider their ways; and this leads them to moralize on human society and the functions of rulers and ruled. In the course of the conversation the Vazir mentions, as the type of the wise ruler supported by the counsel of sages, the Indian King Dabshalim, and at Humayun Fal's request he tells the following story.

The story of King Dahshalim and the Brahman Bidpāi.1

In one of the chief cities of India there reigned a mighty and virtuous king. One night the king had a dream, in which he encountered a sage, who instructed him to search for a certain treasure. So the next morning the king set off, according to the directions of the dream, and came at length to a cave, at the foot of a mountain.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The names Dabshalim and Bidpāi — Sanskrit "Devasarmā" and "Vidyāpati."

A hermit who was seated at the entrance greeted him and told him that the treasure was buried in the cave. The attendants searched, and soon brought the hoard to light. It included many jewels and other valuables, among them a precious chest which, when it was opened, revealed a casket, inside which, again, was a box, containing a piece of white silk, with Syriac words written on it, which no-one could at first interpret. At last a learned man revealed that the writing comprised the fourteen precepts of Hushang, an ancient king of Persia, who had deposited them for Dabshalim, and that they were the real treasure to which the king's dream had directed him. Now these precepts were maxims of kingly conduct, and to each of them a story was attached, but the details of the stories were not given in the writings. And the sage told the king that if he wished to hear the stories he must travel to Sarandib (Ceylon) for there they would be revealed to him. So Dabshalim distributed the whole treasure among deserving people, and next day he summoned two of his ministers, and told them of his desire. The two vazirs tried to dissuade him from risking the troubles and dangers of so long a journey, and the first vazir told him the story of the two pigeons, one of whom insisted on journeying abroad, and learned by sad experience that the joys of travel were as nothing compared with those of his home and friends. But the king was not convinced, and he in his turn told a story of a hawk and a kite:

A fledgling hawk fell from his parents' nest on a mountain crag, and as he fell a kite seized him in mid-air, and, feeling pity for him, took him, and reared him with its own family. But as the hawk grew up he began to feel sad and ill at ease, for his fierce courage and noble nature found no scope among his humbler companions. So he asked the kite to allow him to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This story, one of the most pleasing in the book, was followed closely by La Fontaine. See Fables IX 2. "Deux Pigeons s'aimoient d'amour tendre."

try whether travel might not relieve his dejection, and, though the kite loved the young hawk and wished to keep him back, it could not prevail against his eager spirit; and at last the hawk set out on his venture. Soon he began to hunt for himself, and one day, while resting on a mountain-side, he saw a king out hawking with his attendants; and, as he watched, the king loosed a trained hawk at a quarry. But the young hawk swooped down and carried off the bird himself; and the king was so struck with his speed and skill that he had him snared, and in a short time that young hawk became the royal favourite, with a seat on the king's wrist, and enjoyed much prosperity.

And this story proved, so King Dabshalim contended,

that travel befits and exalts the venturous.

After further debate the vazirs ceased their opposition, and the king and his retinue set out, and journeyed, by land and sea, to Sarandib. After resting in the city Dabshalim proceeded, with a few attendants, to the holy mountain, which he ascended till he reached a towering peak, beneath which was the cave of the sage Bidpāī. The king was bidden to enter, and after courteous greetings he explained the object of his quest, told the sage the purport of the fourteen precepts, and asked him to expound and illustrate them by suitable stories.

Here the introduction ends, and the rest of "The Lights of Canopus" consists of the stories which Bidpāī

the Brahman told to King Dabshalim.

The reference in the preface to Nūshīrvān, the Sasanian King, who sent his physician to India for the stories, gives occasion for the first illustration. Anant, the artist, is credited with more paintings in this collection than anyone else except Aqā Rizā. Nūshīrvān is presented without the conventional trappings of a great Court, as the lover of learning and model of justice rather than as the mighty conqueror of Justinian. With its unostentatious treatment, its dainty colouring, and admirable character-drawing the painting makes a fitting

introduction to the series. The King, and his courtiers and attendants, are dressed in contemporary Mughal costumes. The painting is slightly damaged by the paint

flaking off.

The next four paintings are all in the Persian manner. The artist's name is missing in number II, but numbers III and IV are apparently signed by, and number V is ascribed to, Muhammad Rizā or Aqā Rizā. Number IV is dated 1013 of the Hijri era, i.e., six years before the

date of the manuscript.

Plate II shows the devotee of the hoard in his cave, addressing the King. The brilliant colouring, the purple rocks and white blossoms against a gold sky, are in the Persian romantic tradition, in contrast with the very Indian individualization of some of the faces; the attendant in green, half shown, in profile, is a fine example of realistic drawing. Most of the figures are in three-quarter profile—a characteristic of the early period, which gave place later to the monotony of pure profile drawing.

Plate III shows the hoard being disclosed.

Plate IV, of the young hawk and the hunt, is pervaded by the spirit of fantasy. Its air of gay romance, carried out in the details, fits the story to perfection. The realistic line of spectators, of various ages and in various attitudes, in the foreground, forms a kind of frieze to the picture—a happy device occasionally found in other drawings, both Persian and Indian. A grotesque figure can be made out in the rock.

In Plate V the King is seen ascending the mountain, the height and steepness of which are suggested by the shape of the painting and its relation to the text.

Plate VI shows the meeting between Dabshalim and

Bidpāī in the cave.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Dr. Coomaraswamy has discussed these interesting signatures in an article in "Artibus Asiae" (part 3 of 1927) and on pages 68 and 69 of "Ars Asiatica," Volume XIII. I cannot detect the name of Nānhā in No. 4; and I think it is possible that the words "Pādshāh Salīm," written separately from the rest, may refer to the King Dabshalim of the fables; possibly with a reference to Jahangir's name, Salīm, as well.

It is significant that Abu'l-Hasan should have been selected by the director of the atelier, as he presumably was, to illustrate this incident, from which all the stories are supposed to have their origin, for "The Lights of Canopus" is, as the author says, "composed of the questions and answers of the King and the Brahman."

The King has been bidden to enter, and the passage illustrated is as follows (I have altered Eastwick's trans-

lation very slightly):-

"He looked, and saw a Brahman, who had placed the foot of retirement in the world of solitude, and displayed the pennon of truth in the plain of subtlety. Angelic disposition was revealed in his human countenance, and the cleanliness of his body was a manifestation of his purity of soul. The King with all respect advanced

towards him, and performed due salutation."

The subject is one congenial alike to Persian and Indian feeling-the contrast between earthly and spiritual greatness. There is a further contrast, between the darkness of the cave and the brilliant world outside, suggested by an intensely blue sky and the bright and varied colouring of the fantastic rocks, upon which the painter has exhausted his palette. The two trees, moreover, one in full foliage, the other leafless and withered, answer the figures of the young, gailyapparelled King and the old sage. The painting of the King repays careful study; but the eye passes rapidly from him to the kneeling sage, with his books and rosary, pale-blue cloak and sheep-skin cap, who inclines towards his visitor with polite interest. He is, of course, no Brahman, but a Persian or Central Asian ascetic. The expression of the strange, wrinkled face is rendered with extraordinary distinction: it holds all the experience of age and all the wisdom of the East. The drawing, especially of the faces and hands, is so fine that it cannot be fully appreciated by the naked eye.

Abu'l-Hasan must have been a young man when he

achieved this little masterpiece.

The signature is curious—"The work of Abu'l-Hasan, Dust of the Threshold of Rizā."

The first, which is much the longest, of the books into which the Fables are divided, treats of the necessity of avoiding the talk of slanderers. Following the Sanskrit original fairly closely, as appears from a comparison with the existing Sanskrit versions, it tells the history of the lion, the ox, Shanzabah, and the two jackals, Kalilah and Dimnah, from whose names the titles of the Syriac and Arabic versions of the stories were taken.

A merchant's son, on the death of his father, embarked on a distant journey. He took with him two strong oxen, which one day, however, weakened by travel, stuck fast in a morass, and could not be extricated. One of them died, but the other, Shanzabah, regained his strength, wandered in course of time to a pasture near the domain of a proud and ferocious lion, and alarmed the lion with the noise of his bellowing. Among the lion-king's retainers were two sagacious jackals, Kalīlah and Dimnah. Dimnah was the cleverer and more ambitious, and Kalīlah the more cautious and honest, of the two. They saw that their king was troubled, and talked together over the matter. Kalīlah advised his companion not to meddle with what did not concern him, but Dimnah reproached him for his indolence and told the following story, to show that boldness meets with its reward.

Two friends, Salīm and Ghānim, came, while on a journey, to a mountain, with a pool and a fountain at its foot. On a stone was an inscription which promised a rich recompense to whoever should swim across the water and carry a stone lion up to the mountain top. Ghānim was eager to make the attempt, but Salīm refused and went on his way. Ghānim had the courage and endurance to carry out the task, and when he reached the summit he saw a great city on the side of

<sup>4</sup> In Sanskrit " Karataka " and " Damanaka."

the mountain. The stone lion gave forth a terrible sound, and the noise aroused the people of the city, who came to welcome Ghānim. They told him that it had been determined by magic that when the king of that city was to die a suitable successor would be provided, and his fitness tested, by the strange method of the stone lion. In this way Ghānim became king of that mighty

city in reward for his daring.

So Dimnah went to the lion and the ox in turn, and ingratiated himself by his cunning; and he induced Shanzabah to appear before the lion, and the lion to welcome him. After a time the ox became the favourite and confidant of the king; and then Dimnah grew jealous of his success. But Kalīlah told him that he had brought his trouble on himself, like the devotee whose robe of honour was stolen. For the devotee, so the story went, was awarded a costly robe by a certain king. A thief, learning of this, pretended that he wished to become the devotee's disciple, and, gaining his confidence-for the holy man was over-trustful-he stole the dress one night and made off with it. The recluse, on discovering his loss, started in pursuit, and on his way he noticed two goats fighting together. While they fought a fox came between them and devoured the blood from their wounds; but as they thrust against each other he was crushed to death.

The recluse travelled on, and at night, as he sought a lodging, he was invited by a woman into her house. Now the woman was a bawd; and in the house was a girl of great beauty, who loved a certain youth, and because of her love neglected the interests of the bawd. So that night, while the lovers were together, the woman brought poison in a tube and placed the end of the tube against the young man's nostrils, so as to kill him; but just as she was about to blow through the tube he sneezed, and the poison was driven into the bawd's lungs, and she fell dead.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Sir Thomas North's version of this story is a masterpiece, but is hardly quotable,

All this the devotee witnessed, and from what he had seen he learnt that, as he put it, the thief did not carry off the dress, and the goats did not kill the fox, and the poison did not destroy the woman; but he himself and the others had brought their calamities on their own heads.

Thus the jackals conversed together; and Dimnah, for all Kalīlah's warnings, determined to destroy the ox, telling Kalīlah that he hoped, by his cunning, to find him as easy a prey as the hare had found the young lion.

Now that savage lion, he said, lived near a fertile plain, in which were many wild animals, whose happiness was disturbed by the lion's hunting. So in their distress they arranged with him to send him daily one of their number, chosen by lot, to satisfy his hunger. One day the lot fell on a hare; but the hare waited, and when he appeared before the lion he told him that another lion had delayed him, and had destroyed his companion hare, and was claiming the hunting-ground as his own. The lion asked the hare to lead him to his challenger, and the hare brought him to a well, and told him to look in and he would find the other lion. The lion looked, and seeing his own reflexion and that of the hare in the water he took them for his enemy and the other hare; and he plunged in and was drowned.

So Dimnah went to the lion and craftily hinted that Shanzabah the ox was meditating treachery. The lion at first refused to suspect his friend, but gradually became convinced of his baseness. Then Dimnah went to Shanzabah, and told him that the lion had turned against him, and intended to devour him. Shanzabah likewise at first refused to believe the jackal, but he too was at last convinced. And Dimnah warned him not to undervalue the lion's hostility; and to show the danger of despising a foe he told the story of the

Genius of the Sea and the sandpipers.

Two sandpipers had their nest by the sea, and the sea came and carried away their young. So they complained to the other birds; and all the leaders of the birds took counsel, and appealed to their king, the Simurgh, who collected a mighty army, which compelled the Genius of the Sea to restore the young birds; so he found to his cost that he could not afford to despise even the humble sandpipers, and he had to suffer humiliation on their account.

In this way, and by many other tortuous devices, Dimnah aroused the fears and suspicions of the lion and the ox against each other, and at last contrived that when they met they quickly passed to fighting; and in

the battle the lion slew his friend.

Thus slander accomplished its purpose, though Kalilah had done his utmost to dissuade his companion, telling him that fraud would defeat its object, as happened with Sharp-wit. Now Sharp-wit and Light-heart were associates, who by chance found a purse of gold, and on Sharp-wit's proposal hid it under a tree. But Sharp-wit came back alone and took the gold for himself, and then accused Light-heart before the Qazi, in order to get rid of him, of stealing their common store; and he told the Qazi that he hoped the tree itself would testify against Light-heart. So the Qazi went to the spot, and there issued from the tree a voice accusing Light-heart of the theft. But the Qazi was suspicious, and ordered men to set fire to the tree; but when this was done the voice called for quarter, and they brought out from the tree the father of Sharp-wit, who was his accomplice in the deception. And both the son and his father met with the punishment which they deserved.

But Kalilah's advice was, as has been told, of no

avail.

The first book has seven illustrations. Plate VII shows Ghānim on the mountain, carrying the stone lion, who has just given tongue, on his back. This again is the work of Aqā Rizā; it is signed, in very minute characters. Like number IV, it is dated 1013 Hijri. The treatment of the trees in the background shows European influence.

Number VIII, the fox crushed between the goats, is probably by Mirzā Ghulām. It is a beautiful drawing, the chenar-tree, beloved of Persian and Indian painters, being very finely rendered, and the colouring particularly delicate. Ghulām, to judge from his miniatures in this collection, seems to have had a special fondness for purples.

The next illustration, of the woman killed by the sneeze, also by Ghulām, is a less finished specimen of his talent. We often notice how much more successful these painters were, in depicting violent movement, with animals than with human beings. Indian medieval sculpture, on the other hand, had excelled in showing

movement of all kinds.

In Plate X, of the ferocious lion and the other animals, the rather wooden drawing of the lion contrasts with the very lifelike birds in the tree and by the water. Perhaps the lion is intended to represent mere stupidity. The lions in Plates XVI, XXV, XXVII and XXX should

be compared with this one.

Plate XI. This was chosen by Mr. Joseph Jacobs for the frontispiece to his edition of North's version of the stories. As in number X, there is no attempt at brilliance of colouring. The guileless, dignified nature of the ox, resting in his secluded retreat, and the malicious cunning of Dimnah, as he tempts him to his ruin, are admirably suggested. The drawing of Khanzabah's eye is a marvel of fine work, which, as in so many of these miniatures, can only be appreciated through a magnifying glass. The artist's name has been cut out.

Number XII is also by an artist whose name is missing —just possibly the famous animal and bird painter, Mansūr. The birds, under the leadership of the Simurgh, have come to the rescue of the sandpipers. The conception of this gorgeously decorative creature, here fittingly displayed against a golden sky, is derived, like that of the dragon, from Chinese art through that of Persia. Only the crane is on foot; the air is full of

the birds, which are drawn with a wealth of minute detail. Several familiar specimens can be recognised, among others the tufted hoopoe, famous in Muham-

madan legend.

Plate XIII, by Durga, shows the dishonest partner, Sharp-wit, being arrested by the Qazi's attendant. This illustration, with its bright colouring, is in somewhat the same style as number XV, but the drawing is less accomplished.

The second book of the stories is a sequel to the first, for it is concerned with the trial and punishment of the treacherous Dimnah, pointing the obvious moral. It is not found in the Sanskrit, and was apparently invented by the author of the Arabic version, who was presumably dissatisfied with the spectacle of villainy going

unpunished.

After the death of the ox Shanzabah, the lion was filled with remorse for what he had done, and with suspicion of Dimnah. This suspicion was strengthened by the sayings of the lion's mother, who had evidence of Dimnah's guilt, and persuaded the king to summon him before the royal council. Dimnah and the lion's mother fell into conversation, and when she abused him he bewailed the ingratitude of kings, and told her

the following story.

A certain saintly devotee had retired from the world; and his fame reached the King, who went to visit him; and during his visit a party of petitioners arrived. The devotee called them up and heard them, and advised the King on the disposal of their grievances. The King then persuaded him to preside over his court of requests; and in time the devotee gained great power in the kingdom. But authority corrupted him, and ambition assailed him, and he began to act in a high-handed and unjust manner, till one day he wrongfully ordered a man's death; whereat, on enquiry being made, he was found guilty, and brought to destruction.

Even so, said Dimnah, I am suffering for turning from the worship of God and joining the royal service.

But a lynx, who was one of the lion's chief courtiers, heard what he said, and reproached him, and told

another story to the contrary effect, as follows.

There dwelt in Fars a holy man of such learning and piety that his fame spread far and wide. And among others a darvish from the lands beyond the Oxus came to pay him honour. But when the darvish reached the monastery he was told that the Shaikh had gone to visit the King. Whereupon he reviled him for mingling in worldly business, and left the monastery in disgust. By chance he was arrested by the police, who mistook him for a certain escaped thief, and he was sent to the place of punishment. But as the executioner was about to sever his hand, a a clamour was heard, and the Shaikh came by with all his retinue. And when he had inquired into the matter he caused the darvish to be released. As they were leaving the Shaikh said to the darvish that if men like himself did not wait upon the King it would go hard with the oppressed. So holy men, said the lynx, have thought it no disgrace to frequent the courts of rulers.

After further debate and delay the guilt of Dimnah was inquired into, and at last established, and he was sentenced to be starved and tortured, till at last he perished. Kalīlah meanwhile had died of grief and

despondency.

Plate XIV, by Anant, in this artist's quiet but effective manner, shows the King visiting the devotee, who is hearing the claims of the petitioners. The motley group of clamorous suitors, the bejewelled King and his attendant, and the holy man and his disciple, are carefully contrasted.

Plate XV, of the darvish being delivered from the executioner by the Shaikh, is by an artist whose name may be Hariya, evidently a good colourist with a power

of portraying character.

In number XVI the animals are seen in council. The lion is urging the judges to hasten over their consideration of Dimnah's case. This illustration was reproduced in Sir Thomas Arnold's "Painting in Islam."

The third book relates to the advantages of friendship, which are exemplified by the attractive story of the Crow, the Mouse, the Tortoise, and the Deer, who helped each other—well known from the first book of the "Hitopadesa." Only one of the stories is here illustrated. It is told by the mouse to show the need of

caution against plausible acquaintances.

A camel-rider, said the mouse, rescued a serpent from a conflagration, and, allowing him to creep into his bag, carried him to safety. But when he opened the bag the serpent announced that he would not depart till he had bitten the rider and the camel. For this, he explained, there were three reasons, his own wicked and ungrateful nature, the ancient enmity between men and serpents, and the custom of men themselves to requite good with evil. And he applied to a buffalo, who supported him, saying that he, for his part, had worked hard for men, but had been turned adrift when he became old. A tree, also, said that it had suffered likewise from human ingratitude, for in return for giving shade to every wayfarer it was cut about with saws and axes.

Now it happened that a fox was standing by, and he also joined in the conversation, but he said he could not believe that so large a serpent could be contained in so small a bag. The serpent to convince him crept back into the bag, whereupon the man dashed it on the ground and crushed him to death.

The illustration of this story (Plate XVII) is one of the most successful animal studies in the whole book. If the ascription given, to Anant, is correct, this artist must have been, if anything, better as a painter of animals than of human beings. The composition is most ingenious. The subdued colouring of most of the

picture, contrasting with the central pattern of bright colour in the camel rider's clothes, saddle and saddle-cloth, is not uncommon in Mughal painting.

The fourth book, illustrating the need of wariness against foes, relates to the strife between the Crows and the Owls.

The owls had made a murderous night attack on the crows, who took counsel how they should retaliate. The cunning minister Kārshinās (Experienced), when questioned by the King of the crows, urged the importance of secrecy, and told the story-reminiscent of an Italian novella-of the King of Kashmir. Now this King had a beautiful mistress, whom he loved most dearly; but she cast her eyes on a young court favourite, who for his part returned her love. One day the King discovered their secret, and in his furious jealousy he resolved on their death; and he told his plan to his vazir. But that very day the lady had behaved discourteously to the vazir's daughter, who complained to her father; and he advised her not to grieve, for in a few days the life of the King's mistress would be extinct; and on her pressing him, he revealed the King's purpose of revenge. A little later an attendant from the royal haram came to apologise to the vazir's daughter, but she said, "What matter? for the King's lady will soon receive her punishment." And she told him of what she had heard, for he promised to keep the matter secret. But he broke his promise and informed that lady; and in the night she and her lover murdered the King.

In this way Kārshinās preached caution; and he explained to the King, moreover, how the enmity between the crows and owls had originated. The birds, in former times, assembled to elect a leader; and a party of them wished to have the owl as their chief. But a certain crow objected, saying that the ill-omened owl had no claim against nobler birds, and that they must choose a King who would be above suspicion of perfidy. He

told them, to show the danger of trusting the unprincipled, of a partridge and a quail, who, when they had a difference, asked a cat to settle it, for the cat had a reputation for piety and moderation. But the cat, having them both in its confidence, seized and devoured them. Similarly, the crow maintained, the owl was not to be trusted, and was unfit to be the birds' King. The other birds were persuaded by his eloquence, and the owl was rejected. And so the feud

began.

Kārshinās spoke of this and other matters, and finally it was settled to employ deception against the owls. So the other crows departed, and Kārshinās was left behind, wounded, and with feathers plucked out; and in the night the owls advanced, and found him alone in that condition. He told the owl-King that the crows had cast him out for his cowardice in advising meekness and submission. Then the owls debated what should be done with Kārshinās, and at last the King decided to spare his life, and to treat him kindly, so as to spread discord among the crows; for one of his ministers urged this course. And this was the minister's story, in illustration of the result of friends falling out.

A certain devotee was presented with a she-buffalo by one of his disciples; and a thief determined to steal it. On his way the thief met a demon, who was bent on killing the devotee, whose good influence over the people was such that it had dulled the market for the powers of evil. So they went together to the devotee's cell by night; but when they were there they quarrelled over the method of their proceeding, and the hermit was roused by their voices; and the neighbours came, and the life and property of the holy man were saved

because his enemies had disagreed together.

So Kārshinās was taken into the owls' confidence; but in time, by his cunning and ingenuity, he found a way for the crows to take their revenge against the owls.

The first of the illustrations to this book (Plate XVIII) is a simple group in Anant's usual delicate and unob-

trusive style. It shows the King, with the young courtier in attendance, conversing with his favourite.

Number XIX, by Husain, depicts the crow in the assembly of birds, boldly speaking out against the proposal to choose the owl as leader. The owl's evil nature and rage are amusingly portrayed, and the various birds are painted with great skill and minute accuracy.

Plate XX. This vigorous painting is ascribed to the same artist as number XV, but it is in quite a different style. The treacherous cat is devouring the partridge and the quail together, while the crow looks on from a tree. The effective touch of gold in the cat's eye is

a device often found in animal paintings.

Plate XXI.—The Thief, the Demon, and the Devotee—is the only illustration in this collection which is the work of more than one artist, though the practice of several artists collaborating in a single picture was a common one. Sometimes the outlines are by one artist, and the painting by another; sometimes the faces were one man's work; and so on. Dharm Dās and Padārath were both prominent court artists, but this is one of the least satisfactory miniatures in the book, in spite of the attractive romantic landscape. The demon perhaps owes something to Hindu art. Both painters are Hindus.

The fifth book deals with the dangers of negligence, and tells of the relations between the monkey-King and the tortoise, the attempt of the tortoise to gratify his jealous wife by killing his friend, and the monkey's narrow escape. The particular story which is here illustrated is told by the monkey-rather incongruously, for it holds up a monkey to ridicule for its stupidity.

The tortoise desires the companionship of the monkey-King, who is suspicious of his advances, and remarks that it is well to be careful in choosing one's friends. For there was once a King of Kashmir, he says, whose favourite monkey kept guard at night at the royal pillow, with a dagger in his hand. One night a clever thief broke into the palace and entered the King's bedchamber, and saw the sleeping King and the monkey on guard; and as he watched some ants fell on the King's breast; and this enraged the monkey, who raised his dagger to kill them. On this the thief gave a shout, and grasped the monkey's hand before he could strike. The King awoke and saw the two of them; and he rewarded the thief for saving his life, and advanced him to honour, but sent the monkey away with ignominy.

This story has been highly praised, though it is not easy to see exactly why. At any rate the obvious moral which it conveys is that the honest fool is a worse danger than the clever rogue,6 which is not the precise

point which the monkey-King wishes to make.

The story is a variant on that of the Bear and the Gardener, which is also in "The Lights of Canopus." In this the bear, trying to keep the flies away from his

sleeping friend, kills him with a rock.

In the "Panchatantra" the story of the Monkey and the Thief is told by an owl, and has a different turn given to it. The thief terrifies the monkey, and steals the King's necklace.

The illustration (Plate XXII) is not without a certain

realistic vigour.

The sixth book includes two of the best, and, in various forms, best-known stories in the world. The one here told by the devotee's wife is found, notably, in Rabelais and La Fontaine, whose pretty tale of "La Laitière et le pot au lait" (Fables VII, 10) is the same, in another dress, as that of the pious man and his jar.'

The second story, the pathetic one of the Mongoose and the Snake, is universally familiar in England and Wales as the legend of Llewelyn and Gelert. It is likely to remain so as long as the village of Beddgelert attracts

Max Müller has a good chapter on this and other widespread fables in

"Chips from a German Workshop."

<sup>6</sup> Or rather, as La Fontaine says: "Rien n'est si dangereux qu'un ignorant ami; Mieux vaudroit un sage ennemi."

visitors by its beauty, and the faithful greyhound's "tomb" is preserved from destruction. There are numerous variations of this legend, and the protecting animal takes different forms, for instance a serpent, a weasel, a were-wolf, a bear, a dog, and a fisherman's

boy. The attacking animal also varies.

The subject of book six is the peril of precipitation. The frame-story relates to a devotee, who after long celibacy married a wife. After a time, in answer to his prayers, the wife conceived. One day the devotee began to forecast the career of the longed-for son, and talked of his future upbringing, and of how he would attain eminence, and marry, and have children and grandchildren. Whereupon the wife reproached him for his premature dreams, and told him the story of a pious man, who had a store of oil and honey, which he kept in a jar. One day he examined his store, and began to make plans for the future. For he would sell his oil and honey, he thought, and buy some sheep; and as his flocks increased he would grow rich, and marry, and have a son. And sometimes, he said to himself, I may have to chastize my son with my staff. And deep in his thoughts he lifted up his staff and struck the jar, and broke it, and all his dreams come to nothing.

But in due time the devotee's wife bore him a son; and one day, when the father and mother were called away, a faithful mongoose was left in charge of the infant. In their absence a snake approached the cradle to attack the child, and the mongoose fought with it and killed it. When the devotee returned he met the mongoose, covered with blood, running proudly to welcome him; but thinking that it had killed his son he struck it dead with his stick. Then, on entering the house, he discovered the truth, and in his bitter distress he prayed for death. His wife blamed him, but he implored her, as he put it, not to make a salve of salt for the wound of his grief. Then she changed her tone and comforted him; and the devotee thanked her, and tried to take comfort; for, he said, others as well as

he had done such acts before; and their stories had been recorded, and his, too, would be remembered.

As, indeed, it has been. It would not be safe, however, to trace all stories of this nature to one source. The same thing must have happened many times—for a man to misunderstand a service rendered by a favourite animal, and to punish it before discovering the truth.

The German folk-tale variation is not generally known. It is given by Baring Gould as follows. A man determines to kill his old dog Sultan, who overhears him discussing with his wife how to put an end to him. The dog tells a wolf, they consult together, and next day, when the man is going to his work, the wolf seizes the child, and Sultan comes to the rescue, and spends his remaining days in comfort.

In this same book of "The Lights of Canopus" there is a variant of the tragic version. A King is out hunting, and wishes to drink some water from a spring, but a favourite hawk upsets the cup by fluttering his wings against it. The King, in a rage, kills the hawk. The spring is then discovered to be poisoned at the source

from a dead serpent.

Plate XXIII shows the middle-aged devotee and his young wife sitting together on a verandah. His time of disappointment is over, his prayer has been granted, and his wife has at last conceived. Then, as Kashifi says, "his wish was all day long to renew the mention of his son. After the performance of his daily devotions his

tongue did nothing but utter his name."

Mohan's exquisite little painting is nearly perfect in colour and drawing, in sentiment and expression. There is no commoner subject in all Persian and Indian art than a man and his beloved seated, conversing together, but was it ever treated elsewhere in quite this manner? A Persian painter might possibly have conveyed, as successfully as this, the spirit of tranquil happiness which the story demands, but he could hardly have shed over it such a holy calm as this obscure Hindu master has

<sup>8 &</sup>quot; Curious Myths of the Middle Ages."

succeeded in doing. There is just a suggestion, too, of quiet humour. The effective introduction of dark blue and black in the devotee's scarf and the tasselled ornaments of the two women is reminiscent of the Herat school.

In the next Plate (number XXIV) the devotee is seen after he has discovered his mistake in killing the mongoose. "Then," says Kāshifi, "the smoke of remorse ascended from his heart, and he began to smite his breast with the stone of regret." Anant, the artist, makes him do no such thing. With a totally expressionless face he merely "bites the finger of regret with the tooth of astonishment"—the commonest of all the conventional gestures.

A comparison between this and the preceding painting is instructive. It is not altogether fair to say that the Mughal artists took refuge in Persian conventional gestures, such as biting the wrist or the finger, because they were unable to express violent grief and astonishment; but it is certainly in depicting the quieter emotions

that painters like Anant are seen at their best.

Book seven tells how a rat and a cat became friends in adversity; but when they had escaped from danger the rat resumed his caution towards his former enemy, and refused him his company. The story illustrated, on the retribution that awaits the unfaithful, is told by the cat, when he is afraid of the rat deserting him. It is a rather melodramatic tale, of no especial interest, of an old man and his young wife. The wife was enticed away by a prince, who came upon her while out hunting. As the lovers rested on their flight a lion seized the woman and slew her, and the prince, in terror of his life, rode away.

The painting, by Nānhā (Plate XXV), is a good example of this artist's great precision of touch and delicacy of detail. Coomaraswamy" reproduces another work by him showing a man being mauled by an enormous

" Artibus Asiae," part 3 of 1927.

lion, pointing to Nānhā's predilection for such subjects. The same critic calls attention to the unusual dramatic force with which this scene is realized.

The purport of the eighth book is somewhat similar to that of the seventh. A King had a favourite lark, and the lark and the King's son used to play together, till one day the Prince was hurt by the lark's young one, and killed it in anger; and the lark in revenge pecked out the Prince's eyes. The King tried to tempt the lark back into his power, and the stories are all told in the course of their conversation. The lark is arguing that even though the King may forgive him, yet they can never again trust one another securely, for in time of danger even a mother will think more of her own life than of her child's. There was once an old woman, he says, whose daughter fell ill; and the mother prayed that her own life might be taken, and not her daughter's. But one day, when she was absent, a cow strayed into the kitchen and put its head into a cauldron, and could not withdraw it; so it ran in fury round the house with the cauldron over its head. The woman returned and saw it, and thought that it was 'Izra'il, the Angel of Death, come for the soul of her daughter. And she called out in terror, bidding him to take her daughter's soul if he would, but to spare herself. So the lark refused to return to the King, for a friend that is wronged is no more to be trusted than a natural enemy.

The illustration (Plate XXVI) to this typical rustic folktale is by Dharm Dās, and we notice again the contrast between the manner in which the furious frightened cow is rendered, with swift strong lines, and the stiffness of the woman's attitude. There is a somewhat similar illustration to the same story in Mr. Chester Beatty's

"'Iyar i Danish."

Book nine, on Clemency, contains the story of the Pious Jackal, Farîsah, who renounced the world, till he was persuaded by Kāmjūī, the lion, King of the jungle, to be his adviser in the affairs of the kingdom. The other animals, becoming jealous, hid the King's breakfast one day in Farisah's cell, and accused him to Kāmjūi, and caused his removal, though the King was at first unwilling to believe the charge. And a lynx urged the King not to delay Farīsah's execution; for, said he, when it is a matter of the King's welfare, it is necessary to punish the guilty ones, however dear they may be. So it was with the Sultan of Baghdad, to whom a damsel from China was sent as a gift. Now the Sultan, intoxicated by his love for her, neglected the affairs of state, so that disorders arose in the kingdom. At last, warned by a dream, he decided to get rid of temptation by putting an end to the slave-girl, and he gave the order for her execution. But the Chamberlain, knowing of the Sultan's infatuation, delayed the execution, and later the Sultan repented of his order, and sent again for the damsel. Three times did the same thing happen, till at last the Sultan determined to slay her with his own hands; and one day he brought himself to throw her from the terrace of his palace into the Tigris, where she was drowned.

The King was moved by the story, and in his alarm he summoned Farisah; but Farisah, knowing himself innocent, sent back a rough message; and Kāmjūī became angry, and would have had him put to death, but the King's mother pleaded caution, and Farisah was pardoned at last, for the evidence against him was suspect; and in time his accusers' treachery was discovered. Then the King asked him to take up his duties again, but Farisah declined, as the King had shown himself suspicious and hasty, and not merciful,

like the King of Yaman.

Now the King of Yaman, Farisah said, became vexed with his Chamberlain, and forbade him to enter the palace; and the Chamberlain and his family were brought to great poverty. One day the King gave an entertainment; and the Chamberlain borrowed a suitable dress and entered the banqueting-hall. The King

saw him with astonishment and anger; but, being of a generous nature, and not wishing to mar the feast, he showed no change in his demeanour. The Chamberlain, observing this, took part in the service, and as the feast proceeded he stealthily seized a golden dish and concealed it in his clothes. The King saw the theft, but felt pity for the Chamberlain's poverty, and when the attendants discovered that the dish was missing he told them to let the matter be. After a year, when there was another banquet, the Chamberlain again made his appearance. The King called him up and whispered, "Is the price of the dish well spent?" Then the Chamberlain confessed that what he had done was of set purpose, to attract the King's notice, and end his own misery. So the King pardoned him, and restored him to his former office.

The lion-King, on hearing this story, said that Farīsah's words were true, though harsh. And Farīsah answered that his words were not so harsh as the lion's thoughts in believing calumny. But in the end confidence was restored between the King and his faithful minister.

Plate XXVII illustrates the words, "Kāmjūī was pleased with his (Farīsah's) society, and cultivated an intimacy with him." The artist, Mirzā Ghulām, has caught the lion's air of royal affability, as he sits with his fore-paws crossed, while the pious jackal bends deferentially before him. The other animals, with their variety of attitudes, are rendered with real feeling for wild life; they are better related than usual to the idyllic landscape. The painting is damaged, and the figure of the hoopoe is half flaked away.

Plates XXVIII and XXIX. These two paintings, by Bishan Dās and Aqā Rizā respectively, illustrate similar subjects: the first showing the Sultan of Baghdad entertaining the Chinese girl, and the second, the feast of the King of Yaman. In both alike musicians are performing and refreshments are being served. Yet how utterly different, in conception and treatment, is the work of the Hindu master from that of the Persian!—for Aqā

Rizā was a native Persian artist, and his work here shows little Indian influence.

Aqā Rizā has produced a finely-coloured decorative composition in the Timurid style, but has introduced a certain amount of facial expression: Bishan Dās, an intimate portrait group. The contrast is almost complete.

Both these miniatures repay scrutiny, for they exemplify nearly every point of difference between the

Mughal and the Persian styles of painting.

The detail in number XXVIII is almost unbelievably minute. The hands, the different poses, the moulding of the faces of the three central figures, the drawing of the jewellery and the hair, the lace-like carving of the white niche, and the dark musician's face, are particularly noticeable. The types—which perhaps may have some affinity with those of Western Indian art—are not exactly beautiful, but they show much individuality. The Brahman on the right is perhaps the minister who figures in the story. The black tassel ornaments may be compared with those in Plate XXIII.

In Plate XXIX the "Chinese" wall-paintings of animals no doubt reflect a Persian custom. The detail of the ornamental patterns is admirable. The apprehension of the Chamberlain, who is very conspicuously secreting the gold vessel, is well expressed. The Pan-pipe which one of the musicians is playing also appears in a painting, probably by this artist, in the Goloubew Collection at Boston (see "Ars Asiatica" XIII, fig. CXI, with Dr.

Coomaraswamy's note).

Book ten—on Retaliation—is concerned with the story of the lion of the Aleppo jungle. The lion, strong and terrible, was for ever shedding the blood of the other animals. A lynx, who was his attendant, deserted his service in fear, and as he went away he saw a mouse gnawing the root of a tree, and causing it great injury, in disregard of the tree's protest. A snake came out of its hole and swallowed the mouse; but when it had coiled itself up in contentment a porcupine transfixed

it with its quills and destroyed it, but was killed, in turn, by a fox. A dog tore the fox to pieces, and was itself killed by a leopard. But a hunter shot the leopard with an arrow, wishing to possess its beautiful skin. And a horseman, who coveted the skin for himself, tried to take it from the hunter. So they fought together, and the horseman cut off the hunter's head with his sword, and rode away. Before he had ridden far his horse fell and the rider's neck was broken. The lynx was seized with terror at what he had seen, and, returning to the lion, he cried out against all oppression, and warned him that retribution would come upon him also. But the lion would not change his ways, till his pride and cruelty were punished; for his two young cubs were slain by a hunter. So at last he too was humbled; and, repenting of his ways, he adopted a life of piety and devotion.

Plate XXX, of the ravening lion, is remarkable for the manner in which the furious whirling action is conveyed. The curving pattern made by the figures of the animals is carried on in the swaying grasses and other details. The red dragon who is killing the doe is no doubt the "Shir i sipihr," i.e., the Lion of the zodiacal sign, though the only mention of this lion in the text is the statement that from awe of the Aleppo lion's fury the

celestial lion fled beneath the earth.

Plate XXXI shows the horseman riding off with the leopard's skin after decapitating the hunter, and Plate XXXII, the horseman's end. The former, finely drawn by Salīm Qulī, has some resemblance to a Hindu painting. The latter is not a very successful rendering of the subject, and can hardly be by the same hand.

The eleventh book is devoted to variations on the text that it is folly to attempt more than one can perform. The story here illustrated tells of a crane, who every day used to sit by a river, seeking his food from the worms

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> I am confirmed in this by a distinguished Persian scholar, Mr. Darab Khan.

that he found in the mud. One day he saw a hawk swoop down on a flying quail, and envying the ease with which so small a bird obtained so satisfying a meal he resolved to do the like; so, seeing a pigeon on the wing, he tried to catch it, but fell instead into the mud, and there stuck fast. A washerman came up and seized him; and so he met his end.

The illustration (number XXXIII) is noticeable for the drawing of the crane and the pigeon, and for the marked perspective. The landscape is much more broadly treated than usual. The attitude of the washerman may be compared with that of the thief in number XXII.

The next book, on the excellence of composure, consists of an elaborate story of a palace intrigue, in which other stories are embedded. The chief features of

the main story are as follows.

There once lived a King of Hindustan, renowned for his virtue and wealth. And his two sons and their mother were very dear to the King. He had also a trusted vazir, and a secretary of great accomplishments. Among the King's favourite animals were a white elephant, and two other great elephants, and two dromedaries, and a swift courser; and he had great affection for all of these, and for a famous sword which he possessed. Now there were many Brahmans in the kingdom, who offended the King, and he slew many of them for deceiving his subjects. One night the King had seven strange and terrible dreams, and his Brahman counsellors, when asked for their interpretation, told him that his sons and their mother and the vazir and the secretary and the favourite animals must all be put to death. But the King said that if all of these were slain he did not wish for further life himself. And he told them the story of King Solomon and the Water of Immortality, which was presented to him by a celestial messenger. But Solomon, before drinking it, took counsel with the Jinns and fairies and men, and the birds and animals. All of them advised him to drink the water, for they

said that if his life were continued it would benefit the inhabitants of the world.

Solomon asked, "Is any of my subjects absent?"

They told him that the crane was absent.

Solomon sent the horse to summon him; but he disobeyed the summons; and then the dog was sent for him; and the crane obeyed, and came. And Solomon asked why he had come for the dog when he had refused the horse's summons. The crane answered that although the horse had beauty and nobility, yet his nature lacked fidelity and gratitude; but the dog, with all his baseness, was renowned for love and constancy; therefore he had trusted and obeyed him. Solomon approved the reply, and asked the heron's advice about the Water of Life. The heron asked Solomon whether he alone would drink it, or would give a portion of it to others. Solomon told him that it was for himself only, and there was not enough for others. The heron said that Solomon could hope for no happiness in life, if none but he should survive and those that he loved should all perish before him. And Solomon applauded his counsel and sent back the cup untasted.

Such was the King's story, and he said that he too did not wish for life if he must lose all those whom he held dearest. So he delayed his decision, and by the Queen's advice he consulted a certain sage, who told him that the interpretation of the Brahmans was false, and that the seven dreams portended no evil, but further wealth and gifts, which the King would receive from seven

different princes.

So it came to pass, and the Brahmans met the reward

of their treachery and deception.

The story of the King of Hindustan is probably of Buddhist origin, though the obvious religious animus against the Brahmans might seem to indicate an Islamic source. The beautiful story of Solomon and the Water of Immortality seems to be Persian.

The two paintings, of the King and his possessions, and Solomon and his subjects (Plates XXXIV and

XXXV) invite comparison and contrast, for their themes are somewhat similar. I am not quite sure that there is not a faint suggestion of Jahangir's portrait in number XXXIV. Though the King is shown as a Hindu, with his lotus crown, it would be perfectly in keeping with tradition, besides being a graceful compliment to the Emperor, to give the great and virtuous Indian ruler Jahangir's features, especially as the point of the story turns on the King's fondness for his rare animals. One would have liked, similarly, to be able to see a resemblance to Akbar, wisest of rulers, in the omniscient Solomon. It is to be feared, however, that the artist did not intend to carry out this parallel.

Number XXXIV, with its pale tints, has a different colour-scheme from any other miniature in the book. The elephant and the other animals are, as usual,

admirably drawn.

The drawing of number XXXV is characteristic of the later period of Akbar's reign, and it may, therefore, have been completed before his death. The birds are magnificently rendered, and the hunting leopard, looking up in devotion at the Prophet, is particularly happy. The two Jinns are noticeable. These curious creatures are really demons, but those commonly represented in attendance on Solomon were not malevolent. They were capable of assuming various animal forms, and are usually shown with horns. The one on the left is presumably a bird-Jinn.

The thirteenth book, on the desirability of Kings avoiding perfidious persons, contains two stories, both of which illustrate the danger of admitting the base to intimacy. The one which concerns us is enclosed in the frame-story, which, like that of Book Twelve, is a long tale of adventure and intrigue. The shorter story, which is of a similar character, tells of a King of Fars who had a son of whom it was foretold that he would undergo many dangers, but would achieve greatness in the end. There was a certain shoemaker

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to whom the King showed favour, and who used to play with the young Prince, and attend him constantly. And once, the Prince being four years old, when the King was to go on a journey he left the Prince in charge of that shoemaker; and the Prince went to visit a favourite and delightful garden near the city. But the shoemaker, with the object of stealing the Prince's crown and costly dress, caused him and his attendants to be drugged, and carried him away from the garden. And he took the Prince to Damascus, and sold him there to a merchant, who after ten years came to Fars and presented the boy to the King; and he became the King's favourite slave. But the young Prince became friends with a jeweller who, seeing that the boy was in the King's confidence, planned to use him to steal the royal signet-ring, so as to gain access to the treasury. The Prince agreed with the plan, and went at night to steal the ring; but the King awoke and saw him, and ordered his execution. But when the executioner pulled off the youth's garment a mole on his body was noticed by the King, and he recognised him as his son.

The illustration to this story is the last in the book. It shows the young Prince seated in the garden that he loved, surrounded by his attendants (Plate XXXVI). The artist, Ghulām Mirzā, has given of his best in this delightful painting. It is night, and after the hot Eastern day a gentle breeze has sprung up; a little fountain is playing. The darkness of the garden is conveyed by the purple sky, dappled in two tones, and by the torch held by an attendant. The composition is made up of verticals and horizontals, across which the six figures are arranged in a curving pattern.

The fourteenth, and last, book, deals, appropriately, with the necessity of acquiescence in the Divine will. It is the only Book of which no incident is illustrated in the manuscript.

The stories being finished, the author of the "Anvār i Suhaili" concludes with a short account of the

courteous parting between Dabshalim and Bidpāi, and of the benefits which that King, and Humayun Fal in a later age, received from the precepts and the stories which exemplified them.



Plate I KING NUSHIRVAN
By ANANT





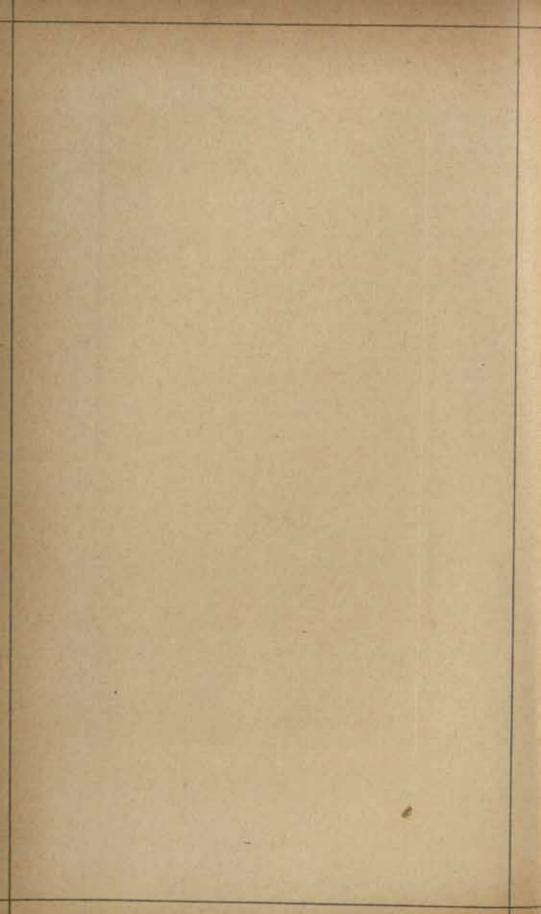
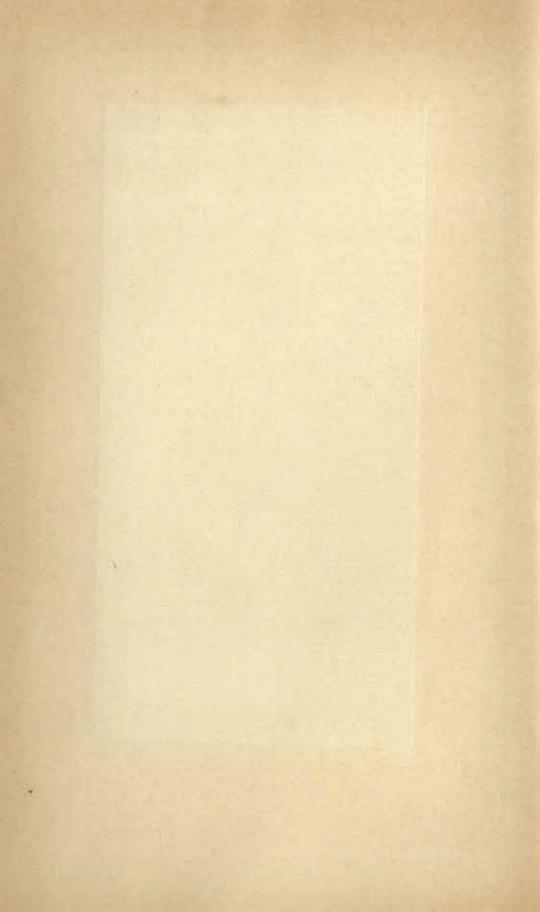


Plate II
THE DEVOTEE





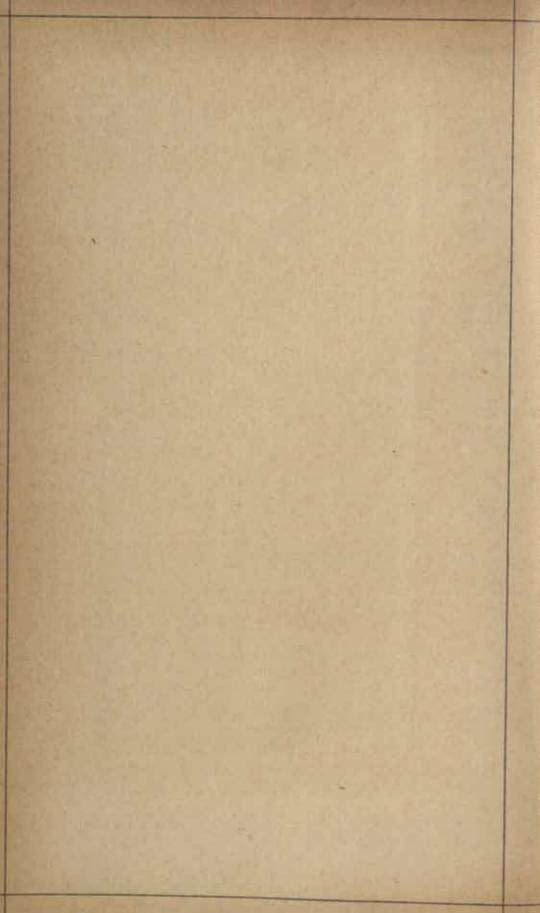
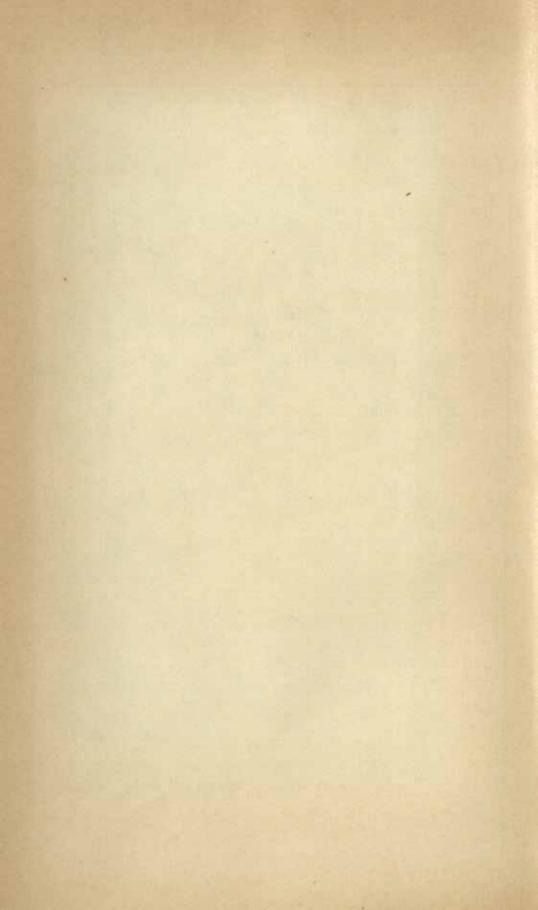


Plate III
THE HOARD

By MUHAMMAD RIZĀ





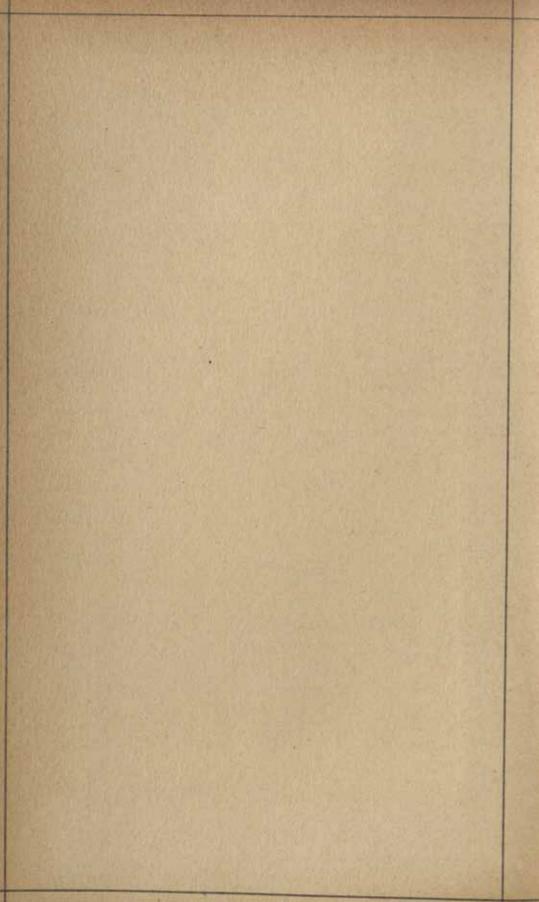
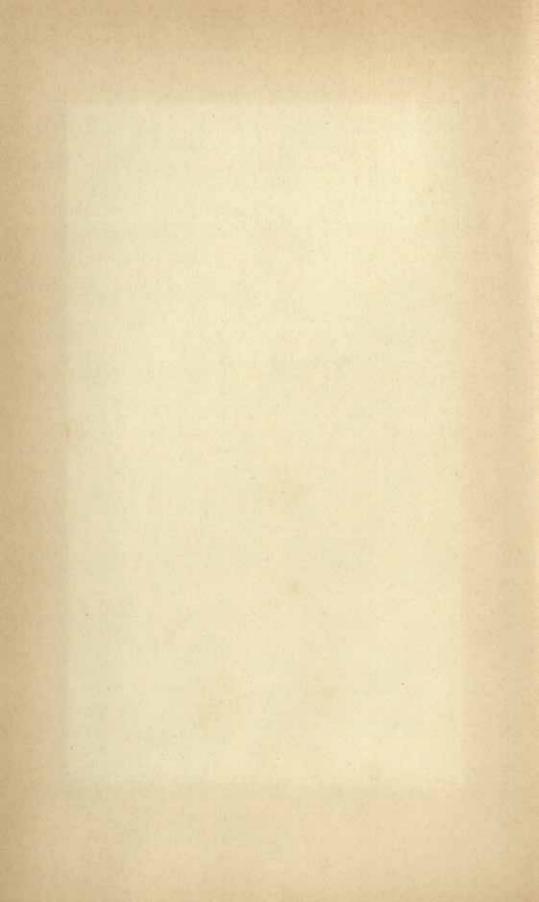


Plate IV
THE YOUNG HAWK AND THE HUNT
By MUHAMMAD RIZĀ





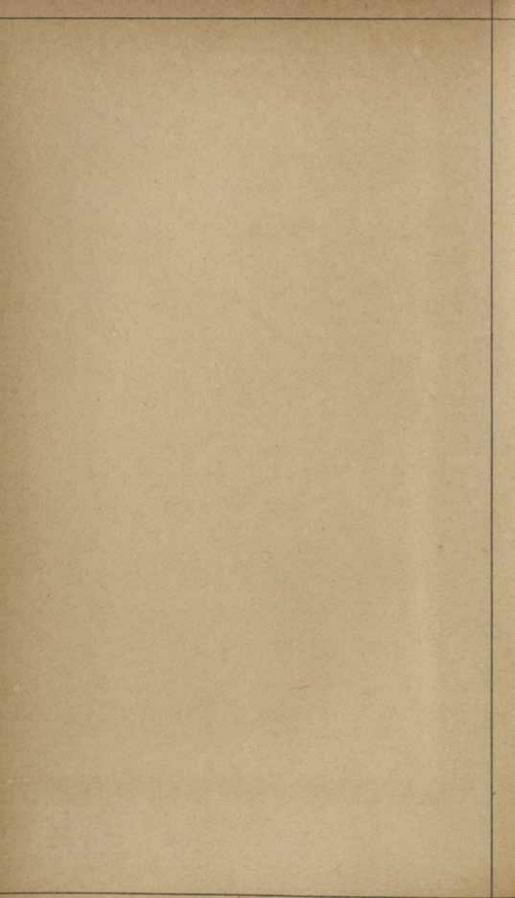


Plate V  $\begin{tabular}{ll} KING DABSHALĪM ASCENDING THE MOUNTAIN \\ By āqā rizā \end{tabular}$ 



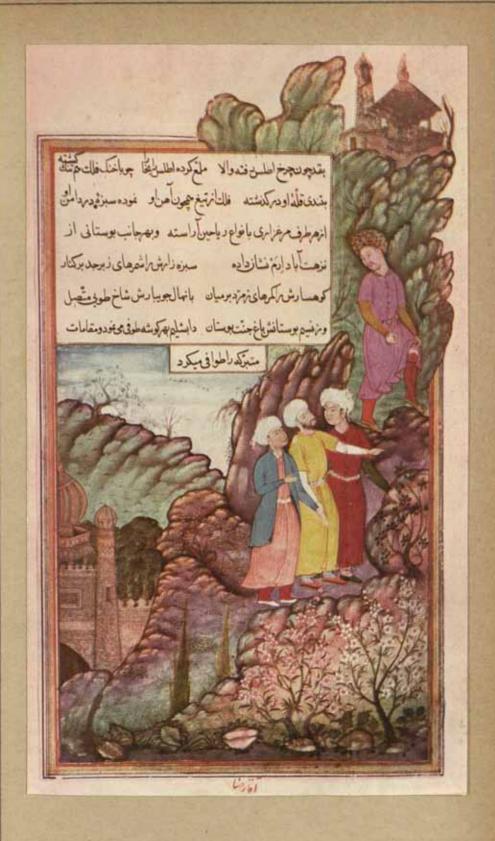
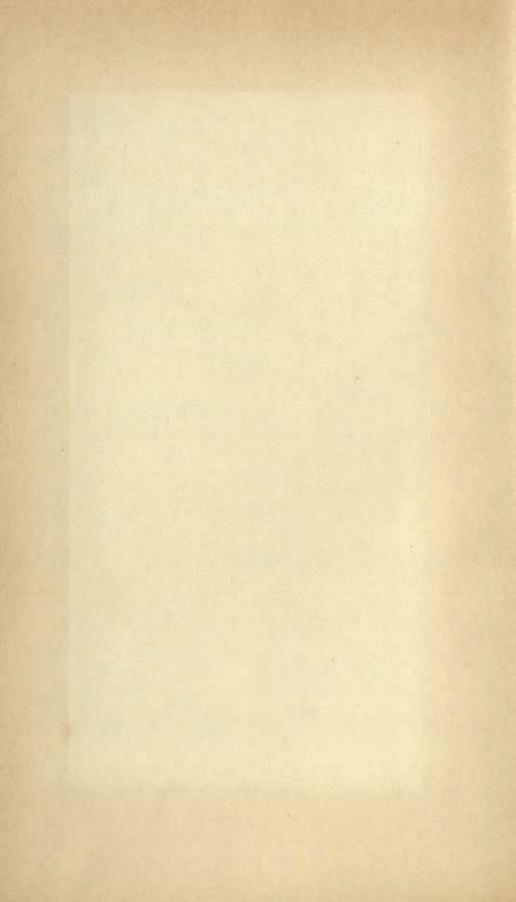




Plate VI KING DABSHALĪM AND THE SAGE BIDPĀĪ By ABU'L-HASAN





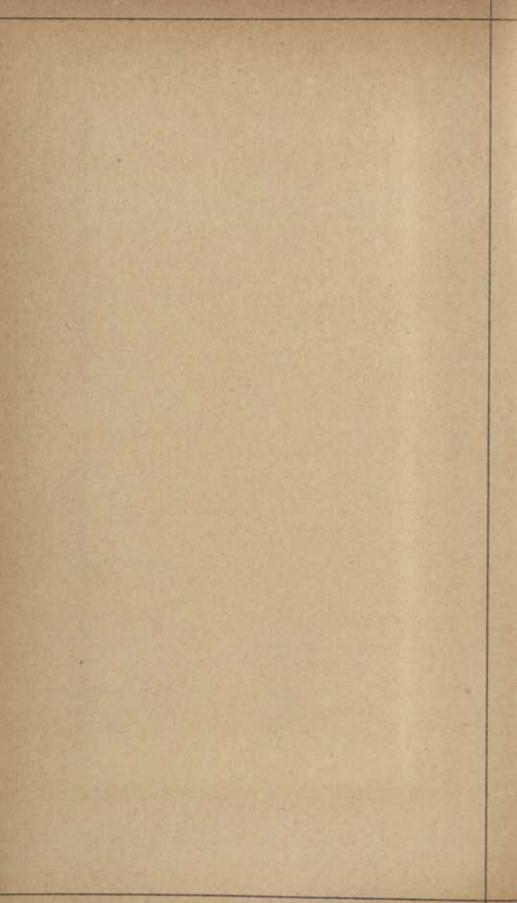
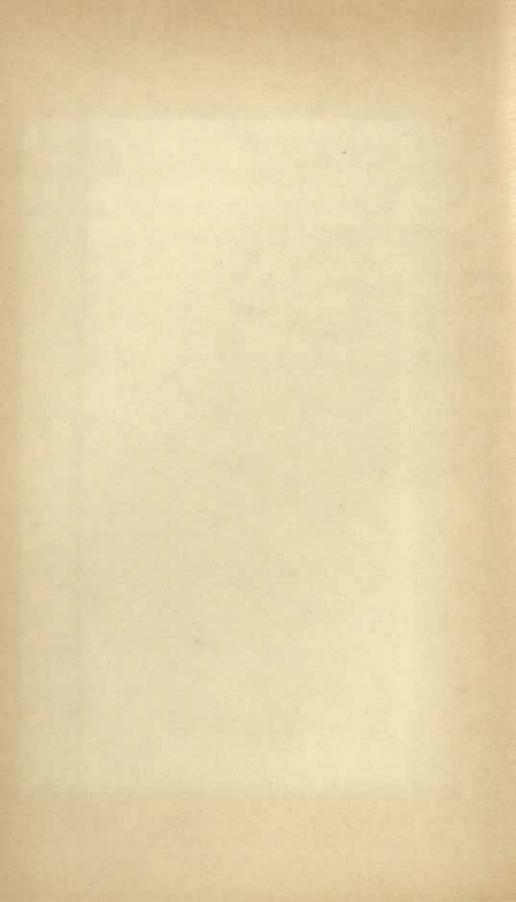


Plate VII
GHĀNIM AND THE STONE LION
By MUHAMMAD RIZĀ





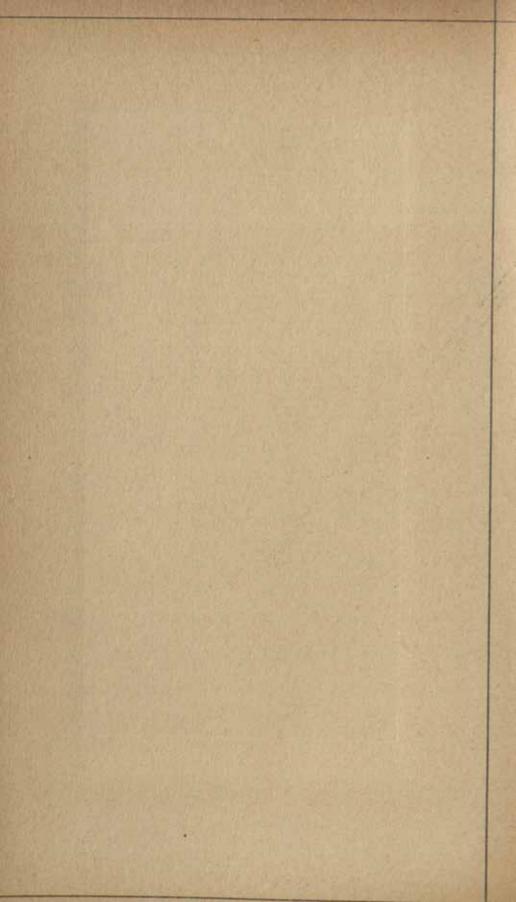
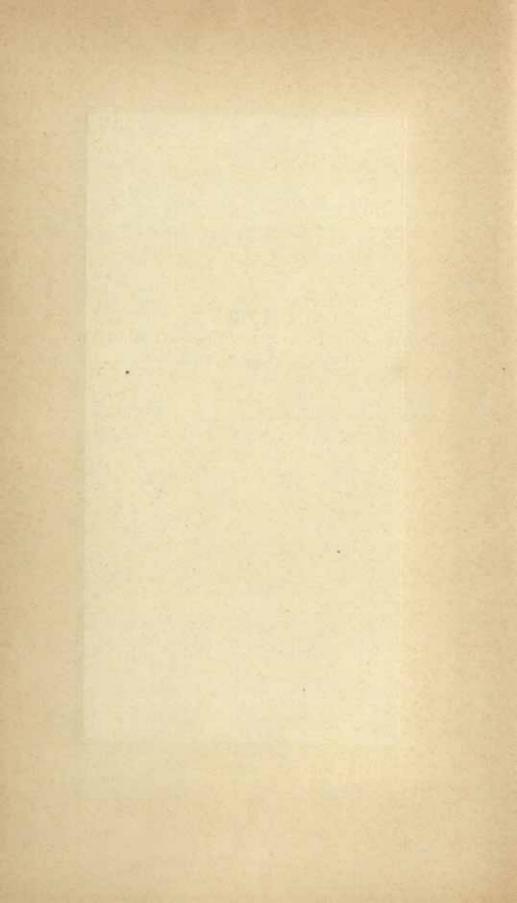


Plate VIII
THE FOX CRUSHED BETWEEN THE FIGHTING GOATS

By MIRZÄ GHULÄM (?)



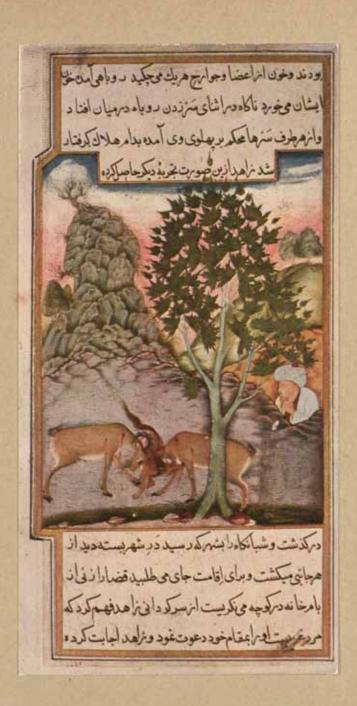
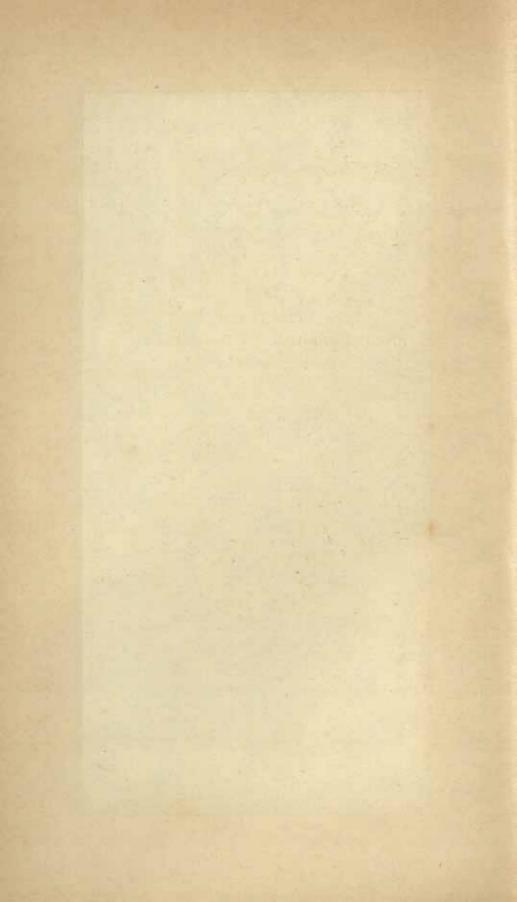




Plate IX
THE WOMAN KILLED BY THE SNEEZE
By mirzā ghulām





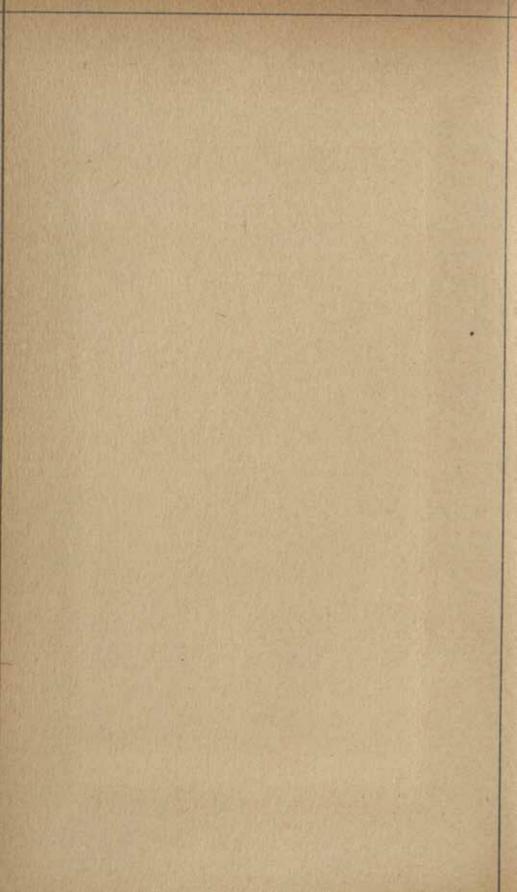
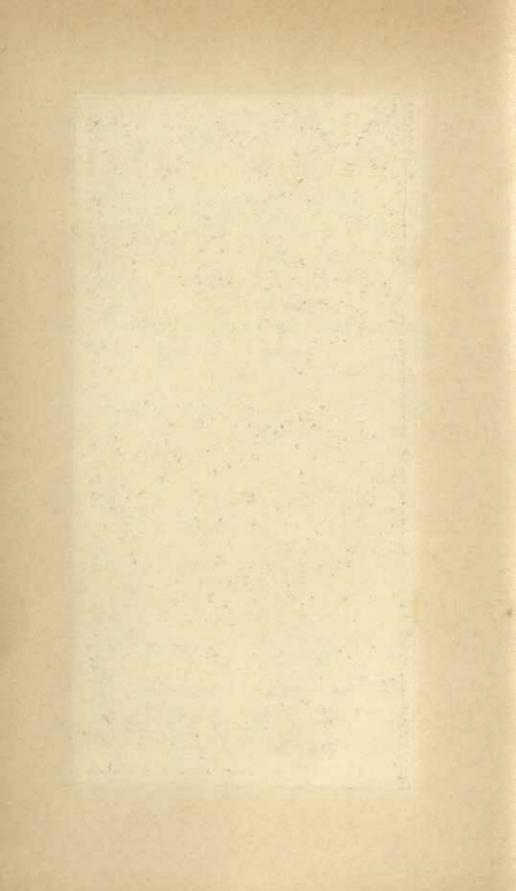


Plate X
.THE FEROCIOUS LION AND THE OTHER ANIMALS
By DURGA





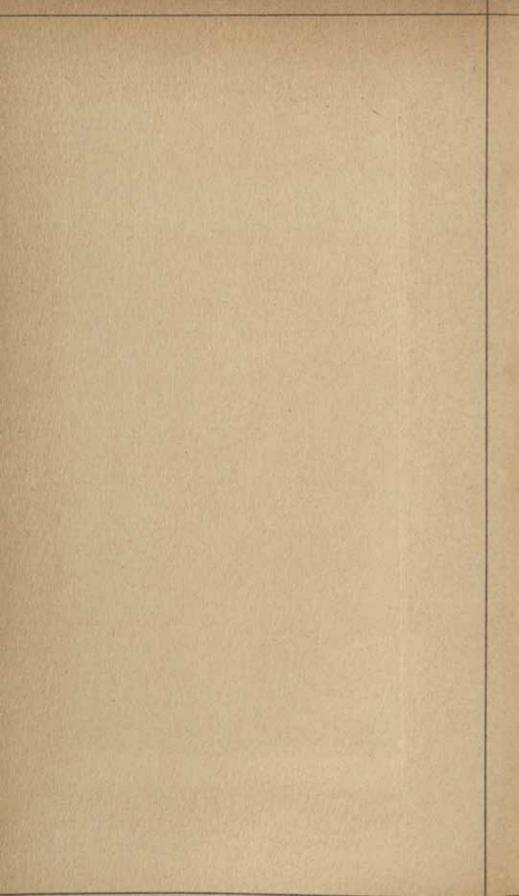
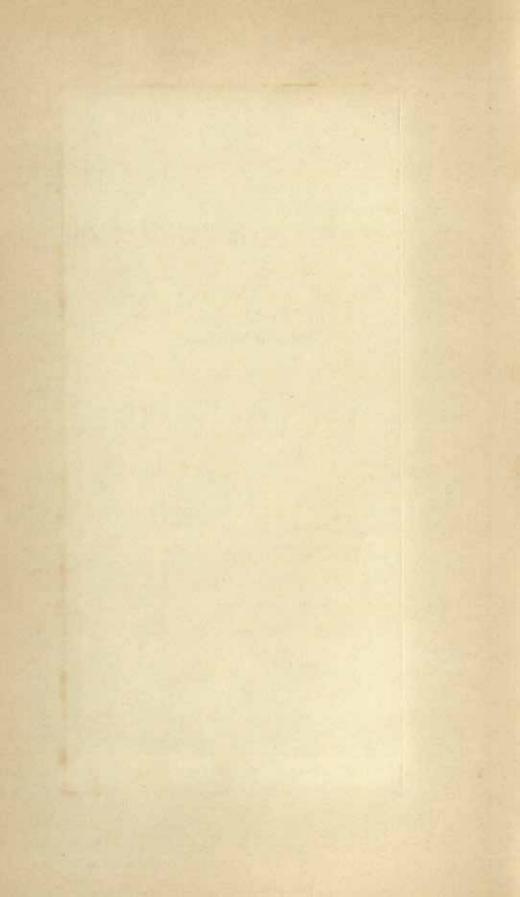


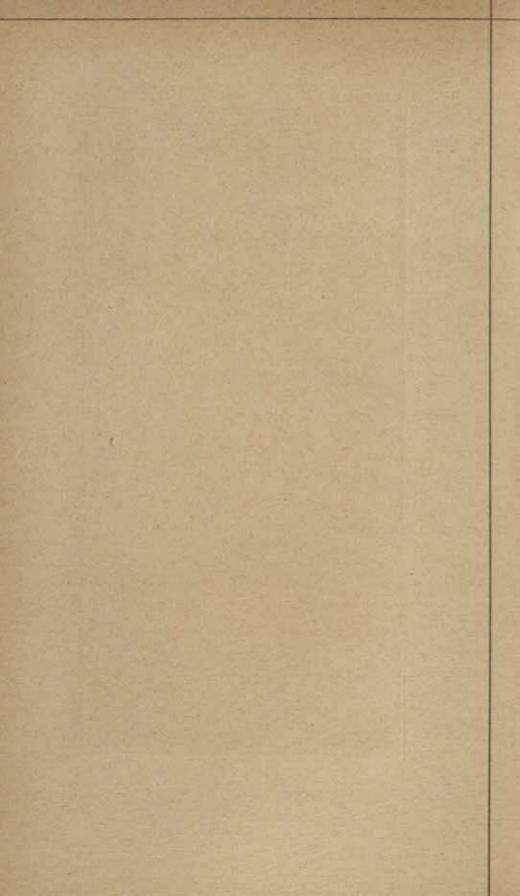
Plate XI DIMNAH AND THE OX



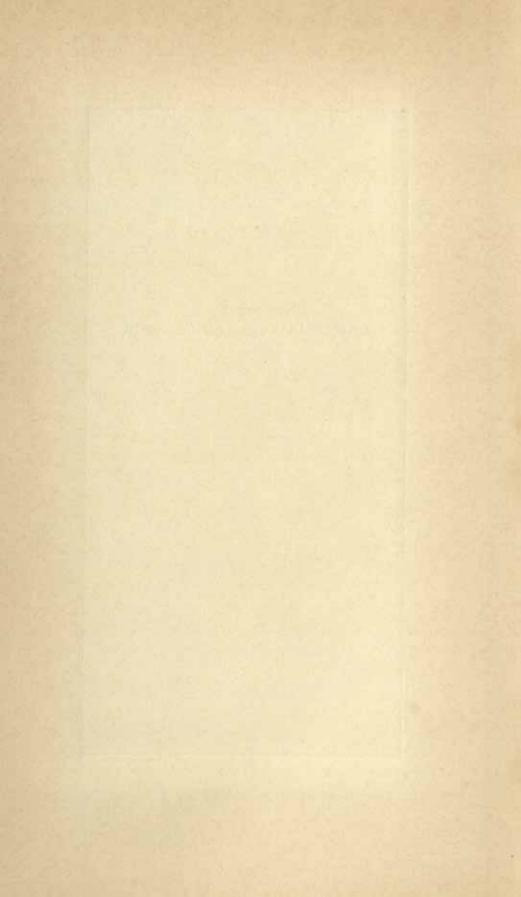
مد و من و انهكنون ضمير و انهخزون خاطراو چيزي معلوم كرد و بخر د ساغ شيرلجانه داد و دمنه چون اندوه زده مصيب ون بدنزديات شتربد رفت و شهر سلام و مخت بجاى و مه ستر بد تعظيم فراخو به حال غوده آغان تلطف و مَلْق كهد و كفت



اىدمنه ع يادميداركدانمات في آيدباد رونهاست تاديدهٔ دوستان بانوابهالخود دوشزنساخته وكلبه يارا بانهادنهالهصاحب وملاطفت كلشن نكردانيده بيت بعنرهاننسي ايددوستي كني كه ياد تونتواند كم يكنفسرنك



## Plate XII THE SIMURGH AND THE ARMY OF BIRDS





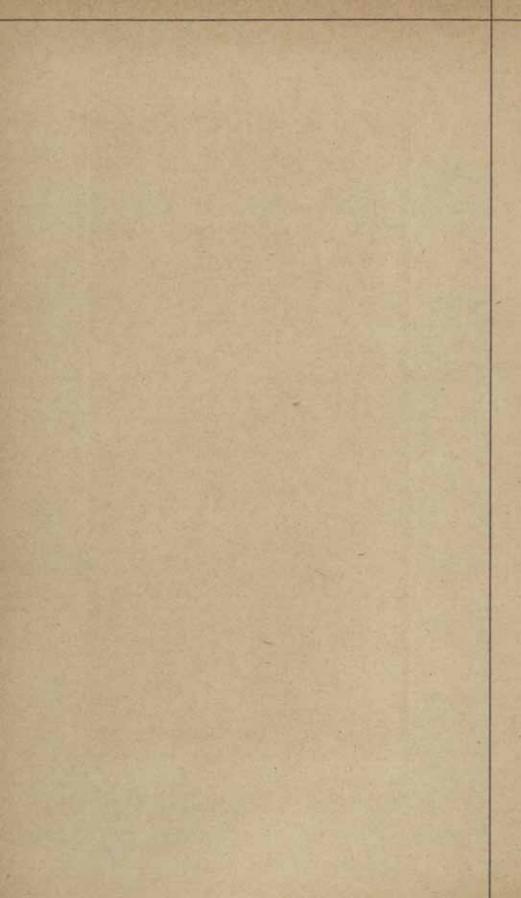
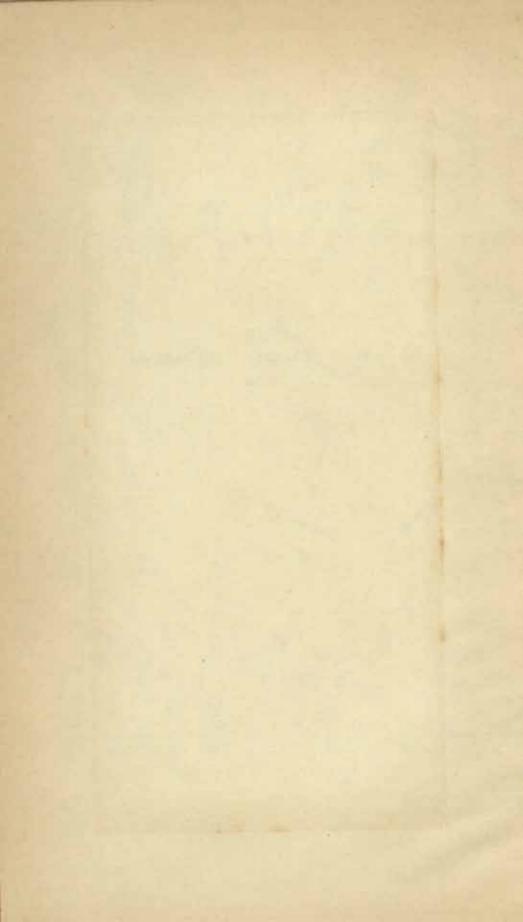
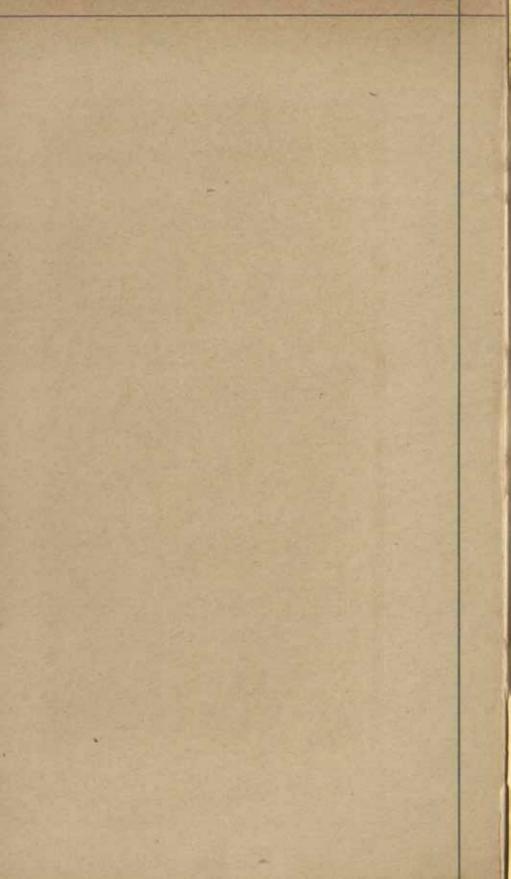


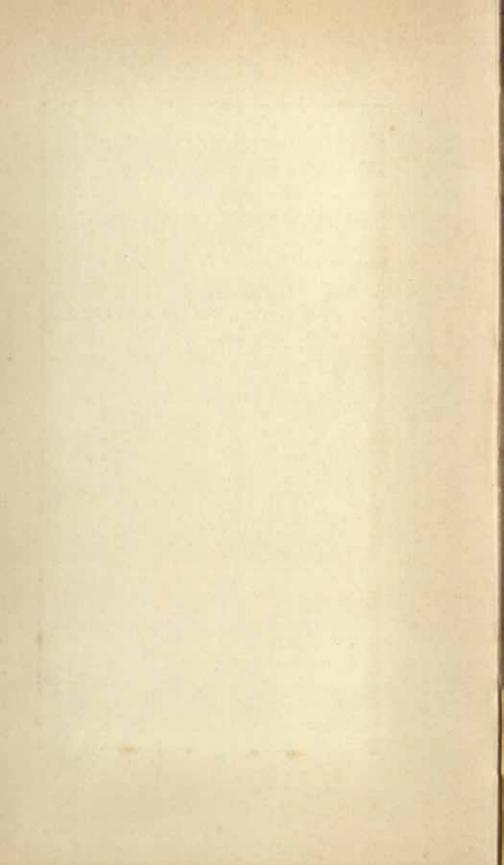
Plate XIII
THE QAZI AND THE DISHONEST PARTNER
By DURGA

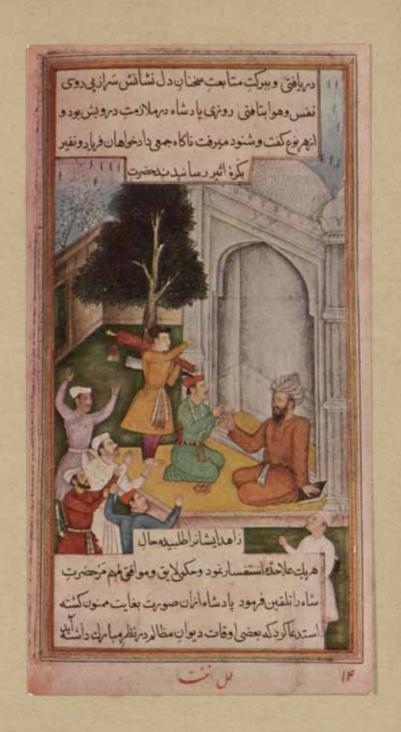


بظهوررسيد طريقمروت والمهركذاشته وبساط فتوك بكأدرنوشته التكابحيين صورت كددرشرع وعفضك ومخطوربود رواداشت ودمان شب تيره بأدلمكتهدي ميان درخت جاى كرفت على الصباح كدقاضي دوشن لي أفتاب برمحكمة فلك يدميادشد وخيانت شب سياءرك بوعلليان ون روز مروش كشت قاضي باكروسي زمعام ف سياً ويخت حاضرشدند وخلقي لهوه بنظاره



 $Plate ext{ XIV}$  THE KING, THE DEVOTEE AND THE PETITIONERS By anant





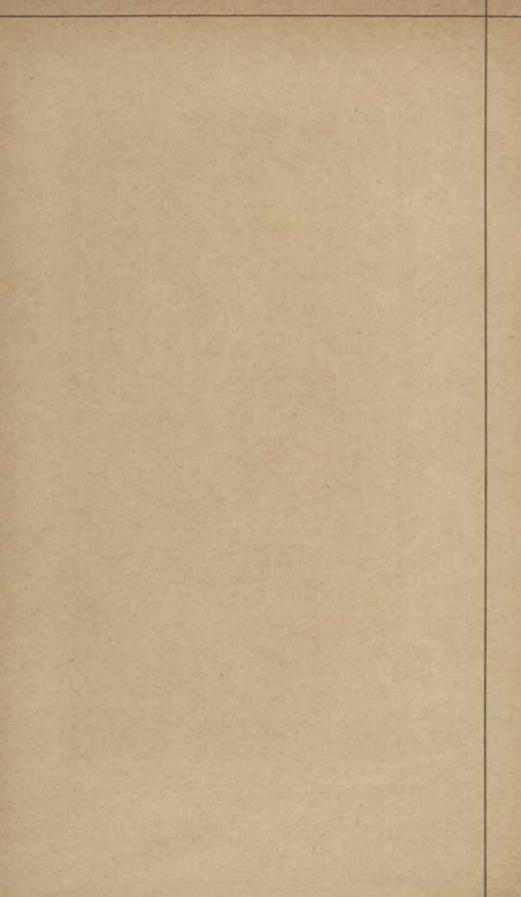
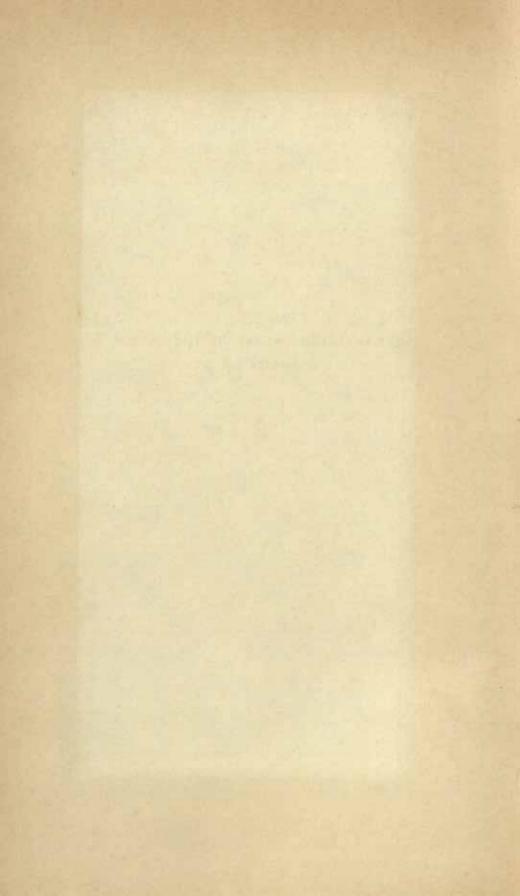


Plate XV

THE DARVISH DELIVERED BY THE SHAIKH

By HARIY $\bar{\lambda}$  (?)





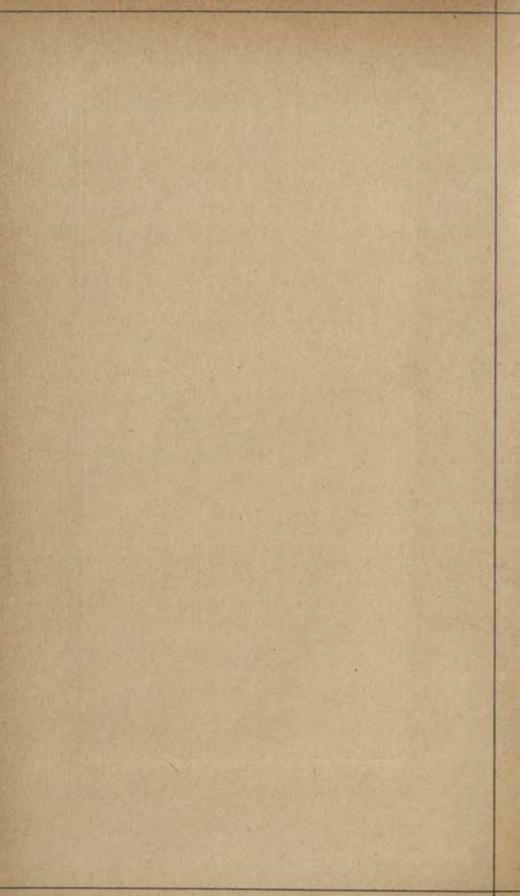
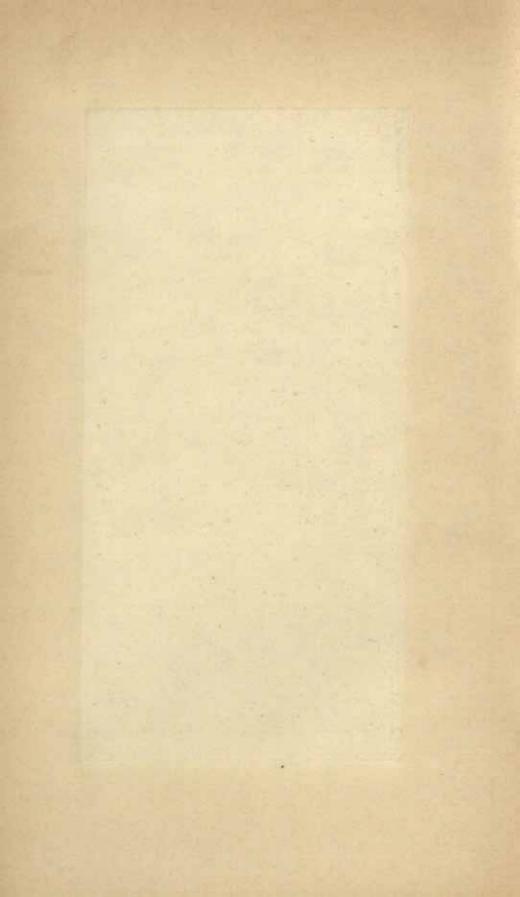


Plate XVI
THE ANIMALS IN COUNCIL
By USTAD HUSAIN



بابدنفساك مثابة بدى بانيكوك تكويحابدان كدون فانست كمبدكهن بجائ يلتعردان وهكه باوجود قدمت فاجرى انهده كذابد ياظالم لا مككادى غايد درضق وظل ايشان شريك وعيد من عان ظالمًا سلط المعليم ويعد عب بدمكن وياد مدان موسف وزبدكس خوش ل وخرم مشو شيو قضاة واالزام وادكه دمركذابه بكاد دمنه تعجيل فاليند وانخيات وديان اوهرون أيدكنه ويورسانند بسرقضاة واشهف ومعا واعيان وخواص وعوام دبرجع خاص وعفل عامحاضرست دند

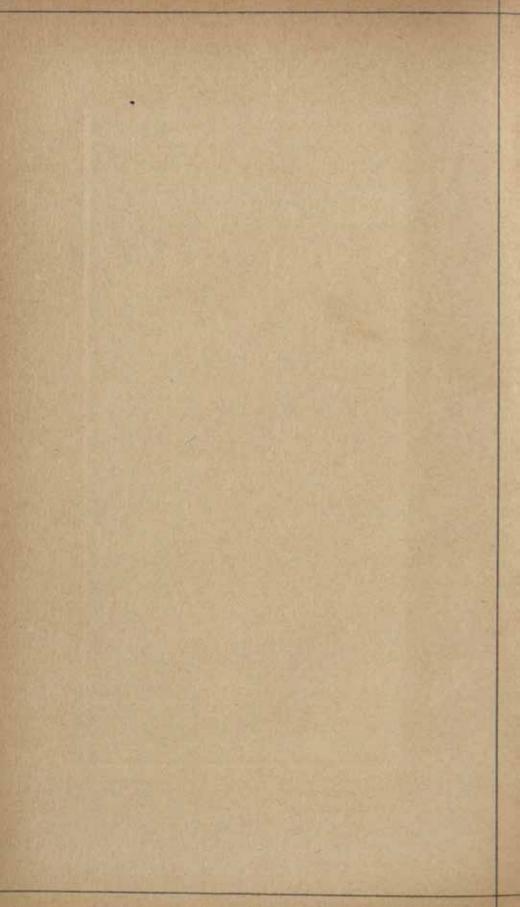
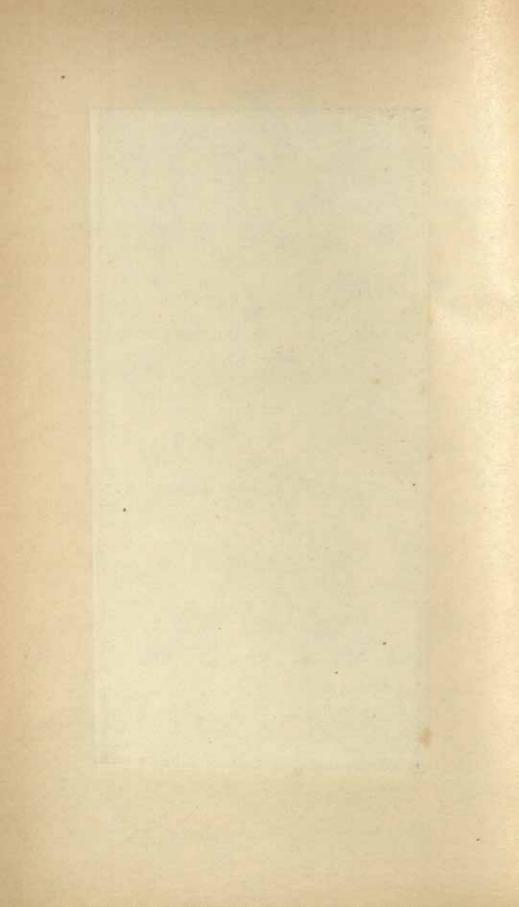


Plate XVII
THE CAMEL-RIDER, THE SNAKE AND THE BUFFALO
By ANANT





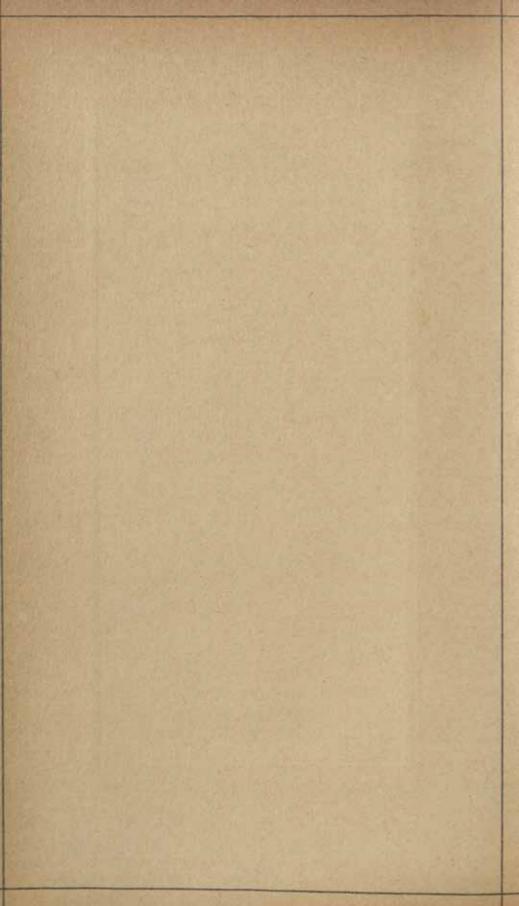
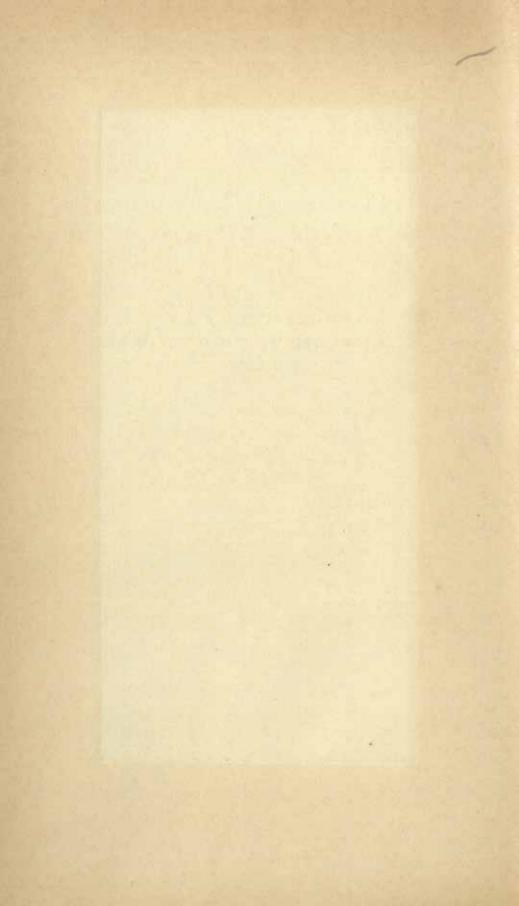


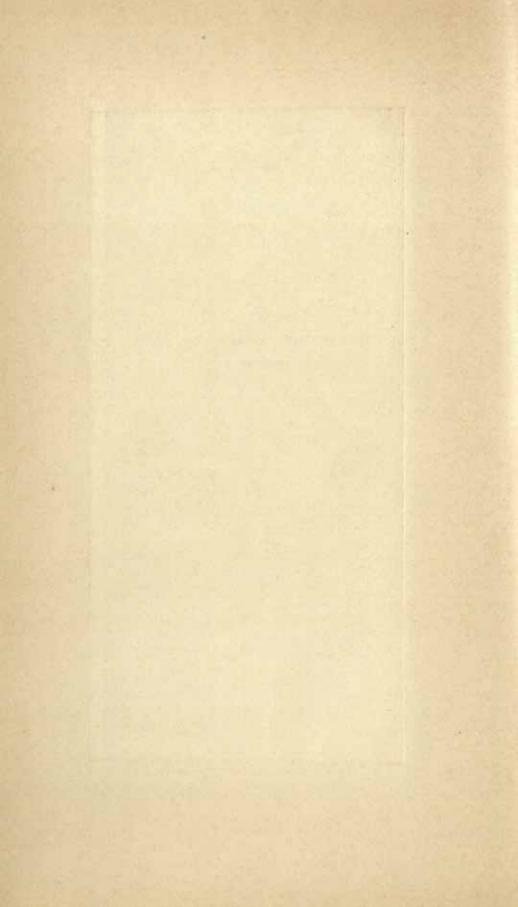
Plate XVIII
THE KING, HIS BELOVED AND THE YOUNG COURTIER
By ANANT

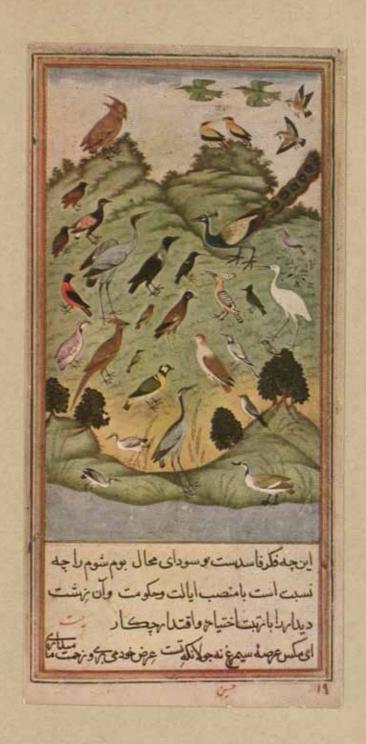


كمخط سنرش اندفض برلب آب حيات رسيده بود وسبزة خطشيون سنبل يهشت بكادج يباركوثردميده بسم بكود لعالما ودمين سنفخط جروالي آبعيات مهكاء سهكان آغانكردوآن جان يزيظيات عشق درافقاده برجريك الشانردفترصير رقعى وبصفية روزكار انزافرحات رمقى غاند يث هركه باعشق شناشد زحت جان بوتا درديروردمويت بادرمها فبتنا بوستهميان عاشق ومعشق بجثم وابروسوال وجواب بودى وباشابهت وكنايت كفت وشنيد غودى رونى بادشاه برمسندعشه نشسته بودودل دروصال حانفزاى مجبوب بسته وآن جوان جابغت بخدمت استاده واسا معاشه بهمه فوع آماده بادشاه درجال دلاراعار محكريست



Plate XIX
THE CROW IN THE ASSEMBLY OF BIRDS
By HUSAIN





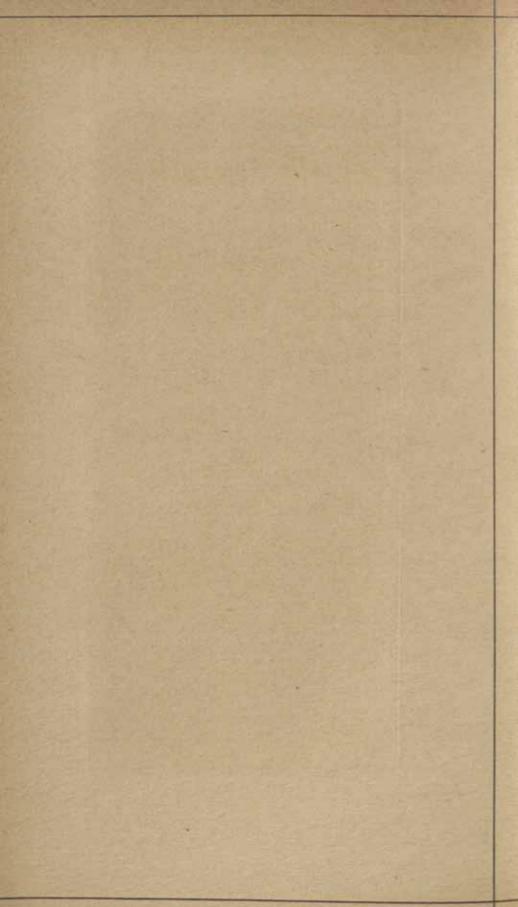
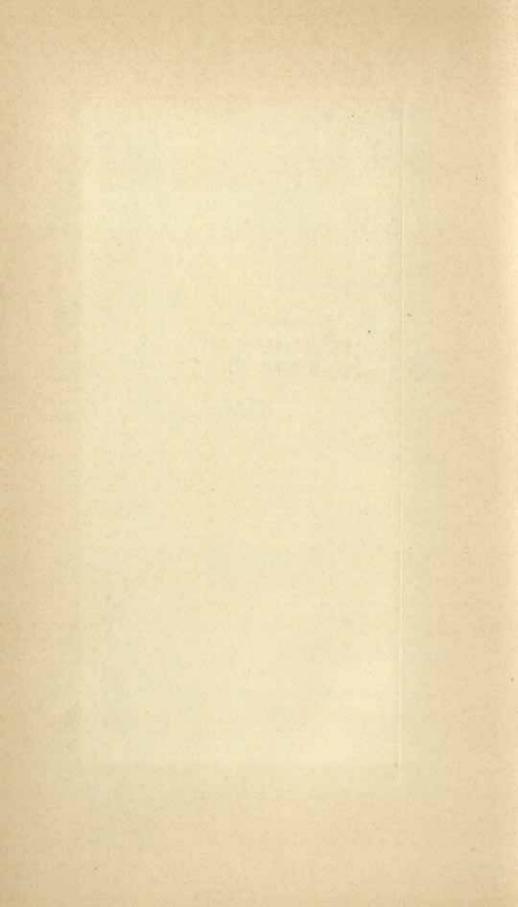


Plate XX
THE CAT'S TREACHERY
By HARIYĀ (?)

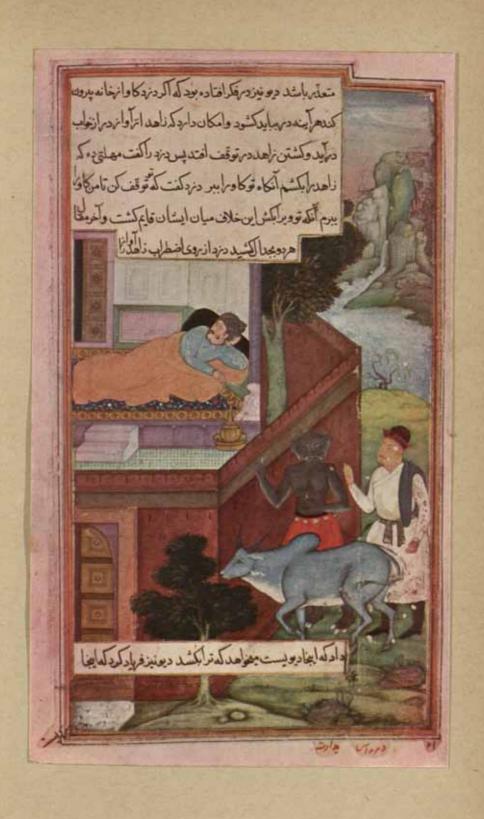






## Plate XXI THE THIEF, THE DEMON AND THE DEVOTEE By DHARM DAS AND PADARATH





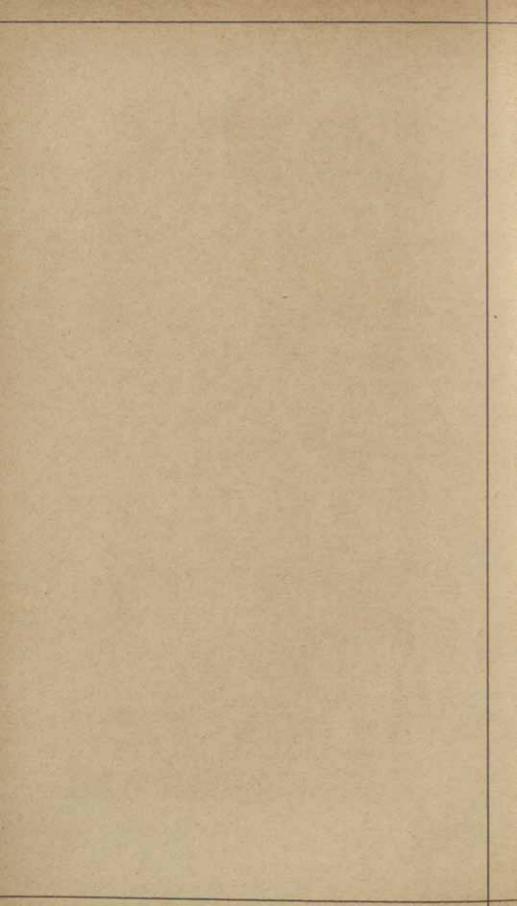
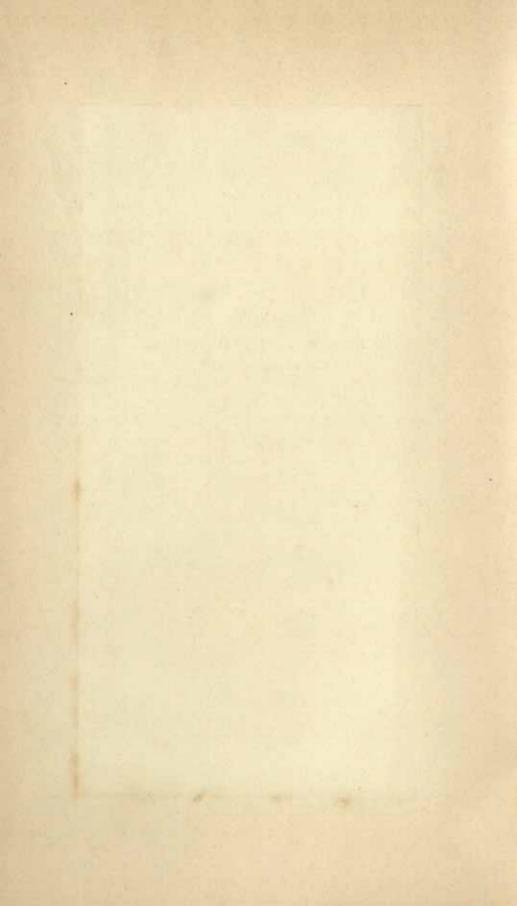
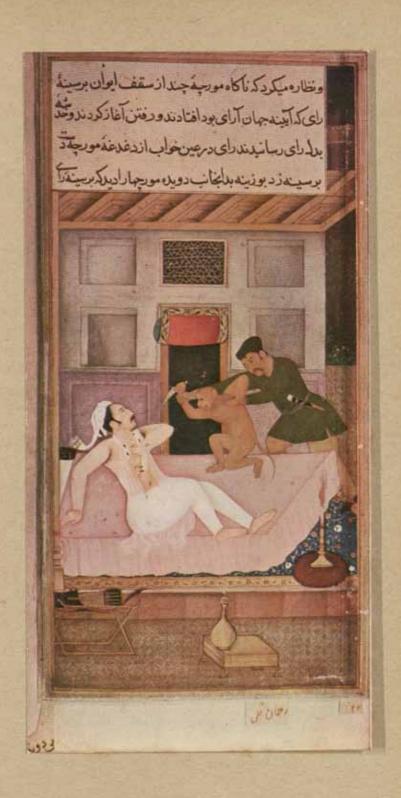


Plate XXII
THE KING, THE APE AND THE THIEF
By RAHMĀN QULĪ





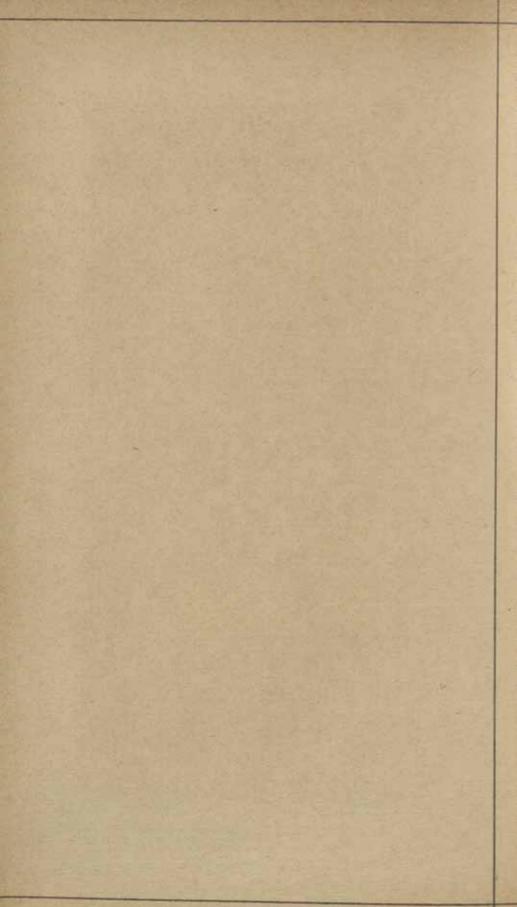
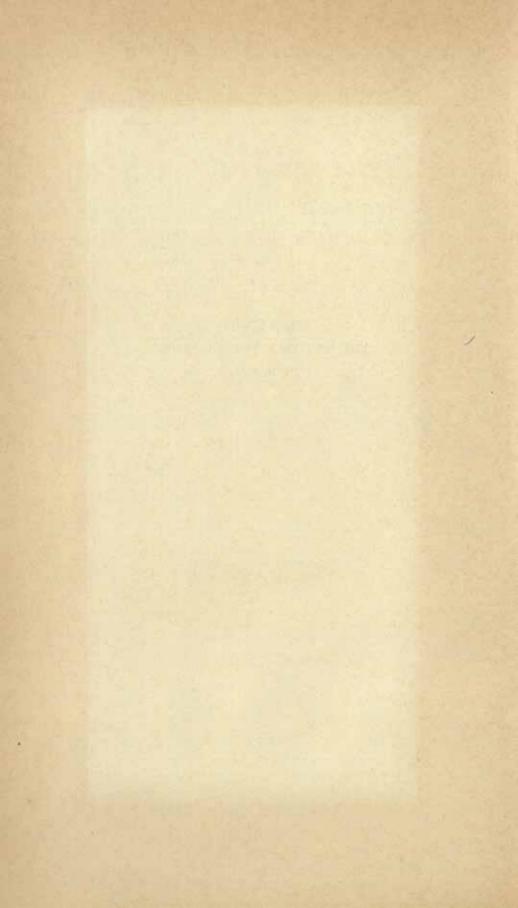


Plate XXIII
THE DEVOTEE AND HIS WIFE
By MOHAN



آن دعلى بيخودان خود ديكرست آن دعاز ونيست زان داومهت أن دعامق يكديجون اوفات مدعاوم اجابت ازخلاست بسادنا اميك أبواب عنايت بمغانع رحت كشاده شدوي ناهداملىديدآمد برشادى بسيارميكرد وميواستكه ممدويز فكرفرز ندتازه دامرد وجزنام اوبعدائراداي اوم دبريا بزانديك رون دُك راكفت اى مونس و يوري دونكاد واىيارغمكسار ذودباشد كهكوهرشاهوا دادصدف رحم توبساحل ظهوم آيد ويسرنيبارة

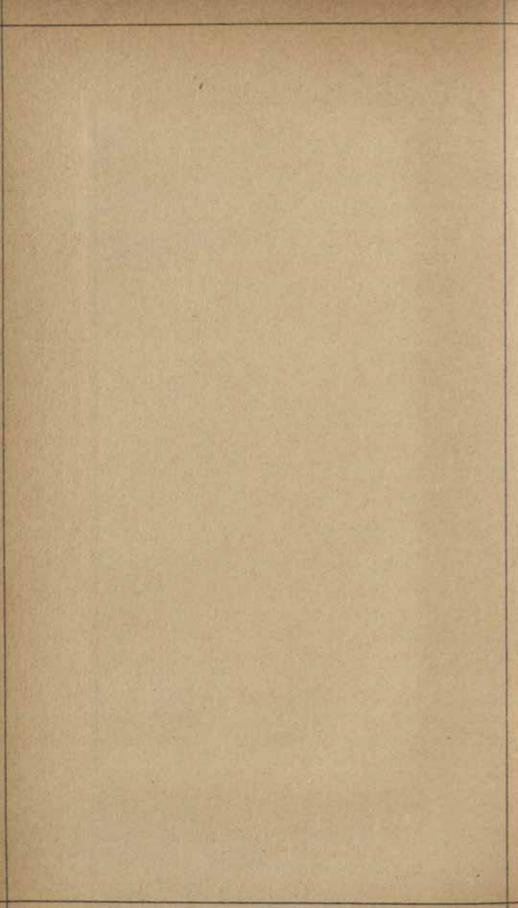
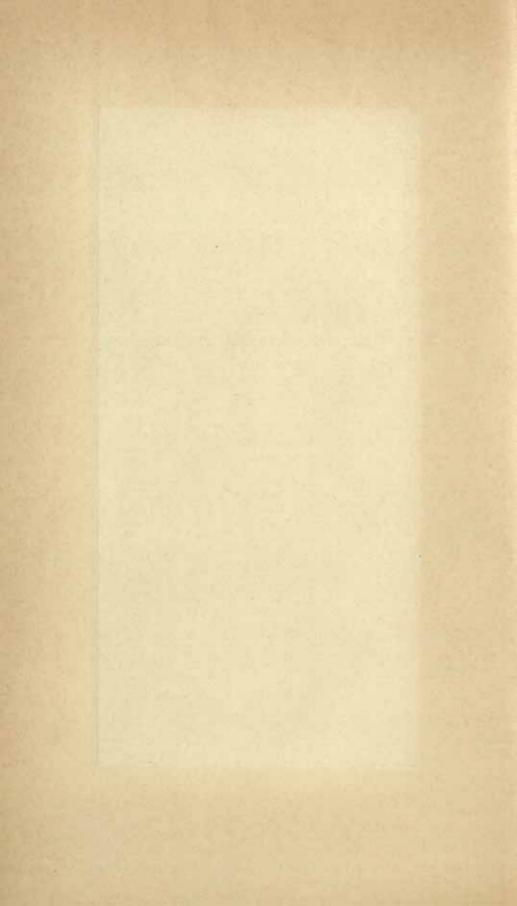


Plate XXIV
THE DEVOTEE, THE MONGOOSE AND THE SNAKE
By ANANT





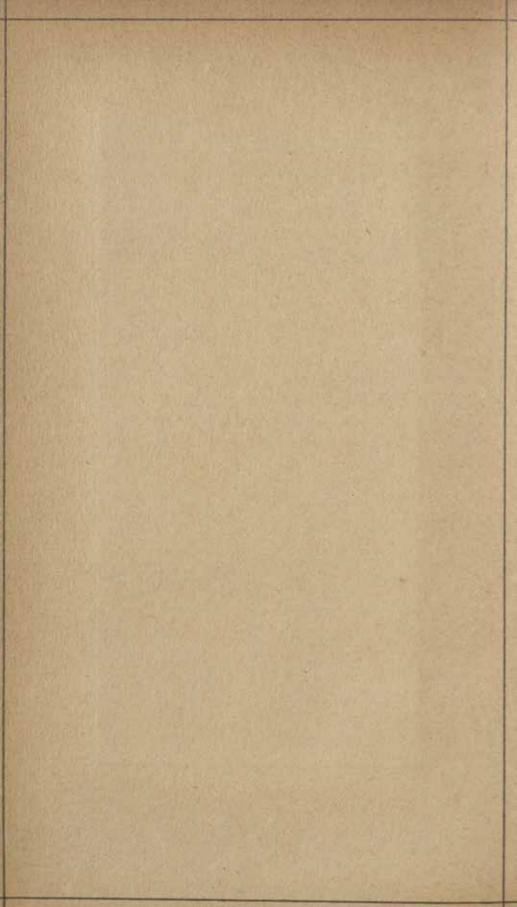
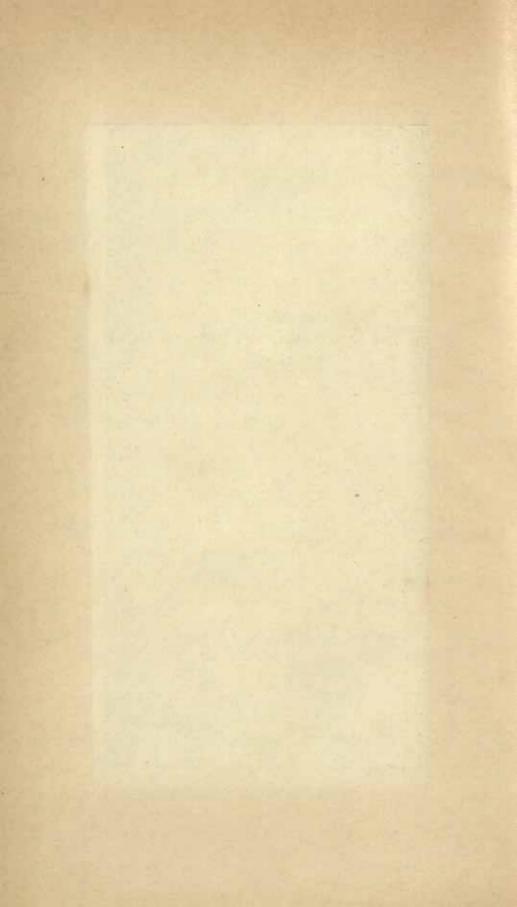
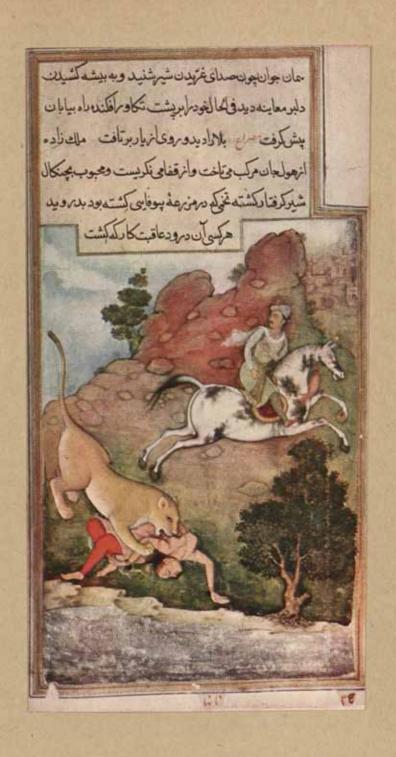


Plate XXV

THE LION, THE UNFAITHFUL WIFE AND THE PRINCE

By NÄNHÄ





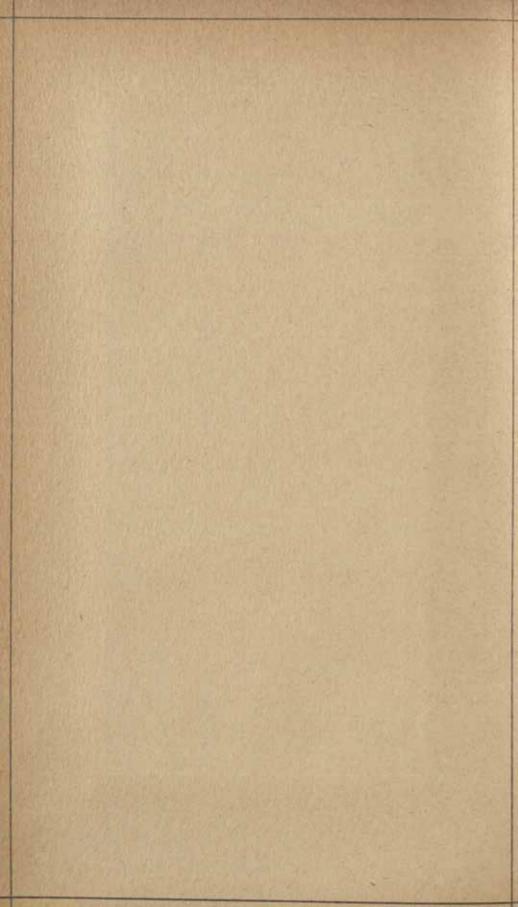
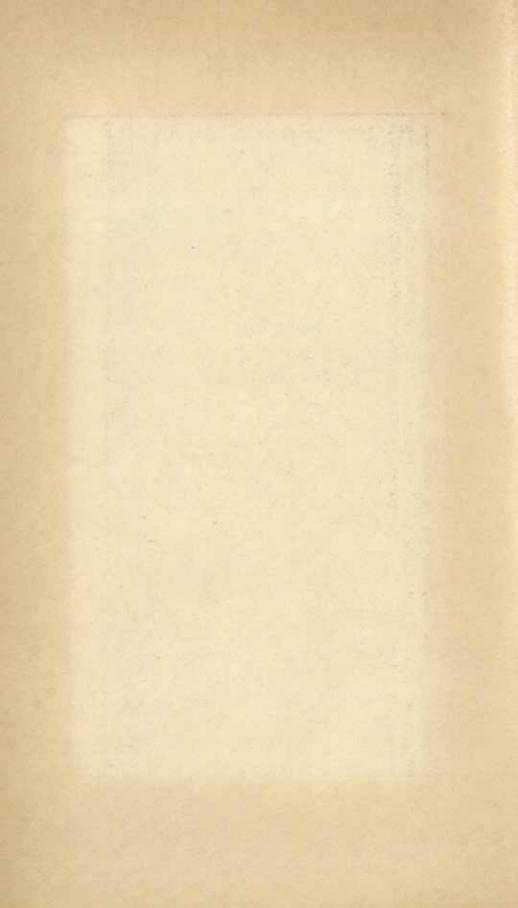


Plate XXVI

THE OLD WOMAN, THE SICK DAUGHTER AND THE COW

By DHARM DAS



تتوانت كاوبى طاقت شدو سجنان ديك ديهس ازمطيخ بأز وبدان سكل وهيأت انزين كوشه مبان كوشه ميرفت ميوزك دروقت بازآمدن كاو درخانه نبود وانهمتراين قضيه خبر نداشت جون بخانه درآمد وبدان هيبت چنهى ديد كدهك نديده بودكردخانه برمح آمد تصويكردكه عزدائيل ستكه بقبض دوح مهستي آمده نعره برداشت وبزايئ عام كفت نسنم ملتالوتسن ندمهافي تتكبيرالعالى كرتونواى كمانتك لندران خانداست تادا كرترامه اسى انديكا اينات او را بير مرا بكذار V1200

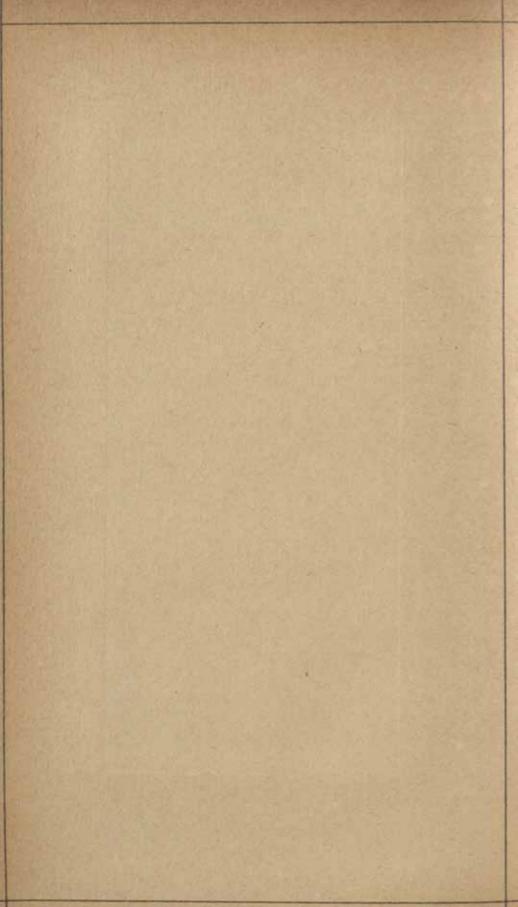
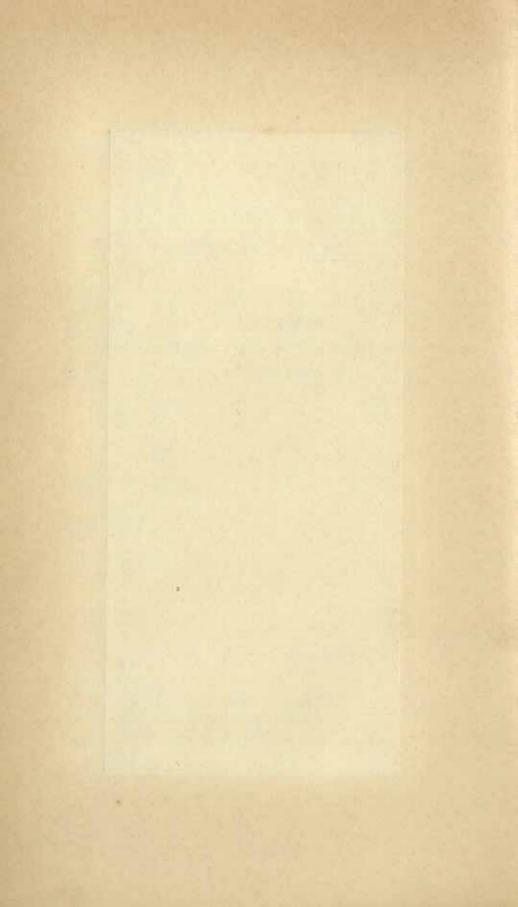
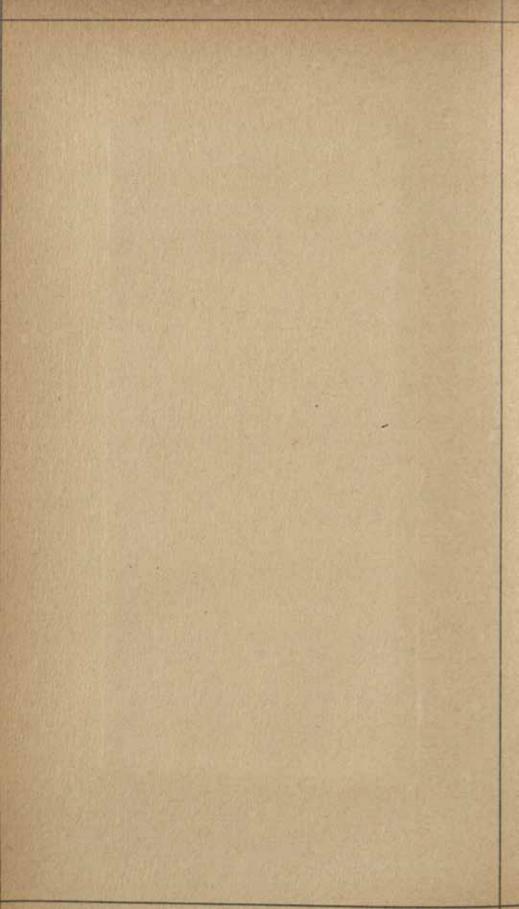


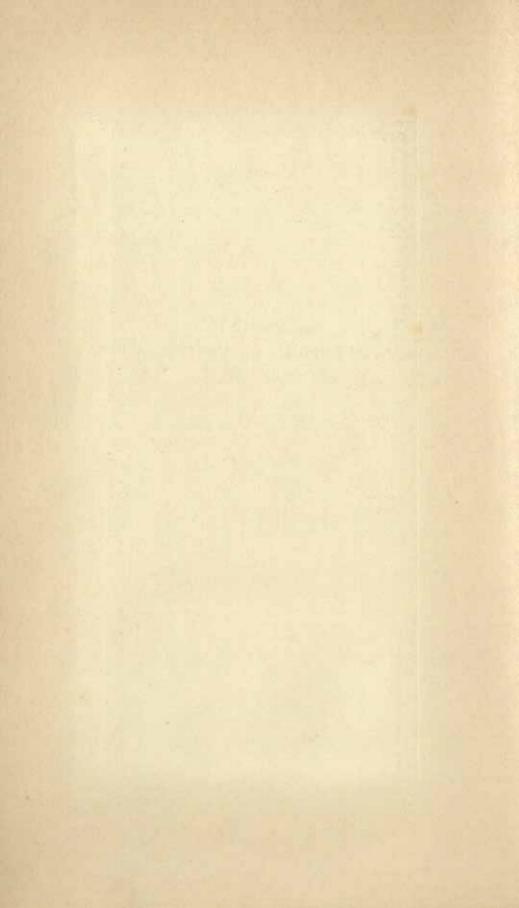
Plate XXVII
THE LION, THE PIOUS JACKAL AND THE OTHER ANIMALS
By MIRZĀ GHULĀM

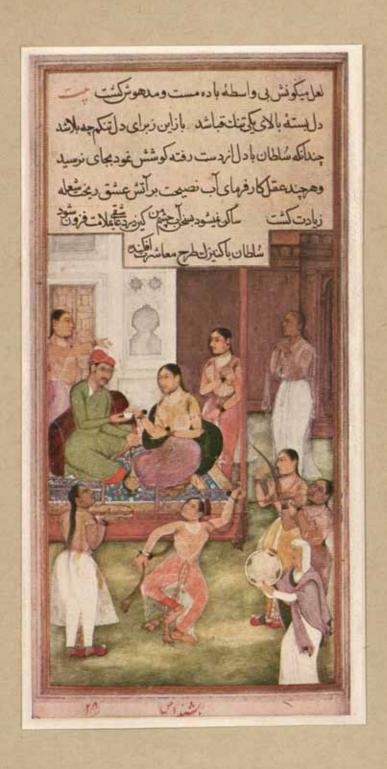






 $\begin{array}{c} \textit{Plate} \;\; \text{XXVIII} \\ \text{THE SULTAN OF BAGHDAD AND THE CHINESE GIRL} \\ \textit{By} \;\; \text{Bishan das} \end{array}$ 





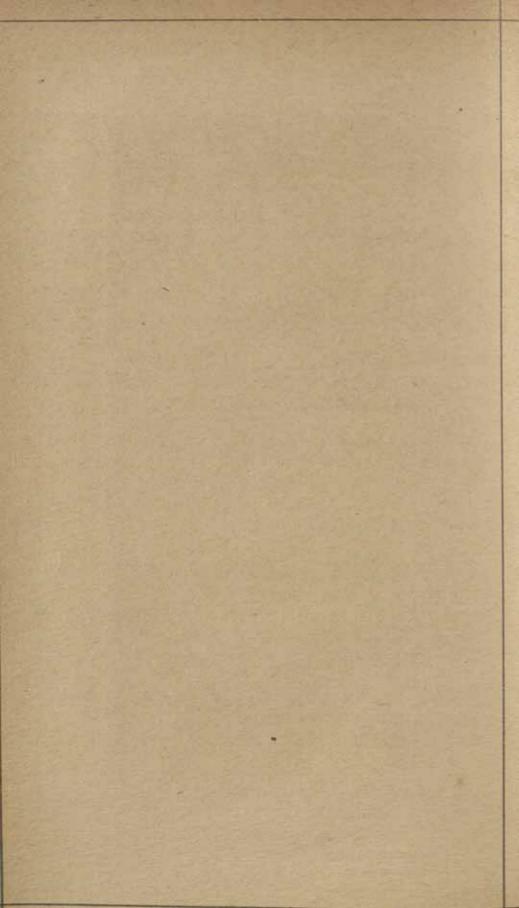
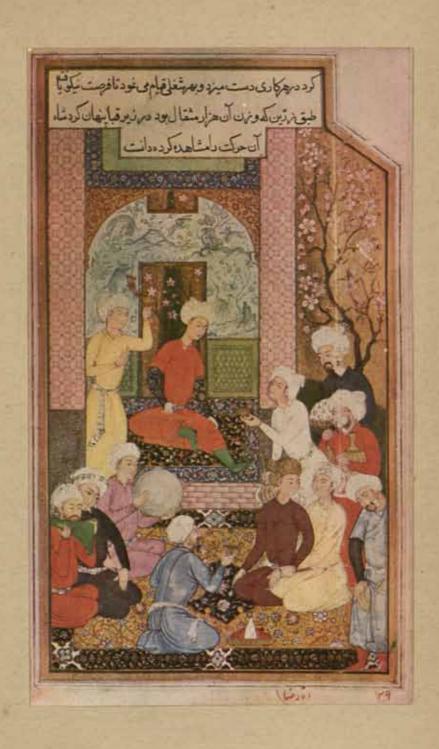


Plate XXIX THE FEAST OF THE KING OF YAMAN By  $\bar{A}Q\bar{A}$  RIZ $\bar{A}$ 





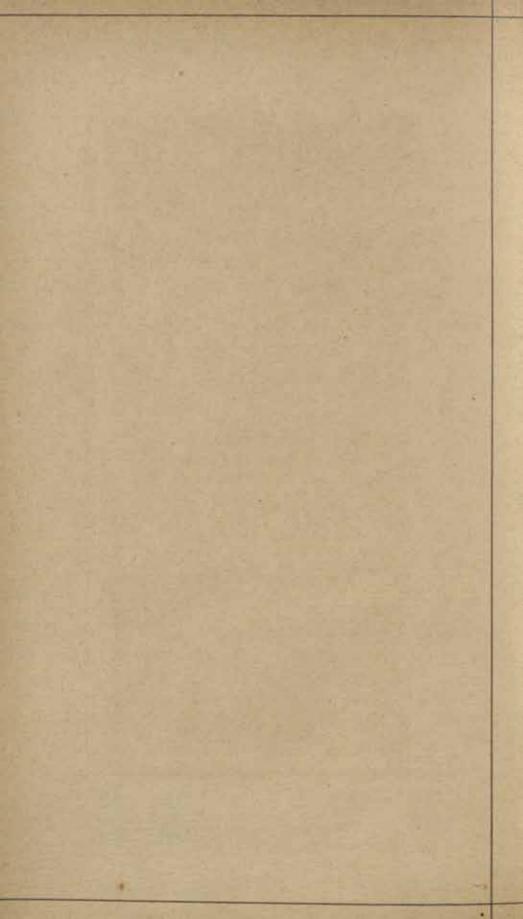
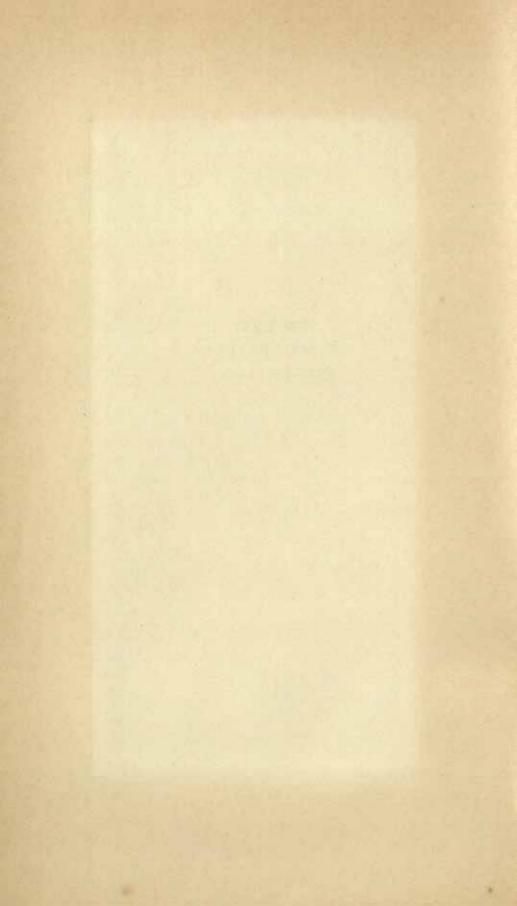


Plate XXX
THE RAVENING LION
By G(A)UHAR DĀS





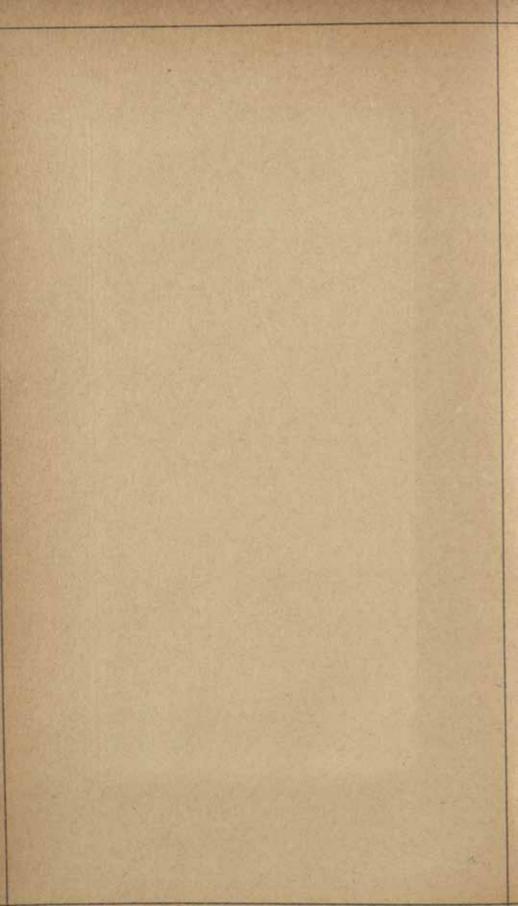
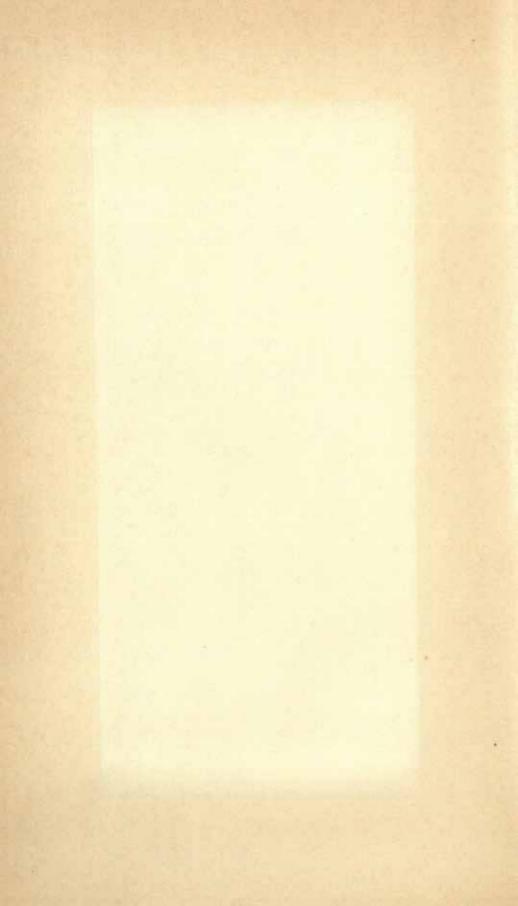


Plate XXXI
THE HORSEMAN AND THE DEAD HUNTER
By SALĪM QULĪ



طرفيب بيرون دفت بن فالتكفتانوشت أن قبضة و دمين كفت أفرين بادابران دست هنونهانك ازباى درنيامن بودكه صيادا زسبات دستى بوست انسرش ديكشيد وساسد سوامى بدان موضع رسيده بدان پوست پلنك كه بغايت منقش وتهكين بودطع دربست وصياد دماك باب مضايقه غودمهم عاصمه ومقاتله الخاميد ودم اثناى حرب وضرب مردسوار شفشيو أبدادكشيده برسرصياد تاخت وتابرخ وجنبيدن سرش بجعالنداخت

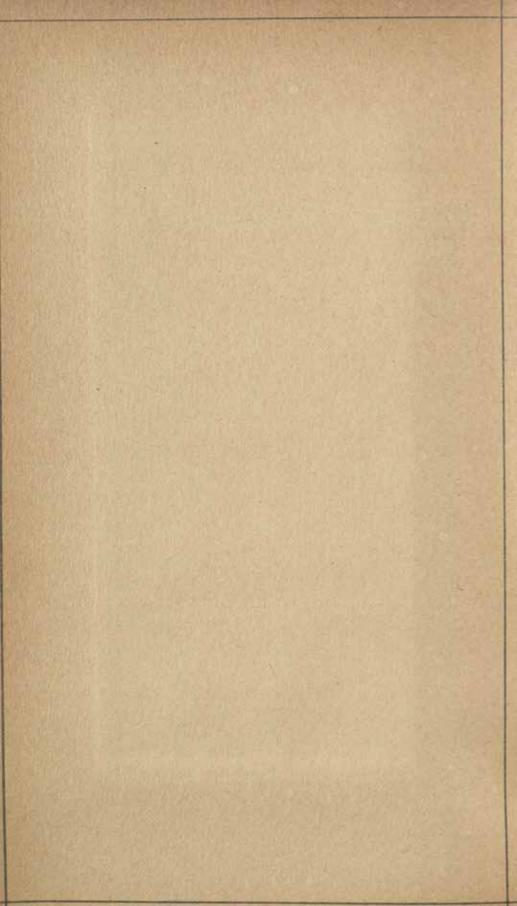
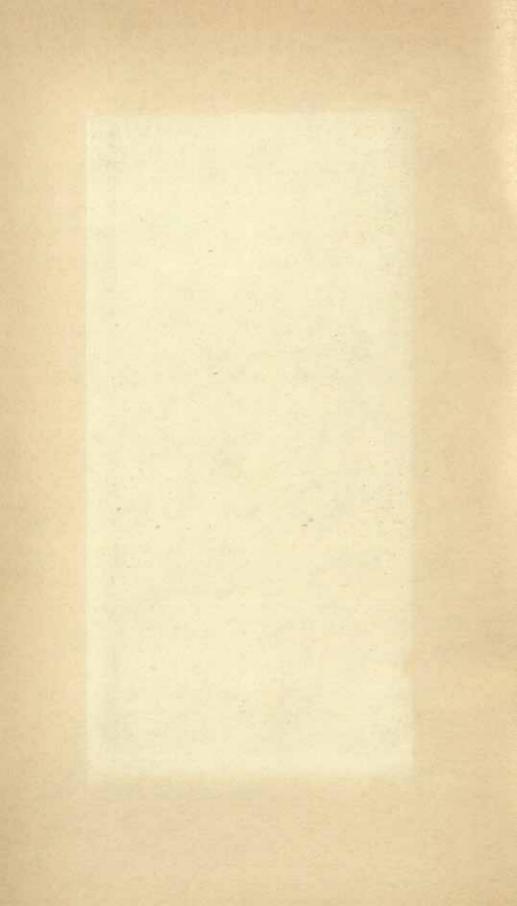


Plate XXXII
THE DEATH OF THE HORSEMAN
By 'ABD AL-SALĪM





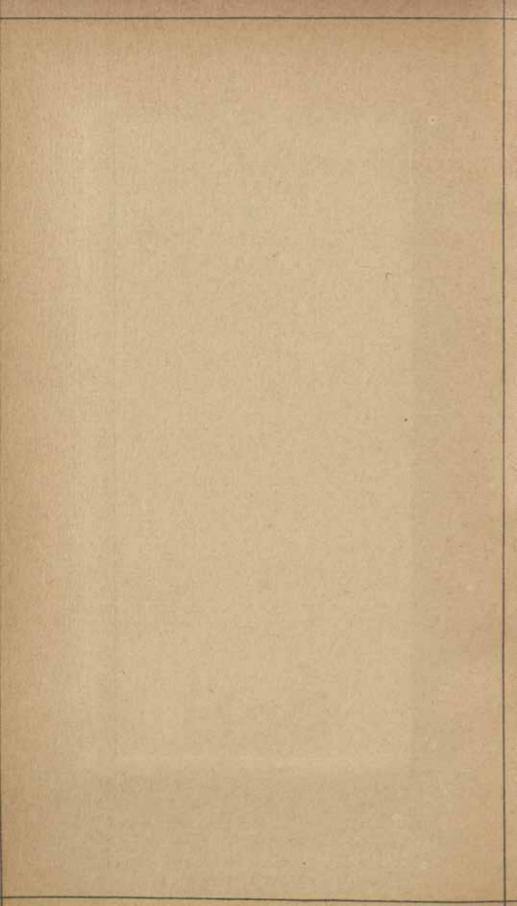
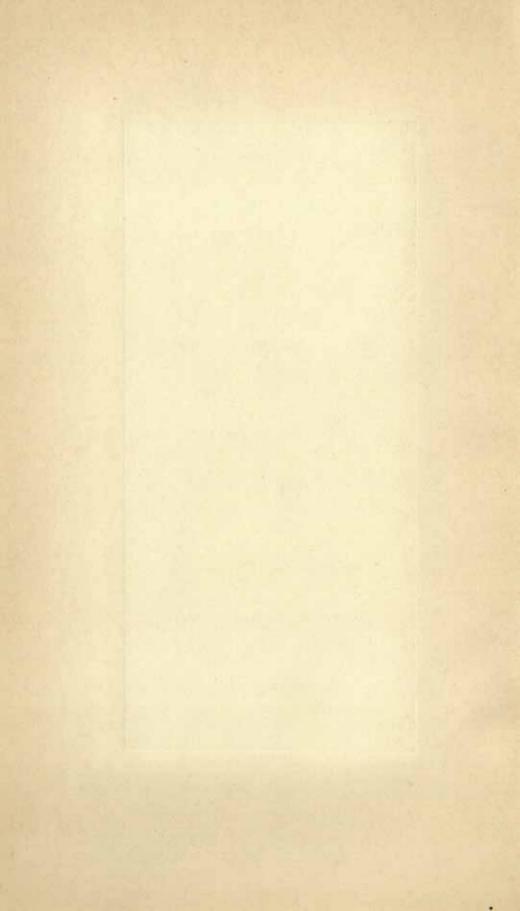
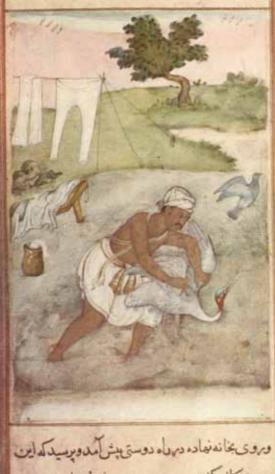


Plate XXXIII
THE WASHERMAN AND THE CRANE
By MADÛ



انزعقب اوفرود آمن بولب دود بيفتاد وبايش دركا عاندهم جهد ميكردكه بريرد بايش دم وحل غوطه بيشترى خورد وي والشبكل الوده ترى شد كانربامد واور ابكرفت



حبستكانيكنت . ابنڪلنجيت

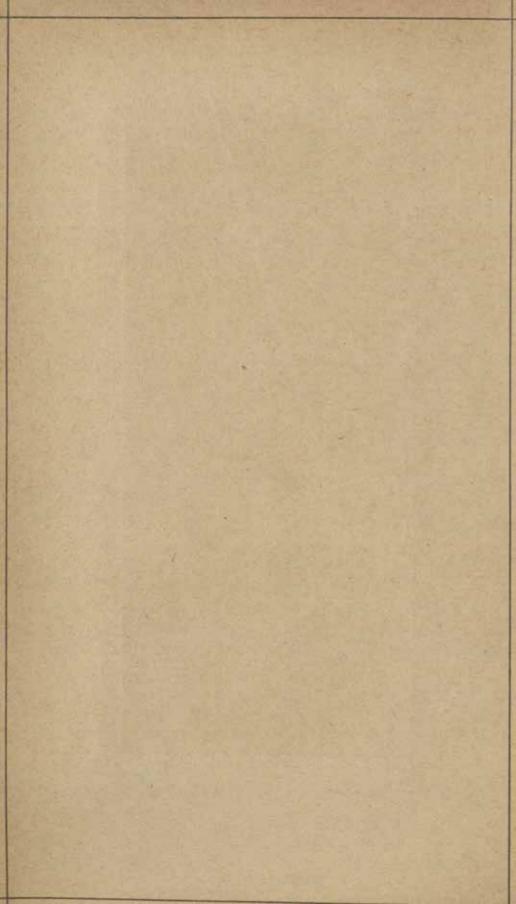
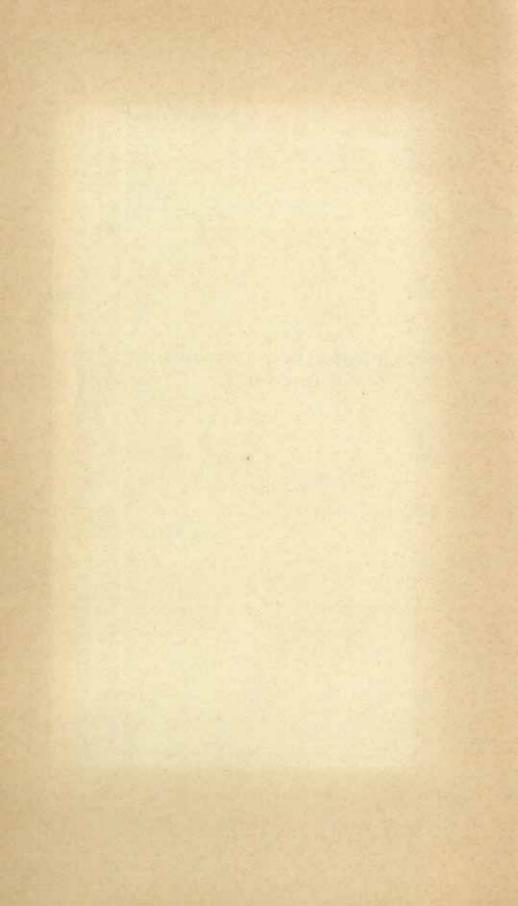
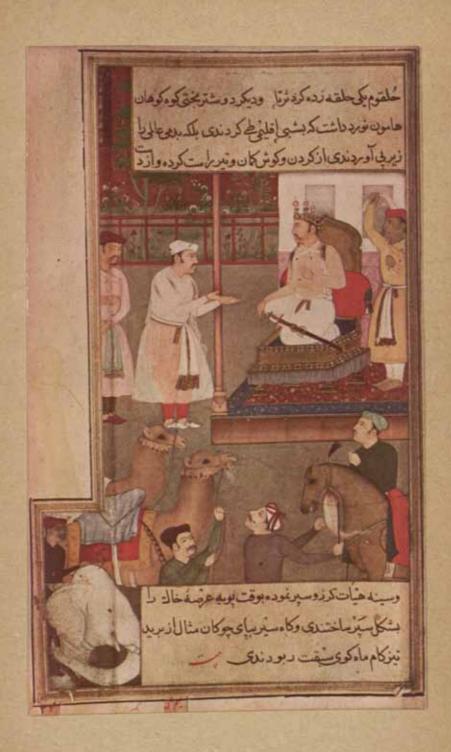


Plate XXXIV

THE KING OF HINDUSTAN AND HIS POSSESSIONS

By SALIM QULI





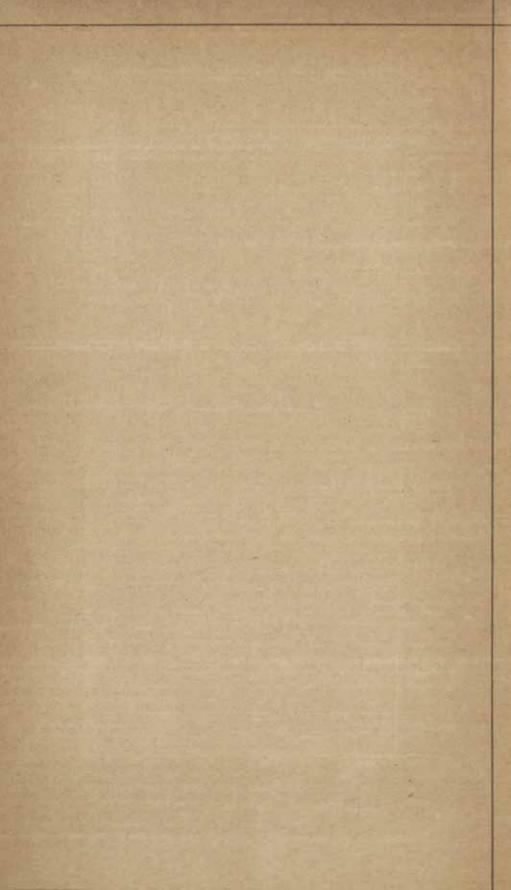
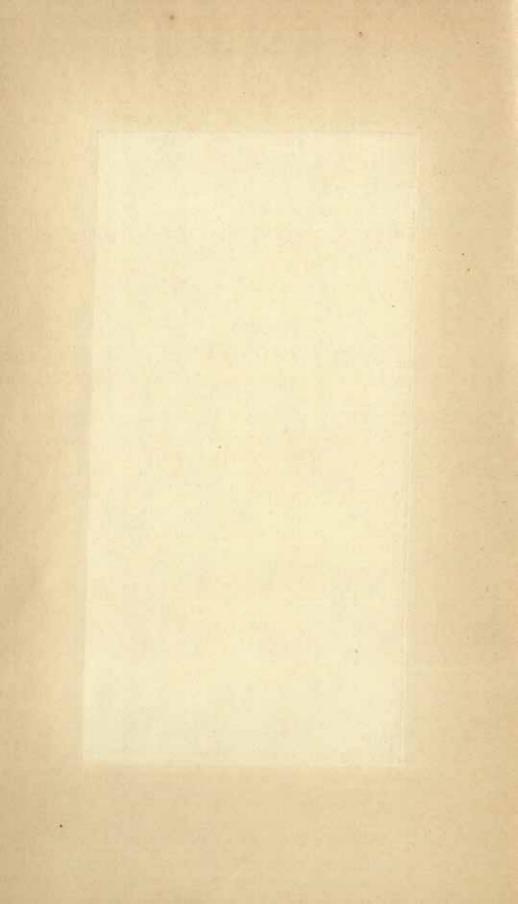


Plate XXXV SOLOMON AND HIS SUBJECTS





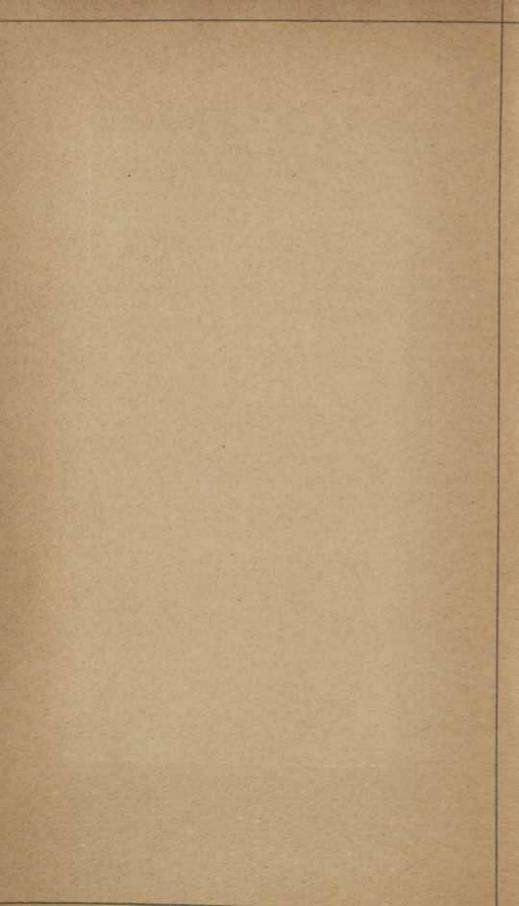
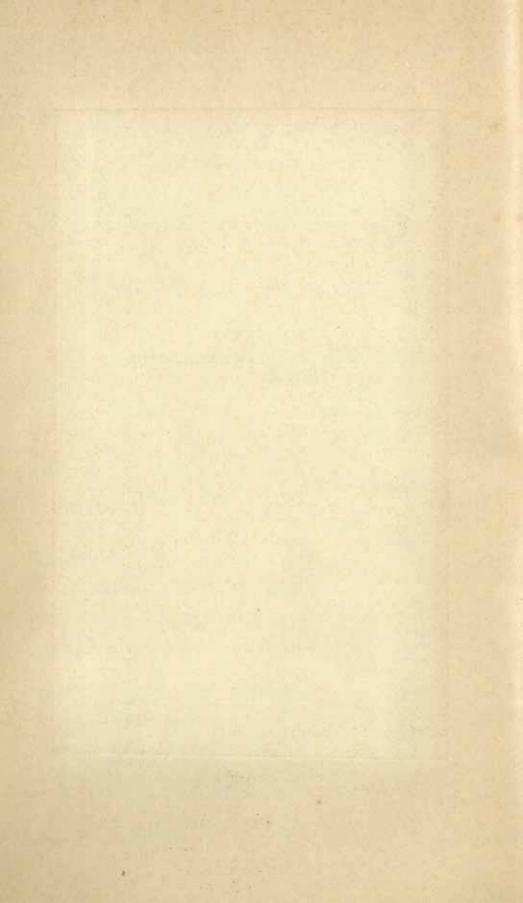
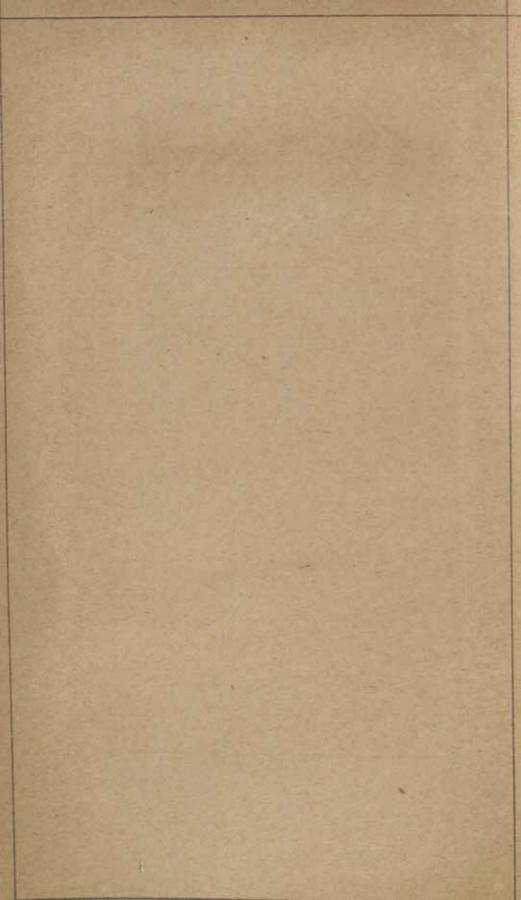


Plate XXXVI
THE PRINCE IN HIS FAVOURITE GARDEN
By MIRZÄ GHULÄM

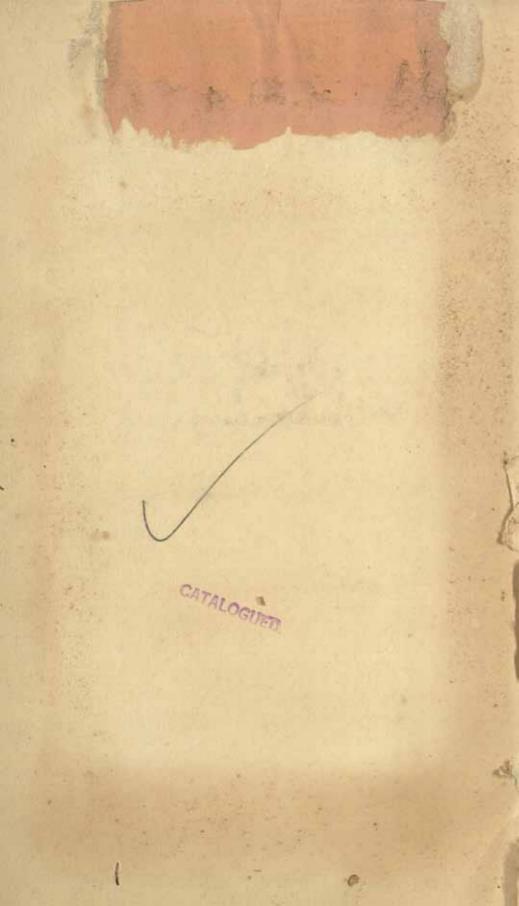












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