ANAIS DE HISTÓRIA DE ALÉM-MAR
Vol. XIII (2012)

ISSN 0874-9671 (impresso/print)
ISSN 2795-4455 (electrónico/online)

Homepage: https://revistas.rcaap.pt/aham

Identifying the artist of Codex Casanatense 1889

J. P. Losty

Como Citar | How to Cite
Losty, J. P. 2012. «Identifying the artist of *Codex Casanatense* 1889». *Anais de História de Além-Mar* XIII: 13-40. https://doi.org/10.57759/aham2012.37152.

Editor | Publisher
CHAM – Centro de Humanidades | CHAM – Centre for the Humanities
Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas
Universidade NOVA de Lisboa | Universidade dos Açores
Av.ª de Berna, 26-C | 1069-061 Lisboa, Portugal
http://www.cham.fcsh.unl.pt

ANAIS DE HISTÓRIA DE ALÉM-MAR, Vol. XIII, 2012, pp. 13-40

IDENTIFYING THE ARTIST OF *CODEX CASANATENSE* 1889*

by
J. P. Losty**

Although the artist of Codex Casanatense 1889 (henceforth the Codex) was long thought to be a Portuguese and hence identical with the writer of the inscriptions, in recent years, as more scholars of Indian painting have become acquainted with the Codex and its style, there has become a general consensus that the artist must have been Indian. Since the paintings lie so far outside the mainstream of discussions of sixteenth century Indian painting, this has yet to be demonstrated in print. This paper will contain, first, a general survey of Indian painting styles in the sixteenth century, and then concentrate on comparing specific examples of paintings from the Codex with elements from these various styles. It will thereby be demonstrated that the artist was of Indian origin.

Georg Schurhammer in his fundamental article on the Codex was in no doubt that the artist and the writer of the captions in Portuguese must have been identical and that therefore the painter must have been Portuguese.[1] It was no doubt his deserved reputation as a great scholar that made other scholars hesitate to put forward "heterodox" opinions, although in 1989 José Manuel Garcia appears to have been one of the first to argue, albeit briefly, that the painter was Indian and – he believed – Hindu.[2] Robert Barchiesi in

* The author wishes to express his thanks to Ernst van den Boogaart for his bibliographical guidance on earlier work on the Codex and on early sixteenth century European prints of the East.

** British Library.

[1] G. Schurhammer, "Desenhos orientais do tempo de S. Francisco Xavier", in his *Gesammelte Studien*, Vol. II ("Orientalia"), Lisboa, 1963, pp. 111-118. Originally in *Garcia de Orta. Revista da Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações do Ultramar*, special number 1956, pp. 247-256.

[2] J. M. Garcia, "O Encontro das Religiões no Códice 1889 da Biblioteca Casanatense", in his *Ao Encontro dos Descobrimentos. Temas de História da Expansão*, Lisboa, 1994, pp. 85-92. Originally a contribution to a symposium in 1989, published in *O Sagrado e as Culturas*, Lisboa, Fundação Gulbenkian, 1992, pp. 105-117.

1994 and Luís de Matos in 1985 did not publicly disagree with Schurhammer, while Maria Camacho in 1997 still subscribed to the view that the painter was Portuguese.[3] The first scholar to argue at some length that the artist was an Indian painter was Maria Manuela Mota in 2001, who advanced points of technique and style as the basis for this opinion.[4] Neither of those scholars arguing in favour of an Indian artist has cited specific illustrated manuscripts or wall paintings from the period with which the paintings could be compared.

That there were such painters in Goa in the first half of the sixteenth century is not in doubt, nor that they were exposed to European painting through their copying of scenes from Christian iconography – there are various contemporary references to scenes of the Passion of Christ and pictures of Our Lord, Our Lady and other saints being painted by *"pintores gentios"*, i.e. Indian specifically Hindu artists. Indeed they were actually forbidden to paint such religious images in an edict of 1567.[5] A little later in the century, it was through the copying of such images in the engravings imported into the Mughal court that Mughal artists learned specific European techniques relating to modelling, shading, and spatial recession, which they then incorporated into their own paintings. The artist of the Codex has not studied his models in any great depth or attempted to imitate the complex compositions of Renaissance prints, but has picked up just enough technique to give a Europeanised tinge to his own indigenous style. Thus the careful layering and burnishing of brightly coloured pigments and attention to detail in the indigenous styles has been replaced with washes of mostly sombre colours laid on with a broad brush and of course there is none of the gilding which adds sparkle to any Indian painting. The heavy outlining too in the Codex is something that is found only in the less sophisticated Indian manuscripts. With regard to his compositional sources, there would already have been many Christian images in Goa's churches and mansions, but these were often versions of the venerated but antique icons in the great churches of Rome and would be of no help in composing contemporary compositions.[6] His compositions in couples, male and female types, and his concentration on customs echo those in the prints in the costume and custom books that were only just beginning to appear in Europe. This subject is too complex

---

[3] R. Barchiesi, "L'Oriente catalogato in un manoscritto pittorico del Cinquecento", *Oltremare*, 1984, pp. 283-289 – originally in *Quaderni Portoghesi*, 4, 1978, pp. 163-82; Luís de Matos (ed.), *Imagens do Oriente no Século XVI. Reprodução do Códice Português da Biblioteca Casanatense*, Lisboa, 1985; M. J. Camacho, "Olhares Cruzados", *Oceanos*, n. 32, Oct./Dec. 1997.

[4] M. M. Mota, "Codice Casanatense: an Indo-Portuguese portrait of life in 16th-century India", in J. Pereira e P. Pal (ed.), *India and Portugal: Cultural Interactions*, Mumbai, 2001, pp. 35-45.

[5] L. de Matos (ed.), op. cit., pp. 23-24.

[6] Christian influences on the slightly later Mughal school have been often explored, but for the Goan connections, see in particular G. A. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1774,* Toronto, London, University of Toronto Press, 1999.

to go into here in any depth, but such couples first seem to appear in the Hans Burgkmair's long woodcut frieze *Peoples of Africa and India*, printed in Augsburg in 1508.[7] His prints were inspired by Balthasar Springer who travelled to Africa and India in 1505-06 on behalf of the Welser family of Augsburg, and who presumably brought back some sketches for Burgkmair to work on. Springer's travel account with prints by Burgkmair (sometimes varied from the individual subjects of the frieze) appeared in his *Die Merfart* (modernised *Die Meerfahrt*) of 1509 and these as well as the iconography of the frieze were used in other printed booklets and broadsheets that spread rapidly throughout Europe. Whereas the artist of the Codex does not borrow figures or scenes directly from this woodcut frieze or any of its derivatives, it does contain precisely the same kind of content of couples in costume or types and of customs that is found in the costume books and travel books that had begun to appear in mid-sixteenth century Europe. So although the Burgkmair wooodcut of 1508 and its derivatives is the only such source specifically of eastern peoples that our artist could have had access to, nonetheless he or his patron must have known something about contemporary costume and travel books for him to have absorbed their basic premises.

Extant Indian manuscript and wall paintings, 1500-1570, that can be used for comparison with the Codex

In any discussion of Indian painting before the establishment of the Mughal studio in Delhi in 1555, it must be stressed how little has survived from the two millennia before that event, when we know from literary sources how important painting was in both the religious and secular traditions, both as frescoes on walls in monasteries, temples and palaces, and also as icons on cloth. Wars, invasions and India's climate, in which only the most well kept up buildings and their contents survive for long, have deprived us of almost everything in those genres. It is for the most part only manuscript paintings that have survived. Muslim rule over much of northern India and the Deccan was firmly established by the end of the fourteenth century. The unity of the Delhi Sultanate was destroyed by Timur's invasion in 1398, and throughout the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries northern India and the Deccan were divided up into different independent Muslim Sultanates. Independent Hindu kingdoms still survived in Rajasthan and adjacent areas in western India, and also in the empire of Vijayanagara in the southern Deccan. By the early sixteenth century a variety of manuscript painting styles flourished in these various courts, while non-royal patrons were also responsible for commissioning illustrated manuscripts.

---

[7] For Burgkmair's *Peoples of Africa and India* frieze, see Mark P. McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze of the Natives of Africa and India", *Print Quarterly*, XX, 2003, pp. 225-244.

It is assumed here in the first instance, on the basis of the work of the various scholars mentioned above, that the Codex dates from around the third quarter of the sixteenth century and that the inscriptions, such as the reference to the siege of Diu on fl. 44, are contemporary, although obviously added after the paintings were made, since the writer had to fit them in wherever the artist left unpainted space. Unfortunately, only a relatively small number of Indian illustrated manuscripts and wall paintings survive from before this presumed dating of the Codex, and these will now be discussed briefly so that it will be possible later to pick out parallels. As the Portuguese had established themselves earlier at Goa, Daman and Diu, the nearer and more relevant painting styles will be discussed in detail first. The kingdoms neighbouring Goa included the Deccan Sultanates of Bijapur to the east and south-east, now parts of southern Maharashtra and northern Karnataka, and of Ahmadnagar to the north-east, now western Maharashtra. Further north was the Sultanate of Gujarat based on Ahmadabad, where the Portuguese had also established themselves in two island fortresses in Daman and Diu. Finally below Bijapur was the Hindu empire of Vijayanagara. It is to Vijayanagara that the scribe refers to when mentioning *Canara* or its inhabitants, equivalent to the modern Kanara and the state of Karnataka. Removed further from the west coast were the Sultanate of Golconda in the Deccan to the east of Bijapur and the Sultanate of Mandu in south central India. North of Gujarat were the independent Hindu kingdoms of Rajasthan, while south of Vijayanagara on the Malabar coast were the little kingdoms of what is now Kerala, none of the painting styles of which seems to have exerted any influence on the artist of the Codex. The Sultanates of Delhi, Jaunpur and Bengal in the north and east are likewise of no relevance to us here.

The term Sultanate is traditionally used to define the period of Indian history between the Muslim takeover in 1193 and the Mughal period beginning in 1526 (or preferably in 1555, following Humayun's re-conquest of Delhi), and has been extended to define the painting of the period done for Muslim patrons. Illustrated Sultanate manuscripts in the fifteenth century had drawn on the traditions of Shiraz in Persia for their painting style and without colophon information are virtually indistinguishable from the productions of Shiraz itself.[8] The various Muslim Sultans ruled over Hindu majorities and though they tried to emulate the rulers of Persia in language and culture, they were largely dependent on their Hindu subjects to implement their desires. The result was that distinctly Indian idioms eventually surfaced in the architecture and painting styles of the various Sultanates.

Although, on the one hand, illustrated Sultanate manuscripts are comparatively rare, on the other hand a fairly large number of illustrated manuscripts of Jain sacred texts survive from the period 1400-1550, mostly

[8] For an analysis of this material, see R. Ettinghausen and I. Fraad, "Sultanate painting in Persian style", in *Chhavi Golden Jubilee Volume*, Banaras, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, 1971, pp. 48-66.

from Gujarat, where the Jains flourished even under Muslim rule as merchants and administrators. The Jain style with its angular line had crystallised into a stereotyped iconography in manuscripts of these texts around 1500.[9] A very noticeable feature of this style is the way the further eye in faces in three-quarter profile projects into space, a reminder of the difficulty Indian artists experienced when attempting to turn the face in three-quarter profile derived from classical Indian painting into the full profile typical of later Indian styles. This tension also surfaces in later Sultanate paintings.

The first stirrings of change in royal patronage in Sultanate painting towards a more Indian style are found in the Sultanate of Mandu or Malwa, in south central India, in the *Ni'matnama* ("Book of Delights"), a unique manuscript of a royal recipe book datable to 1495-1505 (British Library).[10] Various types of figures are represented therein. The basic Persian style is that of Shiraz, the style of which is taken up and modified by at least two Indian artists in the *Ni'matnama*. The Sultan Ghiyath al-Din is normally shown in every painting, sometimes in three-quarter view as in Persian painting, and sometimes in full profile. Conventions differ for the depiction of the innumerable women dressed as men with whom the Sultan surrounded himself (Fig. 1). Muslim women are shown in the Persian manner, but Indian ones are shown in full profile. Note here the use of varied viewpoints, the lack of spatial depth, and the alternation of elevation and plan to depict the architecture.

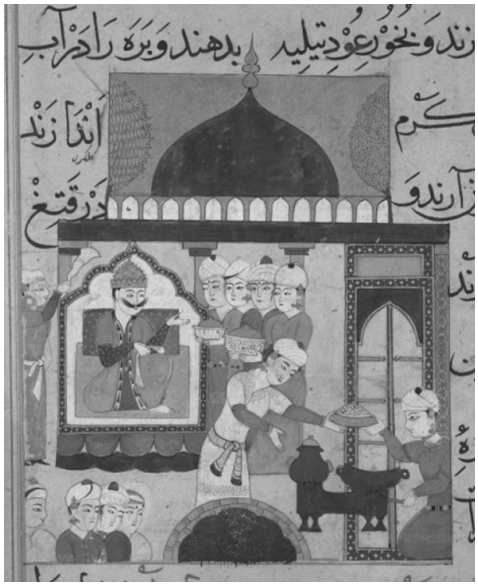

Fig. 1 – Preparing food for the Sultan of Mandu.
Folio from the *Ni'matnama, Mandu*, 1495-1505 (British Library, IO Islamic 149, fl. 8v).

[9] See M. Chandra, *Jain Miniature Painting from Western India*, Ahmedabad, 1949, for the best overview of Jain manuscript painting.

[10] R. Skelton, "The Ni'mat Nama: a landmark in Malwa painting", *Marg*, 12, 1959, pp. 44-50; N. M. Titley, *The Nimatnama Manuscript of the Sultans of Mandu*: *the Sultan's Book of Delights,* London, Routledge Curzon, 2005.

The *Ni'matnama* is a high-quality court production, but more relevant to our study here is a relatively unpolished *'Aja'ib as-Sanai* (a Persian translation by Shadiyabadi of al-Jazari's classic Arabic work on automata) datable to 1509 and also from Mandu (British Library) (Fig. 2.).[11] As in all such manuscripts, the illustrations are copied from its exemplar, but its artist also has some new ideas on figural representation that, like much else from Mandu, bore fruit later in the Deccan, and, we would suggest, with our artist of the Codex. Note here the way turbans and gowns are depicted.

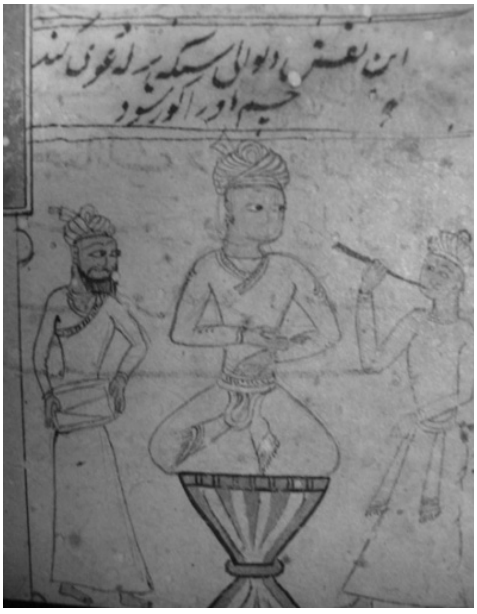

Fig. 2 – Representation of male figures. From an *'Aja'ib as-Sanai* manuscript, Mandu, 1509 (British Library, Or 13718, fl. 7v, detail).

No illustrated manuscripts have been identified that come definitely from the Sultanate of Gujarat, but a manuscript from around 1500 of the *Iskandarnama* (the story of Alexander the Great told in Nizami's thirteenth century epic poem in Persian) is possibly a candidate. This manuscript was fortunately published before it vanished from scholarly sight (Fig. 3).[12] This is a fairly crude production but it has interesting parallels with the Codex, especially in its treatment of turbans, faces and especially eyes. Its broad washes of sombre colours and its heavy outlining are also relevant.

The most interesting of the Gujarati Jain manuscripts from our point of view is one containing two Jain scriptural texts, formerly in an Ahmadabad Jain library but now dispersed.[13] It was executed probably at Broach on the

---

[11] J. P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India,* London, British Library, 1982, n. 68.

[12] K. Khandalavala, and M. Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting – a Reappraisal*, Bombay, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, 1969, pp. 47-50, figs. 101-116. This remains the best summary of the relevant material known at that time, but there is much to disagree with regarding dating and place of production – see J. P. Losty, *The Art of the Book*, op. cit., pp. 37-73.

[13] K. Khandalavala and M. Chandra, op. cit., pp. 28-40, figs. 45-96.

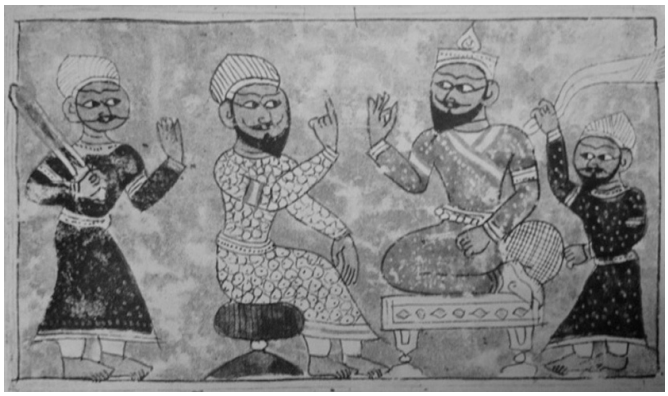

Fig. 3 –Sikandar and his advisers. Folio from a *Iskandarnama*, Sultanate, perhaps Gujarat, c. 1500 (after K. Khandalavala and M. Chandra).

coast of Gujarat around 1500. While the narrative images are richly coloured but stereotyped, with the familiar bodily distortions and the projecting further eye, the border decorations include lively figures culled from Sultanate painting. Again the treatment of the turbans strikes an accord with those in the Codex (Fig. 4).

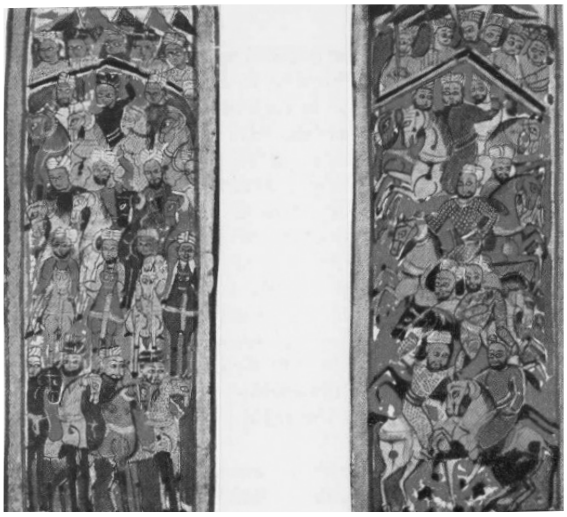

Fig. 4 – Border details illustrations. From a *Kalpasutra*, Broach, Gujarat, c. 1500 (after K. Khandalavala and M. Chandra).

Neither Persian nor Indian painting at this period was interested in the naturalistic depiction of space. In the Persian tradition, artists used the high overhead or bird's eye viewpoint to depict an expansive undifferentiated landscape closed at the top by a high horizon, making use of the convention that figures higher up the page (who would not necessarily be depicted smaller) were farther back in space. This style had been introduced into India in the fifteenth century and underpinned earlier Sultanate painting. These traditions contrasted with the typical mediaeval Indian horizontal viewpoint, in which figures are strung out in a frieze-like arrangement against a coloured ground and there is no attempt to represent depth in the painting. Part of the

charm of Sultanate painting is observing Indian artists attempting to reconcile the two traditions. In the *Ni'matnama* and *Iskandarnama* Indian artists for the first time occasionally use the high horizon more constructively, i.e. in order to suggest the spatial relationships between their figures. They were obviously not very happy about it, since wherever possible they have their figures standing on a base line or piece of architecture in order to avoid the appearance of having them float in space, as it must have seemed to them, in the Persian manner. This remained a characteristic of Indianised Sultanate painting throughout this period and it is one of the most obvious traits also of the artist of the Codex as well. Eventually the tension is resolved by having the figures firmly rooted to a base line consisting of the bottom of the painting's frame, or compartment if divided horizontally, but making use of the architecture or landscape with high horizon of the Persian tradition as a decorative backdrop. This solution is found in two later Sultanate manuscripts of the Hindi romance *Chandayana* of Maulana Da'ud, on the romance between the hero Laur and his beloved Chanda. They are both possibly also from Mandu, the earlier one about 1530-40 (CMSVS Museum, Mumbai, and dispersed) (Fig. 5), and the later one about 1560 (John Rylands University Library, Manchester).[14] By this time also the tension between the two traditions as to the rendering of the human figure, whether in three-quarter profile in the Persian manner or with the head in full profile in the Indian one, had also been resolved in favour of the latter.[15]

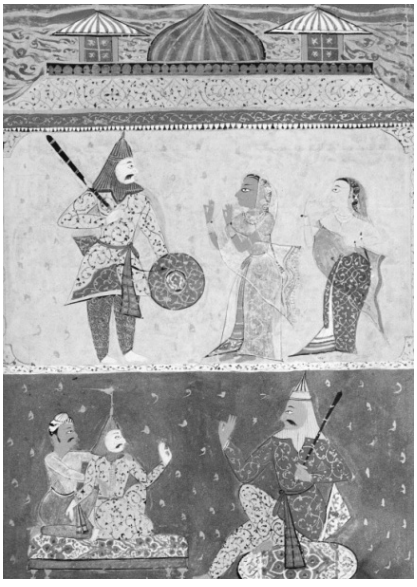

Fig. 5 – The armoured Laur with his beloved. From a manuscript of the *Chandayana* of Maulana Da'ud, possibly Mandu, 1530-40 (CMSVS Museum, Mumbai, after K. Khandalavala and M. Chandra).

[14] For these manuscripts and their literature, see ibid., pp. 91-102, figs. 156-77, and J. P. Losty, *The Art of the Book*, op. cit., ns. 45-46.

[15] For further discussion of these issues, see J. P. Losty, "Indian painting from 1500-1575", in M. C. Beach, E. Fischer, and B. N. Goswamy, *Masters of Indian Painting*, Zurich, Artibus Asiae, 2011, pp. 67-76.

We have left out discussion till now of what must have seemed the most obvious influence on an Indian painter working for the Portuguese in Goa, that from the neighbouring Deccan Sultanates, since there are no definite documents of painting earlier than the Codex. Although attempts have been made to link some of the more Persianate Sultanate manuscripts of the fifteenth century to the Deccan, the first incontrovertible evidence of such manuscript production is not found until the 1560s. The courts at Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda supported manuscript studios, but judging from their earliest evidence, artists at the first two courts had already moved away from the Persian style and adopted traits that appear specifically Hindu, derived from Vijayanagara, although Golconda nourished the Persian origins of its style until much later (Fig. 6).[16]

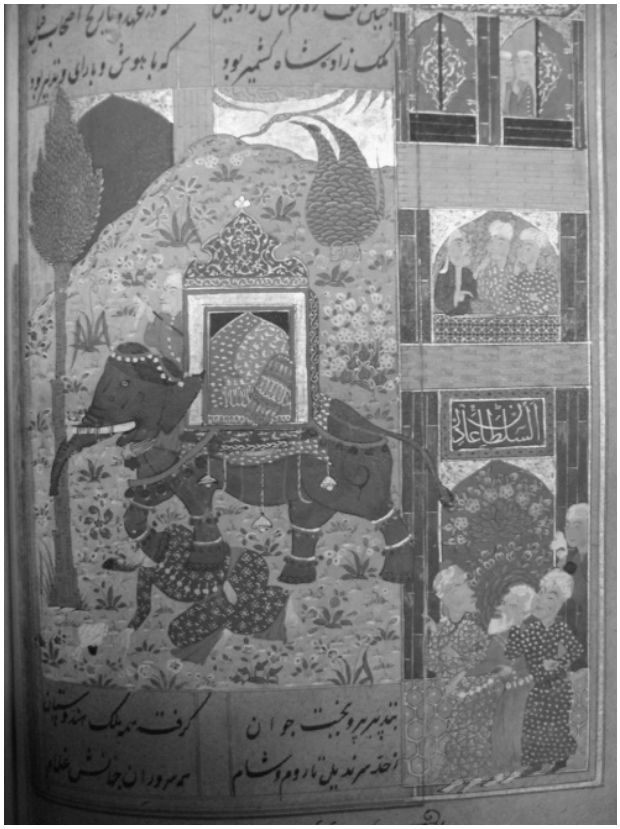

Fig. 6 – An elephant trampling a criminal to death. From the *Sindbadnama*, Golconda, c. 1570-75 (British Library, IO Islamic 3214, fl. 23v).

From the Vijayanagara empire itself almost nothing survives of its painting from before the date of the Codex, but a fair guess can be made as to its appearance from the sculptures of narrative friezes in low relief in

[16] For early Golconda painting, see R. Skelton, "Early Golconda painting", in *Indologen Tagung*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1973, pp. 182-95, and J. P. Losty, "The development of the Golconda style", in *Indian Art & Connoisseurship: Essays in Honour of Douglas Barrett*, ed. John Guy, Ahmadabad, Mapin, and New Delhi, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1995, pp. 297-319.

which the figures are still mostly in three-quarter profile.[17] Murals at the Virabhadra temple in Lepakshi, south-east of the city of Vijayanagara itself and about 60 miles north of Bangalore, afford the only undisputed evidence of the sixteenth century Vijayanagara painting style and have been dated to the 1530s contemporary with the construction of the temple (Fig. 7).[18] There too the figures have been arranged in a row as in a frieze without any attempt to suggest different planes indicating depth. The faces are now being depicted in full profile although keeping the remnants of the further projecting eye, one of the characteristics of indigenous mediaeval Indian styles. Note here how these officials of Vijayanagara (and indeed the king himself) have adopted a quasi-Muslim dress with their gowns and tall caps. South Indian Hindu men including kings traditionally wore little but loincloths at this period (as reproduced in Burgkmair's woodcut frieze showing the king of Cochin), much to the consternation of visiting Muslims and Europeans.[19]

Fig. 7 – The god Siva on his bull Nandi with worshippers from the frescoes of the Virabhadra temple at Lepakshi, Vijayanagara style, 1530s (after A. Gopala Rao).

The women in the Lepakshi murals dress in the traditional south Indian way, which is just a sari wound round the waist and brought up over the shoulder to cover the otherwise naked breasts (Fig. 8).

---

[17] On the different levels of the throne platform at Vijayanagara and the walls of the Ramachandra temple. For the latter, see A. L. Dahmen-Dallapiccola, *The Ramachandra Temple at Vijayanagara,* New Delhi, Manohar, American Institute of Indian Studies, 1992. The ceiling paintings of the Virupaksha temple at Vijayanagara, once thought contemporary with its construction in the early sixteenth century, are now generally judged to be later.

[18] See A. Gopala Rao, *Lepakshi*, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh Lalit Kala Akademi, 1969, also R. Pachner, "Paintings in the temple of Virabhadra at Lepakshi", in A. Dallapiccola et al. (ed.), *Vijayanagara – City and Empire: New Currents of Research,* Stuttgart, Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden Gmbh, 1985, pp. 326-343.

[19] See P. B. Wagoner, "Sultan among Hindu kings: dress, titles, and the Islamicization of Hindu culture at Vijayanagara", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 55, 1996, pp. 851-880.

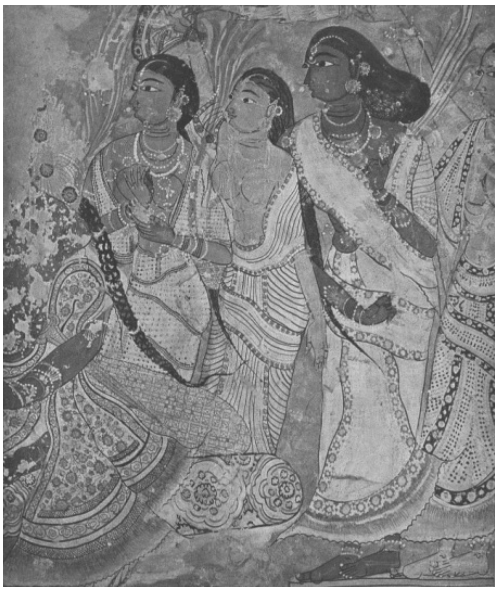

Fig. 8 – Female costume in the frescoes of the Virabhadra temple at Lepakshi, Vijayanagara style, 1530s (after A. Gopala Rao).

A historical manuscript, *Tarikh-i Husain Shah* (*c.* 1565) (in the Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, Pune), chronicles the triumph of Sultan Husain Shah of Ahmadnagar, along with the other Deccan Sultans, over the Hindu empire of Vijayanagara at the battle of Talikota in 1565 (Fig. 9).[20] The Ahmadnagar manuscript is illustrated ironically in a style that seems derived from that of its fallen enemy Vijayanagara, adopting the same horizontal viewpoint, but has gone beyond the Lepakshi murals and turned the faces into strict profile.

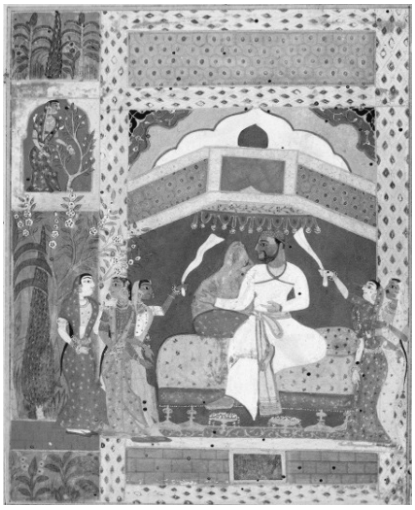

Fig. 9 – Sultan Husain Shah of Ahmadnagar with his womenfolk. From the *Tarikh-i Husain Shah*, Ahmadnagar, c. 1565 (Bharat Itihas Samshodak Mandal, Pune, after M. Zebrowski).

[20] M. Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, London and Los Angeles, Sotheby Publications, University of California Press, 1983, figs. 1-2; G. T. Kulkarni and M. S. Mate, *Tarif-i Husain Shah Badshah Dakhan,* Poona, Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, 1987.

At Bijapur the earliest document, the encyclopaedic *Nujum al-'Ulum* ("Stars of the Sciences") of 1570-71 (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin), likewise seems to owe much to the same largely lost Hindu source (Fig. 10).[21]

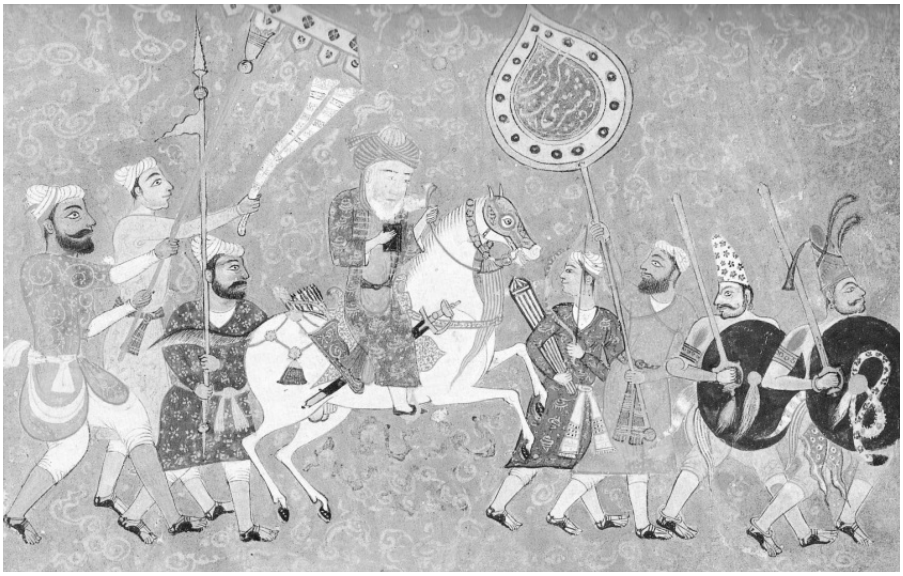

Fig. 10 – – The planet Jupiter as a heavenly king. From the *Nujum al-'Ulum*, Bijapur, 1570-71 (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ind MS 2, fl. 37v, after L. Y. Leach).

Related in date and style to the latter is a small manuscript (British Library) on the *ragas* of Indian music and hand-gestures in dance and drama (Fig. 11).[22] There were several other styles of painting current in India in the first half of the sixteenth century but these were from further afield in the north and in Bengal and are of little relevance to us here.

Fig. 11 – Representation of one of the svaras of Indian music.
From the *Javahir al-Musiqat-i Muhammadi*, Bijapur, c. 1570 (British Library, Or 12857, fl. 39, detail).

---

[21] L. Y. Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings in the Chester Beatty Library,* London, Scorpion Cavendish, 1995, pp. 819-889.

[22] J. P. Losty, "Early Bijapuri musical paintings", in K. Khandalavala (ed.), *An Age of Splendour, Islamic Art in India*, Bombay, Marg Publications, 1983, pp. 128-131.

A comparison between stylistic features in the Codex and Indian paintings, 1500-1570

From this brief survey of the relevant Indian material, it is immediately evident how much the work of the artist of the Codex resembles what was going on contemporaneously in various court and other styles. We shall now attempt to link specific features of his style to some of these productions, being careful only to analyse features of style as opposed to similarities in figural depiction that could be caused by observation. It must first be observed, however, that even the most unskilled amateur artist from southern Europe in the middle of the sixteenth century could not but be aware of how much the rendition of space and volume in European painting had changed over the previous century, through the techniques of linear perspective to suggest a sense of space, aerial perspective to indicate depth and shading and modelling to suggest volume. While the techniques of shading and modelling in light might have been beyond such an artist, he certainly would have known how to suggest a sense of space through his placing of figures on the page and the addition of a background. The artist of the Codex seems completely unaware of such developments. The amateur sketches of most early European travellers to India, such as those published by Burgkmair in 1508 and in van Linschoten's *Itinerario* in 1596, were worked up by professional draughtsmen and engravers and the originals have disappeared, but comparison can be made here with the sketches of Peter Mundy done in India around 1630, which are perfectly able to suggest a sense of space and place.[23] We find also in the Codex that all the faces are drawn in three-quarter profile, along with their corresponding bodies, with hardly any variation towards profiles or back views as might be expected with a European artist. In comparison, Burgkmair's *Peoples of Africa and India* frieze, based on Springer's sketches, shows many variations in pose including back views. Their absence again reinforces the idea that artist of the Codex was Indian.

Turning now to one of the most obvious specific features of our artist's style, his handling of space, it is clear that he has no idea how to indicate spatial recession. On fl. 43 (Fig. C13), showing the king of Cambay on his elephant, the palm tree rises from the bottom of the page and hence right up against the picture plane yet goes the other side of the king's elephant. The three men holding the emblems of royalty over the king on top of his elephant (the parasol, fan-scarf and sword) cannot occupy those positions in reality – they are not on the elephant with the king but floating about in space. The retainers are all depicted smaller than the king, even those

[23] For van Linschoten's illustrations published in Amsterdam in 1596, see E. Boogaart, *Civil and Corrupt Asia: Image and Text in the Itinerario and the Icones of Jan Huygen van Linschoten,* Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 2003. Mundy's original sketches are published in Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667...*, ed. R. C. Temple, Cambridge, 1907-1936.

nearest to the viewer. The regal procession with its train holding emblems of royalty can be profitably compared with that seen in the Bijapur manuscript of 1570 (Fig. 10).

Our artist is happiest when drawing his figures against a plain ground without depicting landscape other than a few grass and flower tufts at the base. When forced to draw a landscape, he does not place his figures in space according to any idea of European perspective or spatial recession but scatters them over the picture plane, as in Fig. C13, and, if he can, draws additional base lines for them to stand on. In one of his more elaborate compositions such as the Canarese drovers bringing grain to Goa (Fig. C17), the landscape is defined in two undulating strips of brown that run across the double page. We may note in passing the marked resemblance between the Codex's lively animals and those at Lepakshi (Fig. 7). The Pathan huntresses on fls. 41-42 (Fig. C12) ride across a similar rudimentary landscape of grass and flowers depicted in two strips at the bottom of the page. The artist places the hooves of his animals and the feet of his men more or less on the strips, signifying his reluctance when faced with the possibility of landscape to let go of the certainty of placing them on something. This is entirely typical of Sultanate artists who as pointed out above must have felt their figures to be floating about in space unless anchored to a ground of some sort.

All the figures coming to the money changer of Cambay (Fig. C15) have their feet firmly planted on similar strips of landscape, which this time descend from the upper right as if they denoted a cliff face. This is yet another indication of the artist's inability to represent spatial recession. Figures in the group lower right float about, one in front of another, without anchoring them on to any ground, as do the buildings meant to be in the background. The money changer, as the most important person in the composition, like the king on his elephant, is much larger than all the other figures, in the Indian fashion.

A different approach to space is found in the two renditions of Indian tanks.[24] The tanks in which the Portuguese dine in Ormuz (Fig. C8) and bathing ladies of Cambay disport themselves (Fig. C16) are viewed in plan while the occupants of the tanks are depicted from an overhead viewpoint. This combination of plan and elevation is typical of Indian architectural views and plans.

Contemporary examples are found in the *Nujum al 'Ulum* of 1570 showing a man within a magical enclosure viewed in plan from above (Fig. 12). Their origin would appear to be in the depiction of sacred diagrams or *mandalas* in both Buddhist and Hindu imagery. The man at the top of the Ormuz tank cleaning a flask is depicted upside down which accords with the overhead view of the tank and also with the way the subsidiary figures are

[24] In India a tank is any man-made enclosure of water, normally rectangular and with stone sides and base, that is attached most often to a temple.

Fig. C8 – Portuguese eating their dinner in the water at Ormuz.
From the Codex Casanatense 1889, fls. 29-30.

Fig. C16 – The tank in which bathe the wives of the merchants of Cambay.
From the Codex Casanatense 1889, fls. 55-56.

Fig. 12 – The sorcerer conversing with a celestial king. From the *Nujum al'Ulum*, Bijapur, 1570-71 (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ind MS 2, fl. 122v, after L. Y. Leach).

depicted round *mandalas*. Both tanks have crude attempts at perspective to depict the steps leading to the water on all four sides. The lady standing on the side of the tank in Cambay wears a Deccani type of sari, apparently without a bodice, and so not known in Gujarat where they wore bodice and skirt with a transparent long veil or *odhani* over all. Portuguese sources refer to the Portuguese in Ormuz dining amidst the waters but without saying how exactly. The added inscription in the Codex simply refers to the Portuguese dining amidst the waters to keep cool. No source seems to describe the way this was done, and the artist has simply interpreted it to mean that they ate their dinner sitting in the middle of the ubiquitous Indian rectangular type of tank.

Turning to other stylistic traits in the Codex, in the triptych of drawings of the bathing women of Muscat and their guards (fls. 11, 12, 14bis), the hills on which the guards stand are formed of little conical rocks or hillocks piled up as necessary to form the shapes of hills (Fig. C4). This is a technique found in various Sultanate and Deccani manuscripts and also at Lepakshi (Fig. 13).

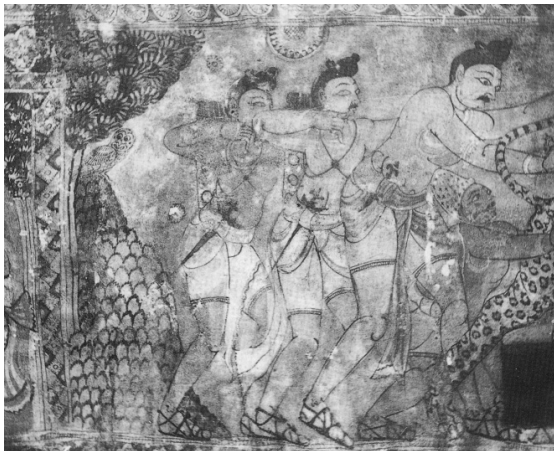

Fig. 13 – A cheetah hunt by a mountainside (detail) from the frescoes of the Virabhadra temple at Lepakshi, Vijayanagara style, 1530s (after Gopala Rao 1969).

When the artist is not attempting to depict a landscape, he just includes flowering plants (spiky green vertical leaves with a red flower) growing along the base of the page. Flowers at the base of paintings became one of the most prevalent traits of Deccani especially Bijapuri painting later in the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth.[25] Sometimes the artist has his little plants dot the field (Fig. C21). This is one of the most characteristic idioms in Persian and Sultanate painting, as can be seen in the Golconda *Sindbadnama* (Fig. 6) and also in the *Nujum al-'Ulum* (Fig. 14) as well as the *Ni'matnama*.[26] On other pages, tall plants rise through the height of the picture plane alongside the figures, again one of the characteristics of Sultanate painting (Figs. 6, 9), although this is also found in European travel prints depicting customs.

Fig. C21 – Merchant and his wife from the kingdom of Cambay.
From the Codex Casanatense 1889, fls. 69-70.

Where the artist has depicted not a scene but a male and female couple on facing pages, they stand characteristically with one hand extended towards the other. While the man holds something to indicate his profession, the woman sometimes holds a flower or fruit. Having one hand out is a characteristic of Persian, Sultanate and Hindu painting, as a means of showing

[25] M. Zebrowski, op. cit., ch. 4 in particular.

[26] See also N. M. Titley, op. cit., *passim,* and M. Zebrowski, op. cit., figs. 43-44.

personal interaction between characters in the absence of facial expressions (see for instance figs. 1, 3 5, 9, 11 above). A hand with first or index finger extended is normal in the first two, while in Hindu painting, and of course sculpture, a conjoined thumb and first finger indicates *vyakhyana mudra* or speech. If hands are not extended with such gestures in these Indian paintings, then invariably they are shown holding something – swords, spears or the like if they are men, a flower or the like if they are women.

Indian artists before the Mughal period did not if they could help it initiate anything themselves by drawing from the life, but always preferred a model from an earlier drawing or painting to serve as their inspiration rather than have to observe a phenomenon in nature. An artist's skill is judged not necessarily for his powers of original composition and invention but how he interpreted a traditional if well-worn theme. Of course at some stage one artist must have had the original idea for others to elaborate on, while it is evident also that our artist of the Codex must have used his powers of observation for some of his figures. Even so, the elephant in Fig. C13 has not been depicted from life but drawn from a pre-existent model of an elephant in Sultanate painting. Thus this elephant and the war elephant (fl. 76, Fig. C22) are not drawn from life but rather from the Shiraz tradition of Persian miniatures introduced into India in the fifteenth century, which can be seen in the Golconda elephant in Fig. 6. Though the Golconda elephant is slightly more naturalistic than earlier representations, its tusks still project straight out and even up a little as do the two such depictions in the Codex.

The representations of the Hindu divinities Visnu, Siva and Brahma (Fig. C28) are obviously taken from southern Indian images, as can be seen from their tall pointed *mukutas* or crowns, and elongated *dhotis* round their waists. They are depicted in *samapada,* the upright stance with feet evenly spaced, that is one of the rarer of positions for Hindu deities, who are normally depicted *tribhanga* with a pronounced curve of the hips or else seated. They bear a marked resemblance to contemporary bronzes from the Vijayanagara empire and indeed, in their upright stance and (in the case of two of them) their hands joined in *anjali mudra,* to the famous portrait bronze of the Vijayanagara king Krishnadevaraya (reg. 1509-29).[27] Some of the male figures in the Lepakshi murals have their hands similarly positioned (Fig. 7). It is debatable, however, to what extent a Hindu artist would have made such a mess of the iconography.[28] What marks them out as by an Indian artist, however, is the way their feet are depicted, in the anatomically impossible

[27] In the Srivenkatesvara temple, Tirupati. See J. C. Harle, *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*, Newhaven and London, Yale University Press, 1994, fig. 267.

[28] The central figure of Siva (although labelled *Visno*) in his two rear hands bears Siva's trident, badly rendered, and also his leaping deer, although this has for some reason been erased. The figure on the left is Visnu, albeit labelled *Hispar* for Isvara or Siva, and while he bears in two of his hands the expected club and conch, the third object is neither a discus nor a lotus, and the fourth hand is empty.

stance of their feet splayed out at right angles parallel to the picture plane. Among the few painted representations of images known from the sixteenth century is an image of Visnu in his Man-Lion or Narasimha avatar from the *Nujum al-'Ulum* manuscript (Fig. 14). This has the right foot splayed out. They are not of course represented this way in sculptures.

Fig. 14 – The Man-Lion incarnation of Vishnu destroying a demon. From the *Nujum al-'Ulum*, Bijapur, 1570-71 (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ind MS 2, fl. 255v, after L. Y. Leach).

Finally in this stylistic comparison between the paintings of the Codex and contemporary Indian paintings we can look at the ladies dancing at the Canarese weddings (Fig. C32) and compare them with the dancing girls in a somewhat earlier Sultanate manuscript (Fig. 15), as well as one in a Bijapuri manuscript of c. 1570 (Fig. 16). The general animation in the dancing and the positions of the legs and hands is shared by all three, inherited from the way dancing is depicted in earlier Jain manuscripts, but those in the Codex very closely resemble the dancing girl in the Bijapuri manuscript. We note the almost identical costume of bodice, skirt or *dhoti,* and tight *paijama*, the gold ring round the neck and the hair worn in a large chignon on the back of the neck and adorned with white jasmine flowers. Similar dancers are found on the car festival scene on fl. 78 (Fig. C23). It seems to us that the way the dancing is depicted is peculiarly Indian, and the resemblance is conclusive in demonstrating the hand of an Indian artist.

Fig. C32 – Dancers at a Canarese wedding. From the Codex Casanatense 1889, fls. 100-101.

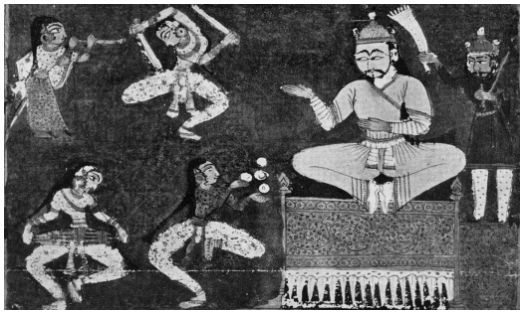

Fig. 15 – Dancers and jugglers at a royal entertainment. Folio from the *Hamzanama*, Sultanate India, fifteenth century. (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Ms. Or. fl. 4181, after K. KHANDALAVALA and M. Chandra).

Fig. 16 – Dancing girl. From a manuscript of the *Javahir-i Musiqi-i Muhammadi*, Bijapur, c. 1570 (British Library, Or. 12857, fl. 171).

Costume in the Codex

So far in our comparisons we have considered stylistic features of figural representation and spatial composition, but it is now time to consider the thorny question of costume in the Codex and to what extent it represents what the artist actually saw as opposed to what he could imagine from exemplars or actually invented. It is first quite clear that our artist only tries to suggest a sense of place when he is familiar with the locale, i.e. when depicting the people to be seen in India. Elsewhere for Africa, the Arab world and Persia, and South-East Asia, he generally produces single figures without any ground, male and female facing each other, a concept he or his patron would have gathered from contemporary costume books.

The artist in fact makes use of only a small number of figural types and it will be shown that they wear mostly versions of Indian costumes unless he could have seen such foreigners in India itself. As far as we can tell from other paintings, at this time in the Middle East and Persia, men wore a long gown reaching to the ankles over loose pants with a knee length sleeved coat over all. In the Arab world the gown was put on over the head and fastened at the neck.[29] Persians sometimes wore such a garment, but the gown could also be more like a coat and fastened either in front or at the side.[30] In India the costume question is complicated by artists' tendency to imitate Persian exemplars (as in our various Sultanate manuscripts) but the fashion situation seems to have stabilised around the mid-century.[31] A gown put on over the head was largely unknown (unless worn by foreigners such as the Pathans on fls. 39, 40), and coats fastened at the side were the norm, while the second shorter sleeved coat is unknown. In the north of India, extending as far south as the northern Deccan, these coats were normally knee length but were full length further south, although these divisions were not invariable. Most of the Indian upper- and middle-class men in the Codex wear such coats. The lower classes of course wore little more than loin-cloths.

Examining the artist's clothing choices, it can readily be seen that unless they are particularly uncivilised (fls. 1, 5, etc.) his non-Indian men, beginning with the Ethiopians on fl. 3, often are depicted wearing an Indian type of coat or *jama* fastened under the armpit, along with a small turban perched on top of the head (Fig. C2).[32] The artist has these men wearing side-

---

[29] For costume in the Arab world in the pre-modern era, see a general survey of Arab painting such as R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, Genève, Skira, 1962.

[30] For costume in the Persian world in the pre-modern era, see a general survey of Persian painting such as L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, London, Oxford University Press, 1933.

[31] For costume in India in the sixteenth century, see the references cited above for contemporary paintings.

[32] Ethiopians or Abyssinians (*habshis* or *sidis*) were of course to be seen at this time in India since the Deccani kingdoms made much use of their services in administration and in the army. For a survey of the African elites in mediaeval and early modern India, see K. X. Robbins, and J. McLeod, *African Elites in India: Habshi Amarat*, Ahmadabad, Mapin Publishing, 2006.

fastening coats descending mostly to just below the knee as was fashionable in north India (as in fls. 3, 22, 23, 25, etc.), but sometimes to the ankles, as worn in the Arab world, Persia and the Deccan (as in fls. 7, 9, 27, also 132 worn by the Moluccan). The only non-Indians in the Codex wearing what appears to be correct dress are the Arab and Persian merchants (fls. 7, 9, 31, and 33) who wear long gowns rather than coats, and open at the neck with sometimes some buttons indicated there, suggesting that the artist may have seen such men, when they came to trade on the Indian coast. This garment is replicated in a plate showing an Arab in India in Jan van Linschoten's *Itinerario* (Amsterdam, 1596), although ending at the knees.[33] The artist makes his turbans almost always fairly small, in the contemporary Indian fashion (Figs. 9 and 11, and the attendant figures in Fig. 10), very unlike the large turbans worn at this time in the Arab world and Persia. Sometimes he adds a tailpiece to the turban as on fl. 104, the man from the *terra firma* round Goa, which closely resembles the turban of our Mandu man of 1509 (Fig. 2).

Many of the non-Indian women in the Codex wear a long piece of cloth wrapped round the waist and brought up over her shoulder, i.e. the Indian sari. Sometimes the breasts are naked as with the Ethiopian woman (Fig. C2) (fls. 4, 6, 38), but other such women wear a bodice (e.g. fls. 18, 21, 126, 129, 130, 133, 134, 137). The artist has almost all his women from South-East Asia wearing the sari and bodice outfit, rather than their own traditional sarong. The sari was, in the sixteenth century, the ubiquitous costume of southern Indian women, worn with a bodice in the Deccan (Figs. 9, 11) but without one further south, in the more Hindu areas of Vijayanagara (Fig. 8). In Gujarat, Mandu and further north women wore a skirt with an ornamental waist-sash hanging in front and a short bodice with a large transparent veil draped around them (Fig. 5), a costume that does not appear in the Codex. Two of the women from the Middle East (fls. 32, 34) seem to be authentically dressed, wearing a long gown with a heavy veil over all, but these accompany the two correctly dressed Arab and Persian merchants whom we suggest the artist saw in India (fls. 31, 33).[34]

For most of the Arab and Persian women on the other hand, the artist of the Codex invents a costume of a skirt with a long blouse or tunic on top (fls. 8, 10, 20, 24, 26, 28), a costume that seems to have no basis in reality, although these women also wear a long veil draped over head and shoulders that is more realistic.[35] This fantastic female costume of a skirt and tunic is also worn by some women in India – the Pathan huntresses (fls. 41-42) and the woman hunting with the king of Cambay (Fig. C13) for instance.

---

[33] See E. Boogaart, op. cit., pl. 21.

[34] In van Linschoten's *Itinerario* the wife of the Arab in pl. 21 wears something similar (E. Boogaart, op. cit., pl. 21).

[35] This long veil has a possible exemplar in the Arab woman in *Die Merfurt* of 1509 (M. P. McDonald, op. cit., fig. 110).

Linschoten identifies this outfit of tunic and skirt as that worn by Portuguese women.[36] This costume is also worn by Christian converts in the Codex (fls. 94, 117), although the material is different.

On the page opposite to the king of Cambay (Fig. C13), the woman on a horse with a bird of prey whom the king is pointing to cannot be a wife or a queen, given the purdah arrangements in both Hindu and Muslim high ranking households. With her long blouse and skirt and fair hair she looks rather European, but is regarded as of regal or otherwise important status, since the attendant holds a parasol over her. Her hair is caught up into two coils just above the neck, a style worn by many of the women in the Codex whatever their nationality or ethnic origin. This fashion seems a stylised version of that seen also in van Linschoten's illustrations of women in Goa just mentioned. It would seem that the artist is taking costumes and hair fashions worn by women in Goa to be of more general application than can possibly be the case, which reinforces our suspicion that he did not need to leave Goa in order to draw his pictures. The only women who seem to be wearing their hair in a correct style, a large heavy chignon, are those dancing at and attending the Canarese wedding on fls. 98-101 (Fig. C32). Nowhere is there to be seen the other ubiquitous Indian style, the long braided plait.

Conclusion

We come finally to how this artist familiarised himself with the various peoples inhabiting the coasts of the Indian Ocean from what is now South Africa round to South-East Asia. For those who believed that the writer of the inscriptions and the artist was the same Portuguese, then this is not a problem, as obviously he was on ships that traversed the littoral of the Indian Ocean. If, however, as we have suggested, the artist was an Indian and based in India, and was not a personal observer of anything outside India, then he must have been dependent on written or verbal testimony or travellers' sketches. Mota, in 2001, suggested that the inscriptions were written by two learned Portuguese who knew the descriptions of Asia by writers such as Duarte Barbosa in 1516 or Tome Pires in 1511/12, or Gaspar Correia between 1512 and 1550. Only the first of these was published to be of use here, but not until 1550 and in Italian, but she suggests that manuscript versions of these works were in circulation.[37] Mota further suggests that the annotator(s) (she identifies two) read literary descriptions of places outside India to the painter who then produced his work which they then inscribed.[38] She goes further and suggests that the Indian paintings "are a

[36] See E. Boogaart, op. cit., pls. 5, 11-13.

[37] M. M. Mota, op. cit., p. 36 and n. 3.

[38] Ibid., p. 39.

true report of [the artist's] observations in his voyages between Ormuz and Goa through Cambay and in the kingdom of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara)".[39]

We would suggest on the contrary that there is nothing in the Codex that an Indian artist could not have produced without setting foot outside his home town. None of the paintings bar one includes any architectural features that indicate that the artist must have been there in order to see and depict them and the only one that does, the bathing tank in Ormuz, imposes a peculiarly Indian structure onto the barren island. The artist, we would suggest, is relying on verbal descriptions or the most amateurish sketches to guide him in the depiction of these foreign peoples and relying on his own knowledge to fill in the blanks. His depictions of foreign costumes are almost always suspect. His habitual choices of what appear to be the normal female costume and hairstyle worn by women in Goa, and the southern Indian sari for depictions of women from elsewhere, suggests that he was based there when he painted these pictures, and he would certainly seem to have seen high ranking Portuguese men and their womenfolk on occasion (fls. 97+, 97). Yet even for these representations he could be copying from pre-existing studio sketches.

The artist has introduced one change to the unvarying facial depictions found in Indian painting in the way he has done eyes. In mediaeval Indian painting, no matter whether the faces are in three-quarter profile or profile, eyes are almond or fish-shaped and drawn without any attempt at perspective. Only the farthest corner of the eye where the face is in three-quarter profile is sometimes cut off, as it disappears round the side of the face, a technique learnt from Persian painting, but not always followed by Indian artists, where sometimes they forget themselves and add the further projecting eye but then subsequently erase it as in one painting in the *Iskandarnama* of *c.* 1500 (Fig. 17).[40] The closest manuscript to the Codex in the depiction

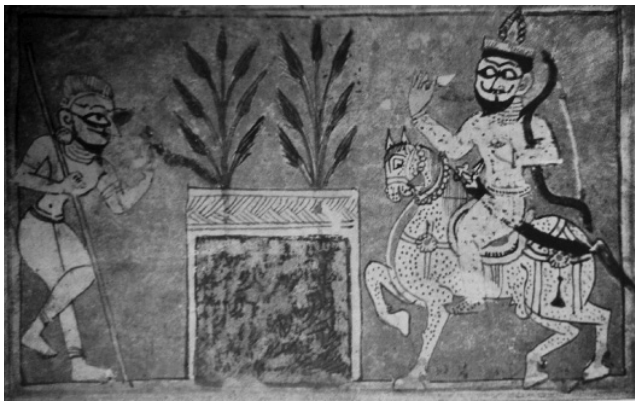

Fig. 17 – Alexander comes to the water of life. Folio from a *Iskandarnam*a, Sultanate, perhaps Gujarat, c. 1500 (after K. Khandalavala and M. Chandra).

[39] Ibid., p. 45.

[40] There are several other instances in the painting of the period of a projecting eye first being painted and then being covered up by the background colour.

of faces is indeed this same manuscript (see also Fig. 3), where the figures have their eyes in the traditional shape but with their pupils at the corner of the eye, giving direction to the gaze. This treatment is found in the Codex also, where the figures all have large eyes with the same intelligent placing of pupils, suggesting interaction between the characters where appropriate.

The artist of the Codex goes beyond this treatment and often in his more carefully drawn pictures gives three-dimensionality to his eyes by foreshortening the nearer one and having the further eye only partly visible behind the nose. He does, however, sometimes forget and draws his eyes in the traditional almond shapes especially towards the end of the Codex, where the drawing becomes generally somewhat looser. A similar technical process can be observed in the paintings of the gigantic manuscript of the *Hamzanama* created for the Mughal Emperor Akbar between 1562 and 1577, where the earlier paintings still show the traditional Persian or Sultanate almond-shaped eyes, but in the later paintings of the 1570s the eyes have become foreshortened and occupy their sockets as here (Fig. 18).[41] This is a technique learned from European exemplars. It is difficult to believe that

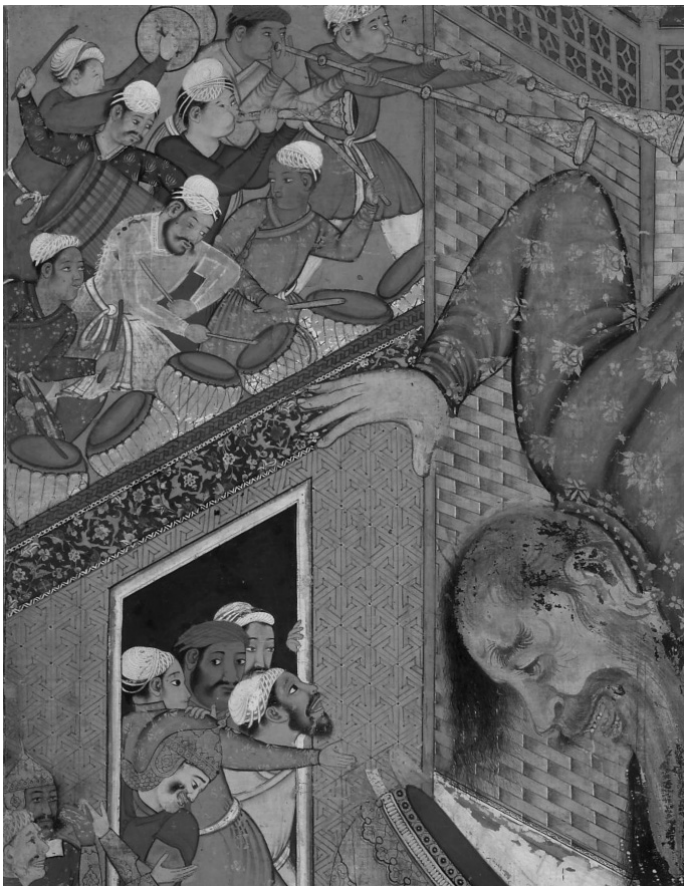

Fig. 18 – The fall of Zumurrad Shah. From the *Hamzanama*. Mughal, c. 1570-77 (British Museum, 1925.0929.0.2, detail).

[41] For the *Hamzanama*, see J. SEYLLER, *The Adventures of Hanza: Painting and Storytelling in Mughal India*, Washington, Freer and Sackler Gallery, and London, Azimuth Editions, 2002.

our lively but somewhat crude and unsophisticated artist could have discovered this naturalistic treatment of eyes by himself, but if he is dependent on Mughal example, then the date of the Codex would have to be advanced into the 1570s at the earliest. In 1575 Akbar sent an embassy to Goa under Haji Habiballah Khan, specifically to study and bring back to the Mughal court European works of art. He took with him both craftsmen and the "choicest articles of India", which presumably included both artists and examples of Mughal painting to which our artist may have had access.[42] Both our artist and writers, however, are silent about the Mughals, who would be difficult to ignore in the 1570s, by which time the "king of Cambay" was Akbar.

So if the artist of the Codex was Indian, there exists a range of possibilities for his own indigenous style. If from a Muslim Sultanate tradition in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, then he would be used to drawing his faces in three-quarter profile, but if from a mid-century Sultanate or Deccani tradition, then he would be painting them in full profile. If he came from the Canara country of Vijayanagara, then we would expect the remnants of the further eye projecting a little into space to be still occasionally visible. In any of these eventualities, he would not be at ease in attempting to depict spatial recession or volume, and would prefer if possible to place his figure's feet on some baseline. The absence of any remnant of a projecting eye rules out an artist trained in the Vijayanagara style and likewise that of faces in profile rules out other Deccani artists from the mid-century. The artist's complete reliance on faces in three-quarter profile indicates he was trained in a Sultanate studio further north, at a date earlier in the century than that of the Codex. Either Mandu or Gujarat would seem to be the most obvious candidates for where he received his training. If we are to go with the later dating, on account of what we detect to be Mughal artistic influence of the 1570s, then the Mughal sack of Mandu in 1561 and the dispersal of its artists might be taken as the date of his move to the south. His male costume has some references to what was worn in Mandu, but his normal female costume is not derived from there or Gujarat but from further south. We would suggest that he must have moved to Goa soon after his initial training in order for him to become acclimatised to the different female costumes of the Deccan and the south, so that they become a stereotyped part of his output.

Bibliography

Abu'l Fazl ibn Allami, *The Akbarnama of Abu-l-Fazl*, trans. by H. Beveridge, *Bibliotheca Indica,* Vol. 138, Calcutta, 1897-1939.

Bailey, G. A., *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1774*, Toronto, London, University of Toronto Press, 1999.

[42] Abu'l Fazl ibn Allami, *The Akbarnama of Abu-l-Fazl*, trans. H. Beveridge, *Bibliotheca Indica,* Vol. 138, Calcutta, 1897-1939, Vol. III, p. 207.

BARCHIESI, R., "L'Oriente catalogato in un manoscritto pittorico del Cinquecento", *Oltremare*, 1984, pp. 283-289.

BINYON, L., WILKINSON, J. V. S. and GRAY, B., *Persian Miniature Painting*, London, Oxford University Press, 1933.

BOOGAART, E. van den, *Civil and Corrupt Asia: Image and Text in the Itinerario and the Icones of Jan Huygen van Linschoten*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 2003.

CAMACHO, M. J., "Olhares Cruzados", *Oceanos*, n. 32, Oct./Dec. 1997.

CHANDRA, M., *Jain Miniature Painting from Western India*, Ahmedabad, 1949.

DAHMEN-DALLAPICCOLA, A. L., *The Ramachandra Temple at Vijayanagara,* New Delhi, Manohar, American Institute of Indian Studies, 1992.

ETTINGHAUSEN, R., *Arab Painting*, Genève, Skira, 1962.

ETTINGHAUSEN, R. and FRAAD, I., "Sultanate painting in Persian style", in *Chhavi Golden Jubilee Volume*, Banaras, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, 1971, pp. 48-66.

GARCIA, J. M., "O Encontro das Religiões no Códice 1889 da Biblioteca Casanatense", in his *Ao Encontro dos Descobrimentos. Temas de História da Expansão*, Lisboa, 1994, pp. 85-92.

GOPALA RAO, A., *Lepakshi*¸ Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh Lalit Kala Akademi, 1969.

HARLE, J. C., *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*, Newhaven and London, Yale University Press, 1994.

KHANDALAVALA, K. and CHANDRA, M., *New Documents of Indian Painting – a Reappraisal*, Bombay, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, 1969.

KULKARNI, G. T., and MATE, M. S., *Tarif-i Husain Shah Badshah Dakhan,* Poona, Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, 1987.

LEACH, L. Y., *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings in the Chester Beatty Library*, London, Scorpion Cavendish, 1995.

LINSCHOTEN, Jan van, *Itinerario*, Amsterdam, 1596.

LOSTY, J. P., *The Art of the Book in India*, London, British Library, 1982.

LOSTY, J. P., "Early Bijapuri musical paintings", in K. Khandalavala (ed.), *An Age of Splendour, Islamic Art in India*, Bombay, Marg Publications, 1983, pp. 128-131.

LOSTY, J. P., "The development of the Golconda style", in *Indian Art & Connoisseurship: Essays in Honour of Douglas Barrett*, ed. John Guy, New Delhi, Mapin, Ahmadabad, and Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1995, pp. 297-319.

LOSTY, J. P., "Indian painting from 1500-1575", in M. C. Beach, E. Fischer, and B. N. Goswamy, *Masters of Indian Painting*, Zurich, Artibus Asiae, 2011, pp. 67-76.

MATOS, Luís de (ed.), *Imagens do Oriente no Século XVI. Reprodução do Códice Português da Biblioteca Casanatense*, Lisboa, 1985.

MCDONALD, Mark P., "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze of the Natives of Africa and India", *Print Quarterly*, XX, 2003, pp. 225-244.

MOTA, M. M., "Codex Casanatense: an Indo-Portuguese portrait of life in 16th-century India", in J. Pereira and P. Pal (ed.), *India and Portugal: Cultural Interactions*, Mumbai, 2001, pp. 35-45.

MUNDY, Peter, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*..., ed. Lt. Col. Sir Richard C. Temple (Vol. 5 ed. Sir R. C. Temple and L.M. Ansley), Cambridge, 1907-1936.

PACHNER, R., "Paintings in the temple of Virabhadra at Lepakshi", in A. Dallapiccola et al. (ed.), *Vijayanagara – City and Empire: New Currents of Research,* Stuttgart, Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden Gmbh, 1985, pp. 326-343.

ROBBINS, K. X., and MCLEOD, J., *African Elites in India: Habshi Amarat*, Ahmadabad, Mapin Publishing, 2006.

SCHURHAMMER, G., "Desenhos orientais do tempo de S. Francisco Xavier", in his *Gesammelte Studien*, Vol. II ("Orientalia"), Lisboa, 1963, pp. 111-118.

SEYLLER, J., *The Adventures of Hanza: Painting and Storytelling in Mughal India*, Washington, Freer and Sackler Gallery, and London, Azimuth Editions, 2002.

SKELTON, R., "The Ni'mat Nama: a landmark in Malwa painting", *Marg*, 12, 1959, pp. 44-50.

SKELTON, R., "Early Golconda painting" in *Indologen Tagung*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1973, pp. 182-195.

SKELTON, R., "The Iskandar Nama of Nusrat Shah: a royal Sultanate manuscript dated 1531-32", in M. Goedhuis (ed.), *Indian Painting*, London, Colnaghi & Co., 1978, pp. 135-44.

TITLEY, N. M., *The Nimatnama Manuscript of the Sultans of Mandu*: *the Sultan's Book of Delights,* London, RoutledgeCurzon, 2005.

TOPSFIELD, A., *Court Painting at Udaipur: Art under the Patronage of the Maharanas of Mewar*, Zurich, Artibus Asiae, 2002.

WAGONER, P. B., "Sultan among Hindu kings: dress, titles, and the Islamicization of Hindu culture at Vijayanagara", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 55, 1996, pp. 851-880.

ZEBROWSKI, M., *Deccani Painting*, London and Los Angeles, Sotheby Publications, University of California Press, 1983.