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FROM THE *PANCHATANTRA* TO LA FONTAINE:  
MIGRATIONS OF DIDACTIC ANIMAL ILLUSTRATIONS  
FROM INDIA TO THE WEST

The Sanskrit *Panchatantra*, a collection of Indian animal tales, hypothetically originating in literary form around the third century CE, is one of the most widely diffused and translated literary compositions. The original Sanskrit work is lost, its contents and form partially preserved and often transformed by a panoply of descendants, revisions, and translations. The early studies by Theodor Benfey, Johannes Hertel, and Franklin Edgerton revealed more than two hundred different versions, known in more than fifty languages.<sup>1</sup>

In India it had at least twenty-five known recensions, in both Sanskrit and vernacular dialects, including Kannada, Gujarati, Marathi, Braj Bhakha, Malayalam, and Tamil, many of which underwent radical reconstructions, with omissions, errors, variations of text, and entirely new additions. The complex history of the textual transformations and translations has been widely researched, initially in the context of comparative literature, fables, and folklore that was fashionable among scholars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and subsequently in studies focused either on Islamic or Western translations or the migration of the textual descendants and revisions of the animal tales as they were diffused under different names.

Scholars have concentrated primarily on literary and philological aspects of the *Panchatantra* fables, charting their textual diffusions and translations “in an attempt to establish the lost original Sanskrit text.”<sup>2</sup> While achievements in these fields have been extraordinary, visual aspects of the *Panchatantra* tradition, which have a parallel history originating in ancient India, were neglected until the 1990s. An important breakthrough in this direction was made by Channabasappa S. Patil, who first undertook a study of sculptures illustrating episodes from the *Panchatantra* in twenty-eight temples of Karnataka (southwestern India) dating between the seventh and twelfth centuries,<sup>3</sup> and Marijke J.

1 Theodor Benfey, *Panchatantra: Fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen*, trans. from Sanskrit with intro. and notes, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1857, 1859); Johannes Hertel, *Tantrakhyayika: Die älteste Fassung des Panchatantra nach den Handschriften beider Rezensionen*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B.G. Teubner, 1909); Hertel, *Das Panchatantra: Seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1914), repr. of the Sanskrit text as *The Panchatantra: A Collection of Ancient Hindu Tales in Its Oldest Recension, the Kashmirian, Entitled Tantrakhyayika*, Harvard Oriental Series 14 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1915; reprint by Nabu Press, 2012); Franklin Edgerton, *The Panchatantra Reconstructed: An Attempt to Establish the Lost Original Sanskrit Text of the Most Famous Indian Story Collections on the Basis of the Principal Extant Versions*, 2 vols. (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1924; repr., New York: Krause Reprint, 1967), 271–73; and, for a new translation of Edgerton’s 1924 Sanskrit version, Patrick Olivelle, *Panchatantra: The Book of India’s Folk Wisdom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

2 Edgerton, *The Panchatantra Reconstructed* (1924), title page.

3 Channabasappa S. Patil, *Panchatantra in Karnataka Sculptures* (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, 1995).

Klokke, who published detailed research on Indonesian Tantri (*Panchatantra*) reliefs.<sup>4</sup> Patil followed with a comparative study, in which he identified thirty-nine Indian sites containing more than one hundred and twenty *Panchatantra* sculptures.<sup>5</sup> Thirty-five of the animal tales were shown to derive from two Sanskrit traditions – those recensions attributed to Vishnusharman (the northern version) and Vasubhaga (the southern version). The latter tradition, surviving in Durgasimha's *Panchatantra* (c. 1025–31 CE) written in Kannada, the dialect native to Karnataka, and the Sanskrit *Tantropakhyana* (before 1200 CE), spread to Thailand, Laos, and Indonesia. Eighteen of the stories known in India are also found in Indonesia.<sup>6</sup> The Sanskrit version of Vishnusharma, of unknown age (variously dated between 1200 BCE and 300 CE), was translated into several languages and was transmitted to Persia, Egypt, and Syria and subsequently to Europe. Patil's aim was to establish the relation of these Indian and Indonesian sculptures to textual versions.<sup>7</sup> There appears to have been little effort, however, to establish the connection between these precedents and the rich visual tradition of illustrations, diffused for centuries under the titles of *Kalila wa Dimna* (the two jackal protagonists of the first story), the *Bidpai Tales* (named after the Indian sage or court philosopher who advises the king), and various other appellations. In fact, it is quite amazing to discover that some scholars who studied the Muslim illuminations were entirely unaware of, or chose to ignore, the existence of Indian and Javanese sculptural depictions of the *Panchatantra* tales that preceded those in manuscripts.<sup>8</sup> An excellent transcultural study by Monika Zin of the parable of The Man in the Well is a notable exception.<sup>9</sup> Although this Indian parable was not incorporated into the *Panchatantra*, it appeared in Abdallah ibn al-Muqaffa's eighth-century Arabic translation, in the biography of the Persian translator Borzui, and was extremely popular in Islamic manuscript illuminations. It migrated to the West, where it was diffused as the Christian parable of Barlaam and Josaphat.<sup>10</sup> Zin's research crosses geographic and temporal boundaries, from Buddhist India to modern Europe and East Asia, supported by a broad selection of literary and artistic sources.

The compartmentalization of studies related to the *Panchatantra*, separating and incubating chapters of an ongoing, fluctuating tradition, according to superimposed cultural, historical, or religious boundaries, has limited and distorted our view. A further point that will be addressed in this study

4 Marijke J. Klokke, *The Tantri Reliefs on Ancient Javanese Candi* (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

5 Channabasappa S. Patil, "Panchatantra Sculptures and Literary Traditions in India and Indonesia: A Comparative Study," in *Narrative Sculptures and Literary Traditions in South and Southeast Asia*, ed. Marijke J. Klokke (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 73–95.

6 Klokke, *The Tantri Reliefs*.

7 Patil, "Panchatantra Sculptures and Literary Traditions," 73.

8 Mohammad Habib Ahsan Jan Qaisar wrote in 2002: "A query neither raised nor answered is why the *Panchatantra* stories were never depicted in manuscript painting before the Muslim rule in India? On the other hand, the Jataka Tales are amply recorded in sculptures and wall paintings." Qaisar, "An Introduction to the *Anwar-i Subaili* and Its Illustrations," in *Art and Culture*, ed. Som Prakash Verma and Mohammad Habib Ahsan Jan Qaisar, vol. 2 (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 2002), 38.

9 Monika Zin, "The Parable of the Man in the Well: Its Travels and Its Pictorial Traditions from Amaravati to Today," in *Art, Myths and Visual Culture in South Asia*, Warsaw Indological Studies Series, vol. 4, ed. Piotr Balcerowitz and Jerry Malinowski (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2011), 33–94.

10 The Christian legend of Barlaam and Josaphat is thought to have originated in the seventh century. It relates the story of two martyrs and is based on the life of the Buddha.

regards the separation of literary studies of the fables from research devoted to their expression in visual media. It is suggested that these two aspects are not only interrelated but can be equally important as expressions of concepts, attitudes, and values instrumental to, and inspired by, the animal fables. An excellent example of this approach, exemplified in relation to the present issues, is Finbarr B. Flood's *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*.<sup>11</sup> Flood analyzed the significance of textual translations in Hindu and Muslim communities in the medieval period, stressing the mutable nature of interactions between them. He noted that connotations of the term "translation" have been widened in recent times to incorporate not only linguistic "texts" but also material remains. Past interpretations, as he pointed out, have mostly been dependent on literary sources while ignoring or overlooking the semantic aspects of acculturation that artistic sources provide. Flood objected to the practices of separating or compartmentalizing the "Indic" artifacts and the "Islamic" artifacts, a process that occludes the progress in the studies of translations between cultures.

The present study will offer an overview of the literary and artistic migrations of the *Panchatantra*, followed by focused discussions of particular fable illustrations, from their earliest known artistic origins in the art of India and Indonesia, through their Islamic transformations in Asia, until the late medieval and Renaissance renditions in Europe. The emphasis will be on elements of continuity and change in visual interpretations, as related to the texts, as well as diverse cultural and artistic contexts. It will be demonstrated that in some cases visual formulas associated with the earliest images of the animal tales exhibited a rare tenacity and survived for centuries, despite linguistic and thematic transformations of texts, modified definitions, and recycling of visual materials in different cultural and intercultural contexts. The fact that images of these fables were ubiquitous and were continually readopted over centuries prompts questions of interchange and transmission in the context of cultural diversity. How did the varied illustrations reflect differences in sociopolitical, religious, and ethical values, and what means were adopted to express and communicate in ways that would be both legible and engaging to the relevant public? These issues touch on theoretical questions related to cultural interaction as mediated by translation, in its broader sense.

#### QUESTIONS OF *PANCHATANTRA* DEPICTIONS: WORD AND IMAGE

The depictions of *Panchatantra* animal tales in Indian monumental art precede the earliest extant texts. Although scholars assume textual versions existed far earlier, oral transmission may also have preceded the written versions. It has been recognized that specific tales were taken over by artists from earlier literary sources, such as those of the *Jatakas* (birth stories of the Buddha), some of which were sculpted on stupas from the second century BCE,<sup>12</sup> and the great Hindu epics, which were carved in stone from the Gupta period (c. 320–550 CE), if not before. By contrast, many of the illustrations appear to have had an independent history, copied by sculptors who did not necessarily know the literary text.

11 Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

12 T. W. Rhys-Davids, trans., and V. Fausböll, ed., *Buddhist Birth Stories: The Oldest Collection of Folk-Lore Extant* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1880; London: Routledge, 2000).

Repetition of visual formulas is ubiquitous in Indian temple art. Images underwent endless repetitions and seem to have had a life of their own, regardless of whether they were iconic or narrative, religious or secular, purely decorative or didactic.

Obviously, the situation was different when these images were meant to illuminate and decorate the text in a manuscript. Owing to the rich variety of Persian and Arabic *Kalila wa Dimna* illustrations, the links between the text and illuminations have been studied in the light of cultural and political contexts, as formulated in their westward migration, through the Islamic world, to the Mediterranean area. Some of the manuscripts contain large numbers of amazing and original images, but it has also been shown that wholesale copying, reuse of stock compositions, and imitations of predecessor's work were common practices during the same period.<sup>13</sup> Studies of the Islamic *Kalila wa Dimna* manuscripts have become ubiquitous in the last decades and are still occupying individual experts and groups of international scholars.<sup>14</sup>

#### DIDACTIC AIMS OF THE FABLES AND IMAGES OF THE *PANCHATANTRA* AND EARLY TRANSLATION

What was the ostensible purpose of the *Panchatantra* and what are its implications for the relation between word and image? This compilation of moralizing fables, often described as embodying Machiavellian-style immorality, is known as a book intended for instruction in wise human conduct, practical wisdom or statecraft (respectively defined in Sanskrit as *niti* and *artha*) based on a pragmatic philosophy of life.<sup>15</sup> The introduction to the Sanskrit *Panchatantra*, presumably in its original form, relates that a king called Amarashakti of Mahilaropa, who was skilled in all the arts, became disillusioned because his three sons were fools and ignorant of the teachings of *Arthashastra* (a Sanskrit work on statecraft attributed to Kautilya, c. 300 BCE). He called in an elderly Brahman called Vishnusharman,<sup>16</sup> who promised that the sons would be completely versed in the science of *artha* in six months' time, and proceeded to teach them under the guise of stories, which he supposedly composed in five books.<sup>17</sup> The five core stories are "The Lion and the Bull," "The Friendship of the Pigeons, the Crow, the Rat, the Tortoise, and the Gazelle (or Deer)," "The Owls and the Crows," "The Monkey and the Crocodile" (later to become a tortoise), and "The Brahmin and the Mongoose" (or "The Ascetic and the Weasel"). These five frame stories and the additional tales they introduced were defined by theme headings:

13 Bernard O'Kane, "Workshop Practices" and "The Art of Copying," in *Early Persian Painting, Kalila and Dimna Manuscripts of the Late Fourteenth Century* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), 204–11.

14 Jill Sancha Cowen, *Kalila wa Dimna: An Animal Allegory of the Mongol Court; The Istanbul University Album* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting*; and the online scholarly blog *Kalila wa Dimna*, manuscrits à peinture dans le monde musulman au département des manuscrits de la BnF et dans les collections mondiales, <http://kwd.hypotheses.org/>.

15 In Sanskrit *niti* refers to wise conduct in life; *artha*, literally goal, connotes the pursuit of material prosperity or worldly wealth.

16 The mythical Indian king would eventually be called Dabshalim, and his adviser Vishnusharman would become Bidpai in Arabic and Persian sources; O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, 69–74.

17 Edgerton, *The Panchatantra Reconstructed* (1967), 3:271–73.

*Mitra-bheda* (1. The Loss or Separation of Friends); *Mitra-labha* or *Mitra-samprapti* (2. The Gaining of Friends); *Kakolukiya* (3. Crows and Owls or War and Peace); *Labdhapranasam* (4. Loss of Gains); and *Aparikshitakarakam* (5. Ill-Considered Action or Rash Deeds).

The first translation from the original Sanskrit text was that of a Persian court physician named Borzui (Burzuyeh or Burzoe, 531–579). Borzui was a prominent physician who was also knowledgeable in languages, including Sanskrit, a skill that allowed him to translate the original Sanskrit into Pahlavi (Middle Persian). His translation, which he named *Karataka and Damanaka*, has been lost but is known through its descendants and offshoots. The oldest extant versions of Borzui’s Middle Persian version are preserved in a Syriac translation, known from the sixth and eighth centuries, followed by Arabic translations about two centuries later.<sup>18</sup> The Syriac version replaced the Brahman of the original *Panchatantra* with a philosopher, who is named Bidpai in the Muslim texts. A second Syriac translation of the tenth or eleventh century was made from the Arabic.

The story, which probably served as an autobiographic prologue, tells that the king sent Borzui to India to find an elixir (*rasayana*), extracted from herbs in the Himalayas, that was capable of reviving the dead. But when it turned out to be ineffective, a philosopher explained that the elixir was in truth a book and interpreted the allegory as follows: “The high mountains were the wise and learned men of lofty intellect: the trees and herbs their virtuous writings and the wisdom extracted from these writings the Elixir of Life that revived the dead intelligence and buried thoughts of the ignorant and unlearned.”<sup>19</sup> Borzui took a copy of the book back to the king, who was greatly impressed by its wisdom. A slightly different version was related in the eleventh-century Persian *Shahnameh* by Firdousi (Firdawsi, d. 1020).<sup>20</sup> In it, the Sassanian king Nushirvan (Anushirwan in Persian, r. 531–79)<sup>21</sup> sent Borzui in search of the

18 The original Sassanian work was translated into Syriac by a Persian Christian cleric named Bodh and then by Ibn al-Muqaffa. François de Blois, *Burzoy’s Voyage and the Origin of the Book of Kalilah wa Dimnah* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1990), 66–72; de Blois, “The Panchatantra: From India to the West and Back,” in *A Mirror for Princes from India: Illustrated Versions of the Kalilah wa Dimnah, Anvar-i Subayli, Iyar-i Danish and Humayun Nameh*, ed. Ernst J. Grube (Bombay: Marg Publishers, 1991), 10–15; and Dagmar Riedel, “Kalila wa Demna, i: Redactions and Circulation,” in *Encyclopedia Iranica* 15, fasc. 4 (2010), 386–95, updated April 20, 2012, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/kalila-demna-i>. For a review of Islamic translations, see Chandragupta Bhartiya, “Panchatantra: A Persian Translation (An Analytical Study); A Research Paper,” *Vidyawarta* (International Multilingual Research Journal), Maharashtra (India) 1, no. 5 (May 2015): 94–99.

19 Vishnu Sharma, *The Panchatantra*, trans. and intro. Chandra Rajan (London: Penguin Books, 1993), xvii–xviii; Edgerton (*The Panchatantra Reconstructed* [1967], 40–47) claimed that his translation included all but three of the original stories but omitted the introduction. The version quoted above also appeared in some European translations, including Thomas North’s *The Morall Philosophie of Doni* (London: G. Denham, 1570). For this and another version of the book’s transmigration and its influence, see Allaudin Shah, “The First Extra-Indian Translation of the *Panchatantra* into Pahlavi and Its Voyage around the World,” *Journal of Subcontinent Researches* (Baluchistan) 3, no. 7 (Summer 2011): 21–30, esp. 25–26.

20 De Blois, *A Mirror for Princes*, 14; and see Parvin Lolo, *Encyclopedia Iranica*, online edition, 2014, at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/sah-nama-translations-iii-English>. See also Abu al-Qasim al-Firdawsi, *al-Shahnameh*, trans. Al-Fath b. ‘Ali al-Bundari (Cairo: Dar Su‘ad al-Sabbah, 1993), 2:154–57.

21 Khusraw Anushirvan (“the Immortal Soul”) was a Zoroastrian Sassanian king, son of Kavadh I, who fought against Justinian and captured Antioch. He was known for his love of the sciences and was one of the great patrons of the translation project of literary and scientific works from Sanskrit to Persian. The *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, translated by Ibn al-Muqaffa (d. 759) from Pahlavi to Arabic, was a landmark in the translation of literature to Arabic.

plant, but he discovered the book, which he was permitted to read but not to copy. After committing the text to memory, he wrote it out in Pahlavi and sent it to the king, requesting only that his name be mentioned in the copy of the *Kalila wa Dimna*.<sup>22</sup> Following Borzui's introduction, he related the five tales of the *Panchatantra* and three additional stories taken from the twelfth book of the *Mahabharata* – “The Mouse and the Cat,” “The King and the Bird,” and “The Lion and the Jackal.” The ten stories are linked by a frame story that does not originate in the *Panchatantra*, in which each tale is told by the wise philosopher Bidnag (subsequently Bidna, Bilpay, or Pilpay) in response to questions posed by an Indian king.

The original Arabic version of *Kalila wa Dimna* included four prefaces or introductory chapters and fifteen chapters of tales, several of which were added by the tenth century.<sup>23</sup> The first introductory chapter, which most scholars believe was added in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, describes the background of the work initiated by the wise Indian Bidpai and his voyage to India to help King Nushirvan. The second chapter describes the transmission of the book to the Sassanian kingdom and the translation by Borzui. The third chapter, written by Abdallah ibn al-Muqaffa, a Zoroastrian convert to Islam (720–c. 757), emphasizes the need to comprehend hidden meanings conveyed through the language of animals. The fourth chapter conveys praise for Borzui, with episodes of his life. It relates the story of his voyage to India, sent by the Sassanian king in order to obtain the *Kalila wa Dimna*, a treasure hidden by the Indian kings that contained the secrets of their wise rule. The fourteen chapters of animal tales were valued as wise instructions for ruling the kingdom and its subjects. Ibn al-Muqaffa expanded the moral aspect by adding the story of Dimna's crimes, his trial, and his punishment, which were widely illustrated. He also added five new chapters. Other additions that were illustrated in Arabic manuscripts include “The Ascetic and His Guest,” “The Heron and the Duck,” and “The Duck, the Fox and the Heron.” The *Kalila wa Dimna* of Ibn al-Muqaffa was extensively copied and translated in the Middle Ages and was instrumental in developing the artistic Arabic prose genre known as *adab*. The earliest extant manuscripts of Ibn al-Muqaffa's Arabic version postdate his life by five hundred years. The illustrations in some of the early Arabic and Persian *Kalila and Dimna* manuscripts will be discussed below.<sup>24</sup>

22 De Blois, *Borzoi's Voyage*, 1–5.

23 Esin Atil described fifteen chapters, including the introductions in Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation and the chapter relating Borzui's voyage to India; Atil, *Kalila wa Dimna: Fables from a Fourteenth Century Arabic Manuscript* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981), 9–16, 61–67. Ibn al Nadim, an Arabic writer of the tenth century, wrote of seventeen or eighteen chapters, claiming that he personally saw two chapters added; *The Fibrist of al-Nadim: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, trans. Bayard Dodge (New York: Great Books of the Islamic World, Kazi Publications, 1970); and Abu al-Faraj Muhammad b. Abi Ya'qub Ishaq al-Nadim, known as al-Warraq, *Kitab al-Fibrist*, ed. Rida (Tehran: Dar al-Masirah, 1988), 132, 364. The *Kalila wa Dimna* edition of Beirut, published in 1981, includes sixteen chapters in addition to four introductions: those from Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic, and the story of how the work was translated from Sanskrit to Persian: Ibn al-Muqaffa, *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, ed. al-Shaykh Ilyas Khalil Zakharya, 3rd ed. (Beirut: Dar al-Andalus, 1981). The Cairo edition of 1986 contains fifteen chapters and four introductions, with illustrations by the contemporary artist Roman Strelakovsky, executed according to Islamic artistic tradition: Ibn al-Muqaffa, *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, ed. Taha Hussein and 'Abd al-Wahhab 'Azzam (Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif, 1986).

24 Manuscripts discussed below include the following; this list also gives other examples. Arabic manuscripts: Rabat, Bibliothèque royale, MS 3655, Baghdad?, c. 1265–80; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ibn al-Muqaffa, MS Pococke 400, Egypt or Syria, 1357; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arabe 616. Persian manuscripts: Istanbul, Istanbul

## PANCHATANTRA ILLUSTRATIONS IN INDIA, INDONESIA, AND SOGDIA

Does the repeated emphasis on the animal tales as a means for didactic and moral instruction explain their inclusion in monumental temple iconography? Patil listed 180 sculptures, depicting fifty stories, which have survived in India, Bangladesh, and Indonesia.<sup>25</sup> Many of the Indian and Indonesian carvings are small and located in unobtrusive places, such as the base of pillars, windowsills and frames, staircases, and primarily on the lower architectural registers or the base of the structure.<sup>26</sup> They are not necessarily related to themes depicted nearby on the lower parts of the structure, but some cases are associated with secular and mundane imagery of both negative and positive moralistic content. The placement of specific themes in Indian temple architecture and in that of Southeast Asia was dictated by well-defined rules and tradition. Secular, moralistic themes and narratives of a didactic nature were allocated to the lowest architectural registers.<sup>27</sup>

Patil's original study of *Panchatantra* sculptures was focused in Karnataka, where he found twenty-six stories illustrated in about one hundred panels.<sup>28</sup> These were created by a series of ruling dynasties – the Chalukyas of Badami (7th–8th century), Rashtrakutas (9th–10th century), Gangas (10th–11th century), Chalukyas of Kalyana (10th–12th century), and Hoysalas (12th century). It is significant that the first Indian vernacular version of the Sanskrit *Panchatantra* was Durgasimha's translation into Kannada. He was a Brahmin minister of the western Chalukya king Jayasimha, who ruled in Karnataka (1018–42). Sculpted depictions of “The Hypocritical Cat,” “The Wedge-pulling Monkey,” “The Heron and the Crab,” “The Geese and the Tortoise,” and “The Monkey and the Crocodile” in temples of Karnataka will be discussed below as important forerunners of subsequent visual traditions.

Wall paintings were another early source of related iconography. A few fresco fragments depicting tales from the *Panchatantra* and Aesop's fables, identified in Sogdian houses in the city of Penjikent in Central Asia (present-day Tajikistan and Uzbekistan), were assigned to the eighth century, the very period during which Ibn al-Muqaffa was making his Arabic translation from the Pahlavi.<sup>29</sup> Sogdia played a major role in trade on the Silk Road from the second century BCE until the Arab conquests in the eighth century; the area was a melting pot of religion and culture. The assimilation of Indian literature and art in Sogdian culture was mediated by Buddhist communities, and Hindu deities were identified with those of the local pagan and Iranian pantheon. Nevertheless, doubts regarding the

University Library, MS F.1422, Nasr Allah, Tabriz, c. 1370–74; Cairo, National Library, Adab Farisi 61, Nasr Allah, c. 1385–95; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BnF), Paris persan 376, Nasr Allah, Baghdad, c. 1279–80 or 1385–95; BnF, Paris persan 377, Nasr Allah, c. 1380–90; and BnF, Paris suppl. persan 913, 1391.

25 Patil, “*Panchatantra* Sculptures and Literary Traditions,” 73.

26 Klokke, *The Tantri Reliefs*, 77–79, 91, 113–14, 153; and Jan Fontein, introduction to Klokke, *Narrative Sculptures and Literary Traditions*, xii.

27 Boris Marshak, *Legends: Tales and Fables in the Art of Sogdiana* (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 2002), esp. 85, regarding eighth-century mural paintings in pre-Islamic Sogdia, on trade routes connecting Central Asia with northern India and western China.

28 Patil, *Panchatantra in Karnataka Sculptures*, 2.

29 Julian Raby, “Between Sogdia and the Mamluks: A Note on the Earliest Illustration of the *Kalila wa Dimna*,” *Oriental Art* 33, no. 4 (1987–88): 381–98.

identification of specific images with Indian and Aesopian fables, as opposed to local legends, were set forth by Boris Marshak.<sup>30</sup> In his recent study, Matteo Compareti cautiously stated:

scenes represented at Penjikent could have been identified only through the study of Sogdian texts obviously based on Indian literature since the subjects of those tales were completely absorbed by local artists and were contextualized in their own cultural milieu through different formulae more appropriate for a Central Asian audience. This is the case of the scenes from the *Panchatantra* and *Mahabharatha* which are considered to be represented at Penjikent.<sup>31</sup>

In fact, Aesopian and *Panchatantra* animal fables were found in fragmentary Manichaean documents written in Sogdian that were recovered approximately one century ago during archaeological excavations in western China.<sup>32</sup> One of the Penjikent frescoes has been identified as the tale of “The Hare and the Lion” that was related in two Sanskrit versions of the *Panchatantra*, those of Vishnusharman and Purnabhadra.<sup>33</sup> Julian Raby found stylistic and iconographic parallels between Penjikent scenes and Islamic miniatures painted six hundred years later.<sup>34</sup> According to Raby, evidence suggests that these images circulated in manuscripts from before the eighth century. He assumed that manuscript illustrations were the source of the Sogdian murals or that the murals were based on Indian models. Marshak was convinced of the existence in Sogdiana of illustrated manuscripts and sketchbooks that local artists used for their paintings.<sup>35</sup> Raby introduced the issue of portable objects that may have played a role in the early transmission of *Panchatantra* images. In his discussion of an Indian ceramic fragment (2nd–3rd century CE), excavated at Sri Lanka, that depicts the monkey riding on the crocodile, he neglected to mention that the story originates in *Jataka* tales. In fact, a Buddhist relief of “The Monkey and the Crocodile” was carved on an earlier pillar in Mathura in northern India (c. 1st–2nd century CE).<sup>36</sup> Whether or not early Buddhist reliefs had any influence on pre-Islamic manuscript illustrations of the *Panchatantra*, now lost, remains purely conjectural. Although we can reconstruct the chronology and development of the fable imagery in Indian and Javanese sculpture up to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, assuming there was a chronological overlap between the tradition of sculpted imagery and illustrations in manuscripts, concrete evidence of contacts and correlations has yet to be revealed.

30 Marshak, *Legends*, 86, 89.

31 Matteo Compareti, “Classical Elements in Sogdian Art: Aesop’s Fables Represented in the Mural Paintings at Penjikent,” *Iranica Antiqua* 47 (2012): 303–16; and Marshak, *Legends*, 127–44.

32 The syncretistic Manichaean religion originated in Persia (3rd century CE) and spread eastward as far as China and westward to the Roman Empire.

33 Johannes Hertel, *The Panchatantra: A Collection of Ancient Hindu Tales in the Recension, Called Panchakhyana, and Dated 1199 A.D., of the Jaina Monk, Purnabhadra*, vol. II (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1908); Hertel, ed., *The Panchatantra Text of Purnabhadra* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1912); Hertel, *The Panchatantra: A Collection of Ancient Hindu Tales in Its Oldest Recension*; Guitty Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 179; Julian Raby, “The Earliest Illustrations to Kalilah wa Dimnah,” in Grube, *A Mirror for Princes from India*, 16–31; and O’Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, 93.

34 Raby, “Between Sogdia and the Mamluks,” 381–98.

35 Marshak, *Legends*, 99.

36 See discussion below.



THE TRANSITION FROM EAST TO WEST:  
ARABIC AND PERSIAN ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscript illustrations were probably conceived as inseparable adjuncts to the text in the earliest Arabic and Persian translations. We have noted the Arabic translation from the Pahlavi made by Ibn al-Muqaffa, with the title *Kalilah wa Dimnah*.<sup>37</sup> This translation was commissioned by the founder of Baghdad, the Abbasid caliph al-Mansur. In his preface Ibn al-Muqaffa stated that the text should be illustrated, and there is evidence that illustrated manuscripts of this kind already existed at that time.<sup>38</sup> A passage in his eighth-century preface, known from manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, states:

He who peruses this book should know that its intentions is fourfold. Firstly it was put into the mouths of dumb animals so that light-hearted youths might flock to read it and their hearts be captivated by the rare uses of animals. Secondly, it was intended to show the images of the animals in varieties of paints and colors so as to delight the hearts of princes, increase their pleasure, and also the degree of care which they would bestow on the work. Thirdly, it was intended that the book should be such that kings and common folk should not cease to acquire it; that it might be repeatedly copied and recreated in the course of time thus giving work to the painter and copyist. The fourth purpose of the work concerns the philosophers in particular (i.e. the apologues put into the mouths of animals).<sup>39</sup>

Ibn al-Muqaffa assumed that illustrations would increase the popularity of the book, enhancing its aesthetic appeal and promoting its didactic aims both for “kings and common folk.”<sup>40</sup>

The earliest Muslim reference to the *Kalila wa Dimna* as an illustrated book was that of the famous Persian historian Abu Jarir al-Tabari (d. 923), who mentioned that in the year 841 one of the princes of Central Asia was prosecuted for keeping heretical images and illustrated books. In his defense, the prince claimed to have inherited from his father a book of etiquette and decorous behavior from the Persian tradition, and accused the judge (*Qadi*) for keeping a similar book in his collection, namely, an illustrated copy of the *Kalila wa Dimna* that, he claimed, did not defy strictures of the Muslim religion.<sup>41</sup>

37 He was born with the name Ruzbeh Dadhweh in the city of Jur and moved to Basra (Iraq), an important center of culture, art, and the promotion of the Arabic language. Marianne Marroum, “*Kalila wa Dimna*: Inception, Appropriation, and Transmimesis,” *Comparative Literature Studies* 48, no. 4 (2011): 512–40, esp. 513–40.

38 O’Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, 28.

39 David S. Rice, “The Oldest Illustrated Arabic Manuscript,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 22 (1959): 207–20, at 209; and O’Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, 23–24. This passage already appears in the earliest surviving Arabic illustrated manuscript: Paris, BnF, MS 3465, fol. 33b, c. 1220–50.

40 Raby, “Between Sogdia and the Mamluks,” 381–98; Rice, “The Oldest Illustrated Arabic Manuscript”; and the comprehensive census of illustrated manuscripts by Ernst J. Grube, “Prolegomena for a Corpus Publication of Illustrated *Kalilah wa Dimnah* Manuscripts,” *Islamic Art* 4 (1990–91): 301–481.

41 Abu Jarir al-Tabari, *Tarikh al-Rusul wa’al-Muluk* (in Arabic), ser. 3, vol. 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1879; Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islami, 1968), 1308–9.

Another reference to the illustrations of *Kalila wa Dimna* was made by Firdousi, mentioned above, in the preface and text of his famous *al-Shahnameh*.<sup>42</sup>

Based on literary sources, Raby argued that there was an unbroken tradition of illustrating *Kalila wa Dimna* manuscripts from the eighth century, although the oldest surviving illustrated manuscript of Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation dates from the early thirteenth century (Paris, BnF, MS arabe 3465) (figs. 12, 20, 28, 33). Its ninety-eight illustrations (there are eight later additions), considered to be original work of an anonymous artist, were important models for later illuminators. Seven illustrated copies of Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation are known from Mamluk Egypt and Syria, dating from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.<sup>43</sup> Most exceptional among these are Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pococke 400, with seventy-eight illustrations; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 616, with seventy-three miniatures; and the related BnF, MS arabe 3467, which is incomplete and without a date but contains forty-seven similar paintings (figs. 13, 14, 11).<sup>44</sup>

Bernard O'Kane has shown the relative importance of the five original frame stories of the *Panchatantra* in relation to the nested narratives and the addition of stories to the *Kalila wa Dimna* from varied origins.<sup>45</sup> Analysis of the illustrations in later manuscripts shows that the five original frame stories were the ones most frequently illustrated in Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation. Ibn al-Muqaffa's eighth-century Arabic text was translated into Persian between 1143 and 1146 by the statesman and poet Abu-al Maali Nasr Allah Munshi, at the court of the Ghaznavid sultan Bahram Shah, whose territories included parts of western India. The earliest extant illustrated Persian manuscript, Istanbul, Topkapı Saray Library, MS H 363, containing 124 paintings, belongs to the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Due to the prominence to Dabishlim, the Indian ruler, and the sage Bidpai, his adviser, who introduces each chapter and concludes each fable with the moral, Nasr Allah Munshi's redaction was subsequently called *The Fables of Bidpai* (or Pilpay). Some of fourteenth-century Persian manuscripts include lavish illustrations depicting the original *Panchatantra* tales with additional animal stories.<sup>46</sup> The *Kalila wa Dimna* continued to be illustrated in fifteenth-century Iran under the Timurids and received a new translation.

How was it possible for these didactic fables, originating in the Buddhist and Hindu literature of India and diffused in temple iconography, to cross cultural, religious, and linguistic borders? The first stage of cultural transmission was part of a translation movement and seems to have initially been promoted by the political ambitions of Muslim rulers and court politics. The Persian and Arabic beast fables also came to be valued for their literary style and rhetoric as well as their pragmatic ethical wisdom and didactic guidance. Robert Irwin, referring to the fact that Ibn al-Muqaffa moved in princely

42 Abu al-Qasim Al-Firdawsī, *al-Shahnameh*, 25, 37, 53, 2:154–57.

43 Atil, *Kalila wa Dimna*, 61–65.

44 Ibid., 77–93; and O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, 38–41.

45 O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting*. On the tradition of frame stories in the Arabic context, see Robert Irwin, "The Arabic Beast Fable," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992): 36–50; on related frame-tale structure in Iberian literature, see David A. Wacks, "The Cultural Context of the Translation of *Calila e Dimna*," in *Framing Iberia* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 86–128.

46 Atil, *Kalila wa Dimna*, esp. 55–69; P. Waley and Norah M. Titley, "An Illustrated Persian Text of the *Kalila wa Dimna* Dated 707/1307/8," *British Library Journal* 1 (1975): 42–61; and O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, appendix 7.

circles and wrote at least two treatises of the “Mirror for Princes” genre, questioned whether the *Kalila wa Dimna* belonged to that genre.<sup>47</sup> Noting the unflattering light in which kings or princes were presented, Irwin assumed that Ibn al-Muqaffa and those who directly imitated him were not writing wholly or mainly for princes, but seem to be directing their advice to those who stood close to them as well as to a wider middle-class public.<sup>48</sup> Ibn al-Muqaffa explicitly directed his translation to young men, among others, in the hope that “the stories which combine pleasure with wisdom, would bear fruit in the reader’s maturity.”<sup>49</sup>

The twelfth-century text of Nasr Allah Munshi reflected the intellectual taste of the Persian court and included a new introduction to the *Kalila wa Dimna* that stated, “this is a mine of wisdom, sagacity and a treasure of experience. It can help the policy of the kings in bringing order into their kingdoms, and people of middle status in preserving their possessions.”<sup>50</sup> Flood has emphasized connections and “associations between India, translation, and the self-fashioning of Persian elites.”<sup>51</sup>

The *Kalila wa Dimna* and *Anvar-i Subayli* (Lights of Canopus) manuscripts of the Timurid period (c. 1370–1507) reflected the elegant court culture that reached its apogee in the school of Herat (Afghanistan).<sup>52</sup> Traditional depictions of “The Monkey and the Carpenter,” “The Fox Caught between Fighting Rams,” “The Tortoise and the Geese,” “The Monkey and the Tortoise,” and other familiar tales, with numerous additions, served as mediators between the work of the Muzaffarid dynasty, which ruled from Shiraz in the fourteenth century, and the Mughals in India.<sup>53</sup>

The *Anvar-i Subayli* and *Iyar-i-Danish* manuscripts are of particular interest because they demonstrate the return of the *Panchatantra* tales and illustrations to India, having been transformed in their Asian migrations by translations; political, religious, and social contexts; and indigenous artistic traditions. Although they employed Hindu and Muslim artists of local Indian schools, such as those of Rajasthan, Gwalior, Gujarat, and Kashmir, the Mughals were also influenced by manuscripts and paintings of their Timurid ancestors and those made for the Safavids and the Shaybani Uzbeks who succeeded the Timurids in Iran and Central Asia. A very fine copy of the *Kalila wa Dimna* (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art), written in Arabic prose, was originally considered a mid-sixteenth-

47 Irwin, “The Arabic Beast Fable”; and Grube, *A Mirror for Princes from India*, 33.

48 Irwin, “The Arabic Beast Fable,” 40–41; and Linda T. Darling, “Mirrors for Princes in Europe and the Middle East: A Case of Historiographical Incommensurability,” in *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Trans-cultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 223–42.

49 Irwin, “The Arabic Beast Fable,” 1992, 45; see *Kalila wa Dimna*, in Victor Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux arabes publiés dans l’Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1907* (Liège: L’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres et la Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1907), 2:11–12.

50 Abu al-Ma’ali Nasr Allah Munshi, *Kalila wa Dimna*, ed. and trans. Mujtaba Minuvi (Tehran: Intisharat-i Danishgah-i Tihiran, 1964), 18; and Cowen, *Kalila wa Dimna*, 9.

51 Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 7.

52 The stories of the *Anvar-i Subayli* (Lights of Canopus) were written by Kamal al-Din Husayn ibn Ali al-Va’iz, known as Kashifi, at the end of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, probably in Timurid Herat. It is dedicated to Amir Suhayli, who commissioned Kashifi to rewrite the stories of *Kalila wa Dimna* in up-to-date language. The *Iyar-i-Danish*, a new version of the Timurid work, was commissioned by the Mughal emperor Akbar (1556–1605).

53 Sofie Walzer, “The Topkapi Saray Manuscript of the Persian *Kalila was Dimna* (dated CE 1413),” in *Paintings from Islamic Lands*, ed. Ralph H. Pinder-Wilson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 48–84.

century work and was mistakenly claimed to be the only known version of the sultanate period in India (fig. 16).<sup>54</sup> Its seventy-eight miniatures are clearly related to those of the Bodleian Pococke 400, dated 1357, but recent research dates it to the seventeenth or eighteenth century.<sup>55</sup>

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries illuminated manuscripts of the *Iyar-i-Danish* and the *Anvar-i Subayli* were executed in Iran and Central Asia and under Mughal patronage in India.<sup>56</sup> A beautifully painted page from a lost manuscript of the *Iyar-i-Danish* or the *Anvar-i Subayli*, dating to the late sixteenth century, presents “The Dog and His Bone” surrounded by an urban landscape (fig. 41). Other richly illustrated manuscripts of the *Anvar-i Subayli* from Akbar’s period are located in the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya Museum, Mumbai (formerly Prince of Wales Museum, acc. no. 73.5, c. 1575), which is a beautiful but badly damaged work; the School of Oriental and African Studies, London (SOAS, c. 1570); the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi (no. 9069, Lahore, c. 1596–97); and the British Library (Or. 6317, Gujarat, 1600–1601). Modifications in the relationship between text and image and functions of the illustrations were examined by John Seyller, who stated: “The images in the SOAS *Anvar-i Subayli* mark the initial stage in the physical emancipation of the miniature from the text; by the end of the sixteenth century, this process is pursued in manuscripts such as the Bharat Kala Bhavan *Anvar-i Subayli*, which has a preponderance of full-page miniatures.”<sup>57</sup> Mika Natif cited unique qualities of the *Iyar-i-Danish* manuscript in Varanasi “that demonstrates the sophistication of upper class Mughal society and its literati nobility in the 1590s.”<sup>58</sup> She demonstrated a shift in the development of Mughal aesthetics and visual self-representation, as can be seen in the magnificent miniature of the Mughal court (in the *Iyar-i-Danish*, Varanasi MS 9069), where the figure of King Nushirvan receiving Borzui is actually a portrait of Akbar receiving the manuscript from his court artist. As the importance of forging a new cultural identity took precedence in the Mughal “Mirror for Princes,” the number of didactic animal tales was reduced. Later copies were made for Akbar’s eldest son, Prince Nur-ud-din Muhammad Salim, subsequently Emperor Jahangir (r. 1605–27), who was an avid patron of art and furthered the naturalistic depictions of animals and plants. Artists documented the animals and plants that Jahangir found or received as gifts from other countries. In his huge aviary and large zoo he kept records of every specimen and organized experiments. Among the many copies of the *Iyar-i-Danish* and the *Anvar-i Subayli* in the British Library, Add. 18579 (1610–11, with 36 miniatures) is typical in that only a limited number of the original *Kalila wa Dimna* animal tales are depicted. The Arabic and Persian illustrations were repeatedly copied in manuscripts, as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in India, Persia, and the Middle East. Among these is the *Anvar-i Subayli* (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W.599), in which the colophon (fol. 193a) gives the date of

54 *Notable Acquisitions, 1981–82* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), 15–16, entry by Stuart Cary Welch and Marie L. Swietochowski.

55 <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/453062>, accessed September 20, 2016.

56 J.V.S. Wilkinson, *The Lights of Canopus: Anvar-i Subayli* (London: Studio Limited, 1930); John Seyller, “*Anvar-i Subayli*: The Illustration of a ‘de luxe’ Mughal Manuscript,” *Ars Orientalis* 16 (1986): 119–51; and Qaisar, “An Introduction to the *Anvar-i Subayli* and Its Illustrations,” 33–44.

57 Seyller, “*Anvar-i Subayli*,” 126.

58 Mika Natif, abstract of lecture, Third Biennial Symposium of Historians of Islamic Art, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, October 19–20, 2012.

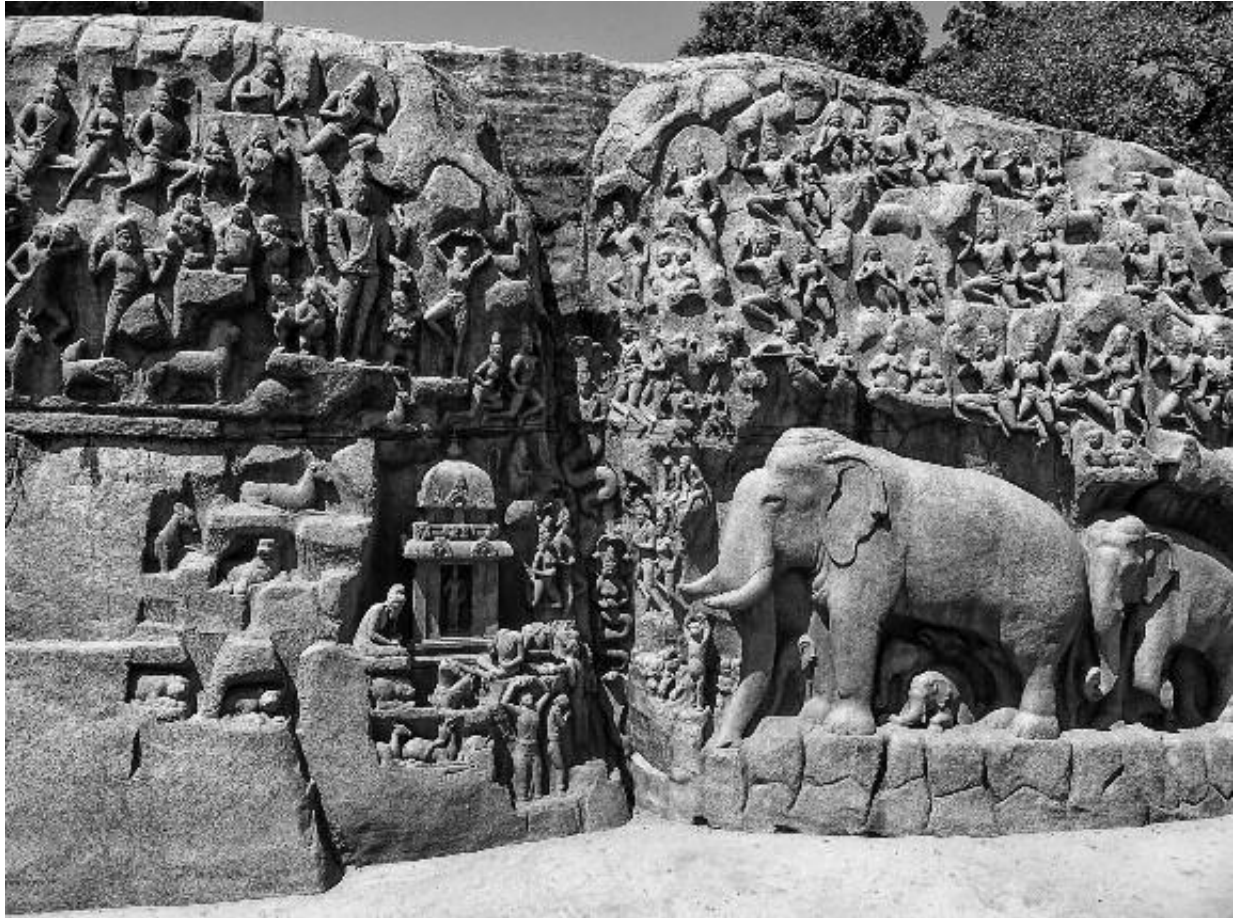


Fig. 1 *The Descent of the Ganges*, granite relief, 7th century, 30 × 12 m, Mahabalipuram, India



Fig. 2 Ascetic figure,  
detail of *The Descent of the Ganges*



Fig. 3 "The Hypocritical Cat,"  
detail of *The Descent of the Ganges*

وایمن و فارغی تخرز و تصون بیشتر آمدند بیک جمله هر دو را



بگرفت و بکشت و نتیجه زهد و اثر صلاح روزه دار چون  
دخلة حنیث و طبع مکار داشت برن جمله ظاهر گشت و کار  
بومر و غدر و نفاق او را مبین مزاج گشت و معایب او بی نهایت  
و این قدر که بفرز افناد از دریا حرقه می ماندند داشت و از  
دو رخ شعله می و میباد که رای شما برین قرار کرد که هر گاه که  
افسر باد شاه می بدیدار نا خوب و کردار ناستوده بومر مملو  
شد **مهرو ماه از آسمان سنگ ننداز او گرفت مرغان از آن کار**  
باز گشتند و غریمیت متابعت بومر فرسخ کردند و بومر متاسف

Fig. 4 "The Hypocritical Cat," *Kalila wa Dimna*, Baghdad, c. 1385–95,  
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS persan 376, fol. 146r



Fig. 5 "The Hypocritical Cat," *Kalila wa Dimna*, Jalayarid, c. 1370–74, Istanbul, Istanbul University Library, MS 1422, fol. 7B



Fig. 6 Reynard, *The Maastricht Hours*, early 14th century, London, British Library, MS Stowe 17, fol. 84r



Fig. 8 "The Monkey and the Crocodile," 10th century, Mukteshwar Temple, Bhuvaneshvar, Odisha (Kalinga), stone frame with detail







Fig. 7 "The Monkey and the Crocodile," relief, 9th century, Chandi Mendut (Java, Indonesia).  
Photo: Leiden University Library, OD 2008



Fig. 9 "The Monkey and the Crocodile," 11th or 12th century,  
Kopesvar Temple, Khidrapur, Maharashtra



Fig. 10 "The Monkey and the Crocodile," c. 1070,  
Tripurantakesvara Temple (Hoysala),  
Belligave (Belligrama), Karnataka

85

49

القرود سنة فينا معاشر القرود لان ذهب بعلوبنا معنا اذا خرجنا من منازلنا  
 ولكن ان شئت فارجع بنا جميعا حتى نأخذه ثم نقبل جميعا فقال السلخفاء  
 وفرح بذلك قد وافعني ما ذكرت فانصرفا سريعين فلما بلغا الساحل  
 وتب القرود فارتفعوا فوق الشجر



فانتظر السلخفاء فارتباطا عليه فناداه فقال ما خيل لي قال بعد صفتي ف  
 قلبك واركب على ظهري فانطلق جميعا فقال القرود اراك

Fig. 11 "The Monkey and the Tortoise" (the monkey dropping figs), *Kalila wa Dimna*, Egypt or Syria, mid-14th century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3467, fol. 85



Fig. 12 "The Monkey and the Tortoise," *Kalila wa Dimna*, Egypt or Syria, c. 1200–1250, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3465, fol. 57



Fig. 13 "The Monkey and the Tortoise," Ibn al-Muqaffa, *Kalila wa Dimna*, Egypt or Syria, c. 1357, Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Pococke 400, fol. 114a

Fig. 16 "The Monkey and the Tortoise," *Kalila wa Dimna*, 18th century, Egypt or Syria, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck Collection, 1981.373.77



Fig. 14 "The Monkey and the Tortoise," (the monkey dropping figs), Ibn al-Muqaffa, *Kalila wa Dimna*, Egypt or Syria, 1310, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arabe 616, fol. 99v





Fig. 15 "The Monkey and the Tortoise," Nasr Allah Munshi, *Kalila wa Dimna*, Jalayarid, c. 1370–74, Istanbul University Library, Pers. F.1422, fol. 19B



Fig. 17 "The Tortoise and the Birds," 11th–12th century,  
Kopeshvar Temple (Chalukya), Khidrapur, Maharashtra



Fig. 18 "The Tortoise and the Birds," c. 1070,  
Tripurantakeshvara Temple, Belligave



Fig. 19 "The Tortoise and the Birds," 1117, Chennakeshvara Temple (Hoysala),  
Belur, Karnataka. Photo: author



Fig. 20 "The Tortoise and the Ducks," *Kalila wa Dimna*, Egypt or Syria, c. 1200–1250, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3465, fol. 67r



Fig. 21 "The Tortoise and the Birds," *Kalila wa Dimna*, 1357, Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, MS Pococke 400, fol. 61b



Fig. 22 "The Tortoise and the Birds," Nasr Allah, *Kalila wa Dimna*, 1375–85, Istanbul, Topkapı Saray Museum, MS H.362, fol. 50A





Fig. 23 *Liber regius*, 1313, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS 8504, fol. 40v



Fig. 24 "The Tortoise and the Birds," *Das Buch der Beispeile der alten Weisen*, German translation by Antonius von Pförr, made for Count Eberhard of Württemberg and Barbara Gonzaga, after 1474, Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 680. Photo: Réunion des Musées nationaux

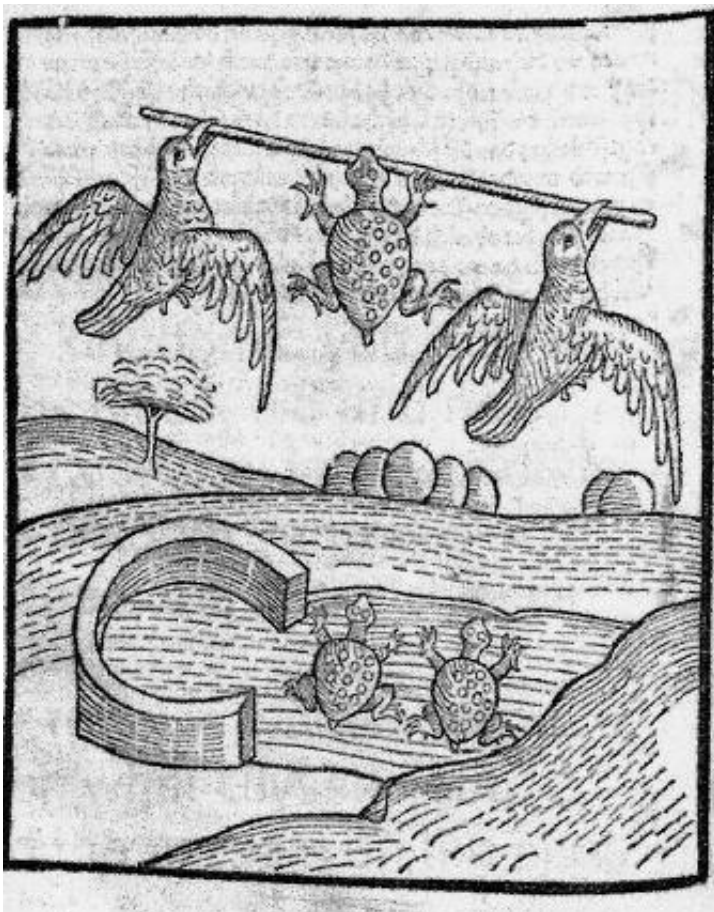


Fig. 25 "The Tortoise and the Birds," woodcut, *Das Buch der Beispeile der alten Weisen* (Ulm, 1484)

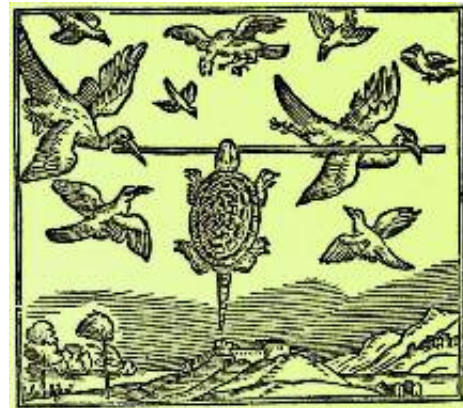


Fig. 26 "The Tortoise and the Geese," woodcut, Thomas North, *The Moral Philosophy of Doni* (London, 1570)

حلا  
 من قول الامم الكبر  
 من عدول صولة المستطع دغاله  
 من قديم  
 من قول الامم الكبر  
 من عدول صولة المستطع دغاله  
 من قديم

المتواظن التي يعلم انه فيها لك سوا فاقدا ولم يقابل كان حقيقا ان يقابل  
 عن نفسه كزما وحفاظا ثم اهوى بكليته على عنق العجوم فعصن فمات  
 وخلص السرطان للجماعة السمك فاجبرهم بذلك وانما صرنت لك هذا المشل



لتعلم ان بعض الجيلة مهلكة للبحر والكنز اذ لك على اسر ان استوديت  
 عليه كان فيه هلال الا يسود من غير ان يهاب به نفسه وتكون فيه  
 سلامك قال الخراب وما ذاك قال تطلق حصريه في ايلك لعلك ان تظن

Fig. 28 "The Heron and the Crab," *Kalila wa Dimna*, Syria or Egypt, c. 1200–1250, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3465, fol. 112v

Fig. 27 “The Heron and the Crab,”  
7th–8th century, Vishvabrahma Temple,  
Alampur. Photo: Channabasappa S. Patil,  
*Panchatantra in Karnataka Sculptures* (Mysore:  
Directorate of Archaeology and Museums,  
1995), fig. 15



Fig. 29 “The Heron and the Crab,”  
*Calila e Digna*, 15th century,  
Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, MS h-III-9,  
fol. 16v

Fig. 30 “The Heron and the Crab,”  
attributed to Giuliano da Sangallo,  
step-end of the staircase, courtyard,  
Palazzo Gondi, Florence, c. 1490–1501,  
London, Victoria and Albert Museum



Fig. 31 “The Heron and the Crab,”  
woodcut, *Directorium humanae vitae*,  
1st edition of Latin version by John of Capua  
translated 1263–78 (Strasbourg: Johann  
Prüss, c. 1489)





Fig. 32 “The Monkey Driving a Wedge,” mid- 8th century, Mallikarjuna Temple, Pattadakal, Karnataka.



Detail of fig. 32. Photo: Channabasappa S. Patil, *Panchatantra in Karnataka Sculptures* (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, 1995), fig. 3



Fig. 35 “The Monkey and the Carpenter,” Nasr Allah, *Kalila wa Dimna*, Jalayrid, c. 1370–74, Istanbul University Library, MS F.1422, fol. 22A



Fig. 36 “The Wedge-Pulling Monkey,” *Buch der Weisheit* (Ulm: Johann Zainer, 1484)



Fig. 37 “The Monkey Driving a Wedge,” *Exemplario contra los enganõs y peligros del mundo* (Seville: Juan Cromberger, 1546)

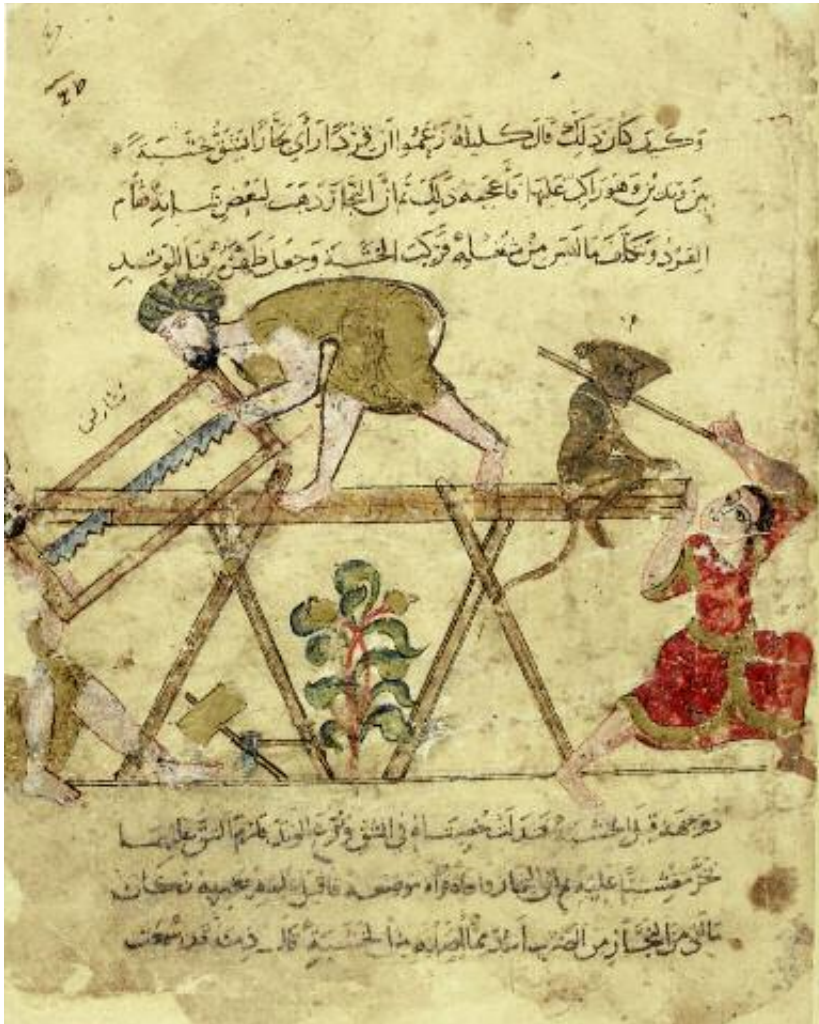


Fig. 33 "The Monkey and the Carpenter," Syria or Egypt, c. 1200–1250, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3465, fol. 47

Fig. 34 "The Monkey and the Carpenter," *Kalila wa Dimna*, Egypt, 1310, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arabe 616, fol. 43r





Fig. 38 "The Dog and Its Reflection,"  
 Nasr Allah, *Kalila wa Dimna*, Baghdad, first half of 13th century,  
 Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, MS Hazine 363, fol. 32b



Fig. 39 "The Dog and the Bone," *Kalila wa Dimna*,  
 Ottoman, Syria, 14th century,  
 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,  
 MS arabe 616, fol. 38v



Fig. 40 "The Dog and the Bone,"  
Nasr Allah, *Kalila wa Dimna*, painting mounted in album,  
Jalayarid, c. 1370–74,  
Istanbul University Library, F.1422, fol. 6B

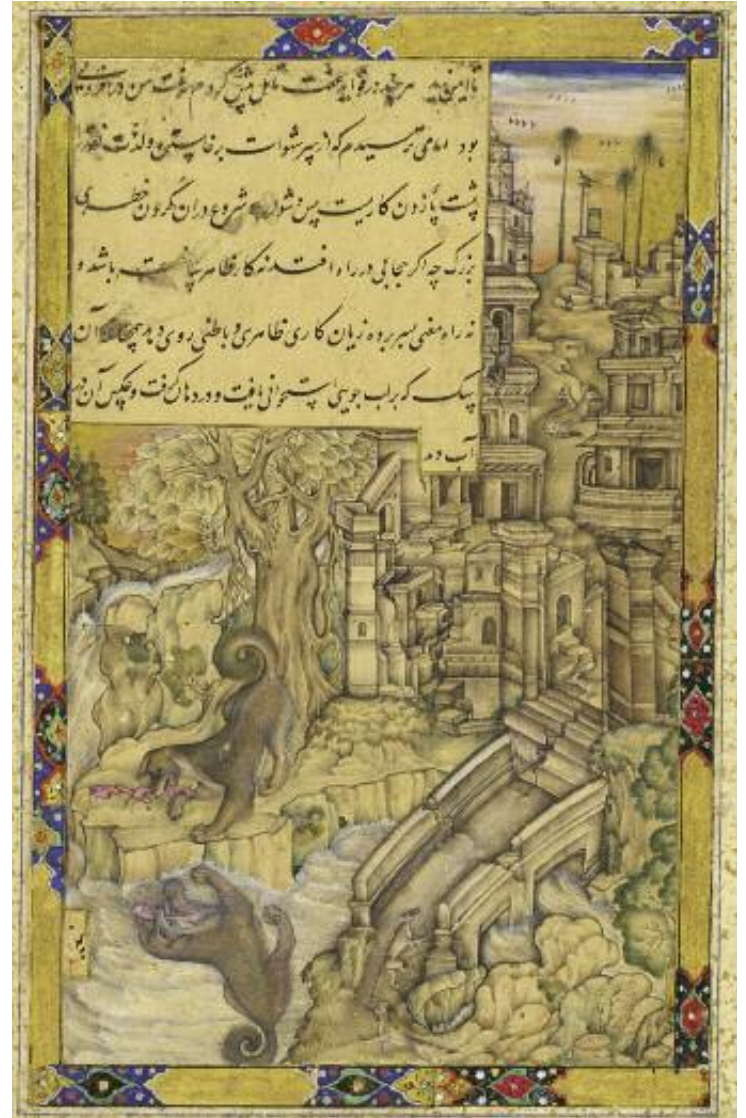


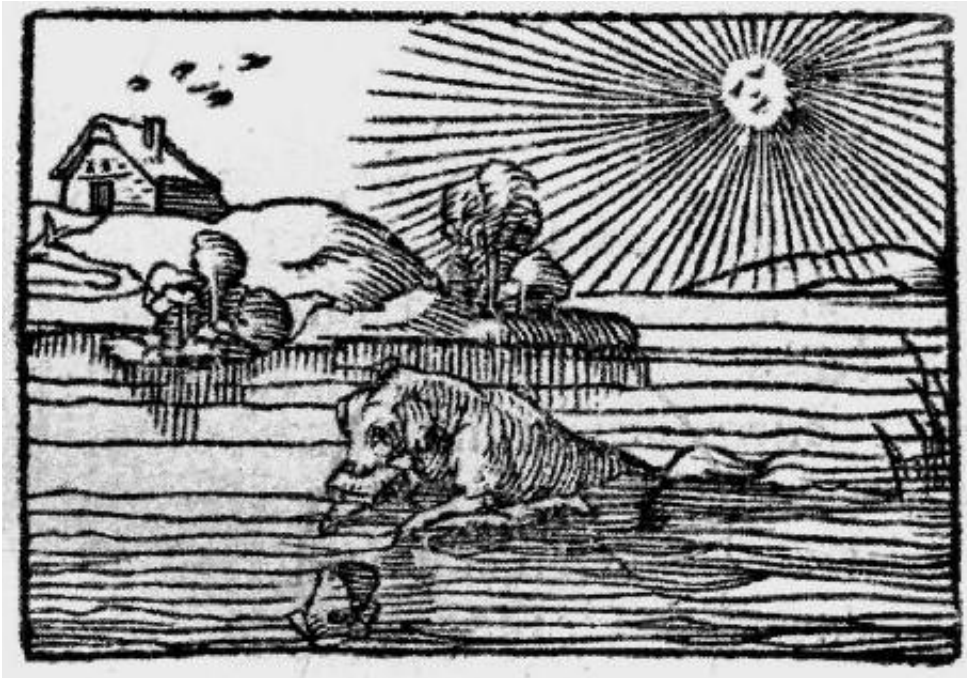
Fig. 41 "The Dog and His Bone" (Greedy Dog),  
from a lost manuscript based on the  
*Anwar-i Subayli* or the *Iyar-i Danish*, Mughal, India, 1596,  
The Art Institute of Chicago, 1919.951.  
Photo: Art Resource, New York



Fig. 42 “The Dog and His Bone,”  
*Buch der Weisheit der alten Weisen* (Urach:  
Conrad Flyner, 1482), fol. 10v

Fig. 43 “The Dog and the Piece of Meat,”  
woodcut, *Les fables d’Esopé Phrygien*,  
trans. Bernard Salomon (Lyon: Lean de  
Tournes et Guillaume Gazeau, 1547)

Fig. 44 “The Dog and His Reflection,”  
engraving, by François Chaveau,  
in Jean de la Fontaine, *Fables choisies*  
(Paris: Claude Barbin, 1668)





completion as 1847 and names the scribe. This manuscript contains numerous illuminations, most of which do not derive from the original *Kalila wa Dimna* fables, although some of the classical illustrations were faithfully repeated in an uninspired provincial style.

#### THE TRANSITION FROM ISLAMIC TO CHRISTIAN CULTURE

Long before the *Kalila wa Dimna* was translated into European languages, the Arab scholar Sa'id al-Andalusi, writing in Spain about 1050, listed it among the great legacies of Indian learning, considering it of “noble purpose and great practical worth.”<sup>59</sup> He explained the chain of translations by which it circulated from pre-Islamic India to medieval al-Andalus. It seems inevitable that the transmission and translation of the *Kalila wa Dimna* from the Islamic to the Christian world should have taken place in the multicultural ambience of medieval Iberia, where Muslim, Jewish, and Christian scholars interacted in circumstances characterized by David Wacks as “*contravivencia*, an agonistic yet productive symbiotic relationship in which each participant is a *sine qua non* in the construction of the other’s identity and cultural formation.”<sup>60</sup> Opposition to the terms “multiculturalism” and “*contravivencia*” was expressed by Flood, who wrote:

with its assumption of reified (and frequently singular) identities, the concept of multiculturalism fails to do justice to the complex and fluid notions of identity that characterize the mobile artisans, merchants and political elites. [...] Equally, however attractive they may be, romanticizing models such as *Contravivencia* have a tendency to flatten the contours in what were evidently complex, dynamic and often rapidly changing landscapes, casting pre modern societies as the inverse of our own anti-cosmopolitan dystopias.<sup>61</sup>

The unique history of the Castilian translation exemplifies the complexities reflected in these and other scholarly debates surrounding transcultural interactions and confrontations.

Presumably, the first copies of Ibn al-Muqaffa’s translation circulated in al-Andalus in the eighth or ninth century.<sup>62</sup> It was popular among Jews in medieval Iberia, who were steeped in Arabic literary culture, and in the early thirteenth century it was translated into Hebrew by the poet Jacob Ben El’azar (d. 1233) in Toledo, the capital of Christian Castile.<sup>63</sup> In 1251 an anonymous scholar was commissioned by Alfonso X, soon to become king of Castile and León, to translate the Arabic version into Castilian. This was part of his program to promote Castilian translations of literary, historical, legal, philosophical,

59 Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 6–8.

60 Wacks, “The Cultural Context of the Translation of *Calila e Dimna*,” 5.

61 Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 4.

62 Wacks, “The Cultural Context of the Translation of *Calila e Dimna*,” 12.

63 Alan Verskin, “The Theology of Jacob ben El’azar’s Hebrew Version of Ibn al-Muqaffa’s *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*,” *Revue des études juives* 170, nos. 3–4 (July–December 2011): 465–75. It is not known whether the first Hebrew translator of Ibn al-Muqaffa’s Arabic, Rabbi Joel, was also from Iberia. The literature on Hebrew translations of Arabic texts in Spain is extensive; see, e. g., Yosef Tobi, “Medieval Jewish Culture in Spain: Between Islam and Christianity,” in *Jews and Muslims in the Islamic World*, ed. Bernard Dov Cooperman and Zvi Zohar (Bethesda: University Press of Maryland, 2013), 353–84.

and scientific works, primarily from Arabic.<sup>64</sup> It is significant that *Kalila wa Dimna* was the first literary work to be translated from Arabic into Castilian, as *Calila e Digna*.<sup>65</sup> Wacks identified “a secular commonality defined by a common literary experience,” partially attributing the successful reception of this work to the fact “that its moral didactic program was compatible with the experience of the Christian Castilian audiences.”<sup>66</sup> He emphasized the universality of its didactic orientation, the way it presented practical matters that are common to all cultures, enabling it to cross cultural boundaries.<sup>67</sup> Although the Castilian version influenced other literary works, such as Ramón Lull’s *Llibre de les bèsties* (Book of Beasts, c. 1285–89) and Raymond de Bézier’s *Liber regius*, most of the surviving Castilian copies have no illustrations (e.g., Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, El Escorial, MS x-III-4). The linear illustrations in a Castilian manuscript (originally in El Escorial, now Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, MS h-III-9), attributed to the first third of the fifteenth century, represent the work of several hands. Some of those depicting the animal fables can be related to specific Arabic precedents in terms of style and iconography. “The Heron and the Crab” image in this Castilian *Calila e Digna* will be compared with the same subject depicted in a thirteenth-century Arabic manuscript (figs. 28, 29), although other illustrations in the same Castilian manuscript are unrelated to Islamic precedents. A possible connection between bestiaries and the *Calila e Digna* has also been considered in regard to Iberian animal depictions.<sup>68</sup>

The first Hebrew translation and adaptation of Ibn al-Muqaffa’s work had been made by an author known only by the name Rabbi Joel in the twelfth century. It survives in a fragmentary manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale and became the basis for John of Capua’s Latin translation.<sup>69</sup> Although it is unillustrated, there are gaps in the texts, and numerous captions that describe the intended illustrations, as will be discussed below. Jacob ben El’azar’s Hebrew translation was based on a different redaction of Ibn al-Muqaffa’s.<sup>70</sup> It survives in a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Bodleian Library that also contains blank spaces in the text and captions for missing illustrations. The popularity of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts, in general, and of those including animal depictions, in particular, provides further evidence of this tradition in the fifteenth century.<sup>71</sup> Two early Greek versions also survive. That of Symeon Seth dates to about 1080, but there is no evidence that its earliest recension gen-

64 David A. Wacks, “Cultural Exchange in the Literatures and Languages of Medieval Iberia,” *Medieval Iberian Culture* (<https://davidwacks.uoregon.edu/2013/10/30/exchange/>) and *Sephardic Horizons* 4, no. 1 (Winter 2014).

65 Two manuscripts of *Calila e Digna* are held in the Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, El Escorial; see Robert W. Linker and John E. Keller, eds., *El libro de Calila e Digna* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1967); and John E. Keller and Richard P. Kinkade, *Iconography in Medieval Spanish Literature* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1984), 41–51; note also Sharon Kinoshita, “Translation, Empire, and the Worlding of Medieval Literature: The Travels of *Kalila wa Dimna*,” *Postcolonial Studies* 11, no. 4 (2008): 371–85.

66 Wacks, “The Cultural Context of the Translation of *Calila e Dimna*,” esp. 86–87.

67 *Ibid.*, 103. See also Margaret Parker, *The Didactic Structure and Content of El Libro de Calila e Digna* (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1978).

68 Jenifer Borland, “The Forested Frontier: Commentary in the Margins of the Alhambra Ceiling Paintings,” *Medieval Encounters* 14 (2008): 303–40, esp. 308, 323–27, 335.

69 Joseph Derenbourg, ed., *Deux versions hébraïques du livre de Kalîâ et Dimnâb*, vol. 49 (Paris: Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études, 1881), <https://archive.org/details/bibliothquedel49ecol>.

70 *Ibid.*, 312 ff.; and Verskin, “The Theology of Jacob ben El’azar’s Hebrew Version of Ibn al-Muqaffa’s *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*.”

71 E.g., Isaac ben Solomon ibn Sahula’s *mesbal ha-kadmoni*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Vet. Or. e. Heb. 4(1), Askenaz, c. 1450; printed in Italy by Gershom Soncino c. 1497, with illustrated animal fables.

erated an illustrative tradition.<sup>72</sup> The second Greek fragment, part of a miscellany of folk tales now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, has been attributed to southern Italy between 980 and 1050.<sup>73</sup> Its first seven folios include three of the *Kalila wa Dimna* fables, which are illustrated with twenty-one illustrations. Textual variations, presumably resulting from erroneous translations of the Arabic source, are mirrored in the miniatures. The question of a direct Oriental influence has been debated by scholars. Raby concluded that some of the Morgan miniatures relied on an Arabic prototype, with or without modifications, and only a few were designed expressly for the Greek text. He furthermore suggested that “textual peculiarities in this version may have been prompted by the illustrations.”<sup>74</sup> The point, claims Raby, is “that despite its deformations in style and, to some extent, iconography, it still offers a reflection of an Arabic illustrated prototype of at least a century and a half earlier than the earliest extant Arabic manuscript.”<sup>75</sup> Another theory relates the Morgan manuscript to a Greek archetype of perhaps a century before, a ninth- or tenth-century Greek adaptation of the Arabic. Literary evidence indicates that Arabic and Persian copies of the *Kalila wa Dimna* existed as early as the ninth and tenth centuries. It is also significant that *Panchatantra* scenes were painted in frescoes in Sogdian Penjikent at the time Ibn al-Muqaffa was writing (mid-8th century).

The Latin translation by John of Capua (Giovanni da Capua), titled *Directorium humanae vitae, alias parabolae antiquorum sapientium* (The Guide of Human Life, or Proverbs of the Ancient Sages, c. 1263–78), was made from Joel’s Hebrew version and became the literary source for most European translations. But John’s Latin *Directorium* has survived only in early fifteenth-century manuscripts.<sup>76</sup> Another surviving Latin translation of the *Kalila wa Dimna* was that of Baldo, apparently an Italian of the late thirteenth century, whose work was titled *Aesopus novus* or *Aesopus alter*, but it actually combined a number of stories from Aesop with thirty-five fables from the *Kalila wa Dimna*.<sup>77</sup> He was first mentioned by the Paduan judge Geremia de Montagnone (d. 1320/21) in his *Compendium moralium notabilium* – a large collection of moral excerpts from ancient, patristic, and medieval sources. It is not clear whether the stories of Baldo were translated directly from Arabic, as was claimed by Max Müller in the nineteenth century, or were based on another Latin prose version, as contended by François de Blois.<sup>78</sup> Baldo’s *Kalila*

72 Raby, “Between Sogdia and the Mamluks,” 381–98, esp. 382. An unillustrated Italian translation of the Greek “Stephanites and Ichnelates,” based on Symeon Seth, *Del Governo de’ Regni, Sotto morali essempli di animali ragionanti tra loro*, was published by Domenico Mammarelli in Ferrara in 1583.

73 Raby, “Between Sogdia and the Mamluks,” 382–86.

74 Ibid., 384.

75 Ibid., 386.

76 John (Johannes) of Capua (c. 1250–1310) was an Italian Jewish convert to Christianity who also translated works by Maimonides and Ibn Zohar. His *Directorium humanae vitae* was dedicated to the Dominican Cardinal Matteo Orsini (d. 1340). See Derenbourg, *Directorium* (1881); and Derenbourg, *Commentaire de Maïmonide sur la Mischnah, Seder Tohorot, in tre parti* (Berlin: H. Itzkowski, 1887–89).

77 Leopold Hervieux, *Les fabulistes Latins: Depuis le siècle d’Auguste jusqu’à la fin du Moyen Âge*, vol. 5, *Jean de Capoue et ses dérivés* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1893–99; repr., New York: Franklin, 1965, 1976).

78 Alfons Hilka, *Der Novus Aesopus des Baldo*, 21, no. 3 of *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, published as vols. 1–2 of *Beiträge zur lateinischen Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters* (Göttingen: Weidmann, 1928); Max Müller, “On the Migration of Fables (a Lecture Delivered at the Royal Institution, on Friday, June 3, 1870),” in his *Chips from a German Workshop* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1881), 4:139–98, at <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/24686>; and de Blois, *Burzoy’s Voyage*, 7.

fables are similar to those of John of Capua's *Directorium*, as will be demonstrated, but there is no indication of direct contact between them.

Presumably, Raymond de Bézier's (Raimundi de Biterris) Latin translation, which he named the *Liber regius* (Paris, BnF, MS lat. 8504 and lat. 8505, c. 1313), was made from the Castilian version. It was commissioned by Jeanne I of Navarre, queen of France and wife of Philippe IV, le Bel (1268–1314), who died before it was completed. In accordance with its title, the *Liber regius* (The Royal Book), a full-page portrait of the royal family appears on fol. iv. From the very first lines, Raymond underlined the orthodox Christian nature of his work and promoted the illustration of religious themes with his translation (BnF, lat. 8504). His opening dedication reads: "To the prince, the most Christian, devout man, of great interior serenity, column of the Holy Church, and defender of the Christian faith, of his Lord. To Lord Philip, blessed be he, fortified by the divine providence of God, to the kingdom of France, to the illustrious king."<sup>79</sup> Consequently, Borzui becomes a monk praying to Christ (fol. 19v) and envisions Christ and angels (fol. 20v), the Annunciation (fol. 21v), and the Virgin and Child (fol. 22v). The anonymous illuminator of lat. 8504 exhibited a typical Gothic manuscript style that is unrelated to the Islamic precedents. Furthermore, the illuminator seems to have been oblivious of the line drawings that embellished the Castilian text, which supposedly was the source of this Latin translation. Nevertheless, as will be demonstrated below, several of the traditional animal tales depicted in lat. 8504 provide evidence of the artist's acquaintance with Muslim precedents and his adoption of Islamic iconography and narrative patterns.<sup>80</sup>

#### EARLY RENAISSANCE ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE FABLES

After the *Directorium humanae vitae* was translated from Hebrew into Latin by John of Capua in the thirteenth century, it was first printed and illustrated with woodcuts between 1483/84 and 1493. The German translation by Anton von Pförr (c. 1470), named *Das Buch der Weisheit der alten Meister* (The Book of Wisdom of the Old Masters), was published by Konrad Fyner in Urach in 1481/82 and by Lienhart Holle of Ulm in 1483/84, with between 125 and 127 woodcuts in a late Gothic style (fig. 25).<sup>81</sup> *Das Buch der Weisheit* had previously appeared in an illuminated manuscript presented to Eberhard, duke of Württemberg in 1474 (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 680), perhaps on the occasion of his marriage to Barbara Gonzaga of Mantua. This manuscript contains 132 large miniatures in contempo-

79 "Christianissimo, devoto, serenissimoque principi, prigili deffensori ac columbiae sancte ecclesie et fidei orthodoxe, domino suo, domini philippo, divina providencia benedicti et confirmati a Deo, regni Francie regi illustri [ . . . ] etc.;" author's translation from Hervieux, *Jean de Capoue et ses dérivés*, 382.

80 Among these are "The Dog and His Bone" (fol. 23v), "The Tortoise and the Geese" (fol. 40v), and "The Tortoise and the Monkey" (fols. 104, 106), which will be referred to below. Léopold Hervieux, "Note sur Raymond de Béziere et sur sa version latine de Livre de Kalila et Dimna," *Comptes rendus de séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 42, no. 1 (1898): 70–85; and Nancy Freeman Regalado, "Kalila et Dimna, liber regius: The Tutorial Book of Raymond de Béziere (Paris BnF Ms. lat. 8504)," in *Satura: Essays on Medieval Satire and Religion in Honor of Robert Raymo*, ed. N. Reale and R. Sternglanz (Donington, UK: Shaun Tyas, 2001), 103–23.

81 See reproductions in Donald Beecher, John Butler, and Carmin Di Biase, eds., *The Moral Philosophy of Doni, Popularly Known as "The Fables of Bidpai"*, Barnabe Riche Society, No. 14 (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 2003), appendix IV, 115, 167–79, nos. 51–76.

rary German Gothic style that have been attributed to the engraver Israhel van Meckenem (fig. 24).<sup>82</sup> The German translation by Pförr is furthermore found in three undated manuscripts in the library of the University of Heidelberg, which also holds several undated early editions that are illustrated with paintings or woodcuts.<sup>83</sup>

The woodcuts created for the Fyner edition in Urach were reused in copies of the *Buch der Weisheit*, dating from the first half of the sixteenth century, such as those in Heidelberg (Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 127, which also contains several other manuscripts) and Darmstadt (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Inc. III-32).

The same woodcuts that originated in Fyner's German edition were again used in the Latin *Directorium humanae vitae*, printed four times by Johann Prüss in Strasbourg. Three of these versions were issued in 1489 and another in 1490, with slight modifications of the text.<sup>84</sup> An edition of the *Buch der Weisheit* was again printed in Strasbourg by Johann Grüninger in 1501 with only a few woodcuts. Different stylistic approaches represented in this collection of woodcuts (numbering between 120 and 190 in the various German versions) represent the work of several artists and the use of different models. Those illustrations depicting human participants retained the Germanic Gothic narrative compositions, with landscapes, architecture, and details of contemporary attire and manners. By contrast, several of the traditional animal compositions assumed the form of framed emblematic images, depicting essentials in a minimalistic manner.

By 1592 there were twenty-two editions of the *Buch der Weisheit*. In 1493 a Castilian translation, called *Libro llamado exemplario* or *Exemplario contra los engaños peligros y del mundo* (Examples against the Deceptions and Dangers of the World), was published in Zaragoza by Pablo Hurus, with subsequent printings.<sup>85</sup> Gothic-style woodcuts in the Hurus editions were related to the German precedents with minor changes.<sup>86</sup> The most complete copies contain between 117 and 129 woodcuts.<sup>87</sup> The translation of the Hurus editions was republished several times in the sixteenth century by Jacome Cromberger of Seville with 122 new woodcuts that are nevertheless dependent on the same models.<sup>88</sup>

82 Several are reproduced in *ibid.*, figs. 34–50.

83 *Das Buch der Beispeile del alten Weisen*, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 466, c. 1471–77, illustrated with colorful Gothic paintings, and Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. germ. 84, 1475, with paintings of high quality in pen and ink; facsimiles are online. Albrecht Classen, “Anton von Pförr's German Adaptation of Indian Literature: Cross-Cultural Experiences in the Late Middle Ages,” in Classen, *East Meets West*, 153–64.

84 Copies of the Prüss edition are in the Guildhall Library, London; Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan; Biblioteca comunale, Siena; Biblioteca Paniz, Reggio Emilia; and Biblioteca nazionale, Turin.

85 The only extant copy of the 1493 printing is Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, Inc. 1994. Marta Haro Cortés, *Exemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo: Estudios y edición* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2007).

86 The second edition of 1494 is Washington, DC, Library of Congress, Inc. 1494. B53 with an incomplete set of woodcuts. Of the third edition, printed in Burgos in 1498, three copies exist – one in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, and two in the Museo Mássó, near Vigo.

87 Maria Jesús LaCarra, “El Exemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo y la imprenta zaragozana,” “In Memoriam Manuel Alvar (1923–2001),” ed. R. M. Castañer and J. M. Enguita, special issue, *Archivo de Filología Aragonesa* 59–60, no. 2 (2002–4): 2003–19; LaCarra, “El Exemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo: Las transformaciones del Calila en Occidente,” in Haro Cortés, *Exemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo*, 15–41; and LaCarra, “Fábulas y proverbios en el Esopo anotado,” *Revista de poética medieval* 23 (2009): 297–329.

88 Cromberger republished the *Libro llamado exemplario* in 1534, 1537, 1541, and 1546.

## ITALIAN RENAISSANCE TRANSLATIONS AND *LA MORAL FILOSOPHIA*

The first Italian translation of the book, titled *Discorsi degli animali*, was made by Agnolo Firenzuola (1492–1543) from the Spanish *Libro llamado exemplario*. It was published in Florence, by Bernardo Giunti in 1548 and by Lorenzo Torrentino in 1552. The appeal of these editions probably lay in the perception of the fables as a form of the moralizing topos that was particularly popular in the sixteenth century. The fables were modified and adapted by Firenzuola to suit his Italian public. It is surprising, however, that the *Discorsi degli animali* was considered a purely literary work that needed no illustrations.

The subsequent vernacular translation by the Florentine polygraph Anton Francesco Doni (1513–1574) was called *La moral philosophia del Doni* (Venice: Marcolini, 1552), a somewhat pretentious title that reflects the distancing of the book, not only nominally, from its traditional sources.<sup>89</sup> All twenty-five illustrations of *La moral philosophia* were taken over by Doni and his printer, Francesco Marcolini, from stores of woodcuts, most of which the two collaborators had used in previous publications. Emblematic personifications of abstract concepts, such as Truth, Hatred, Melancholy, Destiny, Ignorance, Misfortune, and Trickery, with the addition of moralizing comments by Doni, were inserted into the animal fables of *La moral philosophia*. How do we explain the independent role of these images and their tenuous relation to the narratives? It has been assumed that the practice of recycling images by Doni and Marcolini, in line with other polygraphs of the mid-cinquecento, was initially due to the high cost of producing illustrated books. According to a common misconception, however, Doni's use of this method was largely attributed to his collaboration, as founder and director, with the prestigious Venetian Accademia Pellegrina that is credited on the title page of this and his other works. Surprisingly, it has recently been established that the Accademia Pellegrini never existed but was a fabrication of Doni and Marcolini.<sup>90</sup>

When Doni published the Bidpai tales under the title *La moral philosophia* and illustrated the work with emblematic personifications of abstract moral concepts, instead of animal images, he was actually implementing the practice of succinctly emphasizing the moral theme before presenting the exemplum. In reversing the order, by first presenting the moral principle and then illustrating it with a fable, he explicitly clarified the didactic message for the reader. Early medieval rhetoricians had begun to insert fable titles as *promythia* (text that precedes the story) based on the implicit moral topoi, initially to index them for quick location. This is salient in vernacular bestiaries, which were associated in medieval libraries with texts on virtues, vices, penance, and heresy, combinations that reflected their uses by preachers in the preparation of sermons. Chapters were originally classified by animal captions, but in numerous fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts and early printed editions of the moralized bestiary, the *Fiore di virtù*, virtues and vices served as titles of chapters, each one followed by an animal

89 Doni's *Moral philosophia* was reprinted in Venice, 1567 and 1606; in Trent, in 1588 and 1594; in Ferrara, in 1590; and in Vicenza, in 1597.

90 Giorgio Masi, "Coreografie doniniane: L'Accademia Pellegrina," in *Cinquecento capriccioso e irregolare: Eresie letterarie nell'Italia del classicismo; Seminario di letteratura italiana, Viterbo, 6 febbraio 1998*, ed. Paolo Procaccioli and Angelo Romano (Rome: Vecchiarelli, 1999), 45–85, [http://hufind.huji.ac.il/Author/Home?author=Romano%2C Angelo](http://hufind.huji.ac.il/Author/Home?author=Romano%2C%20Angelo).

exemplum.<sup>91</sup> The woodcuts in the printed *Fiore di virtù* depicted a narrative scene flanked by the suitable symbolic animal.<sup>92</sup> The unillustrated bestiary written by Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1517) was influenced by the *Fiore di virtù* and the didactic allegorical poem *L'Acerba* (1332) by Cecco d'Ascoli, in which chapter titles oriented the reader toward spiritual and ethical content. Most of Leonardo's bestiary captions served as concise introductions to the moralization rather than to the animals.<sup>93</sup>

The fable was used as a pedagogical tool in the medieval school. Its importance increased in the Renaissance, as a medium for moral culture in grammar schools, providing exempla for sermons, and appealing to a broad general public as well as politicians, scholars, and humanist intellectuals. Like the moralistic bestiaries, the texts underwent modifications that would eventually influence the nature of their illustrations.<sup>94</sup>

The fable *promythia*, where the moral preceded the animal tale, was adopted in the late fifteenth century by Heinrich Steinhöwel, whose *Deutscher Aesopus* (Augsburg, 1477, 1479, 1501, 1521) was a major transmitter of fables. He stated that they were intended for moral teaching. In his index, fables are arranged by subtitles, and the fable *promythia* that replaced the traditional *epimythia* (morals appended to the end of a story) were summarized by a proverb or phrase.

Following Steinhöwel, Martin Luther and other German reformers used the fable for rhetorical purposes, as a powerful pedagogical tool and a means for reflecting on their society. Luther's fables, which he wrote about 1530, have labels above the titles that identify the sins embedded in the story.<sup>95</sup> Thus, in the fable "The Dog and the Meat," for example, he skipped the *promythium* but added the new label *Geitz* (Avarice) above the title. The moral in the *epimythium* states: "Man sol sich benügen lassen, an dem das Gott gibt" (One should be satisfied with that which God gives). Although Luther's fables were not illustrated, the practice of preceding the narrative with a concise label soon had artistic repercussions.<sup>96</sup> Renaissance translators continued to classify the animal fables by moral titles, which could consequently dictate the themes of the illustrations, as in Doni's case. Doni's recycled images allusively revealed his disillusionment with contemporary society and its corruptions, a function that reflected the fundamental moralizing objectives of the Indian *Panchatantra*.

91 The *Fiore di virtù* was written in the early fourteenth century by the so-called Frate Tommaso. The earliest printed editions were those of Parma, 1471, 1488, and Venice, 1487, 1488, 1490, 1491, 1492, 1493, and 1499.

92 See *The Florentine Fior di Virtù of 1491*, translated into English by Nicholas Fersin with facsimiles of the original woodcuts (Philadelphia: Published for the Library of Congress by E. Stern, 1953), [onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/lookupid?key=ha00111531](http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/lookupid?key=ha00111531).

93 This bestiary was preserved in twenty-two handwritten pages in Paris, Institut de France, Codex H; see Jean Paul Richter, ed., *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci Compiled and Edited from the Original* (New York: Dover Publications, 1970), 2:316–34.

94 Willene B. Clark, "The Second Family Bestiary and Medieval Education," in *A Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-Family Bestiary; Commentary, Art, Text and Translation* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2006), 98–113, esp. 103–4; and Pack Carnes, "Steinhöwel and the Fable Tradition," in *Humanistica Louvaniensia*, ed. Gilbert Tournoy (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986), 1–29.

95 Luther's fables were posthumously published as *Etliche Fabeln aus Esopo von M.L. verdeutschet* (Halle: Ernst Thiele; M. Niemeyer, 1888), based on Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ottobonianus lat. 3029 (repr., Heidelberg: R. Weißbach, 1924). See also Reinhard Dithmar, ed., *Martin Luthers Fabeln und Sprichwörter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995).

96 See Pack Carnes, "The Fable in Service to the Reformation," *Renaissance and Reformation* 20, no. 3 (1984): 176–89.

Although Doni's *La moral philosophia* was geared to a sophisticated public, some of his contemporaries appreciated the need for suitable illustrations in addressing fables to children. It is assumed that the Greek and Latin manuscript known as the *Medici Aesop* was commissioned for the study of Greek by Angelo Poliziano (c. 1480), when he tutored the children of Lorenzo de' Medici. It might have been made specifically for the young Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici (1472–1503), who is later mentioned as its owner in a 1495 inventory. More than one hundred miniatures, depicting animals in Florentine domestic surroundings, were designed to appeal to a child.<sup>97</sup>

Thomas North's English translation, called *The Moral Philosophy of Doni* (1570), contained nineteen allegorical prints copied or adapted from Doni's work, including Marcolini's famous impresa of *Veritas filia temporis* that had no relation to the animal fables.<sup>98</sup> Sixteen of the emblematic cuts that had been designed for Marcolini's *Sorti* (Fates, 1540) were reused by North. He also adopted from Doni the emblematic images that had been executed by the late Mannerist painter and engraver Giuseppe Porta (Salviati), but he ignored Doni's attached moralizations. Other woodcuts, including the title pages, were executed in Antwerp. North viewed the fable as a didactic medium, where allegorical illustrations suggested several levels of meaning. Consequently, there are scant remnants of the iconographic tradition that enriched and enlivened the fables for nearly a millennium.

This was not the situation in the East. Illustrations of animal fables from the *Panchatantra* and *Kalila wa Dimna* traditions would survive in manuscripts, in both India and the Islamic world, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

LITERARY AND ARTISTIC MIGRATIONS OF "THE HYPOCRITICAL CAT"  
 ("THE CAT, THE PARTRIDGE, AND THE HARE," *PANCHATANTRA*, BOOK 3,  
 CROWS AND OWLS)

The scene of the Hypocritical Cat incorporated into *The Descent of the Ganges*, a great seventh-century relief at Mahabalipuram (Tamil Nadu, India), is an ideal example of the animal fable integrated into a larger narrative scene (fig. 1). This format derives from the literary system of augmenting the frame tale with a nested tale, a practice inspired by the *Mahabharata* and developed in the Sanskrit *Panchatantra* and its Pahlavi version,<sup>99</sup> that was notably developed in the Arabic and Castilian translations of *Kalila wa Dimna*.<sup>100</sup> The identification of the main scene as either Arjuna's Penance or that of Bhagiratha, based on two different tales of the *Mahabharata* (3.41, 3.105–8), has long been controversial. One tale relates that Arjuna, the third of the Pandava brothers, undertook intense meditations and privations and did penance by "standing on the tips of his toes with folded arms raised above his head" in order to obtain the *pashupata*, Shiva's invincible weapon. The second story tells of King Bhagiratha,

97 *The Medici Aesop: Spenser MS50, from the Spenser Collection of the New York Public Library*, intro. Everett Fahy, trans. Bernard McTigue (New York: New York Public Library, 1989).

98 On North's translation of Doni's version and his thematic modifications, see Beecher, Butler, and Di Biase, *The Moral Philosophy of Doni*, esp. 50–55, 66–75, appendix IV, and figs. 1–6 for Salviati's woodcuts.

99 De Blois, *Burzoy's Voyage*, 61–65.

100 Wacks, "The Cultural Context," 86–128.



who undertook ascetic practices in the Himalayas for a thousand celestial years in order to persuade the river goddess Ganga, with Shiva's intervention, to descend to earth and purify the ashes of his ancestors, who had been burned to ashes following a transgression. As a landscape within a landscape, the magnificent relief (30 meters long by 12 meters high) is carved into the natural outcrop and depicts gods, demigods, *gandharvas* (nature spirits), *ganas* (attendants of Shiva), *kinmaras* (hybrid celestial musicians), sages, mendicants, and numerous animals. The penitent figure stands on one leg, with arms raised, to the left of the cleft that represents the river and becomes a waterfall during the monsoon (fig. 2). Across the river, the Hypocritical Cat of the *Panchatantra* fable imitates the penitent's stance, posing as an ascetic to snare mice. The juxtaposition of the two figures, the human penitent and the feline imposter, demonstrates the discursive function of this moralizing satire (fig. 3).

The basic tale of Vishnusharman's *Panchatantra* involved a dispute between a partridge and a hare over the occupancy of a hole in a tree.<sup>101</sup> The partridge, having been the original occupant, demanded that the issue be decided by a legal authority. The hare recommended a cat, who lived on the bank of the river, "devoted to penance and who shows compassion to all living creatures." This Hypocritical Cat "stood up on two legs and gazed towards the sun, and with outstretched arms, closing one eye only, engaged in prayer."<sup>102</sup> By his hypocrisy he won their confidence to such an extent that they came up to him quite close, and then with one stroke they both were caught and killed.<sup>103</sup>

Why were the partridge and hare replaced by mice in the Mahabalipuram relief? The story of a cat posing as an ascetic in front of mice was related in the *Mahabharata* (5.160), the southern Indian Sanskrit *Tantrapakhyana* (adapted into a Tamil version before 1200), and the old Gujarati *Panchakhyanaavarttika*. A few of these texts migrated to Laos, Thailand, and Tibet. The translation of a Sanskrit *Panchatantra* recension was included in the Tibetan *Kangyur* (Kah-gyur).<sup>104</sup> This large collection of Buddhist texts translated into the Tibetan language, primarily between the seventh and ninth centuries, was regarded as the *buddhavacana* (words of the Buddha). In the *Kangyur* version the old and failing cat, named Agnija, took to performing fictitious acts of penance in order to convince the mice that ran to and fro that he had given up his sinful life. Thus he succeeded in devouring a mouse each day. In the Penance panel the Pallavas might have been referring to the *Mahabharata* version of the tale, where the cat stands with paws upraised on the bank of the Ganges.

The insertion of this tale into the Penance relief to emphasize a moral message was not fortuitous. The Pallava king Mahendravarman I (580–630), who introduced the rock-carved temples at Mahabalipuram, was also a playwright, poet, and musician. His one-act play *Mattavilasam Prahasana* was a satire on the

101 Arthur W. Ryder, trans., *The Panchatantra of Vishnu Sharma* (c. 1199) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925; repr., 1956), 315–21; [https://archive.org/details/Panchatantra\\_Arthur\\_W\\_Ryder](https://archive.org/details/Panchatantra_Arthur_W_Ryder).

102 "By the 7th century AD, such [yogic] postures became so notorious as to be subject to satire; the great frieze at Mahabalipuram depicts a cat (a symbol of ascetic hypocrisy in Hinduism) standing on one leg in mimicry of a human ascetic in this posture. [...] Yogis were often regarded as ritually polluting or downright dangerous, sinister in both senses of the word." Quoted from Wendy Doniger, "The Real Roots of Yoga," Uddari Weblog, <https://uddari.wordpress.com/2011/03/12/the-real-roots-of-yoga-by-wendy-doniger/>; and *On Hinduism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 119.

103 Edgerton, *The Panchatantra Reconstructed* (1967), 369–71; and Ryder, *The Panchatantra* (1956), 315–21.

104 Franz Anton von Schiefner and W. R. S. Ralston, trans., *Tibetan Tales Derived from Indian Sources* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1906), IV, 247–48 (repr., Abingdon: Routledge, 2000), 344.

hypocrisy of ascetics and the degenerate Pashupata and Kapalika sects.<sup>105</sup> Thus, the sculpted Penance narrative was presented as the frame tale for the nested fable of the Hypocritical Cat. The analogy between the literary construction of the frame story and the nested tale, on the one hand, and the thematic composition of the Mahabalipuram sculpture, on the other, should be emphasized. The analogy between these visual and literary structures is the key to interpreting the interrelation of seemingly unconnected narratives. The adoption of this structure in a visual format was facilitated by the panoramic dimensions of the sculptural complex but was not repeated in the miniature fable depictions of temple architecture.

“The Hypocritical Cat and the Mice” was depicted in the sculptures of the Chandi Mendut (8th century) and the Sojiwan Mendut (9th century) in Java.<sup>106</sup> Klokke showed that the Mendut relief “displays its own version, independent of any written account, a version which is adapted to the conventions of the central Javanese sculptural tradition as regards the representation of ascetics.”<sup>107</sup> Unlike the Mahabalipuram version, the cat is seated, facing three mice. He is characterized by attributes of the Hindu ascetic – the rosary and fly whisk, and by the shaivite *trishula* (trident). Scholars have identified the two Javanese *chandi* as Buddhist monuments and therefore assumed that the reliefs represent a *Jataka* tale,<sup>108</sup> but Klokke noted that they convey morals characteristic of the *Panchatantra* texts. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the characterization of the cat as a Hindu ascetic serves as a Buddhist critique of Hindu impiety or fraud.<sup>109</sup>

Two to three hundred years separate these Indian and Javanese reliefs of the Hypocritical Cat from the earliest surviving *Kalila wa Dimna* illuminations (13th century), although earlier versions of the text are known to have existed from at least the ninth century.<sup>110</sup> The fable was depicted in seventeen Arabic and Persian manuscripts of the fourteenth century (fig. 4).<sup>111</sup>

105 Mattavilasa Prahāsana, “The Farce of Drunken Sport,” ed. and trans. from Sanskrit and Prakrit by Michael Lockwood and A. Vishnu Bhat (Tambaram, Madras: Madras Christian College; Chennai: Christian Library Society, 1981); David N. Lorenzen, “A Parody of the Kapalikas in the Mattavilasa,” in *Tantra in Practice*, ed. David Gordon White (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2001), 81–96. It was performed in temples by the Kutiyattam Sanskrit theater of Kerala. Indira Menon, *Rhythms in Stone: The Temples of South India* (New Delhi: Ambi Knowledge Resources, 2013), 11–18; Philip B. Zarrelli et al., eds., *Theatre Histories: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2010), pt. 1, 134; and Archan Verma, *Performance and Culture: Narrative, Image and Enactment in India* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 66–70.

106 Klokke, *The Tantri Reliefs*, 105–6.

107 Ibid., 106, 184–85, fig. 28.

108 According to the *Bilara Jataka*: “Now there was a roving jackal who espied this troop of rats and fell to scheming how to beguile and eat them. And he took up his stand near their home with his face to the sun, snuffing up the wind, and standing on one leg. Seeing this when out on his road in quest of food, the Bodhisattva conceived the jackal to be a saintly being, and went up and asked his name. [...] And when the rats were leaving, the jackal seized and devoured the hindermost one of them, wiped his lips, and looked as though nothing had happened.” *Bilara Jataka*, no. 128, in *The Jataka: or Stories of the Buddha’s Former Births*, vol. 1, trans. Robert Chalmers (Cambridge: University Press, 1895).

109 M. J. Klokke, “The Hypocritical Cat: A Parody on the Guru?,” in *Studies in South and Southeast Asian Archaeology: Essays Offered to Dr. J. G. de Casparis*, ed. H. I. R. Hinzler (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 38–39. Klokke sees the *chandi* version as an allegorical reference to the historical figure of Kumbhayoni, a Central Javanese shaivite king, styled as a sage, who intended to overrule the rival Buddhist dynasty.

110 Cowen, *Kalila wa Dimna*, 3–4; and O’Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, 27–29.

111 O’Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, 311, lists the fourteenth-century copies of the *Kalila wa Dimna* with depictions of the Hypocritical Cat.

A beautiful manuscript of the Mongol Jalayirid sultanate (Persia, 1335–1432) contains a remarkable illustration of “The Hypocritical Cat” (fig. 5).<sup>112</sup> The cat stands on a prayer rug facing a mihrab (i. e., toward Mecca) carved into rock, with his back to the innocent partridge and hare. The transformation of the imposter, who originally masqueraded as a Hindu ascetic, into a conniving Muslim, demonstrates how the moral allegory was adapted to the reader’s culture. Here it appears as a metaphor of religious deceit, in much the same spirit as the sculptures of Mahabalipuram and the Javanese Buddhist *chandi*.

Manuscripts executed for the Mughal court in India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries included Arabic and Persian translations of the *Panchatantra* or *Kalila wa Dimna* tales under different titles, such as the *Anvar-i Subayli*, executed for Akbar (c. 1596). In a nineteenth-century Persian manuscript of the *Anvar-i Subayli* in Baltimore, the Hypocritical Cat is again depicted standing on its hind legs, as at Mahabalipuram, and it holds a pole, presumably to attack his victims.<sup>113</sup> He faces two birds of different species. Snow-covered mountains in the background represent the artist’s northern surroundings. As this example demonstrates, the Hypocritical Cat was continually illustrated in Eastern manuscripts until the nineteenth century.

In Rabbi Joel’s Hebrew translation, based on the Islamic versions, the raven tells the story of his friend the bird, who disappeared for a long time, causing him distress, and the hare who rudely took his place, eventually causing the rift and intervention by the fraudulent cat.<sup>114</sup> Joel relates how the cat fell down on his knees and prostrated himself as if in prayer, preached to the bird and hare, and, feigning deafness, asked them to come closer so that he could catch and devour them. As we have seen, the Latin version of the *Directorium* is a translation of the Hebrew, so it is strange that this fable did not appear in late medieval European illuminations or Renaissance prints. There was no visual model to establish a Western tradition. Joel left blank space for two illustrations, marked “The Cat and Bird and Hare” and “The Cat Killing the Bird and Hare.”<sup>115</sup> The theme of the fraudulent cleric, with its heretical overtones, was bound to be controversial in both Jewish and Christian contexts. It has been demonstrated that Ben El’azar in his revision constantly inserted biblical quotations, with intertextual references, thus assuring the reader of “the harmony of the work with Jewish values.”<sup>116</sup> As Alan Verskin has pointed out, Ben El’azar’s moral message differed significantly from that of Ibn-Muqaffa, who expressed “a skeptical view of organized religion and an appreciation of human reason.”<sup>117</sup> Furthermore, we might recall that Raymond de Béziers transformed his *Liber regius* into a theological work that was illustrated with sacred themes. Toward the late medieval period, immoral fables, which were originally associated with the social and political pragmatism of a ruling class or nobility, were gradually assuming the

112 These magnificent illustrations were cut out of the original manuscript and pasted in an album for Shah Tahmasp in the mid-fourteenth century; E. J. Grube, “The Istanbul University Library *Kalilah wa Dimnah* and Other 14th Century Persian Manuscripts,” in Grube, *A Mirror for Princes from India*, 53–77. For images, see Tabriz-Yildiz Album, compiled for Shah Tahmasp, accessed September 20, 2016, [http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/fisher/record.html?id=FISHER\\_n2009021226](http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/fisher/record.html?id=FISHER_n2009021226).

113 Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, W.599, 1847, fol. 25b, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/medmss/5887745879/in/photostream/>.

114 Derenbourg, *Deux versions hébraïques du livre de Kalîâ et Dimnâb*, 79–84, <https://archive.org/details/bibliothquedel49ecol>.

115 Ibid., 82, 84.

116 Verskin, “The Theology of Jacob ben El’azar’s Hebrew Version,” esp. 469.

117 Ibid., 470.

function of Christian moralizations addressed to the community at large. A less controversial cat fable, “The Cat and the Mice” (De murilego et mure) was introduced in the *Directorium* (chapter 8) and was the source of illustrations showing The Cat Catching a Mouse in Anton von Pförr’s *Buch der Beispiele* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 680, fol. 96, 1475–82), the *Bidpai* of Württemberg (c. 1480), and the French *Esbatement moral des animaux* (1578).<sup>118</sup>

At the same time, another animal seems to have taken the place of the fraudulent cat.<sup>119</sup> There is a marked similarity between the *Bilava Jataka* tale of the hypocritical Indian jackal, previously mentioned, and medieval illuminations of Reynard the fox. Because of the shared theme and other literary characteristics, it has been argued that the medieval Reynard cycle was related to the *Panchatantra* and other Indian precedents.<sup>120</sup> Reynard, feigning piety, exhibits attributes of a monk or prelate, as he preaches to an audience of various birds, including ducks, geese, chickens, and storks (fig. 6). Jackals and foxes were often interchangeable in such fables. We might recall that the original *Panchatantra* tale involved the gullibility of a partridge and a hare rather than mice. The story of the preaching fox, found in the Reynard literature, was used in propagandist art by the Catholic Church as a parody of the false monastic ascetics and heretical reform movements.<sup>121</sup> Both the Eastern and Western versions of this animal fable and their illustrations demonstrate remarkable analogies, in respect to their propagandist function, the use of satire or parody by a religious authority to criticize anti-orthodox movements, and the anthropomorphic metamorphosis of an animal that is considered devious and crafty. The didactic intentions of the Reynard fables were similarly defined, as seen in the preface to William Caxton’s English translation.<sup>122</sup>

#### “THE MONKEY AND THE CROCODILE”

(OR “THE MONKEY’S HEART,” *PANCHATANTRA*, BOOK 4, LOSS OF GAINS)

Depictions of the tale of “The Monkey and the Crocodile” are among the earliest *Panchatantra* illustrations in monumental sculpture in India and Indonesia. Its early representations in art derive from the *Jataka* tales. It was later disseminated by inclusion in other literary sources, such as the *Hitopadesha*

118 The *Esbatement moral des animaux* was a sixteenth-century adaptation of Aesop’s fables, although his name did not appear in the text. It was published in Antwerp with engravings by Philippe Galle (1537–1612). Ostensibly combining classical and biblical wisdom, it aimed at a didactic dissemination of Christian morals.

119 R. C. Gupta, “Indian Parallels of the Fox Story,” in *Aspects of the Medieval Animal Epic* (Leuven: University Press; The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), 24–49.

120 Francisco Rodríguez Adrados, “Tradition and the Influence of the Greek Fable in the Orient,” in *History of the Graeco-Latin Fable: The Fable during the Roman Empire and in the Middle Ages*, trans. Leslie A. Ray (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 559–629, esp. 588–90, 601–2.

121 Janetta Rebold Benton, *Holy Terrors: Gargoyles on Medieval Buildings* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1997), 83.

122 “And this book is made for need and profit of all good folk, as far as they in reading or hearing of it shall mowe understand and feel the foresaid subtle deceits that daily ben used in the world; not to the intent that men should use them, but that every man should eschew and keep him from the subtle false shrews, that they be not deceived. Then who that will have the very understanding of this matter, he must oft and many times read in this book, and earnestly and diligently mark well that he readeth.” Henry Morley, ed., *The History of Reynard the Fox William Caxton’s English Translation of 1481* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1889), 4. <https://archive.org/details/historyreynardfoounkngoog>.

(variously attributed to between 800 and 1373), the *Kathasaritsagara* (c. 1063–82), and the *Shukasaptati* (c. 1199–1323). The narrative of Vishnusharman begins with an old ape who ate from a rose-apple tree on the seashore. A passing crocodile caught the falling fruit and an affectionate attachment was formed between the two. But the crocodile’s jealous wife vowed that she would starve herself to death unless she could eat the monkey’s heart. In Durgasimha’s version, she feigned an incurable illness that could be remedied only by an ape’s heart. The crafty crocodile, consequently, convinced his friend to visit his island home. While riding on the crocodile’s back, however, the quick-witted monkey discovered the truth and planned his escape by claiming that he had left his heart behind in the rose-apple tree, as “it is well known that apes always keep their hearts on trees.”<sup>123</sup> The crocodile turned back to get the heart, and the monkey was saved. The moral of the story states, “One whose intelligence does not become dull in distress, will get rid of problems, like the monkey which escaped from the sea.”<sup>124</sup>

Two related images on the pillar at Mathura (1st–2nd century CE), illustrating the *Vanavenda Jataka* (Pali Jataka 57) or the *Sumsumara Jataka* (Pali Jataka 208), depict concise icons of the story.<sup>125</sup> The serpentine movement of a large aquatic porpoise connects the consecutive stages of the narrative. This is clearly not a crocodile. In fact, the Sanskrit text of the *Panchatantra* identifies the aquatic creature as a *shishumara*, which may be translated, for example, as a Gangetic porpoise, a dolphin (*Delphinus gangeticus*), or a crocodile.<sup>126</sup> That the words *sumsumara* (Pali) and *shishumara* (Sanskrit) could denote different water creatures is exemplified, for example, in the Chinese adaptation of the *Jataka* (3rd century), the Tibetan version by Lorepa Wangchuk Tsondru (13th century), and Arabic versions of the *Kalila wa Dimna*, all of which describe a tortoise.<sup>127</sup> The Buddhist relief from Mathura precedes other depictions of this fable, which have survived on Buddhist Javanese *chandi* and Hindu temples in India, by about six hundred years.<sup>128</sup> Javanese variants have been identified at Chandi Mendut (fig. 7), Chandi Sojiwan (9th century), and Chandi Borobudur (8th–9th century), which are all Buddhist religious monuments. These are known as *Tantri* reliefs after an old Javanese variant of the Sanskrit *Panchatantra*, the *Tantri Kamandaka*, which contains the only ancient surviving Javanese *Panchatantra* recension.<sup>129</sup> “The Monkey and the Crocodile” of the Mendut and Sojiwan reliefs present the initial scene, similar to that depicted in the temples at Karnataka, Odisha, and Maharashtra. The crocodile, moving through the waves, carries the monkey seated cross-legged on his back. On the Mendut relief the monkey, holding fruit in his left hand, raises his right arm to his head, showing that he has discerned the trickery of the crocodile, who has open jaws and exposed teeth.

123 Edgerton, *The Panchatantra Reconstructed* (1967), vol. 2, bk. 4 (44), 393–97.

124 Patil, *Panchatantra in Karnataka Sculptures*, 47.

125 J. E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw, “Two Notes on Mathura Sculpture,” in *India Antiqua: A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented by His Friends and Pupils to Jean Philippe Vogel, C.I.E., on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of His Doctorate* (Leiden: Brill, 1947), 231–39.

126 M. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Delhi, 1899; repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1993), 1076.

127 <http://tibeto-logic.blogspot.co.il/2009/08/monkey-croc-turtle.html>.

128 For Indo-Javanese influences of “The Monkey and the Crocodile” fable in Laos, Thailand, Bali, Sumatra, etc., see R. Needham, “Jataka, Panchatantra, and Kodi Fables,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 116, no. 2 (1960): 232–62.

129 Klokke, *The Tantri Reliefs*, 6, 25–32.

It appears that the earliest known Hindu temple reliefs of this tale are those at Karnataka. Among these are the Mallikarjuna and Kasi Visveshvara Temples at Pattadakal, the Durga Temple, Aihole (Western Chalukya dynasty, 8th century), the Rameshvara Temple, Narasamangala (Western Ganga dynasty, 9th century), the Navalinga Temple, Kukanur (9th century), the Ishvara Temple, Sirival (10th century), and the Tripurantakeshvara Temple, Belligave. Other versions are found at the Mukteshvar Temple, Bhuvaneshvar (Orissa), the Kopeshvar Temple, Khidrapur, and the Tantric Buddha Vihara at Sirpur (Sripura, 11th century).

Most of the Karnataka panels depict three or four scenes as a continuous narrative, ending with the monkey climbing the tree and looking back at the crocodile. On a pillar at the Mallikarjuna Temple in Pattadakal three stages of the narrative are combined in one frame: the monkey on the tree, a Gangetic porpoise carrying him on his back, and the porpoise alone.<sup>130</sup> As in the early Mathura relief, a porpoise replaces the crocodile, although the sculptor seems to have added small crocodile feet. At the Mukteshvar Temple, Bhuvaneshvar, consecutive scenes of “The Monkey and the Crocodile” narrative are intertwined in a lively pattern of monkeys frolicking in a vine scroll that forms the decorative frame of a stone-latticed window (fig. 8). The sculptor added the image of the troop of monkeys that had exiled the elderly ape, as described at the beginning of the fable. In this manner he utilized the background of the story to transform a static pattern of the two animal figures into a dynamic narrative with multiple participants. On the right side of the frame we see the monkey safely seated in the tree above the crocodile that looks up at him. Other *Panchatantra* fables depicted in the vine scrolls of this Mukteshvara frame will be noted below.

The version carved on an inner pillar of the *sabha mandapa* (assembly hall) at the Kopeshvar Temple in Khidrapur depicts a makara carrying the seated monkey that turns to pick the fruit from a large tree (fig. 9).<sup>131</sup> The Kopeshvar makara has the torso and legs of a bull or buffalo with the open jaws of a devouring crocodile. This beautiful temple in Maharashtra shows influences from Karnataka, including inscriptions in Kannada. “The Monkey and the Crocodile” episode may be related to versions, such as that in Belligave, where the scaly crocodile has the legs of an ox (fig. 10).

Islamic manuscripts of the *Kalila wa Dimna*, following Ibn Al-Muqaffa’s translation, modified the story by introducing a tortoise instead of the crocodile. This was due to al-Muqaffa’s use of the word “ghaylam” in the title, which in this context denotes a male tortoise.<sup>132</sup> The elder monkey, now the monkey king, is identified as Kardanah. The wife, neglected by the tortoise because of his friendship with Kardanah, is no longer feigning illness but is actually failing. O’Kane presented seven manuscripts

130 Patil, *Panchatantra in Karnataka Sculptures*, fig. 57.

131 A makara is a mythical hybrid creature of varied forms, often combining a crocodile’s head and/or body with an elephant’s trunk and an avian or floral tail. As a symbol of the life-producing and fertile waters, it was commonly depicted as the *vabana* (literally vehicle, an attribute) of the deities Ganga and Varuna in Hindu art, but its fearsome aspect was also described in Indian literature. Steven G. Darian, “The Image of Ganga in Indian Art,” in *The Ganges in Myth and History* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2001), 114–34.

132 The title appears as “The Monkey and the Tortoise” (*al-Qird wal-Ghaylam*). In later manuscripts from the Mamluk period the word “tortoise” appears as *sulbuf* instead of *ghaylam*. In Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 616, the copyist used the original form of the title, using *ghaylam*, but reverted in the text to the more popular word *sulhafah* (fol. 98v). Ibn al-Muqaffa, *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, 254–55.

of the fourteenth century that contain beautiful pictorial illustrations of the monkey's exile, the monkey dropping figs, riding on the tortoise, and finally escaping.<sup>133</sup> Most of the early Islamic illuminations of this episode, ranging from the thirteenth to the late fourteenth centuries, follow the basic setting found in Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3465 (fig. 12), which has been considered the earliest surviving Arabic version. The lovely illustrations are basically two-dimensional, minimalistic, and decorative. Geometric and linear patterns define the sea and floral elements, which are depicted in a similar way in other Arabic manuscripts (figs. 11–14).<sup>134</sup>

Manuscript illuminations of the Mongol Jalayarid school, which dramatically changed Persian manuscript painting, are larger and more lavish. Outstanding is the magnificent *Kalila wa Dimna* manuscript, of the Istanbul University Library, partially reconstructed in its fragmentary state from a sixteenth-century copy (fig. 15).<sup>135</sup> The unprecedented sense of space, emphasized by high viewpoints, perspective, and recession and by extensions of the imagery into the margins, promotes the independence of the paintings from the page of text. Protagonists are integrated into lush landscapes, enriching the dramatic effect. The painting of the monkey, high up in the tree as he drops fruit to the tortoise below, becomes the focal point for the downward view.<sup>136</sup> These dramatic illuminations have been perceived as examples of the “Mirror for Princes” genre, addressed to Islamic court circles, but only one extant Persian manuscript of the *Kalila wa Dimna* contains a dedication to a royal patron.<sup>137</sup>

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, manuscripts of the *Iyar-i-Danish* and the *Anvar-i Subayli*, Persian versions of the *Kalila wa Dimna*, continued to depict the traditional animal fables in sumptuously colored, dramatic landscapes that generally dwarfed the animal narrative. In her study of the Mughal *Anvar-i Subayli* manuscript preserved in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, Mika Natif discussed the intricacies of the role of books in the Persian-Islamic world and the problems of chronology in view of migrations between India and Asia and back. She refers to the numerous books that the Mughals acquired from Iran and Central Asia to which they added paintings or illuminations as “reincarnated books.”<sup>138</sup> The migration of artists and calligraphers from Central Asia and Iran to the Mughal courts and the importance of these movements to the development of Mughal court painting has been underlined by Natif and others in analyzing the early stages of Mughal manuscript illumination.<sup>139</sup> Natif suggested, for example, that the manuscript of the *Anvar-i Subayli*

133 O’Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, 173–75, 177–80, pls. 71–73.

134 See, e.g., Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arabe 676, fols. 198, 201 (c. 1310); BnF, MS arabe 3467, fol. 85r (c. 1350); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Pococke 400, fol. 114a (1357); London, British Library, Add. 24350, fols. 123a, 125a, 125b (mid-14th century).

135 Rampur (Uttar Pradesh, India), Rampur Raza Library, F.2982, Herat?, 1520s or 1530s: O’Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, 233–46.

136 O’Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, pl. 71.

137 The reference is to BnF, MS 913, Baghdad, 1391, dedicated to Shah Walad: O’Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, 206–7, 280–87.

138 Mika Natif, “The SOAS *Anvar-i Subayli*: The Journey of a ‘Reincarnated’ Manuscript,” *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* 25 (2008): 331–58.

139 Ralph H. Pinder-Wilson, “Three Illustrated Manuscripts of the Mughal Period,” *Ars Orientalis* 2 (1958): 413–22; Pinder-Wilson, “An Illustrated Mughal Manuscript from Ahmebabad,” in Pinder-Wilson, *Islamic Manuscripts*, 160–71; and Priscilla Soucek, “Persian Artists in Mughal India: Influences and Transformations,” *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 169.

in London, copied in Central Asia in 1570, was later imported into Mughal India with only two paintings and was completed under Mughal patronage during the 1580s.

“The Monkey and the Tortoise” was among the original *Panchatantra* tales that underwent stylistic transformations to suit the elegant courtly modes and iconography of Mughal art. The image of the monkey throwing fruit to the tortoise in a mid-fourteenth-century Arabic manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale is almost identical to a scene in a manuscript at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, attributed to the eighteenth century (figs. II, 16). The survival of the original fable imagery in contemporary Indian art is demonstrated by the numerous copies of the *Panchatantra* for children, popularized, like other tales, in comic-book style.

Concurrent with the linguistic and iconographic developments of Islamic manuscripts, as described above, a Western tradition was initiated by the Hebrew translation of Rabbi Joel. My reading of the original Hebrew departs in some points from the French translation of Joseph Derenbourg, as it reexamines the role of Rabbi Joel’s text in the transmission of the fable iconography.<sup>140</sup> In this case, the salient deviation of Joel’s version derives from his ambiguity in identifying the monkey’s friend turned adversary. In the first part of the story he repeatedly identifies the creature as a *lita’a*, a lizard; in the latter part he calls it *sberetz* or *sberetz hamayim* (creature of the water), a term already used in the Old Testament to denote various crawling creatures. Medieval Jewish scholars debated the meaning of this term, particularly because *sbratzim* (pl.) were considered impure and repulsive creatures.<sup>141</sup> Oddly enough, Joel did employ the word *tanin*, the correct term for crocodile, in his translation of another of Ibn al-Muqaffa’s fables (chapter sixteen) that did not derive from the *Panchatantra*. In this later fable John of Capua translated the Hebrew term *tanin* as *draco*, which further alienated the creature from the original.<sup>142</sup> John of Capua supposedly worked from Joel’s text in composing his *Directorium humanae vitae*. Contrary to Joel’s version, however, he translated “The Monkey and the Crocodile” fable as “On the Monkey and the Tortoise” (*De simea et testudine*) and referred throughout this text to the *testudo* (tortoise). Based on this and other discrepancies,<sup>143</sup> It is here suggested that, contrary to the popular conception, the *Directorium* translation was not based entirely or primarily on Joel’s text.<sup>144</sup> We have

140 Derenbourg, *Deux versions hébraïques du livre de Kalîâ et Dimnâb*, <https://archive.org/details/bibliothquedel49ecol>; on “The Monkey and the Crocodile,” see 127–38.

141 For a Hebrew article on this subject in biblical and medieval Hebrew literature, see Moshe Raanan, <https://daf-yomi.com/DYItemDetails.aspx?itemId=28512#top>.

142 Derenbourg’s title reads: “C’est le chapitre du singe et de belette” (a weasel or tortoise). For the two Hebrew terms in the text he used the word for “reptile,” which might have been correct as a generic term but does not denote a specific water creature.

143 Among the fables missing from Joel’s version but included in the *Directorium* are “The Heron, the Fish, and the Crab” and “The Wedge-Pulling Monkey,” but Rabbi El’azar, working from a different Arabic source, recounted the fable of “The Heron, the Fish, and the Crab” in his Hebrew revision; see Johannes de Capua, *Directorium vitae humanae alias parabola antiquorum sapientium: Version latine du livre de Kalilah et Dimnab*, annotated Joseph Derenbourg (Paris, 1887 and 1889; repr., New Delhi, 2013), 341–42.

144 John of Capua also translated treatises dealing with medicine, including the *al-Taysir* (The Facilitation), a treatise on pathology and treatments by Abu Marwan ibn Zuhr (1090–1162), and several medical texts by Maimonides from Hebrew translations of the Arabic. Quoted from Jewish Virtual Library, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2008, [https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud\\_0002\\_0011\\_o\\_10227.html](https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0011_o_10227.html).



noted that the tortoise replaced the crocodile in Ibn al-Muqaffa's text and appeared in all the Islamic illustrations. There may have been an even earlier source for the tortoise in the old Syriac text (6th century), as mentioned by Edgerton.<sup>145</sup> In any case, the idea of the tortoise, conveyed in all subsequent Western illustrations, was apparently adopted from one of the illuminated Arabic manuscripts.

“THE TORTOISE AND THE GEESE”  
(OR “THE TALKATIVE TORTOISE,” *PANCHATANTRA*, BOOK 1)

Of all the illustrated *Panchatantra* tales, “The Tortoise and the Geese” was foremost in its literary and artistic diffusion as it crossed linguistic and cultural borders.<sup>146</sup> The story had already appeared in Pali *Jatakas* (nos. 178, 215, 273) and *Tantri* texts, and was sculpted on Javanese *chandi*, at the northern Indian Buddhist sites of Mathura (1st–2nd century), Bodhgaya (c. 5th–6th century), and Nalanda (9th century).<sup>147</sup>

From its incipient artistic depictions in *Jataka* and *Panchatantra* tales of India and Java,<sup>148</sup> until its inclusion in Jean de La Fontaine's fable collection and diffusion in contemporary Indian and Western fable literature, this story repeatedly warned people against the pitfalls of being loquacious, ignoring the advice of good friends, or being vain, boastful, and impudent. The message it conveyed in the sixteenth-century *Moral filosofia del Doni* combined the strands of moralistic advice into one enlightening motto: “A man has no greater enemy than himself.”<sup>149</sup>

According to the *Panchatantra* of Vishnusharma, the tortoise and his friends lived in a lake that began to dry up. The tortoise, learning from the geese of their intended departure, complained that it would perish without water and begged to be rescued. The geese suggested that they carry the tortoise as it gripped a wooden stick in its mouth, advising it to take a vow of silence (i.e., to keep its mouth shut). There are several different versions of the subsequent fall. In that of Vishnusharma, the tortoise cannot resist opening its mouth to converse with curious or jeering spectators below, and consequently falls to its death. One variant relates that the townspeople, seeing the geese carrying the tortoise, laugh and clap, irritating the tortoise and causing him to open his mouth to speak. A relief on the northern wing of a stairway at the Chandi Mendut shows men attacking the flying tortoise with bows and arrows

145 Edgerton, *The Panchatantra Reconstructed* (1967), 2:372–85.

146 Jean Philippe Vogel, *The Goose in Indian Literature and Art* (Leiden: Brill, 1962), chap. 3, 43–46. Regarding the images of “The Tortoise and the Geese,” Vogel incorrectly stated (45): “the examples quoted from Indian art are neither numerous nor very striking.” Evidence to the contrary was supplied by Patil, *Panchatantra in Karnataka Sculptures* and “*Panchatantra Sculptures and Literary Traditions*.”

147 Mary-Ann Lutzker, “Jataka Tales at Tjandi Mendut,” *Artibus Asiae* 39, no. 1 (1977): 5–12; Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, “La sculpture de Bodhgaya,” *Ars Asiatica* 18 (1935): 31, pl. LVIII, 3; Joanna Williams, *The Art of Gupta India: Empire and Province* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pl. 237; and Grube, *A Mirror for Princes from India*, figs. 22, 23. The Bodhgaya relief is dated there to the sixth century, and relief no. J36 in the Mathura Museum is assigned to the third century; Klokke, *The Tantri Reliefs*, 119, 134–53; and Patil, “*Panchatantra Sculptures and Literary Traditions*,” 78.

148 See the version of *Kacchapa Jataka* (no. 215), in Rhys-Davids and Fausböll, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, viii–x.

149 Translated from the *Filosofia morale del Doni* (Venice, 1552), by Thomas North in *The Morall Philosophie of Doni* (London, 1570).

or reaching toward it, followed by the division of the victim's remains, all in synoptic narrative.<sup>150</sup> Durgasimha's version attributes the tortoise's deadly fate to men, as seen in the early relief at Mathura, whereas the Sanskrit and Tamil copies of the *Tantrapakhyana* describe how the tortoise is devoured by two jackals. Vishnusharma's moral says: "He who does not respect the words of well-wishing friends, will die like the tortoise which lost the grip of the stick."<sup>151</sup> Both literary versions were illustrated in Indian and Javanese stone reliefs and were later adopted in Muslim manuscript illuminations.<sup>152</sup> Men shooting at the flying tortoise can also be seen, among other *Panchatantra* stories, on a frieze of the Kolaramma Temple, Kolar (11th century), which also includes a jackal. Jackals are furthermore included in the reliefs of the Navalinga Temple, Kukanur (9th century), the Ishvara Temple, and Kadambeshvara Temple, Sirival (10th century), the Choleshvara Temple, Begur (10th century), the Chennakeshvar Temple, Belur (12th century), and the Kopeshvar Temple, Khidrapur (fig. 17).<sup>153</sup> Wherever several consecutive scenes are depicted, the jackals are also shown devouring the fallen tortoise, as at the Sirival Ishvara Temple, in Belligave at the Tripuantakeshvara Temple (fig. 18), and on the pillar at Yasale.

Twenty-one reliefs of this *Panchatantra* story were identified by Patil in temples of the Chalukya, Rashtrakuta, Ganga, and Hoysala dynasties of Karnataka, executed between the seventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>154</sup> Most depictions show flying geese on either side with their heads turned toward the tortoise. They hold the stick in their open beaks while the tortoise is suspended from its center, as seen in the Durga Temple, Aihole; the Rameshvara Temple, Narasamgala; and the Chennakeshvara Temple, Belur (fig. 19). The story was modified in the Sanskrit *Hitopadesha* (IV, 2), an exposition on statecraft resembling the *Panchatantra* in content and form, presumed to have been written sometime between the eighth and twelfth centuries. The animals are forced to migrate, not because of drought, but because fishermen planned to kill the fish and tortoises in the lake. In all the Arabic versions the birds are identified as ducks or geese (*uljum* or *battab*). The earliest extant illustration of "The Tortoise and the Ducks" (or "Waterbirds") in the *Kalila wa Dimna*, that of Paris, MS arabe 3465, is so clearly related to most of the Karnataka reliefs that it seems to have been derived from a model or copy thereof (fig. 20). The relationship is demonstrated, for example, by comparing the illuminated Islamic versions with reliefs from the Durga Temple, Aihole (7th century), and the Rameshvara Temple, Narasamgala (10th century).<sup>155</sup> The symmetrical design is identical. The central axis is marked by the round form of the tortoise, flanked by two ducks holding the stick as they spread their wings in flight. Spectators raising their hands to express amazement (as described by Vishnusharma), seen in MS arabe 3465, may be

150 For early Buddhist examples, see Marijke J. Klokke, "The Tortoise and the Geese: A Comparison of a Number of Indian and Javanese Literary and Sculptural Versions of the Story," in *The Art and Culture of South and South-East Asia*, ed. Lokesh Chandra (New Delhi: Indian Academy of Asian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1991), 181–98; Klokke, *The Tantri Reliefs*, 119, 140–53; and Patil, "Panchatantra Sculptures and Literary Traditions," 78–79.

151 Patil, *Panchatantra in Karnataka Sculptures*, 31.

152 Huilgol Varadaraj, *Durgasimbana Panchatantra Samikshe* (Hubli: Sahitya Bhandar, 1976), 161; and Varadaraj, *The Panchatantra of Vasughaga: A Critical Study* (Madras: New Era Publications, 1987), 58–59.

153 Patil, *Panchatantra in Karnataka Sculptures*, figs. 24–32.

154 *Ibid.*, 31–34, 68–69, figs. 22–23.

155 Patil, *Panchatantra in Karnataka Sculptures*, figs. 22, 28.

compared with those in reliefs of the Javanese Chandi Mendut and the Kolaramma Temple, Kolar.<sup>156</sup> The schematic plant placed on the ground line directly below the flying tortoise becomes a standard embellishment in the early Arabic manuscripts. The same iconography, with minor variations, is repeated in Oxford, Pococke 400 (fig. 21) and Munich, Cod. arabe 616.<sup>157</sup> It is noteworthy that in both of these fourteenth-century images a long-necked wild goose (or similar waterbird) has replaced the ducks. An interesting modification of this scene was introduced in a rich and uniquely illustrated manuscript, dated 1343/44, assumed to be from the Jalayarid court atelier in Baghdad or Tabriz (Cairo, National Library, MS Adab Farsi 61, fol. 7v). The flying tortoise and long-necked geese occupy the upper left-hand side of an asymmetrical composition, with the spectators seated on the lower right.<sup>158</sup> From the mid-1330s, concurrent with early extant Arabic versions, beautiful variations of the tortoise fable were created in Persian manuscripts, notably in areas of Jalayarid influence.<sup>159</sup> Several of these large, vertical compositions emphasize the figures of spectators, who occupy the major part of the illustration, while the tortoise and geese are relegated to the margins and assume smaller proportions (fig. 22). This represents an innovation of fourteenth-century Persian miniature art. A rare Safavid manuscript of the *Anwar-i Subayli*, painted by the prestigious Persian artist Sadiqi Beg and dated 1593, portrays the spectators in a magnificent urban scene as they gaze in wonder at the tortoise and birds hovering above.<sup>160</sup>

It is amazing that the early Arabic illustrations were still faithfully copied in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Egyptian and Syrian manuscripts, centuries after the introduction of printed books in Europe.<sup>161</sup> Despite minor narrative and iconographic variations, it is significant that the symmetrical Tortoise and Geese imagery was continually reproduced in these manuscripts. Even more surprising than its survival in Islamic manuscripts is the transmission of the identical Tortoise and Geese composition to European versions of the fable. After its earliest Western appearance in the *Liber regius* of Raymond de Béziers in 1313 (fig. 23; cf. fig. 20), it was again represented after 1474 in a manuscript of the German translation *Das Buch der Beispeile der alten Weisen* (fig. 24), and in the printed volume of 1475, with hand-painted illustrations. It should be noted that the *Liber regius* image, which was copied from an Arabic manuscript, portrays the ducks that originated in Asian prototypes and were transmitted by Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation, whereas the long-necked geese were adopted from the mid-fourteenth century and after. These paintings of the German manuscript (1474) were subsequently copied in the woodcuts of the *Buch der Weisheit* in Urach and Ulm (fig. 25), and a similar woodcut of "The Tortoise and the Geese" appeared in North's *Moral Philosophy* (fig. 26). This fable, with its traditional iconic design, was still popular in the late sixteenth century and was incorporated more than a century

156 Ibid., fig. 29.

157 For a list of fourteenth-century Persian manuscripts of the *Kalila wa Dimna* in which this fable is depicted, see O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, 304.

158 Grube, *A Mirror for Princes from India*, 46–47, figs. 26, 41–45.

159 O'Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, 130, 233–53, 256–60, 280–88, pls. 39, 40.

160 MS 40, fol. 89v, from the collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan, The Aga Khan Museum, Toronto. See O. Akimushkin, A. Okada, and Liu Zhengyin, "Arts of the Book, Painting and Calligraphy," in *Silk Road Arts of the Book: Painting and Calligraphy*, vol. 5, pt. 19 (Turin: UNESCO, 1996), 556–605, 572, fig. 5.

161 *Kalila wa Dimna*, Ottoman, Syria, 17th century (Christie's, London, King Street, sale 6713, Islamic Art and Manuscripts, April 29, 2003) and that of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, attributed to the eighteenth century, acc. no. 1981.373.1–102.

later in *Les fables de La Fontaine*.<sup>162</sup> Although Jean de La Fontaine (1621–1695) was heir to the Aesopic fable tradition, as transmitted by Phaedrus, Babrius, Avianus, and numerous medieval and Renaissance sources, he was well versed in the stories and moral didacticism of the *Panchatantra* legacy.<sup>163</sup>

It is noteworthy that the fables ascribed to Aesop were already being combined with the earliest known fragments of the *Kalila wa Dimna* in Greek, and with the *Physiologus*, in an illustrated Greek manuscript from southern Italy, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.397, assigned to the late tenth or early eleventh century. This codex, originally located in the Basilian monastery of Grottaferrata, is considered to be a copy of an earlier Greek manuscript, which had been translated from Arabic.<sup>164</sup> The lost source preceded the extant Arabic illuminated manuscripts by about two hundred years, but the Italian miniatures do not convey evidence of their style.<sup>165</sup>

Acknowledging this debt to the Indian source in his *Avertissement to the Second Compilation of Fables*, La Fontaine stated: “I will say by gratitude that I owe the greater part to Pilpay the wise Indian” (Je dirai par reconnaissance que j’en dois la plus grande partie à Pilpay sage indien). In accord with his clarification, he added, “I use animals to instruct men” (Je me sers des animaux pour instruire les hommes). La Fontaine concluded the tortoise fable with his own version of moral judgment: “Much better had she held her tongue; For, opening that whereby she clung, Before the gazing crowd she fell, And dash’d to bits her brittle shell. Imprudence, vanity, and babble, And idle curiosity, An ever-undivided rabble, Have all the same paternity.”<sup>166</sup>

Amazingly, the basic design of “The Tortoise and the Geese” fable, as originally formulated in Indian and Javanese art with its succinct iconic style, has survived until the present day in popularized formats, primarily, but not exclusively, geared to the younger generation.

“THE HERON AND THE CRAB” (OR “THE CRANE AND THE CRAB,”  
PANCHATANTRA, BOOK I, THE LOSS OF FRIENDS)

This fable describes an old heron who deceived the fish in a lake by telling them that they are threatened by drought or, in another version, by fishermen who intend to drain the lake. The heron offered to carry

162 *Les fables de La Fontaine* (Paris: Claude Barbin et Denys Thierry, 1678–79), Recueil 2, livre 10, fable CXCIV.

163 Illustrated editions of *Aesop's Fables* were printed in the Renaissance by Heinrich Steinhöwel (1476, 1479, 1501, and 1521, in Latin, German, and Spanish); Hieronymus Osius (1479, in Latin); William Caxton (1484, in English); and Bernard Salomon (1574, in French).

164 Basilian monks of the Eastern Catholic Church were followers of the rule of St. Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea (330–79). The monastery of Grottaferrata, founded in 1004, was the home of Greek learning. Monastic studies were revived in the fifteenth century under Cardinal Basilios Bessarion, who was nonresident abbot.

165 The contents of MS M.397 includes fragments of the *Kalilab wa-Dinnab* (fols. 1r–7v), *Physiologus* (fols. 8r–21v), *Vita Aesopi* (fols. 22r–67v), Aesop's fables (fols. 67v–108r), Babrius's *Fabulae Aesopeae* (fols. 108r–112v), and seven *Asteia* of Hierocles the Grammarian (fol. 112v). Myrtilla Avery, “Miniatures of the Fables of Bidpai and the Life of Aesop in the Pierpont Morgan Library,” *Art Bulletin* 23, no. 2 (1941): 103–16.

166 “De passer son chemin sans dire aucune chose; Car lâchant le bâton en desserrant les dents, Elle tombe, elle crève aux pieds des regardants. Son indiscretion de sa perte fut cause. Imprudence, babil, et sottise vanité, Et vaine curiosité, Ont ensemble étroit parentage. Ce sont enfants tous d'un lignage.” “Le tortue et les deux canards,” in *The Fables of La Fontaine*, trans. Elizur Wright Jr., 6th ed., vol. 1 (Boston: Tappan and Dennet, 1843), bk. 10, 3.

them to another pool, but instead took them to a hilltop, where he ate them. When he tried the same trick on the crab, the latter, seeing “a great rock of sacrifice, made horrible by heaps of fish-skeletons,” grabbed the neck of the heron in its pincers and cut its throat.<sup>167</sup> The *Panchatantra* of Vishnusharma presents the moral as: “Friends are foes and foes are friends as they mar or serve your ends; Few discern where profit tends” and “Shun your false and foolish friends.”<sup>168</sup>

Variants of the fable appeared in most versions of the *Panchatantra* and in the Pali *Baka Jataka* tale, from which Sinhalese folk versions were derived.<sup>169</sup> One version of this fable appeared in the *Tantrakhyayika* (I, 5), the *Tantrakhyana*, and the *Purnabhadra*, from which it was transmitted to the *Kalila wa Dimna*. The second variant was recited by Somadeva Bhatta, in the book ten of the *Kathasaritsagara* (Kashmir, 1170 CE), *Ksbemendra’s Brihat Katha Manjari* (Kashmir, c. 1037 CE), the *Southern Panchatantra*, and the *Hitopadesha*, which exists only in copies.<sup>170</sup>

However, as Patil indicated, most sculptures of this fable are earlier than the surviving literary traditions.<sup>171</sup> The earliest known depictions of “The Heron and the Crab” story were carved on the Vishvabrahma Temple at Alampur (Andhra Pradesh, India) by the Chalukyas in the late seventh or early eighth century. The heron is shown in two reliefs, first with a fish in its beak and then surrounded by fish, as he stands on a branch, the crab’s two pincers grasping its long neck (fig. 27).<sup>172</sup> Four documented Indonesian depictions of this tale include that at the Buddhist Chandi Mendut, where the heron is spreading its wings.<sup>173</sup> Later medieval Hindu reliefs at the Chandi Jago and Chandi Surowono depict the narrative on the base of the structure in two consecutive reliefs. On the Chandi Surowono base, the first panel shows the heron with the headdress of a holy man as three fish hold their heads above the water; in the second the crab holds the neck of the heron with one of its pincers.<sup>174</sup> The heron dressed as a holy man is related in concept to the cat acting as an ascetic. At the Hindu Chandi Ngampel only the second scene is shown.<sup>175</sup> In his study of allegorical content in the old Javanese *Ramayana*, which he related to these depictions, Andrea Acri argued that the satirical descriptions of waterbirds of the heron family, deceiving fish, are to be taken as a critique of actual historical figures. The image of the heron as a holy man, claims Acri, satirizes covert agents of the prince who disguised themselves as

167 Arthur W. Ryder, trans., *The Panchatantra of Vishnu Sharma (c. 1199)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), 76–79.

168 Ibid., 79.

169 Rhys-Davids and Fausböll, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, 315–21, no. 38.

170 See *The Ocean of Story: Being C.H. Tawney’s Translation of Somadeva’s Katha Sarit Sagara (or Ocean of Streams of Story)* (Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 2001); William Norman Brown, “Panchatantra in Indian Folklore,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 39 (1919): 1–54, esp. 22–24; and Ludwik Sternbach, *The Hitopadesha and Its Sources*, American Oriental Series 44 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1960). The content of the “Southern” *Panchatantra* and the *Tantrakhyayika* are very similar to that of Edgerton’s reconstruction; see Edgerton, *The Panchatantra Reconstructed* (1924).

171 Patil, “*Panchatantra* Sculptures and Literary Traditions,” 90.

172 Patil, *Panchatantra in Karnataka Sculptures*, 25–26, pls. 13, 15.

173 Klokke, *The Tantri Reliefs*, 185–86.

174 Klokke, *Narrative Sculptures and Literary Traditions*, fig. 81.

175 Regarding these reliefs, see Patil, “*Panchatantra* Sculptures and Literary Traditions,” 86–87; and Klokke, *The Tantri Reliefs*, 224–25.

Shaiva ascetics of the Pashupata order. If a satirical reference to political and religious actualities is indeed intended, this constitutes another intriguing example of the “localization of materials.”<sup>176</sup>

The composition of the bird and crab was repeated more than four hundred years later among the images in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 3465 (fig. 28). Several significant details of the early Indian and Indonesian reliefs are preserved. The crab grasps the neck of the heron at two different points with his pincers, as in the Alampur image, and the great white heron (*Egretta alba*) spreads its wings to escape the crab that grasps its neck, as in the Chandi Mendut version. The *Egretta alba* is indigenous to the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia and actually includes fish and crabs in its diet. In the Arabic translation the waterbird is identified as *uljum*, which has multiple translations, including a creature that lives both on the earth and in water, a male duck, or a white bird.

Amazing similarities in the images of “The Heron and the Crab” strongly suggest that there was a continuous visual tradition that migrated, like the bird itself, from India and Java to the Islamic world. Even more revealing is the fact that the identical drawing of the crab grasping the neck of the heron, found in the thirteenth-century Arabic manuscript, was repeated in a fifteenth-century illustration of the Castilian *Calila e Digna* (fig. 29). Considering that the Castilian version was probably translated directly from an Arabic manuscript of the *Kalila wa Dimna* in Toledo of the mid-thirteenth century, the connection is not surprising.

Most unexpected, however, is the replication of this iconography on the step-end of the staircase in the courtyard of the Florentine Palazzo Gondi (1490) alongside reliefs from Aesop’s fables that have been attributed to Giuliano da Sangallo (fig. 30).<sup>177</sup> Aesop’s fables had already been represented in monumental civic and ecclesiastic art throughout Italy between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries,<sup>178</sup> but “The Heron and the Crab” was not among Aesop’s fables and had no precedents in Italian monumental art. The question of possible connections between the iconography of the Palazzo Gondi staircase and manuscripts of the fables located in Florentine collections was researched by Linda Pellecchia.<sup>179</sup> Pellecchia noted that Symeon Seth’s Greek translation, the *Stephanites kai Ichnelates* (the Greek names of the two jackals), which was very popular in the Byzantine world, entered Italian manuscript collections between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries and was known in quattrocento Florence. One of these fifteenth-century Byzantine manuscripts (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Laur. II.14) was presumed to be in the Medici collection in the 1490s, where it would hypothetically

176 Andrea Acri, “On Birds, Ascetics, and Kings in Central Java Ramayana Kakawin, 24.95–126 and 25,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde/Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia and Oceania* 166, no. 4 (2010): 475–506; and Acri, “More on Birds, Ascetics and Kings in Central Java: Kakavin Ramayana, 24.III–II5 and 25.19–22,” in *From Lanka Eastwards: The Ramayana in the Literature and Visual Arts of Indonesia*, ed. Acri, Helen Creese, and Arlo Griffiths (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 53–91.

177 The attribution was made by John Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1964), 1:187. Fourteen of the reliefs have been at the Victoria and Albert Museum since 1891.

178 E.g., the twelfth-century sculpture of “The Fox and the Stork” on a cloister pillar, Collegiata in Sant’Orso, Aosta, and the thirteenth-century reliefs of “The Wolf and the Crane” and “The Wolf and the Lamb” on Nicola and Giovanni Pisano’s Fontana Maggiore, Perugia.

179 Linda Pellecchia, “From Aesop’s Fables to the Kalila wa-Dimna: Giuliano da Sangallo’s Staircase in the Gondi Palace in Florence,” *I Tatti Studies, Essays in the Renaissance* 14 (2012): 137–207.

have been accessible to Giuliano da Sangallo. The problem is that these manuscripts did not provide visual sources.

This leads us back to the drawing of “The Heron and the Crab” in the fifteenth-century manuscript of the Castilian *Calila e Digna*, mentioned above, which appears to mediate somehow between ancient Indian reliefs and that of the Gondi staircase. In the first image of the manuscript the heron is carrying one of the fish and the crab is pictured at the side; in the second the crab grasps the bird’s neck (fig. 29). It is curious that the Florentine Heron and Crab relief is not related to any of the illustrations in early Renaissance incunabula. In the *Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen*, the Castilian *Exemplario contra los engaños del mundo*, John of Capua’s *Directorium*, and the *Moral Philosophy* by North, the illustration highlights the bird in flight carrying the crab, with fish skeletons scattered on a hill below (fig. 31). Evidence of the Islamic-Castilian connection is revealed by the iconography of the Gondi relief, in which the crab is grasping the neck of the heron. The independence of the visual image, freed from the text and incorporated into architectural decoration, recalls the earliest Indian and Indonesian stone reliefs of the fable, some of which were actually carved at the sides of steps, as in the Chandi Mendut.

“THE WEDGE-PULLING MONKEY” (OR “THE MONKEY AND  
THE CARPENTER,” *PANCHATANTRA*, BOOK I, LOSS OF FRIENDS)

“What business of monkeys is carpentry?” asks one of the maxims of this story. The popular text and its visual depictions exemplify the universal and timeless genre of monkey satires. Unlike most of the antique fables that inappropriately ascribe human characteristics to animals, the meddling simian first of all represents the animal itself. Vishnusharman’s *Panchatantra* tells of a troop of frolicking monkeys that came upon a temple under construction and began to play with a woodpile. The story concludes when one of them thoughtlessly bestrode a partially split log into which a wedge had been thrust: “Now what happened when the wedge gave at the spot where his private parts entered the cleft, that, sir, you know without being told. And that is why I say that meddling should be avoided by the intelligent.”<sup>180</sup> Another *Panchatantra* version states, “One who tries to deal with unworthy persons will die like the wedge-pulling monkey.”<sup>181</sup> The message is still reiterated in the medieval recension of the *Panchatantra*, included in the eleventh-century *Katha Sarit Sagara* (Ocean of Streams of Stories). When Karataka, in the frame story, tries to dissuade Damanaka from intervening in the lion’s affairs, he asks, “What business is this of ours? Have you not heard of the story of the ape that drew out the wedge?”<sup>182</sup>

The story appears in Durgasimha’s Kannada *Panchatantra* (1031), the Tamil *Tantropakhyana*, Purnabhadra’s *Panchatantra* (1199), the *Hitpadasha*, and Somadeva’s *Katha Sarit Sagara*, each with variations. The Tamil *Tantropakhyana*, for example, mentions that the monkey places its legs in the gap, a detail that is not found in Islamic illustrations but later appears in medieval European iconography, as will be shown.

180 Ryder, *The Panchatantra of Vishnu Sharma*, 25.

181 Patil, *Panchatantra in Karnataka Sculptures*, 22.

182 *Tales from the Kathasaritsagara by Somadeva Bhatta*, trans. from the Sanskrit by Arshia Sattar, foreword by Wendy Doniger (Delhi: Penguin Classics, 1997), 158; and N.M. Penzer, *The Ocean of Story: Being C.H. Tawmwy’s Trans-*

Ibn al-Muqaffa's version states that the monkey's testicles were caught in the gap, as is copied, for example, in the text of Munich, Cod. arabe 616, fol. 43r and is clearly illustrated on the same page (fig. 34). This is followed by Nasr Allah, who wrote that the monkey, seeing the carpenter seated on a piece of wood that he was splitting and separating the parts with two wedges, sat over the cleft with his testicles hanging down. Once the wedge was removed, the split parts sprang together. At that, he became senseless and was then beaten to death by the carpenter.<sup>183</sup> Another Arabic version claims his tail was caught in the wooden beam – a less brutal interpretation that seems to have been ignored by illustrators.<sup>184</sup>

The earliest known depictions of this story appear in the temples of Karnataka, constructed under the Chalukya dynasty (8th–10th centuries). The famous Mallikarjuna Temple in Pattadakal has a prominent relief, carved on a pillar, of the monkey pulling at the wedge with his testicles suggestively hidden inside the cleft (fig. 32a, b). Carvings of the story are found on the foundation of the Galganatha Temple at Pattadakal (8th century), at the Kallesvara Temple at Bagali (10th century), and the Ishvara Temple and Well no. 3 at Sirival (10th century).<sup>185</sup> Patil identified more than thirty *Panchatantra* sculptures at eight different monuments in Sirival.<sup>186</sup> The unusual iconography, found at the temples of Sirival and Bagali, where the wooden beam is shown in a vertical position, had no continuity. A depiction of the monkey seated on a diagonal beam, concurrent with the later Karnataka examples, appears on a terracotta plaque originating from the Paharpur Temple in Bangladesh (now Bibliothèque universitaire des langues et civilisations, Paris). “The Wedge-Pulling Monkey” was carved around a latticed window of the porch in the Mukteshvara Temple at Bhuvaneshvar (fig. 8), where “The Tortoise and the Geese” and “The Monkey and the Crocodile” are also depicted within the vine scrolls.

O’Kane listed thirteen manuscripts, both Arabic and Persian, that contain illustrations of this story.<sup>187</sup> All of the Islamic manuscripts introduce the carpenter, who had not been depicted in Indian reliefs but was central to Nasr Allah’s description. In Paris, MS arabe 3465, two turbaned carpenters (one partly damaged) are working with a frame saw while a third figure tries to chase the monkey, who is seated on the plank (fig. 33). The building of Noah’s ark in the Byzantine mosaic of Monreale Cathedral (c. 1184) is represented by two carpenters, in a similar composition, sawing a wooden plank with a frame saw.<sup>188</sup> The diagonal position of the plank supported on wooden trestles, as in the Monreale mosaic, is again depicted in Munich, Cod. arabe 616 (fig. 34) and Adab Farsi 61 of the Cairo National Library, both fourteenth-century Egyptian manuscripts. In the early centuries of Islam, southern Italy and Sicily

*lation of Somadeva's Katha Sarit Sagara* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1880; London, 1923–28), 5:43 (repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968).

183 Nasr Allah Munshi, *Kalila wa Dimna*.

184 Ibn al-Muqaffa, *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, 130.

185 Patil, *Panchatantra in Karnataka Sculptures*, 22, pls. 3–7; and Patil, “*Panchatantra* Sculptures and Literary Traditions,” 75–76.

186 Patil, *Panchatantra in Karnataka Sculptures*, 21–22, pls. 3–7; Patil, “*Panchatantra* Sculptures and Literary Traditions,” 94; and Patil, *Sirival: Its Monuments, Sculptures and Inscriptions*, Architecture and Sculpture in Karnataka (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, 2001).

187 O’Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, 300.

188 For similar versions of the sawing carpenters in Christian art, see the Mudéjar ceiling painting in the cathedral of Tereul, Aragon, c. 1250, and the mosaic of the story of Noah’s ark in the Basilica of San Marco, Venice, c. 1270–90s.



were among the most important points of cultural and artistic contact between the Latin West and the Islamic world.<sup>189</sup> The Islamic version of the carpenters could have been modeled on Byzantine precedents, such as that of Monreale. Whatever the case, the images exemplify the multiethnic Arab-Byzantine culture in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In the Persian Jalayarid miniatures the scene becomes highly dramatic, as the carpenter attacks with his rod and the monkey falls headfirst from the plank (fig. 35), or the trapped monkey grasps the diagonal plank, as in Topkapı H.362. Possible connections between the iconography of this Topkapı illumination and Ghaznavid precedents were studied by Flood.<sup>190</sup> Elements of continuity can be further demonstrated in iconographic patterns that were repeated in Arabic, Persian, and Indian manuscripts between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>191</sup>

De Capua's literary recension of the "Simius et lignum" story is not very different from its source in the Sanskrit *Panchatantra*, but it was not transmitted through Joel's Hebrew translation. The monkey, seeing a carpenter cutting timber, thought to do the same. When the carpenter departed, the monkey hastened to split a log but caught his testicles in the cleft while removing and inserting wedges. The monkey cried out in great pain and the carpenter came and smote him.<sup>192</sup>

The German woodcut illustration in the early edition of *Das Buch der Weisheit der alten Weisen* (1484) bore greater resemblance to the eighth-century relief of the Mallikarjuna Temple than to the medieval Islamic depictions (figs. 32, 36). The carpenter has disappeared, but the monkey is shown splitting the log with an ax, which may be an interpretation of the *serra* (saw or blade) mentioned in Baldo's rendition titled "De simia que secare voluit" (c. 1300).<sup>193</sup> This woodcut was the model for subsequent prints in *Das Buch der Weisheit* and the Spanish *Exemplario* (fig. 37).

North's woodcut illustration in *The Moral Philosophy of Doni* revives details of the literary narrative. His image shows two carpenters working in the background and, contrary to the textual tradition followed in other Western illustrations, the monkey's foot, rather than his testicles, is caught in the cleft. Indication that there was a pictorial tradition of this version, before the Renaissance print, is found in

189 See, e.g., Avinoam Shalem, *Islam Christianized*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1998); Rebecca S. Wrightson, "Cultural Complexity in Medieval Sicily" (Senior Honors Projects, University of Rhode Island, 2012), Paper 304, <http://digitalcommons.uri.edu/srhonorsprog/304>; and Muhammed Abattouy, "The Arabic-Latin Intercultural Transmission of Scientific Knowledge in Pre-Medieval Europe: Historical Context and Case Studies," in Nayef R.F. Al-Rodhan, *The Role of the Arab-Islamic World in the Rise of the West: Implications for Contemporary Trans-Cultural Relations* (Chippenham: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2012), 167–219, esp. 171–78.

190 Finbarr B. Flood, "A Ghaznavid Narrative Relief and the Problem of Pre-Mongol Persian Book Painting," in *Siculo-Arabic Ivories and Islamic Painting, 1100–1300*, Proceedings of the International Conference, Berlin, July 6–8, 2007, ed. David Knipp (Munich: Hirmer Publishers, 2011), 257–72, esp. 262–66.

191 E.g., *Kalila wa Dimna*, 1510, Paris, Bibliothèque universitaire des langues et civilisations; Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 1981.373.6; and the Persian *Anvar-i Subayli*, 1847, Walters Art Museum, W.599.

192 "Et cum essent repositae ambae eius testiculæ in medio scissuræ eius, coepit facere ad modum carpentarii, educendo et interponendo paxillos; cunque sic faceret, ultimo paxillo extracto, propter brevitatem crurium restrictæ sunt eius testiculæ in scissura; et oppressit se. Et sic clamante symeo prae nimio dolore, advenit carpentarius et percussit symeum; ita quod propter eius imperitiam suscepit verbera et oppressionis dolorem." *Directorium humane vite*: Hervieux, *Jean de Capoue et ses dérivés*, 114.

193 "Staret in arbusto dum simia more vetust; Arte videt serræ pro consuetudine terræ Grande procul scindi robur super ardua Pindi." Hervieux, *Jean de Capoue et ses dérivés*, 345–48.

a thirteenth-century French *Miscellany* (c. 1250s) containing secular and liturgical songs, in French and Latin. An illuminated initial decorates the motet “Vitia virtutibus” (Between Virtues and Vices), written in 1217 by Philip, chancellor of Notre Dame of Paris. This moralistic motet describes the agitation caused by the Seven Deadly Sins, gluttony, lust, avarice, pride, wrath, vainglory, and sloth.<sup>194</sup> The motet is illuminated by the image of the monkey aping a carpenter who is splitting a log with an ax. Significantly, his foot is caught in the cleft. As we might recall, the Tamil *Tantropakbyana* mentions that the monkey places its legs in the cleft. This unique evidence suggests that a translation of the *Panchatantra* had already been illustrated in France by the mid-thirteenth century and that individual fables were adopted to represent sins in other allegorical contexts.

In the sixteenth century, Martin Luther, writing for the instruction of his Protestant public, described this episode of “monkey business” in his collection of German fables, to caution against uncritical imitation. He referred to monkeys in his sermon for Epiphany as those who imitate false practitioners and become idolaters. In his exposition of Psalm 101 (1534) he used the story as an exemplum.<sup>195</sup>

#### “THE DOG AND HIS MEAT”

(NASR ALLAH MUNSHI’S PERSIAN TRANSLATION, 1143–46):

#### THE MEETING OF AESOPIC FABLES AND THE *KALILA WA DIMNA*

“Beware lest you lose the substance by grasping at the shadow” was a moral of this fable that inspired a host of interpretations throughout the ages. In the fifth century BCE the philosopher Democritus already attributed this fable to Aesop, the Greek fabulist of the sixth century BCE whose actual existence is often doubted.<sup>196</sup> The Greek fables were transmitted to the Middle Ages through the fifth-century rendition by Avianus, translated from Babrius (1st century CE), and the so-called Romulus Latin prose redaction of the tenth century, based on Phaedrus (1st century CE).<sup>197</sup> The Latin versions of Aesop’s fables, integrated into the medieval school curriculum, were taught as moral exempla and adopted for the study of rhetoric, as recommended by Aristotle (*Rhetoric* 2.20) and Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 1.9.2).

The story of “The Dog and His Meat,” or “The Dog and Its Reflection,” was not one of the original *Panchatantra* fables, but it was mentioned, albeit in one sentence, in Borzui’s sixth-century Pahlavi introduction to the *Kalila wa Dimna*, as reported in its translation into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa.<sup>198</sup>

As related in Joseph Jacobs’s translation of Aesop: “It happened that a Dog had got a piece of meat and was carrying it home in his mouth to eat it in peace. Now on his way home he had to cross a plank

194 London, British Library, MS Egerton 274, fol. 37r, c. 1260s. The text of the motet is reproduced in Richard G. Newhauser and Susan J. Ridyard, eds., *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: The Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2012), 196, 200–201.

195 Reinhard Dithmar, *Martin Luthers Fabeln und Sprichwörter*, 2nd rev. ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995), 108–9; and Karl P.E. Springer, *Luther’s Aesop* (Kirksville, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 2011), 176–77.

196 A similar story regarding a jackal that loses his piece of meat, while chasing a chicken, was related in the *Calladhauggaba Jataka* and then by Phaedrus (1.4).

197 Romulus was the legendary author of versions of Aesop’s fables in Latin. Rodríguez Adrados, “Tradition and the Influence of the Greek Fable in the Orient,” 559–629.

198 Ibn al-Muqaffa, *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, ed. Zakharya, 118.

lying across a running brook. As he crossed, he looked down and saw his own shadow reflected in the water beneath. Thinking it was another dog with another piece of meat, he made up his mind to have that also. So he made a snap at the shadow in the water, but as he opened his mouth the piece of meat fell out, dropped into the water and was never seen more. Beware lest you lose the substance by grasping at the shadow.”<sup>199</sup>

Once it was mentioned by Borzui, the tale was incorporated into the *Kalila wa Dimna* through the complex networks of medieval translations, including the compilation of tales attributed to an Indian philosopher called Syntipas (the Greek form of Sindibad or Sendabar), probably translated from Syriac to Greek. Many of the fables were translated from Greek between the ninth and eleventh centuries. The interchange of tales between the Greek and Indian animal fable traditions was not fortuitous. We have noted that the oldest extant version of the *Kalila wa Dimna* was translated from Pahlavi into Syriac in the sixth century, and a later Syriac translation was made about the tenth or eleventh century from the eighth-century Arabic version of Ibn al-Muqaffa, the latter being the basis of the new Persian translation by Nasr Allah Munshi (trans. 1143–46).<sup>200</sup> During the same period, a Greek translation of al-Muqaffa’s *Kalila wa Dimna* was made by the Byzantine writer Symeon Seth. The coexistence of the *Kalila wa Dimna* and Aesopic fables in Greek manuscripts and concurrent translations of both works into Syriac evince their varied connections.<sup>201</sup> By the tenth century, if not before, Aesop’s fables were combined with those of Bidpai in Western manuscripts, demonstrating how their association as moralistic animal fables facilitated the transmission of individual tales from one collection to the other. A Greek manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Greek MS M.397) of the late tenth century includes fragments of the *Bidpai Fables*, the *Physiologus*, the *Life and Fables of Aesop*, the *Fables of Babrius*, and other related texts.<sup>202</sup> This manuscript, copied from another that was mutilated, contains the earliest known Greek translation of the Bidpai text, with twenty-one miniatures in black ink and colors, which are attributed to a provincial Italian scriptorium, probably in Campagna. These are stylistically unrelated to Eastern illuminations or later images in the West.<sup>203</sup> The collection of fables from the *Kalila wa Dimna*, which were translated from Arabic for Alfonso X as *Calila e Digna* in 1251, also included Aesopic tales, indicating that they had already been adopted in Islamic literature.<sup>204</sup>

199 Joseph Jacobs, trans., *The Fables of Aesop, Selected, Told Anew and Their History Traced* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1894), 199.

200 For the later Syriac translation, see William Wright, ed., *The Book of Kalilah and Dimnah, Translated from Arabic into Syriac* (Amsterdam, 1884; repr., Oxford: Prize Publication Fund 23, 1990); and Ion Grant Neville Keith-Falconer, *Kalilah and Dimnah, or the Fables of Bidpai: Being an Account of Their Literary History, with an English Translation of the Later Syriac Version of the Same, and Notes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1885; repr., Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1970).

201 Hélène Condylis-Bassoukos, “Stéphanitès kai Ichnélatès, traduction grecque (XI siècle) du livre ‘Kalila wa-Dimna’ d’Ibn al-Muqaffa (VIII siècle): Étude lexicologique et littéraire,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 37, no. 3 (2006): 453–55.

202 See note 165 above.

203 The *Life of Aesop* is also illustrated with fifty-eight miniatures executed before the text was written. The only illustration in this manuscript that appears related to *Panchatantra* precedents is that of “The Tortoise and the Geese,” showing dogs or jackals devouring tortoises.

204 John E. Keller and L. Clark Keating, trans., *Aesop’s Fables: With a Life of Aesop*, trans. from Spanish (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 2.

An important mediator of Aesopic tales to the West was Maximus Planudes, ambassador to Venice in 1327, who included in his *Anthologia graeca* a thirteenth-century *Life of Aesop* and several tales from the *Panchatantra* that had been translated into Greek.<sup>205</sup> The tale of “The Dog and Its Bone” was first integrated into the Persian *Kalila wa Dimna* text through an addition to Nasr Allah’s preface,<sup>206</sup> and was beautifully illustrated in a manuscript, probably from Baghdad, by the first half of the thirteenth century (fig. 38). In this early example the black dog and his inverted reflection are silhouetted against red and blue registers that are framed by the text. Its coloristic effects are unique, but the design was transmitted to later Islamic manuscripts, as seen in the Ottoman *Kalila wa Dimna* of the fourteenth century (fig. 39). O’Kane listed eleven manuscripts of the fourteenth century that contain illuminations of “The Dog and the Bone.”<sup>207</sup> Here again we find extraordinary examples of Jalayarid art, such as that of Istanbul F.1422, where an elegant greyhound and his aquatic reflection are integrated into a naturalistic landscape (fig. 40). Among the most beautiful illuminations of this tale is on a page derived from a lost Mughal manuscript of the *Anwar-i Subayli* or the *Iyar-i-Danish*, where a Persian Saluki devouring meat is located in an urban scene beside a large bridge and cascading river (fig. 41). The disproportionately large Saluki may be a later addition, but a smaller version of the dog is shown crossing the bridge. The bridge, mentioned in the Romulus (Phaedrus) version of Aesop’s fables as “Canis per fluvium carnem ferens” (The Dog Carrying a Piece of Meat through the River), was described and illustrated in the twelfth-century “Dou chiens et dou Foumaige” (The Dogs and the Cheese) by Marie de France,<sup>208</sup> and repeated in a Middle Dutch version of the thirteenth century, called “Den hont ende den bene” (The Dog and the Bone). In the French version the meat is replaced by cheese, claiming, “those who are wont to be too greedy should be chastised for this. He who wants more than his due deceives himself, for what he has, he often loses, and he gains nothing in return.”<sup>209</sup>

In De Capua’s *Directorium* the dog carries a piece of meat rather than a bone, as in the Aesopic version and its subsequent depictions.<sup>210</sup> The earliest known Western illustration of this story appears in the *Aberdeen Bestiary* (c. 1200), with the following explanation:

205 Ibid., 1–6.

206 The tale was attributed to Burzoi who wished to become an ascetic but feared he would not be able to commit himself, thus becoming like the dog that lost what he had without realizing his ambition. Nasr Allah Munshi, *Kalila wa Dimna*, 53.

207 O’Kane, *Early Persian Painting*, 58, 299.

208 “Par une feie ce vas recunt/Passeit un chiens desus un punt;/Un fourmaige en se geule tint, Quant il enmi cel punt parvint/En l’aigue vit l’ombre dou fourmaige. Pur pensa sei en sun curaige/K’il les vuleit aveir an deus, Iluec fu-il trop cuveiteus./En l’iaue sunt, sa buche ovri, E li fourmaiges li chéi,/E ombre vit, è ombre fu, E sun fourmaige en ot perdu.” Marie de France, *Fables*, English trans. Michael Star, <http://www.aesopfables.com/aesopjdlf.html>.

209 Mary Lou Martin, *The Fables of Marie de France: An English Translation* (Birmingham, AL: Summa Publications, 1984, 1988), 44–45. Marie’s fable is illuminated in Cologny, Fond Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 113, <http://www/e-codices.unifr.ch/en/fmb/cb-0113/17r/o/Sequence-859>.

210 “Erat quidam canis qui, cum ambularet iuxta fluentia, portans carnis frustum in oro suo, vidit umbra, carniū in aqua, et, credens illud capere pre sua concupiscentia, aperuit os suum ad capiendum illud; et cecidit quod habebat, et remansit vacuus as utroque.” *Directorium humanae vitae*. Hervieux, *Jean de Capoue et ses dérivés*, 103–4.

If a dog swims across a river carrying a piece of meat or anything of that sort in its mouth, and sees its shadow, it opens its mouth and in hastening to seize the other piece of meat, it loses the one it was carrying. [...] The dog leaving its meat behind in the river, out of desire for its shadow, signifies foolish men who often forsake what is theirs by right out of desire for some unknown object; with the result that, while they are unable to obtain the object of their desire, they needlessly lose what they have given up.<sup>211</sup>

Instead of reversing the dog's reflection, the bestiary illuminator duplicated the upright figure in a second register below, with a blue background to represent the water, and added a third register showing two dogs licking their wounds.

"The Dog and His Meat" appeared in the Latin-German edition of *Aesopus: Vita et fabulae*, the first edition of Aesop printed in Europe, translated by Heinrich Steinhöwel, and published with woodcuts in 1477.<sup>212</sup> Despite the fact that the fable was illustrated in Steinhöwel's German edition of Aesop, woodcuts of the *Buch der Weisheit der alten Weisen*, the German translation of the *Directorium*, published in Urach by Flyner in 1482, still depicted the dog with the bone (fig. 42), following illustrations of Nasr Allah Munshi's version.<sup>213</sup> In other words, the basic iconography of "The Dog and the Bone" in these German woodcuts was derived from the Persian and Arabic illuminations of the fourteenth century, not from Western versions of the same tale that were concurrently published in German translations of Aesop's fables.<sup>214</sup>

"The Dog and His Meat" or "His Shadow" was repeatedly published in the Renaissance among Aesop's fables, following late medieval manuscripts in both Latin and the vernaculars, some of which included illustrations.<sup>215</sup> Woodcuts of "De cane et carne" (On the Dog and Meat) in editions of Stein-

211 "Cumque fluvium transnataverit carnem vel aliquid tale in ore tenens, cum viderit umbram/os suum aperit, atque dum properat aliam carnem sumere, ipsam/quam tenet amittit. [...] Quod carnem/in flumine propter concupitam umbram relinquit, significat/stultos homines propter ambitionem ignote rei, id sepe quod proprii/iuris est relinquere. Unde fit, ut dum non valent adipisci id/quod cupiunt, perdere frustra norunt id quod re-liquerunt," accessed September 20, 2016, <https://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/translat/19v-20r.hti>.

212 The 1479 illustrated edition of Steinhöwel's translation and his 1521 Spanish translation appear online at the Library of Congress: <https://www.wdl.org/en/item/28/view/1/12/> and [http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=rbc3&fileName=rbc0001\\_2004rosen1279page.db](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=rbc3&fileName=rbc0001_2004rosen1279page.db); the 1501 edition is online at the University of Mannheim: <http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/desbillons/esop.html>. Other related Renaissance editions include *Fabulae Aesopi carmine elegaico redditiae*, published by Hieronymos Osius, 1564, and *Fables d'Esop Phrygien, mises en ryme françoise*, with illustrations by Bernard Salomon, 1547. In two related prints Salomon depicted the dog stealing meat from the butcher and swimming with it in his mouth; see images at <http://www.studiolo.org/BSPProject/AESOP/index.htm>.

213 Nasr Allah Munshi, *Kalila wa Dimna*, 53.

214 Cf. "Canis quidam, tranans fluvium, vorabunda fauce vehebat carnem, splendente sole, et (ut plerumque fit) umbra carnis lucebat in aquis. Quam avide captans, quod in rictu oris erat perdiderat. Quo infortunio percussus, huc illuc vagos circumtulit ocellos et, tandem animum recipiens, sic elatravit, 'Miserae deerat cupiditati modus! Satis superque esset, ni desipuissem. Iam tota spes et res in fundo perierunt.'" Ben Edwin Perry, *Aesopica: A Series of Texts Relating to Aesop or Ascribed to Him*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1952; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), no. 133; Laura Gibbs, trans., *Aesop's Fables* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 263, <http://mythfolklore.net/aesopica/oxford/263.htm>.

215 E.g., *Esopo Toscano*, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, gaddi 176, with illustrations in color.

höwel's compilation<sup>216</sup> depict a very basic image of the dog standing in the water and holding a piece of meat. Caxton's English translation (1484) included freehand copies of the prints taken from a French printing by Nicolas Philippe and Marc Reinard (Lyon, 1480), which in turn followed those of Steinhöwel's edition.

Aesop's fables, with their ethical-theological connotations, were illustrated by Italian Renaissance artists for aristocratic patrons in manuscripts, fresco cycles, and sculpture.<sup>217</sup> By the sixteenth century the fable assumed an increasingly metaphoric role in European culture. Martin Luther translated twenty fables into Latin from Steinhöwel's German version, including "Von dem hund und stück fleisch" (On the Dog and [His] Piece of Meat), which he adapted several times in theological moralistic contexts of sermons, exegeses, and commentaries. In his commentary on Psalm 126:4, for example, he stated that theologians should not be arrogant just because they think they understand a doctrinal point, "for this arrogance makes for fanatical spirits who pursue the shadow like Aesop's dog and lose what is true."<sup>218</sup> Bernard Salomon's 1547 illustration of "Du chien et de la piece de chair" (The Dog and the Piece of Meat) bears the caption: "ne convoiter chose incertaines" (not to covet uncertain things) (fig. 43).<sup>219</sup> "Le Chien qui lâche sa proie pour l'ombre" (The Dog Who Lost His Prey for a Shadow) was included in the French *Fables* of La Fontaine (1668–94), who wrote: "People fool ourselves in this world; chasing after shadows, so numerous are they that often, we cannot count the number."<sup>220</sup> La Fontaine interpreted this fable as a satire of those who are grasping at shadows or illusions. The engravings by François Chaveau that illustrated the original edition of La Fontaine appear to be based on those of the *Esbattement moral des animaux* (Antwerp, 1578) or a derivative thereof. Unlike the multiple Renaissance illustrations that preceded the Antwerp version, the greedy dog stands on a bridge, following the description in Aesop's fable: "In tyme passed was a dogge that wente ouer a brydge/and held in his mouthe a pyece of flesshe/and as he passed ouer a brydge/he perceyued and sawe the shadowe of hym/and of his pyece of flesshe within the water" (fig. 44).<sup>221</sup>

La Fontaine professed his debt to the Indian sources, stating, "I will say in gratitude that I owe the greater part to Pilpai, the wise Indian" (Je dirai par reconnaissance que je dois la plus grand partie a

216 Published in German, Augsburg, 1477, 1479, 1501, and in Spanish, 1521.

217 E.g., Rodolfo Signorini, "Le favole di Esopo nel 'Giardino secreto' della villa del Te," *Quaderni di Palazzo Te* 8 (January–June 1988): 21–36; *The Medici Aesop*; Giancarlo Fiorenza, "Fables, Ruins, and the 'bell'imperfetto' in the Art of Dosso Dossi," *Modern Language Notes* 119 Supplement (2004): S271–S298, 1–28; and Pellicchia, "From Aesop's Fables to the Kalila wa-Dimna." "The Dog and His Reflection" was among Aesop's fables depicted in frescoes of the *studiolo* at the Villa Medici, Rome, by Jacopo Zucchi in 1576–78, accessed September 20, 2016, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/.../File:Villa\\_medici\\_studiolo\\_del\\_cardinale\\_grottesche\\_volta\\_fiabe\\_di\\_esopo](https://commons.wikimedia.org/.../File:Villa_medici_studiolo_del_cardinale_grottesche_volta_fiabe_di_esopo).

218 For Luther's references to this fable, see Pack Carnes, "The Fable in Service to the Reformation," *Renaissance and Reformation*, n.s., 8, no. 3 (August 1984): 176–89, esp. 181; and Springer, *Luther's Aesop*, 44, 51, 54.

219 For details of the graphic works by Bernard Salomon, see <http://www.studiolo.org/BSPProject/BSEditionsAesop.htm>; and <http://www.studiolo.org/BSPProject/AESOP/pages/01387-15web.htm>, accessed September 20, 2016.

220 "Chacun se trompe ici-bas. On voit courir après l'ombre Tant de fous, qu'on n'en sait pas. La plupart du temps le nombre. Au Chien dont parle Esope il faut les renvoyer. Ce Chien, voyant sa proie en l'eau représentée, La quitta pour l'image, et pensa se noyer; La rivière devint tout d'un coup agitée. A toute peine il regagna les bords, Et n'eut ni l'ombre ni le corps." *Fables*, VI, 17; English trans. Michael Star, <http://www.aesopfables.com/aesopjdlf.html>.

221 Perry, *Aesopica*, no. 133.

Pilpay sage indien) and was cognizant of their function in the moral education of children. His first edition of *Fables choisies* (1668) was dedicated to the six-year-old Grand Dauphin Louis, son of Louis XIV of France and his queen, Maria Theresa of Spain. The first six books of La Fontaine, including the story of “Le Chien qui lâche sa proie pour l’ombre,” were not adopted from the *Kalila wa Dimna* literary or visual tradition. In spite of divergent sources, it is noteworthy that the dog on the bridge, derived directly or indirectly from the Romulus version of Aesop’s fables, was concurrently illustrated in a Mughal manuscript in India (fig. 41) and carved on an onyx cameo in Italy,<sup>222</sup> exemplifying parallel iconographic developments in the late sixteenth century.

## CONCLUSION

This attempt to follow the progression and transmission of the *Panchatantra*’s visual heritage in its varied relations to literary and historical contexts has merely touched the tip of the iceberg. Although the evidence has served to chart chronological developments in this phenomenal cultural migration, the web-like diffusion of its transference defies any illusion of linear historicity or trajectory. Pitfalls inherent in the adopted methodology are therefore rooted in the unavoidable selectivity of the longitudinal section. It should be emphasized that the phenomena studied constitute exempla of cultural hybridity – the combining and interweaving of diverse strands both within the social, theological, linguistic, and geographic frameworks of the relevant cultures, as well as the dynamics of interaction between them. Numerous aspects and implications of these forces have merely been suggested, hopefully to indicate lines of further research. A particularly enigmatic aspect of this and related studies of the *Panchatantra* heritage relates to the means and routes of interaction, particularly those of commerce and political ties, that facilitated the mobility of the fables in their visual and literary manifestations. How do we identify and explain the points of contact of Muslim patrons and their artists, who occupied parts of the Indian subcontinent, with local Hindu sculpture? Were visual patterns carried over, in westward as well as eastward directions, through the mobility of artists and/or transference of books?<sup>223</sup> How, where, and when were Arabic and Persian manuscripts imported to Europe? How did the crossing of geographic and cultural boundaries affect the adoption and reinterpretation of text and image? These are only a few of the problems that relate to the shadowy issues entailed in crossing cultural boundaries, which are suggested above but remain beyond the scope of this study.

Three different groups have been identified in the adoption and transition of *Panchatantra* illustrations throughout the centuries. The emphasis has been on those images that did not undergo significant modifications, thus preserving and conveying the original visual Indian traditions. We have noted a second group of images that were added later, based largely on Islamic revisions, with their interpola-

222 This small oval cameo of “The Dog and His Meat” (Museum of London) was buried between 1640 and 1666 and subsequently found in the Cheapside Hoard in 1912. For a reproduction, see <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/258605203577620150/>.

223 Regarding the migration of artists from central Asia and Iran to Mughal courts, see Soucek, “Persian Artists in Mughal India; on migrations of artists and manuscripts: Natif, “The SOAS *Anwar-i Subayli*.”

tions and supplements, and the adoption of fables from other sources; these had no Indian prototypes. A third group of illustrations underwent various degrees of modifications in the process of adaptation to Muslim and Christian cultures.

This study has attempted to emphasize the significance of fable depictions that were continuously adopted and transferred, with texts or without them, playing their own role in the process of *translatio studiorum* between India and the West. The iconographic overview has revealed the tenacity of visual formulas over centuries, and over borders, in the literal and figurative sense. Some of the common preconceptions regarding the limits of cultural diversity have been questioned. The history of the inter-related *Panchatantra* heritage of texts and images is a unique test case. It is an extraordinary example of the transmission of Buddhist and Hindu sources from Southeast Asia to the world of Islam and then to Christian Europe, entailing a very long westward migration. Quite amazing is the unfailing attraction held by the fables and the relevance their images sustained along a labyrinth of routes and countless vicissitudes. Cultural interaction has been repeatedly demonstrated in the case studies of individual fables and their illustrations. The study of iconographic continuity and change has revealed examples of enduring imagery that was continuously copied or reproduced, despite linguistic and thematic transformations of texts and modified definitions thereof. A surprising number of images that illuminated the fables seem to have had a life of their own. This is further accentuated by the independent depictions that did not function as adjuncts to texts. These phenomena demonstrate the role of the visual idiom in *translatio studiorum*, used in its broadest sense.