

Original Research Article

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چگونگی صورت و معنای رقم نگارگران در «مرقع گلشن» (مطالعه موردی پنج نگاره مرقوم)

## The Form and Significance of Painters' Signatures in the «Gulshan Album (Muraqqa'-e Gulshan)»: Case Study Five Signed Paintings

### Abstract

**Problem Definition:** Looking at the developments of Iranian painting, we witness the prevalence and inclusion of painters' names and signatures from the Timurid era in Iran and the lands influenced by Persian culture, such as Gūrkanī India. Among the works of this era, «Gulshan Album (Muraqqa'-e Gulshan)» holds a special place due to Jahāngīr Shāh's (Gūrkanī) direct supervision in collecting the pieces. The significance of this collection lies in two main aspects: 1) the number of signed works, and 2) the style of calligraphy, which differs from the Isfahan school. This study seeks primarily to examine the form the painters' signature, and also to study the significance of the signatures in the «Gulshan Album (Muraqqa'-e Gulshan)».

**Objective:** To identify the form and structure of the signatures embedded in Gulshan Album's paintings, and to investigate their hidden meanings. Specifically, we will examine how the composition of the signatures reveals the artist's motivation for representing his social status and establishing interactive (interpersonal) relationships with the viewer through his signature. By identifying patterns in how the signatures have been incorporated into the artwork, we can gain insight into how the artist used this form of self-representation to engage with his audience.

**Research Method:** Desk research was conducted in addition to the analysis of the originals. Five non-random samples of signed works were selected, and each one was analyzed according to our research objectives. A visual reading method was employed, based on the three metafunctions of composition, representation, and interaction.

**Results:** The examination of the signed paintings yielded three results. First, five compositional patterns were identified based on structural elements present in the signed paintings. Second, the narrative and conceptual relationship between the composition method and the verbal content of the signatures, in relation to the position of the painters in the court and their involvement in the production of Gulshan Album, was revealed. Finally, the motivation of the painters in engaging with the viewer was examined by analyzing the arrangement of signed paintings in different dimensions, distances, and size.

### Keywords

Signature in Paintings, Gūrkanī Paintings, Gulshan Album (Muraqqa'-e Gulshan), Reading Images, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen.

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## Introduction

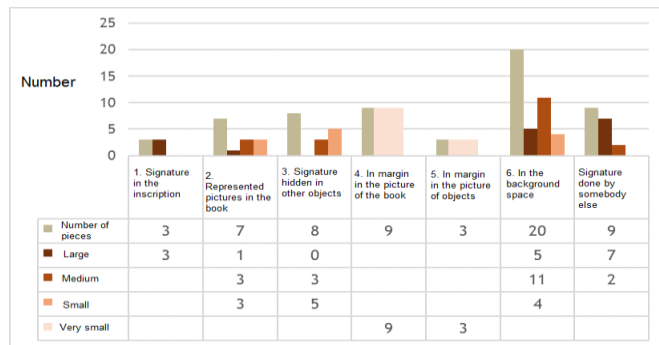
<sup>1</sup>«نقاش ازل کین خط مشکین رقم اوست/ یا رب چه رقم‌های عجب در قلم اوست»

In Iranian writing and painting history, two different processes have been observed for adding an artist's name and signature (raqam) to calligraphic works and paintings. Each process evolved differently in literary content and form. As a result of the esteemed position reserved for the Quran and its transcribers, calligraphers held a highly regarded socio-political status from the first century A.H. Their names were respectfully mentioned in various books, including *Asar al-Vozara* and instructional texts. Therefore, signing the colophons of manuscripts or calligraphic works was deemed an important act<sup>2</sup>. However, for various reasons, such as the sanctity of images<sup>3</sup> in Islamic societies, and the humbleness of artists, putting signatures on paintings took a different path and, with a few exceptions, was not popular until the Timurid rule in the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.H.<sup>4</sup> The evolution of signature in Iranian painting can be divided into four periods. The first period, before the rule of Timur, saw signatures not being common among painters. However, towards the end of the Timurid and Safavid periods in the Herat and Tabriz schools, with the elevations of the status of painters and calligraphers, signatures emerged, often appearing as very simple signatures, which included the names of several high-ranking court artists accompanied by their patron (the king). These often had titles such as al-'abd, "the servant", al-aḥqar, "the most humble", etc. hidden inside the image. Due to his time in Iran, this tradition was adopted in India during the reign of Humayun, and it continued to be practiced in India during the reigns of Akbar Shāh and Jahāngīr Shāh. However, it is worth noting that this tradition was undergoing changes back in Iran. Therefore, the next two stages in the evolutions in signatures in the Isfahan school (elaborate signatures stressing on forms and the rhymed signature (Raqaṁ-e Mosaja)) were not common in the Gūrkānī court. The paintings of "Gulshan Album (Muraqqa'-e Gulshan)" (the subject of the present research), which is one of the valuable examples of Muraqqa' making in the world, were created during the reign of Jahāngīr Shāh (Prince Salīm). In addition to the inclusion of paintings and calligraphic works, the value and significance of this Muraqqa' is due to the considerable number of its signed paintings and the unique forms of its signatures, compared to Iranian counterparts which yield fewer signed paintings, which often depict simple signatures. By examining the paintings and signatures of the «Gulshan Album» this study aims to analyze the formal and semantic features of the painters' signatures and the motivational relationship between these signatures and the creation environment of the artistic works. Indeed, the present research does not merely focus on the aesthetic or structural changes of the signatures in question. Rather, utilizing a viewpoint of image reading grounded in social semiotics, this study seeks to analyze the signed artistic works from a social perspective to understand the artist's intention in expressing his social status and communicating with the audience. Hence, the main question this research seeks to answer is «Within the Gulshan Album, how did the painters structure their signature compositions and what meanings do these signature forms convey within the cultural context of Jahāngīr Shāh's period»

## Research Method

As mentioned earlier, the materials and data for this research were studied and collected through desk research and observing the originals. Thus, all 262 pieces of calligraphy and paintings of the Gulshan Album's manuscripts (including folios from Gulshan and Golestān Albums) as well as the list of Muraqqa' of the Badri Atabai Royal Library. Fifty-eight pieces of signed paintings<sup>5</sup> are identified in this Muraqqa' and then divided into five general

categories, based on four criteria: 1. its position in the painting or in the margin; 2. its size and dimensions; 3. the number of signatures in a single painting (i.e., signed several times by one or more painters); 4. the artistic works with the possibility of having been signed by the artist himself<sup>6</sup> (Diagram 1<sup>7</sup>). From each category, one piece was chosen as a sample through a non-random selection, and information was gathered from previously published sources. This information mainly pertains to the painters, and the social landscape of the time, which was gleaned from Jahāngīr Shāh’s memoirs. Based on the research objectives, these samples are described and analyzed below using the visual discourse analysis method (image reading).



**Diagram 1.** Classification of 58 signed pieces in Gulshan Album, based on the dimensions of the signatures. Source: Authors.

**Analytical Model of Research:** After selecting the five signed paintings, we analyzed them to examine the forms and conceptual relationships between the signatures and the elements of the text (textual function), their semantic relationship with the artist’s social status (ideational function), and their ability to interact with the «typical viewer» (interpersonal function). Our analysis was based on the theoretical framework of the social semiotic method and the theory of image reading developed by Gunter Kress and Theo van Leeuwen<sup>8</sup>. These two social semioticians of the Australian school, drew upon «Halliday’s» linguistics theory to develop a precise method of reading images based on three meta functions of ideational, interpersonal, and textual. Their method of exploring images has been valuable for several reasons such as its emphasis on understanding the direction of reading in different cultures and its focus on exploring cultural, social, personal and emotional meanings in works of art. Additionally, their approach emphasized the interaction between the painter (producer) and the viewer of a particular type of work. This method has potential for application in the analysis of signatures by Indian and Iranian painters, as it provides a new and innovative way of exploring the meaning behind these signatures and their contexts. Based on the primary objectives of the current research, the theoretical framework was developed in three stages and involved five modifications to the primary structure of the image reading theory (Table 1)<sup>9</sup>. The changes made in the table are marked with an asterisk.

1. In the study of signatures of painters, contrary to the theory of reading, according to the different conditions of this element compared to the general space of the painting, , first, the textual feature of signatures within the painting and then the ideational and interpersonal process were investigated.
2. In the compositional function of the text, three factors of information value (placement, salience (visual weight), and framing (connection with elements) were examined to analyze

the appearance and visual form of the signature in the image and its relationship with other elements.

3. In the representational (ideational) function, the conceptual relations between the painter's signature and the internal elements of the image were analyzed using two non-projective patterns: action and reaction between the elements and projective verbal or mental processes with the components of the image. The signatures were also examined conceptually as classificatory or analytical (descriptive-property) and symbolic description (metaphorical). Additionally, the painter's status in court and society was revealed in light of the social conditions of that time.

4. In the interactive (interpersonal) function, the creator's intended relationship with the typical viewer through the signature was analyzed from three perspectives. Firstly, the perspective of contact was explored, examining the two modes of demand (signature is readable from the viewer's side) and offer (signature facing inside the image) to understand the signature's connection with the viewer. Secondly, the distance between the signature and the viewer was analyzed based on its size relative to the frame in four modes: impersonal view (far), social view (medium), personal view (close), and invisible view (very far). Finally, the artist's attitude in conveying the message was examined in two modes of mental space (signature in perspective) and objective space (omniscient view).

**Table 1.** Theoretical framework (with five modifications to Kress and van Leeuwen's image reading theory marked with an asterisk). Source: Authors.

<b>1. Composition</b>  ★	<b>Investigating the placement of the painter's signature in the artwork and its interaction with other elements of the image</b>						
	<b>Place of signature (information value)</b>		<b>Saliency (visual weight)</b>			<b>Framing</b>	
	Central	Peripheral ★				No frame	Framed
<b>2. Representation</b>	<b>Conceptual relations between the painter's signature and the elements inside the image</b>						
	<b>Representation of a moment</b> ★				<b>Representation of a concept</b>		
	processes		situations		Classificatory structure	Analytical structure	Symbolic structure
	Agent factors		place	tool			
	Non-projected expression	Projected expression					
action-reaction	mental/verbal						
<b>3. Interaction</b>	<b>The interaction of the creator of the artwork (using the way of signing) with the typical viewer of the artwork</b>						
	<b>Contact</b> ★		<b>Distance</b>			<b>Perspective</b> ★	
	Demand-Offer		Personal-near	Social-medium	Impersonal-far	Invisible -very far	Mental (subjective)

## Research Background

After reviewing previous studies, no independent research was found regarding the painters' signatures in the Gulshan Album. The lack of comprehensive research is mostly due to the fact that paintings of the Golshan Album have not been published. However, related articles in three areas provide some insight: a) few studies, mostly by European researchers, have been conducted on signatures in books and Muraqqa's of the Gürkānī Dynasty, with a focus on manuscriptological purposes. For example, two of «Seyller» articles, namely «Annotation in Gürkānī manuscripts» (1987), and «An indication of Gürkānī art» (2000), point to the existing gap in studying the inscriptions and annotations of the paintings. b) since the 1940s, many articles have been published in Iran focusing on signatures in paintings mainly to identify manuscripts or artists. Meanwhile, only three researchers have specifically focused on the evolution of the written and literary text of the signatures in the paintings, or the colophons, including «Zoka» (1964) in «Signature and a Case of Humbleness of Iranian Artists», which deals with the reasons why the signature was not common before the Timurid period. In a series of articles appeared in the Nāme-ye Bahāristān, including «Colophon in Manuscripts», «Afshar» (2002) focused on the analysis of the colophons and calligraphic pieces. In his article, «Mossajja' (Rhymed) signature: Its raisons d'être and socio-religious contexts», «Ajand» (2017) analyzed this type of signature in Iranian paintings only from the historical and literary perspective. This approach is not address in this research. c) In the field of signature studies and from an artistic and formal criticism point of view, «Mosavat» Master's thesis (2009) «Semiological examination of signature in paintings from the Ilkhanid to the Qajar periods» deals with the evolution of signatures of Iranian painters from a layered semiotics point of view. However, to date, the signature has not been previously studied either in Gürkānī or Iranian paintings from the perspective of the social background of the creation of the work and the motivation of the artists in interaction with other elements in the image and its typical viewer. Therefore, the current research opens a new path both in terms of signature in the Gulshan Album paintings and the analytical method of the works.

## Theoretical Concepts

**1. Signature (Raqam):** In the tradition of scribes and artists, the part of the artistic work containing the artist's name and signature, or the date of creation, written on the pages of the work or at the colophon of the book, is referred to as signature or Raqam (Tarqīmeḥ). Afshar believed that «The term «Tarqīmeḥ» (signature) is established by the scribes of India ... The word «Raqam» has been used historically to refer to the name of the creator of the manuscript, the creator of canvas, or the scribe of a calligraphic piece» (Afshar, 2002). Also, Mayel Heravi emphasized that Raqam is a reference to the signing process during which the scribe mentions the year and month of his work and sign his name upon finishing the manuscript (Mayel Heravi, 1993, 662). Therefore, the Raqams (signatures), especially those placed within a painting, served as a signature. In this research, Raqam and signature are used interchangeably.

**2. Form:** In the present study, employing «Tatarkiewicz's» theory<sup>10</sup>, the term «form» encompasses two distinct historical definitions at the same time. The first definition refers to the act of organizing parts and elements to create order or composition (concept A). The second definition pertains to «what is directly related to the senses», the appearance of the elements (concept B) (Tatarkiewicz, 2021, 320).

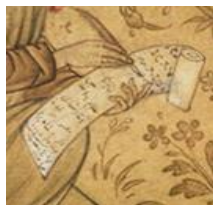
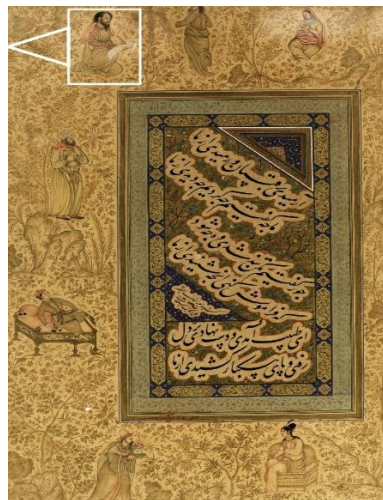
**3.Types of Raqam (Signature) and Its Evolution in Painting:** The evolution of Raqam (signature) in Iranian paintings can be seen in four periods: The first period was before the Timurid's rule, during which Raqam was not common because of various reasons, including the lack of identification of the social status of painters, the characteristic of group productions of royal workshops and the typical humbleness of artists who signed the paintings (Pakbaz, 2020, 720). During the second period of the late Timurid and Safavid periods, in the school of Herat and Tabriz, along with the gradual growth of the authority of painters and the spread of the theory of «two pens (Qalam)»<sup>11</sup>, we notice a new tradition of signature on paintings, but still «the way of paintings on works... was very simple and only the artist's name and sometimes the date of creation was included within the painting or at the bottom of the work» (Zoka, 1964). Only high-ranking artists were allowed to record their names next to or under their patron's name along with terms of service like «Al-'Abd, Haqīr, Faqīr...». At the same time, with Gūrkānī king Humayun being present in the Iranian court, and then his invitation to Mir Seyyed Ali and Abdus-Samad to India, the tradition of Iranian painting, including the method of painting, gradually spread in India. During the latter half of Shāh Tahmasp's reign in Qazvin, concurrent with his repentance, artists began to operate independently from the court and joined the market system. They also introduced a new style of signature, which was large and prominent, accompanied by an explanation or a poem on individual illustrations, known as Yeke Sourat. At this time, with the migration of Iranian artists to the court of Akbar Shāh (the third Gūrkānī king), the Indo-Persian school emerged influenced by the Tabriz school. Although from the middle of his reign, a type of Indian-Iranian-European eclectic art became popular, the method of signature in the style of the previous period (Tabriz school) continued in the court of Akbar Shāh and his son Jahāngīr Shāh. In the fourth period, spanning from the reign of Shāh Abbas II until the beginning of the Qajar period, there was a prevalence of foreignization in Iran. During this time, another method of signature known as Mosaja (Rhymed) emerged (Ajand, 2017). The details and analysis of the third and fourth signature methods are beyond the scope of the present research (Table 2).

**Table 2.** Developments in Iranian and Gūrkānī painting. Source: Authors.

Developments of signature in Iranian painting				Developments of signature in Gūrkānī painting				
<b>Pre-Timurid</b>	Signature on pictures was not common							
<b>Timurid and early Safavid era</b>	Tabriz style signature	Safavid Kings			Gūrkānī kings			
		Shāh Tahmasp	930 A.H.	1524 A.D.	Babur (Zahirudin)	932 A.H.	1526 A.D.	
<b>Middle of Tahmasp's reign (Qazvin and Isfahan schools)</b>	Other styles of signature	Qazvin capital	962 A.H.		Homāyūn (Naser al-dīn)	937 A.H.	1530 A.D.	
		Esmacil II	983 A.H.	1576 A.D.	Akbar (Jalal al-din)	963 A.H.	1556 A.D.	Tabriz style signature
		Mohammad Khodabandej	985 A.H.	1578 A.D.				
		Abbas I	996 A.H.	1588 A.D.				

Developments of signature in Iranian painting				Developments of signature in Gūrkanī painting				
				A.D .	Jahāngīr (Salīm - Noor al-din)	1014 A.H.	1605 A.D.	Tabriz style
		Safi I	1038 A.H.	1629 A.D .	Shāh Jahan(Shahab al-din)	1037 A.H.	1628 A.D.	A simple signature, different from the Iranian style
<b>The era of Shāh Abbas II</b>	Mosaja (Rhymed) signature	Abbas II	1053 A.H.	1642 A.D .	Aurangzeb (Alamgir)	1069 A.H.	1659 A.D.	

**4. Gulshan Album:** During the reign of Jahāngīr Shāh (Prince Salīm), there was a shift in the focus of artistic production from books to murqqa'-making and similar images of people and events. Some of the most valuable sample of this form of art were the Muraqqa' albums such as Gulshan Album and Jahāngīr (Berlin). The Gulshan Album was probably compiled around 1007 AH during his reign (with the title of Shāh Salīm) and around the end of his reign styled as Jahāngīr Shāh 1037 AH (Fig 1).



Shāh Salīm, the servant of Āqā Ridhā in the town of Agra on the twenty-eighth of Ramadan, 1008 A.H. - The text of the signature inside the scroll

**Fig 1.** Khat Al-Faqīr Alipiece with Āqā Ridhā Heravī's annotation, the oldest dated image of this Muraqqa'. Source: Gulshan Album, Royal Library of Golestān Palace.

Now, a large part of this exquisite Muraqqa' from the era of Naser al-Din Shāh Qajar is kept in the Golestān Palace in Tehran<sup>12</sup>. This book contains 133 double-sided sheets of Muraqqa' Gulshan and Muraqqa' Golestān (Atabai, 1974, 336)<sup>13</sup>, made up of paired calligraphic and pictorial pieces bordered with finely decorated margins (gilded)<sup>14</sup>. Based what we observed, almost all of the Muraqqa's 128 calligraphic pieces bear the signatures of Iranian Nasta'liq calligraphers. These works, done in the Wassālī style<sup>15</sup>, are featured on the pages of the gilded pieces. Though there are 118 paintings in the Gulshan Album, only 45 comprise the names of the painters. Of these, six pieces were signed by "Kamāl-ud-Dīn Bihzād" and attributed to him in terms of style and subject, while the rest of them belongs to Indian painters and two illustrators of Iranian descent living in Gūrkanī court, namely «Abdus-

Samad» and «Āqā Ridhā Heravī». Jahāngīr Shāh, who claimed to have a taste for paintings (Jahāngīr n.d., 266-267)<sup>16</sup>, was directly involved in selecting these precious pieces in the Gulshan Album (Figs 2-3).

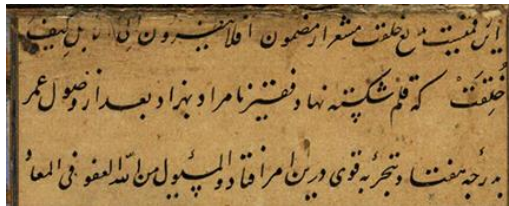


Fig 2. Monograph of «Behzad signature». Source: Piece 6, Gulshan Album, Golestān Palace Library.

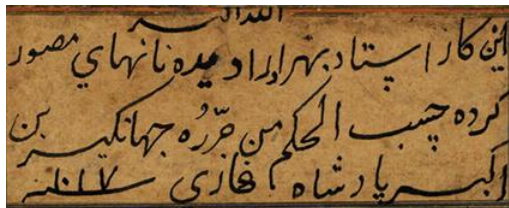


Fig 3. Text taken from Behzad, «Raquam of Jahāngīr Shāh». Source: Piece 7, Gulshan Album, Golestān Palace Library.

### Discussion and Analysis of Five Selected Samples of Signed Paintings

Signed artistic works, including paintings and annotations in margins, are divided into five general categories based on the location of these artworks, and one sample was selected for each category (Table 3).

Table 3. Classification of signed works. Source: Authors.

Classification based on the placement of signatures in pieces	Samples of selected works in each category
1. Signature in inscriptions	Samples 1 & 2. Assembly of Homāyūn and Akbar Shāh - Abdus-Samad's signature
2. The hidden signature in the images represented by the papers and books inside the image	
3. The hidden signature in other objects	Sample 3. King Salīm with his companions at the promenade by Āqā Ridhā
3.1. The signature in larger dimensions inside the images of books	Sample 4. Christian leaders (Saint Hieronymus/Jerome) by Nādirah Banoo
4. Signatures in figures in the margin (dissolve)	Sample 5. Faqīr Ali calligraphy piece with a signed margin by two artists, Dawlat and Abul Hassan
5. A signature suspended in the background	Sample 6. Spring flowers piece by Mansour (Nādir al-Asr Jahāngīr Shāhi)



### First and Second Samples: Homāyūn and Akbar Shāh 's Assembly - Abdus-Samad's Signature

These two samples represent two categories of signatures: in the inscription and hidden in the image. «Abdus-Samad Shīrīn Qalam», a painter and calligrapher of Shirazi origin and a resident of Tabriz, who went to India following an invitation from the Gūrkanī King, Homāyūn, received the title of «Shīrīn Qalam» from Akbar Shāh. He was one of the main founders of the Indo-Persian school.<sup>16</sup> He was skillful at various fields of painting and calligraphy. Presently, the Golestān Palace Library houses eight pieces of his paintings in various painting styles (Table 4)<sup>17</sup>. In the painting of Homāyūn and Akbar Shāh's assembly, the pose of the figures, architectural details, and structural rules of the Tabriz school are used to portray the event of the Gūrkanī court. Different opinions about this assembly have been presented; for instance, “Homāyūn is situated on the upper floor, with musicians and servants next to him” (Karimzadeh Tabrizi, 1990, 336). However, this view contradicts the descriptions found in the inscriptions surrounding the painting. These inscriptions feature characters such as «Jalal al-din» (Akbar Shāh) depicted at two different ages and the painter himself, Abdus-Samad, portrayed sitting in the courtyard next to a yellow notebook which bears the signature «Allah-o Akbar-Abdus-Samad Shīrīn Qalam». It is noteworthy that Abdus-Samad's name and visage are repeated three times in this painting, which is a rare incidence in both Iranian and Gūrkanī paintings. The name of the artist is first mentioned in the inscription above the picture: «شبيه شاه همايون وشاه اكبررا/ نگاشت خامه عبدالصمد ز روی هنر». The term شبيه<sup>18</sup> refers to the depiction of two lower figures (Humayun and Akbar). The word خامه عبدالصمد<sup>19</sup> in the second stanza in the bottom line refers to a notebook held by a person, who is wearing a dark blue clothes, which according to the bottom inscription «نمود تصویر آنکه» تمام این مجلس / بصفحه که نماید بشاه شاه اکبر, probably portrays Shāh or Akbar Shāh. The name of Akbar Shāh is repeated twice in the upper and lower inscriptions, along with two images of him at different ages: once a teenager in red in the upper right half of the picture, that is, young Akbar (Prince Jalāl ad-Dīn) showing a picture to Homāyūn (his father) before himself ascending the throne and before his father's death, ;and once, according to the lower inscription, he is depicted in the lower left at a young age. Therefore, in this piece, we witness a kind of temporal analytical structure with a hidden time path, but with distinct sequences of his life. The inclusion of Abdus-Samad's name in the inscription serves to convey two ideas: first, it suggests the artist's sense of power and superiority, as he is deemed worthy of being mentioned alongside the names of two kings. Second, it speaks to the close relationship between Abdus-Samad and the kings, highlighting the artist's “level of communication and companionship”<sup>20</sup> with them. These ideas are conveyed through the placement of Abdus-Samad's name above the painting, indicating his importance and contribution to the work, as well as his close proximity to the kings. The second signature «الله اکبر عبدالصمد شیرین قلم» in Nasta'liq Khafī script is placed on the yellow cover of the book in the lower third of the picture next to the brush and painting tools and close to a person wearing green (probably Abdus-Samad) in the yard. It conveys four aspects of the artist's characteristics: firstly, his affiliation with the royal workshop through the phrase «الله اکبر» Allah-o Akbar»; secondly, His proficiency in both calligraphy and painting through the depiction of a notebook and writing tools; thirdly, his connection with the court through reactions, hand gestures, and glances from the courtyard towards the room; and finally, his position as a teacher to the three kings Humayun, Akbar, and Prince Salīm, as shown by

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Volume 12 Issue 32 Summer 2023 Pages 81-102

90

Akbar's action of presenting artwork to Homāyūn and the king. Furthermore, the second signature on the cover, despite being small and inconspicuous, has turned towards the viewer's gaze and has become an informative element in the painting (Fig 4 & Table 5).

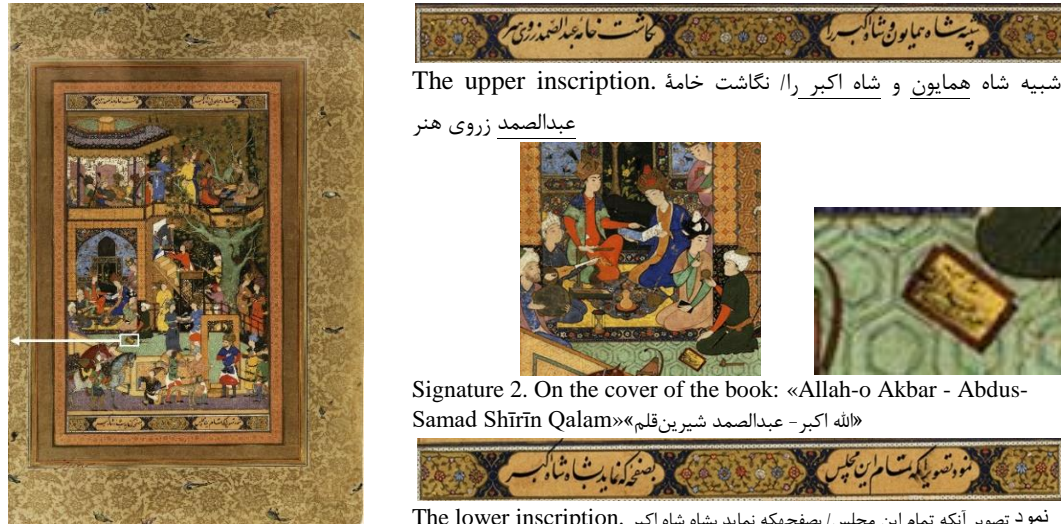


Fig 4. A piece from Homāyūn and Akbar Shāh assembly- Abdus-Sama's signature.

Source: Gulshan Album. Golestān Palace Library.

Table 4. Analysis of the text of five painters' signatures. Source: Authors.

Sample	Painter's name	No. of signed artworks	Theme of signatures	Position of signatures in the paintings
1 & 2	Abdus-Samad	8 pieces	Allah-o Akbar-Abdus-Samad Shīrīn Qalam Signature of Abdus-Samad Shīrīn Qalam / Work of Abdus-Samad 's servant الله اکبر - عبدالصمد شیرین قلم - بنده شکسته رقم عبدالصمد شیرین قلم - عمل بنده درگاه عبدالصمد	hidden in the objects inside the picture
3	Āqā Ridhā Heravī	11 Pieces	Titles like Devotee, sincere, servant (King/Sincere servant), Low-level servant, Reza Jahāngīr Shāhi مرید، باخلاص، غلام، بنده (شاه/ بنده باخلاص)، رضا جهانگیرشاهی - کمترین - (in his last artwork) The practice of Reza, the low-level servant «مشق کمترین رضا» (in a fragment taken from an Iranian work)	In different parts of the pieces under the name of King Salīm - hidden in objects - suspended - in the margins
4	Nādirah Banoo	2 pieces	بنده پادشاه سلیم / عمل نادره بانو شاگرد آقا رضا دختر میر تقی	hidden in a picture of the book - in the inscription inside the picture

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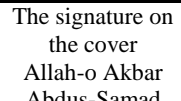
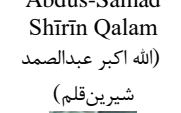


The Form and Significance of Painters' Signatures in the «Gulshan Album (Muraqqa'-e Gulshan)»: Case Study: Five Signed Paintings

Volume 12 Issue 32 Summer 2023 Pages 81-102

91

Sample	Painter's name	No. of signed artworks	Theme of signatures	Position of signatures in the paintings
5	Dawlat Mansour	5 pieces	Work of the low-level slave - the practice of the low-level servant- Raqem Faqīr Haqīr عمل كمترین خانه‌زاد- مشق كمترین بنده - راقم فقیرالحقیر	Hidden in objects - in the margins
	Abul Hasan	2 pieces	Jahāngīr Shāhi /Work of Abul Hasan جهانگیرشاهی / عمل ابوالحسن	In the dissolved margin
6	Mansour	1 piece	Work of Mansour (Nādir al-Asr Jahāngīr Shāhi) عمل منصور (نادرالعصر جهانگیرشاهی)	Suspended in the space of the artwork

Table 5. Analysis of Homāyūn and Akbar Shāh Assembly. Source: Authors.

Analysis of the first signature			First signature	Second signature
Composition	Information value	Peripheral		
	Saliency	High visual weight - foreground		
	Frame	Discontinuity - located in the inscription		
Representation	Representation of the story	non-projectedmental - cognitive projected verbal (the word شبيه)		
	Representation of the concept	hidden category- symbolic induction descriptive symbolic (خامه عبدالصمد)		
Interaction	Contact	demand		
	Distance	Social view		
	Perspective	objective		
Analysis of the second signature				
Composition	Information value	Peripheral (lower left side)		
	saliency	equal to other elements		
	Frame	Discontinuity: empty space Continuity: reaction		
Representation	Representation of the story	Projected: the word Allah-o Akbar الله اكبر	<p>The signature on the cover Allah-o Akbar Abdus-Samad Shīrīn Qalam (الله اكبر عبدالصمد شیرین قلم)</p> 	

Analysis of the first signature			First signature	Second signature
		(the title of Akbar Shāh)		
	Representation of the concept	A comprehensive attachment analysis (attachment to the book) Descriptive symbolic: carrying and inducing the status of a master		
Interaction	Contact	Demand/face-to-face view		
	Distance	impersonal view - distant (small)		
	Perspective	Objective (without perspective)		
			نمود تصویر آنکه تمام این مجلس / بصفحه که نماید بشاه شاه اکبر	

**The Third Sample: King Salīm with His Companions at the Promenade by Āqā Ridhā Heravī**

The third sample features hidden signatures in the objects, and belongs to Āqā Ridhā Nagargar, an Iranian immigrant who came to India during the reign of Safavid King Shāh Abbas. Āqā Ridhā Nigārgar joined Prince Salīm's workshop with his son Abul Hasan.<sup>21</sup> There, in addition to managing the library, he produced small books such as «Anwāri Soheily»<sup>22</sup>, trained Indian artists, and was responsible for producing and collecting pieces of Muraqqa', including the Gulshan Album. Therefore, the largest number of Muraqqa' pieces (11 pieces) and the oldest painting in the margin of the Gulshan Album (1008 AH) belong to him (Fig 1). His works are a blend of Iranian, Indian, and European influences (Table 4). In the painting being analyzed here, we can observe an example of his landscape painting, influenced by the Tabriz and Qazvin schools. This work depicts a mountain with a blue sky embellished with golden hues. The landscape shows colored rocks that contain inscriptions and signatures. In the upper half of the image, there is a purple rock with the name «King Salīm» inscribed on it. Moving to the lower left corner, two green diagonal rocks are aligned with a plane tree and a river containing fish and duck. Among the intricate details, there are the signatures «آقا رضا مرید با اخلاص عمل نادرالزمانی» and «The month of Rabī' ol-Awwal is over. Friday the 10th (ماه ربیع الاول تمام شد روز جمعه دهم)». In this piece, groups of people and their belongings are divided into four «covert taxonomy» categories, which are separated from each other with the help of color and light-dark spatialization of the rocks, and at the same time, they are connected with other elements and the opposite plane through action and reaction. Signatures and small writings with little visual weight, like the Tabriz School, are hidden in three rocks. In all three cases, the rock, like a frame, separates the writings from other elements and unites them with its diagonal position. The way King Salīm's rock is positioned in the painting using a «single-level» process created a one-way arrow that draws the viewer's attention towards the king's face on the lower left side. The other two rocks with the signature «Āqā Ridhā...» and the date of «Rabī' ol-Awwal...» on the right side, enhance the overall composition. The two rocks on the right side of the painting, aligned with the two attendants on the left, show that they are attributive - symbolical, a metaphor of Āqā Ridhā's servitude to his patron, Prince Salīm. This idea is further emphasized by the signature «Āqā Ridhā, a sincere devotee of Nādir az-Zamānī رضا

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Journal of Art Faculty, Shahid Chamran University of Ahvaz

The Form and Significance of Painters' Signatures in the «Gulshan Album (Muraqqa'-e Gulshan)»: Case Study: Five Signed Paintings

Volume 12 Issue 32 Summer 2023 Pages 81-102

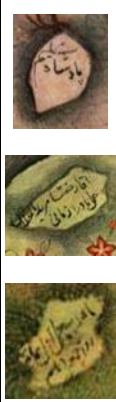
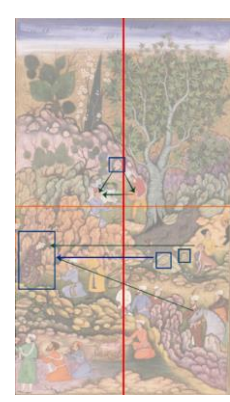
93

«مرید با اخلاص عمل نادرالزمانی». This type of hidden signature in the rocks is observed in other works by Āqā Ridhā, such as the book “Anwār Soheily”, where he places the name of his patron (Prince Salīm) at the top of the image and his name, along with respectful expressions, on the rocks below. The very small dimensions and direct perspective of the signatures in this painting show the artist’s impersonal interaction with the viewer, allowing the audience to freely explore every part of the painting without the interference of the artist's subject. A closer inspection reveals the name of Shāh Salīm, followed by the signature and the date, both hidden within the rocks (Table 6 & Fig 5).



Fig. 5. King Salīm 's assembly with his companions at the promenade, by Āqā Ridhā Heravī. Source: Gulshan Album, Royal Library of Golestān Palace.

Table 6. Analysis of signatures in the assembly of King Salīm with his companions at the promenade. Source: Authors.

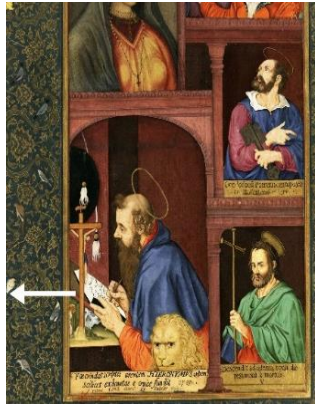
Composition	Information value	پادشاه سلیم - Central Peripheral-Ideal - آقا رضا غلام با اخلاص		
	Saliency	Low visual weight-all the signatures More visual weight - Shāh Salīm's name		
	Frame	Discontinuity: action of rocks Continuity: Diagonal action and reaction of individuals		
Representati on	Representati on of the story	Non-projected: the action of King Salīm's diagonal rock Projected verbal: a sincere devotee (serving)		
	Representati on of the concept	- Classification process: 4 covered categories (entire of painting) -The name of Shāh Salīm is one-level ranking		

		Rock of signatures and history of covered classification (with two attendants) -Symbolic process: attributive symbolism - position of the signature (servitude metaphor) Symbolic induction - the words of Shāh Salīm (princely period)		
<b>Interaction</b>	<b>Contact</b>	Demand		
	<b>Distance</b>	Impersonal (small and far)		
	<b>Perspective</b>	Objective (without perspective)		

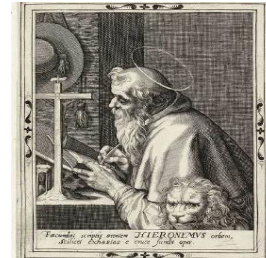
**Fourth sample: Christian leaders (Saint Hieronymus or Jerome) by Nādirah Banoo**

The fourth sample in the group of signatures in the image is a larger compared to other samples. The sample examined here belongs Nādirah Banoo, one of the female artists of Jahāngīr Shāh's court<sup>23</sup>. The only information available about this artist is that she introduced herself as Mirtaqi's daughter (probably from Iranian immigrants) and a student of Āqā Ridhā (Karimzadeh Tabrizi, 1990, 1978). Her works are «pastiche» of European prints, indicating that Āqā Ridhā Heravī encouraged her and his other students, including his son «Abul Hasan», to imitate European works (Soucek, 2005). In examining the two existing pieces by Nādirah Banoo in the Gulshan Album, three distinctive features of her works are apparent. The first is the use of monochrome prints (calcographic prints) from different European artists, arranged creatively in four or six different frames. This design contradicts the usual method in which all the pieces were painted, and below each picture a Latin text was attached (glued). This piece features five pictures from European prints depicting Christian leaders. The pictures are separated by architectural columns and, the artist's Persian signature, «بندۀ پادشاه سلیم عمل نادره بانو شاگرد رضا دختر میرتقی», appears in the lower left frame inside the pages of the book (Bible) in Saint Hieronymus's hand<sup>24</sup>. This image is one of four prints depicting Church Fathers (between 1590 and 1629 A.D.) by Egidius Sadeller, a Flemish artist who worked at the court of the Holy Roman Empire in Prague and a contemporary of Jahāngīr Shāh. It shows Saint Jerome writing the Gospel in the room. He is shown with a halo around his head while a bishop's hat with the symbol of a lion hangs on the wall next to him. The image also includes a cross and a skull on the table, as well as a Latin text that describes Saint Jerome in a printed work. The placement of the artist's signature in Persian next to the Latin elements creates a sense of anachronism<sup>25</sup>. The large dimensions of the signature and its visual weight are also interact with the Latin text, creating a sense of balance between the book and Saint Jerome's hand, and the words «King Salīm's servant, Nādirah Banoo's servant...». Concepts such as the royal relationship between the part and the whole, between the book and the signature, the saint and the book, as well as attributive relationship between Saint Hieronymus as the supporter of librarians are represented by the common image of him writing the book (Bible). The placement of Nādirah Banoo's signature on the book symbolically suggests the contribution of the artist to the preparation of the Muraqqa' manuscript. Furthermore, by placing her signature on the pages of the holy book, Nādirah Banoo intends to establish a closer relationship with the viewer. By placing it diagonally towards the elements in the image, she imposes her subjective (mental) attitude on the audience. On the other hand, the expression of the

signature «عمل نادره بانو شاگرد رضا دختر میرتقی», only serves to inform the reader (Table 7 & Fig 6).



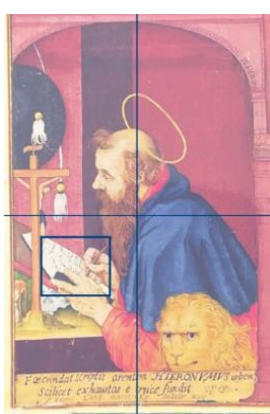
Signature: Servant of King Salīm/ Nādirah Banoo's work / Student of Reza, daughter of Mīrtaqī



The painting is copied from this print

**Fig. 6.** 1. The piece of the Christian leaders, Nādirah Banoo's work. Source: Gulshan Album, Golestān Palace Library. 2. Saint Jerome is writing in the room (from the collection of 4 Church Fathers) by Egidius Sadeler, (between 1590 and 1629 A.D.).

**Table 7.** Analysis of signatures in the Christian leaders' piece. Source: Authors.

<b>Composition</b>	Information value	Peripheral- Lower left side	
	Saliency	Medium Visual weight	
<b>Representation</b>	Frame	The entire work: discontinuity (5 frames) continuity of actions Signature: discontinuity (on the book page) - continuity (hand action)	
	Representation of the story	Priest: Projective- the text under the picture Non-projective induction: Belief Signature: Verbal projection of signature Non-projective communication	
<b>Interaction</b>	Representation of the concept	Analytical: The relationship between the part and the whole - conductive connection Two inductive and attributive symbols: St. Hieronymus Two inductive symbols: Nādirah Banoo's signature	
	Contact	Demand	
<b>Interaction</b>	Distance	Social perspective (medium)	
	Perspective	Mental subjective (with perspective)	

Signature: بنده پادشاه سلیم / عمل نادره بانو / شاگرد رضا - دختر میرتقی  
Servant of King Salīm/ Nādirah Banoo's work / Student of Reza, daughter of Mīrtaqī

**The Fifth Sample: Faqīr Ali's Calligraphic Piece Including Margin with Signatures of Two Artists: Dawlat (Mosawwar) and Abul Hasan**

Calligraphic pieces fall under the category of signatures in gilded margins with figures, which were highly valued among the Gūrkanī kings. This type of a calligraphic works often features poetic pieces in gilded margins<sup>26</sup>. In the Gulshan Album, only the margins that include the human figures have small signatures (Cheshm Moori). In the present piece, the margins have been signed by two painters, Dawlat Mosawwar and Abul Hasan (Nādir az-Zamān). Dawlat Mosawwar or Dawlat Muhammad or Great Sheikh Dawlat was a famous

Indian portraitist during the reigns of Akbar Shāh and Jahāngīr Shāh, who particularly contributed to the Jahāngīr (Berlin) and Gulshan (Karīmzādeh Tabrīzī, 1984, 176-178) Muraqqa's. One of the characteristics of his signature in the margins is the placement of the signature on the pages of books or scrolls held by figures. According to Jahāngīr Shāh, Abul Hasan was the son of Āqā Ridhā Heravī (Nādīr az-Zamān) and born and raised in his court<sup>27</sup>(Jahāngīr Gūrkanī, 1980, 226). The present piece, which is dated 1018 AH (four years after the reign of Jahāngīr Shāh), features the signature of two artists and creates a coherent unity among five separate figures through the expressions of the head and hands and the repetition of color. The signature of «عمل ابوالحسن) workd of Abul Hasan» appears below the name of Jahāngīr Shāh in Nastaliq script on the pitcher. This signature demonstrates a kind of bipolar system of upper and lower status, or king and servant, which is also observed in the works of Abul Hasan's father, Āghā Rezā Heravī. Dawlat Mosawwar in the other four figures does not mention Jahāngīr Shāh by name, instead using respectful titles such as “poor”, “humble” and “slave”, in ordinary handwriting to reveal his service to his patron through the verbal process. Also, the objects belonging to the figure bear small and invisible signatures. Through a conjoined exhaustive process, the book or the signed documents (belonging to Maleki) are attached to the figure. Symbolically, this communicate the idea of reading books and writing contents with its holder (the artist's signature). In the end, the interaction of the invisible signatures of this piece with an impersonal and any distant viewer reveals the artist's conscious intention to communicate only with special audiences such as the guardians of Muraqqa'. This approach reveals an objective and purely informative approach (Table 8 & Fig 7). In this context, John Seyller's theory suggests that the painter's interactive motive for emphasizing this signature style can be linked to the conditions of the court and the methods of hiring painters<sup>28</sup>.



Fig 7. A calligraphic piece, by Faqir Ali (1018 A.H.), the margin is decorated with figures of Abul Hasan and Dawlat. Source: Gulshan Album. Golestān Palace Library.



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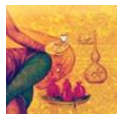

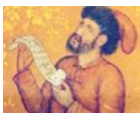


Journal of Art Faculty, Shahid Chamran University of Ahvaz

The Form and Significance of Painters' Signatures in the «Gulshan Album (Muraqqa'-e Gulshan)»: Case Study: Five Signed Paintings

Volume 12 Issue 32 Summer 2023 Pages 81-102

97

Table 8. Analysis of the marginal signatures of Faqīr Ali's calligraphy. Source: Authors.

		Abul Hasan	Dawlat	Dawlat	Dawlat	Dawlat
						
		Beside pitcher: Jahāngīr Shāh On the pitcher: Abul Hasan	low-level slave (کمترین خانه‌زاد)	A poem couplet The practice of low-level slave/ Dawlat	Signature by Faqīr al-Haqīr, Dawlat Muhammad in the Ziqadeh 1018 A.H.	Signature by Faqīr al-Haqīr, Dawlat
Composition	Placement	Upper marginal figure-on the pitcher	Right marginal figure-on the letter	Right marginal figure-on the scroll	Lower right marginal figure-inside the book	Lower left marginal female figure-on the red cover
	Information Value	Peripheral up and down-Power	-	-	-	-
	Saliency	Very low visual weight - invisible				
	Frame	Discontinuity - in the pitcher Continuity - the action of the hand with the body	Discontinuity - on the page of the book - Continuity - the action of the hand of the body	The discontinuity in the scroll - the continuity of the action of the hand	The discontinuity in the book - the continuity, the reaction of the figure's gaze	The discontinuity, the book cover - the continuity, the action of the hand
Representation	Representation of the story	The prince's communication with the pitcher	Non-projective action of the figure projective signature, low-level slave	Non-projective action of the figure Projective signature	Non-projective action of the figure Projective signature	Non-projective action of the figure Projective signature
	Representation of the concept	Analytical-conjoined exhaustive Symbolic cohabitation of the king - attributive	Analytical-conjoined exhaustive Symbolic servitude-attributive induction	Analytical-conjoined exhaustive Symbolic servitude-attributive induction	Analytical-conjoined exhaustive Symbolic servitude-attributive induction	Analytical-conjoined exhaustive Symbolic servitude-attributive induction
Interaction	Contact	Offer				
	Distance	Invisible view-lack of communication	Invisible view-lack of communication	Invisible view-lack of communication	Invisible view-lack of communication	Invisible view-lack of communication
	Perspective	Objective				

**The Sixth Sample: Spring Flowers Piece, by Mansour**

The group of signatures suspended in the artwork space is another example of the signature in Gulshan's paintings. This group of signatures often has the same characteristics as the previous samples, so it will not be mentioned here again to avoid repetition (Fig 8).



Mansour's signature. Suspended in the background. This type of signature can be seen in 20 other pieces.

**Fig 8.** A spring flowers piece, by Mansour (Nādir al-Asr Jahāngīr Shāhi).  
Source: Gulshan Album, Royal Library of Golestān Palace.

**Discussion**

This study focuses on the signatures found in the margins in the Gulshan Album, a valuable Muraqqa' from the Jahāngīr Shāh Gūrkānī (Prince Salīm) period. Due to the great number of the paintings signed by artists, it was selected as the sample for this research, as it differed from the works of the Safavid era. After categorizing the Raqams (i.e., painters' signatures) into five distinct structural patterns and selecting five signed paintings as samples, the image reading method (visual discourse analysis) was used to analyze the placement of the signatures within the written text and the composition of the artworks. The purpose of this analysis was to uncover the hidden and self-motivated meanings behind the placement of signatures by the painters. By examining their social status in the court, as well as their communication and interaction with different audiences, we sought to understand the significance of these signatures. The results of the study revealed that the text of the signatures in the simple manner of the Tabriz school only contains the name and fame of the artist, the date of creation of the work, along with respectful expressions like Al-'Abd, Haqīr, Faqīr, etc., towards his supporter, Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr Shāh), which are typically placed next to or under his name (Table 4). In our formal and structural analysis of the painting «Assembly of Homāyūn and Akbar Shāh», we observed that the name of Abdus-Samad was repeated in two signature samples, one in the upper inscription and another on the cover of booklet within the painting. Through this observation, we revealed four aspects of his personality as a calligrapher, painter, teacher of three kings, and companion of the kings (as detailed in Table 5). Additionally, in the third sample, «King Salīm's Assembly with His Companions at the Promenade», we noted that Āqā Ridhā Heravī's signature was hidden within three rocks, serving as a structural, compositional, and literary representation of the artist's position in the court and his relationship with his patron (Table 6). In the fourth sample, «Christian Leaders», a different signature was observed which reads «Servant of King Salīm/ Nādirah Banoo's work / Student of Reza, daughter of Mīrtaqī (بنده / پادشاه سلیم / عمل نادره بانو / شاگرد رضا دختر میرتقی)». It was placed within the large and diagonal

dimensions of the lower left frame of the painting, inside the Bible being held by St. Jerome. This painting not only highlights the artist's high status as a female painter in the court but also demonstrates a departure from the other samples as it appears less connection to the audience and rather turns towards the elements inside the image (Table 7). The fifth sample of the signatures in the margin around the Faqīr Ali calligraphy piece shows two signatures of «Abul Hasan» on one figure and the signature of Dawlat on four figures. These signatures are barely visible and exceedingly small, indicating a lack of interaction with the general audience (Table 8).

### Conclusion

In response to the main research question of how the painters of the Gulshan Album made their signatures during the era of Jahāngīr Shāh, and what meanings are hidden in the artists' signatures, the following results were obtained from an analysis of the signatures in each artwork based on three functions: composition, representation, and interaction. Five signature composition patterns were identified based on the size and placement of the signature in the paintings. These can be enumerated as follows: 1. the signature in the inscriptions around the painting; 2. in the images of papers and books within the painting; 3. signatures were hidden and covered within the objects in the painting; 4. signatures were placed around calligraphic pieces in the margins which also bear figures; 5. signatures were located in the background of the work in a suspended form. Based on the studies conducted in chronological order of the creation of the works, it was found that the five signature composition patterns were first used by Iranian artists of the Gūrkanī court such as Behzad, Abdus-Samad, and Āqā Ridhā Heravī. Later, Indian students imitated the painting methods of these Iranian masters. The representation of the status and social position of the artists in the court is reflected through the verbal meaning as well as the appearance and composition of their signatures. For example, the artist's signature may be placed parallel to the names of the two kings (in the first sample) or below the king's name (in the third, fourth, and fifth samples). Furthermore, the artists who created sixteen pieces of Muraqqa' paintings showed their connection and belonging to the book-design workshop by intentionally placing their signatures on a picture of papers or a book cover inside the painting. The motivation of the artists to interact with the viewer is shown through four ways: 1. signatures are totally large with a close distance; 2. signatures are visible with a social distance; 3. signatures are small and covered within the objects inside the painting; and 4. signatures are invisible to the naked eye in the margins which also include figures. It can be deduced that in the first case, the artist aims to interact more with the viewer, while in the second case, the signature is purely informative. In the third and fourth cases, the artist's goal is only to communicate with a special audience such as the king or observer of Muraqqa'. Considering the material and spiritual value of Gulshan Album pieces as part of Jahāngīr Shāh's assets, it can be concluded that the main motivation of Muraqqa' painters in choosing these signature patterns can be related to the social conditions of the court and economic issues, including the payment method based on Muraqqa' works.

### Appendix

1. A couplet from Jami's poem at the beginning of the second part of the Golestān Album, section 256-257.
2. Scribes used titles such as «Sawwadeh», «Mashaqa», «Katabah» and «Namaqah» in the Tarqimah (Mayel Heravi, 1993, 595).
3. In the abhorrence of the image (Mayel Heravi, 1993, 599).

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Journal of Art Faculty, Shahid Chamran University of Ahvaz

**The Form and Significance of Painters' Signatures in the «Gulshan Album (Muraqqa'-e Gulshan)»: Case Study: Five Signed Paintings**

Volume 12 Issue 32 Summer 2023 Pages 81-102

100

4. Indeed, the oldest known signed artistic work of an Iranian painter belongs to the Timurid period (Pakbaz, 2013, 66; Ettinghausen, 2017, 519).
5. This collection of 61 signed pieces includes three works signed by two artists. 12 signatures are in the margins while 49 within the main scene.
6. Artworks signed by painters, calligraphy done by another person (Mayel Heravi, 1993, 596).
7. In the present article, while the purpose is not to examine the authenticity of the signatures, as this case requires manuscript research, it was taken into consideration in the selection of the samples presented here.
8. Gunter Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, two German and Dutch semioticians, are the founders of multifaceted Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the social semiotics model, which in this research is solely based on their image reading method.
9. Four changes in the framework of image reading theory include: 1. Changing the analysis trend of the artworks from the textual function. 2. In the textual function, removing the right and left branches of the text of the signatures due to the conjugation of Iranian and European pages and writing of Gulshan Album. 3. In the ideational function, changing the word «narrative» to «telling the story» due to the difference in narration. 4. Redefining the concept of demand and supply based on the direction of rotation of the signature. 5. In the interpersonal function, a new definition of mental attitude and objective attitude.
10. The book of «History of Six Concepts», a study in aesthetics written by Wladyslaw Tatarkiewicz (in Iran with the title of History of Basic Concepts of Aesthetics, translated by Hamidreza Bashaq) divides the six basic concepts of aesthetics, including the concept of "form", in historical order into five types (A-E) based on the opinions of thinkers.
11. The theory of two qalams (pens) in Safavid era historiography (Blair, 2017, 466).
12. For the arrival of the Gulshan Album in Iran see (Atabai, 1974, 10-11).
13. «... all these papers are not exclusive to the Gulshan album» as the Golestān album has also been included (Atabai, 1974, 11).
14. «... images of mythical animals and birds or plants that are painted with mixtures of gold dissolved in them ...» (Mayel Heravi, 1993, 631).
15. For a definition of Vesali, see (Mayel Heravi, 1993, 872; Blair, 2017, 595).
16. Jahāngīr Shāh in his memoirs of Nowruz 13, 1027 A.H. emphasizes his taste and talent in painting (Jahāngīr Gūrkanī, 1980, 266-267).
17. The Indo-Persian school and the influence of Iranian painting on Gourkani painting (Moammar, 2016).
18. Abdus-Samad was not alive when King Salīm gave himself the title of Jahāngīr in 1014 A.H., but the interest in collecting his works shows the importance of this painter to Jahāngīr Shāh.
19. The word (Shabih) شبیه from Indian painting is placed around his face to introduce people to the viewer.
20. (Khāmeḥ) خامه A calligrapher's pen or a painter's brush (Mayel Heravi, 1993, 633).
21. Jahāngīr Shāh - Homāyūn's grandson, in his memoirs - emphasized on Abdus-Samad's «level of communication and companionship» (Jahāngīr Gūrkanī, 1980, 320).
22. There is no complete information about Āqā Ridhā Heravī, an Iranian painter originally from Jahāngīr Shāh's court, so some have confused him with Ridhā Abbasi (Karimzadeh, Tabrizi, 1984, 200). But according to Sheila Kanbi's research in 1996, Ridhā, Āqā Ridhā, and Reza Abbasi are one and the same (Ajand, 2015, 150-151). Therefore, it seems that the present painting artist Āqā Ridhā nicknamed Heravī, is another person.
23. In Anwār Soheily's book (stored in the British Library - No. 18579), several pieces of Āqā Ridhā's paintings can be seen.
24. Gūrkanī artistic women (Blair, 2017, 606), including the works of two female painters, Nadreh Banoo and Ruqiyeh Banoo, in Gulshan Album.
25. Saint Hieronymus or Saint Jerome, the translator of the Holy Bible from Hebrew to Latin.
26. Anachronism is one of the topics discussed in narrative studies.
27. John Seyller considers three criteria for valuing pieces in Gūrkanī Muraqqa's (Blair, 2017, 590).
28. About Abul Hasan and his father Āqā Ridhā Heravī (Jahāngīr Gūrkanī, 1980, 266).
29. Two theories have been proposed regarding the importance of signed artworks for Jahāngīr Shāh. One of them concerns the value of this Muraqqa' (especially signed works) as the property of Jahāngīr Shāh. The other one is the John Seller's theory regarding the employment system and payment of artists' wages based on the number of signed works (Blair, 2017, 590).

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## PAYKAREH

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Volume 12 Issue 32 Summer 2023 Pages 81-102

**102**

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