PRINCE BAYSUNGHUR'S CHAHAR MAQALEH

Eleanor G. SIMS

The library of the bibliophile Timurid prince Baysunghur b. Shah Rukh b. Timur was once among the finest of Timurid Iran. But the beautiful calligraphy and the many bound volumes produced for him in the city of Herat between about 1420 and his death in 1433 have long been dispersed, and very little of Baysunghur's library remains in modern Iran and Afghanistan, with the exception of the most splendid and characteristic of his manuscripts, a Shah-Name now in the Gulistan Palace Library in Teheran, and half a dozen leaves of a giant Quran in the Shrine Library in Mashhad. Fate and history have instead seen to it that the libraries of modern Istanbul are the repositories for a number of the finest Timurid manuscripts as well as countless valuable drawings and fine bindings and some documents. Among these libraries, that of the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi ranks second only to the library of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, and thus it is hardly surprising that one of the manuscripts made for this bibliophile prince in Herat should today be kept in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art.

The Chahar Maqaleh, or Four Discourses, of Nizami 'Arudi of

1. Other Baysunghur manuscripts today in the libraries of Istanbul are the two copies of the Kalila va-Dimna in the Topkapı Sarayı Library and the Zafar-Name of Nizami al-Dīn Shamsī in the Mosque Library of Nusretiye; see below and notes 11 and 13. The most important document thus far brought to light is one referring to the organisation of Baysunghur's atelier in Herat, found in H. 2153, folio 94r, in the Topkapı Sarayı Library; for the Quran pages see note 43 below.
Samarqand was completed in the middle of the fifth day of Rabi' al-Awwal in the year 855, corresponding to 11 November 1431, in the city of Herat. A dedicatory inscription states that it was made for the library of Baysungur bahadur khan, but the name of the copyist has been erased from the colophon leaving only his appellation al-sultani. Today the manuscript contains nine miniatures but originally it must have had at least two more. One of these is in the collection of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, a painting reasonably well known in the United States by virtue of

2. It is a pleasure to thank the Director of the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, Cem Kerametti, and his assistants, Serap Aykoç and Şule Alcan, for their assistance and their kindness in making this manuscript available for study.

The Chahar Maqaleh is number 1954 in the Museum inventory, formerly number 1454 in the Evkaf inventory lists. It has 51 numbered folios measuring 223 X 152 mm. The written surface measures 131 X 84 mm., and there are 7 lines of fine nasta'liq to each page. A shamsah on folio 1r reads: 'prepared for the library of the Sultan Baysungur Bahadur Khan, Khalada Malikshah'; it is finely painted, having a border of chestnut, lapis, turquoise, black and white, and surrounding a circle of gold with blind-dotted impressions in the gold ground, on which the inscription is written in white and letters. The paper is a polished characteristic tan of many Baysungur manuscripts, and the blind-blotting appears to be contemporary; it is blind-tooled with identical patterns on front and back exterior with oval medallions and complementary corners, while the interior flap has an oval inscribed design of leaves overlaid with floral tracery cut from gold paper. The text is on 'unwoven' folio 1v, consisting of an area of the same design and colors as the shamsah, with a horizontal rectangle of blind-dotted gold with a flowery scroll surrounding a cartouche of lapis on which are gold arabesques and angular white kufic letters. The manuscript is dated by A. Sakisian, Le Miniature Persane, Paris and Brussels 1929, pp. 43-44 and Figs. 57, 56-57; B.W. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library, Oxford 1958, p. 63; K. Çığ, 'Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi'nin Meinpaahcrap Kılavuzları', Şerifyan Mevzuat (Istanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat FakültesiŞerifyan Enstitüsü Yayınları 31), 1959, pp. 74-77, pls. VII-VIII and XI-XII; Z. V. Togn, On the Miniatures in Istanbul Libraries, Istanbul 1963, p. 47.

3. One, described in note 4 below, was between folios 14 and 15; at least one other was somewhere between folios 27 and 28, as notes in Ottoman Turkish inserted between folios 14-15 and 27-28 of the manuscript today indicate losses of one and four leaves respectively. The latter loss had been sustained by the end of the nineteenth century, when Mizrza Muhammad Qazvini and E.G. Browne began working on the text, and Qazvini calls attention to it in both editions of the text which he prepared after Browne published his translation in 1859; the loss is large but Qazvini was able to establish the text for the missing folios from other manuscripts, notably the two in the British Museum, see below, note 23. The two lacunae in the Istanbul Chahar Maqaleh can be filled from either version of Qazvini's edition: pp. 20-21 and 41-50 in Chahar Maqaleh (The Four Discourses) Edited with an introduction, notes and indices the museum's generosity in lending it to appropriate exhibitions. It must have been extracted before the manuscript was formally registered in Istanbul and stamped on title and colophon pages and on folios bearing miniatures with the official seal of the waqf administration. This distinctive stamp with a number for each miniature of a manuscript can be seen on all the manuscripts today belonging to the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, the successor institution to the Evkaf Museum; the Minneapolis leaf has no such stamp. It is moreover one of the finer miniatures of the manuscript, perhaps an indication of the quality of the other miniature(s) now lost.

The Türk ve İslam Chahar Maqaleh would seem to present no problem to the art historian beyond the identification of missing miniatures, since it is dated and localised, its miniatures reasonably consistent with what we associate with the style of painting practiced in Baysungur's atelier in Herat. Yet looking carefully at it, a new and different set of questions arises, no doubt because its attribution is secure. If we turn to other illustrated copies of this text for an iconographical comparison of the miniatures we find that there are no other illustrated manuscripts of the Chahar Maqaleh. If we compare the style of the paintings in this manuscript with that of others illustrated for Baysungur in his atelier at approximately the same time, we note a striking dissimilarity bet-

by Mirza Muhammad b. 'Abd-ul-Wahhab of Qazvin, Leyden 1910; or pp. 24-25 and 47-56 in the student's cheap edition published in London in 1927, from which all references throughout the course of this article are taken.

The second gap in the Istanbul Chahar Maqaleh manuscript seems larger then could have been filled by only four leaves. Based on the number of lines of printed text corresponding to the number of lines of manuscript text on a page with a miniature, it seems more probable that six folios, at least one with a miniature, were extracted from the manuscript. When this happened and where that miniature(s) today is impossible to say, although it is possible to suggest what its subject must have been, see note 36 below.

4. The miniature is 51. 37. 30 in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts in Minneapolis, Minnesota. It measures 138 X 108 mm., and the full leaf is 223 X 146 mm., while the written surface on the verso is 132 X 84 mm. with 17 lines of nasta'liq calligraphy. The printed text on the verso can be found on pp. 24-25 of the 1910 edition of the Chahar Maqaleh, as noted above. A. Brüggen, Timurid Carpets, Ars Islamica VII (1949), fig. 23; E. J. Grebe, Muslim Miniature Painting, Venice 1962, pp. 60-61, pl. 43; idem, The Classical Style in Islamic Painting, n.p. 1968, p. 187, pl. 20.
ween its paintings and manuscripts like the Teheran Shah-Name, or the Istanbul Kallila wa-Dimma finished in the same year. Despite the unmistakable quality of the Chahar Maqaleh, its characteristic fine polished paper and calligraphy and the proportion of written surface to overall folio size, all serving to reinforce the dedicatory inscription to Baysunghur, the miniatures demonstrate a remarkable lack of inventiveness coupled with a variety of archaic aspects of the art of Timurid manuscript illustration. Compositions typical of the late fourteenth century in Baghdad and Shiraz, minor stylistic quirks found previously in miniatures executed for Iskandar-Sultan in the early years of the fifteenth century, paralleled with contemporary painting done for Ibrahim-Sultan in Shiraz, a few motifs foreshadowing Turkman painting and very little of the éclat of Baysunghur painting at its most gorgeous and resplendent best conform upon the manuscript a somewhat puzzling place within the oeuvre of Baysunghur's atelier in Herat.

So it is a combination of the secure date and place of the manuscript's copying, the somewhat anthropological character of its illustrations, and its position as a unique illustrated text that makes it worthy of examination at greater length. Our study falls into two parts: a brief consideration of the text and editions of the Chahar Maqaleh and its illustrations as text-illustrations in general; and a more detailed discussion of the means by which the text was transposed into pictures in this particular manuscript and the variety of sources drawn upon to effect the transposition. Such a study should delineate the manner in which an artist in Baysunghur's atelier in Herat met the challenge of illustrating at his patron's request a text not previously set with pictures. It should also provide us with a more realistic notion of the qualitative range of that atelier, usually and somewhat erroneously considered as a homogenous artistic and stylistic entity.

For it seems to us that careful evaluation of the contents of the libraries of the bibliophile princes of the fifteenth century is almost certain to yield important information on the development of Timurid painting, information on the state of the art itself and the culture which is its matrix, as well as on the nature of the contribution imposed by the personality and the taste of the princely patrons. It was in this spirit that B. W. Robinson, some years ago, proposed a partial reconstruction of the personal library of Baysunghur. Illustrated manuscripts of poetry made for Baysunghur after the establishment of his own atelier at Herat are now known to include a fragmentary Khamsheh of Nizami, probably copied in 825/1421; an anthology of poetic works copied in 830/1426; a Gulistan of Sa'di dated in the same year; one of the Masnavi of Khvaju Kermani copied in 831/1427; the great Shah-Name of 833/1430; and two manuscripts of the tales of the jackals Kallila and Dimna, one copied in 833/1430, the text of the second dated in the following year.

Texts with no illustrations include both poetry and prose. At least one unillustrated copy of the Shah-Name with Baysunghur's preface was written, in 833/1430, the same year as the great illustrated Shah-Name. The number of historical texts made for Baysunghur of which we now possess information includes an early version of a history of his grandfather Timur, the Safar-Name written by Nizam al-Din Shami and copied in 828/1424 in Herat, and a copy of the Tarikh-e Jahan Qohay.
made in 835/1431\textsuperscript{13}. To this collection of illustrated classical poetry and pertinent historical works, Bayunghur added Nizami 'Arudi's \textit{Chahar Maqaleh}, and he also decided to have it illustrated. It was, as we shall see, a most suitable addition to the library of a prince by virtue of its intrinsic subject matter, and the local setting of some of its text almost certainly had an added interest for Bayunghur.

The author of the \textit{Chahar Maqaleh}, a lucid work of prose falling somewhere on the border between \textit{adab}, or \textit{belles-lettres}, and prose of instruction, is a certain Ahmad b. 'Omar b. 'Ali, usually known by his \textit{takhallus} as Nizami-ye 'Arudi-ye Samarqandi, Nizami the prosodist of Samarqand. Virtually none of his work other than the \textit{Chahar Maqaleh} has survived save in brief notices in the works of literary historians like 'A ufi and Daulatshah\textsuperscript{14}, and the little known about his life is all drawn from the autobiographical statements found in the \textit{Chahar Maqaleh}. E. G. Browne has summarised the principal dates of his career, dates ranging from 504/1110-11 to 547/1152-3, and he suggests that as Nizami 'Arudi speaks of having been forty-five years in the service of the House of Ghur, the writer was in all likelihood born near the end of the eleventh century. The date of his death is not known\textsuperscript{15}.

The \textit{Chahar Maqaleh} is a linked series of anecdotes functionally and chronologically related to the important \textit{mirror for princes} literature. The genre is of some antiquity in the Iranian world, dating at least to the late Sassanian period when it was known as \textit{andar}, or \textit{pand-nama\khd}; literature of \textit{precept of or counsel}\textsuperscript{16}. The two examples most typifying the genre, the \textit{Nasihat-Name} and the \textit{Siyasat-Name}, were both written in the eleventh century, which also saw the composition of a less well-known treatise of the same type by the theologian and philosopher al-Ghazali, \textit{al-Tibr\i\'-Mas\v{b}uk fi Nasihat-il-Muluk}, Gold Pourcd into a Mold for the Sincere Exhortation of Kings\textsuperscript{17}. The \textit{Nasihat-Name}, more popularly known as the \textit{Qabus-Name}, is a manual on ethics for princes written in the second half of the century by 'Unsur al-Mu'all Kay Raus b. Iskandar of the House of Qabus, for the edification of his son, who was to be the last ruler of the line\textsuperscript{18}. The \textit{Siyasat-Name} is entirely

\textsuperscript{13} The \textit{Zafar-Name} is number 3267 in the Mosque Library of Nurouzamiyeh in Istanbul; see F. Tauris, \textit{Les manuscrits persans historiques des bibliothèques de Stamboul : I}, \textit{Archiv Orientalis} III (1931), no. 34, p. 99. It was calligraphed by Muhammad b. Yunuf of Nishapur in 828/1424, the same year that the elaborated version of the same text was being finished by Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi in Shiraz for Ibrahim-Sultan b. Shah Rukh, a brother of Bayunghur, according to the chronogram recorded by Khwand-Amir in the \textit{Hathb al-Siyar}, Teheran 1333 S., IV, pp. 15-16. The \textit{Tarkhi\v{e} Jahan Gushay} of Bayunghur is a little-known manuscript first exhibited in 1937 in San Francisco (California); it is now in the Keir Collection in London, see the forthcoming catalogue. The only other illustrated copy of the fifteenth century is a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Suppl. Pers. 206, dated 841/1438 in Shiraz, with dispersed miniatures in the British Museum in London, in the Worcester (Massachusetts) Art Museum, and in several private collections in the United States and Europe. A study of this manuscript is in preparation by the writer, to be published shortly. As for the works of the historians Hafi\v{e}z Abur, most sources relate that the fourth part of his monumental history, \textit{Majm\u{u}\v{e} Hafi\v{e}z Abur}, was actually dedicated to Bayunghur, although no complete copies of this fourth \textit{robe} made for Bayunghur are today extant. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Pers. 160, dated 828/1424 and containing part I of the fourth \textit{robe}, (otherwise known as the \textit{Zubddat al-Tawarikh}, or \textit{Zobdar al-Bayunghuri}), was proposed by Blochet as a manuscript copied either for Shah Rukh or Bayunghur, although Blochet could suggest no reason why the \textit{shansheh en folio} 3v should have been left blank, with no dedicatory inscription to either prince; certainly both were alive well after that date, and both were interested enough in the subjects as well as in the arts of the book to have supported such an undertaking up to its completion. See E. Blochet, \textit{Catalogue des manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale}, I, 1905, p. 270.

\textsuperscript{14} See E. G. Browne, \textit{A Literary History of Peria II} (1906), pp. 14-17, 336-40, and passim; also idem, English preface to Quarin's edition of the \textit{Chahar Maqaleh} of 1910, p. XVII-XIX.

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Chahar Maqaleh}, text, p. 3, and translation by E. G. Browne, \textit{The Chahar Maqal\u{e}h (Four Discourses)} of Nizhami 'Arudi Samandari Translated into English, \textit{JRAI} (1899), pp. 613-661, 737-845; and off-print of the same, Hertford 1899, from which all citations following are made, p. 4; C. Rieu, Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, London 1895, pp. 244-5; \textit{LHP} II, pp. 14-17, 336-40; A. J. Arbiter, \textit{Classical Persian Literature}, New York 1958, pp. 100-103; \textit{Encyclopaedia of Islam} (first edition), \textit{Nizami 'Arudi}.


\textsuperscript{17} \textit{HIL} II, p. 426.

devoted to the art of ruling a great kingdom and is sometimes said to be the result of a competition proclaimed by the Seljuk Sultan Malikshah and won by the Sultan's great vizier, the Nizam al-Mulk. Both contain much historical information in the form of observations drawn from the lives of important personages of the century and in anecdotes and accounts of events from the authors' own lives, and in this respect the Chahar Maqalat is quite similar. But while the Qabus-Name and the Siyasaat-Name (or the Siyar al-Muluk, as it is alternatively known) concentrate on the duties and ethics of princes and rulers, the Chahar Maqalat is devoted instead to the princes' advisors. Four such personages of the medieval ruler or governor could not do without: the aib, or secretary, to handle his correspondence and communicate with his realm and the larger Islamic world; the poet for amusement, edification and public relations, as well as to add artistic luster to the court; the astrologer to determine the future, and the best times for the undertaking of both state and private affairs; and the physician to attend to his physical well-being and to cure his ailments. In the Chahar Maqalat the ideal function and the essence of the perfect fulfillment of any advisory position is first put forth and then followed by a series of the choicest, rarest and most pleasing anecdotes (Translation, p. 22). In part these anecdotes underscore the value of the best of each category of princely advisors and the resultant responsibility of the prince toward them. Others relate amusing or apocryphal stories from the lives of the most famous figures of medieval Islam, many of whom were poet or prose-student, physician and astrologer, as well as philosopher or historian or mathematician, as were Abu 'Ali ibn Sina, and Abu Rayhan al-Biruni. Several more are autobiographical, drawn from the personal experiences of the author, whose forty-five years in a minor princely household had acquainted him with the milieu and the major personalities of the day. The Discourses were composed in

approximately 550-51/1155-57, after the clash between the Ghorids and the Seljukus under Sanjar b. Malikshah but before the death of the Ghorid Sultan 'Ala al-Din Husayn Jahan-Sur in 559/1161. The text is a model of straightforward prose in both style and subject, and for this clarity of language and freedom from the encroaching rhetorical devices of the twelfth century, it has been called one of the four masterpieces of early Persian prose literature. Despite its well-deserved recognition today, the text of the Chahar Maqalat exists in only a few manuscripts. The British Museum owns three copies, the earliest dated Rafi' II 1017 / July-August 1608. The other two are from the middle of the nineteenth century. There is at least one listed in the printed catalogue of the Melli Library in Teheran, but there is no way of telling whether it is one of the two manuscripts from which a lithographed edition was prepared in Teheran and published late in the nineteenth century; beyond declaring that it in the one there were bad mistakes and in the other worse, the editor of this first printed edition did not further identify the manuscripts on which his edition was based. None of the manuscripts in Iran or in the USSR, or any which may be in similarly uncatalogued collections in India, were known to Browne and Qazvini in the late nineteenth century. Qazvini's text

20. See the Cambridge History of Iran, 5: The Seljuk and Mongol Periods, Cambridge 1968, ch. I, for an historical account of the period; see also Browne's English preface to Qazvini's edition of the Chahar Maqalat of 1910, pp. XX-XVIII, for corrections to Nizami 'Arudi's historical errors.
was revised recently in Iran and published in 1954; by 1961 it had already gone through five editions and a sixth was in print! Possibly this revision was also used, in conjunction with manuscripts in the Soviet Union, by the translators of the Russian edition of the Chahar Maqaleh which appeared in 1964. At all events, the Baybarsunghur Chahar Maqaleh in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Museum in Istanbul is the earliest of all dated copies of this work known in the West. Certainly it appears to be the only illustrated copy.

With one exception the paintings illustrate anecdotes in the sections dealing with the secretary, the poet, and the physician; there are none—nor were there ever intended to be—in the section on the astrologer. The exception is the first miniature, found in the introductory section before the first maqaleh, but it serves as the others do, illustrating an anecdote.

Folio 6v, «The Caravan of Abu Riza b. ‘Abd al-Salam Encounters the Nasma in Turkestan» (fig. 1)." 25

Nizami ‘Arudi is discussing the perceptive and motor faculties of all living beings, from the lowest worm to mankind, after which the next highest being is the satyr, or nasma,

a creature inhabiting the plains of Turkestan, of erect carriage, of vertical stature, with wide flat nails. It cherishes a great affection for men; whenever it sees them, it halts on their path and examines them attentively. (Text, p. 10; translation, p. 18)

Nizami’s informant relates that in the noon heat of a day in the year 510/1115–16, travelling near Tamghaj in Turkestan, he saw on a hill a beautiful woman with bare head and long streaming hair. The Turkish guides of the caravan volunteered the information that this was a nasma, or wild man. Folio 6v of Baysunghur’s Chahar Maqaleh renders the scene quite literally: the shimmering blue sky at midday, the nude figure in the landscape with its long hair, the caravan halted in astonishment.


Folio 12v, «The Secretary of the ‘Abbasid Caliph Disturbed by His Maidservant» (fig. 2).”

Nizami ‘Arudi more than once speaks of the obligation of the prince to properly maintain his special advisors. The secretary in particular ought to be free from mundane care and anxiety so that he may concentrate the better on his duties to his sovereign. Nizami ‘Arudi tells the story of a secretary in the time of the ‘Abbasid caliphate who was so flustered by the precipitate announcement of his maidservant that the household store of flour was utterly depleted that he lost his train of thought and included the phrase «there is no flour left» in a letter he was composing for the caliph to the ‘Abbasid governor in Egypt. The caliph could not make sense of the statement in the middle of the letter and summoned the secretary for an explanation; upon receiving it he ordered that the secretary’s stipend be raised sufficiently that he need never again concern himself with the struggle for the necessities of life. Such an apposite reminder of the ruler’s responsibility toward his official in return for loyal service is simply but effectively depicted by the agitated woman at the left stretching her hands toward the island of calm in which the secretary sits composing his letter at the right.

Minneapolis Institute of Arts, «The Caliph Ma’mun Marries the Daughter of the Barrakhid Vizier» (fig. 3).”

The text relates the story of the daughter of Hasan b. Sahl, one of the great statesmen of the early Caliphate, who won the caliph’s heart completely by citing a verse of the Quran and persuading him to delay briefly the consummation of their marriage since it would come in the fulness of time: «O Prince of believers! The command of God cometh, seek not then to hasten it!» (Text, p. 25; translation, p. 37). The text is filled with details describing the wealth of the Barrakids, the lavishness of the house and its decorations, and the richness of the marriage ceremony so that the caliph was pleased to have worn his distinctive black robes instead

28. Text, p. 24, translation, 34-37; see also Brown’s English preface to Qazwini’s edition of 1910 for the parentage of Ma’mun’s bride is corrected: Fadl b. Sahl, not Hasan b. Sahl, p. XXII.
of trying to outshine the splendour of his vizier. Once again however the anecdote is visualised primarily by the expressive gestures of the two principal figures, the maiden seated on her knees hanging her head and looking at the carpet, as the text relates. Only the elaborate Timurid interior and the servant sitting under the curtain convey the lavish material descriptions found in the text; the distinguishing literal details—the caliph in black, the six cushions on which the maiden was seated, the eighteen large lustrous pearls the caliph drew from his pocket to entice the maiden were disregarded.

Folio 17r, «The Secretary of Bughra Khan Answers the Query of the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud Yamin al-Daula» (fig. 4)30.

The final anecdote in the first maqāleh emphasises the value of an intelligent and well-educated secretary at the court of a prince by telling of the response of a certain Muhammad b. 'Abdallah the scribe to an encyclopedic question sent to Bughra Khan by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. The sultan desired to know from the scholars at the court of the khan and from the imams of Transoxiana what was the nature of the prophetic office, and what the essence of saintishness, religion, Islam, faith, well-doing, godliness, the approbation of right and the prohibition of wrong; and what were justice and pity, the path and the balance of the good life. For four months the imams and the scholar of the court of Bughra Khan labored, causing the khan’s treasury to be depleted by the daily maintenance of the ambassadors of Sultan Mahmud, until the secretary allowed as how the original request for long and learned dissertations on the subject could be compressed into a phrase of few words: «reverence for God’s command and lovingkindness for God’s people». (Text, p. 29; translation, p. 42). In a verdant landscape the khan and his secretary, soberly attired, are flanked by the ambassadors of Sultan Mahmud and the courtiers of the khan (instead of his imams who are described as biting their fingers in amazement). It is almost as if Baysunghur shared the pleasure of Bughra Khan that the problem had been solved by a secretary and not by a religious scholar!

30. Text, p. 29, translation, pp. 40-42; see also Browne’s preface, p. XCVII, where the correct name of the prince is found: Ilk Khan.

Folio 22r, «Rudaki persuades the Samanid Amir Naṣr b. Ahmad to Return to Bukhara After Four Years’ Absence in Herat» (fig. 6)31.

The second discourse on the poet and the place of poetry in the medieval Islamic world is one of the most valuable and interesting sections of the Chahar Maqāleh, containing as it does a clear and succinct statement of the poetic function and the requisite training for the perfect poet, and much information on important poets of the period, apocryphal though some of it be. It is the earliest source of the well-known story of the manner in which Rudaki so poignantly touched the heart of the Samanid Amir with a simple poem on the joy of Bukhara at the amir’s return, sung to the accompaniment of Rudaki’s harp, that the amir jumped on his horse without his riding boots (which had to be carried after him) and did not stop until he reached Bukhara32. The anecdote is of equal interest, however, for its celebration of the natural beauties of Herat and its evocative description of the passage of the seasons and their respective pleasures in Khorasan. Without ever having visited Herat, it is enough to read Nizami ‘Ardūl’s text to understand why the amir chose to tarry there so long, and we may well imagine that the anecdote was of special interest to Baysunghur, his father’s governor in Herat, for this very reason33. In a flowering landscape typical of many contemporary Persian miniatures the principal elements of the story are easily distinguished, the poet and the amir on a carpet, the musicians accompanying Rudaki, the courtiers wearing the most distressed and apprehensive of expressions.

Folio 23v, «Sultan Mahmud Commands the Turkish Youth Ayaz to Cut His Hair So the Sultan May Escape the Temptation of the Youth’s Beauty» (fig. 6)34.

31. LWP II, pp. 16-17.
32. The face of the amir in this miniature is extremely similar to those presumed to be portraits of Baysunghur in the Haft Paykar and the Humay u Humayun, see Robinson, «Prince Baysunghur’s Nizami…» pp. 384-7 and figs. 8-9, and Welles, «Elia Hand- schrift…» pp. 13-19, figs. 1, 2, 4, to which list may also be added a miniature in the Berenson Anthology, see B. Robinson, Persian Drawing, New York 1965, pl. 12.
Of possibly more apocryphal nature is the anecdote which required the services of the poet 'Unsuri, 'king of Poets' at the court of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. At a drunken carousel the beauty of the curly hair of the Turkish slave Ayaz so inflamed the sultan that when he briefly regained control over his passions he requested Ayaz to cut off his curls lest he no longer be able to maintain it. In the morning he was both hung-over and abashed at what he had done, and his humor was not restored until his King of Poets had improvised a quatrains on the situation. Not for nothing had Mahmud made 'Unsuri head of the four hundred panegyrist thronging his court!" Set in a version of the standard Timurid interior, the action is effectively conveyed by the two principal figures and the flanking attendants in a composition which is no way strains the Timurid pictorial vocabulary.

Folio 27v, «The Poet Farrukhi Recites His Qasida on the Branding-Ground for the Amir Abu al-Muzaffar» (fig. 7)\[34.]

Still another of the most often quoted anecdotes about one of the early poets of Iran for which Nizami 'Arudi is the principal source is that concerning the manner in which Farrukhi of Sistan came to the attention of the Amir of Chighaniyan\[35.]. As did the previous anecdote, it illustrates the paramount importance attached to the poet's skill at improvisation by medieval Islam, this time at far greater length and beauty than 'Unsuri was called upon to demonstrate before Sultan Mahmud. Farrukhi, like Rudaki, was a poet and a musician, and served one of the dihqans of Sistan who paid him sufficiently for his services until the time of his marriage. Farrukhi's stipend was increased by the dihqan at that time, but the poet needed still more money and he therefore decided to apply to the most munificent patron of the day, the Amir Abu al-Muzaffar of Chighaniyan, a small place near Termas in Transoxiana. The Amir was a great connoisseur of horses as well as of poets, and if we are to credit the account of Nizami 'Arudi he possessed 18,000 mares alone. In fact, when Farrukhi arrived at his capital the Amir was away supervising the branding of his animals, having left his steward in charge of the town. The steward could not believe that the wonderful qasida recited for him by the suppliant poet had actually been composed by the ill-proportioned and badly-dressed figure before him and decided to test him by telling him of the scene at the branding-ground and asking Farrukhi to compose a qasida on it. Astonished and overwhelmed by its strength and beauty, he immediately took Farrukhi to the Amir who, equally astonished and highly pleased, rewarded Farrukhi munificently for his great talents. This spirited anecdote is unfortunately illustrated by a rather static and formulaic miniature, perhaps one of the least successful of the manuscript. Not even the merest suggestion of atmosphere or descriptive detail is included, not even the harp to which Farrukhi's qasida was sung, nor his large and unruly Sistan turban.

Folio 43r, «Ibn Sina Treats the Young Relative of Qabus b. Washmgir For Lovesickness» (fig. 8)\[36.]

The episode here illustrated occurs at the end of the anecdote which tells of the «requests» made by Sultan Mahmud of the Khvaramshah Ma'mun, that he relinquish the chief intellectual figures at his court, including Abu 'Ali ibn Sina and Abu Rayhan al-Biruni, and send them to serve Mahmud in Ghazna. The Khvaramshah warned the five scholars of Mahmud's «requests» and said it would be difficult to refuse the wish of the sultan, but that if the five scholars were not actually in attendance at his court in Khiva he could naturally enough not inform them of Mahmud's command. Accordingly, Ibn Sina and Abu Sahl, another philosopher, departed from Khvaram, but travelling West they were overtaken by a dust-storm in the desert and only Ibn Sina survived. He made him way from Abiward, to Tus, to Nishapur, and finally to Gurgan, where he hoped to remain anonymous, living by practising medicine; for it was really he whom Mahmud had most desired to have at his court in Ghazna, and copies of his portrait had been sent from

34. LUP II, pp. 116-123; HIL, pp. 172-175.
36. LUP II, pp. 124-129; HIL, pp. 174-176. The missing miniature from somewhere between folios 27 and 28 of our manuscript would probably also have illustrated a poetic anecdote, since the text relates the story that Sanjar's post-bureaucrat, Muzaffar, told to Nizami 'Arudi when he left Herat for Tus in the vain hope of being taken into Sanjar's service; perhaps Mus'izz reciting his improvised quatrains on the new moon of Ramadan, see text, pp. 47-50, and translation, pp. 66-70.
Ghazna in all directions. News of the cures effected by Ibn Sina in the caravansary where he was living soon reached the ears of the household servants of Qabus, the ruler of Gurgan, and when a favorite young relative fell ill and the court physicians could not determine the cause of his illness the servants suggested that the young stranger be summoned. After determining that there was no organic disease, Abu 'Ali b. Sina followed his hunch and, by a series of rational questions asked while he was feeling the pulse of his patient, established the quarter, street and house in which the object of the youth's passion was living. The servants reported the cause of the youth's illness to Qabus, who demanded to see the physician himself. Qabus recognised Ibn Sina at once from the portraits circulated by Sultan Mahmud and greeted him with respect and affection. He completed the cure of his young relative by arranging a marriage with the maiden, an event for which Ibn Sina also determined the most auspicious hour, and maintained Ibn Sina at his court in Gurgan until he went to serve 'Ala al-Daula at the Buyid court in Rayy. The somewhat static interior scene of this miniature is appropriate for the necessarily reflective manner in which the physician determined the psychological state of his patient, and the angled placement of the bedding, with the rumpled dark cover touched with gold embroidery, creates a focal point in the middle of the rich interior.

Folio 45r, «The Physician of the Buyid ‘Adud al-Daula Devises Treatment for the Porter» (fig. D)³⁶⁸. A porter in Shiraz, an extremely strong man with a large bulky frame, was attacked periodically by severe headaches and restlessness, and in the midst of one of these attacks his relatives begged the court physician, who happened to be passing the porter’s door, for help. After examining the man, the physician accompanied by his servants, the porter and the porter’s relatives set out for the countryside. There the servants were commanded to remove the porter’s shoes, kick him on the back of the neck, and unwind his turban and tie it around the porter’s neck, keeping hold of one end of the turban-cloth so that when one of the servants holding it mounted his horse and rode around the countryside, the porter was obliged to follow. The porter began to bleed at the nose and then fainted, after which a prodigious amount of blood continued to flow. When it ceased, his relatives took him home where he slept for a day and a night, and he was never again troubled by headaches. The Timurid pictorial vocabulary was more than adequate for the artist to seize upon the principal elements of this anecdote and combine them into a simple but arresting composition, even though the physician himself has been relegated to the background, and genre-like details such as the porter’s bare feet and his weeping relatives have been disregarded.

Folio 49v, «Nizami ‘Arudi ‘Treats the Daughter of His Host in Herat» (fig. 19).

Like the previous discourses on the poet and the astrologer, the last maqaleh, concerning the physician, closes with an autobiographical anecdote. The Ghurid domains were laid waste in the period following the battle between Sultan Sanjar and the Ghurid ‘Ala al-Din Husayn in 547/1152-3, and Nizami ‘Arudi found himself forced to go into hiding in Herat. A friend took him one evening to the house of a prominent citizen, who, on hearing that he was not only a poet but an astrologer and a physician, begged his help in curing the illness of his one treasured daughter. Nizami ‘Arudi examined the girl in the presence of her mother, taking her pulse and observing her general condition so that he could prescribe the appropriate treatment, which he did, and ultimately the girl recovered. He became very fond of her, speaking of her as his daughter, and the story is told with great affection for the girl and her family, but with equal sympathy for the human condition, for the stab of unreasoning panic when unexpected serious illness at an early stage of life reminds that it may be cut short before it has been fully lived. The miniature is somewhat more specific in its visual telling of the story than others of the manuscript, and the opulent interior of the room in which Nizami ‘Arudi examined the girl must have pleased Baysunghur, to set an episode that took place in the same city so many years before in a rich contemporary interior.

³⁸ Text, p. 91, translation, pp. 124-5.
³⁹ Text, p. 98, translation, pp. 130-132.
When we pass, however, from admiring the charm of the visualised anecdotes in this Chahar Maqaleh, the exquisite coloring and the accomplished technical execution of the miniatures, to an objective assessment of the compositions by which the anecdotes are related, the restricted pictorial variety of the illustrative ensemble is immediately apparent. A limited number of background schemes tend to serve as a foil for an equally limited number of figures usually placed in a horizontal band in the lower or middle zone of the picture. We have already seen that the specific actions of the figures are, in most cases, those found in the simple recital of the text, a point which tends to mitigate somewhat this repetitious horizontal placement of the figures. But the compositions are unimaginative even in outline: with two exceptions (folio 6v and the Minneapolis painting), they are rectangular, and half of the known illustrations of the manuscript fit completely within the confines of the written surface of the folio. There is absolutely no denying the beauty of the colors and the finish and refinement of almost everything represented in these miniatures, but the compositions are distinctly simple and unimaginative.

With these observations in mind, we may proceed to analyse the miniatures of the Chahar Maqaleh in terms of their evident pictorial sources. The paintings fall into three obvious groups based on the physical setting of the illustrated anecdotes. The first group most resembles pre-Ikshandar Shiraz painting and is represented only by the first miniature of the manuscript, although specific details of costume typical of this school appear in other miniatures of the manuscript as well. The second group consists of folios 17r, 22r, 27r and 45v; they are miniatures set in a landscape whose forms and compositional formulas are redolent of other aspects of Shiraz painting, with points of comparison lying between 1398 to about 1440. The third group comprises those miniatures with interior settings, folios 12r, 23v, 43v, 49v and the Minneapolis miniature; again, points of comparison are wide-spread and range from 1386 to 1436, from Baghdad and Shiraz to Herat, or, in other words, from throughout the first major period of achievement in the art of Timurid manuscript painting.

The group of folio 6v, «The Caravan Encounters the Nasnas», stands out from the rest of the miniatures in the Chahar Maqaleh because of the small scale of its figures in a landscape extending into the margin, a device that nearly doubles the size of the miniature. In this placement of a fairly substantial chunk of written-surface surrounded by a miniature partially contained by the ruling and partially painted on the tan paper of the manuscript's wide margin, it distinctly recalls the arrangement of miniatures in a manuscript of the Kalila wa-Dimna executed near the end of the fourteenth century in all likelihood in the neighborhood of Shiraz, if not actually in Shiraz itself.

The example serving the painter of folio 6v in Baysunghur's Chahar Maqaleh must have been a painting like that on folio 153v of the late fourteenth-century Kalila wa-Dimna, to judge from the small size of the figures and the gracefully bent tree in the «open atmosphere» created by the placement of the tree on the bare paper of the margin. Elements from the «next chapter» of painting in Shiraz are also discernable in the nude female nasnas, possibly drawn from one of the many paintings of Ikshandar and the Sirens done in this period. A very distinctive pre-Ikshandar Shiraz element is the shape of the colored turban, falling down the left side of the face, worn by the standing guide on folio 6v of our manuscript; it can be found in the Muzaffarid Shah-Name of 1370 in the Topkapu Sarayi Library and in our little Shiraz Kalila wa-Dimna. Moreover, in its regular occurrence throughout our Chahar Maqaleh it is like a note from the

40. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Pers. 377. See I. Sichoyshe, Les Peintures des Manuscrits Timurides, Paris 1954, pp. 30-31, pls. I-X. The colophon of this charming manuscript has unfortunately been covered with paper not yet removed; but the characteristic palette of the miniatures, with a twowy brown for the ground of many miniatures and an even more characteristic reddish-brown for a shrub of bare branches and distinctive shape, and the style of its illumination of unlined gold on a lapiz ground, can all be found in manuscripts of undoubted Shiraz origin, such as the Shah-Name of 772/1370-71 in the Topkapu Sarayi Library, No. 1511; and the Anthology of 100/1398, 1950 in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Museum, to name only two; see also M. Afseli, «Preliminary Notes on Some Persian Illustrated Manuscripts in the Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi», Ars Islamica I (1934), pp. 191-2, figs. 4-7; for the Shah-Name; for the Anthology see idem, «Landscape Miniatures of an Anthology Manuscript», Al III (1936), pp. 76-98; also PP, pp. 63 and 68 for color reproductions from these two manuscripts; see also M. E. Ippoliti, «Die Entstehung der iranischen Landschaftsbilder», Veröffentlichungen der Attila- und Gokturk-Kommission für Turken- und Türkischen Sprachen 5 (1970-71), pp. 15-26, pls. I-III.
past, for it is not typically worn in the period of Baysunghur.

Another archaic fashion in our Chahar Maqaleh are the robes and hangings of red or dark tones of blue, brown, green or purple, sprigged or dotted with small overall patterns of gold. Found in the miniatures on folios 12r, 22r, 49r and the Minneapolis miniature, these fabrics also seem to have been less in fashion in the 1430's than in the turn of the fifteenth century, and while they are again inevitably found in painting associated with Iskandar-Sultan they are less common in manuscripts done for Baysunghur.

Still other distinctive Shiraz elements mark the landscapes of some of the miniatures in the second group of our Chahar Maqaleh. The irregular high hill of folio 45r is akin to the curious shape of the hills in the full-page miniatures of the anthology copied in Fars

41. Compare the 1370 Shah-Nameh, BWG, pls. XXIX-XXX or PP, p. 63, with the Paris Kálla va-Dinm, MT, pls. IX-X, and the Lipoon Anthology of 812/1410, PP, p. 75. The turban appears in folios 17r, 23r, 23v, and 43v of the Chahar Maqaleh, cf. BWG, pls. XLIV-XLXII, the Baysunghur Shah-Nameh, and PP, p. 77, the Baysunghur Sa'di in the Chester Beatty Library, where the same archaic note is struck in this otherwise advanced manuscript of 1437.

42. They can be found in profusion in manuscripts from the Eptex of 800/1397 all the way to the small Anthology in the Malek Library dated to about 1415 on similar grounds (and possibly the same manuscript mentioned in Robinson, Bodl, as having been made in Herat in 814-16/1412-14, p. 27); they also occur in single leaves like those in the Fogg Art Museum and the Musée des Arts Decoratifs in Paris, see E. Schneider, Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge 1942, pp. 59-74, pl. VIII and detail, and BWG, p. 66, 67, pl. XLII for the Paris miniature. They also appear in paintings as discreet as the Mozaffar of Khvaju Kermani of 798/1396 and in the large single leaves and imitation scroll paintings on silk or soft paper mostly found in the album in the Topkapu Sarayi, paintings in which the figures are remarkably Chinese-looking although they are definitely not Chinese, for example, H. 2160, folio 51v and 88v, or H. 2153, folio 56r and 172r, see E. Grube, Studien zur Malerei der Timuriden I. Zur Frühstufe von Herat, 1, Kunst des Orients V (1967), figs. 4-5, and also T. see also AO I 1954, pp. 77-103, for the first comprehensive discussions on this material by O. Atasoy, R. Ettinghausen and M. Loehr. It is even more interesting that such textiles, or representations of them, are also found in the otherwise rudimentary paintings in the Khosrow of 788-90/1386-88 executed in Baghdad, Or. 13163 in the British Museum, and in certain other earlier paintings from the Topkapu albums so distinctly different from the Chinese or eastern, and with an affinity instead for what we think we know of painting in the Jalayirid domains of Western Iran, for example, H. 2152, folio 55r or even in other paintings whose date, though not precisely determined, is surely in the middle of the fourteenth century, such as H. 2153, folio 113r and 118r, see N. Atasoy, Four Istanbul Albums and Some Fragments.

in 1398 and adapted as the utility backgrounds of many of the miniatures executed for Ibrahim-Sultan between 1420 and 1436.

In two of our miniatures, folios 17v and 27r, the hill is simply a high or a shallow oval curve, and this, too, is a variation of shape often found in the Ibrahim-Sultan paintings. Besides the shallow curve of the background, folio 27r of the Chahar Maqaleh shares with folio 22r yet another typical component of early Timurid painting, the straight tree with a silvery-gray knobly trunk whose top is cut by the horizontal ruling of the miniature. In its classical form, as found on folio 47r of the little British Museum Museum, for example, this tree usually had foliage of a variety of green tones, the leaves relatively large and distinctly drawn, the leaves colors placed in the center of the mass of foliage and the darker ones at its edge. It too is characteristically associated with painting done for Iskandar-Sultan, and again its prototypes can be found in the same problematic paintings whose place of origin is thought to be either Transoxiana or Western Iran as the prototypes of the dark-colored gold-sprigged fabrics mentioned earlier.

The tree with the truncated foliage is not terribly common in Baysunghur painting, where the tendency is instead to place the tree low enough in the landscape to depict it completely or to let it extend into the margin in front of it, the rule. On the other hand, the high rounded regular shape of the hill in folio 13r, covered with a mass of leafy green and yellow foliage with red and blue flowers is a rather advanced landscape for the Baysunghur period, for it next seems to appear in a somewhat more refined version in

AO VIII (1970), pp. 19-48, figs. 2, 9. The appearance of these textiles throughout such a range of paintings suggests that they are one of the tracer elements that may ultimately help to unravel the complex strands of the development of Persian painting at its most formative period.

43. From the Anthology of 823/1420 to the Shah-Nameh of about 1430-35 and the Zafar-Nameh of 839/1436, see only Bodl, pl. I, and PP, p. 68, for the precursor of the form in the Teym Anthology of 1398.

44. Cf. TKS, H. 2160, folio 88v, and bibliography in note 32, also H. 2153, folio 90v-91v, almost surely not executed in Tahrib, about 1480, as has recently been suggested by S. Welch, A King's Book of Kinds, New York 1972, p. 38, fig. 3.

45. Cf. Hezi Peykar, Robinson, 'Prince Baysunghur's Nizami...', p. 7; or the Shah-Nameh, BWG, pl. L, or SPA, pl. 870, but also in the same manuscript, cf. SPA, pl. 872, for a tree cut by the ruling of the painting.
the first miniature in a beautiful Khamsheh copied in 849/1445-6 in the Topkapu Sarayı Library, where it is paired with the same golden sky as in the Chahar Maqaleh. In general, the foliage in this group of paintings is indifferently eclectic in inspiration and in execution, betraying a formulaic repetition of elements developed as early as half a century previous without any of the real sense of freshness and wonder at the out-of-doors that marks its sources.

The same mixture of sources and exact quotations of pictorial motifs characterises the miniatures set indoors, paintings which for ease of analysis we shall separate into the simpler group, folios 12r and 43v, and the more elaborate group, folios 23v, 49v and the Minnesota miniature. The setting of folio 12v seems in essence to have been taken from some of the less accomplished miniatures of the Baghdad School executed under the patronage of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, such as the Khamsheh of 1386 or the Kalila wa-Dimna of 1392. Typical of this basic and utilitarian composition is the curtain draped at the top of the miniature and tied once or severally with sashes whose ends hang down into the room. Even when the composition is more advanced and the tile-revêtement of the back wall of the pictured interior more complex in pattern, the motif often persists. In folio 43v of our Chahar Maqaleh the curtain is also accompanied by the hanging «tabs» found in the rich interior of «Humay and the Fairies» from the Khvaju Kermani manuscripts of both 1396 and 1427, in the interior of a miniature from the Freer Khosrau and Shirin, and in the late copy of this composition in the Khamsheh of 1446. To judge from earlier appearances of the motif, in paintings from the most accomplished manuscript of the fourteenth century, the Large Shah-Name, the draped and sashed curtain at the top of a composition is a principal appurtenance of a princely interior adapted by painters of the later fourteenth century and repeated ad infinitum until the original form with its internal detail was blurred by the endless and increasingly vague depiction of the object itself. In certain of the Baghdad miniatures noted above, this curtain constitutes the only «furnishings» of a princely interior. By the end of the century, however, it was largely superseded in metropolitan-style manuscripts by the prevalent fashion for a more up-to-date representation of a Timurid interior, in which tile dadoes with painted ornament in the upper zone of a wall were still found in combination but in patterns of increasing complexity and elaboration, with stucco and colored glass panels at upper windows and painted floral ornament on the white walls, including realistically painted animals, above the wonderfully varied tile dadoes. In fact, in both folios 12v and 43r of our Chahar Maqaleh, the refinement of the interior ornamentation and its furnishings, of a quality which we would expect to find in a manuscript made for this patron, contrast with the archaic draped and sashed curtain found in these miniatures.

In the three remaining miniatures set in the interior of a palace, an elaborately decorated fore-arch, or pishtaq, frames the ivan in which the scene is set. Each of these three miniatures is a different version of a simple two-level composition, and in each the change in levels is formulaically emphasised by a figure or figures standing outside the ivan and to the side of the composition. In all three miniatures, the pishtaq and the high step are covered with coherent and repetitive patterns that seem slightly out of place and yet puzzlingly familiar until we identify them as the patterns used for the illumination of manuscripts. The illumination-ornament on the panels serving as the vertical face of the step in the Minnesota miniature and in folios 23v and 49r are identical in organisation, in formal elements and in coloring to that found in both the Khamsheh and the «ivans» of the Chahar Maqaleh; in the Minnesota miniature the ivan is also surmounted by a band of the same out-of-scale ornament. Less obtrusive are the designs on the pishtaq, both floral and arabesque; by their intrinsically flexible nature they are more easily adapted not only to the ornamentation of an object of somewhat complex shape but also to the representa-
tion of such a form. All are painted on gold grounds punched with the same blind triple-dot pattern as we have seen on the Shamsheh and the 'unmaa on our manuscript, the designs on the gold ground being different in each miniature. It is not surprising to find the precedent for the representation of such richly decorated architectural elements in the Masnavi of 1396, in both folios 12r and 91r of that famous manuscript. In the latter miniature the pishtaq is even surmounted by a rectangular panel of illumination-design, yet another indication of the old-fashioned model employed by the artist of our Chahar Maqaleh.

Interestingly, the same source of the late fourteenth century must have served as the ultimate source for a composition otherwise inexplicable in the Zafar-Name of 1436 that depicts Timur's chief wife announcing the birth of a grandson to him, for the composition is rare in Shiraz painting of this period; while the specific forms of the ornament depicted are quite similar to the pishtaq ornament in these paintings in our Chahar Maqaleh, suggesting the circuitous manner in which compositional elements moved from workshop to workshop in this period.

The archaisms we have just examined, however, are off-set and balanced by the fact that many of the miniatures of our Chahar Maqaleh are peopled with figures whose faces and general build are quite similar to those found in two important manuscripts made after the death of Bayunghur, the exquisite Khamsheh of 1445-6 and the Shah-Name made for yet another of the brothers of Baysunghur. Very typical of the Khamsheh of 1445-6 is a round unbearded face with a snub nose and a slightly puckered mouth. It occurs in most of the eleven miniatures contemporary with the copying of the manuscript, including the compositions which led Ivan Stouchkine to propose that 'the anonymous artist who illustrated... the Shah-Name of Muhammad Jaki' was also the principal artist of the Khamsheh illustrations. This same face occurs in five of the miniatures of the Chahar Maqaleh: the amir's drinking-companion, the poet Rudaki, and the third standing courtier to the right in folio 22r; the standing courtier to the left of Sultan Mah- mud and the figure next to the Turkish youth Ayaz in folio 23v; the courtier at the left margin of folio 27r which depicts the episode of Farrukhi and the Amir of Chighianyan; the lovesick youth and the servant at the left margin in folio 43v; and the maiden and the servant outside the door in the Minnesota miniature. It is not so prevalent a visage as found in the Khamsheh of fifteen years later, but it is distinctive enough to cause us to examine the two manuscripts for other such similarities.

In doing so we find, for example, that the shape of the landscape ground in folios 16r and 48v of the Khamsheh recalls the regular oval curve of the ground in folios 17r and 21r of the Chahar Maqaleh; and in both manuscripts bodies of water are bordered by clumps of bright-green foliage shaded by yellow and flecked with red flowers (Chahar Maqaleh, folio 27r; Khamsheh, folio 40r, 48v, 73v). Likewise in each manuscript, the background of one miniature set outside consists of a high rounded hill completely covered with clumps of this distinctive foliage (folio 17r in the Chahar Maqaleh, folio 16r in the Khamsheh). Since it has been pointed out that such foliage becomes characteristic of the developing Turkman school of painting in the middle of the fifteenth century, and since it has been conjectured that Shiraz is one of the most important, if not the most important, of local currents contributing to the development of this style, it may be of some interest to note a similar border along a stream in one of the miniatures painted in Shiraz some thirty years earlier, in the Anthology of Iskandar-Sultan of 1410, as well as a still earlier and smaller-scale representation of the same foliage in the 1396 Masnavi made in Bagdad.

But beside the occurrence of such motifs and compositional elements and figures, elements like the ornamented pishtaq of princely interior scenes in both manuscripts covered with designs redolent of the illuminated ornament in some of the leaves of the

49. The same decorative motif serving as an architectural element is also found in the Iskandar Anthology of 1410, in a miniature we have previously characterised as 'archaic', see note 41 and PP, p. 75.
50. See note 46.

52. PP, p. 74, for the miniature from the Anthology, and pp. 46-47 for the miniatures from the Masnavi: on the sources of Turkman painting, see Bodl, pp. 26-61, and idem, 'Turkmen Court Painting: A Preliminary Survey (I)', forthcoming.
giant Quran that Baysunghur calligraphed34, there is yet another
similarity between the two manuscripts, one less immediately evi-
dent than the repetition of certain motifs but ultimately more per-
suasive. This is the consistent palette of the illustrations in the
two manuscripts, a palette creating a sensation of calm and orde-
red well-being which comes from the use in both manuscripts of
what appears to be large but approximately equal amounts of red,
yellow, blue and green for major areas and for hangings and cos-
tumes. The Khamsah is much more advanced in terms of the
spreading out of colored areas and the breaking up of color masses
into smaller ones dispersed throughout the miniature; whereas in
the Chahar Magaleh large single areas of color tend to predomina-
te, often without surface patterns to modify the color mass. The
large red curtain in front of the intense bluetteled wall and above
the expanse of yellow floor in folio 43v of the Chahar Magaleh is a
good example of this tendency, the three areas being hardly affec-
ted by the unobtrusive patterns on curtain and dado and floor-
covering. Folio 12r provides an extreme example of the artist’s ten-
dency to compose in solid color masses organised in horizontal
bands of color: a yellow curtain against a blank white wall, a vir-
tually unbroken tile dado of predominantly turquoise hue, and
below it a rug broken into four equal but relatively solid areas of
color, while the vertical surface of the step is principally blue and
the floor mauve. The vase and the tray set on the floor are placed
at extreme right and left of the composition, so as not to break up
the mauve band of the floor, just as the maidservant is also pla-
ced at the extreme left in a higher band of color. We might com-
pare these miniatures with folio 62r of the Khamsah, in which co-
ors «circulate» throughout the painting: the lapis-blue of the tile
dado is also found in the robe of Khozrau sitting against white
cushions on the throne at the right, in the ornament of the pishtaq
above him and in the baluster shapes above the window-frame at
the left of the composition, and again in the jama of Farhad just
entering the chamber, his striped blue figure set off against the
red and coral of the jama of the figures to either side of him.

Such a tendency to mass the colors in a relatively uninteresting
manner is less noticeable in the outdoor miniatures in the Chahar
Magaleh than in the interior scenes, with the exception of the
Minneapolis miniature, although even in a painting like folio 45v
of the Chahar Magaleh the color is spotty, less «orchestrated»,
than in a equally sparse composition such as folio 138r of the
Khamsah. But in both manuscripts the colors most prominently
used demonstrate a preference for the coloristic equilibrium of red-
yellow-green-blue with a certain variety introduced by off-colors
lilf coral and chartreuse and lavender and magenta. It distin-
guishes them together as a group from other Baysunghur manuscripts
such as the Anthology of 1427, where much turquoise and coral
and chestnut is employed in addition to the ubiquitous lapis and
gold and white, or the Shah-Name of 1430, in which a great deal of
purple and brown and beige are used to offset the lavisw amount
of gold in its miniatures. The masterful use of color in the 1446
Khamsah would appear to represent the natural development of an
artist of certain talent and accomplishment, as demonstrated in the
Chahar Magaleh of over a decade earlier, one whose hand could
already leave a consistent mark in its preference for certain forms
and figures and colors even if his manipulation of compositional
elements left something to be desired in 1431. His distinctive hand
left its trace in important manuscripts made in Herat in 1431, in
1446, and at some later point in the forties of the fifteenth cen-
tury.

And while he may or may not be the Khvaju ‘Ali al-Tabrizi
mentioned as both the painter and the gilder of the 1446 Khamsah35,
our analysis of the manner in which he worked at what must have
been an early commission suggests both how a relatively inexpe-
rienced artist went about executing such a commission, and what,
in general was the method of constructing a new set of illustra-
tions to a text that carried no illustrative tradition along with it.
When Baysunghur decided that he wished to have the Chahar Ma-

34. See Stroehling, “Uas Khamsah...”, p. 45, and Dust Muhammad’s account in DWG, p.
185, where he is described as muwaleh alone, one of the three craftsmen brought to
Heraf from Tabriz at the order of Baysunghur: he came in the company of Usan
Sayyid Ahmad saqquah, and Usan Qaram al-Din the binder.

35. Usan Turib - Forma 26
qaleh copied for his library, he must also have decided to enhance this text, which by all rights belonged in the library of a governing prince, by illustrating it. In all likelihood this was because of the local setting of many of the anecdotes in his city of Herat, the city he governed and never really left from shortly after 1420 until his death in 1433. He would almost surely have chosen for himself the anecdotes he wished to see illustrated, since several of them take place in or near Herat and one in particular sings its praises at great length. It is further possible that the lack of illustration for any of the anecdotes in the third magaleh on the astrologer also betrays his deliberate choice, reflecting the feelings of a prince who had been told by an astrologer that he would not live beyond his fortieth year.

The response of our particular artist to this challenge of the very personal choice of his patron seems to have been to search in the royal library among the manuscripts of several decades past to find compositions with a few "utility" backgrounds which he could reproduce, varying them to avoid repetition, and then to set upon these backgrounds a limited number of figures engaged in an approximation of the action described by the text. In large part-in fact, almost without exception-the moment illustrated is visually a static one, and that is perfectly appropriate given the character of the text. Although the moment illustrated is not always the most central to the point of the anecdote, it is usually the moment most suitable for illustration. In several cases rather striking moments are depicted, even though they are represented in the static and utilitarian formula we have just set forth. In both the Minnesota miniature and the Rudaki episode, the text has been used as an explicit guide to the action of the personages in them, while in others the standard Timurid pictorial repertoire furnished adequate figural models for the situation. We have spent some time in tracing the variety of sources for the compositional elements of these miniatures, and we have also seen how uniformly high is the standard of execution in the miniatures of this Chahar Maqaleh, how unmistakably individual the hand of the artist responsible for them. Much the same can be said about another Bayasunghur ma-

nuscript, the little Kalila va-Dimna copied in 1431, for it too betrays the same mixture of pictorial sources and models from the formative period of Timurid painting in a manuscript in which the execution of the miniatures is equally accomplished and personal, and almost as homogenous, (although it must be cautioned that this particular manuscript presents a problem of assessment since its miniatures were all originally painted not on the pages of the manuscript but on separate paper, from which they are now cut and pasted into the Kalila va-Dimna, the joiners covered with ornamental painting or the paintings themselves extended into the margins)56. Both of these fine and interesting manuscripts serve to point up the less spectacular side of the Bayasunghur atelier, the production of manuscripts in which the style of painting is not perfectly integrated and homogenous, and in which the various sources of the style at its most developed are clearly discernable.

The Timurid period seems to have been one which for a variety of reasons was continually experimenting with the illustration of new texts, and of texts not previously illustrated or not successfully illustrated. The creative process we have described, or rather tried to reconstruct, is not terribly different from the manner in which, for example, a set of illustrations was produced in Shiraz for the illustrated Zafer-Name of Bayasunghur's brother Ibrahim-Sultan, although the purpose for which certain specific episodes in this text were emphasised by illustrating them was no less an assertion of dynastic power by one of Timur's immediate descendants. This one essential difference between the Zafer-Name of Ibrahim-Sultan and the Chahar Maqaleh of Bayasunghur lies in the weight of the significance of the newly illustrated text within the personal frame of reference of the patron. In a sense the Zafer-Name was the culmination of much of Ibrahim-Sultan's artistic and literary efforts, while the Chahar Maqaleh was a modest example of the capabilities of the atelier whose most significant creation, in terms of its patron's aims, was the Gulistan Shah-Name

56. Studying the Timurid manuscripts and drawings in Istanbul in December of 1971, in preparation for a forthcoming study of Timurid painting, Ernst Greube and I noticed that all of the paintings in the manuscript were not painted directly on the leaves of the manuscript, a fact not noticed previously.
with Baysunghur's preface. A second point of difference between the Zafar-Name and the Chahar Magaleh is that the artist of the former drew on the fully developed, though admittedly spare, style of the atelier in which it was produced to create one more cohesive work in that distinct style as it made its dynastic statement; while the painter of the latter searched in past styles for adaptable components to construct simple miniatures but imposed upon them a fastidious standard of execution and a strikingly personal, though only partially developed, sense of color and composition that would flower a decade after the death of Baysunghur.

Neither text with its newly-created illustrative ensemble produced models for the stock use of later generations of painters, nor even for themselves, as did Behzad in the only other illustrated Timurid Zafar-Name. Perhaps this was because both manuscripts were very personal commissions, meaningful only for the prince who ordered them and useful only within his own frame of reference, his particular aims and goals. The illustrations of Ibrahim-Sultan's Zafar-Name sprang from a desire to further glorify the Timurid line and its ancestor by the visualisation of certain episodes in the life of its founder, of the present ruler, and after his death-of the patron of the text and the illustrated manuscript itself. This sentiment was possibly strengthened because Ibrahim-Sultan's appanage of Shiraz kept him far from the Timurid heartland of Khorasan and Transoxiana. Yet it is also true that he was interested in history throughout his life and commissioned at least one illustrated volume not concerned with his immediate family, the Tarikh-e Jahan Gushay. Baysunghur, it will be recalled, was content with an unillustrated copy of this text, just as his personal copy of the history of his grandfather Timur was the older version of Nisam al-Din Shami instead of the newer version commissioned by his brother Ibrahim. In the end it seems to come down to a very real difference in the tastes in literature and in art of Baysunghur and Ibrahim-Sultan, and nothing could more concretely illustrate these divergent tastes than the texts chosen for illustration, and the illustrations found in the manuscripts produced in their respective steliers, for the libraries of the two Timurid brothers.