

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 Gulestan Palace Library in Teheran, and half a dozen leaves of a giant Qoran 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 Islam Eserleri Müzesi ranks second only to the library of the Topkapu Sarayi 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 Art¹.

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 wa-Dimna* in the Topkapu Sarayi Library and the *Zafar-Name* of Nizam al-Din Shami in the Mosque Library of Nurosmaniye, 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 98r, in the Topkapu Sarayi Library; for the Qoran pages see note 43 below.

Samarqand was completed in the middle of the fifth day of Rabi' al-Awwal in the year 835, corresponding to 11 November 1431, in the city of Herat. A dedicatory inscription states that it was made for the library of Baysunghur *bahadur khan*, but the name of the copyist has been exised from the colophon inscription leaving only his appellation *al-sultani*². Today the manuscript contains nine miniatures but originally it must have had at least two more³. 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 Islam Eserleri Müzesi, Can Kerametli, and his assistants, Serap Aykoç and Şule Aksoy, 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 225 X 152 mm. The written surface measures 131 X 84 mm., and there are 17 lines of fine *nasta'liq* to each page. A *shamseh* on folio 1r reads: «prepared for the library of the Sultan Baysunghur Bahadur Khan, Khalada Malakeh»; it is finely painted, having a border of chestnut, lapis, turquoise, black and white surrounding a circle of gold with blind-dotted impressions in the gold ground, on which the inscription is written in white *suls* letters. The paper is the polished characteristic tan of many Baysunghur manuscripts, and the fine binding appears to be contemporary; it is blind-tooled with identical patterns on front and back exterior with ogival medallions and complementary corner-pieces, while the interior flap bears an ogival design of lapis overlaid with floral tracery cut from gold paper. The text has one 'unvan on folio 1v, consisting of an *ansa* of the same design and colors as the *shamseh*, capping a horizontal rectangle of blind-dotted gold with a flowering scroll surrounding a cartouche of lapis on which are gold arabesques and angular white kufic letters. The manuscript is dealt with by A. Sakisian, *La Miniature Persane*, Paris and Brussels 1929, pp. 43-44 and figs. 52, 56-57; B. W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1958, p. 63; K. Çiğ, «Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi'ndeki Minyatürlü Kitapların Kataloğu», *Şarkiyat Mecmuası* (Istanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Şarkiyat Enstitüsü Tarafından Çıkarılır III, 1959), pp. 74-77; pls. VII-IX and XI-XII; Z. V. Togan, *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 Mirza 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 1899; 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 Maqala* («The Four Discourses») Edited with an introduction, notes and indices

the museum's generosity in lending it to appropriate exhibitions⁴. 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 Islam *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 Baysunghur'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 Baysunghur 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 students' 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 than 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) is 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. Briggs, «Timurid Carpets», *Ars Islamica* VII (1940), fig. 23; E. J. Grube, *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 *Kalila wa-Dimna* 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, parallels 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-confer 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 anthologistic 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 Baysunghur⁵. Illustrated manuscripts of poetry made for Baysunghur after the establishment of his own atelier at Herat are now known to include a fragmentary *Khamseh* of Nizami, probably copied in 825/1421⁶; an anthology of poetical works copied in 830/1426⁷; a *Gulestan* of Sa'di dated in the same year⁸; one of the *Masnavis* of Khvajū Kermani copied in 831/1427⁹; the great *Shah-Name* of 833/1430¹⁰; and two manuscripts of the tales of the jackals Kalila and Dimna, one copied in 833/1430, the text of the second dated in the following year¹¹. 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*¹². 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 *Zafar-Name* written by Nizam al-Din Shami and copied in 828/1424 in Herat, and a copy of the *Tarikh-e Jahan Gushay*

5. B. W. Robinson, «Prince Baysunghor's Nizami: A Speculation», *Ars Orientalis* II (1957), pp. 384-5.
6. New York City, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 13.228.13, and the Keir Collection, London. See the forthcoming catalogue of the Keir Collection, B. W. Robinson, editor, and «Prince Baysunghor's Nizami...» above.
7. Settignano, Berenson Collection, I Tatti. R. Ettinghausen, *Persian Miniatures in the Bernard Berenson Collection*, Milan 1961, pls. II-VI; B. Gray, *Persian Painting*, Geneva 1961, p. 86.
8. Dublin, the Chester Beatty Library, Persian 119. L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, Oxford 1933, p. 68, 48, pl. XLII-B; A. J. Arberry et al., *A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Vol. I, 119.
9. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, N. F. 382. E. Wellesz, «Eine Handschrift aus der blühtezeit früh-timuridischer Kunst», *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte* X (1936), pp. 3-20.
10. Teheran, Gulestan Palace Library (Kitabkhane-ye Sultani), number 61. *BWG*, pp. 69-71, 49, pls. XLIII-XLIX.
11. Istanbul, Topkapu Sarayı Library, R. 1022 and H. 362, B. W. Robinson, «Prince Baysunghur and the Fables of Bidpai», *Oriental Art* XVI (1970), pp. 145-154.
12. *BWG*, p. 69, possibly the manuscript in the Malek Library in Teheran, number 6031, dated Sha'ban 833/April-May 1430; the *Khamseh* of Nizami is bound with the *Shah-Name*, and the date does not quite match, since *BWG* specifically mentions 831 as the date of copying.

made in 835/1431¹³. To this collection of illustrated classical poetry and pertinent historical works, Baysunghur added Nizami 'Arudi's *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 Baysunghur.

The author of the *Chahar Maqaleh*, a lucid work of prose falling somewhere on the border between *'adab*, or *belles-lettres*, and prose of instruction, is a certain Ahmad b. 'Omar b. 'Ali, usually known by his *takhallus* as Nizami-ye 'Arudi-ye Samarqandi, Nizami the prosodist of Samarqand. Virtually none of his work other than the *Chahar Maqaleh* has survived save in brief notices in the works of

13. The *Zafar-Name* is number 3267 in the Mosque Library of Nuruosmaniye in Istanbul, see F. Tauer, «Les manuscrits persans historiques des bibliothèques de Stamboul: I», *Archiv Orientalis* III (1931), no. 34, p. 99. It was calligraphed by Muhammad b. Yusuf 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 Baysunghur, according to the chronogram recorded by Khvand-Amir in the *Habib al-Siyar*, Teheran 1333 S., IV, pp. 15-16. The *Tarikh-e Jahan Gushay* of Baysunghur 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 historian Hafiz-e Abru, most sources relate that the fourth part of his monumental history, the *Majmu'a-e Hafiz-e Abru*, was actually dedicated to Baysunghur, although no complete copies of this fourth *rob'* made for Baysunghur are today extant. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Pers. 160, dated 829/1425 and containing part I of the fourth *rob'* (otherwise known as the *Zubdat al-Tavarikh*, or *Zubdat al-Baysunghuri*), was proposed by Blochet as a manuscript copied either for Shah Rukh or Baysunghur, although Blochet could suggest no reason why the *shamseh* on 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, *Catalogue des manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, 1905, p. 270.

literary historians like 'Aufi and Daulatshah¹⁴, and the little known about his life is all drawn from the autobiographical statements found in the *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 Ghor, the writer was in all likelihood born near the end of the eleventh century. The date of his death is not known¹⁵.

The *Chahar Maqaleh* is a linked series of anecdotes functionally and chronologically related to the important «mirror for princes» literature. The genre is of some antiquity in the Iranian world, dating at least to the late Sassanian period where it was known as *andarz*, or *pand-namak*, literature of precept or counsel¹⁶. The two examples most typifying the genre, the *Nasihah-Name* and the *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, *al-Tibrul-Masbuk fi Nasihatil-Muluk*, *Gold Poured into a Mold for the Sincere Exhortation of Kings*¹⁷. The *Nasihah-Name*, more popularly known as the *Qabus-Name*, is a manual on ethics for princes written in the second half of the century by 'Unsur al-Ma'ali Kay Kaus b. Iskandar of the House of Qabus, for the edification of his son, who was to be the last ruler of the line¹⁸. The *Siyasat-Name* is entirely

14. See E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* II (1906), pp. 14-17, 336-40, and *passim*; also *idem*, English preface to Qazvini's edition of the *Chahar Maqaleh* of 1910, pp. XVII-XIX.

15. *Chahar Maqaleh*, text, p. 3, and translation by E. G. Browne, «The *Chahar Maqala* («Four Discourses») of Nidhami-i 'Arudi-i Samarqandi Translated into English», *JRAS* (1899), pp. 613-663, 757-845; 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; *LHP* II, pp. 14-17, 336-40; A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature*, New York 1958, pp. 100-103; *Encyclopedia of Islam* (first edition), «Nizami 'Arudi».

16. J. Rypka *et al.*, *History of Iranian Literature*, tr. P. van Popta-Hope, Dordrecht 1968, pp. 45-47, 661-2.

17. *HIL*, p. 426.

18. *LHP* II, pp. 276-287; *HIL*, pp. 221, 426-7; R. Levy, *An Introduction to Persian Literature*, New York 1969, pp. 52-53; English translation by R. Levy, *A Mirror for Princes*, London 1951.

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-Mulk¹⁹. 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 lives²⁰, and in this respect the *Chahar Maqaleh* is quite similar. But while the *Qabus-Name* and the *Siyasat-Name* (or the *Siyar al-Muluk*, as it is alternatively known) concentrate on the duties and ethics of princes and rulers, the *Chahar Maqaleh* is devoted instead to the princes' advisors. Four such personages the medieval ruler or governor could not do without: the scribe, 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 Maqaleh* the ideal function and the essence of the perfect fulfillment of each 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 apposite stories from the lives of the most famous figures of medieval Islam, many of whom were poet or prosodist, 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 completed in

19. *LHP* II, pp. 212-217; *HIL*, pp. 221, 427; *Levy*, pp. 53-55; English translation by H. Darke, *The Book of Government, or Rules for Kings*, London 1960.

20. See the *Cambridge History of Iran, 5: The Saljuq 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 Maqaleh* of 1910, pp. XX-XXIII, for corrections to Nizami 'Arudi's historical errors.

approximately 550-51/1155-57, after the clash between the Ghorids and the Seljuks under Sanjar b. Malikshah but before the death of the Ghorid Sultan 'Ala al-Din Husayn *Jahan-Suz* in 556/1161²¹. 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 literature²².

Despite its well-deserved recognition today, the text of the *Chahar Maqaleh* exists in only a few manuscripts. The British Museum owns three copies, the earliest dated Rabi' II 1017 / July - August 1608. The other two are from the middle of the nineteenth century²³. 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 «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 based²⁴. 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

21. Text, p. 3, translation, p. 10, where *Jahan-Suz* is eulogised; more important is the fact that Sanjar is also referred to in terms that indicate he was still alive, for example, text p. 26 and translation p. 38, and Sanjar died in 552/1157.

22. Muhammad Taqi Bahar, quoted *Arberry*, p. 102.

23. London, British Museum, Or. 3507, dated Rabi' II 1017/July-August 1608; Or. 2955, Rabi' I 1275/October-November 1858; Or. 10982, 1279/1862-3. See C. Rieu, *Supplement*, nos. 390 and 418, pp. 244-5 and 265-6, also G. M. Meredith-Owens, *Handlist of Persian Manuscripts: 1895-1966*, London 1968, p. 33. The copy made for E. G. Browne from the Istanbul *Chahar Maqaleh* was not among those given to Cambridge University and catalogued after his death by R. A. Nicholson.

24. Teheran, Melli Library, Catalogue 669, dated 17 Muharram 1286/29 April 1869. S. Anvar, *Fihrist-e Noskh-e Khatti-ye Kitabkhane-ye Melli, Kutub-e Farsi*, II, Teheran 1347 S., pp. 170-71. Another in the Central Library of Teheran University was copied in Zul-Hejja 1273, See M. Daneshpazhu and I. Afshar, *Nashriye-i Kitabkhane-ye Markazi*, Vol. 2 (13415), p. 73, no. 90.

The lithographed edition of 1305/1887-8 edited by Muhammad Baqir Khan is silent about its source manuscripts, see translation, pp. 133-4. Qazvini's text was revised by M. Mu'in, Teheran 1334 S.

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 1964²⁵. At all events, the Bay-sunghur *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 *Nasnās* in Turkestan» (fig. 1)²⁶.

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 *nasnās*,

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 *nasnās*, 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.

25. Translated by S. Bayevskiy and A. Vorozheykinova, Moscow 1964.

26. Text, p. 10, translation, pp. 18-19.

Folio 12v, «The Secretary of the 'Abbasid Caliph Disturbed by His Maidservant» (fig. 2)²⁷.

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 staff 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 Barmakid Vizier» (fig. 3)²⁸.

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 Qoran 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 Barmakids, 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

27. Text, p. 20, translation, pp. 30-31.

28. Text, p. 24, translation, 34-37; see also Browne's English preface to Qazvini'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)²⁹.

The final anecdote in the first *maqaleh* 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 saintship, 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!

29. Text, p. 29, translation, pp. 40-42; see also Browne's preface, p. XXII, where the correct name of the prince is found: Ilek Khan.

Folio 22r, «Rudaki persuades the Samanid Amir Nasr b. Ahmad to Return to Bukhara After Four Years' Absence in Herat» (fig. 5)³⁰.

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 Maqaleh*, 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, apochryphal 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 Bukhara³¹. 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 'Arudi'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 reason³². 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)³³.

30. Text, p. 38, translation, pp. 51-55.

31. *LHP* 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 Baysunghor's Nizami...» pp. 386-7 and figs. 8-9, and Wellesz, «Eine Handschrift...» 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.

33. Text, p. 40, translation, pp. 56-58.

Of possibly more apochryphal 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 carousal 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 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 quatrain on the situation. Not for nothing had Mahmud made 'Unsuri head of the four hundred panegyrist thronging his court!³⁴ 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 27r, «The Poet Farrukhi Recites His *Qasida* on the Branding-Ground for the Amir Abu al-Muzaffar» (fig. 7)³⁵.

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 Chighaniyan³⁶. 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 Termiz in Transoxiana. The

34. *LHP* II, pp. 116-123; *HIL*, pp. 172-175.

35. Text, p. 46, translation, pp. 58-66.

36. *LHP* 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 poet-laureate, Mu'izzi, told to Nizami 'Arudi when he left Herat for Tus in the vain hope of being taken into Sanjar's service: perhaps Mu'izzi reciting his improvised quatrains on the new moon of Ramadan, see text, pp. 47-56, and translation, pp. 66-70.

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 Sistani turban.

Folio 43r, «Ibn Sina Treats the Young Relative of Qabus b. Washmgir For Lovesickness» (fig. 8)³⁷.

The episode here illustrated occurs at the end of the anecdote which tells of the «request» made by Sultan Mahmud of the Khvarazmshah 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 Khvarazmshah warned the five scholars of Mahmud's «request» 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 Khvarazm, but travelling West they were overtaken by a dust-storm in the desert and only Ibn Sina survived. He made his way from Abivard, to Tus, to Nishapur, and finally to Gurgan, where he hoped to remain anonymous, living by practicing 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

37. Text, p. 88, translation, pp. 118-124.

Ghazna in all directions. News of the cures effected by Ibn Sina in the caravansaray 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 recognized 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. 9)³⁸.

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

38. Text, p. 91, translation, pp. 124-5.

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»³⁹ (fig. 10).

Like the previous discourses on the poet and the astrologer, the last *maqaleh*, concerning the physician, closes with an autobiographical anecdote. The Ghorid domains were laid waste in the period following the battle between Sultan Sanjar and the Ghorid '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.

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 analyze 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-Iskandar 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 *Nasnās*», 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 itself⁴⁰. 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 *nasnās*, possibly drawn from one of the many paintings of «Iskandar and the Sirens» done in this period. A very distinctive pre-Iskandar 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. Stchoukine, *Les Peintures des Manuscrits Timurides*, Paris 1954, pp. 30-31, pls. IX-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 tawny 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 unoutlined gold on a lapis ground, can all be found in manuscripts of undisputed Shiraz origin, such as the *Shah-Name* of 772/1370-71 in the Topkapu Sarayi Library, H. 1511, and the *Anthology* of 802/1398, 1950 in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Museum, to name only two: see M. Ağa-Oğlu, «Preliminary Notes on Some Persian Illustrated Manuscripts in the Topkapu 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», *AI* III (1936), pp. 76-98; also *PP*, pp. 63 and 68 for color reproductions from these two manuscripts; see also M. S. İpşiroğlu, «Die Entstehung des Iranischen Landschaftsbildes», *Persica* 5 (1970-71), pp. 15-26, pls. I-III.

past, for it is not typically worn in the period of Baysunghur⁴¹.

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 they were at 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 Baysunghur⁴².

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 45v 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-Name*, *BWG*, pls. XXIX-XXX or *PP*, p. 63, with the Paris *Kalila wa-Dimna*, *MT*, pls. IX-X, and the Lisbon *Anthology* of 812/1410, *PP*, p. 75. The turban appears in folios 17r, 22r, 23v, and 43v of the *Chahar Maqaleh*: cf. *BWG*, pls. XLIV-XLXII, the Baysunghur *Shah-Name*, and *PP*, p. 87, the Baysunghur Sa'di in the Chester Beatty Library, where the same archaic note is struck in this otherwise advanced manuscript of 1427.
42. They can be found in profusion in manuscripts from the *Epics* of 800/1397 all the way to the small *Anthology* in the Malek Library dated to about 1415 on stylistic 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. Schroeder, *Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum*, Cambridge 1942, pp. 59-74, pl. VIII and detail, and *BWG*, p. 68, 47, pl. XLI, for the Paris miniature. They also appear in paintings as disparate as the *Masnavis* 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 albums in the Topkapu Sarayi, paintings in which the figures are remarkably Chinese-looking although they are definitely not Chinese, for example, H. 2160, folios 51v and 88v. or H. 2153, folios 36r and 172r, see E. Grube, «Studien zur Malerei der Timuriden, I. Zur Frühstufe von Herat, I». *Kunst des Orients* V (1967), figs. 4-5, and also 15; see also *AO* I (1954), pp. 77-103, for the first comprehensive discussions on this material by O. Aslanapa, 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 *Khamseh* of 788-90/1386-88 executed in Baghdad, Or. 13163 in the British Museum, and in certain other large paintings from the Topkapu albums so distinctively different from the «Chinese-people» 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 55v; or even in other paintings whose date, though not precisely determined, is surely in the middle of the fourteenth century, such as H. 2153, folios 112r and 118r, see N. Atasoy, «Four Istanbul Albums and Some Fragments»,

in 1398 and adapted as the «utility background» of many of the miniatures executed for Ibrahim-Sultan between 1420 and 1436⁴³. 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 knobby trunk whose top is cut by the horizontal ruling of the miniature. In its classical form, as found on folio 47v of the little British Museum *Miscellany*, for example, this tree usually had foliage of a variety of green tones, the leaves relatively large and distinctly drawn, with the lighter 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 earlier⁴⁴. 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» the ruling⁴⁵. On the other hand, the high rounded regular shape of the hill in folio 17r, 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-Name* of about 1430-35 and the *Zafar-Name* of 839/1436, see only *Bodl.*, pl. I, and *PP*, p. 68, for the precursor of the form in the TIEM *Anthology* of 1398.
44. Cf. TKS, H. 2160, folio 88v, and bibliography in note 32, also H. 2153, folio 90v-91r, almost surely not executed in «Tabriz, about 1480», as has recently been suggested by S. Welch, *A King's Book of Kings*, New York 1972, p. 38, fig. 3.
45. Cf. the *Haft Paykar*, Robinson, «Prince Baysunghor's Nizami...», pl. 7; or the *Shah-Name*, *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 *Khamseh* copied in 849/1445-6 in the Topkapu Sarayi Library, where it is paired with the same golden sky as in the *Chahar Maqaleh*⁴⁶. 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 *Khamseh* of 1386 or the *Kalila wa-Dimna* of 1392⁴⁷. 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 Khvajū 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 *Khamseh* of 1446⁴⁸. 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 «furnishing» 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 *shamseh* and the *unwan* 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-

46. H. 781, copied in Herat in 849/1445-6, see I. Stchoukine, «Une Khamseh de Nizami de la fin du Règne de Shah Rokh», *Ars Asiatiques* XVII (1968), pp. 45-58.

47. See *MT*, pl. II, for the Baghdad *Kalila wa-Dimna* of 1392; for the *Khamseh* of 1398, see N. Titley, «A Fourteenth century Khamseh of Nizami», *British Museum Quarterly* XXXVI, pp. 8-11, pl. II illustrating folio 24r.

48. Cf. the Freer *Khosrau and Shirin*, *PP*, p. 54; the scene from the two copies of the *Masnavi*, *PD*, pl. 13; and the copy of this scenes in the *Khamseh* of 1446, Stchoukine, «Une Khamseh...», fig. 12; all display these curious tabs while the motif is not to be found in Shiraz manuscripts made for Iskandar, see *PP*, p. 75, for a similar interior from the *Anthology* of 1410 without them.

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 *shamseh* and the *'unvan* 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 *Masnavis* 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*⁴⁹. 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 Baysunghur, the exquisite *Khamseh* of 1445-6 and the *Shah-Name* made for yet another of the brothers of Baysunghur. Very typical of the *Khamseh* of 1445-6 is a round unbear-ded 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 Stchoukine to propose that «the anonymous artist who illustrated... the *Shah-Name* of Muhammad Juki» was also the principal artist of the *Khamseh* illustrations⁵¹. This same face occurs in five of the miniatures of the *Chahar Maqaleh*: the amir's drinking-com-

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.

51. Stchoukine, «Une Khamseh...», p. 48.

panion, the poet Rudaki, and the third standing courtier to the right in folio 22r; the standing courtier to the left of Sultan Mahmud 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 Chighaniyan; 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 *Khamseh* 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 *Khamseh* recalls the regular oval curve of the ground in folios 17r and 27r 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; *Khamseh*, folios 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 *Khamseh*). 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 *Masnavis* made in Baghdad⁵².

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

52. *PP*, p. 74, for the miniature from the *Anthology*, and pp. 46-47 for the miniatures from the *Masnavis*; on the sources of Turkman painting, see *Bodl.*, pp. 26-61, and *idem*, «Turkman Court Painting: A Preliminary Survey (1)», forthcoming.

giant Qoran that Baysunghur calligraphed⁵³, there is yet another similarity between the two manuscripts, one less immediately evident than the repetition of certain motifs but ultimately more persuasive. This is the consistent palette of the illustrations in the two manuscripts, a palette creating a sensation of calm and ordered 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 costumes. The *Khamseh* 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 Maqaleh* large single areas of color tend to predominate, often without surface patterns to modify the color-mass. The large red curtain in front of the intense bluetiled wall and above the expanse of yellow floor in folio 43v of the *Chahar Maqaleh* is a good example of this tendency, the three areas being hardly affected by the unobtrusive patterns on curtain and dado and floor-covering. Folio 12r provides an extreme example of the artist's tendency to compose in solid color masses organised in horizontal bands of color: a yellow curtain against a blank white wall, a virtually 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 placed at the extreme left in a higher band of color. We might compare these miniatures with folio 62r of the *Khamseh*, in which colors «circulate» throughout the painting: the lapis-blue of the tile dado is also found in the robe of Khosrau 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 *jamās* of the figures to either side of him.

53. A. Ma'ani, *Rahnama-i Canjine-ye Qoran*, Mashhad 1347 S., no. 59, p. 129, one unilluminated leaf illustrated.

Such a tendency to mass the colors in a relatively uninteresting manner is less noticeable in the outdoor miniatures in the *Chahar Maqaleh* than in the interior scenes, with the exception of the Minneapolis miniature, although even in a painting like folio 45v of the *Chahar Maqaleh* the color is spotty, less «orchestrated», than in a equally sparse composition such as folio 138r of the *Khamseh*. But in both manuscripts the colors most predominantly used demonstrate a preference for the coloristic equilibrium of red-yellow-green-blue with a certain variety introduced by off-colors like coral and chartreuse and lavender and magenta. It distinguishes 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 lavish amount of gold in its miniatures. The masterful use of color in the 1446 *Khamseh* would appear to represent the natural development of an artist of certain talent and accomplishment, as demonstrated in the *Chahar Maqaleh* 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 century.

And while he may or may not be the Khvaju 'Ali al-Tabrizi mentioned as both the painter and the gilder of the 1446 *Khamseh*⁵⁴, our analysis of the manner in which he worked at what must have been an early commission suggests both how a relatively inexperienced artist went about executing such a commission, and what, in general was the method of constructing a new set of illustrations to a text that carried no illustrative tradition along with it. When Baysunghur decided that he wished to have the *Chahar Ma-*

54. See Stchoukine, «Une Khamseh...», p. 45, and Dust Muhammad's account in *BWG*, p. 185, where he is described as *musawwir* alone, one of the three craftsmen brought to Herat from Tabriz at the order of Baysunghur: he came in the company of Ustad Sayyid Ahmad *naqqash*, and Ustad Qivam al-Din the binder.

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 *maqaleh* 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 year⁵⁵.

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 Baysunghur ma-

55. *EI*², «Baysunghur».

nuscript, the little *Kalila wa-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 wa-Dimna*, the joins 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 Baysunghur 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 *Zafar-Name* of Baysunghur's brother Ibrahim-Sultan, although the purpose for which certain specific episodes in this text were emphasised by illustrating them was no less than an assertion of dynastic power by one of Timur's immediate descendants. This one essential difference between the *Zafar-Name* of Ibrahim-Sultan and the *Chahar Maqaleh* of Baysunghur 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 *Zafar-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 *Gulestan 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 Grube 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 Maqaleh* 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 Nizam 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 ateliers, for the libraries of the two Timurid brothers.

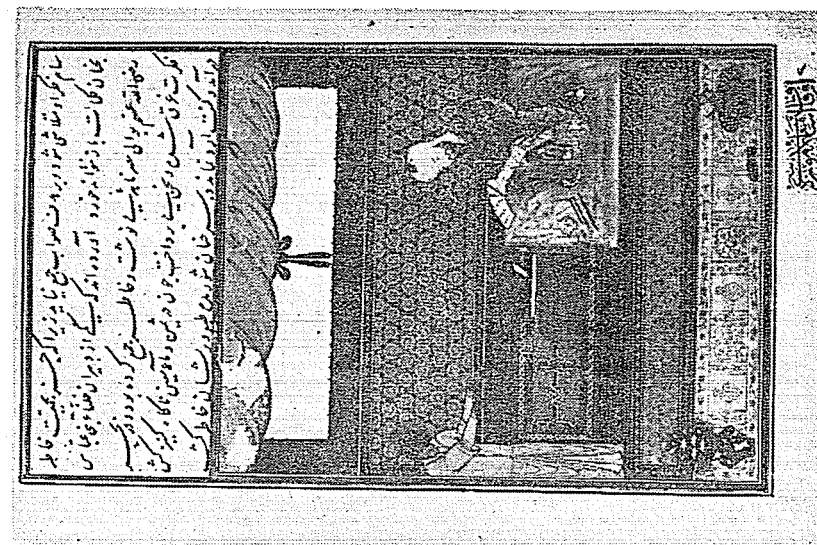


Fig. 2. TIEM 1954, fol. 12r

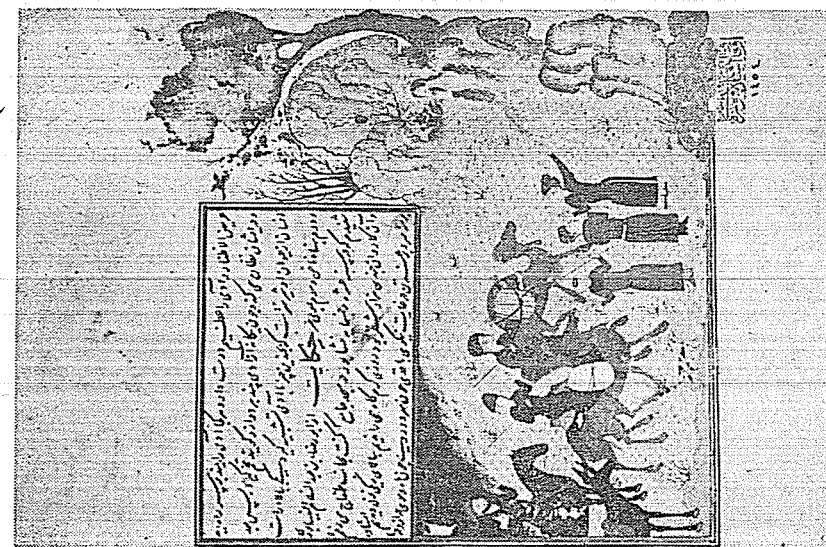


Fig. 1. TIEM 1954, fol. 4v

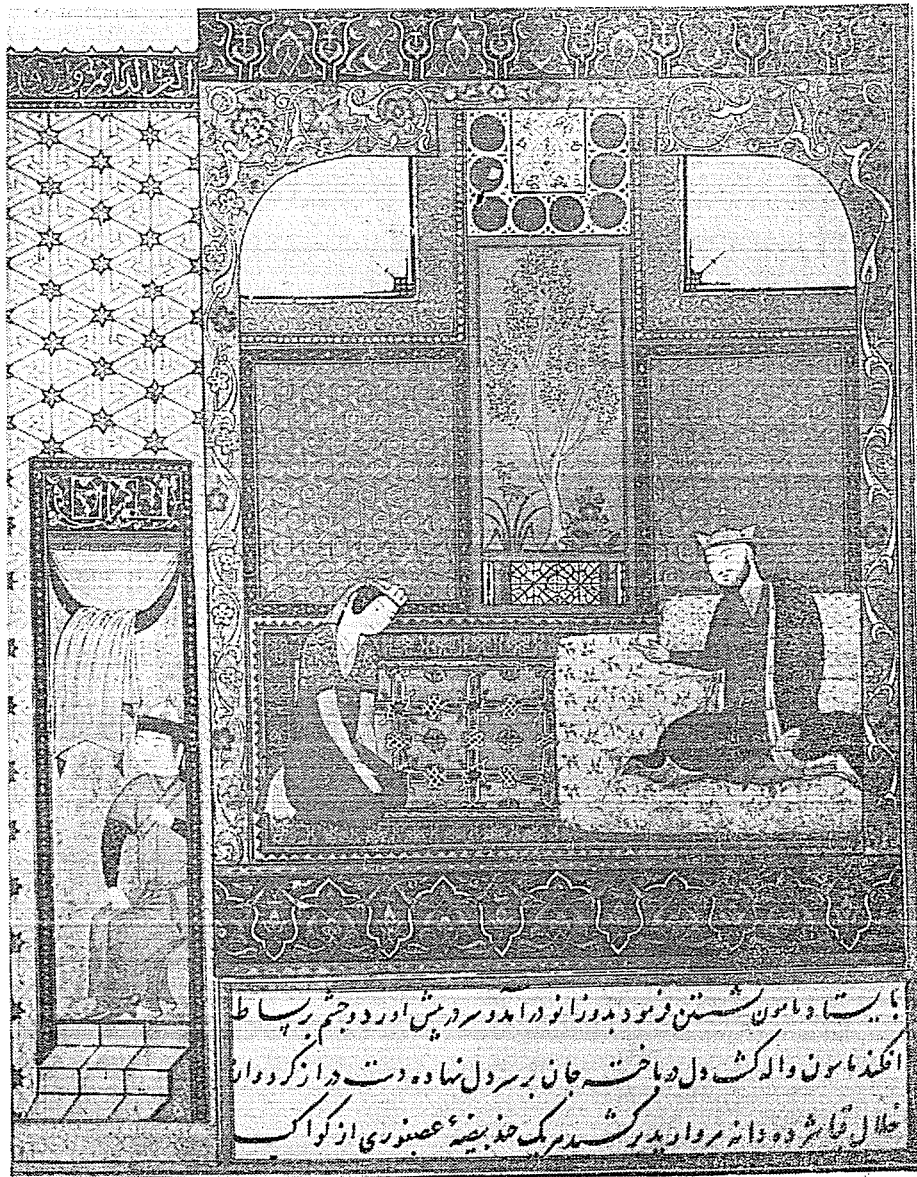


Fig. 3. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA, 51.37.30



Fig. 4. TIEM 1954, fol. 17r



Fig. 5. TIEM 1954, fol. 22r



Fig. 6. TIEM 1954, fol. 23v

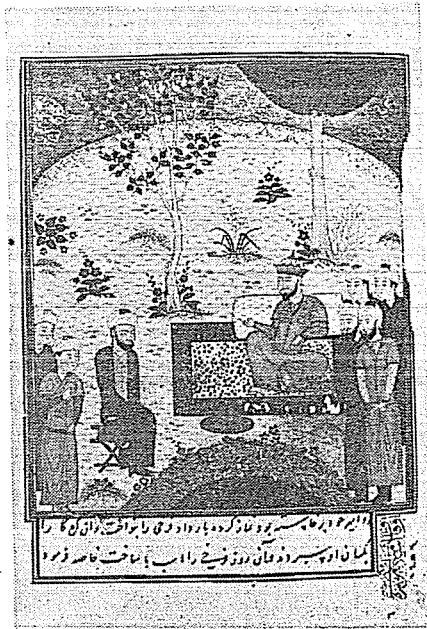


Fig. 7. TIEM 1954, fol. 27r

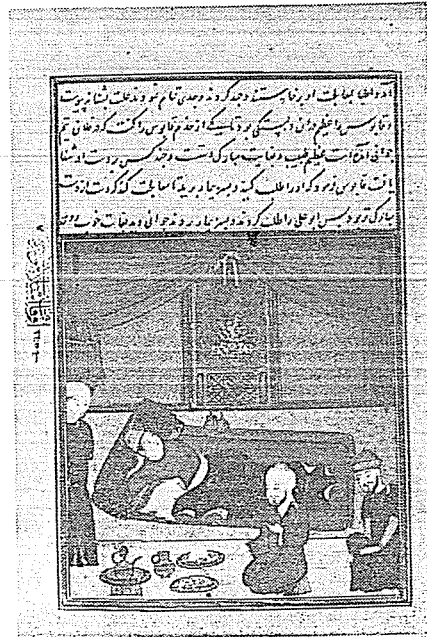


Fig. 8. TIEM 1954, fol. 43v

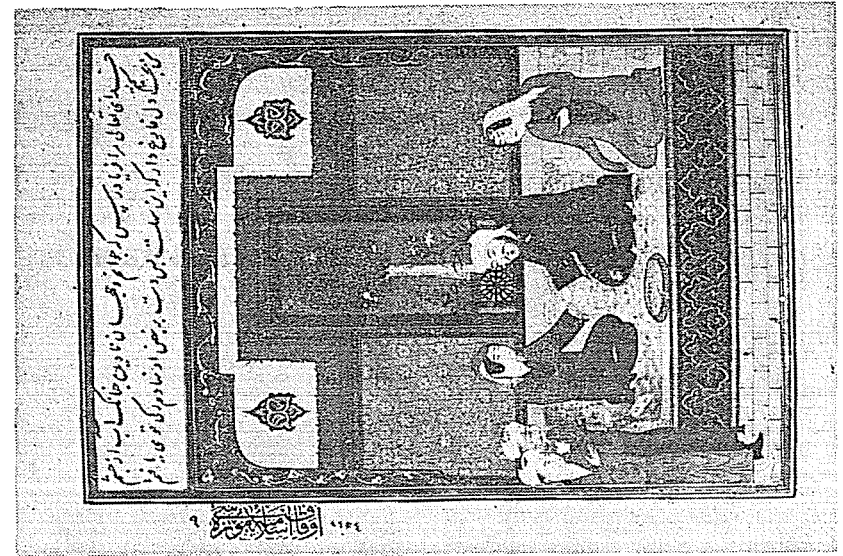


Fig. 10. TIEM 1954, fol. 49v



Fig. 9. TIEM 1954, fol. 45v