

PART TWO

ART OF THE BOOK

Chapter VI

A Newly Discovered Illustrated Manuscript of the *Maqamat* of Hariri*

It has been known for several decades now that one of the Arabic books to have been frequently illustrated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was the *Maqamat* of Hariri. Ten manuscripts of this work with illustrations have been known for some time, though only one of them has ever been published in almost its entirety.¹ In the fall of 1960, Dr Richard Ettinghausen was fortunate in discovering in Istanbul a thirteenth-century manuscript of the *Maqamat* with an extensive cycle of illustrations and, with rare generosity, has provided me with his photographs and with the authorization to publish them, even though many of the remarks found below are based on his observations and careful notations made on the spot and elaborated in later correspondence. A complete publication with an exhaustive analysis of all the problems raised by this manuscript can be made only within the framework of the publication of all known manuscripts of Hariri's best-seller. For such a work the documentation has been gathered at the University of Michigan and it is my hope that it will soon be possible to present it in a completed form. It was felt that, in the meantime, it would be essential to present to the interested public this new document and to raise a few of the problems it poses. In the framework of a periodical it is not possible to illustrate all the comparative material to which allusion will be made, but by giving precise folio or page references it is hoped that our comparisons will be of some value.

The manuscript is found in the Süleymaniye library, Esad Efendi 2916. Its beginning and end are recent and a few new pages are found in the middle. The headings are in rather coarse black *thulth* on a ground decorated with red rinceaux and with a white border separating the writing from the

* First published in *Ars Orientalis*, 5 (1963) pp. 97–109.

¹ K. Holter, "Die Galen-Handschrift und die Makamen des Hariri," *Jahrb. der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n. f., vol. 11, 1937. There is no point in giving here once more the list of all known illustrated manuscripts of the *Maqamat*; cf. the latest list given by D. S. Rice, "The oldest illustrated Arabic manuscript," *BSOAS*, 22 (1959); the two to which we are going to refer most frequently are Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, arabe 5847 (Schefer), and Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, MS. S. 23.

background; they are framed in gold. The pages are 301 mm in height and 223 mm in width. As it is now, the manuscript was illustrated with 56 miniatures. All of them were at one time severely damaged and it is only in a very few instances, for example, that faces of personages have been preserved. Fourteen images were either so damaged that it was not possible to reproduce them or were common repetitions of standard scenes, and it is therefore only 42 miniatures which are here presented. In spite of their poor condition, their importance is great for an understanding of the other illustrated manuscripts of the same work as well as for the general history of the art of the time.

1. Fol. 14v contains an illustration of the fifth *maqama*. It occurs at the beginning of the story, when the narrator, al-Harith, describes a group of friends gathered in a house as they hear a knock at the door. With its sliding roof, lamp on a tall stand, heatable brick bench, and elaborate knocker, this miniature is a faithful reproduction of a contemporary [98] house. No other manuscript has exactly the same subject illustrated, most of them concentrating on depicting scenes from the story told by Abu Zayd, the hero of the *Maqamat*, rather than on the place where he told the story. The one exception is the Leningrad manuscript, in which an elaborate house is depicted twice (pp. 27 and 29).²

2. The image on fol. 18 depicts the *diwan al-nazar* in Maraghah (sixth *maqama*) in which a group of scholars discuss a point of eloquence. This image occurs at the beginning of the *maqama* and belongs to a group, standard in all manuscripts, which consists of an assembly in front of a prince or a judge. In some manuscripts, such as the Schefer in Paris, a careful distinction is made between the generally non-Arab princes and the usually Arab *qadis*. The differentiation is usually achieved through varying clothes and facial features as well as through certain symbols of authority. While facial features cannot be examined in this manuscript, the long robe, the simple footwear and the ink pot are more characteristic of judges than of princes. Only the knotted tails give the personage a more official character. The other manuscripts which possess illustrations of this *maqama*, when, as here, they illustrate the setting of the story rather than a later episode, do not seem to identify precisely any one of the personages as a *qadi*. There are two exceptions: the Leningrad manuscript which has on page 35 a brilliant scene showing an enthroned judge; and British Museum or. 1200, fol. 16, in whose quite heavily redone images the judge is also identifiable.

3. Fol. 27v illustrates the ninth *maqama*, more precisely the moment at the beginning of the story when Abu Zayd's wife describes her life to the judge. The four personages inside the room are the judge in a magnificent

² The Leningrad manuscript is paginated throughout.

long robe and on a high wooden bench, al-Harith, Abu Zayd, and his wife. But the most curious feature of this particular image is the section of the entrance shown to the right with its projecting screened window, its curtain, and a personage seated on a bench, who will later be involved in the action. The curious emphasis on the physical setting in the illustration of this story differentiates it quite clearly from all other illustrations of the ninth *maqama* except two. Most of them are quite simple and direct illustrations of the text, even if, as in the Schefer manuscript, the result is quite spectacular. The two exceptions are the Leningrad manuscript, pages 52 and 57, with two extraordinary tribunal scenes, and BM Add. 22114, fol. 15, in which a curiously complicated physical structure appears. In details, however, these two images are quite different from ours.

4. Fol. 34 contains the celebrated eleventh *maqama* whose illustrations have recently been analyzed by D. S. Rice.³ This unfortunately terribly damaged miniature, with its numerous tombs, its trees, its crowds of mourners, and its precise and detailed depiction of a burial, clearly belongs to the same category as the corresponding images in the Leningrad and Schefer manuscripts. The main iconographic difference between them consists of the fact that the Istanbul miniature probably showed Abu Zayd to the upper left, whereas the other two images do not have the hero of the story clearly identified. It [99] should also be noted that several tombs were provided with what appear to have been actual inscriptions – not imitations – but these have been so damaged as to defy complete reading.

5. Fol. 41 contains an illustration of the beginning of the thirteenth *maqama* and presumably showed Abu Zayd disguised as a woman and preceded by small children, arriving in the presence of a group of “some *shaykhs* of the poets,” sitting by the bank of the Zowrah. It is not much different from the usual “assembly-with-stranger” images found quite often in most manuscripts. Curiously, only one of them (BM 1200, fol. 35v) also emphasizes the fact that the scene takes place by a body of water.

6. On fol. 44, we see the arrival of Abu Zayd and of his son in a tent on the way to Mecca, as related in the fourteenth *maqama*. The personages are so damaged that it is difficult to determine the exact arrangement of the figures, although it would seem likely, from other parallels, that Abu Zayd and his son are the men standing at the left. The two major iconographic peculiarities of this illustration when it is compared to those found in other manuscripts are that all the personages are included inside the tent – which, to my knowledge, occurs only on BM Add. 7293, fol. 76 – and that the

³ D. S. Rice, “The oldest illustrated Arabic manuscript,” pp. 203 ff. I may use this opportunity to make a small addition to Professor Rice’s otherwise complete article. With respect to Bibliothèque Nationale, arabe 3929, there are two more illustrations of the eleventh *maqama*: fol. 30 showing Abu Zayd “coming down from the hillock” (tr. of the *Maqamat* by Th. Chenerly and F. Steingass, London, 1867 and 1898, vol. 1, p. 167), and fol. 30v describing al-Harith upbraiding the crook.



1 *Maqamat* of Hariri, fol. 14v





3 Maqamat of Hariri, fol. 27v





5 Maqamat of Hariri, fol. 41

44 قَبْلَ سَطْرِهِ وَقُلْنَا لَهُ مَا أَنْتَ وَكَيْفَ وَجِئْتَ وَمَا
أَسْتَأْذِنْتَ فَقَالَ إِنَّمَا أَنَا فَعَّافٍ وَطَالِبُ اسْعَافِ



وَسِرِّضْرِي غَيْرِ خَافٍ وَالنَّظْرُ إِلَى شَفِيعٍ كَافٍ وَأَمَّا
الْأَنْسِيَابُ الَّتِي عَلِقَ بِهَا الرِّتَابُ فَمَا هُوَ بِعَجَابِ

ground is represented on two separate levels, one with the tent, the other with plants, a bird and an animal(?). This device, common enough in the thirteenth century for the representation of spatial depth, has been used with particular effectiveness in many images of the Leningrad manuscript, and in particular in the first image illustrating the fourteenth *maqama* (p. 85). The major difference between the two miniatures is that the Leningrad one has the two planes entirely separate, whereas the Istanbul one unites them by vertical lines of grass at either end.

7. Fol. 47 shows al-Harith in his house inquiring about the “how and when” of Abu Zayd, who has just come in (fifteenth *maqama*). The major characteristic of this image is its magnificent rendering of a house, with its door, its stairs and its movable roof. While most of it is on a flat two-dimensional plane, the door and the staircase introduce an interesting attempt at depth. A similarly elaborate setting occurs in BM Add. 7293, fol. 80, and especially in the Leningrad manuscript, page 90, where, in particular, the stairs, the jar under the stairs, and the respective size of the architectural parts are similar to ours.

8. On fol. 48v there is another illustration of the same *maqama* which refers to the moment⁴ when the unknown *shaykh* presents Abu Zayd with a riddle written on a piece of paper. To the left, on a curious sort of shelf, are three glasses of milk and dates, together with a vendor. These items of food have their importance in the story, but are not supposed to be present at the time of the meeting of the two men. Although their meeting has been illustrated many times, the specific features of the background are here unique.

9. Fol. 55v illustrates the beginning of the seventeenth *maqama*, in which Abu Zayd, in the midst of a crowd of learned men, is ready to show his linguistic tricks. Whereas the grouping of personages around trees is common enough, the peculiarity of this image consists of the addition of a body of water, of which no mention is made in the text.

10. The image on fol. 64 illustrates the moment, in the nineteenth *maqama*, when the friends of the sick Abu Zayd are gathered around him. Set as it is on two planes related to each other by the standing personages to the left and right, this scene recalls in composition the illustration of the same story in the Schefer manuscript (fol. 53) and differs from the Leningrad image (p. 118) which is, [100] as usually, set in an elaborate interior. Dr Ettinghausen has noted that the personage on the right, in the common pose of one leg up, has left his shoe on the ground, as though trying to scratch his foot.

11. Fol. 67, at the beginning of the twentieth *maqama*, shows Abu Zayd appearing to a group of weary travelers who had settled down to rest. This rather simple image is merely another variation on the theme of the group,

⁴ Vol. I, p. 189.

the more restful poses seen here being required by the text. Like all illustrations of the same scene, it has no external additions, except for the two birds, used here to indicate the outdoors, a fairly common decorative motif in thirteenth-century miniatures and in Persian ceramics, but rare in illustrated manuscripts of the *Maqamat*. The major peculiarity of the Istanbul image is that it avoids the obscenity found in many other images from the twentieth *maqama*, since the main subject of Abu Zayd's statements in the story is scabrous indeed.

12. Fol. 70 has an illustration placed in the middle of a sermon preached by Abu Zayd in the mosque of Rayy, as described in the twenty-first *maqama*. The sermon is attended by the local ruler together with a large crowd of people. It is not exactly certain whether the ruler was seated in the middle or above, as on the corresponding and extremely complex image of the Schefer manuscript (fols 58v and 59 forming really one single image),⁵ but the former seems more likely, because, in spite of the damaged faces, it seems that only women were seated on the balconies above. There are several resemblances of detail between the Paris manuscript and the Istanbul one (such as certain groupings and the decoration of the *minbar*), but whereas the Schefer illustration, spread over two pages with a minimum of architectural background, has a widely conceived composition, everything is compressed in the Istanbul one with its complete architecture and its crowds of people. In that sense it comes much closer to certain images in the Leningrad manuscript, even though this particular scene is not illustrated there. Two more points may be made about this image. First, it shows a comparatively rare feature in thirteenth-century miniatures, the framing of parts of the text with an architectural element from the illustration. Second, parts of a qur'anic inscription are visible on the upper right; the specific passage beginning with *wa qalu* cannot be identified precisely.

13. Fol. 73v shows the well-known boat mentioned in the twenty-second *maqama*. The shape of the boat and the rather lively composition of figures, as well as the addition of low-flying birds, make this image come much closer to the two in Leningrad (pp. 135 and 139) than to any other illustration of the same story in other manuscripts, although the Leningrad images have an additional pavilion on the boat which is missing here.

14. Fol. 77 illustrates the moment, at the beginning of the twenty-third *maqama*, when Abu Zayd complains about his son. The scene is set in a tribunal with an "Arab" type of judge seated on a high platform. The particular interest of the illustration consists in the fact that, whereas the text is unclear as to whether this scene takes place in front of a *wali* or of a *qadi*, our illustrator has opted for the latter, while every single other illustration

⁵ This extension of a single image over two pages facing each other is a characteristic of the Schefer manuscript and a rarity in most other versions.



7 *Maqamat* of
 Hariri, fol. 47

حَتَّى هَاجَبَ لِحَا لِسْفَ عَلَى فَقْدِ مَنْ سَلَفَ فَأَبْرَزَ رُفْعَةً مِنْ
 كُمْهِ وَأَقْسَمَ بِأَبِيهِ وَأُمِّهِ لَقَدْ نَزَّلَهَا بِعِلْمِ الْمَدَارِسِ فَالْمُنْتَازِعِ وَأَعَزَّ



الاعْلَامِ الدَّوَارِسِ وَأَسْتَنْطَقَهَا أَجْبَارَ الْمَجَابِرِ فَرَسُوا وَأَخْرَسُوا سَكَابِ
 الْمُقَابِرِ فَعَلْتُ أَرْبِيحًا فَعَلْتُ أَعْزِيضًا فِيهَا فَقَالَ مَا أَعَدْتِ فِي الْمَرَامِ



9 *Maqamat* of
 Hariri, fol. 55v

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وَمَا أَبَالِي أَدْنَى يَوْمِهِ أَمْ أُخِرَ الْحَبْلُ إِلَى حِينِ
فَأَيُّ فُخْرٍ فِي حَيَاةٍ أَرَى فِيهَا الْبَلَاءُ يَا نَسَمُ تَبْلِيغِي

قوله صراط ربي على ما ألقى والبلاء والشوق نحو تبيغ

قوله فما أي فخر في حياة أرى فيها البلاء يا نسمة تبيغي



قَالَ فَدَعُونَا لَهُ بِأَمْتِدَادِ الْأَجْرِ وَأُتَدَادِ الْوَجَلِ ثُمَّ
تَدَاعَيْنَا إِلَى الْقِيَامِ لَا تَفْقَاءِ الْإِبْرَامِ فَقَالَ كَلَّا بَلِ الْبُتُوَايَا ضَرُّ يَوْمِكُمْ



11 Maqamat of Hariri, fol. 67



of the *maqama* represents a prince. One may note also the rather stiff curtain which characterizes many interior scenes in the Leningrad manuscript.

15. Fol. 82v shows a garden party at which Abu Zayd proffers grammatical riddles (twenty-fourth *maqamah*). The assembly is [101] one of merry-makers and so they are depicted with wine and musical instruments. The peculiarity of our manuscript is in the treatment of the landscape. Its size and the feature of three separate pools of water with fish and birds are unique. It is this landscape which differentiates this miniature from other illustrations of the same text. The Schefer manuscript, of course, does have an elaborate development of the scene (fol. 69v) with its well-known garden party around an artificial pool and fountain, but in conception and organization it shows considerable variance from our manuscript.

16. Fol. 89 illustrates the sudden appearance of "an old man, bare of skin, showing his nakedness, ... turbaned with a kerchief and breeched with a napkin. And around him was a crowd."⁶ The most interesting features of our miniature are the addition of two horsemen to the "crowd," and the fact that the old man appears at the gate of a crenellated tower, although neither element is required by the text. The first feature is unique in the precise manner in which it was executed, although the Schefer manuscript does have (fol. 74v) al-Harith on a mule; the second feature occurs only in the Schefer manuscript (fol. 75) and is, curiously enough, missing from the Leningrad one. What is the point of such an imagery? Several explanations may be suggested. But the most plausible one may be that it expresses best the suddenness of the appearance of Abu Zayd to al-Harith, *fa-idha shaykh 'ari al-jildah*. ... Most of the other manuscripts show Abu Zayd on a rock and surrounded by people, an iconographic motif of old standing and relatable to the Christian imagery of Job, as was shown by Buchthal two decades ago.⁷ But it is obvious enough that this motif did not really illustrate the text, whereas the innovation introduced by the Schefer and Istanbul manuscripts creates or utilizes iconographic formulas better adapted to what was needed here.

17. The image on fol. 92 depicts al-Harith's arrival at Abu Zayd's tent, as described at the beginning of the twenty-sixth *maqama*. The image develops on two levels, one showing Abu Zayd in his tent and al-Harith entering it, the other showing a fire being kindled and a horse being groomed. The technique of setting above each other two iconographic units which must be understood as being either in front of or alongside each other is a rather common one since Late Antiquity and often occurs in other illustrations of the *Maqamat*, particularly in the Leningrad manuscript. More interesting, however, are the omissions and additions to the text which occur here. The

⁶ Vol. 1, p. 254.

⁷ H. Buchthal, "'Hellenistic' miniatures in early Islamic manuscripts," *Ars Islamica*, 7 (1940), p. 126.

setting, as suggested by the story itself, is quite limited : "... there came to my sight a pitched tent and a kindled fire. I saw some fair boy-servants, and furniture which thou wouldest gaze at."⁸ First, a fettered horse was added with a groom.⁹ Then, instead of "fair boy-servants," we have a representative each of the *ahl al-qalam* and the *ahl al-sayf*, the civil and military authorities characteristic of a prince, which our rogue, Abu Zayd, has suddenly become, although there is no forewarning in the text. Other instances of such transformations occur elsewhere in illustrated manuscripts of the thirteenth century and they illustrate a very important step in the formation of contemporary miniatures.¹⁰ In order to indicate success and power, [102] the painter – but not the writer – uses elements from a standardized princely iconography. This standardization contrasts with the freedom and inventiveness of so many other innovations introduced by the painter over and above the indications of the text and shows that a repertory of princely themes preceded the type of imagery developed in the *Maqamat* and in other similar works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A corollary to these remarks is that, whenever possible, the artist of the *Maqamat* did indeed look for iconographic models adaptable to his needs, but such models existed in only a limited number of instances.¹¹

18. Fol. 96v contains the poem in which, in the twenty-seventh *maqama*, Abu Zayd describes to al-Harith his way of life. Iconographically the scene is not much different from others illustrating the same subject.

19. The image on fol. 98 illustrates a passage which occurs a little farther on in the same story. In showing Abu Zayd on horseback charging against the thief of al-Harith's camel, it actually illustrates a moment in the story which occurs somewhat beyond the specific text which is found around it. Like the preceding image, this one does not differ in any major way from similar illustrations in other manuscripts, except the Leningrad one (p. 177), in which the thief is shown coming down from his beast.

20. Fol. 104 shows the mosque of Samarkand during Abu Zayd's sermon as told in the twenty-eighth *maqama*. The depiction of the mosque with its characteristic elements – arcades, *mihrab*, *minbar*, a *dikkah*, lamps, minaret – is remarkable for the completeness of its components and the peculiar oblique way in which the courses of stone are set on the minaret, the latter feature being used in a few other instances in the manuscript, perhaps with the intention of suggesting curved wall surfaces. It is also more appropriately

⁸ Vol. 1, p. 259.

⁹ On this theme as applied mostly to princely scenes see R. Ettinghausen, "On some Mongol miniatures," *Kunst des Orients*, 3 (1959).

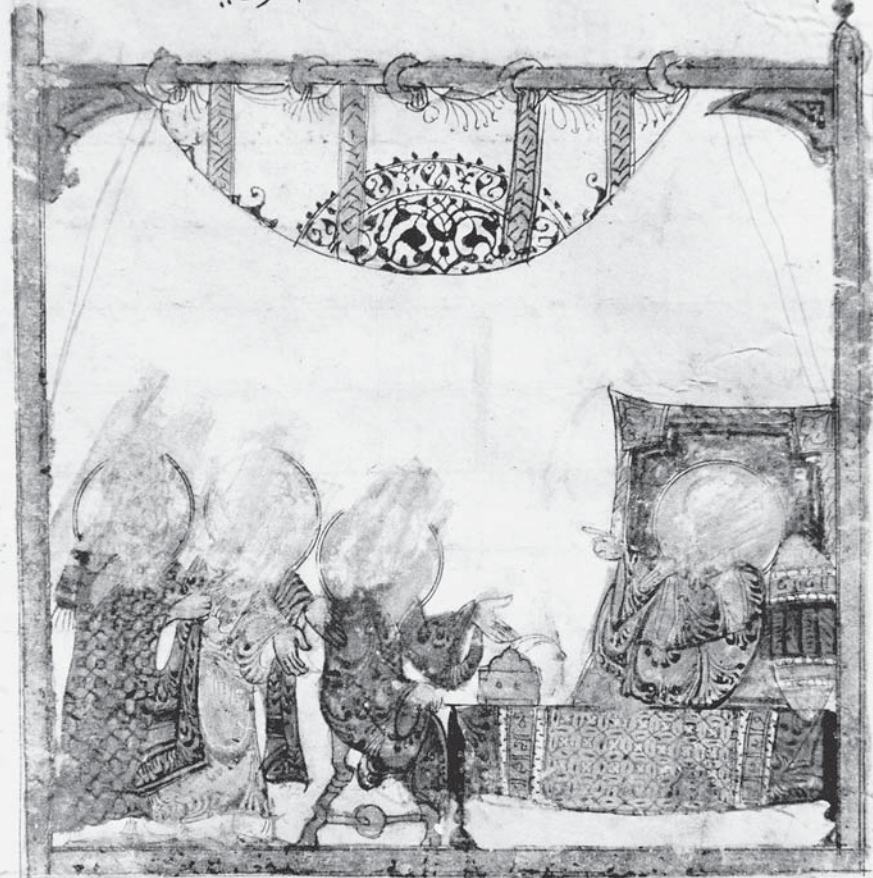
¹⁰ Another instance of this occurs in the Schefer manuscript, fol. 33, a miniature which has recently been studied from a different point of view by D. S. Rice, "Deacon or drink," *Arabica*, 5 (1958).

¹¹ H. Buchthal, in "Hellenistic' miniatures," has indicated some of the Christian sources for Arabic thirteenth-century illustrations.



13 *Maqamat* of
Hariri, fol. 73v

٧٧ رَبِّبِ أَخْرَى مِنْ نُبْكَ وَهَلْ عَيْبَ الْخَشْ مِنْ عَيْنِكَ
 وَقَدْ دَعَيْتَ بِحَيْرِي وَأَسْتَلْطَقْتَهُ وَأَنْحَلْتَ شَعْرِي وَأَسْتَرْقَتَهُ



وَأَسْتَرْقُ الشَّعْرَ عِنْدَ الشُّعْرَاءِ أَفْطَحُ مِنْ سَرِقَةِ الْبَيْضَاءِ وَالصَّفْرَاءِ
 وَغَيْرِ تَصْرُوعِي بِنَاتِ الْأَفْكَارِ كَغَيْرِ تَهْرَعِي السَّنَاتِ الْإِبْكَارِ





92 أَنْفَعُ صَدِّكَ وَأَوْجِدُ عَلَى النَّارِ هُدًى فَلَمَّا انْتَهَيْتُ إِلَى
ظِلِّ الْخَيْمَةِ رَأَيْتُ غُلَامَةً رُوقَةً وَشَارَةً مَرْمُوقَةً وَشَيْخًا



عَلَيْهِ نَزَّةٌ سَنِيَّةٌ وَلَدَيْهِ فَالِيقَةُ جَنِيَّةٌ فَمِثْنُهُ ثُمَّ تَحَامِيَةُ
فَضَحِكَ إِلَيَّ وَأَحْسَنَ الرَّدَّ عَلَيَّ وَقَالَ الْإِجْلَسُ لِمَنْ تَرَوُورُ

فَلَمْ سَتَطَّلِعْ دَخِيَّةَ أَمْرِي لَكَ عِنْدَكَ لِرَامَةِ وَعِزَّازَةَ
 أَنَا مَا بَيْنَ أَرْضِ فَا رُضْوَسْرِي فِي مَفَازَةِ فَمَفَازَةَ



زَادِي الصَّيْدُ وَالْمَطِيَّةُ نَعْلِي وَجَهَازِي الْجَرَابُ وَالْعَمَّازُ
 فَأَدْلَمَا هَبَطْتُ مِصْرًا قَيْدِي غُرْقَةُ الْحَارِ وَالنَّدِيمُ جُزَّازَةَ

scaled to the personages than, for instance, the corresponding image in the Schefer manuscript (fol. 84v).

21. On fol. 110 we see an illustration of the key moment of the twenty-ninth *maqama*, in which al-Harith notices that the guests he and Abu Zayd have entertained have actually been doped, while Abu Zayd and his son are proceeding to rob them. The image with the *khan* as an architectural background for the activities of our heroes is very closely related to the corresponding images in the Schefer manuscript (fol. 89) and in the Leningrad one (pp. 194, 196), without being exactly similar to either one.

22. Fol. 117v contains part of the sermon delivered by Abu Zayd to the pilgrims on the road to Mecca (thirty-first *maqama*). Its illustration is curious in several ways. First of all, it does not illustrate the text in the midst of which it is set; Abu Zayd is not prominently apparent, as far as the rather damaged character of the image permits one to judge. Rather it is a picture of a *hajj* caravan about to alight. Second, the artist has introduced a curiously idyllic element in his picture by showing a small camel being fed by his mother, who is still carrying a basketful of travelers; this feature suggests a pictorial reminiscence with no textual backing of a type found in Byzantine manuscripts with classical backgrounds,¹² although it occurs also on Islamic ceramics. Finally, as in several other instances in this manuscript, the scene comprises two separate planes artificially united by rocks to the left and right; in addition, the [103] rocks to the left which extend into the margin above the text are an unusual feature in pre-Mongol miniatures and more characteristic of Persian than of Arab painting.

23. Fol. 131v has an illustration which once more represents a mosque, this time in Tiflis (thirty-third *maqama*). After prayer, Abu Zayd appears as a cripple and makes a moving plea for help. The main interest of this scene, otherwise poorly illustrated except in the Leningrad manuscript, lies in its composition. Two points should be brought out. The first is the division of personages into three groups separated by elements of a single architectural unit; this technique of composition is not the most common one in thirteenth-century illustrations of secular works, in which architecture is generally used as a background, rarely interwoven with the action (with certain major exceptions in the Leningrad manuscript), although it is common enough in Byzantine painting and in early Ilkhanid miniatures as well. The second point is the existence of two half-hearted attempts at giving illusions of depth: one consists in reproducing an inscription on the back wall of the mosque; the other one involves the almost triangular shape of the balustrades on the left and right, unless these should be considered as some kind of seat. Finally, a negative point may be worth bringing out, i.e., that the mosque here is quite different from most other mosques in this manuscript as well as

¹² K. Weitzmann, *Greek mythology in Byzantine art* (Princeton, 1951), pl. XXXVI et seq.

in the related Schefer and Leningrad ones. There are no minarets, *mihrab*s, or *minbars*. The lamps, the colonnade and the unusually set inscription are the only features that may be definitely related to mosque architecture. This simplified mosque architecture is more closely tied to the bare minimum of an architectural frame in the simpler illustrations of such manuscripts as Paris 3929 and 6094, but, as Dr Ettinghausen suggests, it could very well be the depiction of a side *riwaq* rather than of a sanctuary.

24. Fol. 134 contains an illustration of the celebrated story in which al-Harith buys a slave, who turns out to be Abu Zayd's son (thirty-fourth *maqama*). The importance of this image lies in the fact that its double-deck organization, showing below the three protagonists of the story as they meet, and above the sale being transacted, is very closely related to the arrangement of the Schefer (fol. 105) and Leningrad (p. 231) manuscripts, and quite different from what is found in all other manuscripts where the two scenes are separated. The major difference between our image and those from other manuscripts is that the latter have integrated the two separate iconographic units within the single structure of a slave market, whereas the Istanbul manuscript merely has an artificial frame. But the comparison would lead one to explain the group at the upper right of our miniature as the slaves shown so prominently in the Paris and Leningrad manuscripts.

25. On fol. 136v we find another *qadi* scene from the same *maqama*, in which the judge points out to al-Harith that he has been swindled. Although details vary, the scene is closely related to other similar scenes in the manuscript, and in particular, the entrance seen in profile recalls the image of folio 27v. The depiction of one personage partly in and partly out of the room is an important and, at that time, rare device for indicating depth.

26. Fol. 138v contains an illustration of the thirty-fifth *maqama* and does not differ significantly from other similar scenes.

27. The image on folio 141 appears at first glance to illustrate a similar scene from the thirty-sixth *maqama*, but in fact it differs from all other such images in two major ways. The first one is that Abu Zayd, shown here arriving from the left, is completely outside [104] the picture and on a different scale from that of the main group of personages. The only possible textual justification for this anomalous relation is that the gathering took place on a hillock. The second peculiarity of this image is its landscape. At first glance it is nothing more than the previously noted system of two planes united on the sides by a vertical line of grass. Its novelty is that the lower part of the landscape is itself subdivided into three separate elements set one behind the other like a stage decoration. In addition, two of these elements are marked out by two animals, a gazelle or an antelope coming to drink water, and a leopard or cheetah. Both the organization of landscape through flat spaces set behind each other and the use of animals to identify them are typical of certain Persian miniatures of the early fourteenth

98 وَلِي رَسُلَهَا وَنَسَلَهَا وَلَا تَكُنْ كَالشَّعْبِ فَتَشَعِبَ وَتَشَعِبَ فَآخِذٌ
 يَلْدُغُ وَيَصِي وَيَتَفَعُّ وَلَا يَسْتَجِي وَيَبْنَاهُ وَيَنْزُوا وَيَلِينُ وَيَسْتَأْجِدُ
 وَيَسْتَكِينُ غَشِينَا أَبُو زَيْدٍ لِإِسَاحِدِ النَّمْرِ وَهَاجِمًا هُجُومَ



السَّيْلِ الْمَنْهَمِرِ فَخَفْتُ وَاللَّهِ أَنْ يَكُونَ يَوْمَهُ كَأَمْسِهِ
 وَبَدَاهُ مِثْلَ شَمْسِهِ فَالْحَقُّ بِالْقَارِظِينَ وَأَصِيرُ خَيْرًا بَعْدَ عَيْنِ









134

لِعَيْكَ وَشَقْمَا فَعَارَكَ فِي الصَّحَاكِ وَأَجَدْتُ ثُمَّ أَنْعَضَ رَأْسَهُ
 إِلَى الْيَمَانِ الشَّد
 يَا مَنْ تَلَهَّبَ غَيْظُهُ إِذْ لَمْ أَخُجْ بِأَسْمِي لَهُ مَا هَكَذَا مِنْ بَيْضِ



ازْكَانَ لَا يُرْضِيكَ إِلَّا لَشْفُهُ فَأُصْحِرْ لَهُ أَنَا بُوْسُفُ أَنَا بُوْسُفُ

century,¹³ even though the first of the two features at least is not unknown in Arabic painting as well. A last point may be made with respect to this image. It is curious to note that the very mutilated manuscript of the *Maqamat* in the British Museum, or. 1200, dated 1256, illustrates the same scene (fol. 116) with the same two peculiarities of Abu Zayd outside the main plane of action and of a high landscape, although the latter is not as elaborate as in the Istanbul version. This point would confirm an impression based on a number of such instances, i.e., that the rather rustic British Museum manuscript actually used as a model one of the more luxurious illustrated manuscripts of Hariri's work.

28. On folio 150v we see an illustration of the scene in which Abu Zayd makes a speech in front of the governor of Merv (thirty-eighth *maqama*). The most remarkable feature of this image is the throne of the *wali*. First of all, it combines in a unique fashion two types of thrones. The first one, common enough in all Arabic manuscripts of the time and used for *qadis* as well as for princes, has as its most notable feature a high and rigid bolster behind the honored personage; its lower part may consist of a few steps leading to a flat bench or of a mere pillow on a rug. The second type of throne is a polygonal wooden construction with side railings; it may be of considerable size and, while it is not absent from early Arab miniatures (cf. below, fol. 192), it is more characteristic of later Persian ones. It is probably the anomaly of the combination which explains the awkwardness of the final result. A second point to be emphasized about this miniature is the quality of the designs of the textiles spread over the throne, in particular the adossed birds rather rarely found in early miniatures.

29. Fol. 153 illustrates the well-known boat on the Indian Ocean on which al-Harith and Abu Zayd leave for a mysterious island. Here again it is the illustrations of the same scene in the Schefer (fol. 122v) and Leningrad manuscripts (p. 260) which come closest to ours with their emphasis on the boat rather than on the personages. The Istanbul miniature, like the Leningrad one, differs from the Paris one in that it actually does show Abu Zayd asking to be taken aboard.

30. On fol. 154v we find another illustration of the same *maqama*. It is the scene of the arrival of our two heroes at the gate of a palace, where slaves are seen crying. The only element of a comparison we have is fol. 120v of the Schefer manuscript, which illustrates exactly the same scene. Although there are points of resemblance between the details of the two images (the central gate, the overhanging balconies, the arches of the windows), the Istanbul miniature is original in showing within outer walls elements of a sizeable garden around a central pavilion and in using a [105] different and interesting decorative design on the façade of the building. A study of these architectural

¹³ D. Brian, "A reconstruction of the miniature cycle," *Ars Islamica*, 6 (1939), fig. 17.

façades has not yet been made, even though it would probably lead to interesting results for the little-known secular architecture of the Near East in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁴ It would therefore be premature to indulge now in speculations about the possible origins of this type of architecture, so completely different from all other architectural types known in *Maqamat* manuscripts, but not unlike those of certain contemporary Persian ceramics.¹⁵

31. The image on folio 167v uses the forty-second *maqama* for another variation on the theme of the group of people arguing with Abu Zayd. Its uniqueness consists in the fact that it is particularly lively and that one of the personages is set in a tree. While there are iconographic parallels to the latter in Christian imagery, its occurrence here may perhaps be explained by the statement in the text that this particular assembly was “thronged and densely crowded.”¹⁶

32. Fol. 171v contains an often illustrated scene from the forty-third *maqama* in which Abu Zayd and al-Harith are seen resting after a night of camel riding. Practically all manuscripts show one of the heroes lying and the other one standing, and the variations in them concern the nature of the landscape. Here, as could now be expected, the rocky landscape is particularly developed and, once more, seems to include features belonging to different traditions. The two trees are typical of other contemporary Arabic manuscripts, but the hills with their wavelike knolls are much closer to some early and still insufficiently explained Persian landscapes,¹⁷ although the Leningrad image illustrating the same subject (p. 285) has a related type of hill.

33. Fol. 176 has an illustration of the same *maqama*, which, once again, relates our manuscript to the Leningrad and Schefer manuscripts. The most passing reference in the text¹⁸ to the arrival of Abu Zayd and al-Harith in a village is used in these three manuscripts for an extraordinary representation of village life, with its mosque, its houses, its animals, and its manifold activities. The three images vary and yet possess peculiarly similar details (such as the spinner to the right of our picture who is found in almost the same position in the Schefer manuscript), which argue for some common source of inspiration. As far as the Istanbul page is concerned, it is worth pointing out once again that the artist has used the rocks to the left of his image as a device for giving a sense of depth to the whole scene by separating the two major architectural elements and by introducing a man with a cow between the rocks. A last point to be made about this image is that it is

¹⁴ One of the few studies is that of K. Erdmann, “Seraybauten,” *Ars Orientalis*, 3 (1959), which deals only with Anatolia.

¹⁵ One may compare our building with A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art* (London, 1939), vol. 5, pl. 675.

¹⁶ Vol. 2, p. 114.

¹⁷ For instance, the plate referred to in note 15.

¹⁸ Vol. 2, p. 130.



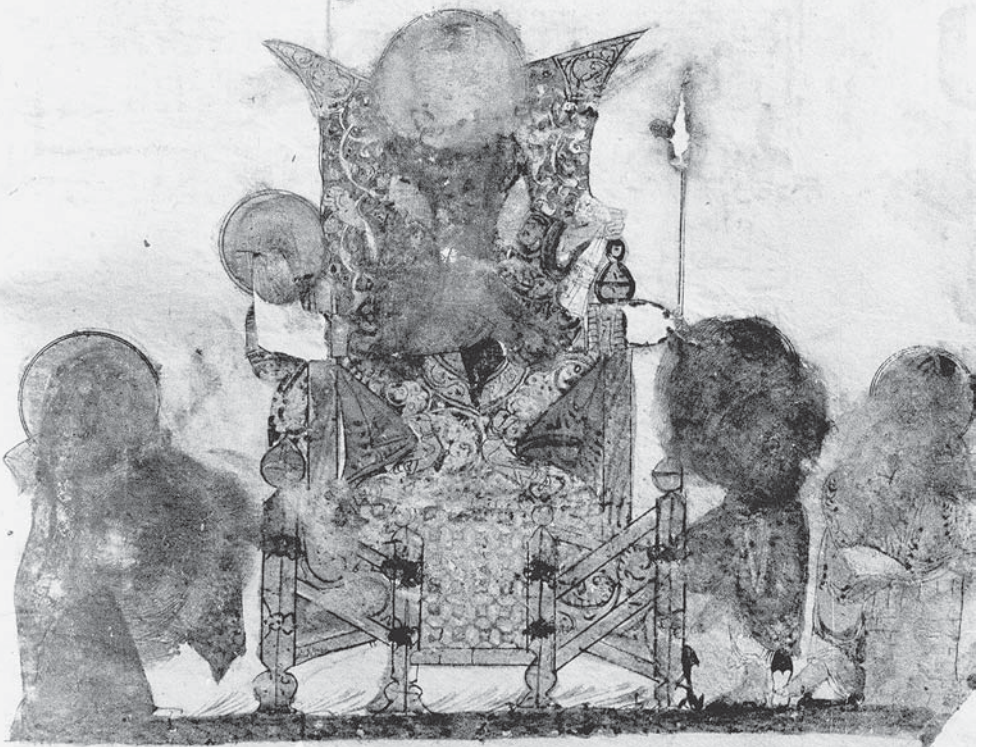
قَدْ كَادَ يُنَاهِزُ الْعُمَرَ بْنِ فَخْرٍ بِلسَانِ طَلِقٍ وَأَبَانَ إِيَانَةً مِنْ طَلِقٍ
ثُمَّ أَحْتَبَا حَبْوَةَ الْمُنْتَدِينَ وَقَالَ الْجُعَلْنَا اللَّهُمَّ مِنَ الْمُحْتَدِينَ



فَأَزْدَرَاهُ الْقَوْمَ لِطَمَرِيَّةٍ وَنَسُوا الزَّامِرَةَ بِأَصْخَرِيَّةٍ وَأَخَذُوا
بِتَدَاعَوْزٍ فَضَلَّ الْخَطَابُ وَيَعْتَدُّونَ عَوْدَهُ مِنَ الْإِخْطَابِ



لِسَاحَتِكَ وَتُسْتَنْزِلُ الرَّاحَةَ مِنْ رَاحَتِكَ وَكَانَ فَضْلُ
 اللَّهِ عَلَيْكَ عَظِيمًا ثُمَّ إِنِّي شَيْخٌ تَرَبَّ بَعْدَ الْأَثَرِ

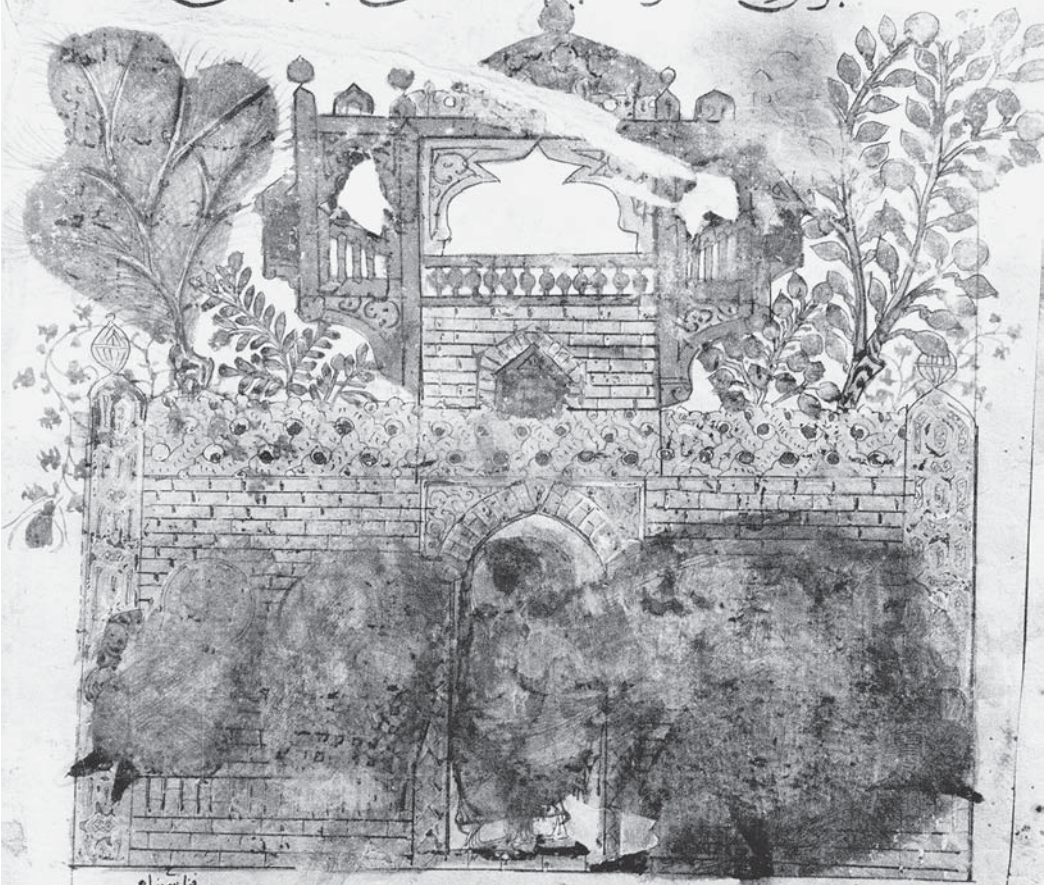


وَعَدَمِ الْأَعْشَابِ حَيْزِ شَابٍ قَصْدُكَ مِنْ مَحَلَّةٍ
 حَالَةٍ رَاحَةٍ أَمَلُ مِنْ خَرَاكِ دُفْعَةً وَمِنْ جَاهِكَ

رفعة



وَكَلَّا نَلَا اِيْمَاكَ فَتِيْلًا وَلَا يَمْتَدِكْ فِيْمَا سَبِيْلًا فَاقْبَلْنَا
نَجْوَسُ خِلَا لَهَا وَنَتَقَبَّأُ ظِلَالَهَا حَتَّى اَقْضِيْنَا اِلَى قَصْرِ مَشِيْبِكْ



لَهُ بَابٌ مِزْجِيْدٌ وَدُوْنَهُ زُمْرَةٌ مِزْجِيْدٌ فَنَاسِمْنَا هُمْ
لِنَتَّخِذَهُمْ سُلْمًا اِلَى الْاِرْتِقَاءِ وَارْشِيَّةً لِّلْاِسْتِقَامِ فَالْفِيْنَا كَلَّا

منه

inserted in a part of the text which takes place long before the arrival of the heroes in the village (cf. the commentary to the following image).

34. Fol. 177v contains in reality an illustration of the same subject, from the same *maqama*, but this time at its correct place in the text. The first difference between this and the preceding image is that here the protagonists of the story, al-Harith, Abu Zayd and a local “lad,” are more prominent. The second difference lies in the primitive and simplified character of the village shown here; its houses look like caves. The existence of two illustrations of exactly the same subject is [106] quite important for an understanding of the manuscript. It is typical of the Leningrad manuscript, where we meet with such duplications quite consistently throughout the book, generally with only minor changes from one image to the other. In the case of the Istanbul manuscript the difference in character between the two images suggests that the illustrator had several models to work from and that these models varied in type and quality. But, if so, why is there really only one pair of images in which this presumed reliance on two different models is so apparent? One will be able to answer this question, and to explain the peculiarities of the Leningrad image, only after a more thorough study has been made of the exact manner of working of a thirteenth-century illustrator. Or we may adopt an alternate explanation proposed by Dr Ettinghausen: fol. 177 is a sort of closeup of fol. 176, in which only the pond and dwellings in the foreground center of fol. 176 are depicted.

35. Fol. 180 illustrates a “tent-party” described in the forty-fourth *maqama*. Here again the image uses the typical formula of two planes set above each other and united at the side. In its depiction of the killing of a camel – not mentioned in the text – it follows an iconographic pattern already established in the Schefer manuscript (fol. 140), where the scene is illustrated on two pages facing each other in the manner common in that manuscript.¹⁹

36. Fol. 184v illustrates the end of the same *maqama*, when Abu Zayd addresses a poem to his camel. The scene has often been illustrated and the only point worth noting here again is the peculiar nature of the landscape.

37. Fol. 188v illustrates another scene in front of a judge, as described in the forty-fifth *maqama*. The image is quite characteristic of a number of interior scenes of the same type in other manuscripts, but is curious here in that it is much simpler than previous images of similar subjects.

38. Fol. 192 contains the representation of a school, in which Abu Zayd appears as the teacher (forty-sixth *maqama*). We are back here to an architecture which includes an entrance with a personage. It also has some uncommon details, such as the bastinado applied to some unfortunate pupil.

39. Fol. 198 has an image of the barber-shop around which the story of the forty-seventh *maqama* takes place. With its elaborate shop and the

¹⁹ Cf. note 5 above.

throng of people around it, the image is quite similar to the ones found in the Schefer and Leningrad manuscripts. It differs from these in having divided the onlookers into two groups instead of putting them in a circle and in the curiously vivid detail of two mongrels fighting in front of the shop.

40. The image of fol. 204 illustrates a speech in a mosque, as described in the forty-eighth *maqama*. The mosque as such is similar to other mosques in this and other manuscripts. The most important point about this miniature, however, is that its mosque contains an inscription mentioning the caliph al-Musta'sim: "... and our lord the *imam* al-Musta'sim billah, Commander of the Faithful, may God prolong his days." Two points are important about this inscription. First, it must obviously be related to the celebrated inscription on fol. 164v of the Schefer manuscript with its mention of al-Musta'sim's father, the caliph al-Mustansir, which occurs on an illustration of the fiftieth *maqama*. Second, this inscription provides us with the date of the manuscript. [107] Since it assumes that the caliph was still alive, the manuscript must have been made between the end of 1242 (Jumada II 640) and 1258 (656), when al-Musta'sim was killed by the Mongols. A small digression may be made here. The inscription in the Schefer manuscript has often been used to imply that the mosque on which it was set was in fact the celebrated Mustansiriyah in Baghdad, and this has been used as an argument to attribute the manuscript to the 'Abbasid capital. Aside from the facts that the Schefer miniature in no way reflects what is known of the architecture of the Mustansiriyah and that the story of the fiftieth *maqama* does not take place in Baghdad, the present inscription proves conclusively that the Schefer one did not refer to a specific building, but was simply a reference to the caliph ruling at the time of the composition of the manuscript. For there is no mosque of al-Musta'sim which would have acquired the prestige and reputation of his father's construction in Baghdad. Hence, also, the inscriptions cannot be used to support a Baghdadi origin for the manuscripts. This is not to say, of course, that the manuscripts were not made in Baghdad, but simply that their localization in that particular city must be based on other arguments.

41. Fol. 207v shows Abu Zayd making his farewell speech to his son (forty-ninth *maqama*); there is nothing unusual in this image.

42. On fol. 211v we find another mosque scene illustrating this time the fiftieth *maqama*. The mosque itself is not much different from other mosques and the main interest of the image lies in the curious group of two birds set on the roof of the building.

Before concluding with a few general remarks on the manuscript, it may be worthwhile to list the miniatures which have not been illustrated. The number of the illustrated *maqama* is given in parentheses: 12 (4); 24v (8); 31 (10); 36v (12); 39 (12); 52 (16); 58v (18); 108v (29); 113 (30); 116v (31); 121 (32);



31 *Maqamat* of Hariri, fol. 167v





قَرِيْبَةٌ غَرِيْبَةٌ عَنْهَا الْخَيْرُ فَدَخَلْنَاهَا لِلْاَزْتِيَادِ وَكَلْنَا
 مُنْفِضٌ مِنَ الزَّادِ فَمَا اِنْ بَلَّغْنَا الْمَحْطَّ وَالْمَنَاخَ الْمُخْتَطَّ اَوْ لَقِينَا



غُلَامٌ لَمْ يَبْلُغِ الْجَنَّةَ وَعَلَى عَاتِقِهِ ضَمْعَةٌ فَيَسْأَلُهُ اَبُو زَيْدٍ
 خِيَّةَ الْمُسْلِمِ وَسَأَلَهُ وَقَفَّةَ الْمُفْرِمِ فَقَالَ اَوْحَى تَسَاءُلُ وَفَقَّكَ



وَأَدْجِي وَأَوْبِي وَأَسِيدِي زَوْجَ بَانَاقِ فَسِيرِي خَدِي
 فَتَعْمِي حِينِي عَدِي وَسَعْدِي حَيَّ نَطَاخَمَا كَمَرَعَاهَا النَّدِي
 أَيِهْ فَدَنَّاكَ التَّوَجُّدِي وَأَجْمَدِي وَتَأْمُرِي أَنْ تَنْهَمِي وَتَجُدِي
 وَأَقْتَنَعِي بِالنَّشْرِ عِنْدَ الْمَوْرِدِ وَأَفْرِي أَدِيمِ فَدَفِدْفَدِي



وَلَا تَخْطِي دُونَكَ الْمَقْصِدِ فَقَدْ حَلَفْتُ حَلْفَةَ الْجَمْعِ

بحرمة

146v (37); 157V (40); 165 (41). The statistical results of these lists are that 46 *maqamat* are illustrated (the missing ones are 1, 2, 3 and 7), 8 have two illustrations, and 1 (43) has three.

From this brief description of the 42 sufficiently well-preserved miniatures in the Istanbul manuscript and from the comparisons to which they have led, a certain number of conclusions and problems emerge.

We are dealing with a manuscript written and illustrated between 1242 and 1258, possibly in Baghdad. All of its illustrations belong to what may be called “expanded” images, i.e., images which are not simple running illustrations of the actions of the text (as are, in most instances, those of a manuscript like Paris, arabe 3929), but which are conscious attempts at compositions inspired by the text and often intermingled with various aspects of contemporary life. The nature of the text led, of course, to repetitions within these images: groups in nature, in mosques, and so forth, but exact repetitions are somewhat rarer here than in other manuscripts. These characteristics closely relate the Istanbul manuscript to two other illustrated versions of the *Maqamat*, the Paris Schefer manuscript and the Leningrad one. Of the two, it is the Leningrad manuscript which is most closely allied to ours, as we have seen in a number of details. Furthermore, the Paris manuscript is less consistently involved in “expanded” images and has certain peculiarities of composition which need not concern us here, but which are quite different from what is found in the Istanbul and Leningrad versions. This is not to say, however, that the Istanbul manuscript derives from the same iconographic source as the Leningrad manuscript. There is almost no instance where their images are [108] exactly alike, although it can be shown that there were models available to the artist of the Istanbul manuscript. It would be more appropriate to say that all three manuscripts are the product of the same “mood” of the time, a mood which contrived to have the artists use the story of the *Maqamat* for the depiction of their surroundings. How this came about and especially why it is the *Maqamat* that was chosen for these purposes – a work which was appreciated for its verbal qualities and not for the incidents of its stories – is a subject which is beyond my task of presenting a new manuscript, but one to which I hope to return in the near future.²⁰ The point of significance, however, is that, in addition to their artistic merit, unfortunately much tarnished by the greatly damaged state of most manuscripts, the illustrated *Maqamat*, and especially the three manuscripts with “expanded” images, are major documents for the social and cultural history of the Arab world just before the Mongol conquest and must be studied iconographically, something that has been done only too rarely so far.²¹

²⁰ The author gave a preliminary paper on this subject at the twenty-fifth Congress of Orientalists in Moscow in August 1960. A summary was published in the proceedings of the Congress.

²¹ The two exceptions are the two articles by D. S. Rice mentioned above.

Our remarks on the individual images also brought out some significant conclusions with respect to the style of the manuscript. In certain aspects it is obviously quite closely related to the style of other thirteenth-century *Maqamat* illustrations. Personages with large heads, vivid facial features, and simplified bodies at times shown in action by violent, if puppet-like, movements of arms; heavily patterned costume and squatting poses; artificial treelike floral combinations; architectural compositions of large rectangular frames with a few precise additions such as rolling roofs, balconies and doorways; the grouping of personages in rows or in masses; a tendency to divide a scene into two planes one above the other as a formula for spatial representation; all these features are characteristic of most *Maqamat* manuscripts, and especially of the three with expanded imagery. But there are two areas in which the Istanbul images introduce a more original style. First, in a number of scenes there are attempts at more complex means of representing depth of field. In purely architectural scenes, the position of the personages, the shape of certain parts (railings, friezes with inscription, stairs) introduce a sense of spatial depth in a building which is practically unknown in the Schefer manuscript, although not uncommon and often quite artful in the Leningrad one. In other places, such as on fol. 176, elements of landscape and architecture are consciously set on separate planes, each of which is like a two-dimensional theatrical flat but whose combination is intended to give a sense of receding planes. The same technique is used in pure landscapes, such as on fol. 141. It is quite true that both the Schefer and the Leningrad manuscripts have used various devices to bring out this sense of depth, and, especially in the latter, some extraordinary compositions were thereby achieved. But it is almost never that we can find this particular technique which was destined for a great future in later Near Eastern painting. Second, landscape almost for its own sake and without any particular reference to textual needs appears here more often than in the other manuscripts. Also the character of this landscape differs from what we find in other manuscripts. The technique of painting hillocks (as on fols 153, 171v, 184) in thick dark wavelike strokes almost parallel to each other is comparatively rare in *Maqamat* manuscripts, although it does occur on certain Dioscorides. Nor do we find commonly the addition of animals to the landscape. [109]

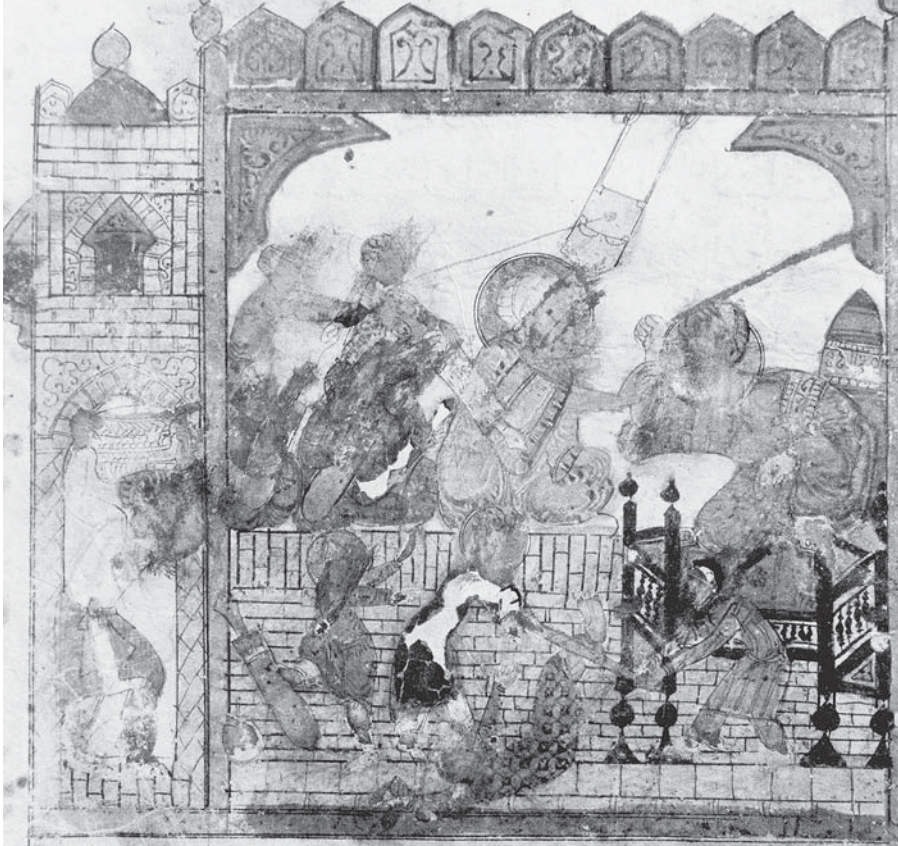
The importance of these peculiarities in the Istanbul manuscript is that many among them are characteristic of the first century of Persian painting which flourished after the Mongol invasion and which is represented at different levels of quality by the Rashid al-Din manuscripts, the Demotte *Shahname*, and especially some of the so-called small *Shahnames*.²² The implication is, therefore, either that our artist was influenced by certain existing Iranian artistic traditions of the thirteenth century other than the

²² L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, B. Gray, *Persian miniature painting* (London, 1933), pls XVI, XXIII, XXIV; B. Gray, *Persian Painting* (Geneva, 1961), p. 59.



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وَأَهْلَ حِرِّ صَدَقَةٍ وَأَسْعَ وَهَمُّهُ مَا سَرَّ أَهْلَ الصَّلَاةِ ح
مُورِدُهُ حُطُوسًا وَإِلَيْهِ وَمَالُهُ مَا سَأَلَ لَوْهُ مُطَا ح



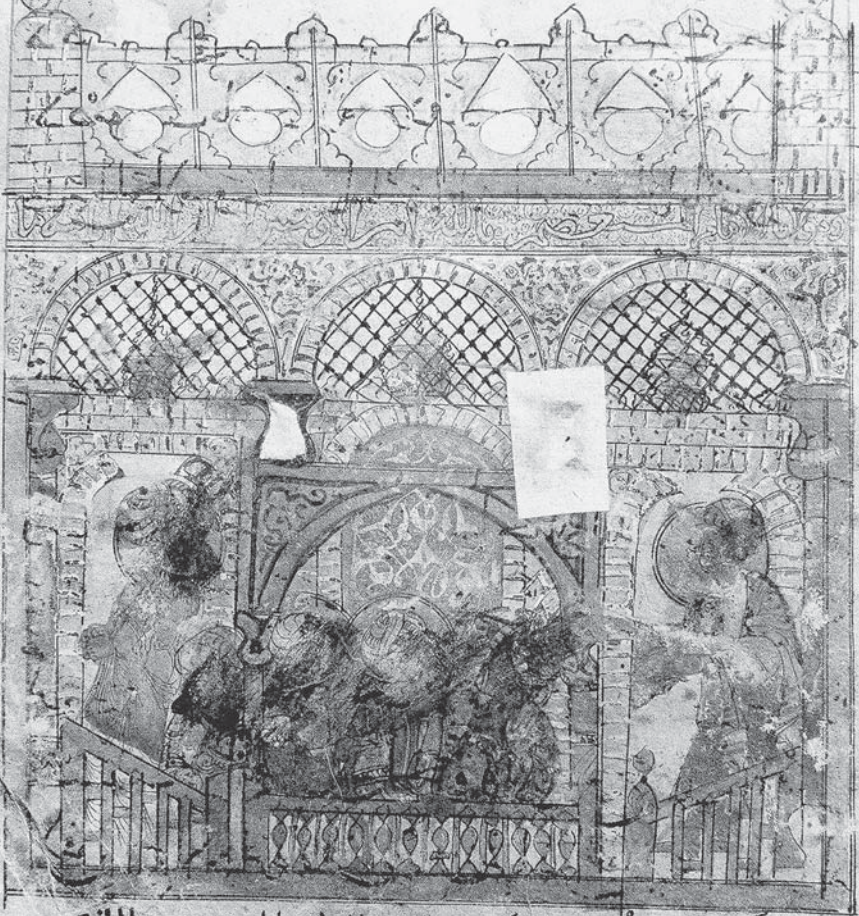
مَا أَسْمَعَ الْأَمَلَ رَدًّا أَوْ لَا مَاطَلَهُ وَالْمُظْلَ لَوْ مُصْرًا ح
وَلَا أَطَاعَ اللَّهُ لِمَا دَعَا وَلَا كَسَرَ أَحَالَهُ كُفْرًا ح



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والمستتر شد قمز واز اخاك هو الذي عد لك لا الذي
عدرك وصدقك الذي من صدقك لا من صدك فك
فقال له الحاضر وزيها الخيل الودود والخذت الودود منا



سر كلامك المنعز وما شرح خطابك الموجز وما الذي





pitifully few known today,²³ or that it is the style expressed in this particular group of Arab paintings which was later taken over and developed by the Persian painters. This is not to say, of course, that these themes are predominant. In general the style of the Istanbul manuscript corresponds to that of the other known versions of the same text. Yet its specific peculiarities are worth noting, for they provide it with its most original features and permit us to broaden our view of the various styles which were at work in the main centers of the Arabic-speaking world before the Mongol conquest.

These considerations make one all the more regretful that the manuscript has not been preserved in better condition. In this preliminary report only some of its iconographic and stylistic characteristics have been brought out. Their elaboration can be made only in the framework of a more complete study of the style and iconography of all *Maqamat* manuscripts, which we hope to have completed in the near future. In the meantime, the manuscript discovered by Dr Ettinghausen must take its place among the more important works of the thirteenth century.

²³ The latest discovery is that of the *Warqah and Gulshah* manuscript also in Istanbul, A. Ateş, *Ars Orientalis*, 4, (1961); and one should also study ceramic iconography for evidence of influence from miniatures.