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THE SCHEPER MAQAMAT MANUSCRIPT.
A STUDY IN THE TECHNIQUE OF 13TH CENTURY MAQAMAT
ILLUSTRATION.
D. JAMES.
1965.

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INTRODUCTION.

The last fifty years of the 'Abbasid Khalifate saw a revival in its declining fortunes. By cunning, guile, and astuteness, the Khalif "An-Nāṣir lidīn-Ilīlah" 1180-1225 A.D. was able during his long reign to resuscitate the almost lifeless corpse which he had inherited from his father Al-Mustadī'. Though the Khalifate under An-Nāṣir was but a shadow of its former greatness, when he died in 1225, its position had quite considerably improved. The Khalif attempted to strengthen his own position by urging an end to the religious and political differences among the inhabitants of the Khalifate ; to this end he re-organized the 'Futuwah' Brotherhood hoping to bring about the closer cooperation of all ranks of society. By the time of his death the geographical area controlled by the Khalif had actually been extended some distance to the North.¹

The reign of An-Nāṣir however was but " the last flicker of an expiring flame,²" for only thirty-three years after the ascent of his son to the throne the 'Abbasid line had virtually come to an end, the last Khalif and all his family had been massacred, and the capital Baghdad almost razed to the ground at the hands of the Mongols.

1. COKE.R. "Baghdad : "City of Peace"
Thornton Butterworth Limited, 1927, p.129

2. HITTI.P.K. "History of the Arabs" Macmillan 1960 p.481

Between the death of An-Nasir and the Fall of Baghdad three Khalifs ruled :- Aẓ-Zāhir 1225-6, Al-Mustansir 1226-42 and Al-Musta'sim 1242-58, all of whom were well-intentioned but in-effectual.

Throughout these latter years the gains made by An-Nāṣir rapidly disappeared, so that when the Mongol Hulāqū arrived at the gates of Baghdad the last Khalif, like his counterpart in Constantinople 200 years, later, controlled little outside his own palace.

During the final years of the Khalifate which consisted of little more than Baghdad, was rocked by severe religious riots, often with the police and military joining in,¹ at the same time the capital was thrown into a panic by the approach of the Mongols.² Despite this Baghdad remained one of the largest and most impressive of all the cities in the Near East.

* * *

Regardless of the fact that the Khalifate was in the last stages of political decline, its capital torn by religious upheaval and its inhabitants oppressed by heavy taxation, the cultural life of Baghdad flourished as superbly, if not more so than it had in the past. Huge libraries were founded, musicians and singers were, as always, in great demand, and impressive new buildings were

1. AL-FAKHRI. Luzac 1947. p.321.

2. HITTI. op.cit. p.483

erected, the "Mustanşirīah" for example was built at the command of the Khalif al-Mustanşir to serve as a theological university, and was considered one of the finest buildings ever seen.

However in this late period the place of honour goes to the visual arts. During these years painting and the minor arts reached the supreme heights of perfection, and not only in Baghdad for the Islamic East as a whole witnessed a blooming of the visual arts unequaled in any previous period. Above all the last fifty years of the Khalifate saw the blossoming of several remarkable schools of miniature painting.

Painting existed as wall-decoration, and especially in the form of book illustration. Two types of work were normally illustrated by means of miniatures

1. Scientific works and 2. Certain literary works. Among the second group two books acquired a supremacy over all others as vehicles for miniature painting, these were the 'Fables of Bidpai' or 'Kalīlā wā Dimnā' and the "Maqāmāt" or "Assemblies" of Al-Ḥarīrī. It is with this latter work that we are concerned here.

The "Maqamat" consist of 50 maqamahs. The word Maqamah (*مقامة*) is derived from the verb qama (*قام*) to stand, and here means a "Meeting" or as it is more usual translated an "Assembly" or "Seance".¹

1. See PRESTON "Maqamat of Al-Hariri" London 1850 p.11. for an account of the word Maqamah.

Each maqamah takes the form of a short tale relating how an old man by means of fantastic verbal agility is enabled to defraud a group of gullible listeners.

The old man who is the hero of the tales is called Abū Zaid as-Surūjī. Each of these tales is narrated by character, who is sometimes likened to the author himself,¹ Al-Hārith bin Hammām.

The "Maqamat" were composed at the beginning of the 12th century by a native of Baṣrah - Al-Qāsim bin 'Alī Al-Harīrī who was a minor official in the Government, 1054-1122.

The maqamah - which is in fact a dramatic anecdote - was not however the invention of Al-Hariri, for his own work was preceded by at least one other "Maqamat" - this was the "Maqamat of Badi' Az-Zamān Al-Hamadhānī" 969-1008² (who himself was supposed to have learned this peculiar literary^{form} from his teacher Ibn Fāris³.) However, Hariri's work soon superseded all others and grew in popularity until it was second only to the Quran itself. Moreover as far as we know Hariri's "Maqamat" was the only one to be illustrated by miniature paintings.

* * *

1. CHENERY "Assemblies" p.278.
2. ibid p. 270, HITTI op.cit. p.403.
3. "مقامات الحريري" Bierut 1959. p.5.

There are in existence six illustrated copies of the "Maqamat of Al-Hariri" from pre-mongol 'Iraq and Mesopotamia, three of these are in Paris, - manuscripts arabes 6094, 3939 (the St. Waast) 5847 (the Schefer) Bibliothèque Nationale. The others are in the British Museum - manuscript OR. 1200, the Academy of Sciences Leningrad manuscript S.23. and the Süleymaniye Library Istanbul - manuscript Esad Effendi 2916. The Leningrad, Istanbul and Schefer copy are accepted as coming from Baghdad, and the remaining three from some part of Mesopotamia. Before proceeding it is necessary to examine the words which have been commonly employed to describe 13th century Islamic painting, for if the terms used in this thesis are to be understood then the existing words need qualification.

Any student of early Islamic Painting is soon aware of the confused state of the terminology he is forced to adopt when discussing the art of this period. The problem is that no term so far used to describe the art of the Medieval Islamic world as a whole is satisfactory ; "Mesopotamian" is inaccurate, "Seljuk" is not specific enough "Baghdad" is too narrow etc, etc.

The terminology used by Dr. Ettinghausen in his book "Arab Painting"¹ seems to be the best so far evolved. He has used the word "Arab" to describe the painting of

1. Skira 1962 Introduction.

the Arabic Speaking areas of the Islamic world prior to the 16th century and he includes under this heading the art of 'Abbasid 'Iraq and Mesopotamia, Fatimid Egypt, Muslim Spain and Sicily. He is of course using the word "Arab" in its modern context i.e. as a cultural¹ not racial qualification.

The term "Arab" however was used by the Egyptian writer Hasan Al-Basha, in his book "Islamic Painting in the Middle Ages" some years before it appeared in Ettinghausen's work.² Hasan Al-Basha however restricts his use of the word to 13th century Manuscript Illumination, though he does extend the term to include the school of painting found in Persia³ prior to the Mongol Invasion arguing that the same characteristics are to be found in the contemporary painting of Arab 'Iraq and Persian Iran.⁴

The value of the term "Arab"⁵ is that it frees us from calling painting in Muslim Spain, or Fatimid Egypt "Abbasid" or "Seljuk", so that we can refer to Fatimid or 'Abbasid Painting simply as branches of "Arab Painting", branches which may comprise one or more separate Schools.

1. ibid. p.12.

2. Cairo 1959 - in Arabic «التصوير الاسلامي في الصور الوسطى»

3. ibid p.125.

4. op.cit. p.123,124. "The Arab School of Iranian Painting".

5. Even this word has its defects as the Arab world had no political unity after the 9th Century, and a fair case could even now be made out for the proposition that the

Arab world is still not one complete cultural unit. However it is easier to criticise terms than to invent new ones which are satisfactory so it seems that until the terms can be standardized "Arab" is the best we are likely to get.

Thus the terminology of the following thesis is as follows - The "Baghdad School" refers only to the painting which is to be found in manuscripts executed in or around the city of Baghdad¹ itself, in particular the 3 copies of the "Maqamat" (which will henceforth be called the - Schefer - Leningrad - and Istanbul copies), which we have just mentioned.

The 3 manuscripts from Mesopotamia have simply been termed "Mesopotamian" as their exact location is unknown². Where the word 'Abbasid' has been used it should be taken to mean the painting of Mesopotamia and 'Iraq - including the Baghdad School, areas which were to some extent under more than the nominal suzerainty of the 'Abbasid Khalif, and within the influence of the artists of Baghdad.

The position of one of the "Mesopotamian" manuscripts is somewhat complex and deserves a comment. This is the British Museum copy - OR. 1200. This manuscript is one of the few signed and dated works from this early period having been completed in 1256 by one, 'Umar Al-Mubarak Al-Musili³. This work has attributed by Buchthal to a provincial Mesopotamian School, and this has been generally accepted. However Grabar has suggested that this manuscript is probably a provincial copy of a more elaborate "Maqamat" manuscript illustrated in Baghdad⁴.

1. These are all the manuscripts mentioned by Buchthal -

"Early Islamic Miniatures" Jour. of Walters Art Gallery. 1942 vol. V.

2. One of them, manuscript 6094 is now accepted as having been executed in Northern Syria. see BUCHTHAL - "Ars. Islamica" 1940 Vol. VII p. 132. Hasan Al-Basha proposes the city of Amid as the origin of this manuscript see "Al-MAJELLA" No. 17. "Abu Zaid As-Suruji in Art and Literature" p. (45.)

3. The colophon reads thus -

... الكواعس وذكر الربيع في الفاظ هذه المقامات الحسين بن عبد الفقير الى رحمة
الله تعالى عمر المبارك الموصلي وكان الفراع... الحمد... اذس عشر ذي الحجة
من سنة... ففائة والحمد لله وامله... الله على سيدنا محمد ووالله الكاذبين

"(?) and mention of the curious expressions in these 50 Maqamahs the slave needy of God Most High's mercy 'Umar Al-Mubarak Al-Musili. + The completion (of the work) was on (Sunday) the 16th of Thu'l-Hija in the year 6(?) A.H. 12 (?) A.D. Thanks to God Himself and the (mercy?) of God on our Lord Muhammad and his chaste family...". There is also another colophon written in smaller letters which reads -

... وولى الخليفة في الدنيا والآخرة وخرج منها في شهر...
الحمد لله رب العالمين وصلواته على سيدنا محمد ووالله الكاذبين

... Bestows bounties in This World and The Next. It was completed in the (months ?) the year 653. A.H. 1256 A.D. Thanks to God, Lord of the Two Worlds, and His praises on our Lord Muhammad and his chaste family".

4. GRABAR "A Newly Discovered Illustrated Manuscript of the Maqamat". ARS ORIENTALIS. Vol. 1963. p. 104.

This suggestion by Grabar would appear to be highly likely. Manuscript OR. 1200 possess features which can only be explained if considered in relation to the existing copies of the "Maqamat" from Baghdad. In the first place the system used for the grouping of the illustrations is exactly the same as that in the Leningrad and Schefer copies, (see page 113). Secondly several of its illustrations are presented in a way that is paralleled only in the Baghdad copies of the "Maqamat" (see page 133). Moreover certain scenes in the British Museum copy use an iconographic pattern which have so far been observed in only the Baghdad "Maqamat" manuscripts.

It was therefore felt justifiable to refer to this manuscript when discussing the Baghdad copies of the "Maqamat", particularly as it appears that the British Museum manuscript is not only a copy of a Baghdad work, but a copy of one painted before the earliest existing Baghdad "Maqamat" i.e. the Leningrad manuscript 1225-35.¹

* * *

1. ETTINGHAUSEN op.cit.

The Schefer copy, - which is the subject of this thesis - is probably the best known manuscript in the history of Islamic Art, having been referred to in numerous books and articles between the beginning of the century and the present. The manuscript has a colophon which states that the scribe and illustrator were one and the same person, - a fact which as we shall see is of the utmost importance, and that the work was completed on the Saturday the Sixth of Ramaḍān 634 A.H.¹ This places it in a central position between the Leningrad manuscript and the copy in Istanbul, the latter having been painted in the time of the last Khalif - "al-Mustaṣim" 1242-58.

Of all the illustrated copies of the "Maqamat", none has been more highly praised than the Schefer copy, it has become the symbol of all that is considered good in early Arab and Islamic Painting.

Despite this there exists no thorough study of this manuscript and the miniatures which it contains ; no historian has attempted to analyse more than a handful of the illustrations, and in fact the miniatures themselves have never been completely published before now.

Regardless of the praise which has been heaped upon the Schefer manuscript there is no single work dealing solely with this copy, examining it in every detail.

1. The colophon which - as far as is known - has not been published in full before reads :-

"وخرتني من نسخها العبد الفقير الى رحمة الله وعفوه يحيى"

بن محمود بن يحيى بن ابن الحسن بن كوريبها الوا اللم
ك٤٤٤ وصوره ، ان من هنا يوم السبت ادر شهر
رمضان سنة اربع وثلاثين وثمانمئة حاملا لله تعالى "

"The Slave, needy for God's mercy, pardon and forgiveness, Yahya bin Mahmūd bin Yahya bin Abū'l-Hasan bin Kūrīha Al-Wāsiti has completed the transcription (by means of) his script and illustrations. He finished it on Saturday, 6th of the month of Ramaḍān in the year 634 A.H. 1237 A.D., thanking God Most High".

This thesis began as an attempt to rectify this, to examine the miniatures in as much detail as possible and to present the findings as the first real study of the manuscript. The work was originally intended to consist of three parts : (1) The system of illustration followed in the manuscript. (2) Origin and style of the miniatures. (3) The miniatures as social documents. However a preliminary study revealed that such an attempt would be virtually impossible as the scope of each part was so vast as to demand a separate thesis if it were to be covered adequately.

Therefore only one of the three parts could be investigated thoroughly and of these the first was selected. Several factors have determined this choice. Firstly, (2) - "The Origin and Style" - has been examined to some extent before, historians tending to concentrate their efforts on the problems of origin and to a lesser extent style. Secondly, (3) - "The Miniatures as Social Documents" - this question is being investigated at present by at least two other people, and there was no desire to duplicate their work.¹

Thirdly, it was felt that a researcher possessing a knowledge of Islamic painting together with a knowledge of Arabic was in the position to undertake some original work, on the system of Illustration in the Schefer

1. By Professor O.GRABAR of Michigan University and a Miss. ROSENTHAL of Paris.

manuscript, work which would be of importance for the study of "Maqamat" illustration as a whole and at the same time would be sufficiently "basic" enough to be of assistance to future students of Islamic painting investigating other aspects of the Schefer manuscript.

Finally it was believed that any successful study of manuscript illustration, if it is to be objective, should be preceded by an examination of the system of illustration followed in the manuscript containing the illuminations.

Thus in investigating (1) it appeared that something positive could be contributed to the history of Islamic Book Illustration, and at the same time several erroneous conclusions based on an incomplete study of the Maqamat could be pointed out and corrected.

The system of illustration means the methods followed by the scribe or copyist in allocating the miniatures to each of the 50 Maqamahs.

For the researcher an understanding of these methods involves determining the following problems :- Is there any overall plan behind the allocation and distribution of the miniatures ? If so what is the basis of this plan - do formal or textual reasons decide the position of a miniature ? Is there any unity between the placings of miniatures in the Baghdad manuscripts as a whole ?

An examination of the Baghdad manuscripts reveals that there are two quite definite methods of placing the

miniatures and that these methods are determined according to the character of the two major categories of plot found in the "Maqamat".

These methods are well established in the earlier Baghdad copies and appear to have been in existence since the "Maqamat" was first illustrated in Baghdad.

However the methods are in constant process of development, a development which entails the gradual breakdown of the established system of illustration. At the same time a whole series of interesting variations has been derived from the two basic methods of placing.

The Schefer copy exhibits by far the most complex derivations, making it the most interesting copy for the student of manuscript illustration, and important not only for the history of Islamic Book Illustration but for the study of Medieval Manuscript Illumination as a whole.

This thesis is confined as far as possible to a study of the methods of illustration used in the Schefer copy of the "Maqamat" and the peculiarities of the derivations in that work. However to understand that manuscript fully it has been necessary to refer to, and compare the Schefer manuscript with, the other copies of the "Maqamat" illustrated in the Baghdad area - plus the copy in the British Museum. So far as is known this is the first time the Leningrad, Istanbul, and British

Museum manuscripts have been seriously examined, and certainly the first time that all the miniatures in these manuscripts together with those in the Schefer copy have appeared in one work.

The value of such a work as this is that it can provide basic information for the art historian who wishes to examine the miniatures from a purely pictorial view point, information which could save a tedious examination of the text in an effort to locate and classify the position of every illustration. An understanding of the methods of distribution used by the scribe and copyist will undoubtedly give the historian a much firmer basis on which to work. In fact this study is being treated by the author as a necessary prelude to an examination of the origins, iconography and style of "Maqamat" illustration in the Baghdad School, which it is hoped to undertake at a later date.

In addition to the above a knowledge of the mechanics of book illustration in several manuscripts from the same geographical area, - possibly from the same atelier in some cases - can shed light on the organisation of manuscript illumination in the early Islamic world - something which is almost completely unknown at present.

Moreover, as the study of Islamic art is one of the youngest branches of both Art History and the study of Islamic Culture an examination of any aspect of Islamic

Painting can only be beneficial and rewarding to the subject as a whole.

The inspiration of this thesis is of course K. Weitzman's "Illustrations in Roll and Codex".¹ Though Weitzman's aims were different from those of this study - he was attempting to reconstruct Classical Book Illustration, whereas here we are attempting a definitive analysis of the methods used in one illustrated Islamic manuscript - nevertheless his approach to the subject of Book Illustration has been the guide and his terminology has been used wherever appropriate. The English translations of the Maqamat by Chenery and Steingass have been used, throughout while the Arabic versions employed have been De Sacy's and the Dar-Sadir, Dar-Beirut, editions.

I would like to thank my supervisor Mr. P.S. Rawson, for his help and guidance over the past 18 months.

I would further extend my thanks to the photographic staff of the Gulbenkian Museum, Durham University, to Professor O. Grabar of Michigan University and Mr. I. Hamid of Edinburgh for their kind help in supplying me with photographs.

CHAPTER ONE.
DESCRIPTION OF BAGHDAD
AND
MESOPOTAMIAN MAQAMAT MANUSCRIPTS.

The Schefer Hariri consists of 84 leaves (168 sides) 99 of which are illustrated. The manuscript does not however possess 99 separate illustrations, for several of these illustrated leaves are actually the result of one composition extending over two opposite leaves. This results in 79 complete compositions

The precise data is as follows:- there are 2 frontispieces, 2 double full-page miniatures and 8 miniatures which extend over two pages. As far as can be seen the work is complete, with no pages having been removed. All of the original miniatures are present though several have been overpainted. Two Maqamahs (assemblies) the 27th and 35th are unillustrated, though this seems to be intentional. The manuscript is written in a large clear hand with all vowel marks indicated like the script itself, in black ink. Many miniatures are framed on the right and left by lines of text which extend downwards in a zig-zag. These lines which are written in red ink, are in fact a commentary on the more difficult words and expressions. Apart from this the miniatures are free of any decorative border. This is with the exception of the frontispieces which have elaborate frames both decorative and geometric.

The copy in Leningrad, which is earlier than the Schefer posses 98 separate compositions. Unfortunately this manuscript has lost many leaves, and as a result 8 Maqamahs are unillustrated. These are the following :- Maqamahs 1, 24, 28, 36, 40, 45, 48, 49. In addition to that certain other maqamahs appear to have illustrations missing, these are notably Magamahs 20, 20, 21, 39, though of course there may be others.

Thus, in its original state the manuscript would have possessed between 115 and 125 illustrations, probably in addition to frontispieces.

The Istanbul manuscript has only half that number, though 4 maqamahs are unillustrated or missing. These are Maqamahs 1, 2, 3, 7 and as the manuscript possesses 50 miniatures in its present state, it no doubt contained around 60 when completed.

The British Museum copy has 81 miniatures, however, 3 of these are double-page compositions. In addition the British Museum manuscript has two illustrated commentaries, one after the "40th Maqamah" and the other after the "47th Maqamah". Both are headed "An Explanation of the Maxims contained in this Maqamah"¹.

1. "تفسير ما تفرغ منه لقلبات من اشغال"

The first contains two illustrations tols. 133V, 134 P. and the second one, fol. 166V. This makes a total of 75 separate compositions. However the manuscript has suffered some damage and as a result Maqamahs 18, 19, 21 and 22 are missing ; had these maqamahs been complete the final total would have been around 80 miniatures.

The "St. Waast" Maqamat displays 78 miniatures ; this however is due to the copy having a large number of pages missing. The remaining pages are hopelessly mixed, having been rebound in a confused order.²

The final copy manuscript arabe 6094 Bibliorheque Nationale has 45 miniatures, though in its original state probably possessed slightly more as several pages are missing. 8 maqamahs appear to be unillustrated, while 2 have spaces provided for miniatures, though these remain empty.

There appears to be two types of manuscript, one which has the majority of maqamahs illuminated by one miniature - Istanbul copy and manuscript arabe 6094, and a more fully illustrated copy which contains between 80-120 miniatures.

2. This confusion of the pages is disastrous for before one can even attempt to examine the illustrations in this manuscript every one must be placed in the correct maqamah.

In the Schefer manuscript each maqamah may contain up to 4 independent compositions. The following table gives the numbers of miniatures per maqamah.

	1 Miniature per Maqamah.	2.	3.	4.
Maqamah Number	1	3	2	18
" "	6	8	4	
" "	7 D.P.	10	5	
" "	9	12 D.P.	16	
" "	11	15	39 D.P.	
	13	19		
	14 D.P.	20 D.P.		
	17	23 D.P.		
	21 D.P.	25 D.P.		
	22	26		
	24	28		
	30 D.P.	29		
	31 D.P.	34		
	32 D.P.	38		
	33	40		
	36	41		
	37	42		
	45	43		
	48	44 D.P.		
		46		
		47 D.P.		
		49		
		50		

NOTE. D.P. means that one of the miniatures has a composition extending over two pages.

(5)

The Leningrad copy has its illustrations grouped in a similar manner, apart from the maqamahs which are incomplete there are :-

2	maqamahs	with	1	miniature
19	"	"	2	miniatures
7	"	"	3	"
4	"	"	4	"
2	"	"	5	"

The miniatures in the British Museum copy are distributed as follows :-

21	maqamahs	with	1	miniature
17	"	"	2	miniatures (including two with double-page compositions)
6	"	"	3	"
1	"	"	5	"

The Istanbul copy employs one miniature in almost every maqamah, however, 6 have 2 miniatures and there is one with 3.

CHAPTER TWO.

NATURE AND CHARACTER OF THE PLOTS OF THE
50 MAQAMAHS CONTAINED IN THE WORK.

Hariri's masterpiece is not noted for brilliant descriptions of the people and places mentioned in its pages, nor for an ability to conjure up vast panoramas before the reader ; still less can it be considered as a work overflowing with action and animation, deserving the attention of the most accomplished manuscript illuminators of the age. Even less could it be imagined that these illuminators could find enough within its pages to create a vast cycle of illustrations running into scores of miniatures within 100 years of the authors death in 1122.

On the contrary the "Maqamat" throughout gives the feeling of being static ; the setting of each assembly is generally confined to one or two spots and the duration of the action rarely exceeds a relatively brief period of time - usually the actual time taken to read through or recite the particular assembly, for one is not often asked to visualize the passage of days or months between the beginning and closing lines.

What is important in the work is not whether the scene is Alexandria or Merv, Basrah or the Maghrib, but what is actually said on those occasions ; not so much whether it is Abu Zaid, his wife, son or Harith who speaks, what is important is what they say - diction in

the "Maqamat" is all³.

Supreme power over language, facility of expression, a fondness for the far fetched image and metaphorical phraseology, distinguish the style of the "Maqamat". It is in short "an exploration and exposition of the niceties of the Arab language and history"³.

The first assembly composed by Hariri was the 48th, - OF THE HARĀM - and is based on fact¹. As this assembly became the prototype of the other 49² it is worth relating in some detail.

Abu Zaid As-Suruji, in his wanderings arrives at Basrah and one evening enters the mosque to ask a bounty of the congregation. After prayers a man stands forth and makes a pious address to the congregation, who in their turn ask the reason for his zeal. He states that he has broken a vow never to drink again and has sunk into debauchery. He concludes by asking if the worshippers know any due atonement. Here Abu Zaid stands forth and declares that there is an effectual method of removing his guilt. He continues, that he was once a wealthy man residen in Suruj, but his native city was captured and sacked by "the Greeks" -

1. CHENERY "The Assemblies of Hariri "London.1867 p.19

2. ibid p.23

3. ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~.

4. ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~.

here mistaken for the Crusaders, - his daughter was taken prisoner and still remains a captive, as he does not possess the where-withal to ransom her. If the stranger would pity him and relieve him of his distress, he would certainly find pardon from God - all this of course is told at great length -. The stranger bestows a liberal supply of alms on the old man, and promises him yet more. Harith compliments Abu Zaid on his ability to open mens purses ; and the old rogue laughs and says that it was merely a trick to gain money.

Every other maqamah is but a variation on this theme,¹ although the author abandoned the idea of having Abu Zaid as the narrator, substituting Al-Harith bin Hammam (Harith) in his place.² The majority of the plots, can be broken down into 3 sections

(1) THE PROLOGUE - Normally by Harith who mentions the scene of the assembly and the characters involved.

1. *ibid.* p.23.

2. Actually the "48th Maq" is related by Harith but this is done rather awkwardly with Harith talking in the words of Abu Zaid. "Harith related in the words of Abu Zaid". STEINGASS : THE ASSEMBLIES OF ALHARIRI LONDON 1898 p. 163. and Bierut 1958.p.396 "مقالات الحريري"

(2) ABU ZAID'S ORATION - Abu Zaid appears, sometimes accompanied by his wives or son, followed by a demonstration of his over-awing eloquence designed to extract a bounty from his listeners.

(3) ABU ZAID'S DEPARTURE - this is often combined with a confrontation scene between Abu Zaid and Harith.

It is clear that the central portion is the significant one, the parts related by Harith being no more than a frame on which to hang the "meat" of the maqamah - though this is not to decry their literary merit.¹ At the same time it is understood that both the narrator (rāwī) and the orator are put forward only as vehicles of the author's own eloquence, poetical power and learning.² The pictorial possibilities of such a plot are generally considered meagre.³ In many, though not every case this is true. Settings are passed over in the most general way, actions are usually mere statements of fact, and descriptions of characters are decidedly limited. In addition many of the subjects dealt with by the speakers in the various maqamahs are unillustratable e.g. poems designed to elucidate the difficulties of spelling words containing the letter "z" (Maqamah 46).

1. PRESTON - Introduction.

2. CHENERY p. 20

3. ETTINGHAUSEN "Arab Painting" Skira 1961 p.104.

Thus when we wish to find the subject of the miniatures in any maqamah it is to the brief introductory remarks of Harith and the occasional descriptive passage between the dialogues which the illustrator can utilize are often brief, the areas of text which the resulting miniatures illuminate are often very lengthy ; one miniature may accompany three or four pages of dialogue.

As a result it is necessary to analyse the plots of the various assemblies not on the basis of literary content but rather on the basis of the number of incidents and the areas of text in each maqamah available for, or capable of pictorial presentation.

Many maqamahs, almost half the total number have a plot which falls into two principle parts, this is the :-

1. The "standard-dual" plot.

The assemblies with a standard-dual plot, are those with one major and one minor part, the first is A. Zaid's oration, with its preceding introduction by Harith, and including the mention of A. Zaid's first arrival or appearance on the scene. The second is the confrontation between Harith and A. Zaid, and consists of the last part of the maqamah, usually preceded by a short descriptive passage of text. The first is always

the most impressive, the second varies in length, frequently being no more than a few lines relating the conversation between the two friends. Sometimes, however, this confrontation is expanded to take up half the assembly, for example in the 7th and 28th Maqamahs.

To avoid later confusion it is best to point out that there are two slight variations of the standard-dual Maqamah, identical in content and duality but differing in environment and Harith's relation to it.

(a) Abu Zaid appears before, or is present among, a gathering of persons. They become his sympathetic listeners, and the subsequent victims of his persuasive tongue, among the group is Harith who is a physical, and occasionally a verbal participant in the action. The gathering may be a group of scholars (Maqamah 3) a mosque congregation (Maqamah 28) or a crowd of bedouin (Maqamah 32).

(b) Abu Zaid is the plaintiff or accused before a judge (Qāḍī) or governor (Wālī). These he tricks into bestowing a bounty or a liberal award for damages. (Maqamah 37). Here Harith is present only as a spectator and takes little or no part - except as a member of the court audience.

Typical of the standard-dual maqamah is the

"3rd Maqamah - OF DINYĀR". Harith is seated in a circle of scholars when a lame man approaches and recites a poem indicating his past affluence and present penury Harith perceives his genius and offers him a dinar if he composes a poem praising it. He does so and Harith offers another if he will deride it. He again complies, and takes his leave. Harith, however, recognizes him to be Abu Zaid and rebukes him, the old ruffian only laughs and defends himself in some new verses. The essential feature of this type of maqamah, in so far as it concerns our analysis is that there is a distinct change of scene and character from one part to another, yet both contain, the most important personality - Abu Zaid.

There are 19 standard-dual plot maqamahs :- 1, 3, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 20, 21, 25, 28, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 41. In addition to these are two other maqamahs which should be included with them - the 2nd and the 40th maqamahs. In these two maqamahs the standard-dual plot has simply been reversed so that the confrontation comes first, there is no other change, however, and this justifies their inclusion in the above group under the term of reversed dual plot maqamahs.

2. The "continuous dialogue".

This group is a small one consisting of only five maqamahs. These, however, are a quite distinct group from the preceding one and also from the third group which will shortly be discussed.

The basic principle behind the plots in this group, as in so many others is one with which we are already familiar :- Abu Zaid's enrichment at the expense of a group of eager listeners. The 24th, 36th and 42nd maqamahs are based on this frequently recurring theme, and at first sight appear to be identical to the previous group of assemblies.

Closer examination shows that they differ from the "standard-dual" maqamahs in so far as the "continuous dialogue" assemblies do not exhibit a confrontation sequence on the attempt of Abu Zaid to misappropriate the money of his enthralled audience ; the confrontation sequel between the two friends of course being an essential part of the "standard dual" maqamah. This being absent, the 24th, 36th and 42nd maqamahs consist almost entirely of dialogue from start to finish. Some of them do contain slight references to physical actions, though these are not essential to the understanding of the plot.

The "24th Maqamah - OF RABĪĀ" tells how an old man interrupts a gathering in a garden which is situated in an area of Baghdad known as ar-Rabīā'. The people present are engrossed in a discussion engendered by a verse of poetry which has just been sung by a musician who has accompanied them to the garden. The old man gives his opinion, but this is not readily accepted by the surrounding people. To reduce them to submission he proposes a series of enigmas involving abstruse and technical points of grammar. No one can solve them, and the old man refuses to do so until each one present has bestowed a gift upon him. He then slips away and Harith realises that this eloquent stranger was in fact Abu Zaid.

The 36th and 42nd maqamahs are in a similar vein, telling how an old man proposes a series of complex riddles to a crowd among whom is Harith. He solves them, - for a price, and then departs, leaving Harith aware that once again he has been duped by his friend Abu Zaid. In neither case is he able to approach the old man who disappears before Harith realises who he is.

The "46th maqamah - OF ḤALEB" is slightly different to the above three assemblies. It contains a series of nine poems recited by a group of children at the command of their teacher, for the sake of Harith who has approached the class hoping to be amused at their blunders. The teacher is of course Abu Zaid. Unlike the three previous maqamahs here the old man reveals his identity to Harith. However this still differs from the "standard-dual" maqamah as an essential prerequisite of the "standard dual" confrontation is that it be accompanied by a change in scene and character, whereas here the scene of the action remains constant throughout, i.e. the "ḥalqah" (teaching circle) of Abu Zaid.

The last assembly in this group is the "49th Maqamah - OF SĀSĀN". This consists simply of speech delivered by a now ailing Abu Zaid to his son in praise of a life of mendicancy.

Despite the slight differences present in each of the 5 plots, the overriding characteristic of all these assemblies is a constancy of characters and permanence of location.

3. The "compound" or "extended" plot.

The "extended plot" maqamahs are more complex than the previous groups, though this complexity varies among the

20 or so assemblies which make up the group. Many of these maqamahs cannot be simply divided into two or three areas of dialogue capable of pictorial representation, for scene and characters change frequently and often the reader may be referred back to a time past.

These maqamahs, for the most part are the most interesting and amusing from the western literary point of view, and also the most fruitful for the illustrator. Unlike the "standard dual" maqamahs, several of the "extended maqamahs" relate a number of lively happenings and give some quite vivid descriptions of people, incidents and places, clearly allowing the illustrator more scope than do the other groups. The "39th Maqamah" for instance contains a journey by ship across the Arabian Sea, a storm at sea, a visit to an exotic isle and an encounter with the local Shah in his mansion. The "29th Maqamah" relates an elaborate robbery planned by Abu Zaid and executed with the unwitting collaboration of Harith.

Altogether there are 23 maqamahs of this type, however for the purpose of analysis they may be divided into three groups.

(i) Maqamahs 5, 15, 16, 18, 26, 43. This section consists of those maqamahs which contain one or more subplots. These subplots consist actually of an anecdote,

or a series of anecdotes related - with one exception - by Abu Zaid, and are often of a most elaborate nature. Naturally these subplots transgress the chronological boundaries of the maqamahs in which they appear, and refer back to a time in the past. Moreover they nearly all contain long dialogues, supposed to have taken place between Abu Zaid and someone else. This is in fact a double narration - as in the 48th Maqamah, - Harith relates what Abu Zaid has in turn related to him in the course of their meeting, or which was related by the old man to a group among whom was Harith.

The 5th, 15th, 18th and 43rd Maqamahs are similar, in that all the anecdotes related are fabrications, told either to impress Harith - 15, 43 -, or as a means to gain sympathy and a liberal recompense - 518 -. The 26th Maqamah contains an anecdote which is a true one and is told to Marith by Abu Zaid by way of an explanation of the old man's sudden affluence. The 16th Maqamah contains an anecdote which is different from the above examples, being in fact the report of a servant who has accompanied Abu Zaid to his home, carrying a heavily filled wallet ; the old man has promised to return to Harith and his companions after the servant has helped him to carry home the gifts which Harith's friends have bestowed on him. The old trickster however prefers to make off, after relating some moral verses to the servant and bidding him

repeat them before the company. This the servant does and these verses, along with the report given by the servant, of the journey to Abu Zaid's dwelling forms the last part of the 16th Maqamah.

(ii) Maqamahs 29, 34, 39, 47, 50.

The 2nd section is made up maqamahs which are either more than usually elaborate adventures, or extremely cunning tricks played by Abu Zaid to fill his pockets at the expense of others.

The 29th and 39th Maqamahs have already been referred to. The 34th and 47th, comprise schemes thought up by Abu Zaid in which he and his son, by means of clever disguises defraud an unsuspecting person, or group of persons. In one - the 34th - Abu Zaid sells his son as a slave to Harith. Naturally the youth claims his freedom and Harith is compelled to take him before the gadi who tells Harith that he has been deceived by Abu Zaid and has no choice but to set the boy free. Harith leaves the court enraged, and later, on meeting the old man in the country - side attempts to ignore him. Abu Zaid however wins him over by pleading his poverty to the ever - charitable Harith.

In the 47th Maqamah. Abu Zaid disguised as a cupper becomes involved in an argument with his son who is masquerading as one of noble birth having fallen on hard times. The watching crowd take pity on the two and

shower them with money.

The 50th Maqamah, the last in the book, deals with Abu Zaid's repentance, and withdrawal from the world. Harith pursues him, and finally comes upon him living the life of an aeseptic in a mosque of Suruj, his native city.

(iii) The remaining assemblies make up the final group, - maqamahs 4, 8, 9, 10, 19, 22, 23, 30, 31, 44, 45. These are rather harder to classify, even though the majority are based on the, by now familiar prototype : Abu Zaid before the official, or in conversation with a gathering of persons.

Some of these consist of two separate dialogues or orations with a slight interlude between them - the 8th and 31st Maqamahs, and may be termed "divided dialogue" maqamahs. In others the plot seems to fall into three large sections, each being a dialogue, an oration or a poem, and might be called the "tripartite" maqamahs, - the 4th, 10th, 23rd and 44th. The remaining six have nothing in common so it is not possible to fit them into an independent group or subsection ; they are simply variations in greater or lesser degrees of the "standard dual" prototype. In addition any of the eleven maqamahs may possess a number of incidents - meetings between the two friends, a journey on board ship, the preparation of an elaborate meal, - or scene

and character changes which could lend themselves to illustration in a variety of ways.

The Miniatures.

It is evident that the miniatures employed in the manuscript are closely linked to the text. However their dependence on the text is regulated by the type of maqamah in which the illustrations appear ; in some cases being dependant on a dialogue, in others being linked to the episodes and occurrences which are mentioned in the course of the plot. Before discussing the precise nature of the system of illustration used in the Schefer copy of the work, and indeed in all of the Baghdad manuscripts it is necessary to examine more fully the types of miniature which are employed in the illumination of the Maqamat.

There are several types of miniature in the maqamat, but the most important by far, are the "dialogue" and "narrative" miniatures.

The "dialogue" miniatures are those illustrations which are used to illustrate a dialogue between two or more persons. These actually depict the dialogue in progress, and show the participants in the conversation, speaking to one another. These miniatures never refer to any specific time in the conversation between the participants, rather it can be assumed that they are meant to accompany the whole of the dialogue which they

illustrate. In the Leningrad version of the maqamat many of the "dialogue" miniatures appear at the beginning of the dialogues and one normally finds above or below the scene the words, wa qultu lahu "I said to him ... ", wa qāla lī "He said to me ...", etc.,¹ followed by the words of the conversation implying by their position that the reader is meant to take the miniatures as referring to the following dialogue. However the very nature of these miniatures - the generality of their conception - makes it difficult for them to be taken as anything but a pictorial conception of a conversation, particularly as both figures are frequently shown gesticulating, implying their involvement in the ensuing confabulation.² As the "Maqamat" abound with dialogues between various groups the dialogue miniature is employed with an even - recurring frequency, particularly in the Schefer manuscript where practically every illustration of this type.

The "narrative" miniatures, as the term implies are the miniature which follow the course of the plot by depicting an event which can be localised in one specific line. The true narrative illustration shows

1. In the 3rd maq. fol. 20R.

2. In the Schefer copy practically every dialogue miniature appears in the middle of conversation it purports to illustrate.

an action which is normally completed in a few moments, such as we find in the 18th Maqamah where Abu Zaid arises from a group and attempts to leave, as a result of a crystal dish being brought into their presence. Or in the 43rd Maqamah where Harith discovers Abu Zaid asleep and sits down at his head to await his awakening. This "narrative" illustration is similar to the modern strip cartoon where an action is "frozen" into a number of consecutive illustrations. According to Wietzman a comparable method was found in Classical manuscript illumination where miniatures followed the progress of the text step by step, and lead up to the most dramatic moment.¹ In the Maqamat however only the dramatic moment itself is shown, this no doubt due to the paucity of physical activity found in the text. However it seems most probable that the "narrative miniature" can be traced back to pre-muslim, or contemporary non-Muslim manuscript illustration.

Though the narrative miniature occurs on a large scale in (13th copies of the maqamat, there are very few examples of it in the Schefer version, and these appear almost exclusively in the extended plot maqamahs.

1. WEITZMAN "Roll and Codex" p.22 and WEITZMAN "Ancient Book Illumination" Harvard 1959. p.133.

It seems that in the more fully illustrated copies, especially those from Baghdad the amount and nature of the miniatures used to illustrate any particular maqamah depends on the group into which that maqamah falls, whether "standard dual", "continuous dialogue" or "extended plot". It appears that there is quite a high degree of uniformity between the miniatures in those groups among different manuscripts, both in the number of illustrations used and whether they are "narrative" or "dialogue" in nature.

In the "Standard dual" and "continuous dialogue" groups we find that the "dialogue" miniature predominates. The particular nature of these two types of plot with their large sections of dramatised rhetoric and minimum of physical activity makes the "dialogue miniature" a perfectly suitable vehicle of illustration.

In the "extended plot" maqamahs the stretches of speech and verbal communion, which facilitate the introduction of a "dialogue miniature", are interspaced with moments of animation where the adoption of a "narrative miniature" becomes necessary.

Having previously divided the 50 maqamahs into 3 groups on a basis of the moments and areas in their respective texts which are capable of illustration, and having now outlined the main types of miniature employed in the Maqamat, it is possible to examine the relation

(24)

between miniatures and text more closely.

CHAPTER THREE.
THE SYSTEM OF ILLUSTRATION EMPLOYED
IN THE MAQAMAT MANUSCRIPTS WITH PARTICULAR
REFERENCE TO THE SCHEFER COPY
MANUSCRIPT ARABE 5847 BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.

The system of illustration by which is meant the number of miniatures allocated to any one maqamah, their subject, and position in the text, as it exists in the Schefer copy of the "Maqamat" is complex in the extreme.

The systems, or methods of allocation and distribution, which can be discerned among the Baghdad manuscripts, are three in number. Each corresponds to one of the three categories of plot, - "standard dual" "extended plot" "continuous dialogue".

However in all the existing Baghdad manuscripts and in particular the Schefer copy, these systems have been acted upon by various forces, resulting in serious modifications taking place which in some cases have caused large scale distortion of the three systems.

(a) The "Classic" System.

The number of illustrations per maqamah is closely related to the number of illustratable dialogues and/or incidents contained in the text of each maqamah.

In the "standard dual" maqamahs two basic dialogues predominate, one dealing with either Abu Zaid's address to a sympathetic audience, or in the court of an official, the other consisting of the confrontation between the two friends. Thus in the "standard dual" maqamahs the number of miniatures per maqamah tends to

be identical with the number of dialogues.

In their earlier and purer state, it would appear that the majority of "standard dual" maqamahs were illustrated by means of two miniatures.¹ However in none of the surviving copies are more than half of the "standard dual" maqamahs so illustrated.

The miniatures also tend to be "dialogue miniatures" appearing either in the textual area of the dialogue to which they relate, or near the beginning of it. In the earlier Baghdad manuscripts almost every one of these miniatures is a "column illustration" i.e. occupying the width of a column of text.

The system employed in these maqamahs is the most straight forward and in this work has been designated the "classic" system.

In the Schefer copy the purest form of the "classic system" exists in only one miniature.

The "28th Maqamah-OF SAMARQANDĀ" tells how Harith sees Abu Zaid in the mosque of Samarqandā delivering the Friday khutbah, or sermon. After the conclusion of prayers the two adjourn to Abu Zaid's lodgings, where Harith relaxes his normal sobriety and joins the old man in a drinking bout.

In the Schefer manuscript this maqamah is illustrated by two scenes, the first (fol.84V)

FIG.
148

1. See page. 103

showing Abu Zaid disguised as a preacher delivering the sermon from the minbar of a mosque. The second (fol. 86r) shows the two companions seated talking on a carpet, with an assortment of flasks and cups between them.

Apart from the "28th maqamah" ; the 12th, 20th and 25th are illustrated in what is virtually the "classic" manner differing from the 28th maqamah only in that one of the miniatures in each maqamah is extended over two facing pages.

Before leaving the "standard dual" Maqamahs one word of qualification is necessary. It appears that the miniature which illustrates the first part of these maqamahs may be one of two types. It may be either a "dialogue" miniature depicting Abu Zaid in conversation with his audience, or alternatively it may show the approach of Abu Zaid to the gathering. This latter type of miniature is occasionally used in the Schefer copy, though the dialogue miniature appears much more frequently. However the two are never used together, always one or the other is employed. This shows clearly that the two were not successive illustrations, but alternatives, and does not change the essential point that two miniatures were normally used to illuminate the "standard dual" maqamahs.

(B) The Comprehensive single miniature.

The continuous dialogue maqamahs, as we have seen, are characterised by a unity of location and character throughout.

The nature of their plots makes it possible for these miniatures to be adequately illustrated by two, or more usually, one miniature. In certain maqamahs Abu Zaid appears on the scene in much the same way as he does in the "standard dual" maqamahs ; in the 24th and 36th Maqamahs he arrives after Harith's introductory preamble, and after the latter has taken his seat in the circle.

In these 2 maqamahs one would expect the existence of a minor narrative miniature showing this incident. The remaining parts of these maqamahs as well as the entire texts of the 42nd, 46th, 49th Maqamahs can be, and in fact are illustrated by means of one comprehensive illustration.

The 24th and 36th Maqamahs in the Schefer manuscript are each illustrated with one miniature, as they are in every other copy. The subject of the 24th - fol.69v is not clear, but most likely depicts the arrival of Abu Zaid in the garden at Ar-Rabi'a¹, i.e. the narrative miniature. The "dialogue" scene is not represented, however one did exist as we can see in the Istanbul copy - (fol.82v) where Abu Zaid is shown

FIG.
142

FIG.
204

in conversation with the seated figures.

FIG.
161
FIG.
281

The "36th Maqamah" is illustrated in the Schefer manuscript by a dialogue miniature showing Abu Zaid in conversation with the crowd (fol.110v). A similar scene is present in the British Museum copy - fol.116R, and the St. Waast manuscript (fol.165R). Other copies of the "Maqamat" have the "36th Maqamah" illustrated by narrative miniatures showing Abu Zaid's arrival, in no case however are either the 36th or 24th Maqamahs illustrated by more than one miniature.

In the Schefer the remaining "continuous dialogue maqamahs", 42, 46, 49, are illustrated by two miniatures, however this is the result of special circumstances, where a dialogue miniature - the original illustration - has been duplicated¹. In practically every instance in other manuscripts the continuous dialogue maqamahs are illustrated with one miniature. Although in the Leningrad and British Museum manuscripts we find one case in each, of two miniatures to a maqamah, these are exceptional. It would seem that the tendency was to illustrate this group by one miniature, usually a dialogue miniature to one maqamah. Where the Schefer artist has deviated from this he done so for particular reasons which we will be discussing more fully at a later stage.

1. "Duplication" of miniatures is one of a series of processes which the miniatures of the Schefer have undergone. See page .

(C) The Narrative Cycle.

The system of distribution which we have termed the "classic" method is used in the "standard dual" maqamahs. In the "extended plot" maqamahs there exists another method.

The "extended plot" maqamah as we noted is of a far more complex nature than the "standard dual" maqamah, containing a much greater number of dialogues and dramatic episodes than the latter.

For the "extended plot" maqamah to be adequately illustrated it is necessary that each changing situation should be accompanied by a corresponding illustration. This technique may be termed the "narrative method", and the result of applying this method, - pictorialization of the greater part of the maqamah - the "narrative cycle".

The "narrative" method of distribution exists in its most perfect form in the earliest Baghdad manuscripts and in some of the Provincial copies from Mesopotamia. Specifically these manuscripts are the Leningrad and British Museum copies, and the "St. Waast" copy the latter coming from somewhere in Mesopotamia.

One of the best examples of the "narrative" method is to be found in the "St. Waast" manuscript. This occurs in the "29th Maqamah OF WĀSIT". The Maqamah tells of Harith's stay in the Khān (خان) -

caravanserei - of Wāsīt in 'Iraq. There he meets Abu Zaid and his son. The old man persuades him to ask for the hand of a merchant's daughter, also staying in the Khan. Harith complies and the marriage is arranged by the old man. All the parties concerned meet for the ceremony, in the course of which Abu Zaid succeeds in doping the guests with drugged sweetmeats. He and his son - to Harith's horror proceed to rob their victims. Harith, fearing he may be accused as an accomplice is forced to flee with the two rogues.

The "St. Waast" manuscript has this adventure illustrated from start to finish. The first miniature - fol.177 - shows Abu Zaid and Harith talking at the door of the Khan.¹ In the second the wedding feast appears with the old man consulting astrolobe and almanack - fol.178.² The third scene³ - fol.114 shows the merchants prostrate on the floor. The final miniature - fol.116 - depicts the two ruffians and their unwitting accomplice escaping from the Khan.⁴ This example of the "narrative" method is interesting because it would appear that this particular sequence of miniatures represents the full range of illustrations for this maqamah thus making up a "Complete Narrative Cycle".

In the two Baghdad manuscripts we find several near perfect examples of "narrative cycles". The "43rd

1. STEINGASS p.17.

2. ibid p.19

3. ibid p.21.

4. op.cit.p.24.

Maqamah - AL-BAKRIAH" is illustrated in the British Museum manuscript by five miniatures. This maqamah tells how Harith comes on a sleeping traveller whom he discovers to be Abu Zaid. The two set out together across the desert, and during the journey Abu Zaid relates two anecdotes. The first concerns the loss of a valuable ḥadramawtī camel and the second, how the old man once came across his rival in verbosity. The maqamah culminates in a discussion between Abu Zaid and a country youth in a village along the way. The old man eventually leaves Harith, but only after stealing his sword.

The illustrations in the British Museum copy are as follows :-

FIG.
291

first : fol.140R. Abu Zaid asleep by a pile of rocks with Harith seated at his head¹.

FIG.
292

second : fol.141R. the two friends together on their mounts².

FIG.
293

third : fol.142R Abu Zaid and a desert arab before the Shiekh who holds a sandal - or the "lost mount"

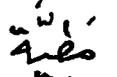
in Arabic both sandal and mount can have the same word maṭīyah ()³.

FIG.
294

Four : fol.143R. Abu Zaid in conversation with the eloquent youth⁴.

1. STEINGASS. p.121.

2. ibid p.122.

3. ibid p.124.

4. ibid p.126.

FIG.
295

Five: Abu Zaid and Harith on their camels talking to the country youth.¹

Examples of large scale "narrative" cycles are also found in the Leningrad manuscript. One of the longest is in the "15th Maqamah - THE LEGAL".

The story behind this maqamah is again an anecdote related by Abu Zaid to Harith. One night Harith welcomes a stranger to his home. He discovers the man to be his friend Abu Zaid. The latter relates an unfortunate experience which has only recently befallen him. He has solved a complicated legal puzzle for a stranger who, he believes has not given him just reward for his services.

The Leningrad manuscript illustrates this maqamah by a cycle of five miniatures.

FIG.
30

first : fol. ? Abu Zaid in Harith's abode where the latter is holding a lamp before him.²

FIG.
31

second : fol. 96V Abu Zaid in the market place before a stall on which are milk and dates part of the anecdote

FIG.
32

third : Abu Zaid meeting the man who shows him the legal problem which takes the form of a poem. fol.⁴

FIG.
33

fourth : Abu Zaid talking to the same man in his lodging. fol. ?⁵

1. STEINGASS p.130.
2. CHENERY p.187.
3. ibid p.188.
4. ibid p.189.
5. ibid p.191.

FIG.

34 fifth : This shows Abu Zaid partaking of dates and milk (" اللبأ والتمر ") to seal the matter.¹ fol.

Thus we may observe that the "narrative cycle" can be quite extensive containing up to - possibly more than - five illustrations. However up to now we have noted only one example of what seems to be a "Complete Narrative Cycle".

Illustration by means of the "Narrative Cycle" is not as straight forward as it first appears, for if we examine the same three maqamahs - 15, 29, 43, in all of the manuscripts referred to, several contradictory factors emerge.

FIGS. 265-7. The "29th Maqamah" which possessed 4 miniatures in the St. Waast possesses only 3 in the British Museum copy (these correspond to the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd scenes in the St. Waast manuscript) and only 2 in the Leningrad copy (corresponding to the 2nd and 3rd in the St. Waast manuscript).

FIGS.

55-6

On the other hand the "15th Maqamah" which has 5 illuminated scenes in the Leningrad manuscript has only 3 in the British Museum copy (the first two corresponding to the 1st and 3rd in the Leningrad version, but the 3rd showing a scene which does not appear in the Leningrad copy).

FIGS.

79-83

The "43rd Maqamah" has 5 miniatures in both the British Museum and Leningrad manuscripts however only

two of the illustrations in the Leningrad copy have counterparts in the British Museum manuscript.¹

Thus we have a number of miniatures which are common to both Baghdad and Mesopotamian manuscripts, others which are found in the Baghdad manuscripts but not in the Mesopotamian copies, and vice-versa. Yet others are found only in individual manuscripts. These conclusions are based on an examination of all the "extended plot" Maqamahs in every known copy from 'Abbasid times, the 3 maqamahs above have merely been selected as examples.

These facts may be more fully appreciated from an examination of the "34th Maqamah" in these same three copies.

This maqamah tells how Abu Zaid deceives Harith into buying his son as a slave. The son declares he is "freeborn" and Harith, by order of the judge is forced to restore to him his freedom.

The "St. Waast" manuscript possesses four illustrations. The first fol.78 shows Harith's slave lying dead.² The second represents Harith and the slave dealer (Abu Zaid) conducting the sale. fol.79.³ The third depicts the slave dealer kissing the slave goodbye. fol.82.⁴ The final scene depicts Abu Zaid and Harith meeting after Harith has been forced to release the slave. fol. 57V.⁵

1. The 15th and 43rd Maqamahs are unfortunately missing

from the St. Waast copy.

2. STEINGASS p.63.

3. ibid p.65.

4. ibid p.67.

5. ibid p.70.

FIG.
276

In the British Museum version there are only three miniatures, the first showing the sale of the slave fol.110R. The iconography of this scene is different to that of the St. Waast, for it shows Abu Zaid bringing the boy before Harith.

FIG.
277
FIG.
278

The second scene shows Harith taking the boy before the judge. fol.112R. The third represents the final meeting between Abu Zaid and Harith. fol.113R.

Thus in this manuscript the scene depicting the dead slave is absent, so is the farewell scene between Abu Zaid and the "slave". On the other hand the scene depicting Harith before the judge is actually present here. This latter is of crucial importance to the plot of the maqamah, and therefore the lack of its inclusion in the "St. Waast" manuscript is almost certainly due to loss of pages. Another point is that the sale of the slave differs in iconography from that found in the St. Waast.

In the Leningrad copy the "dead slave" scene is again absent, the first showing the sale of the boy to Harith. This is a most elaborate composition, depicting a large slave market. The interesting point about this composition is that it appears to combine in one miniature both the British Museum and "St. Waast" versions of the "sale". In the background top right appear two figures weighing out money - as in the

"St. Waast" version, while in the foreground stands Abu Zaid attempting to sell his son to the unsuspecting Harith, as in the British Museum version, fol.281V.

The second scene shows the old man bidding a tender farewell to his son - fol.285V.-, which is the same as the third miniature in the "St. Waast" manuscript. The next miniature shows Harith with the "slave" before the judge fol.286R, as in the British Museum version. The last scene in the Leningrad copy is identical to the last in the "St. Waast" representing Harith and the old man talking together. fol.288R.

To conclude, we find that of the 4 miniatures (probably five originally) in the "St. Waast" version of the "34th Maqamah" one is found only in this manuscript.¹ Two are found in practically the same form in manuscripts from Baghdad. The remaining miniature "the Slave Market" as it appears in the Leningrad copy seems to be a "conflation",² i.e. a composition created by the combining of two separate prototypes. However it is equally possible that the two scenes depicted in the St. Waast and British Museum copies were extracted from a more elaborate composition which is the forerunner of that used in the Leningrad

1. The first illustration "the dead slave".

2. See "conflation" p. 124.

and all subsequent copies from Baghdad - or rather all that we know.¹

The lack of sufficient "Maqamat" manuscripts from this early period makes it difficult to propose indisputable reasons for the existence of these features. However some suggestions can be advanced.

The reason for certain miniatures occurring in one copy only might mean that it only existed in that manuscript and was thus the invention or contribution of one illustrator. So the "dead slave" scene in "St. Waast" manuscript could be the invention of the illustrator - or one of the illustrators for there were at least three - of that copy.² On the other hand all manuscripts from the same centre as the "St. Waast" may have used that scene, as for example the "Slave Market" was common to several Baghdad manuscripts, being found in two of the surviving copies.

Certain miniatures, such as the "Farewell between Abu Zaid and the 'slave'" or the "Meeting between Harith and Abu Zaid" are found in both Baghdad and Mesopotamian manuscripts, implying that a proportion were universally used in Mesopotamia and 'Iraq.

It therefore seems acceptable to suggest that illustrations which are held in common go back to prototypes from the earliest illustrated copies of the

1. In the Schefer copy. FIG.159.

2. TALBOT RICE. "Earliest Illustrated Manuscripts in the Arab World". p.6. *lecture (unpublished)*

"Maqamat", executed in one centre probably Baghdad and gradually distributed throughout the Arab East. The illustrators in the various provincial centres into whose hand these manuscripts came, and who were changed by local patrons with the creation of copies may have felt free to modify the existing miniatures thus creating miniatures which were common to one centre or "school".¹ At the same time individual artists occasionally felt free to invent new compositions, and illuminate fresh sections of the text, and so we have the situation which has been described above.²

The problem is that the existing copies are so few that it is impossible to discover with any degree of certainty which category fits each miniature, thus making it difficult to define the extent or limitations of the original cycles. However for our purposes - a descriptive analysis of the Schefer miniatures - it is important only to note the possibility of more than one origin having existed for the miniatures in the "Extended plot" maqamahs in that work.

1. Baghdad is naturally included.
2. This of course raises a most important issue concerning the relative artistic freedom of Islamic painters. (see p. 7. *conclusion*)

THE POSITION IN THE SCHEFER MANUSCRIPT.(i) Distribution of Miniatures.

We have noted that it is possible to classify the "extended plot" maqamahs into three groups. p.

1. The "subplot" or "anecdote" maqamahs.

These maqamahs possess a varying number of miniatures in the Baghdad manuscripts. The important point is that the "anecdotes" are generally illustrated. This is despite the fact that these anecdotes are usually complete fabrications, which Abu Zaid admits in the "43rd Maqamah", where after a long tale Harith says "...I swear that this conversation was carried on 'twixt thee and thee (منك واليك).....".) To this the old man laughingly admits. In illustrating these "fabricated anecdotes" the artist does not differentiate between what is real and what is imaginary. Maqamahs 5, 15, 16, 18, 26, 43.

2. The elaborate "adventure" Maqamahs.

The number of illustrations differs from copy to copy, but there is generally a good deal of similarity among these miniatures, many of which are extremely detailed. Maqamahs 27, 29, 34, 39, 47, 50.

3. (a) the "divided dialogue" maqamahs.

In several cases these maqamahs have one miniature for each of the two dialogues. However nowhere in the

Baghdad copies are more than two miniatures used.
Maqamahs 8 31.

(b) "tripantite" maqamahs.

These occasionally possess three miniatures. The number of miniatures per maqamah varies greatly from copy to copy the Leningrad manuscript uses three miniatures for the 4th and 10th Maqamahs while the British Museum copy uses only one for each. Maqamahs 9, 22, 30, 45.

(ii) The Schefer copy.

We come now to the Schefer copy. All except one of the "extended plot" maqamahs is illustrated with a total of 45 miniatures.

These miniatures appear as a result of two separate processes, both of which we have had occasion to refer to previously. The first and most important is "selection", and the second the creation of new miniatures.

"Selection" occurs when a copyist faced with a number of illustrations in a certain area of text, preserves i.e. copies a proportion and disposes with the remainder¹. The major part of the 45 miniatures illuminating these maqamahs have been "selected", only 7 or 8 miniatures being present as a result of other processes.

1. WEITZMAN Roll and Codex p.23.

The number 45 is smaller than in any of the earlier copies ; also the average number of illustrations per maqamah is two while in the Leningrad and British Museum manuscripts the average is three.

There is only one¹ maqamah in the Schefer manuscript which has the same number of miniatures as in the earlier copies, and where the basic elements of iconography are close enough for us to know that both are intended to represent the same scenes as those in the earlier copies. This is The "16th Maqamah" OF THE MAGREB". The first illustration fol. 142R shows Abu Zaid approaching the congregation of a mosque. The second scene, fol. 44R depicts Abu Zaid and the servant before the ruin which Abu Zaid claims as his home. This is however a solitary instance for in all the other maqamahs the miniatures are the result of a greater or lesser degree of selection.

FIGS.
123-35

FIGS.
125-36

In most instances the "selection" is perfectly straight forward, though the miniatures which have been "selected" are sometimes subjected to a number of compositional developments - see Chapter Four part (ii). As we are already familiar with the 29th and 34th maqamahs, we can open our examination of "selection" with those maqamahs.

1. The 8th Maqamah is also fully illustrated, though subjects of the minatures seem to differ slightly

from those in earlier copies.

We observed how the "St. Waast" manuscript employed four miniatures, the British Museum copy three, and the Leningrad two.¹ The Schefer manuscript, like the Leningrad work, was only two, however whereas the Leningrad

FIGS. 55-6 miniatures correspond to the second and third in the "St. Waast", the Schefer illuminations correspond to the third and fourth. fols. 89R-90R.

FIGS. 65-8 Similarly the "St. Waast" manuscript illuminates the "34th Maqamahs" by means of five, probably six miniatures, the Leningrad copy employes five, and the British Museum

FIGS. 159-60 manuscript three.² The Schefer work has only two miniatures as illuminations to the "34th Maqamah". The first depicts the "slave market" fol. 105R and the second Harith taking the reluctant slave before the judge. fol. 107R.

The same facts are true of the "50th Maqamah OF BASRĀH" which we have not discussed so far. This is the final maqamah and is told at some length. Briefly it relates Abu Zaid's repentance and seclusion in a distant mosque, and Harith's search for this place of exile. This maqamah

FIGS. 90-3 is elaborately illustrated in the Leningrad manuscript

FIGS. 305-10 with four miniatures. The British Museum exhibits three illustrations. The Schefer manuscript possesses two

FIG. 189 illustrations. The first scene shows Abu Zaid speaking in the Mosque of Basrah.³ fol.164V, exactly as in the

1. See p. 34

2. See p. 35.

3. STEINGASS. p.176-80.

FIG.
90
FIG.
190

Leningrad copy fol. 245V. The second depicts the two friends together for the last time¹ fol. 166R. which is somewhat similar to the last scene in the British Museum copy fol. 177R.

These "selections" are quite straight forward, first there seems to be no particular motive behind their choice, unless it is, as in maqamahs 34 and 50, that the "selected" illustrations should refer to the widest possible area of text. Secondly the compositions have not been subjected to structural modifications.

However "selections" are not always as simple. In the "subplot" maqamahs there are two distinct types of "selection". We have previously noted that the early Baghdad artists did not differentiate between the two situations bound in these Maqamahs, illuminating both the part of the plot which actually took place, and the part which is simply a figment of Abu Zaid's imagination. see p. 40

With regard to the "43rd Maqamah", illumination is confined to two points. The first shows the same scene as we find in the British Museum copy, - Abu Zaid asleep with Harith waiting for him to awaken. fol. 134R. The

FIG.
175

second, fol. 138R, corresponds to the fifth in the British Museum manuscript and the fourth in the Leningrad, showing the two friends on their mounts talking with the

FIG.
82

country youth.¹ None of the other miniatures appear. Thus the Schefer artist has ignored the illumination of the events which did not in fact take place, reproducing merely the "introductory" and "terminal" miniatures.

The absence of "anecdote" miniatures is also a feature of the "18th Maqamah OF SINJĀR". Though the Schefer copy possesses four miniatures none of these refer to the actual anecdote but only the framing

FIGS.
127-30 "realities" fols. 47V, 48R, 50V 51R.

The "26th Maqamah" also includes an anecdote, this however is a true one and is an account of how Abu Zaid came by his new found wealth.² Even so the anecdote remains unillustrated in the Schefer copy, though the Leningrad manuscript depicts it on fol. 160R.

FIG.
54

However the 5th and 15th Maqamahs include anecdote miniatures. The "5th Maqamah - OF KŪFA" tells how Abu Zaid arrives late one night at Hariths abode while the latter is entertaining some friends. The old man extorts a liberal reward by means of a tale in which he meets his long lost son, but, owing to his own poverty, is unable to reveal his identity. Harith and his friends, overcome by the plight of the old man reward him magnificently. On going to cash the cheques next morning Harith discovers the whole thing to be a hoax.

1. exactly the same scenes have been "selected" in the

Istanbul copy though the second has been "duplicated"
fol.171R, 176R, 177V. FIGS. 219-21.
2. CHENERY p.264.

In the British Museum copy this maqamah is
FIG. 236 illustrated by only one miniature. - fol.13R.

The Leningrad copy is more fully illustrated. In
the first scene in this manuscript fol. ? Harith and
his friends are seated while outside Abu Zaid knocks
FIG. 8 at the door.¹ The second shows Harith realising the

identity of Abu Zaid, while in the background a
FIG. 9 servant carries a tray of food.² fol. ? The third and
fourth scenes are identical showing Abu Zaid talking

with his son outside a building while inside a woman
FIGS. 10-11 sits spinning. fols. ? and 32R.³ This actually
illustrates anecdote.

There are three miniatures in the Schefer copy.
FIG. 102 The first seems to be a modified version of the second
Leningrad miniature. fol. 12V.

FIG. 103 The second miniature fol. 13V. depicts Abu Zaid
before the building talking to his son exactly as in
the 3rd and 4th of the Leningrad copy. The significance
is of course that it illustrates one of the fabricated
anecdotes.

FIG. 104 The last scene fol. 14V shows Abu Zaid and Harith
talking at the end of the maqamah,⁴ and is found only in
this manuscript.

1. CHENERY p.127 - also found in the Istanbul copy FIG.191

2. *ibid* p.128.

3. *ibid* p.132.

4. *ibid* p.134

In the Leningrad copy five miniatures are used to illuminate the "15th Maqamah", and in the British Museum manuscript three are employed.

The Schefer copy uses only two. As in Maqamah 5, one of these miniatures depicts part of the "fabricated anecdote". This is the second miniature, fol. 41R, the first shows Harith welcoming Abu Zaid into his home at the start of the maqamah, thus corresponding to the first miniature in the British Museum copy fol. 40V.

FIG.
122
FIG.
121

The third group of extended plot maqamahs has also been subjected to "selection". All of the "tripantite" maqamahs have "selected" miniatures, though only the illustrations in the "10th Maqamah" are uncomplicated by compositional modifications. The number of miniatures used to illustrate the "10th Maqamah" varies from copy to copy, however at least three of these are found in two or more copies. The first shows Abu Zaid taking his son before the governor of Rahbah.¹ The second depicts Abu Zaid accusing his son before the governor.² The third represents Abu Zaid guarding his son through the night.³

- FIGS.21,
236
1. CHENERY p.159. Leningrad fol.? FIG.20 "St. Waast" fol.21.
 2. CHENERY p.159 - This scene is illustrated in all copies.
 3. CHENERY p.161 "St. Waast" fol.22V. In addition there is another miniature in the St. Waast showing the governor addressing the old man fol.23V, and one in the Leningrad representing Abu Zaid and his son leaving and leaving with Harith a letter for the governor.fol.53R.
- FIG.22.

The Schefer copy shows only the last two, the first being omitted.

The same tendency is visible in the "dual dialogue" maqamahs 19 and 31, and in the final group of maqamahs which are variations of the "standard dual" prototype, maqamahs 9, 22, 30, 45.

In the Schefer copy the "9th Maqamah - OF ALEXANDRIA" is illustrated by one single miniature. Examination of the other versions show that at least one, possibly two other scenes were illustrated.

FIG.
111

The Schefer miniature. fol. 25R. shows Abu Zaid and his wife before the judge, and seems to be the same scene as we find in most copies, though it has certain peculiarities.

Apart from this the Leningrad and "St. Waast" copies have a miniature which depicts the incident where the judge "...laughed 'till his hat fell off...".¹ "St. Waast" fol.20, Leningrad fol. 57V. The Leningrad copy shows a third miniature representing the servant who has been sent to find Abu Zaid reporting the failure of his mission.²

FIG.
18
FIG.
19

1. CHENERY. p.157 and Bierut p.78 the Arabic words read *ضعك القاضي من فوق دنيته*. It is worth noting that the text says not simply "hat" but "daniah" which was a conical hat worn by a judge. Only the Leningrad copy shows this particular type of hat.
2. CHENERY p.157.

Thus the vast majority of miniatures illustrating the "extended plot" maqamahs in the Schefer copy have been "selected" from larger "narrative cycles" in other manuscripts. Whether the Schefer artist was himself responsible for these "selections" is not known. There are no examples - with two exceptions - of "complete narrative cycles" in the manuscript.

These maqamahs on the other hand do contain several miniatures which are not found in any other copy, miniatures often of a simple nature, yet which depict incidents that in other copies remain unillustrated.

These miniatures are of two types.

1. Those which were probably found in other copies, now lost.
 2. New miniatures created by modifying old prototypes.
- The miniatures are to be found in Maqamah.5.fol.14V. FIG.105, possibly fol.12V. FIG.103, Maqamah.15. fol.41R. FIG.122. Maqamah.18. fol.s.48R. 50V FIGS. 128-9 Maqamah.26. fol.79R. FIG.147. In only one case is it possible to say positively whether a miniature is of type "1" or "2". This is the second miniature in Maqamah 15 which is a modification of the 4th miniature from the same maqamah in the Leningrad copy. (see p.161).
- FIG. 122
FIG. 35
FIGS. 103
129
147.
- The first miniature in Maqamah 5 the third in Maqamah 18, and the second in Maqamah 26 are also quite probably of

this type. The remainder, due to the fact that they depict important sections of the text were probably all found in copies which have since perished.

This accounts for all miniatures in the "expanded plot" maqamahs. Several maqamahs have not been discussed here because the miniatures which they contain have been subjected to important compositional modifications, and are, therefore, dealt with in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR.
MODIFICATIONS AND VARIATIONS OF THE
SYSTEMS OF ILLUSTRATION.

A careful examination of the miniatures, their relations to the text and to each other reveals a quite remarkable feature of the Schefer manuscript. The basic groupings "classic", "narrative cycle" and "single miniature" have been subjected to a number of processes which result in the multiplication and reduction of the illustrations. These are (i) the expansion and contraction (ii) duplication (iii) inversion (iv) interchange (v) enlargement of the miniatures. Any group of maqamahs in which one of the 3 systems of distribution prevails may have their miniatures subject to all 5 processes.

(i) EXPANSION in the Classic Miniature groupings.

The first and most important of these processes - and in many ways the most remarkable - is the expansion of one of the miniatures in these basic grouping arrangements. The process is in many ways a unique and complex method. It is therefore best to begin by examining the standard-dual maqamahs, the more straight-forward examples.

(a) Those maqamahs in which the first illustration has been expanded :-

The 12th, 20th, 25th and 30th Maqamahs have all been subjected to the expansive process.

In the "20th Maqamah - OF MAYFĀRĪQĪN" there are three illustrated leaves. The first - fol.55V - shows

Abu Zaid with a group of seated figures ; he stands on the right of 5 figures who sit looking towards him. There is no surround to this miniature, neither architecture nor vegetation, the figures sit in row, the only indication of background is a single line drawn beneath them.

The scene represents Abu Zaid delivering a poem to Harith and his companions in which he laments his declining years, referring at one point to his "shrouded corpse".

FIG.
134

The second miniature - fol.56R - is directly opposite and shows four figures seated in much the same manner as those on fol.55V. ; they are all facing the right, with the one on the extreme right pointing in the same direction. On the left is a tree and beyond it - stand two additional figures who are shown looking across the page in the same direction as the seated four.

FIG.
135

The miniature on the third leaf - represents the confrontation scene between Harith and Abu Zaid. The latter is shown exposing himself before Harith, indicating his un-circumsized member - i.e. - "the shrouded corpse".

The first and third miniatures are quite straightforward examples of the classic type of miniature, both quite traditional in their iconography. What we are concerned with here is the second miniature and its relation to the first.

Both the first and second are completely surrounded by text. The first appears in the poem which is delivered to Harith and his friends. The second comes a few lines later in the same poem. This without doubt means that both refer to the same incident - or, to put it in another way - both show part of the same scene, the second miniature in actual fact being an "extension" of the first, carried over from one page to the other.

It is, on the other hand, not inconceivable that this second miniature represents an incident mentioned in the text - the fact of it appearing directly opposite to the first illustration may in itself mean nothing, but let us consider the evidence.

First, if it is an independent illustration, what could this miniature represent ? There are two possibilities, one, it may be the group of friends debating how much to give Abu Zaid as a reward,¹ or two it may show Abu Zaid and Harith about to leave the gathering.² One is possible but this would not explain the two standing figures - nor the fact that the scene is set outdoors when the text says specifically that the maqamah is set in a chamber (Ar. nādī ڤ>ب). As for two this can be dismissed by observing that the two

1. CHENERY. op.cit. p.221.

2. ibid p.222.

friends do not leave the circle simultaneously.¹

However the main argument against this second miniature being an independent scene, is that if it were, it would be opposed to the "classic" tradition manifest in the standard dual maqamahs, of two miniatures per maqamah ; each corresponding to a separate section of dialogue.

What evidence is there to establish that this is in fact an extension of the first miniature and that both one and two are in reality one continuous miniature ?

In the first miniature the 5 seated figures are facing the right, and the end two are pointing towards Abu Zaid. In the second miniature all the figures are facing exactly the same direction as the others opposite, i.e. towards the old man. The far right-hand figure points to something off the page, this "something" is no doubt Abu Zaid. This figure itself is in a position which tends to confirm that the two illustrations are one ; he sits looking over his left shoulder at his companions, inviting their attention with his right hand, which he extends across his body, as if to emphasise the direction. Thus, his turning head and pointing arm serve as a link between the two illustrations ; by these actions he refers to both pictures at the same time - being physically in the left-

1. CHENERY op.cit. p.222.

hand miniature but by means of his pointing arm, uniting it with the right-hand one.

The function of the tree and figures - particularly the tree is to balance the corresponding figure of Abu Zaid on the opposite page.

Additional evidence is supplied by the other manuscript. The St. Waast - a work which is very fully illustrated has the "20th Maqamah" illuminated by miniatures which correspond to the first and third in the Schefer. There is no trace of anything resembling the second miniature - nor is there in any other manuscript.

"Maqamah 25 - OF KEREJ" is exactly similar to the "20th Maqamah". Here is another maqamah with a standard-dual plot, in which the first and second illustrations exhibit the same expansion. Miniature 1 -

FIG. 143 fol.74V - depicts a group of figures grouped around an arch. The space under the arch presumably showed Abu Zaid dressed in rags, delivering a speech to the surrounding crowd. This however has disappeared due to the space having been painted over in black. Directly

FIG. 144 opposite on fol.75R -¹ is a scene showing a group of people, one of whom is mounted on a donkey.² These two

1. There is also on fol.76R the usual confrontation scene.
2. Grabar - op.cit. says that this is Harith on the donkey, but there is nothing to suggest this in the text.

miniatures are related in a far more immediately obvious manner for there is no possibility of the expanded half being able to exist as an independent miniature, it is irrevocably part of the crowd on the left hand side of the arch. Unlike the previous miniatures, there are no linking figures, only the simple juxtaposition of two crowds.

The first of two miniatures in the "12th Maqamah - OF DAMASCUS" has been similarly treated. This depicts Abu Zaid disguised as a wandering dervish falking with a group of travellers who wish to cross the Syrian Desert. fol.31.R. depicts this scene, the dervish on the left and on the right a group of riders on camels. On the facing page fol.30V appears the remainder of the travellers, alive of horses, riders, and men on foot stretching completely across the surface of the page, thus forming the expanded half of the composition.

FIG.
115

The "expansions" in those miniatures with which we have so far come in contact, are simply extensions of the crowd of spectators from one page, across to the opposite one. It is interesting to observe that one of these latterally expanded compositions, has each half set in a different enviroment. The first half of the initial miniature in "Maqamah 20", possesses a blank background - supposedly set in a chamber. The opposite half depicts a rustic setting, with grass, plants and a large tree.

This anomaly can be partially explained by the fact that the manuscript would almost certainly have been illustrated in its unbound state and if two miniatures - though one composition - were painted at different times, then discrepancies may have arisen between the two halves of the miniature.

Moreover there is no reason to assume that the Schefer artist was responsible for all the developments existing in the manuscript. On the contrary it would appear that he was not the first artist to attempt this form of lateral expansion. Expansion is found on at least three occasions in the British Museum copy, which as mentioned earlier, is quite probably a copy of an early Baghdad manuscript. In addition, there are several stages of "expansion" evident in the Schefer copy, not simply one stage which is common to all examples.

It is quite possible the artist did not understand the significance of the miniatures he was copying, and treated each half as an independent illustration, while at the same time introducing his own modifications, and innovations.

(b) Those maqamahs which have one "contracted" and one "expanded" miniature.

The "32nd Maqamah - OF TAYBEH" traditionally has two miniatures ; the first showing Abu Zaid being asked

FIGS. 247, 61 O.R.1200, - fol.100R - Leningrad, - fol. ?), the second
 FIG. 248 Abu Zaid confronting Harith. (see O.R.1200 - fol. 106R
 FIG. 62 Leningrad - fol. ?).

The first miniature has disappeared from the Schefer copy, while the second miniature has been expanded into two. The first, fol.100V. contains Abu Zaid and Harith, and the second, fol.101R - which is directly opposite shows a singing-girl with ten camels.

In other manuscripts these two scenes are combined in one miniature ; the Leningrad work shows the two friends in the foreground and the camels and singing-girl in the background. Here however Abu Zaid and Harith are mounted on horses. - though this is probably an innovation of the painter of the miniature.¹ The British Museum copy's illustration is quite close to the Schefer version. Here - fol.106R - the two companions are seen together, on the right stands the singing-girl with the camels.

Unlike the expanded miniatures in other maqamahs there is a distinct geographical unity between the two illustrations in the "32nd Maqamah" ; both are set on a ground of flowers and other plants. Moreover Abu Zaid himself acts as a linking figure, turning his head to Harith, yet pointing with his right hand to the camels.

1. There is no mention of horses in the maqamah, though near the end it does say "we tightened our saddles".

This is also true of the "14th Maqamah - OF MECCA". The first miniature shows the old man and his son, fol.37V - walking to the left, with on their right a large tree. On the opposite miniature - fol. 38R - is a tent in which sit Harith and his companions. This scene before a tent is quite familiar to us from the Leningrad and Istanbul versions of the miniature. Abu Zaid again acts as a linking figure between the two scenes, and in addition the huge tree balances out the mass of the tent.

FIG.
119
FIG.
120

FIGS.
28,196

So far we have met with two types of expanded miniature:- 1. where the two halves are of equal significance, with elements essential for understanding the meaning of the illustration present in both halves, e.g. in the 14th and 32nd Maqamahs. 2. where the expanded half of the miniature is simply the extension of a minor portion of the original composition, i.e. the spectators, e.g. the 20th and 25th Maqamahs.

Sometimes the two halves of the total composition are far more intimately related than at others ; the two halves of the illustrations in the 14th and 32nd Maqamahs are quite united, while those in the 20th and 25th, are either very loosely bound, as in the 25th, or connected in such a way as to be open to interpretation as two separate miniatures.

A possible explanation is that those miniatures which

are only slightly related go back for several copyings, and, by the date of this copy 1237 had begun to break apart. The others were perhaps expanded at a later date, and may even have been the work of the artist of this particular manuscript, consequently there exists a greater degree of homogeneity between the two parts of the composition.

(ii) Expansion in the "selected" miniatures.

Expansion of a composition takes place at least four times, showing the selected miniatures, were not spared the complex developments previously noted among the illustrations to the "standard dual" maqamahs. Almost every one of the groups which make up the "expanded plot" maqamahs has an example of expansion.

The "39th Maqamah - OF 'UMĀN" tells how Harith meets Abu Zaid on a ship sailing from the Arabian Gulf to the East. After a severe storm they pause at an island where the two friends leave the ship for a stroll. They come upon a mansion outside of which are a group of weeping slaves, who on being questioned explain that the reason for their distress is that the wife of the lord of this mansion is in the throes of a difficult childbirth. Abu Zaid rises to the occasion and supplies them with a charm which happily saves the life of the mother and child, he is rewarded by being made guardian of the lord's treasury.

The Schefer copy contains 4 miniatures.

- FIG. 165 1. The ship at sea - 119V.
FIG. 166 2. The two friends before the mansion - 120V.
FIG. 167 3. The Island - 121R.
FIG. 168 4. The Interior of the palace. - 122V.

These miniatures correspond to some in both OR.1200 and the Istanbul Maqamat.

- 284 1. is found only in OR.1200, though a rather similar illustration - showing the old man asking to be taken on board ship¹ is found in both the Leningrad and Istanbul copies.

- FIGS. 74, 216 2. occurs in OR.1200 - fol.126V and the Istanbul manuscript - 153R.

3. is found only in the Schefer manuscript.

- FIG. 285 4. also appears in the British Museum copy OR.1200 - fol.128R. There is no need to add that there are many points of divergence between corresponding illustrations in the various copies.

All the illustrations in the Schefer copy - with one exception are to be found in other manuscripts. This exception is the third miniature.

There has been some debate on the origin of miniature 3, and on what it is supposed to represent. Professor Ettinghausen refers to it as the "Eastern Isle" and adds

1. STEINGASS. p.95.

that it has the distinction of being "the earliest known extensive landscape in Islamic painting". He further suggests that the miniature can be traced back to a model in earlier works on voyages to strange lands.¹ - Though he does not specify which book, possibly he refers to the popular 10th works, "Chain of Histories" and the "Wonders of India".² The view that this miniature is modelled on a geographical miniature is also suggested by Grabar.³ Professor Talbot-Rice on the other hand says of this scene that, "it is wholly a figment of the artists imagination".⁴

One thing however is certain, our examination of this manuscript makes it quite clear that this miniature is an example of the type of expansion common to this manuscript. Writers when discussing the "Eastern Isle" seem to imply that it is an independent illustration. This is not correct and for the following reasons. In the first place there is no instance in the Schefer manuscript where two completely unrelated miniatures appear opposite each other, being at the same time in the wrong chronological order. In the "18th Maqamah" there are 4 miniatures opposite to each other, but here each one follows on from the previous miniature as in a strip-cartoon.

1. ETTINGHAUSEN op.cit.p.123.
2. GIBB "Arabic Literature" Oxford 1926. p.60.
3. Papers of 21st Congress of Orientalists Moscow 1961.p.46-7
4. TALBOT-RICE "The Earliest Illustrated manuscripts in the Arab World" p.7.

FIG.
166
FIG.
167

FIGS.
119-20
FIGS.
177-8

FIGS.
177-8

If we examine the relationship of the two miniatures to the text we discover that the island is mentioned before the meeting with the slaves.¹ This means that if the two miniatures on fol.s. 120V and 121R are independent then clearly they are wrongly placed, and the island scene should come before that showing the mansion. On the other hand if we examine the expanded miniatures in Maqamahs "14" and "44" we see, supposing for a moment that the illustrations in Maqamah 14 - showing Abu Zaid and his son approaching Harith's tent, are two independent and separate miniatures then we will discover by reading the text that they are in the wrong chronological order. For the tent scene is described before the arrival of the old man and his son.² The same is true of the "44th Maqamah". The incidents in the second illustration are mentioned prior to that shown in the first miniature the meal partaken of by Harith.³ Moreover in the "31st Maqamah" there is an example of deliberate inversion of two separate miniatures to create an expanded illustration. In short there is no case where opposing miniatures which are chronologically inverted exist in a state of total separation from one another.

1. STEINGASS op.cit. p.97.
2. CHENERY. op.cit. p.182.
3. STEINGASS op.cit. p.133.

FIG.
166

In addition we have the evidence of the ship motif on the left of the second miniature in Maqamah 39 and which may be said to play the same part as the tree in the expanded miniatures in Maqamahs 14, 20 and 44. i.e. - it acts as a balancing element. There is no linking figure between the two halves of the scene, such as we find in the 44th and 20th Maqamahs, but at the same time there is nothing dividing the two halves, both are "open" at the centre - the junction of the two leaves.

In the light of this it is not likely that the illustrator needed to base his illustration on an earlier model for the total left-hand half of the miniature as he had at his disposal within his own repertoire all the elements to create this miniature. - with the possible exception of certain animals present in the picture.¹ This it seems certain is the way in which the expansions were created, - not by taking complete miniatures out of their original context in other manuscripts. Of course this is not to deny that most of the original miniatures for the first maqamat cycles were modelled on compositions in other illustrated works - both Christian and Muslim.

Expanding a composition was rather a case of the illustrator using his own repertoire of "components",

1. In any case animals like the sphinx were universally known and used by artists throughout the Medieval Near East.

FIG.
177

with perhaps occasional recourse to an external element, as in the "44th Maqamah" where in the expanded half of the miniature on fol.139V. certain figures e.g. those at the stove can be traced to illustrations in the Baghdad "Dioscorides" of 1224. Quite probably the artist of the Schefer manuscript, or whoever was responsible for the introduction of this motif had worked on "Dioscorides" and other scientific manuscript thereby adding these elements to his repertoire.

The opinion that the scene is wholly a figment of the artist's imagination is more correct than the statements that it is directly based on a geographical miniature though only in so far as the illustrator has used his imagination in successfully combining various diverse elements. However this knowledge does not detract from the charm of miniature, rather the awareness that both the miniatures on opposite pages are in fact one, actually enhances their artistic value.

* * *

In the subgroup - the "tripartite maqamahs" we find two examples of expansion. The first occurs in the "23rd Maqamah - OF THE PRECINCT". Here it seems probable that original cycle contained 3 miniatures, however of these only the first remains in the Schefer, and shows - fol.63V - 64R - Abu Zaid accusing his son before the Governor.¹

FIGS.
139-
140

1. It is quite possible that the original cycle was made up of 4 miniatures, the Leningrad 1st illustration may be part of the original cycle.

The first half of the miniature, the right-hand folio consists of an extended crowd scene, similar to that found in the 25th Maqamah. It possesses no background and is much restored. This crowd is made up of seven people, one of whom may be Harith ; the third figure on the right holds a whip, the only person to do so, and this would be expected as the text says that Harith went out to the court on his steed.¹

FIG.
140

Opposite - fol.64R - Abu Zaid is shown standing accusing his son before the Governor.² The whole is surrounded by the walls of a room. This room completely divorces the two halves of the composition, though it is presumably correct as the Governor was "...seated on his cushion" which implies an interior setting.³

It is interesting, in passing, to compare this miniature with the earliest known versions of this scene, in manuscript 6094 Bib.Nat. On folio 70 we find the Schefer composition "in embryo". Though chronologically and geographically far apart, the two miniatures show a marked iconographic resemblance. The Schefer consists of the following elements, - from right to left, a crowd among whom is Harith, Abu Zaid and his son, the Governor seated on his throne behind which are two attendants. This latter element is surrounded by an architectural

FIG.
313

1. CHENERY. p.235.
2. GRABAR in an article : op.cit. p.100 says the text "does not specify whether the official is a judge (gadi) or governor (wali)" However the text clearly states that the official is a governor ! "وقال آخر وجل الوالي" "in Maqamat" Beirut - 1958. p.180.

3. CHENERY p.235.

facade which also includes the old man and his son within its boundaries. The earlier version repeats all these elements and in exactly the same order, though Abu Zaid and his son are here outside the architectural facade. The only difference between the two compositions, apart from the changed fashions in the Schefer, is the multiplication and elaboration of detail in the Schefer composition.

This is evidence that some at least, of the Schefer illustrations are in direct line of descent from some of the earliest compositions. It can also be urged in support of the claim that although some of the iconographic patterns in the Schefer and other manuscripts are the products of individual schools, and never go beyond the boundaries of certain centres, a proportion at least were universal and used in every atelier where the "Maqamat" was illustrated.

The second example of expansion appears in the "44th Maqamah - THE WINTRY". This possesses one of the most interesting expansions in the whole manuscript. The mawamah relates how Harith relates how in his travels one day he came upon a tent whose owner by means of poem invites him to rest awhile and join him and his party in the tent.¹ Harith does so and there meets Abu Zaid.

1. STEINGASS. p.133.

The old man relates a series of riddles which no one can answer,¹ and promises to reveal their solutions next day. However Harith awakens in the early dawn to hear the old man making off on his camel reciting a poem as he goes.²

FIG.
84
FIG.
177

The first part of the plot is illustrated only in the Leningrad Hariri Fol. ? The Schefer shows only the second and third parts. The first miniature, fol.139V - shows Harith in the tent ; he and his companions are either warming themselves at a fire or eating from bowls brought to them by some serving-women. A scene similar to this appears in most other manuscripts.

FIG.
178

The second illustration is directly opposite - fol.140R. - and is in fact an extension of the previous miniature.

FIG.
179
FIG.
223

The third illustration shows Abu Zaid leaving on his camel, - also present in the Istanbul and British Museum copies.

The miniature on fol.140R. has most of the attributes of an expanded illustration, possessing a linking figure which consists of a servant girl, carrying two loaves on the far right. On the far left there is a large tree which balances the spear protruding over the right edge of the tent, and helps to bind the two halves together.

1. STEINGASS. p.134.
2. ibid p.140.

In the scene depicted on this half of the composition is the slaughter and cooking of a camel, which is referred to very briefly in the text.¹ The slaughter of the beast is also shown in the Istanbul copy - fol.180R. on the lower left and may also be present in the Leningrad miniature fol.296R. though this is rather damaged and it is difficult to identify the incident. The two figures with the stove² in the Schefer version, however, are unique to this manuscript. The slaughter of the camel is a purely Baghdad motif, having originated in the Baghdad manuscripts, and - as far as we can see, remained localized in Baghdad.

FIG.
222

FIG.
84

FIG.
308

The miniature, - that is the expanded half, - is of the same category as the crowd extensions in the 25th Maqamah, its subject, charming though it is, is in no way essential to a full comprehension of the meaning of the total composition. However unlike other instances, this expanded half does tend to dominate the pictorial area in a way that other expansions fail to do.

The last example of expansion in the "extended plot maqamahs" is in the "30th Maqamah - OF SŪR (TYRE)". The

1. STEINGASS. p.133.

2. See BUCHTHAL "Journal of Walters Art Gallery" V 1942, for a probable prototype of this detail p.26.

original cycle may well have possessed 3 independent illustrations: the first being a narrative miniature showing a group of horsemen on their way to the paupers wedding.¹ the second showing Abu Zaid addressing the guests.² and the last showing the old man telling his story to the feasting revellers.³ Only the second of these remains in the Schefer copy, fol.91V - 92R. This miniature has been subject to expansion, the "permanent" half being on the left, and the expanded half on the right. The right half is somewhat similar to the Leningrad version in iconography, showing Abu Zaid seated on a "throne" in a curtained facade with 4 figures in front of him. However, whereas in the Leningrad version, fol. ? the crowd is placed in the foreground, in the Schefer copy the crowd has been arranged on a separate page, opposite to that containing Abu Zaid. It is, like the first half, placed in an architectural facade, here however the decoration of this facade bears little relation to that of opposite side. This suggests what has been previously hinted at in other "expanded compositions" namely, that this artist was not personally responsible for every expansion, and in some cases, he regarded the "permanent" half and the expanded half as two separate - though related - compositions. The text says that the

FIGS.
268,
~~268~~

FIGS.
152-3

1. STEINGASS. p.26.
2. ibid p.27.
3. ibid p.30.

congregation were actually present in the same place as the old man,¹ so there could be no justification for giving the facade on the expanded side a totally different style of architectural decoration to that on the "permanent" half of the composition.

The final example of expansion occurs in "Maqamah 16 - OF THE MAGREB" - which is a subplot maqamah see page 16 . Traditionally - judging by the Leningrad and British Museum manuscripts - the 16th Maqamah was illustrated with two miniatures, the first showing Abu Zaid entering the mosque of a town somewhere in the Magreb, and the second depicting Abu Zaid and the servant outside the ruin which the old man claims as his home. This latter scene represents in visual form the account of the servant who returns to the mosque alone explaining to the congregation that Abu Zaid has refused to return and has left him outside the ruin, after bidding him recite a particular verse of poetry to the awaiting congregation.

FIG.

123

FIGS.

35,253

Both of the above miniatures appear in the Schefer copy, the first fol.42R. corresponds to the first in the Leningrad and British Museum manuscripts. The second in the Schefer although ostensibly it depicts Abu Zaid and the servant outside the ruin, it has features which make it differ from the second scene in the two other copies.

FIG.
124

On the left-hand folio, fol.44 R. we see Abu Zaid and the servant standing before the ruin. On the

FIG.
125

opposite folio however - fol.43V sit a group of figures, who are apparently the interested spectators of the scene on fol.44R. The presence of these figures is completely contrary to the text for Abu Zaid's conversation with the servant was not witnessed by any one.

It is possible that the miniature on fol.43V actually represents an independent illustration though this seems doubtful. In the first place the figures on this "expanded" half are in precisely the same position as those in the majority of miniatures where the crowd has been enlarged. Secondly the text surrounding this group of figures is very specific in its implication. It is the point where a light is brought and Harith discovers the old man to be Abu Zaid himself. Quite obviously this is not what the miniature represents.

Compositionally there is nothing odd about the two scenes being one, the peculiarity is that textually they are incongruous. However it is interesting for it suggests that the artist possessed a considerable amount of autonomy.

(ii) DUPLICATION: In the classic groupings.

The second process at work among the various groupings is that of duplication. This may be defined as what happens when any miniature in a maqamah is repeated. In the standard-dual maqamahs this is generally accompanied by the contraction of the other miniature i.e. the first or second "classic" illustration disappears and the remaining one is repeated - though with a certain amount of difference between the details of each. In the continuous dialogue maqamahs it seems that when duplication takes place it does not entail the disappearance of any other illustrations, simply the addition of an extra miniature.

The "41st Maqamah - OF TINIS" tells how Harith entered the mosque of Tinis in Egypt and there heard a preacher extolling the virtues of charity. While he speaks a young pauper enters the mosque and begs alms. The preacher urges all present to practice the virtue to which he has been referring. Adding that this particular pauper is a worthy object of their charity Harith follows the two when they leave the mosque and discovers that the preacher is Abu Zaid and the pauper no less than his son.

The Maqamah contains two illuminations, the first -
 FIG. 171 fol.130R - shows Abu Zaid and Harith talking, each stands on either side of a small tree both stand on a bed of
 FIG. 172 plants and flowers. The second shows Abu Zaid walking

away to the right, followed by Harith who stands some distance behind him, but also facing in the same direction.

It is clear that these two illustrations represent the last (second) part, showing the confrontation scene between the two friends. The miniature, normally illustrating the first part, we know from roughly similar examples in the St. Waast, Leningrad and British Museum copies showed Abu Zaid preaching in the mosque surrounded by the congregation, this however is absent from the Schefer copy. Instead we have the "duplication" of the confrontation scene.

FIGS.
75,
~~288,~~
316.

It is interesting to note that not only do these two miniatures in the Schefer manuscript appear in the correct portion of text i.e. the confrontation¹, but it is in fact possible to determine the specific lines to which they refer. The first is illustrating the area of the conversation, from "...he turned his neck to me, and greeted me with the greeting of joyful recognition..."² onwards. The second - fol. - 130V - must certainly be the line "...he turned his back on me and went without casting a glance behind him..."³.

1.

2. STEINGASS p.112-113. - It is perhaps worth noting that Harith refers to Abu Zaid as "...the tree from which this fruit i.e. his son, has grown. " *اشبهه انك شجرة تمره* and that the tree may have some symbolical purpose.

3. The Arabic text reads :- " *ثم دلى صدرًا ولم يقب* " It is possible that the scene refers to a slightly earlier line before the final poem "...then it occurred to him to turn his back on me and he said...". p.112.

The second Maqamah in which duplication occurs is in the 40th Maqamah - OF TEBRĪZ" which is a reversed dual maqamah, - in other words the confrontation comes at the beginning instead of the end.¹ Harith meets his friend being taken by his wife before the Judge of Tebriz, in Iran, on a charge of abuse of conjugal rights. He accompanies them to the court where he witnesses the Judge tricked into awarding the pair damages.

Both miniatures in the Schefer copy show Abu Zaid and his wife before the Judge while Harith looks on. In FIG. 169 the first 125R. of the two illustrations there are two additional figures ; two women who assist the wife in bringing her husband to the court.

This Maqamah is unfortunately missing from the Leningrad "Maqamat", so it is only in manuscript OR.1200 that we find the traditional representation of the confrontation scene. fol.129R This shows Abu Zaid being held by two women, talking to Harith on his way to the court. From this we can deduce that the two miniatures, shown in the Schefer copy both refer to the court scene.

FIG. 170 The second miniature in OR.1200 - fol.130R. is closely related to that in the Schefer manuscript showing Harith, Abu Zaid and his wife before the Judge. This signifies

1. see p.102 STIENGASS.

that the first miniature in the Schefer is the one which has been added as a result of the process of duplication.

It is quite surprising to find that in the St. Waast manuscript there are two illustrations similar to those in the Schefer. Both depict the court scene ; the subjects of the pictures in both manuscripts are identical, though the treatment in each is quite distinct. The first - fol.134 - shows Abu Zaid his wife, Harith and two women before the Judge. The second - fol.137 - shows Abu Zaid and his wife before the Judge, the other figures are missing.

This could imply that process of duplication was known outside the Baghdad School, and also that the illustrators had quite a variety of illustrations to choose from.¹

Duplication in the continuous dialogue maqamahs.

In the continuous dialogue maqamahs, there is the very minimum of action. The scene of the maqamah usually remains constant throughout as do the characters taking part. This situation is very conducive to illumination by a single miniature which serves to illustrate the whole of the plot ; it is quite easy to combine all elements essential to this limited type of plot into one miniature. Indeed for the majority of continuous dialogue maqamahs this has taken place.

1. GRABAR, op.cit. p.106.

However in the 42nd, 46th and 49th Maqamahs this principle has not been adhered to ; each maqamah has two similar miniatures.

FIG.
77
FIG.
78

The "42nd Maqamah - OF NAJRAN" deals with a series of riddles with which Abu Zaid sets out to dumbfound a group of eager listeners. The first miniature - fol.131V. depicts Abu Zaid seated before 13 persons. The second - fol.133V. is exactly the same except for the fact that there are only 5 people present in this one.

FIG.
181

The "46th Maqamah - OF HALEB (ALEPPO)" concerns a number of poems recited by some schoolboys to impress Harith who has approached them hoping to be amused by their stupidity. Their teacher is of course Abu Zaid.

FIG.
182

The first picture fol.148V. shows Harith and Abu Zaid seated on a raised dias, on their left are eight schoolboys all seated, behind them stand two other boys, one operating a fan, and the other reciting a poem. The second miniature - fol.152R. shows the same subject but with considerable change in detail, the most important of which being the use of a different architectural background.

FIG.
187

The "49th Maqamah - OF SASAN" is an address given by an ailing Abu Zaid to his son in praise of mendicancy.

FIG.
188

The first miniature fol.160V. depicts the old man reclining on a bed with his son before him. They are seated in a curtained room. The second illustration - fol.162V. shows the same two figures seated on a bed,

though this time Abu Zaid is on the left instead of the right, and the room has disappeared.

An interesting fact emerges from the study of these five cases of duplication. In very few instances can the miniatures be considered as two successive stages of a single incident, though the illustrator probably intended us to consider them as such. In the 42nd, 46th and 49th Maqamahs the miniatures are certainly two independent illustrations of the same subject. This is particularly clear in the 46th Maqamah, where each scene takes place in totally different surroundings. However the fact that the two friends are dressed in the same costumes in both miniatures - Abu Zaid in blue, Harith in red probably means that we are meant to consider them two stages of the same incident.

This gives weight to the opinion that in many cases the illustrators had a variety of scenes to copy from,¹ though it is not the only explanation.

* * *

(iii) CHRONOLOGICAL INVERSION: In the classic groupings.

There exists in the manuscript several cases where an illustration which refers to an earlier portion of the text has been removed and placed in the position of a later miniature. Also, where a later miniature has been placed in the early part of the maqamah, There are also two cases where a later illustration and an earlier one

1. GRABAR. op.cit.p.106.

in the same maqamah have exchanged places. All these processes come under the heading of "chronological inversion".

FIG.
118

The "13th Maqamah - OF BAGHDĀD" is a standard dual plot maqamah and by rights should have two "classic" miniatures. However of the pair, only the first one is shown, and consists of Harith and his friends being approached by an old woman, behind whom are three children fol.35V. this is quite traditional in subject matter and is somewhat similar to corresponding

FIG.
26
FIG.
195

illustrations in the Leningrad, Istanbul, and other manuscripts.

FIG.
27

The second traditional miniature which we may also discern in these same manuscripts is not present in the Schefer copy, - it shows Abu Zaid , (who is in fact the old woman), in a mosque, with Harith listening outside the door.

Instead of the first miniature appearing in the appropriate place in the first half of the plot, i.e. its correct textual position, as it does in the other manuscripts, it appears in the second half, near the end of the maqamah. However not only is it placed near the end of the maqamah but it seems that it occupies precisely the position of the traditional 2nd illustration. The specific details of this are as follows. The "1st" miniature in the Schefer is within a few lines of the 2nd miniature in three other

FIG.
27

manuscripts "...Until she came to a street choked with people (Leningrad 2nd miniature. fol.83V)... she turned aside to a ruined mosque...I spied at her through a chink in the door...and when the gear of modesty fell off, I saw (Manuscript OR.1200 2nd miniature fol.37R) the face of Abu Zaid drawn out. (Schefer. 1st miniature fol.35V)... he threw himself... back inditing thus (3929-St. Waast fol.61)..."¹.

FIG.
~~27~~

In short the 2nd traditional illustration has disappeared from the Schefer copy, and in its place we find the traditional first miniature. This transference of a miniature from one place to another in the text occurs on at least four occasions (see "contraction" page 152.).

FIG.
13

The "7th Maqamah - OF BARQA'ID" displays a more complex type of inversion. The two miniatures which traditionally illustrate the "7th Maqamah" in the Baghdad versions, are first : Abu Zaid and his wife distributing prayers in the mosque (Leningrad fol.41V. OR.1200. 19R) second : Abu Zaid his wife and Harith in

FIG.
14

the latter's house (Leningrad fol.44R. OR.1200 - 20V).

FIG.
167

The Schefer manuscript possesses the first traditional miniature - fol.18V - .

FIG.
168

The second miniature in this maqamah - fol.19R - is unique to this manuscript. It depicts a group of musicians and standard-bearers mounted on horseback.

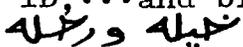
This miniature is directly opposite the previous miniature, and would certainly appear to be forming half of an expanded composition.

Despite the fact that both scenes take place in a different environment - which in any case, is already found in definite examples of expanded compositions, (Maqamah 20) -, the structure of the two suggests that they should be read as one. The flags and banners carried by the horsemen, balance the minbar and mihrab, while the huge brass trumpets (abwaq Ar. sing. buq بوق) in effect act as a link between the two halves. It would seem that the second miniature was specifically created to fulfil the function of expansion, for we find the original composition in the Leningrad copy, almost unchanged. The second miniature had to be constructed to conform with the peculiarities of the older composition, - hence the enormous banner on the left to equate with the festooned minbar on the far right. These two in fact "close" the composition off on both extremities, concentrating attention on the centre, a device which we have already noted in the 14th, 20th and 44th Maqamahs.

It seems that the inspiration of the second-half of the composition, was as Ettinghausen¹ suggests a slight reference near the beginning of the plot, which talks of "...horsemen and footmen..."². So that in fact the miniature showing the horsemen is chronologically inverted as it appears after the traditional first miniature, yet refers to a time earlier than that shown in the first scene.

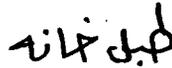
Although it appears that the brief reference to horsemen gave the artist his inspiration for the scene, and although the scene would have been relatively easy for him to construct, who these figures are supposed to represent has not been adequately explained.

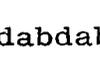
Ettinghausen³ describes them simply as horsemen waiting to take part in a parade. Blochet in an early article describes the horsemen as the "Kalifal Guard"⁴ though he later defines this more precisely "Le peloton des étendards de la garde du khalife"⁵ a view which is also held by Talbot-Rice.⁶ This would appear to be nearer the mark, however it seems possible to go even further than this.

1. ETTINGHAUSEN "Arab Painting" p.117.
2. The actual words are "...when it came on i.e. the Festival of 'ID, ...and brought up its horsemen and footmen () I followed the tradition in new apparel and went forth with the people to keep festival...". Chenery p.140.
3. "Arab Painting" p.118.
4. BLOCHET "Musalman Manuscripts and Miniatures as illustrated in the recent Exhibition in Paris" - Burlington Maq. 1903, p.132-44 II, 276 - 85 III.
5. BLOCHET "Les Eluminures des Manuscripts Orienteaux" Paris. 1926 p.85.

6. TALBOT-RICE "Islamic Art" Thames and Hudson
1965 pl.108.

In the first place, as Blochet implies the group is of an essentially military character. Though the majority of banners are of a more or less official nature, carrying the slogan "No God but God and Muhammad is His prophet", and which would no doubt appear in civil or military function, the horseman on the far left carries a tall military banner. Flags similar to this appear in battle scenes in 14th century manuscript¹.

If we then note that the instruments played by the horsemen are kettledrums and trumpets, it seems most likely that what we have on fol.19R is a representation of the "ṭabl-khāna" () or military band.

H.G. Farmer in his "History of Arabian Music"² quotes from Arabic sources that the basic instruments of the "ṭabl-Khana" were the trumpet (buq) and drum³. This latter came in a variety of types, the kettledrum-ṭabl () - dabdab () - duhul (), and the great kettledrum or kus ()⁴.

Both of these instruments, the drum and trumpet are being used in the picture. Farmer further notes that the "ṭabl-khana" played during prayer time⁵, and this would certainly account for its presence before the

1. e.g. "History of Rashīd ad-Dīn" University Library
2. Luzac and Co. 1929. Edinburgh.
3. *ibid* p.208.
4. *ibid*.
5. *ibid*.

mosque shown on fol.18V.

The "tabl-khana" was a feature of military, civil and religious life and at first was the exclusive prerogative of the Khalif alone.¹ Had it remained so then this miniature could be used as a final proof that the manuscript was illustrated in Baghdad. However in later times the honour was bestowed on generals and princes, the first Khalif to do so being Al-Muṭī' in 966. In 1000 we even find that a minister was accorded this honour.²

Thus though we cannot definitely attribute the "tabl-khana" shown here³ to the reigning Khalif "al-Mustanṣir b'Illah" himself it seems most probable that it was in Baghdad rather than any other Mesopotamian city, that the artist would have had the opportunity to see enough of the "tabl-Khana" - either of the Khalif or one of the many dignitaries and officials in the city for it to impress itself on his memory.⁴

1. *ibid.*

2. *op.cit.* p.207.

3. An earlier representation of a "tabl-khana" is found on a fragment of tile from Persia. see "Survey of Persian Art". vol. V plate. 706.

4. for another account of the tabl-Khāna see FARMER. "The Minstrelsy of the Arabian Nights" privately issued by the author 1945 p.7-8.

Chronological Inversion in the "Narrative Cycles".

The "31st Maqamah - OF RAMLAH" tells how Harith meets Abu Zaid on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The original group of miniatures for this maqamah, probably consisted of two miniatures, though this cannot be stated with any certainty, however the Baghdad versions of the cycle, - the one on which the Schefer miniatures in this maqamah depend, certainly did consist of not more than two illustrations. The first showed Abu Zaid delivering a speech to the pilgrims¹ and the second shows him haranguing them as they leave.²

FIG.
154

The first picture in the Schefer manuscript, fol.94V. shows musicians mounted on camels, a horseman and various walking figures, all journeying in a pilgrim caravan. Although this miniature has undergone almost total revision, there is little doubt that it represents the same scene which occupies second place in the Leningrad copy.

FIG.
60

A comparison of the two miniatures - fol.24V - in the Leningrad work - reveals that there are certain distinct differences. The first is the disappearance of Abu Zaid in the Schefer version. Next we note that the lower row of camels has been replaced in the Schefer

1. STEINGASS. p.32-5.

2. ibid. p.35-36.

manuscript by a horseman and two walking figures.

These are the major changes.

The similarities between the two however are quite considerable. The top row of musicians though much more developed in the Schefer is still essentially the same, as that in the Leningrad manuscript showing drummers beating large kettledrums (Ar. "Kusat" sing¹ Kus" كوسكوسات). The Leningrad artist may well have intended to show the banners and flags which appear in the Schefer version, but as the flags would have interfered with the text he left only their poles. The figure on the lower left in the Leningrad copy holds in one hand a lantern² and with the other holds the reins of the camel. The lower left-hand figure in the Schefer miniature closely resembles him, the difference being that he holds a staff instead of a lantern, and his hand, though in a position to hold the rein of the horse, does not actually do so. The latter is evidently modelled on the same prototype as the former.

Most important of all the grass background of the Schefer copy is a modified version of Leningrad-Istanbul technique of representing the ground by means of two separate planes. This in the Schefer miniature has become a kind of hillock, which in itself may be taken as

1. Ibn Jubayr says that these "Kusat" were carried by the Amīr al-Ḥaj (^{أمير الحج}) - or "superintendent of the Pilgrimage" to announce halts and starts of the caravan. "Travels of Ibn Jubayr" R.J.C. BROADHURST - JONATHAN CAPE. 1952.p.191.
2. *ibid* p.191.

evidence that this scene is a modified "2nd miniature", for as we are well aware, landscape features are kept to a bare minimum in this manuscript, so as it is unlikely that here they were added for sheer caprice ; we can take it as referring to the "Kuthbān" - "كُثْبَان" or "sandhills" over which the riders went "...bearing forward..." at the close of the maqamah¹, and which we see again in the representations of this miniature in the Leningrad and Istanbul copies.

There is no doubt about the immediate purpose of the inversion for the second miniature has here been used to expand the first illustration and forms the right wing of the newly created expanded miniature.

It is this transformation, from an independent picture to half of a much larger image that has brought about some of the more important iconographic changes in the 2nd miniature, in particular the elaboration of the banners and the addition of the trumpets. This overall elaboration of the top half of the miniature is not due as Dr. Ettinghausen implies², to an attempt by the artist to symbolize the haste of the pilgrims in their eagerness to reach Mecca, it is rather a pictorial device, used by the

1. STEINGASS p.35. and Beirut p.252
2. ETTINGHAUSEN op.cit. p.120.

illustrator, to bind the two miniatures securely together, for the manner in which the group inclines to the left automatically carries the eye across the page to the opposite miniature compelling the reader to consider them as one illustration.

FIG.155 This opposing miniature, fol.95R, is what was or originally the traditional 1st miniature, it shows Abu Zaid standing on a rock, surrounded by the travellers and their mounts. Directly in front of him stand a group of people, one of whom turns away to face the scene on the other page, becoming thereby the type of linking element we have met with previously. It is also clear that another reason for the development of the top row of figures in the fol.94V miniature was to counter balance the figure of Abu Zaid standing on a rock.

FIG.59 The expanded first miniature, for such it must now be considered, is placed in the opening lines of Abu Zaid's poem in which he attacks those who have deviated from the true purpose of the "Haj" - Pilgrimage. In the Istanbul and Leningrad manuscripts the first miniature is placed somewhat earlier, though still in the appropriate section. It seems that in this particular case there is a very significant reason for the Schefer illustrator having chosen this new position. This will be discussed fully at a later stage.

(iv) INTERCHANGE OF MINIATURES.

The interchange of miniatures from maqamah to maqamah is not a process which often results in the multiplication or reduction of illustrations, nevertheless it does deserve our attention as it occasionally accounts for the misplacing of illustrations.

The Interchange of miniatures is to some extent no doubt, responsible for the growth of the miniature cycles ; So many maqamahs having an almost identical plot must have often led to the utilization of a particular miniature in several similar maqamahs, dealing with a corresponding incident.

In some of the maqamahs however, it is possible to trace, on a limited scale, miniatures which when examined in detail have little or no relation to the text of the plot.

This is obvious in the "34th Maqamah - OF ZABĪD". The 2nd miniature - fol.107R, - purports to show Harith taking the son of Abu Zaid, who has been falsely sold to him as a slave, before the Judge. The illustration shows two figures standing before the Judge, one is the youth and the other, is supposed to be Harith. This latter is without any doubt actually Abu Zaid himself, Abu Zaid, however, does not feature in this area of the plot at all. The seated figure on the right, paradoxically resembles Harith, placed in the position he so often occupies, as an observer at the Court.

It is as if a miniature illustrating one of the maqamahs in which Abu Zaid brings his son before an official, (the 10th or 37th Maqamahs) has been mistakenly placed in this maqamah.

Another example is the miniature in the "9th Maqamah - OF ALEXANDRIA" which depicts Abu Zaid with his wife before the Judge of that city. In this scene we see Abu Zaid making a great play of kissing the Judge's extended hand. As this important iconographic detail is not mentioned at all in the text of the maqamah it is only fair to assume that this miniature is based on one taken from another maqamah where this event does occur. This could possibly be the "40th Maqamah" where such an incident is mentioned though there is no example of such a miniature in any copy of the Maqamat from Baghdad. In this case the changing of the miniature has not been responsible for any misunderstanding as in Maqamah 34.

Apart from these there is at least one example of FIG.163 blatant misplacing. The "39th Maqamah - OF 'UMĀN" has in its first few lines a miniature which depicts an official, surrounded by servants, seated on a throne, before him are two figures resembling Abu Zaid on one side, and on the other, Harith. This has not the remotest link with the beginning of the "39th Maqamah".

It is apparent that this scene should have occupied

the place of the 1st miniature in the "38th Maqamah - OF MEROW (MERV)". This we can deduce by comparing the miniature with those in other manuscripts, and by the fact that the 1st miniature in the "38th Maqamah" is missing in the Schefer copy.

Whereas in the first two cases, there is some apparent purpose behind the interchange of the miniatures, here unless we consider it simply as a mistake - which is not out of the question - the misplacing seems inexplicable.

* * *

(v) ENLARGEMENT : In the classic groupings.

Some of the miniatures used in the basic groupings have been subject to enlargement. These are quite distinct from the expanded illustrations which we have already come across. The expanded miniatures are characterised in the first place by their occupying two pages, and in the second, by being completely surrounded by the text. The enlarged miniatures, on the other hand are, one both double and single page miniatures, and two, independent of the text i.e. the illustrations occupy the full surface area of the page, completely divorced from the text.

There is one example of enlargement in the standard dual maqamahs. This occurs in the "21st Maqamah - OF RĀYY" which deals with Abu Zaid in the guise of an imam, speaking in the mosque of Rayy in Iran. The

speech entails the rebuke of a prince who is present in the mosque at the same time. At the conclusion of his oration the "imam" leaves the mosque. Harith follows him and discovers him to be no less than the arch-schemer himself - Abu Zaid.

FIGS.
136-7

The illustration, which depicts the first part of the plot, occupies folios. 58V and 59R, showing on the right, Abu Zaid in an elaborate tiled minbar. He is represented as a middle-aged man, with a black beard. In the foreground sit a row of people, part of the congregation, seen for the most part from the rear. Directly in front of Abu Zaid sit 3 men on a raised dias. Above - or behind, which ever is intended, is a row of elegantly dressed women.

FIG.
137

Opposite, on page 59R is an architectural facade signifying a room or enclosed space. Within this space is a huge crowd, consisting of 27 figures standing and seated, plus 3 men on horseback. Above, apparently on top of the enclosed space sits the prince. He is surrounded by Turkish soldiers, one of whom - the first on the right, seems to be an officer.

An examination of the earlier versions of this miniature reveal that originally only Abu Zaid and the crowd before him were present. The Baghdad illustrators have developed this theme much further, as the Istanbul version of the scene

FIG.
202

displays - fol.70R - adding an architectural background, and in particular the upper row of figures, also placing the prince directly in front of Abu Zaid. The available sources can tell us this much. The question is, however, how did this elaborated miniature, which we see in the Istanbul copy, become the huge double-page miniature of the Schefer ?

The answer to this is as follows. Throughout the Schefer manuscript we noted the continual occurrence of what have been termed expanded miniatures. These, already occupying 2 opposite surfaces, were the natural starting point for the creation of any full page miniatures of the type we see in the "21st Maqamah" in the Schefer manuscript.

In the enlargement of column miniatures, to full page size, there are according to Dr. Weitzman several different methods "a composition...can be enlarged to fill the whole page in various ways 1). The easiest and simplest is to place a ...picture... in a frame which fills the full page 2)...the upper area (maybe) occupied with superfluous fillings 3). ...by cutting a scene in two halves and placing one above the other...4) enlargement by more than twice the original figure size 5)...Filling the increased area with ornamental features.¹

1. WEITZMAN : Roll and Codex. 4. The full-page miniature.p.104.112.

The methods which directly concern us here are 2), that of filling in the upper area and 4), enlargement of the figures, one or both of which may have been used in the enlargement of the Schefer miniature.

On the one hand the artist starting from an expanded miniature consisting of the right half - possibly minus the row of women, and the huge crowd¹ on the left could have then gone on to add the prince and soldiers, and possibly the women on the right - if they were not already present.

On the other hand, if the original unexpanded miniature had included the women - which is highly probable, then the artist would have had only to increase the size of these right hand figures, in addition to adding the prince and group on the left.

Grabar has queried whether in the earlier miniatures developed in Baghdad, the prince appeared in the gallery above Abu Zaid - as in the Schefer copy, or directly in front of him, as in the Istanbul and presumably the Leningrad versions.² He settles for the latter. However our survey would indicate that any other conclusion is impossible. For it seems clear

FIG.136 that the right hand half of the Schefer miniature plus FIG.202 the Istanbul and the lost Leningrad scenes were all part of one tradition - the "Baghdad tradition",

1. exactly typical of miniatures with expanded crowd scenes in the 25th and 30th Maqamahs.
2. GRABAR op.cit. p.100.

whereas, the left hand side of the Schefer miniature was probably the product of one single atelier.

Moreover, the three figures seated on the dais opposite Abu Zaid in the Schefer manuscript are, judging from the Istanbul copy, occupying the original position of the prince, who when the "prince and soldiers" group was added on the upper left, became an ordinary member of the congregation, yet such was the respect of the artist for the original tradition that he preserved the dais and figures in their old place.

However the most important fact that emerges from this examination, is that it offers evidence that this artist was not the only person, nor the first to introduce expansion. As it is almost impossible that he enlarged a one page illustration surrounded by text, to a double-page enlarged one in a single step, it is clear that he must have begun with - at least - an expanded image, - and that, presumably, existed in the manuscript which he used to make this particular copy.

ENLARGEMENT in the "selected" miniatures.

Single page : There is only one full length single page miniature, this is in the "43rd Maqamah - OF AL-BAKRIAH" fol.138R.

FIG.
176

The scene, which extends the full length of the page, shows Abu Zaid and Harith on camels, talking with a village youth. Behind them is a most impressive

representation of an 'Iraqi village, showing houses grouped around a large pond, a mosque with dome and minaret, and on the right a wall with an armed guard at the gate.

It appears that this miniature, previously a simple column illustration has been enlarged in precisely the same way as the left hand half of the miniature in "Maqamah 21", i.e. the top half has been filled up with decorative detail enabling the scene to be extended to the top extremity of the page.

We are fortunate in being able to trace this process, for we have two other representations of this scene which contain all the essential elements found in the Schefer version.

FIG.
82

The Leningrad version, - the earlier one - fol.293V shows Abu Zaid and Harith talking with the country youth while mounted on their camels. Behind them is a semi-circle of vegetation running from the right of the base line, up over their heads and down again to the left hand side. On the top outer rim of this line are what appear to be a line of mud dwellings - Ak wakh sing. Kukh "  " - behind which is a larger building, most probably a mosque. In front of the mud hovels are 3 cows, one of which is actually lying in the doorway of the first hovel on the left.

Although the lower part of this miniature

corresponds closely with that of the Schefer scene, the upper halves, with the exception of one detail, the cow in a doorway which is common to both, are almost totally different.

FIG.
220

To understand this difference we must turn to a later version in the Istanbul manuscript. There exists on fol.176V a painting of a village similar in its "genre" style and in many details to the upper part of the Schefer miniature. In the foreground there is a pond behind which stand a row of mud hovels. In addition to these, there are two brick edifices, a mosque and part of the city wall.

A comparison of this with the Schefer scene reveals that although there is a fair amount of diversity between the two miniatures, - the city wall and mosque are on opposite sides - at the same time there is a distinct affinity between both representations.

In fact, the "Istanbul element" in the Schefer scene "takes over" as it were, from where the Leningrad leaves off. As in the Istanbul copy the upper half of the Schefer miniature commences with the pond then the mud hovels, and finally the mosque and city wall. Both have many common details, notably the cockerel and the hen on a roof, and the woman on the extreme right handling a spindle.¹

1. GRABAR op.cit. p.105-6.

The Schefer artist, or a predecessor, has been able to combine the two images together very successfully, to produce a new enlarged miniature.

There is, of course, the possibility that the Schefer artist - or an earlier artist in the same atelier - has created the upper half of the miniature from a series of smaller elements, and that the Istanbul artist has utilized this upper half to form his own miniature. However judging by the technique used to enlarge the left hand half of the miniature in the "21st Maqamah" it would appear that the village scene was taken over as a complete image. In the "21st Maqamah" the artist adopted a complete motif - the prince and soldiers - as an enlarging element. This particular motif is also found in the Leningrad manuscript (23rd Maqamah-fol.147V) and the Istanbul manuscript (26th Maqamah - fol.92V)¹. Therefore it seems, on the basis of this evidence, that the artist would have adopted the same technique to enlarge the miniature in the "43rd Maqamah" i.e. by means of a complete image.

Double Page : There is one double-page enlarged illustration among the selected cycle miniatures. This occurs in the "47th Maqamah - OF HAJR". The maqamah concerns an elaborate trick by Abu Zaid and his son to defraud a crowd of sympathetic spectators. He disguises

1. GRABAR op.cit. p. 101.

FIG.
47

FIG.
206

himself as a "cupper", and sets up shop in the town of HAJR in the Yemen. His son posing as a penniless wanderer of noble and exalted birth, begs to be cupped free of charge, the cupper of course refuses with much rudeness. The two begin a furious quarrel in the course of which the youth's clothes are torn - much to his dismay. Abu Zaid - the cupper - repents and offers his services for nothing. The youth will not accept his offer and continues weeping. Whereupon the old man curses his own calling and tells the crowd that had he the wherewithal to sustain himself he would not remain a cupper for a day longer. This excites their sympathy and consequently the dirhams "ceased not to pour upon him".

The Leningrad copy, which is more fully illustrated than the other Baghdad manuscript shows three
 FIGS. 87-9 miniatures. 1. fol.328V shows the cupper in his shop about to cup the youth.¹ 2. fol. ? shows the quarrel in progress.² 3. fol.335V depicts Abu Zaid appealing to the crowd.³

FIG.
183

The 1st miniature is present in the Schefer

FIG.
226

manuscript fol.154V and the Istanbul manuscript fol.198V.

The 2nd however appears only in the Leningrad manuscript. The third miniature also occurs in the Schefer copy and it is this latter illustration which

1. STEINGASS p.157
2. ibid p.160.
3. ibid p.161.

FIGS.
184-5 has been enlarged in this latter manuscript.

The illustrations from the Baghdad copies of the work differ so radically from other representations of this scene,¹ that it is clear there exists a completely separate "Baghdad" tradition for the composition of this miniature.

In its overall design the Schefer scene is very close indeed to that in the Leningrad manuscript. Both consist of a "shop" constructed very simply from a rectangular frame with two horizontal shelves. This is surrounded by a wall or arch extended from one side to the other, over the roof of the "shop". This wall is encircled by a crowd of spectators. The cupper is shown in his shop, gesturing to the members of the crowd on the left, while the youth sits weeping in the interior of the building.

However, whereas the Leningrad illustration is a simple column miniature, the Schefer composition extends over two complete pages. This it should be pointed out, does not detract from the similarity apparent between the two illustrations.

The essential points of dissimilarity between the two versions lies in the structure of the crowd. The Schefer crowd has been constructed in horizontal layers of figures, arranged one above the other, whereas the Leningrad crowd has been placed within a circle inscribed around the shop.

1. Manuscript 6094. fol.174R/Manuscript O.R.1200
fols. 162R 164V 166V.

The nature of the composition makes it possible to assume, what could not be assumed in the other example of a double-page enlarged miniature - in Maqamah 21 -. It is not improbable that this illustration was transformed from a column miniature to a double-page one, without the intermediate stage of expansion, though of course it may have taken several copyings to reach the stage shown in the Schefer manuscript.

This particular illustration could be enlarged without the necessity of making any radical changes in the structure of the composition. To enlarge this miniature all that has been done is, one - to increase the size of the figures, two - to increase the number of the crowd. To accomplish the latter a number of horsemen have been added on the right hand side. The inclusion of horsemen is a pictorial device frequently employed in the Schefer manuscript, to both enlarge and expand illustrations.¹

In addition to the horsemen, the artist has directed his attention to the upper part of the composition, increasing the size of the crowd by another row of figures on either side of the shop.

* * *

1. Maqamahs 21 and 25.

CHAPTER FIVE.

THE SYSTEM OF ILLUSTRATION IN THE
OTHER BAGHDAD MANUSCRIPTS.

We have observed that the fifty maqamahs in the Schefer copy of the manuscript deploy their illustrations by means of two methods, each corresponding to one or the other of the two basic plot structures - the "standard dual" and "extended" plots.

These two methods are the "classic" method, which is employed in the standard dual maqamahs, and the "narrative cycle" used in the extended plot maqamahs. There is in addition a third method which is found in only five maqamahs, this is the use of "comprehensive" illustrations found in the maqamahs with a "continuous dialogue" plot.

We saw also, how all these systems have themselves been subjected to a complex series of modifications resulting in the breaking up of many of these basic groupings ; miniatures have been added to, and disappeared from these groupings, so that in the classic groupings only two or three remain in their original form.

It has been necessary in the course of our examination of the Schefer manuscript to refer occasionally to the other manuscripts which are related to the Schefer copy, and come either from the city of Baghdad itself or one of the neighbouring towns in Southern Mesopotamia and 'Iraq which formed the remains of the Khalifate. These manuscripts are in order of

dates the Leningrad copy 1225-35, the Istanbul copy 1242-58, and the British Museum copy, 1256 (here of course we mean the original of the British Museum copy).

We shall now examine these latter manuscripts in greater detail in an attempt to ascertain the extent to which the systems found in the Schefer are employed in the other Baghdad copies. We shall also endeavour to discover whether the processes to which the Schefer miniatures were subjected appear in the other copies, and if so what was the purpose of these modifications.

(1) The Classic Method.

Among the twenty-two maqamahs in the Schefer copy having a "standard-dual" plot, only the vestiges of the classic method remain ; one maqamah only exists in which the pure classic system has been employed, though at least another five have preserved the essential features of the system. The remaining seventeen maqamahs all exhibit modified versions of the classic system, their illustrations having all been subject to modifications which have led to the multiplication and reduction of the number of miniatures.

Where only one miniature appeared, due to a "contraction" having taken place, it was observed that in almost every instance the remaining miniature corresponded in subject - and often in iconography - to

miniatures in other Baghdad manuscripts where the particular maqamah in question was illustrated -, after the classic fashion - by two miniatures. From this we inferred that at some earlier date the majority, if not all, of the "standard dual" maqamahs employed two illustrations, and also that in general these miniatures were dialogue miniatures.

The Leningrad copy of the "Maqamat" is somewhat earlier and has been ascribed to the years 1225-35¹. An examination of the "standard dual" maqamahs in this manuscript shows that a much greater number of assemblies exhibit the more perfect features of the "classic" grouping. In all there are eight maqamahs in which the classic system has been utilized ; Maqamahs 7, 12, 13, 14, 25 32, 33, 37, 38, 41. In addition to these eight we should probably include the 20th and 21st maqamahs ; the last pages of the 20th and the first of the 21st are missing, however, it seems certain that both possessed another miniature. In many cases these illustrations are of the "dialogue" type, depicting the old man consorting with his potential victims, or himself being confronted by Harith. The 7th, 12th, 32nd 33rd, 37th, 38th possess miniatures which in all but one case are straight forward "dialogue"

FIG.
72

illustrations. The 1st miniature in the 38th Maqamah -

1. HASAN. *مدسة بغداد في التصوير الاسلامي* "Sumer Vol.11 p.31. and D.S.RICE. B.S.O.A.S. 22.1959. p.215.

FIG. fol.56R - shows Abu Zaid talking with the Governor
73 of Merow (Merv), the second depicts the two friends
talking after Abu Zaid has left the Governor's court

FIG. fol - ?. In the 37th Maqamah Abu Zaid is shown in
70 the first illustration - fol.50R - pleading his case

FIG. before the Judge of Şan'a in the Yemen. The second
71 miniature - fol. ?-. depicts Abu Zaid with his son,
in conversation with Harith who clasps the old man's
hand and asks after his health.¹

FIG. In the 33rd Maqamah we find the classic grouping
63 similarly employed ; fol.326R - depicts Abu Zaid

FIG. talking with the poor in the mosque at Tiflis in
64 'Iran, while the second scene, fol.229V shows Harith

FIG. busy reprimanding the old rogue for deceiving the
61 paupers. The 32nd Maqamah shows Abu Zaid disguised as

FIG. a religious teacher answering questions before a group
62 of bedouin - fol. ? - and Harith talking to Abu Zaid

FIG. who is making off with his reward. - fol. ? .

FIG. Likewise the 12th Maqamah contains two illustrations,
24 the first - fol.72V - depicts the old man disguised as

FIG. a wandering dervish explaining to Harith and his
25 companions how he has a charm which will take them

FIG. safely across the Syrian Desert. The second shows the
25 outraged Harith talking to the old man whom he has
discovered drinking in a tavern. - fol.76V.

FIG.
13

The 7th Maqamah also has two illustrations, however the first of these though a "traditional" miniature - among the Baghdad manuscript at any rate -, is not strictly speaking a dialogue miniature. It shows Abu Zaid and his wife distributing strips of paper on which are written a prayer. The old woman is passing the papers around and Harith is presumably reading his, though the illustration is blurred and Harith himself cannot be discerned among the crowd. The miniature however does not show the specific incident traceable to a particular line, demanded by the narrative miniature. It seems that this miniature is of a quite rare type which illustrates not a spoken oration but a written one. For the text which follows this miniature is the verse written on the slip of paper, That which appears directly above the composition states :- "(...now cursed fate allotted to me) a scrap on which was written...".¹ There is at least one other miniature of this type in the manuscripts which appear in the 15th Maqamah.²

FIG.
14

The second illustration however is a dialogue miniature showing Harith talking with the old man in his chambers. - fol.44R.

1. CHENERY p.141.

2. fol.93R. - This miniature is placed in exactly the same manner between the words "...and on it was written..." and the actual words of the poem.

In other maqamahs we find that one or other of the two miniatures in the classic grouping has been deliberately altered so that as a result it approaches much more closely the narrative miniature. Two factors have brought about this change. First the introduction of a completely new composition which replaces a more traditional one. In the 25th Maqamah the Schefer and the Istanbul copies display a similar miniature as the illustration to the first part. This - fols.74V 75R Schefer, fol.89V Istanbul - shows figures surrounding a tower or arch in which stands the figure of Abu Zaid. The Leningrad manuscript does not show this scene in its place there is a rather different one.

FIGS.
143-4
205

FIG.
50

The central portion of this - fol.163R - is occupied by a figure resembling that of Christ seated on a rock. On either side of the rock stand figures carrying robes, while directly in front of the figure on the rock stands a man about to place a robe over the head of the seated person.¹ The figure holding the robe may well be Harith giving his cloak to Abu Zaid. This seems quite likely as this part of the text comes directly before the short poem² - the last two lines of

1. According to ARNOLD - "Sasanian Survivals." Oxford 1924 p.22. the figure standing with the cloak can be traced back to an Oriental (Manichean) "Baptism of Christ" - and appears in Al-Birūnī "Al-aṭhār al-bāqīyah". Edinburgh University Lib. fol.165. The "Christ" however seems to be quite Byzantine in style. The seated figure bears a marked resemblance to that in

the Istanbul version and it seems possible that the Baghdad version of this scene may have incorporated the figure of Christ from the very start.

2. CHENERY p.256.

The words are "... so I took hold on a fur coat... and I stripped it off me and said "Receive it from me -" And he failed not to draw it on while my eye still looked at it. - Then he recited..."

which are shown under the illustration and just prior to the poem Harith is mentioned as having given his cloak to Abu Zaid. The second factor which brought about the change from dialogue to narrative illustration is a change in the traditional

FIGS.
118
317

compositional scheme of a miniature which creates a new relationship between the participants. In the 13th Maqamah the traditional Baghdad and Mesopotamian illustration to the first part of the plot shows the old woman with her children talking to the group of scholars. - Schefer fol.35V, Istanbul

FIG.
195
FIG.
26

41R, manuscript 6094, 40 . - In the Leningrad version the old relationship has been destroyed by the placing of the old woman on a new ground plane in front of the seated scholars instead of at one side of them. It should be observed that the old woman preserves her original stance, gesticulating with her arms, as if still talking to the scholars. -¹ fol. ? .

FIG.
219
FIG.
315

In the 41st Maqamah, as far as we can tell from the existing Mesopotamian and Baghdad versions, the first illustration showed Abu Zaid talking to the congregation of the mosque in Tinis. In the Leningrad version Abu Zaid's son has been added to this scene -

FIG.
75

1. Later artists presumably thought better of this new relationship. The Istanbul version, though it still shows two ground planes has the old woman back in her original position.

fol.275R. implying that rather than referring to a large area of text it now illustrates the arrival of the youth - It infact appears at exactly that point in the text. The proof that it was not originally intended to illustrate this spot can be realized by studying the selfsame line which mentions the arrival of the youth."...Now when he had finished his tear provoking sentences...there rose to his feet, a lad, in the freshness of his youth but bare of body and said..."¹ However in the Leningrad version both father and son are speaking simultaneously - the artist has simply introduced an additional figure i.e. the son into the traditional composition.

FIGS.
51,27,
76

In all of these three maqamahs - 25 - 13 - 41 - the second miniature is a traditional dialogue miniature which can be compared with existing Baghdad and Mesopotamian versions.

FIGS.
145,
171, ~~172~~

In the Schefer copy, as we have seen, the majority of "standard dual" maqamahs are illustrated by only one miniature - almost invariably the first illustration of the "classic" grouping. This we have ascribed to the process of "contraction" leading to the removal of the second miniature in the traditional grouping. An examination of the Leningrad manuscript

shows that this view is substantially correct and that there were in existence, prior to 1237, second miniatures for many more of the "standard dual" maqamahs than are actually illustrated in this manner in the Schefer manuscript.

In the Schefer copy we are already aware of the two miniatures which comprise the "classic" grouping for the 3rd, 12th, 20th, 25th, 28th and 38th Maqamahs. By comparing the miniatures in the Schefer with those that exist in the Leningrad we can see that with two exceptions¹ all the Schefer miniatures correspond in subject and often in iconography with those in the Leningrad versions, and on the basis of this evidence, can deduce the subject of eight of the fifteen missing illustrations in the Schefer copy.

Further evidence that the existing miniatures contained in the classic groupings of the Leningrad were identical in subject to the contracted Schefer miniatures can be seen by the following fact. Where the rare situation exists in the Schefer manuscript that the first miniature in a "classic" grouping has been contracted then the remaining second miniature bears favourable comparison with the second illustration in the Leningrad copy. In the "41st Maqamah" both the Leningrad and Schefer

1. The first miniatures in the 12th and 25th Maqamahs.

FIG.
76
FIG.
171

manuscripts depict as the subject of their illustration to the last part of the plot, Harith confronting Abu Zaid. In both examples - fol.130V Schefer -, fol.276R Leningrad, Harith stands on the left of a ground of plants facing the old man. Both figures gesticulate freely. The only detail which is not identical in each scene is that in the Schefer version there is a tree between the two figures whereas in the other Abu Zaid's staff comes between the two friends.

Thus it can be deduced that in the following eight maqamahs 7, 13, 14, 21, 32, 33, 37, 41 the missing miniature in the Schefer manuscript corresponded - in subject at least - with the appropriate miniature existing in the Leningrad copy. We can therefore assume that the earlier copies of the work painted in the Baghdad area, - perhaps even the very earliest - exhibited the "classic" grouping of two miniatures per maqamah in at least twelve of the "standard dual" maqamahs.

An examination of other manuscripts shows that it is possible to increase these figures still further.

The British Museum copy of the "Maqamat" manuscript O.R.1200, which is almost certainly a provincial copy of an early work from the Baghdad area, possesses eleven examples of "classic" groupings in

standard dual maqamahs. The majority of these we know already, however three examples appear only in this manuscript, - in maqamahs 1, 11 and 40.

FIG.
230
FIG.
231
FIG.
94

In the "1st Maqamah" the first illustration fol.4R shows Abu Zaid seated on a rock addressing four standing figures. The second, which also appears in the Schefer copy (fol.2V) shows Abu Zaid seated on the left of a table on which is meat and bread, on the right of the table is a servant, also seated, and behind the servant stands Harith. The scene takes place in a cave the walls of which surround the figures - fol.5R. It is more than probable that this first illustration corresponded to the illustrations which are missing from all of the other Baghdad manuscripts, due, in the case of the Leningrad and Istanbul copies to the loss of the first pages of the manuscripts.

FIGS
23, 114,
194

The Leningrad, Schefer and Istanbul copies display an illustration to the first part of the "11th Maqamah", fols.65R, 29V 34V. Not one of them however has an illustration to the "confrontation scene", a fact which may lead one to suppose that a second illustration did not exist. In the British Museum copy, however, the confrontation incident is illuminated by a miniature - fol.31R - which depicts Abu Zaid on the right of a ground of plants facing Harith, both are talking as their gesticulations indicate.

FIG.
244

FIG.
243

The first illustration to this maqamah in the British Museum copy is different to those in the three above manuscripts, and resembles much more closely that found in the St. Waast. Perhaps the explanation of this is that the British Museum manuscript is a copy of a very early Baghdad manuscript which employed the older "Mesopotamian" prototype for the first illustration to the "Eleventh Maqamah". By the time of the illumination of the Leningrad manuscript, a specifically "Baghdad" version had been devised for subsequent copies.

FIG.
318

The "40th Maqamah" has a "reversed dual" plot. This as we have seen simply means that the confrontation, instead of coming as it normally does, at the end of the maqamah, appears at the beginning of the plot. (see page 12).

The maqamah tells how Harith meets Abu Zaid who is being taken by his wife before the Chief Judge of Tebriz in 'Iran on a charge of abuse of conjugal rights.¹ The brief words which pass between the two friends serve to form the "confrontation". The second and larger half of the plot concerns the dispute in the court before the Judge.

FIGS.
169-70

The Schefer copy as we observed (page 75.) possesses two illustrations to this maqamah, both however refer to the latter half of the plot. In the
1. STEINGASS.p.102.

Leningrad copy this maqamah is unfortunately damaged and the illustrations missing. In addition none of the Mesopotamian manuscripts possess an illustration to the confrontation between Harith and Abu Zaid, so it would appear that the illustration to this part of the plot in the British Museum copy is the only known version from 'Abbasid times.

FIG.
287.

It depicts - fol.129R - two women both dressed in white holding firmly on to Abu Zaid who is talking to Harith standing on the left of the picture.

If we are prepared to accept the British Museum manuscript as a copy of an early Baghdad version, then it is only correct to acknowledge that the three maqamahs we have discussed above were - in addition to the twelve already known-illustrated after the "classic" manner with two illustrations to each maqamah, in at least some of the copies of the "Maqamat" illuminated in the Baghdad area.

The one certain fact that emerges from a study of the "classic system" of illustration in manuscripts from the Baghdad area, is that this system grew progressively weaker, until it broke down altogether. Commencing with the British Museum copy, more than half the "standard dual" maqamahs

employ the method. In the Leningrad manuscript this has dropped to eight maqamahs, in the Schefer it is used in only six of the maqamahs, while in the Istanbul copy it has, with one exception disappeared altogether. Even taking into consideration the idea that the Istanbul version, as manuscript 6094 is a "cheaper edition" employing only one miniature per maqamah, the gradual decline of the classic system is clearly evident. This decline was not due to the inclusion of more miniatures, but to the tendency to employ fewer and fewer illustrations.

(2) "Selection".

We have noted that the greater part of the miniatures illustrating the "extended plot" maqamahs in the Schefer copy have been "selected" from larger and more complete cycles, and as a result most of these maqamahs are illuminated by not more than two illustrations.

We have also seen (pages 104, 12) that the Leningrad and British Museum manuscripts as a rule employ more complete cycles and therefore the incidence of "selection" in them is much less than in the Schefer copy.

In the Leningrad work, "selection" i.e. conscious limitation of the illustrations to one or two chosen

scenes, is hardly evident at all. There appear to be only two clear cases. The first being in the "29th Maqamah", and the second in the "44th Maqamah".

In the Schefer, British Museum and Istanbul manuscripts the "44th Maqamah" is illustrated with two miniatures. The first depicts the group of travellers around the camp-fire, the second shows Abu Zaid leaving on his camel.

The Leningrad manuscript illustrates this maqamah with two miniatures. The first depicts an incident which is illustrated only in this manuscript showing the host delivering a poem of welcome to the weary Harith who approaches on his camel. - fol.296V. The second fol.298V represents, as in the other copies, the travellers around the camp-fire. The scene which shows Abu Zaid leaving on his camel is absent. As this latter miniature occurs in every other Baghdad copy we can only account for its absence by it having been deliberately omitted, perhaps in preference to the scene showing Harith and the host.

FIG.
84

FIG.
85

These two examples are perhaps not the only ones, though the majority of miniatures seem traceable to earlier archetypes. However there are in this work many episodes which are not illustrated in any other copy from this period, and also scenes which are depicted in other copies but have compositions and iconographic details peculiar to the Leningrad version.

There are about fifteen episodes which, - as far as we can tell from the limited amount of manuscripts available, are illustrated only in this work. However we must be careful not to assume that all these miniatures are the creation of the illustrator alone, for this cannot be proven without many other manuscripts coming to light.

These episodes are in Maqamahs, 9, 10, 15, 18, 19, 23, 43, 44, 47, 50, Figs: 19, 22, 34, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 49, 80, 83, 84, 88, 91. In some cases the illustrations form the complete cycle of miniatures for a maqamah - 18, 19 ; in general however it is only one among a group the bulk of which appears in other copies.

There are other illustrations which at first sight would appear to come under the above category, however on closer inspection they seem more likely to be variations of an older miniature. This is probably true of the first miniature in the "43rd Maqamah" which shows fol.25 Abu Zaid, Harith with their mounts conversing in the shadow of a rock. The subject is not clear but the scene is most likely based on the more usual miniature showing Harith waiting for the old man to awaken from his sleep in the shadow of some rocks. Schefer Fig.134R Istanbul Fig.171V British Museum Fig.140R. We must however differentiate between the latter group i.e.

FIG.
79

FIGS.
175,219,
291

variations of a traditional prototype and those which have a quite distinct and independent iconography of their own.

Many miniatures in the Leningrad manuscript are taken wholly or in part from Christian Gospel illuminations. For example the representations of court scenes are practically all derived from one archetype. The typical court scene - Maqamah 38 - shows an architectural frame bordered on one side by a brick facade. The official - a judge or governor sits on a throne or cushion on the right, before him stands Abu Zaid, or Harith as the case may be. The court is usually full of attendant figures - soldiers, scribes, servants and one of those is invariably shown clutching a column on the far left.

FIG.
72

The origin of this scene is the "Flagellation of Christ Before Pilate" and may be compared with a christian representation of the same scene from a Medieval Ivory plaque in the Bayerisches National Museum Munich. In the Arab version Pilate has become the official and Christ an attendant, while Abu Zaid has been placed between the two.

FIG.
309

The "Wedding Feast" in the 30th Maqamah is also taken from a Christian prototype, compare it with a scene from a "Commentary on Job" in the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris.

FIG.
320

There are also several cases where details can be traced back to Christian miniatures. In the "39th Maqamah" there is a scene depicting Abu Zaid asking to be taken on board ship. The landscape features of this miniature are similar to those found in a scene from an Armenian Gospel.

FIG.
341

However again it would be a mistake to conclude that the Leningrad artist was personally responsible for the introduction of these elements. Similar "christian-inspired" compositions are found in both the Leningrad and Schefer manuscripts ; there is for example a composition common to both manuscripts in their illustration accompanying the "47th Maqamah". This shows a group of spectators encircling a cupper's shop, Leningrad fol.328R. Schefer fol.154V. This scene can be traced back ultimately to a "Nativity" as we may observe by examining a medieval Italian version of the scene.¹ Likewise the composition adopted by both manuscript as an illustration to the "11th Maqamah" certainly comes from an "Entombment". Thus, were there more contemporary copies in existence we should probably find that these compositions inspired by christian originals were much more widely used.

FIG.
342

The position of the British Museum copy is

1. A 14th Century version by Duccio.

somewhat difficult. Overall the number of miniatures illustrating the "extended plot" maqamahs is fewer, here than in the Leningrad copy. This would appear to contradict our earlier hypothesis i.e. - because the British Museum copy has more perfect examples of "classic" distribution than any other Baghdad copy, therefore it is probably based on a very early Baghdad original (see page 113). However, as we pointed out (page 39) it is almost impossible to trace the "Complete Narrative Cycle" of each maqamah, except in a few cases like the "29th Maqamah", where it is obvious that the miniatures in the British Museum and Leningrad copies have been "selected" from a complete cycle represented by the miniatures in the St. Waast version.

Moreover we have to consider the possibility that the provincial copyist may not have copied his Baghdad model in its entirety but may have "selected" a certain proportion and ignored the remainder. This is quite possible as one would not expect a provincial patron to be able to afford so lavish a copy as those found in the Capital. For example the first five "extended plot" Maqamahs - 4, 5, 8, 9, 10 have each only one miniature, and this could suggest that the copyist began with the idea of "selecting" one miniature from a larger number ; most of the Baghdad manuscript illustrate these maqamahs with two, three or four miniatures. However on

reaching the "15th Maqamah" the copyist may have become aware that the illustrations could not be reduced to so small a number if they were to retain any textual significance, so he continued to use at least two miniatures per maqamah, except in the "26th Maqamah" which has only one illustration.

On the other hand this may be incorrect, the provincial artist may have preserved faithfully the number of miniatures which confronted him in the original. In that case the original would be later and not earlier than the Leningrad copy. However whichever is correct the British Museum original is almost certainly earlier than the Schefer copy ; in view of the fact that the "narrative cycles" in the British Museum copy are in a better state of preservation. There are 5 maqamahs in the Schefer copy possessing more illustrations than their counterparts in the British Museum manuscript, Maqamahs 4, 5, 8, 10, 26, but 8 in the British Museum work which have more than those in the Schefer copy. Maqamahs 15, 27, 29, 30, 31, 34, 43, 50.

Finally there are a number of instances in the British Museum manuscript where incidents are illuminated in this copy alone, however these instances are far fewer than in the Leningrad copy.

In the case of these early manuscripts the British Museum original and the Leningrad manuscript it is difficult to establish conclusively which miniatures have in fact been "selected" from larger narrative cycles. It is only when a body of illustrations has been built up that we can tell which of those in later copies have been "selected" and which created at a later date.

* * *

In the Istanbul copy the tendency to reduce the numbers of miniatures is taken to the extreme. Here the average number of illustrations to each "extended plot" maqamah is even lower than that in the Schefer copy. In the latter manuscript the average was two, here it is one ; there are four maqamahs possessing two illustrations, and one which is illuminated by three.

Like many of the Schefer "selected" miniatures those in the Istanbul copy are closely related to their archetypes, not only in that the archetype and the "selected" miniature illustrate the same episode, but also because there exists a close resemblance between the composition and iconography of both.

In the Istanbul there are very few instances of modification, and the occurrence of independent miniatures is practically nil. The most obvious example of an independent illustration appears in the

FIG.
206

"26th Maqamah". The maqamah is illustrated by one miniature fol.92R which shows Harith approaching Abu Zaid who is seated in his tent surrounded by servants¹, while in the foreground figures are seen, carrying objects on their backs.

FIGS.
52,146

In all the other Baghdad copies the maqamah is illustrated by a scene which occurs slightly later, showing Harith and Abu Zaid seated together in the tent² as the old man relates his latest adventure. The "approach of Harith" is however found in one of the Mesopotamian copies. - manuscript 6094 Bibliothèque Nationale, and as we mentioned earlier (page 27), in maqamahs where an "approach" is specified in the text, this does seem to have been interchangeable with the "conversation" scene.

FIG.
220

There is another occurrence of an independent miniature in the "43rd Maqamahs fol.176R. This illustration is however a "duplicated" miniature, and has been dealt with elsewhere (page 158).

The illustrator - or whoever was responsible for allocating the illustrations has reduced their number to the bare minimum. The maqamahs which were lavishly illustrated in the earlier copies i.e. the "subplot" and "adventure" maqamahs have here had their illustrations reduced to two, while the remainder of

1. CHENERY. p.259.

2. *ibid.*

the "extended plot" maqamahs are each illuminated by a single miniature.

The number of illustrations illuminating the "15th Maqamah"¹ in the Leningrad manuscript is five, and in the British Museum copy three. In the Istanbul work there are only two miniatures. The Leningrad copy illuminates the "27th Maqamah"² with four miniatures, the Istanbul copy employs only two.

The Leningrad work uses four miniatures in the "34th Maqamah"³ and the British Museum copy three. Again the Istanbul manuscript possesses only two illustrations.

Both the Leningrad and British Museum copies employ five illustrations in the "43rd Maqamah"⁴ while the Istanbul manuscript uses only three miniatures to illustrate the same maqamah.

The other "extended plot" maqamahs, normally illustrated by two or three miniatures in earlier manuscripts are, in the Istanbul copy, illustrated with one. The only exception to this is the "44th Maqamah" which employs two miniatures as do all the other Baghdad copies.

The desire to reduce the number of miniatures has led to the "conflation" of two miniatures on one occasion. This happens in the "15th Maqamah". Two miniatures, the

1 and 4 are "subplot" maqamahs.
2 and 3 are "adventure" maqamahs.

FIG.
198

first showing the stall in the market on which Abu Zaid sees the dates and milk,¹ the second depicting the man perplexed by a complicated legal poem, showing it to the old man,² have been combined to make one single illustration, fol.48V. The stall appears on the left of the composition, and the two figures on the right. To enable the conjunction of the two scenes one of them has had to be cut in half. The stall which appears on the left is only half of the original composition,³ though the illustrator has attempted to make it look like the end elevation of a covered stall.

Thus there is a quite consistent reduction in the numbers of miniatures, due to the process of "selection", throughout the "extended plot" maqamahs in this manuscript.

* * *

"Selection" results in the reduction of the number of miniatures illustrating the "extended plot" maqamahs, and is an almost identical process to "contraction", which has a similar effect on the miniatures in the standard dual maqamahs.

The overall effect is the total reduction in the number of miniatures used in the Baghdad "Maqamat"

1. CHENERY p.118.
2. ibid p.189.
3. Compare with FIG.32 in the Leningrad copy.

manuscripts over a period of 20 years.

Between the illustration of the Leningrad copy 1225-35? and the Istanbul copy 1242-58, the number of illuminations has dropped by almost half ; the Schefer copy with around 80 miniatures occupies an intermediary position between these two manuscripts.

This reduction is gradual but total. Therefore when attempting to account for "selection" we should regard it as a lesser manifestation of a phenomena which embraces the miniatures of most maqamahs in the later copies of the "Maqamat" from Baghdad i.e. the Istanbul and Schefer copies.

Disregarding for the moment the fact that the "selection" of miniatures in the Schefer copy takes several forms, what we have to explain is plainly the reason for the steady decrease in the numbers of miniatures used by the Baghdad artists.

The reason which immediately suggests itself is that the number of miniatures in use dropped because patrons could not afford to pay for the more lavishly illustrated copy. i.e. - for economic reasons.

There are, however, two facts which contradict this . First, the quality of the Istanbul miniatures has not declined, which one would expect if less money was available to the artist. Secondly, and more important, although the total number of miniatures

illustrating the Schefer copy is less than that in the Leningrad and British Museum copies, the composition of many of those miniatures has been greatly developed, e.g. - "lateral expansion". Again one would not expect this if illustrations were growing less for reasons of austerity.

A far more likely reason would seem to be the time factor involved.

To create a work like the Leningrad copy must have taken anything from 18 to 20 months, even if the miniatures were painted while the scribe was still transcribing the text. If the demand for illustrated copies increased then this demand could only be met - if the quality of the composition was to be retained - by reducing the number of illustrations.

The period in which these manuscripts were created was, as we have mentioned in the introduction, a period of great activity in all branches of the applied arts. Production of metal work, fine pottery and illustrated manuscripts seems to make a sudden leap forward in this period.

It could well be that a continuing increase in the demand for illustrated copies of the "Maqamat" overstrained the centres of production and gave rise to a new "abridged" version coming into existence in Baghdad, a version which contained only half the number

of miniatures found in the earlier copies, represented by the British Museum and Leningrad copies. The Schefer copy may possibly represent an intermediate stage between the more elaborate versions and the later "abridged" copies, of which the Istanbul copy is our example from Baghdad.

In the Schefer manuscript pressure of the increased demand was beginning to be felt viz. the evidence of "contraction" and "selection" occurring on an increased scale. However pressure was not so great as to prevent the illustrator from making compositional developments and innovations.

There is possibly a different explanation for the reduction of the illustrations in the Leningrad copy. In the case of this manuscript "selection" and "contraction" which take place on a more limited scale may have occurred because certain miniatures were of a boring and repetitive nature. e.g. the confrontations between Harith and Abu Zaid.

If a growth in demand is responsible for the persistent decrease of illustrations in the later "Maqamat" manuscripts then this may have something to do with the fact that around this period 1200-58 a new class of patrons is known to have arisen.

Just prior to the period in question there is a continuing emphasis in literature to the importance of merchants and other groups within the bourgeoisie, reflecting their acceptance as a vital section of society. This is also paralleled by persistent praise of the great cities of the Arab world.¹

Outside of the courts, whose members were the natural patrons of the arts, these merchants must have created a new group of wealthy patrons for artists and artisans ; that they bought artistic products on a large scale is testified by the many non-royal objects known to us.²

A growing demand from the courts and wealthy bourgeoisie could quite probably have brought about the state of affairs described above viz. the ateliers of manuscript illumination became overtaxed until the scribes and copyists were compelled to make drastic cuts in the numbers of miniatures employed in each copy.

There is however one obstacle to the above hypothesis. The earliest dated copy - manuscript arabe 6094 Bibliothèque Nationale has its miniatures allocated in a way very similar to that used in the Istanbul copy i.e. one miniature per maqamah. The date of this work is 1222, more than twenty-years before the Istanbul copy.

1. Arab Painting p.81.

2. *ibid.*

However D.S. Rice has asserted that infact this manuscript is not an early work after all ; dating the copy on paleological grounds he suggests that it is more likely to be a late copy of an early manuscript. This is possible as the work has no colophon, the date being incorporated into the compositions of two of the miniatures, in one case written on the side of a ship, in the other inscribed on a schoolboy's slate.¹

FIGS.
323-4

Thus if this is correct then it need not conflict with our argument, though of course one would have to accept that the original of the 1222 copy was more fully illustrated and that the miniatures were "selected" in the later copy.

(3) The Comprehensive Single Miniature.

We have noted that it is quite possible to illustrate the "Continuous Dialogue" Maqamahs, by means of one single comprehensive miniature. The majority of "Continuous Dialogue" Maqamahs (24, 36, 42, 46, 49) use the principle of a comprehensive miniature, though in some cases this miniature has been duplicated.

1. D.S. Rice. op.cit. p.216. In addition it may be further stated that as the scribe and copyist were different persons in the case of this manuscript the copyist may well have been illiterate and not realised that he was copying a date when he painted these two miniatures.

There is a qualification to the above, in that like the "Standard dual" Maqamahs the artist appears to have had a choice between a "dialogue" miniature showing Abu Zaid in conversation with his audience, and a "narrative" miniature depicting his approach. Also, as in the "standard dual" maqamahs the "approach" and the "conversation" scenes are never used together it is always one or the other which is employed.

In the Schefer copy only the "24th Maqamah" uses the "approach" scene the "conversation" scene being employed in all other cases. Among the other Baghdad manuscripts the principle of one miniature to every "Continuous Dialogue" Maqamah is adhered to almost throughout. In the Leningrad copy all of the "Continuous Dialogue" Maqamahs are illustrated by one "dialogue" miniature, all that is except the "42nd Maqamah" where the miniature has been duplicated.¹

FIGS.
77-8

In the Istanbul manuscript all of these five maqamahs are illustrated with only one miniature being used in each. The British Museum copy has all maqamahs with the exception of the 46th illustrated by only a single miniature. As the "42nd Maqamah" in the Leningrad manuscript has its miniature duplicated, so too has the "46th Maqamah" in the British Museum copy.

1. The 24th and 36th and 49th Maqamahs are unfortunately missing.

The use of the "approach" miniature is confined to the 24th and 36th Maqamahs. The British Museum and Schefer copies appear to employ the same scene in each maqamah, while the Istanbul manuscript uses the alternative one. The British

FIG.
142

Museum and Schefer manuscripts use the "approach" scene in Maqamah 24, while the Istanbul shows the conversation between Abu Zaid and his audience.

FIG.
204

The "36th Maqamah" in the two former manuscripts is

FIG.
161

illustrated by a "dialogue" miniature depicting the conversation, whereas the same maqamah in the

FIG.
214

Istanbul is illustrated by the "approach" scene.

CHAPTER SIX.

MODIFICATIONS IN THE OTHER BAGHDAD MANUSCRIPTS
WITH SUGGESTED REASONS FOR THEIR EXISTENCE.

(i) Expansion.

There are nine examples of a composition expanded over two facing pages in the Schefer copy. However among the other Baghdad manuscripts; it is only in the British Museum copy that we find any comparable manifestations of expanded composition.

FIG.
263

In this latter manuscript there are three expanded compositions. The first appears in the "28th Maqamah - OF SAMARQANDA", and shows -fols. 85V-86R - Abu Zaid preaching in the mosque of Samarqanda (Samarkand). The scene which is similar to those in other copies,¹ apart from several details - depicts an old man dressed in black² standing in the minbar addressing the congregation. The old man in the minbar occurs on the right hand folio, and the congregation on the left hand one. In front of the minbar stand three "priests" also dressed in black. The congregation which is made of eight figures stand facing the old man. This particular type of expansion is one which we have met before in the Schefer copy, with the expanded half consisting of relatively unimportant iconographic elements - the figures in the crowd.

1. Schefer. 8V. M.S.6094 93 FIG.148.
2. Black was the colour of the Abbasid Khalifs, and was worn by religious dignitaries in most parts of the Islamic world. - see IbnJubayr p.43.

This particular expansion differs from the Schefer expansions in one very important respect. For unlike the Schefer example, the two halves of the expansion in this copy are inseparably bound together by a "frame" - or rather an architectural façade which totally surrounds the complete composition.

FIGS.
152-3

In the Schefer copy the practice was to surround each half of an expanded composition in which an architectural background featured, with an independent façade. - see the "30th Maqamah". This was despite the fact that both halves took place in the same environment.

FIGS.
270-1

The other two expanded compositions are both in the "31st Maqamah - OF RAMLAH". Each composition shows a more-or-less identical scene. Abu Zaid stands on a pile of rocks delivering a speech to a group of riders (5 on the first page 4 on the second). The illustration which covers the lower parts of folios 96V, 97R, represents a line of camels passing a half-naked old man who is situated on the right. The scenery consists of four groups of rocks on a ground of grass extending across both pages. The subject of the scene is Abu Zaid's first oration to the pilgrims.¹ The actual scene depicted however is

1. STEINGASS. pp.33-4.

not textually accurate, for the pilgrims are - according to the text resting during the recital of the oration, and not passing by the old man.¹

It would seem that this is a case of "duplication" for this miniature corresponds to the latter part of the plot, where the old man harangues the departing pilgrims.

Thus the miniature which properly illustrates this latter part shows almost exactly the same characteristic as the previous miniature, fol.88R-89V, four figures on camels going away to the left, while the old man holding his arms before him, urges them to heed his words.

However what concerns us is that both miniatures are examples of laterally expanded compositions, indicating that the Schefer artist was not the only illustrator to utilize this method.

As for the purpose behind this expansion of composition over two pages, the ultimate aim in the Schefer and the original of the British Museum copy was no doubt to elaborate the existing images. Possibly this was at the request of a patron or perhaps it was purely a result of the illustrator's own desire to demonstrate his artistic ability.

1. STEINGASS.p.p. 33-4

Whatever it was that determined the illustrators of these manuscripts to elaborate certain compositions it seems likely that the same motive was at the root of several elaborations in the Leningrad and Istanbul manuscripts.

In the Leningrad copy we find many instances in which a "traditional" image has been enlarged by the addition of one or more extra ground planes below the original one, on which elements that can elaborate and enrich the composition are situated. These elements are in the form of two dimensional theatrical flats, which when the composition is viewed as a whole give a suggestion of depth.¹

FIG. 26. These elements are of two categories. As in the Schefer expansions, they are either an essential part of the iconography (49R-"13th Maqamah") or simply a multiplication of a minor part of the original composition. (22R "4th Maqamah").

FIG. 5

We are fortunate in having copies of the same scene in both Leningrad and Schefer manuscripts which illustrate the different methods used by each artist to accomplish the same result. We are equally fortunate in possessing a miniature which gives some hint of the original composition of the scene.

1. This also appears in the Istanbul manuscript - GRABAR. op.cit. p.108.

FIG.273 This latter is in the British Museum copy on fol.106R and shows Harith, on the right, talking to Abu Zaid. On the left of the old man stand a singing girl and two camels. The group stand on a grass-strip comprising the ground, from which grow several plants. The composition is simple in the extreme, with all figures standing in a straight line across the page.

FIG.62 All these elements occur in both Schefer and Leningrad versions, however the composition has been quite considerably altered in these manuscripts. In the Leningrad copy - fol. ? "32nd Maqamah" the two friends instead of standing next to the camels, now occupy a new position on a fresh ground plane in front of the camels and the girl who remain on the old ground plane, now the background. Harith and Abu Zaid instead of standing are seated on horses, though this is of little importance. The purpose was probably to balance the group of camels whose number has been increased to nine.

FIGS.
61-62 The breaking up of the original group is also a feature of the Schefer version, fols.100V-101R -. Here however both groups - the two friends, the camels and girl - appear in the same plane as indeed they do in the British Museum manuscript. The difference is, that the plane is spread over two

pages, Abu Zaid and Harith on the right-fol.100V, and the camels on the left - fol.101R. i.e. he has "expanded" the composition.

Both illustrators have elaborated the composition, by increasing the pictorial area over which it is spread, though in each case the expansion of the composition has taken a different form. Behind this lies the particular attitude of each artist towards the representation of pictorial space.

Both were aware of "optical" rather than "conceptual"¹ spacial illusion, however the Leningrad artist was rather more advanced than his colleague, in that he was able to create some form of depth by the use of multiple ground planes or "terracing" as it has been described by Kallab ; depth is suggested by the vertical alignment of figures and objects, those in front freely overlapping the ones behind. The result is a sort of bird's eye view, which are most familiar in later Persian painting.² The value of this method for the manuscript illuminator was that it enabled all who practised it greatly to increase the pictorial capacity

1. Both of these terms are used by MIRIAN S. BUNIM in "The Forerunners of Perspective" Columbia University Press 1940 to classify Ancient and Medieval concepts of space. "Conceptual" representation emphasises the "real" form of an object, while "optical" its apparent or visual form (P.S.) also "in"conceptual" and "optical" representation what is true of objects and figures is also true of the composition of a scene. The conceptual relates things with reference to their tactile form and meaning. Optical representation limits itself to visual relationships in which the

retinal image is, roughly speaking, the determining factor of the composition" (p.6.) On the basis of this the majority of scenes in the Schefer and Leningrad manuscripts were optical. However "conceptual" elements do appear, particularly in the Schefer manuscript, as the author includes under "conceptual representation" what she calls "parallel-plane representation" (p.6) more commonly known as "vertical perspective", - objects and figures, whether vertical or horizontal are drawn parallel to the picture-plane, and scenes are composed with no overlapping planes - as in Egyptian painting. She also includes "hierarchical scaling" - the enlargement of figures to indicate social rank (p.7). So there is some overlapping of "conceptual" and "optical" methods in the Schefer miniatures.

2. Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Kaiserhauses XXI 1901 p.4. and Bunim op.cit.p.8.

of an illustration in little more space than would normally be used for a simple two dimensional illustration, with one ground line.

However it should be pointed out that the illusion created was not space in the strictest sense-defining space as a tridimensional extension, in which a focussed system of perspective could be employed. There is no direct connection between the objects on the ground planes, they remain "theatrical flats". On the rare occasions when figures have to move from one plane to another they invariably use the very extremities where upper and lower planes meet. - see fol.82R - "4th Maqamah".

FIG.6

Whereas this method is used consistently throughout the Leningrad, in the Schefer at least four methods of composing objects in a background are discernable, two of which are often used in one miniature. The first, is the terraced form which occurs in only two miniatures. The first is the "Sleeping Caravan" scene in Maqamah 4. fol.9R, and the second the "Village" scene in Maqamah 43 fol.138R Figs. 100,176.

The second, which is also used in the Leningrad manuscript, consists in allowing the extremities of certain elements to appear from behind other

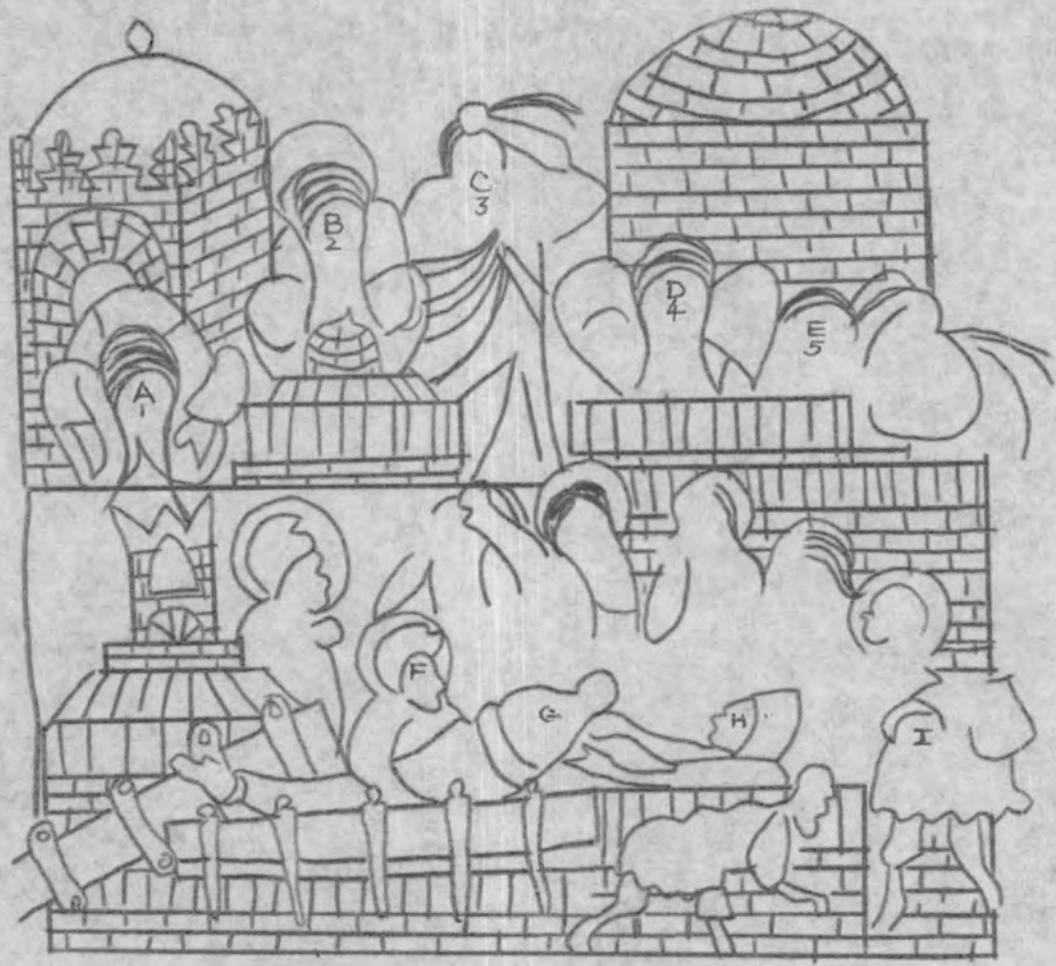
vertical elements, thereby indicating, or rather creating two separate planes, as for instance in FIG.175. "Maqamah 43" where a camel's neck protrudes from behind a large rock into the foreground.¹ This attempt to indicate depth rarely succeeds as there is no differentiation between the relative size of the elements in the "background" and "foreground".²

The third method is a variation of "parallel plane representation. This is confined to group scenes ; the heads and shoulders of successive rows of figures are placed one above the other, often building up into enormous crowds. - see FIGS. 136-7. fols. 58V-59R "21st Maqamah".

The fourth method consists of the lateral extension of groups of figures across the picture plane. Groups of seated people, one behind the other, with half of the body in front concealing half of that behind. The complete row however appears in one plane, normally the picture plane.

These last three methods, both "conceptual" and "optical" are often all mixed up together in one FIG.173 miniature, - in the "42nd Maqamah" fol.131V the carpet is shown optically, the figures overlap yet

1. VALENTINE - "The Frontal plane in Medieval Art" - Art Quarterly 2. 1939 p.p. 155-72.
2. ibid. see also Z.M. HASAN. "Madrasat Baghdad..." p.36.



(i)



(ii)

are all in the same plane, and the second row of figures appears above the front row.

Contrary to what has been written, At-Wasiti shows no unnatural preoccupation with the problems of creating spacial illusion. The methods he used were common to medieval painting and he himself seems to have made no special contribution to the liberation of the elements from the picture plane. On the whole his experiments with 3.D. space were strictly limited to the occasional detail and the majority of scenes are composed in fundamentally two dimensional style.

This can best be seen in two miniatures representing the same scene from the Schefer and Leningrad manuscript which furthermore give us a direct clue for the Schefer artists preference for lateral "expansion".

FIGS.
114-23

In both fol.29V. Schefer fol.65R.Leningrad there is a distinct duplication of basic elements :- a line of brickwork in the foreground, on the left a coffin and lid. Behind the wall, on the right, two figures lower a corpse into a grave. Several of the mourners are duplicated in each version - see diagram - C3,D4, (i) and C4,D5, (ii). Each composition possesses the domed tombs on the top left and right.

There are enough identical elements for us to deduce that both miniatures stem from a similar prototype, which it may be added is almost certainly a Baghdad prototype and of comparatively recent date.

The Leningrad version like so many other scenes is composed of two "terraces" each consisting of a register of tombs graves and mourners. The lower terrace is the usual "theatrical flat", however the top row is more complex. The left hand grave-tower has been constructed according to some system of focussed perspective, for its right hand wall recedes at an angle of 45° - indicated in the coursing of the brickwork. In front of the wall facing the spectator, parallel to the picture plane is a seated figure. In the space which is implied by the receding tower wall, half hidden by a low grave, also parallel to the picture plane is another seated mourner. Thus each figure is situated in a separate plane of depth, one of which is created by the use of perspective ; this space is obviously much more "real" than that implied by the simple overlapping of compositional elements.

The Schefer artist has represented the same scene, He has however made certain modifications to harmonize the composition with his own spatial conceptions.

The transformation of the left hand tower is quite symbolic of the change which has overtaken the whole composition. The coursing of the bricks on the dome

indicate that they form a curved surface, extending back from the picture plane. However the brick work on the tower proper runs horizontally, parallel to the picture plane, thus bearing no relation to the dome which surmounts it, nor to the rows of battlements which originally ran along the top of the walls, and melt in the centre of the wall surface.

The battlements have become simply a surface decoration ; the "teeth" are painted not in the dark-brown of the tower which they are part, but in the yellow of the dome. Paradoxically the apertures are painted in the colour of the tower instead of the dome. In addition buttresses have been placed at either side of the wall. Logically there should be a third buttress at the intersection of the "battlements", however as this does not exist the two outer buttresses have the effect of accentuating the flat two-dimensional character of the tower.

The Schefer artist - (or his model for it seems that the original scene has undergone a gradual transformation) - has disregarded the attempt at focussed perspective manifest in the earlier version, allowing the tower to become simply a flat-surface. This is true of the composition as a whole ; the double ground plane or "terracing" has become a flat, compact surface parallel to the picture plane.

Over this surface, painted in mud-brick brown the figures of the mourners are distributed, - not in the form of parallel registers, but as two diagonal lines extending across the composition, uniting the upper and lower parts and emphasising the two-dimensional natures. One row stretches from the lower left to the upper right, and the other from the centre to the lower right. Several of the original mourners remain but their positions have been altered to conform with the new alignment.

In short the artist has transformed a three-dimensional composition into an essentially two dimensional one, employing the background not as an excuse to bring spatial elements and focussed perspective into play, but rather as a foil against which to work a figure arrangement.

This has significant bearing on our examination of the expanded compositions, for as we have observed, the artist of the manuscript does not attempt to create three-dimensional space with anything approaching the enthusiasm displayed by the Leningrad artist, or for that matter the Istanbul artist. Infact his attempts at conveying spatial illusion are rather limited and often confused. There seems little doubt that the artist was trained in a different tradition to the Leningrad and Istanbul illustrators.

The significance of this pre-occupation with two dimensional compositions is that when the Schefer painter was forced to enlarge a compositional scheme, the only direction in which he could expand was laterally. Thus it is that we find on numerous occasions that the ordinary column miniature is spread over two facing pages.

As we have noted there are at least four ways in which this may be accomplished.

1. The structure of an older composition is broken into two halves, one occupying the right and the other the left hand page.
2. Part of the composition is "inflated" and this, normally of minor iconographic significance, continues over onto the opposite page.
3. Two independent miniatures are grouped together to make a miniature which takes up two pages (fols.94V95R 31st Maqamah).
4. A new miniature is created and appended to one side of an older composition (fols.18V.19R 7th Maqamah, fols.120V.121R. 39th Maqamah).

The Schefer artist was not the first, nor the only artist to employ lateral expansion, as we see from the British Museum copy.

In later Islamic painting from Persia, it is interesting to find that the two apparently opposing methods used in the Leningrad and Schefer manuscript have

been reconciled and that the two, "lateral expansion" and "terracing" are being often employed in the same composition.¹

(ii) Contraction.

The disappearance or "contraction" of one miniature in the "classic dual" groupings is quite common in the Schefer manuscript, taking place in 12 of the 21 standard dual maqamahs. In the majority of examples, contraction is not by any means straight forward. In only one case - the "1st Maqamah" is the action of contraction simple and direct. In all the instances contraction is coupled with a modification of the remaining miniature ; for expansion, duplication, chronological inversion etc., are all evident in the illustrations which have survived "contraction".

In the Leningrad, Istanbul and British Museum copies, where contraction has taken place it has done so in a very direct way. As we have already seen the standard dual maqamahs are in most cases illustrated by two miniatures, one illustrating the major part of the plot, - Abu Zaid before his listeners, the other being the confrontation between the two friends. In all but the Schefer manuscript the positions of the two miniatures are generally the same ; not of course exactly the same

1. BLOCHET "MusulMan Painting" METHUEN London.
PLS. CX1V, CXV.

position but within a few lines of each other and normally within the correct textual area.

When contraction occurs in either the Leningrad, Istanbul or British Museum manuscripts it is of a familiar pattern ; one miniature is dropped and the other remains in its normal position in the text.

In the Leningrad version three maqamahs have been subjected to contraction, the "6th" "11th" and "17th". One of these, however, the "6th" should not be included as this maqamah was not illustrated in the "classic" fashion, but, it seems possessed more than two illustrations in earlier versions.

The "11th Maqamah" shows the graveyard scene - fol.65R, and the "17th Maqamah" the scene in which Abu Zaid addresses his listeners. fol.105R. As these two maqamahs are the only two among the Leningrad "standard dual maqamahs" which possess one miniature, and as one of the maqamahs - the "17th" is never illustrated by more than one miniature in any of the Baghdad manuscripts it could be assumed that no miniature existed for the confrontation scene. This however would be too hasty a decision as the "11th Maqamah" also is illustrated by only one miniature in all the Baghdad manuscripts except the British Museum version, where the traditional confrontation scene appears. - fol.31R.

The Schefer manuscript is presumed to be next to the Leningrad copy in chronological order. Here there are eleven cases of contraction.

By the time that the Istanbul manuscript was illuminated (1242-58) all but one - the 12th Maqamah - of the twentyone standard dual maqamahs had been subject to contraction.

Where it occurs in this manuscript contraction shows exactly the same feature as in the Leningrad copy i.e. the remaining illustration appears in its correct textual area.

The British Museum copy has seven examples of contraction. Here however we are faced with added difficulty for it is possible that the provincial copyist may have contracted certain maqamahs which were fully illustrated in the original version i.e. the version on which he based his copy. Thus it is possible that the original version possessed more complete "classic" examples.¹ However whether or not this is correct the existing miniatures once more the remaining miniatures are placed in their appropriate areas of text.

Several important facts emerge from this. In the first place where contraction has occurred, in most cases the contracted miniatures are the same in all manuscripts.

1. also half the "20th" and all the "21st" maqamahs are missing and either or both of these could have possessed two miniatures per maqamah - in the "classic" manner.

Maqamah	British Museum	Leningrad	Schefer	Istanbul m.s.s.
1	classic	?	1*	?
2	1*	?		?
3	classic		classic	?
6				
7	classic	classic	2*	?
11	classic	2*	2*	2*
12	classic	classic	classic	?
13	classic	classic	2*	2*
14	2*	classic	2*	2*
17	2*	2*	2*	2*
20	?	?	classic	2*
21	?	?	2*	2*
25	classic	classic	classic	2*
28	classic	?	classic	2*
32	classic	classic	1*	?
33	classic	classic	2*	2*
35	classic	2*	?	2*
37	2*	classic	2*	2*
38	2*	classic	classic	2*
40	classic	?	2*	?
41	2*	classic	1*	2*
48	2*	?	2*	2*

K E Y

The numbers indicated thus 1*:2*: refers to the miniature which has disappeared i.e. first or second.

"?" means that miniature is missing, or in the case of the Istanbul copy, it has not been possible to obtain information about Maqamahs 11, 32, 40.

"classic" of course means two miniatures, 1 illustrating the first part 2 illustrating the confrontation.

The table indicates that in all but two cases the maqamahs subject to "contraction" in each of the 4 manuscripts have dropped the lesser scene - the confrontation miniature, while at the same time preserving the first, and generally more impressive, illustration.

Secondly we see that on the whole the tendency to "contract" this second miniature grows with the passage of time, starting with only a handful of "contractions" and finishing with the "contraction" of practically all the second miniatures in the standard dual maqamahs.

Owing to the fact that the same miniatures in all manuscripts have been subject to "contraction" makes it quite possible that a similar reason was responsible for all cases.

In Western and later Persian¹ manuscript illumination the abbreviation of miniature cycles is quite common. Frequently this was as a result of the increasing popularity of a certain number of illustrations, while illustrations of a repetitive or unspectacular character were eliminated. This could well account for many of the Baghdad "contractions", for the miniatures which have disappeared are invariably the "confrontation" scenes - normally of rather monotonous nature.

1. TALBOT-RICE. "Islamic Art" Thames & Hudson 1965.p.220

However the abbreviation of cycles due to the popularity of a relatively small number of illustrations implies a somewhat different attitude to manuscript illustration than that where each changing situation is conceived in pictorial form. This latter form favoured by Graceo-Roman Illustrators and those following in their footsteps is a purer form of illustration where miniature and text are considered a unit in which the written word is supplemented by the picture and vice-versa.¹ The former method regards the miniatures much more as independent units which offer the illustrator the possibility of using all his skill, eventually going so far as to liberate the miniature from the text altogether.

This method is certainly truer of the Schefer copy than the Leningrad one. The Schefer manuscript with its full page compositions is well on the way to "liberating" the miniatures from the text.

* * *

The Schefer copy no less than the other Baghdad manuscript displays the "contraction" of some cycles or groupings, on quite a large scale.

However "contraction" in this manuscript has some peculiarities which isolate it from all other copies.

1. WEITZMAN. Ancient Book Illumination. Harvard 1959.p.33.

D.S. Rice¹ has pointed out that the miniature illustrating the "11th Maqamah" in the Schefer manuscript (which refers to the earlier part of the text) is placed not near the beginning as it is in the Leningrad copy fol. but at the end of the maqamah - directly in the confrontation scene.

An examination of the text shows that this phenomenon is present in seven of the "contracted" maqamahs. Four of the eleven "contracted" maqamahs are straight forward - insofar as their miniatures appear in the correct textual area, Maqamahs 1, 21, 40, 41. In the others, 7, 11, 13, 14, 17, 33, 37, the miniatures which remain after contraction are misplaced.

Misplacement in the Schefer manuscript is a matter of degrees. The miniatures in the "7th" and "37th Maqamahs" are in the correct textual area but at the same time there is no immediate relation between surrounding text and scene depicted.²

FIGS.
107-162

1. D.S.RICE. "The Earliest Illustrated Arabic Manuscript" B.S.O.A.S.22 p.217.
2. "7th Maqamah" fols. 18V-19R. shows Abu Zaid and his wife in the mosque, giving out the papers. The surrounding text deals with the old man's chagrin when he discovers a paper is missing. CHENERY.p.142. The "37th Maqamah", fol.114V shows Abu Zaid accusing his son, the surrounding text is just prior to the poem delivered by the son, at the point where the miniature is placed the son is defending himself before the judge. STEINGASS.p.85.

FIG.158

In the "33rd Maqamah" the remaining miniature - fol.103R - showing Abu Zaid tricking the beggars of Tiflis is placed at the extreme end of his address to them, at the point where he takes his leave.¹ Which is only a few lines from the confrontation miniature in the British Museum and Leningrad manuscripts.²

In the 11th, 13th, 14th, 17th Maqamahs all the miniatures refer to the first part of the plot yet without exception, each miniature is situated directly in the centre of the confrontation scenes.³

This replacing of the first miniature in a "classic grouping" in the position of the second miniature - for this is what has happened, amounts to the "liberation" of the illustrations from the text, and as such is quite characteristic of the manuscript. Throughout we find miniatures - particularly "dialogue miniatures" placed in the centres of poems and orations, rather than at their beginning, as in the other Baghdad manuscripts.

1. The line surrounding the illustration is as follows "...then he made much of their little, and accompanied its acceptance with thanks, whereupon he turned away dragging half his body and made off stumbling on his road..." STEINGASS.61

2. Fol.229V. Leningrad. fol.109V British Museum.

3. "11th Maqamah". Schefer illustration appears at point "...then I said to him: Away with thee old Shiekh..." CHENERY 167.fol.29V. The Leningrad illustration fol.65R appears after the first two lines of the maqamah. CHENERY p.164. The 2nd illustration in the British Museum copy is placed

FIG.114

FIG.23.

FIG.244

2 or 3 lines after the Schefer miniature "then he went to the left; and I set myself to the quarter of the north..." (fol.31R).

"13th Maqamah" Schefer illustration appears at point when Harith discovers Abu Zaid in the mosque (fol.35V) FIG.118

CHENERY p.180. The same miniature in the Leningrad, British Museum and Istanbul manuscripts appears FIGS.27
248,195

between the lines "...we caught sight of an old woman..." and the beginning of the old woman's speech. CHENERY p.176-7. The illustration in the Schefer manuscript is placed about 6 lines from the 2nd miniature in the Leningrad manuscript (fol.82V) and the 2nd miniature in the British Museum copy (fol.37R) CHENERY p.180.

"14th Maqamah" Schefer illustration appears in the last poem of the maqamah beginning "serwaj is my dwelling..." (fols.37V-38R) CHENERY p.185. The same FIG.119

miniature in the Leningrad, British Museum and Istanbul manuscripts is placed near the beginning of Abu Zaid's initial speech on arriving before Harith. FIGS.28
196,249

CHENERY p.182. The illustration in the Schefer is in almost exactly the same spot as the 2nd Leningrad illustration - fol ?, just prior to the above mentioned poem.

"17th Maqamah" The Schefer miniature appears in the last poem beginning "time hath drawn his sword..." which FIG.126

is in the confrontation between Harith and Abu Zaid. (fol.46V) CHENERY p.204. The same illustration in the other manuscripts from Baghdad appears between the FIGS.37

lines "...Now when he saw that the company had consumed their store..." and "...if it mounts from the west then, Oh its a marvel...". CHENERY p.201. 199

This new relation, while it allows the illustration to refer to a much greater area of text, at the same time indicates that the artist considered the miniatures more as pictures in their own right than as illustrative units indicating the course of the plot.

In relation to this attitude it might be added that where two or three illustrations occur in the same maqamah there is often a total lack of sequence among these miniatures which are supposed - one would assume - to indicate the progress of the plot. The same location is painted differently from miniature to miniature, the colours and styles of clothes change, and the number of participants, increases and decreases at random. This too suggests that the illustrator paid little attention to the idea that illustrations are basically subservient and complimentary to the text. Compare this with the Leningrad manuscript where most details are followed meticulously from miniature to miniature. (the "10th Maqamah" for example).

Such innovations and modifications as we find in the Schefer manuscript could, it should be remembered, only take place when the scribe and illustrator were one and the same person, and this is useful for corroborating the claim to such effect made in the colophon of the manuscript.

(iii) Duplication.

FIGS.

170-172

The Schefer copy contains five examples of "duplication", two of these occur in the "standard dual" maqamahs - 40,41, with the remainder appearing in the "continuous dialogue" maqamahs 42, 46, 49.

These "duplicated" miniatures were of two categories. 1 Those which were virtually a repeat of the previous illustration. 2 Those where the miniature was a repeat, but had been altered in some way to conform with a fresh line of text. We noted that the second type of duplication was rare in the other manuscripts and was possibly the contribution of the Schefer artist himself.

"Duplication" is not confined to the Schefer manuscript but appears in all the Baghdad manuscripts.

FIGS.

299-300

The British Museum copy possesses one¹ instance of "duplication". This is in the "46th Maqamah". The first illustration in this maqamah depicts Abu Zaid and Harith seated before the class of boys - fol.156V. The second miniature shows Abu Zaid and Harith seated but without the boys. - fol.161R. However this second illustration would appear to be linked to the surrounding text for the words underneath read "...and I discovered him to be Abu Zaid...".

The Leningrad "Maqamat" contains by far the most interesting examples of "duplication".

1. The two miniatures in Maqamah 31 are also duplicated.

There are three cases of duplication.

The first two occur in Maqamahs 5 and 26, i.e. "extended plot" maqamahs both of which contain sub plots (- see page 16). Maqamah 5 contains four miniatures, the fourth being a duplication of the third. The original illustration - fol.30V - represents Abu Zaid outside of a dwelling talking with his son, while in the building itself is the figure of a seated woman spinning i.e. the boy's mother.

FIG.10

The next illustration (the fourth) fol.32R is identical in almost every respect to the previous one differing from it only in minor details, mainly in the architectural background. Strangely enough neither of these illustrations is in the correct textual position.

FIG.11

The second example is in the "26th Maqamah".

The first illustration in the maqamah - fol.164R depicts two figures¹ in a small pavillion, which is surrounded by an elaborately decorated wall made of cloth. There is a figure on guard at the gate of this wall, and within the compound itself are two figures possibly servants.

FIG.52

1. The two figures in the tent should be Abu Zaid and Harith however one of the figures appears to be dressed in a woman's gown. Perhaps this is a reference to the "magnificent apparel" which Abu Zaid is said to wear (*هذه الثياب*). On the other hand the artist may have misunderstood the text, reading

"ghutamah" (غُتْمَاةٌ) female slave for "ghilmah"
(- غِلْمَاةٌ) male slaves. - CHENERY p.259.

FIG.53

The next miniature in the "26th Maqamah" is an almost exact duplicate of the miniature on fol.164R. This second miniature - fol.167V - like that in the "5th Maqamah" differs from the original in only a few details. Here, in this Maqamah the miniature which has been created as a result of "duplication" is wrongly placed.

FIG.173

In the Leningrad copy there is also an example of a duplicated miniature being linked to a line of text. In the "42nd Maqamah" the initial illustration shows the same scene as that in the Schefer copy,

FIG.77

Abu Zaid addressing a group of seated figures - fol.278R. In the background is an impressive and well drawn mosque with a figure - possibly a workman on the roof.

FIG.78

The "duplicated" miniature - fol.285V - is more-or-less identical ; the same juxtaposition of figures is used, with the mosque behind in the background. There are however two distinct deviations, the upper part of the mosque has been altered and the first figure on the left grasps Abu Zaid's cloak with both hands. This presumably alludes to the line "...But the headman of the people laid hold on him...", though the illustration itself is not placed at that point, but at the extreme end of the Maqamah.

FIG.220

Finally there is one case of "duplication" in the Istanbul "Maqamat". In the "43rd Maqamah" we see on fol.176R a picture of the village in which the two companions arrive in the course of their travels. It appears that this is a "scenic miniature" - (see page 180) merely indicating the location of the action, for although the village is executed in great detail there is no indication as to the whereabouts of Abu Zaid, Harith and the village boy.

FIG.221

The second illustration - fol.177V - again depicts the village. In this second version the background - the mosque and town wall - have been removed leaving only the group of mud hovels. Among the inhabitants of the village, on the far right, are two figures presumably Abu Zaid and the village boy.

The latter miniature is correctly placed, however, the former is much too early appearing in the discussion which is supposed to have taken place between Abu Zaid and the eloquent young man on the subject of marriage.

Several theories have been advanced for individual cases of "duplication" Grabar¹ has referred to the instance of "duplication" in the Istanbul copy suggesting that perhaps there was in existence more

1. GRABAR op.cit. p. 105.

than one model for that scene, and that these two models had been used here together. However he does not go further and give a reason as to why they should both have been used. Grabar while discussing the above two miniatures, introduces a theory put forward by Ettinghausen,¹ namely that the second miniature represents a closeup of the first.

Can we apply any of these theories to other examples in other manuscripts? It seems that in some cases Grabar's suggestion of two models can account for the existence of a "duplicated" miniature.

FIGS.181-2 In the Schefer copy, the two illustrations to "Maqamah 46" have backgrounds so completely independent of one another that it is highly likely that each is based on a separate model. Similarly the two miniatures in the "49th Maqamah" have backgrounds which differ considerably, making it probable that each comes from an independent model.²

In other cases this explanation cannot be used. The "duplication" in the 5th and 26th Maqamahs in the Leningrad copy cannot be explained in the above manner. This is because the points of difference between the two images in each Maqamah are not enough for us to assume that each comes from a different prototype. If we examine any two

1. Grabar op.cit. p.105

2. The second illustration - FIG.182, contains elements like the throne which do not appear anywhere else in this manuscript.

miniatures with interior settings, from any maqamah in this Leningrad manuscript - miniatures which are supposed to depict the same location, we will note that in nine cases out of ten there are certain minor changes in the architectural background of each scene. Although the Leningrad artist was careful to ensure that the dress of the characters he painted remained constant throughout any group of related scenes, this accuracy did not apparently extend to the settings in which the "players" act out their parts. Thus minor differences in architectural backgrounds cannot be used as evidence of an independent model.

Nor does it seem probable that the "duplicated" illustrations in Maqamah 40 in the Schefer can be traced back to independent models. It seems more likely that the second miniature in this maqamah is a modification of the first. In the first place the second illustration is not traceable in any other Baghdad or Mesopotamian copy of the "Maqamat", implying that it was possibly created by the artist himself. Secondly, one of the figures in the second illustration is simply a reversal of a figure in the first.

FIG.172

FIG.171

The creation of new illustrations by the reversal of figures, or changing their position is found several times in the Schefer copy. The most perfect - and most interesting example of this is in the "15th Maqamah".

FIG.122 In that maqamah there is a scene - fol.41R which represents Abu Zaid taking leave of the man whom he has helped by solving for him a complex puzzle which is in the form of a poem.¹ On the right is a small one-roomed building in which sits the man whom Abu Zaid has assisted, before him is the empty bowl of milk and the remains of the dates which the latter has received as a reward.² On the left, outside the house, Abu Zaid is taking his leave. He is however not depicted walking but standing, feet together gesticulating as if talking.

FIG.33 This scene is a modification of an earlier one in the same Maqamah, and which appears in the Leningrad copy. fol. ? - This depicts Abu Zaid talking to the man he is assisting. There is a very close similarity between the positions of the figures in both versions. In both the man sits grasping his knee with both hands while Abu Zaid stands talking. The point of divergence between the two miniatures is that in the Schefer scene Abu Zaid is placed outside the house and facing left instead of right. There is

1. CHENERY p.193.
2. ibid - p.192.

a close resemblance between the architectural backgrounds in each composition, for the Schefer version preserves the whole central section of the Leningrad scene, though it dispenses with the two side "wings".

Another example appears in the "2nd Maqamah". Here in addition to the two miniatures normally expected in a "reversed dual" maqamah there is a final third illustration. This miniature fol.6V depicts Abu Zaid leaving the library after talking with Harith and his friends. On the left is a group of persons, seated in a long line. On the right Abu Zaid is shown walking away. The stance of the walking figure, - like that in the "15th Maqamah" - is however that of a person talking, gesticulating as he does so. There is no ground or background to the scene.

FIG.97

This composition is almost exact duplicate of the first illustration in the "33rd Maqamah", and seems to be a modification of such a miniature ; the only major difference between the two versions is that Abu Zaid faces left in one miniature and right in the other.

FIG.158

There is little doubt that the second miniature in "Maqamah 41" - FIG.172, is a modified version of the previous illustration in that Maqamah - FIG.171. The right hand side figure in FIG.171 has been turned to face the right and the vegetation has been

dispensed with, thus in effect creating a new composition.

The case of Maqamah 40 is somewhat different from the above. The second illustration has features which clearly indicates that it is a modification of another composition. Like the miniature in Maqamah 15 the transformation from the old composition to the new has been incomplete, and certain incongruities occur. The figure on the extreme left of the judge's throne is obviously a repeat of the figure on the extreme right, however the repeated figure - who has now become Abu Zaid - stands gesturing at thin-air.

This composition cannot be taken as a modification of the existing illustration occupying the first position in the 40th Maqamah in the Schefer copy. Nor is it possible that it represents another model for that same scene.

There are two possibilities for the origin of this miniature. First it may be a modification of a second prototype for the "standard" miniature illustrating the second part of the 40th Maqamah. Secondly, and more probably it is a modified version of another miniature which appears in one of the other maqamahs dealing with a similar subject to the 40th ; i.e. Abu Zaid and his wife before the Qadi e.g. Maqamahs 9, 45, etc.,

* * *

The 40th Maqamah is a "reversed dual" maqamah (see p. 12). These we have claimed normally possessed 2 illustrations like the "standard dual" maqamahs.

The purpose of "duplication" seems somewhat obscure, and as "duplications" can be seen to have originated in at least four different ways, there is probably more than one explanation. The purpose of "duplication" in the "standard dual" maqamahs 40 and 41, is hard to understand, and that which occurs in Maqamahs 5 and 26 in the Leningrad, even moreso. However it is possible to propose some suggestions for the remaining cases of "duplication" in Maqamahs 42, 46, 49. These maqamahs, particularly the first two are somewhat lengthy, and perhaps slightly monotonous. This fact may have encouraged the copyist to increase the numbers of miniatures from one to two.

The two most interesting cases - maqamahs 5 and 26 in the Leningrad manuscript, may be explained by the scribe having left a space which the painter was not able to fill, not possessing a model for the event he was supposed to depict. For example in the Schefer copy the last two illustrations to the "5th Maqamah", are fol.13V Abu Zaid talking to his son. - the same as the third in the Leningrad manuscript and fol.14V Abu Zaid saying farewell to Harith. This latter miniature was perhaps supposed to appear in the Leningrad but due to the lack of a model the artist was not able to supply the correct miniature. The fact is though that the "farewell scene" has such a

FIG.105
FIGS.
10-106

simple composition that if this hypothesis is true it is hard to understand why the Leningrad artist did not invent a composition.

FIG.53

The above may be true of the duplicated miniature in Maqamah 26. This illustration comes at the point where Harith accompanies Abu Zaid to SuS in Persia.¹ Though there is no example of the "Maqamat" in which that particular incident is depicted this does not rule out the possibility that one may have existed.

However if such an explanation is feasible, it seems that it is most likely to be true of the example of "duplication" in the Istanbul "Maqamat". There the miniature which resulted from the process of duplication is presumably the first one rather than the second. This illustration is placed in the part of the plot which deals with Abu Zaid's anecdote of how he met an eloquent youth who was almost able to out-talk him. fol.176R. The space which this

FIG.220

miniature occupies may have originally been reserved for the scene which shows Abu Zaid talking to the youth. Such a scene did exist. This we know because we have an example of such a scene in the British

FIG.295

Museum manuscript on fol.143R. Thus the "duplicated" miniature in the Istanbul manuscript may be in fact replacing a miniature for which the artist did not possess a model. This suggestion is made more

1. CHENERY p.260.

possible by the fact that there was in existence an illustration of the incident, which the Istanbul miniature may replace, and both it and the Istanbul miniature appear in the same textual area. i.e. the dialogue between Abu Zaid and the youth.

(iv) Enlargement.

With the exception of the Schefer copy there are no examples of full page miniatures - either single or double in any other manuscript from Baghdad. It is only in the British Museum copy where expanded compositions exist, that there is anything resembling a full page miniature.

The double full page illustration which occurs twice in the Schefer manuscript is comparatively rare in Medieval Western¹ and Byzantine² works, though it is quite common in later Persian manuscripts.

However the single full page illustration is quite common in Medieval Christian manuscripts. There it is the result of a complex development, for although full page illustrations in the shape of frontispieces appeared very soon after the invention of the codex, it was some considerable time before full page illustrations were actually incorporated into the text. When this did occur it represented "...the utmost exploitation of artistic possibility..."³. for the

1. Medieval Miniatures : THAMES & HUDSON. 1965. p.90.
2. Roll and Codex p.93. DELAISÉE.
3. Roll and Codex p.104.

simple column miniature.

The frontispiece had considerable influence on the development of the full page miniature ; in the later stages of development there was a conscious effort on the part of the artist to give his illustration something of the monumentality of the frontispiece.

The origin of the full page miniature lies in certain changes which occurred in the format of the written page in the early codex.

The earliest codexes showed a preference for dividing each page into columns of text - after the system employed in the Classical Roll. To give greater unity to the page these columns - usually two in number - were fused into one large column. This, according to Weitzman,¹ gave the initial impetus to the enlarging of column miniatures until they reached the perfection of pictures covering the entire page. Artists had to face the problem of how to fill a space the width of two columns, following prototype miniatures intended for one. This problem gave birth to various experiments which led to the expansion of the miniature and miniature space. Dislocation between miniature and text increased until the distribution of miniatures in the text was being governed by formal considerations - for instance they occupy the complete lower halves of pages.² The next

1. *ibid* p. 84.

2. *ibid* p. 89.

step was the creation of the full page miniature which often took the form of two separate half page miniatures combined on one page.¹ The final stage was the collection of all full page miniatures in a separate section at the front of the books.² The more skilful illustrators naturally welcomed all these developments as it gave them the chance to bring their miniatures into much greater prominence.

It would appear that the two double-full page miniatures in the Schefer manuscript are the result of a similar process of development - as indeed we have already pointed out, though it is only in the miniature on fols. 58V.59R. "Maqamah 21" (FIGS.136-7) that this can be shown beyond any measured doubt.

The Schefer double page miniatures have far more in common with Christian Medieval single full-page miniatures than with Christian double-page miniatures, for both of the component illustrations in the Schefer double-page miniatures have been enlarged simultaneously, as if they were one miniature - which of course they are. Whereas Western and Byzantine double-page illustrations tend to be composed of independent scenes placed opposite one another ; being thus a preliminary stage to the grouping of the miniatures in a separate section of the codex.³

1. *ibid* p.93.
2. *ibid* p.93.
3. *ibid* p.93.

Each of the two enlarged double page miniatures in the Schefer manuscript fols.58V.59R, - 155V.156R is divorced from its text ; one has to turn over two pages to find the continuation of the text on fol.58R. and fol.155R. As a result each is viewed as a picture rather than a textual illustration.

The possibility that the Schefer illustrator may have considered these double-page illustrations as pure pictures is significant for understanding their existence.

Throughout the manuscript we are forced to the conclusion that the artist of the Schefer copy, Mahmud al-Wasiti, considered the illustrations much more as pictures in their own right than as simple textual illuminations. As we have pointed out the links between miniature and text are often extremely weak, and occasionally non-existent e.g. Maqamahs 13, 14, 17. Moreover compositions are sometimes broken up and of others two are combined, for purely formal reasons. Thus it would appear that the illustrator considered himself not as a copyist but more as a creative artist, and therefore would have looked upon the production of large scale pictures independent of the text as his crowning achievement.

The desire to create pictures as opposed to single textual illustrations is in step with the feeling of the

time ; "Maqamat" illustration as a whole has a definite esoteric quality though this is less marked in a work like the Leningrad manuscript where miniatures and text are closely knit.

The tendency is quite clear in an Arabic copy of the "MATERIA MEDICA" of Dioscorides (or "KITĀB UL-HASHA'ISH") in Istanbul.¹ The original work of Dioscorides is strictly scientific and when illustrated contained only diagrams of shrubs. However several of the medieval greek copies of the "Materia Medica", and at least one Arabic copy contain a number of explanatory human figures.²

In the Arabic copy of 1224, the plants and shrubs which formed the early illustrations have been totally subordinated to the explanatory human figures.³ Some of the scenes depicted have a "genre" character, showing bazaars, physicians shops, and even a ship at sea.⁴ Thus in many cases the illustrator has used the work to create a series of picturesque illuminations which have a superficially functional basis, but infact are only remotely connected with the subject of the "Materia Medica".

1. Ayasofya. N03703.
2. Ninth Cent. Greek manuscript and an Arabic manuscript dated 1083 contain figures. see WEITZMAN "Greek Sources of Islamic Scientific Illustration" N.York.1952.
3. BUCHTHAL : "Early Islamic Miniatures" Jour.Walters Art Gallery 1942. p.33.vol.V.
4. ETTINGHAUSEN "Arab Painting" p.88.

Though the illustrator of this manuscript and that of the Schefer have used different methods, both have attempted to create "pictures" rather than textual illustrations.

Weitzman¹ has estimated that at least 3 centuries elapsed between the invention of the codex and the creation of the full page miniature, so it is interesting to observe that in the "Maqamat" full page illustrations appear only 120 years after the author's death. This suggests that Islamic book illustration was considerably more advanced in 1237 than one would have supposed, if, as we have so often been told, book illustration only began in the Islamic World during the latter half of the 12th century.

Also, it should not be overlooked that the "mechanics" of book illustration as practised by the Arab Christian communities may have had considerable influence on Muslim illustrators.

Buchthal² has of course demolished the theories expounded by Sir Thomas Arnold³ namely that the art of the Nestorians and Jacobites played an important part in the formative stage of Islamic Painting. However

1. WEITZMAN op.cit. p.84.
2. "Painting of the Syrian Jacobites in its relation to Byzantine and Islamic Painting" SYRIA vol. XX 1939.
3. ARNOLD "Old and New Testaments in Muslim Religious Art". Schweich Memorial Lectures. Oxford.1932.p.1-2. and ARNOLD "Pictorial Art of the Jacobite and Nestorian Churches". BYZANTINISCHEZEITSCHRIFT. vol 30. 1929.

be that as it may, almost every one of the developments stated by Weitzman as having led up to the full page miniature are to be found in illustrations occurring in Nestorian and Jacobite Gospels and Lectionaries contemporary with the Baghdad manuscripts.

The Syriac copy of the Gospels in the Vatican,¹ painted in the Muṣil area around 1220 has miniatures extending across two columns² miniatures occupying the complete upper and lower halves³ of pages, and a full page miniature consisting of two scenes superimposed on one page.⁴ Another manuscript in the monastery of St. Mark Jerusalem, a lectionary dated 1222 has six full page illustrations depicting scenes from the life of Christ.⁵

Thus although the art of the Christian communities in the Arab World had no influence as regards the style of Muslim painting, it may well have had some influence on the form which the miniatures took in Muslim manuscripts, perhaps supplying the inspiration for the enlargement of illustrations to full-page size.

1. Vatican. Syr. 599. Jerphanion "les Miniatures du manuscrit syriaque No.559 de la Bibliothèque Vaticane. 1940.
2. *ibid* pl. XIK.
3. *ibid* pls.VII, XXIV.
4. *ibid* NO.1, NO.9 see also M.S. ADD7170. BRITISH MUSEUM, a Syriac manuscript dated 1216-20 which contains all stages of development :- a miniature covering a third of a page fol.57R, covering three-quarters of a page. fol.21R, a page covered by two separate illustrations - fol.3R, and the full-page miniature fol.156V.
5. PAINE HATCH "Greek and Syriac Miniatures in Jerusalem" Medieval Academy of America 1931. p.121-9.

CHAPTER SEVEN.
LOCATION OF THE MINIATURES IN THE
BAGHDAD MANUSCRIPTS IN DETAIL.

We have had occasion to refer to the positions of the miniatures in the text, several times, though without giving any detailed information on the precise placings of the illustrations in the four Baghdad texts.

This is of course necessary if we are to understand whether there is a set position for every miniature in all manuscripts and if so to what extent the Schefer copy, which is independent in so many other fields, conforms to or differs from this set pattern.

An examination of the positions of illustrations in 30 maqamahs (17 standard dual 13 extended plot) reveals the following features.

STANDARD DUAL.

As we are aware these maqamahs have plots which fall into two basic parts, the address of Abu Zaid, and the confrontation with each part having possessed - at some earlier period - an illustration.

In the Istanbul, Leningrad and British Museum copies, there are several ways of relating miniatures to the surrounding text.

(1) miniatures which have a general reference to a large area of text, - which takes the form of a speech or address by Abu Zaid. They are placed within the spoken words, usually there is no immediate connecting link between illustration and text ; the reader comes upon the miniature quite suddenly as he passes over the text.

This occurs in the Leningrad manuscript in Maqamah 33, 38 fols. 226R, 56R in the Istanbul copy, maqamahs 11, 28, 38 fols. 34R, 104R, 150V and in the British Museum manuscript maqamahs 1, 11, 25, 28, 33, fols. 4R, 29V, 73V, 85V, 107V. This type of relation exists in the confrontation when the confrontation is a long one - as in the 7th and 12th maqamahs, thus in the Leningrad manuscript we find several occasions where illustrations appear in a large confrontation area.

(2) The second method is more explicit and consists of linking a miniature to the words "...and (then) he said..." the words appear - generally - under the miniature which shows Abu Zaid talking. The text following on is of course the speech or address. This method is used most often in the confrontation between Abu Zaid and Harith. In the Leningrad manuscript for example the confrontation miniature in the Third Maqamah shows Harith introducing himself to the old man ; under the picture appear the following words "...I said "I am Harith ; but what is thy condition amid all thy fortunes ?"¹ fol.20R.

FIG.4.

(3) There are also rare occasions in the standard dual maqamah when a miniature is directly linked to a dramatic moment such as the incident in the "25th Maqamah" where Harith gives his cloak to

1. CHENERY p.120.

Abu Zaid out of pity and is thanked for it by means of a poem.

FIG.51

Miniatures in the 3 above manuscripts i.e.

Leningrad, Istanbul and British Museum tend to be placed in the same area of text in each manuscript. There is almost no occasion however where the position is identical, a fact which suggests that the precise position of the miniature was a matter for the individual artist, or more probably the scribe.

The Schefer Copy.

The position of the miniature in the Schefer miniature varies quite considerably, not only from the positions in the other manuscripts, but also from maqamah to maqamah within the manuscript itself. In the Leningrad and Istanbul copies the miniatures in relation 1 are still quite close to the beginning of the address. In the Schefer manuscript however the miniatures appear well on in the address, or near the end of it - see Maqamahs 12, 20 21, 25, FIGS 115, 133, 136, 143. The miniatures situated in confrontations are also placed actually in the spoken words, or sometimes at the extreme limit of the maqamah - Maqamah 38 fol.117V FIG.164.

Moreover, as we have previously noted, there are several examples of drastic misplacing in the Schefer, which is extremely rare in the other manuscripts (see Maqamahs 11, 13, 14, 17).

The fact that the Schefer artist seems to have treated the relationship between the illustrations and the text in the "standard dual" maqamahs with great freedom confirms what has previously been demonstrated concerning his artistic autonomy.

Extended Plot Maqamahs.

These maqamahs are the more elaborate ones and have three types of miniature. 1. Those common to all manuscripts. 2. Those common to the Baghdad manuscripts alone. 3. Those found only in one manuscript.

The first two groups tend to appear in the same area in each copy ; not in the identical position, but one normally finds a miniature showing a similar scene placed within the same four or five lines of text in all the Baghdad manuscripts.

However misplacings do occur, and here are not restricted to the Schefer copy. These misplacings are of two types.

1. definite inaccuracies where the miniature is totally unrelated to the text.
2. the shift of a miniature from what appears to be the established position to a new location, generally further on in the same textual area.

The first is found in the Schefer miniature in Maqamah 47 where the miniature showing Abu Zaid

FIG.183 operating on the back of a patient¹ fol.154V is placed in the midst of the quarrel which takes place between Abu Zaid and his son². This may well be a case of chronological inversion, for in the Leningrad copy the quarrel is illustrated, the miniature appearing ten lines or so after the Schefer position. fol.328R FIG.87.

Chronological inversion may also be the reason for the first illustrations in Maqamah 22 which appear in the Schefer and Leningrad manuscript, showing Harith with the scribes on the Euphrates, having been placed at an earlier point in the text unconnected with scene illustrated.³

There are also definite examples of chronological inversion in the British Museum copy Maqamah 16. fol.46R and Istanbul manuscript Maqamah 31. fol.117V. These are quite rare however.

These inaccuracies are few, the vast majority of illustrations being correctly situated.

The moving forward or backward within the maqamah of miniatures is also quite rare and it is sufficient here simply to point out that it does occur. However in the Schefer manuscript there is one very interesting case where it would seem that the artist had a particular reason for altering the

1. STEINGASS. 159.

2. *ibid.* 160

3. The illustration appears in the discussion between Harith and the scribes on the bank of the river prior to their journey.

4. Arab Painting p.115.

position of an illustration. The "31st Maqamah" is illuminated by two miniatures in most manuscripts. However, as we observed, in the Schefer copy these two illustrations have been grouped together to create one single expanded miniature. fols.94V, 95R. This miniature has been placed directly before a poem in which the habit of making the Pilgrimage to Mecca in the utmost splendour and luxury is condemned as is the purpose of making it, not as a duty, but for the supernatural benefits which would accrue as a result.

FIGS.
154-5

Ettinghausen has pointed out that some of the miniatures in the Schefer manuscript have a decidedly satirical quality, depicting the pomp and stupidity of officialdom¹. Thus it seems quite probable that what occurs in the "31st Maqamah" is another attempt at social satire. The scene on fol.94V shows a splendid caravan on its way to Mecca, complete with all the elaborate trappings, flags, drums, trumpets, silken howdah, etc., The degree of accuracy achieved by the artist in this representation, we know from Ibn Jubayr's account of a Pilgrim Caravan,² is very high indeed.

1. Arab Painting p.115.

2. IBN JUBAYR. op.cit. p.181-2, 193.

It seems to be more than an accurate social document, for there is a total lack of humility, and penitence about these pilgrims ; with their drums, trumpets and gaily coloured silken garments, they convey a feeling of utter worldliness.

Above the scene is the first line of the strongly worded poem delivered by Abu Zaid, a line which bears the utmost relevance to the illustration below it :-

"The Pilgrimage is not thy travelling by day and night, Nor yet thy selecting camels and camel litters".

In the other manuscript the scene showing Abu Zaid addressing the pilgrims, appears where he actually begins to speak to them, for the first time.¹ It seems that the Schefer illustrator has deliberately altered the position, to give miniature and text a new and far more meaningful inter-relationship.

This miniature however is unique, possibly because the opportunities for such a successful combination are limited.

The third group of miniatures those which appear in only one of the manuscripts, are again for the most part correctly placed. This is expected where the illustrator has created a miniature himself, presumably to fit a specific point in the text. This is true of all four manuscripts.

1. Leningrad. fol.248 Istanbul fol.117V British Museum
fols. 96V - 97R.

In addition to the three types of relation notes previously between miniature and text, there is also a further relation which exists in some manuscripts, particularly in the Leningrad copy. In the 11th Maqamah and the 30th, we note the existence of miniatures which neither depict a specific incident - one relevant to the course of the plot - nor illustrate a dialogue or speech. Their function it seems is to "set the scene" of the action ; to show the physical location of the maqamah. The 11th Maqamah displays an illustration which shows the graveyard in which Harith meets Abu Zaid, though neither Harith nor Abu Zaid are actually visible in the crowd. As this illustration comes after the first line of text, it may well be that this is supposed to represent what Harith himself saw on entering the graveyard.

FIG.58

Possibly the 2nd miniature in maqamah 30 is of this type. fol.205R. This represents the Wedding Feast, at which Harith and Abu Zaid are present, again neither is discernable among the guests, and it may be taken as Harith's view of the wedding through his own eyes. There is at least one example in the Istanbul manuscript. This is the village scene which appears in Maqamah 43. fol.176R. This shows the place in which the action happens, however, none of the main characters are depicted.

RELATION OF ILLUSTRATIONS TO POEMS.

- All illustrations show a marked predilection for linking their illustrations to poems. All maqamahs contain at least one poem, and some have several. These poems are generally related by Abu Zaid, though sometimes Harith or an incidental character recites one.

There are numerous ways of relating a miniature to a poem, depending on its context.

(1) The most frequently used method is that of placing the miniature before, within, or after, a poem which is specifically recited by some character, who is depicted in the illustration in the process of reciting the poem.

(2) Occasionally a poem describes a certain event and that event may then be depicted within or after the poem.

In "Maqamah 19" there is a poem describing how Abu Zaid's friends hasten to his home when they learn of his illness.¹ Fol.118R. interprets this poem in pictorial terms ; the friends are shown hurrying up on the left, while Abu Zaid is shown on the right.

FIG.41

(3) Sometimes a miniature is placed after a poem because of something which follows on directly after the completion of the poem, such as the parting of

1. CHENERY.p.216.

the two friends at the end of the Maqamah.

(4) There is one interesting relation, which occurs only between miniatures and poems, not being found at all in the prose parts of the maqamah. This occurs where a poem is mentioned as having been written down, not recited outloud. In the "7th Maqamah" Abu Zaid and his wife pass slips of paper around the mosque, on which are written prayers.¹ In the Leningrad copy Harith is shown as having received one of the strips of paper fol.41V. FIG.13, while under the miniature the words of the written poem appear. Similarly in the "15th Maqamah" a man hands Abu Zaid a legal puzzle which is written in poetic form.² The Leningrad copy, fol.93V FIG.32 shows Abu Zaid reading the poem, and again, the poem itself appears directly after the miniature. Thus in a sense the artist has placed us in the position of the characters themselves, we are in effect reading "over the shoulder" of Harith or Abu Zaid, a clever device giving much greater intimacy between reader and text.³

* * *

The miniatures in the Schefer copy which are related to poems use all of the above methods, with the possible exception of the fourth one.

The manuscript has one or two peculiarities of its own. Three of the chronologically inverted

1. CHENERY p.141.

2. *ibid.* p.189.

3. The desire to give greater intimacy is a feature of many of the Leningrad illustrations. This has been

achieved by an interesting device i.e. by placing figures in the foreground of compositions, seated with their backs to the spectator. See ETTINGHAUSEN "Arab Painting". p.110.

miniatures are situated in poems which occur in the confrontation section, - the scene depicted referring to the first part of the maqamah. This happens in Maqamahs 11, 14, 17. There are one or two instances where a miniature is located in the centre of a poem, while in the other Baghdad manuscripts the same illustration appears directly before the poem. This takes place for example in the "20th Maqamah". Both of these characteristics are however, also true of the miniatures which appear in the prose part of the work. Of the 30 maqamahs examined there are only three cases where a miniature in the Schefer copy coincides exactly with the position of a miniature in one of the other manuscripts.

This occurs in the "28th Maqamah" where the position of the first miniature fol.84V is the same as that in the Istanbul copy fol.104R. In the "44th Maqamah" the positions of the second miniatures fol.143R. Schefer fol.184V Istanbul are also identical. There is also a case in the "9th Maqamah" where the single illustration in the Schefer corresponds to the position of the second miniature in the Leningrad works fol. ? . In this latter example the Schefer miniature is wrongly placed, actually referring to an earlier portion of the maqamah.

There are even fewer examples in the other manuscripts of the complete coincidence of illustrations in the other manuscripts, a fact which reinforces the impression that there was never any fixed point for the placing of miniatures, though of course it should be emphasized that there are quite definite areas of text in which miniatures customarily appeared, and that the Schefer scribe-artist felt quite free to disregard this. The ability to disregard the conventional "area placings", and to make radical changes in the location of the illustrations, is undoubtedly due to the illuminator and scribe being one and the same person. This is particularly significant, when we realise that of all the Baghdad, and quite probably all existing Arab copies, the Schefer manuscript is the only illustrated Hariri in which really significant technical developments occur ; Developments which are on a par with those in contemporary Western and Byzantine manuscripts.

CONCLUSION.

We have seen that the number and location of the illustrations in the Baghdad copies of the "Maqamat" - including the original of the British Museum copy - depends upon the plot structure of the 50 Maqamahs. These plot structures are three in number, the "standard dual", "extended" (or "compound") and "continuous dialogue". The systems of distribution employed in each type of plot we have called, respectively "classic" "narrative cycle" and "comprehensive single miniature".

We have observed that these three systems of distribution are in an imperfect state in the existing Baghdad manuscripts and have proposed the hypothesis that in their pure form the numbers of miniatures used to illustrate each of the three types of plot was as follows :-

"standard dual"	- 2 illustrations.
"continuous dialogue"	- 1 illustration.
"extended"	- uncertain.

This, we have suggested, is confirmed by the fact that the earlier the manuscript, the closer its illustrations conform to the determinable systems.

From this we can conclude that either the Baghdad manuscripts are derived from an archetype in which the

miniatures in the majority of maqamahs were distributed according to the above patterns, or that at an earlier date, these systems of distribution were worked out and for a time rigidly applied to "Maqamat" illustration.

We have observed two distinct tendencies at work among the Baghdad manuscripts. The first is the gradual reduction of the total number of illustrations employed ; this reduction is much more obvious in the two later copies, the Schefer and the Istanbul than in the earlier ones. This tendency to remove illustrations we have called "contraction" when it occurs in the "standard dual" maqamahs, and "selection" when it affects the illustrations in the "extended plot" maqamahs. The ultimate result is that the total number of illustrations decreases by half.

This reduction, we have proposed, is due to increase in demand for illustrated copies of the "Maqamat" partially brought about by the extension of the habit of patronage to sections of the wealthy bourgeoisie.

In addition to the above tendency, which seems to have affected to a greater or lesser degree all Baghdad manuscripts, there is another. This is the tendency to modify the existing compositions. Each manuscript has peculiarities of its own ; we, however, have concentrated on those modifications and variations which appear in the

Schefer copy.

There are five types of modification in the Schefer copy, some of which are in several stages of development.

These are :- lateral expansion of a composition over two pages, the enlargement of an illustration to full page size, the chronological inversion of certain illustrations, the duplication of a composition, the interchange of compositions between maqamahs. Two of these modifications, enlargement and inversion are virtually confined to this copy, while the other three are present - if on a much smaller scale - in other manuscripts.

"Lateral expansion", which is employed in both Schefer and British Museum copies, was in part due to the concepts of pictorial space held by the artists who practised it. This concept contrasts with that held by the illustrators of the Leningrad and Istanbul manuscripts which regards compositional space much more as a tridimensional extension.

Thus we have evidence of at least two distinct spatial concepts at work in Baghdad, one being a simple two dimensional concept, while the other manifests an attempt to make use of three-dimensional space by employing the technique of "terracing".

These two concepts almost certainly signify two centres of production within Baghdad, with the Schefer and British Museum original emanating from one atelier, and the Leningrad and Istanbul manuscripts from another. "Lateral expansion" is highly developed in the Schefer copy and takes several forms.

1. where the "expansion" consists of minor compositional elements e.g. a crowd of spectators.
2. where a composition has been divided into two parts, so that each half of the expanded composition has an equal significance.
3. where two independent miniatures have been combined together to create a larger composition.
4. where an "expansion" is deliberately created to serve the purpose of enlarging a composition.

The Schefer artist was certainly not the originator of "lateral expansion". This we can affirm from the fact that first there are several varieties of "lateral expansion", and secondly these varieties are in various stages of development ; some compositions are perfectly homogeneous whereas in others the two halves are badly related.

However some of the individual cases of expansion may have occurred for the first time in the Schefer copy, notably in types 3 and 4, where close colaboration was necessary between scribe and illustrator. Alternatively

the two had to be one and the same person - as they were in the case of the Schefer copy.

There are other features, "duplication" and "interchange of compositions" which are common to all the Baghdad manuscripts. Duplication is a modification which seems to have been characteristic only of the Baghdad manuscripts, though the reasons for its existence are still not clear.

The "interchange of compositional schemes" on the other hand is easily understandable. The similarity of many maqamah plots enabled artists wishing to illustrate new sections of the text, or to introduce a new miniature to take the place of another, to take a miniature from one part of the text and re-introduce it to another. Sometimes the composition is replaced elsewhere without very much alteration, at others the positions of characters is changed to express a new situation.

The creation of new miniatures by altering older compositions, the sudden introduction of new compositional schemes - often taken from Christian prototypes - is typical of most Baghdad copies. Thus we often find considerable differences between miniatures illustrating the same scene in two separate manuscripts, compare the miniatures illustrating the first part of the "38th Maqamah" in the Schefer and

Leningrad copies - FIGS. 72, 163. To a large extent these differences can be explained by saying that they represent the traditions of separate ateliers.

However although Christian iconographic schemes are used, and elements appear which can be traced to external sources e.g. Sasanid, Armenian, Central Asian, it would be wrong to expect that there should be an identical prototype for every compositional scheme used in the Baghdad manuscripts.

Whenever the question of copying is discussed, it must be remembered that the position of the muslim painter in regard to this activity was very different from that of his counterpart in the Christian West. The rejection of the visual image as an aid to worship by Islam, though it undoubtedly hampered the Arab artist, at the same time spared Islamic painting the theological interference which occurred in the Christian World. The virtual immutability of iconography and colour schemes which faced artists in the Christian World down to the Renaissance, was a problem which the Muslim artist never faced.

The Christian artist by his act of copying a sacred scene was in fact undertaking a religious duty - that of spreading the teachings of the Gospel. The iconography of Christian painting corresponded to the Word of God, and the copyist could no more think of changing it than

the scribe could think of re-writing the Gospel.

However this attitude did not exist in the Islamic World, a fact which is sometimes overlooked ; the Muslim painter was more or less free to paint exactly as he wished. When he did make his illustration conform to a prototype which he had before him, this was for reasons other than those which made the Christian painter do so ; lack of confidence in his own powers, lack of ability, lack of incentive could all combine to make him copy faithfully a prototype which he had before him.

However because of the absence of theological interference and the fact that Arab painting was entirely secular in nature, even when he was copying there was no feeling present in the mind of the Muslim painter that he must re-produce exactly the example before him. Thus the Leningrad miniaturist when illuminating the "30th Maqamah" could have illustrated the "Wedding Feast" by taking over wholesale a Christian "Last Supper", without any psychological or theological obstacles. Similarly there may be no exact prototype for the much discussed "Eastern Isle" and "Tabl-Khana" scenes in the Schefer copy, these having been created partly from other individual elements, partly from imagination, as in the "Slaughtered Camel" scene from "Maqamah 44".

There are other features which are almost certainly peculiar to the Schefer copy ; the enlargement of

miniatures, and the chronological inversion of illustrations.

The full-page illustration, with the exception of the frontispiece is unknown in Muslim Arab Painting. However, as we saw, the attitude which could lead to the creation of a full-page miniature is present throughout the Schefer copy and may be termed the desire to liberate the miniature from the text. This seems to be the point behind inversion ; the constant misplacing of illustrations which occurs throughout the manuscript. This has the effect of making the Arab reader consider the illustration as an entirety in itself, though this subtlety may escape the non-Arab who is examing the manuscript. Thus the creation of a totally independent picture, completely free of text, would have constituted a "piece de resistance". In this he may have been influenced by Christian painters, which raises the point that the effect of Christian manuscript illustration on the technique of Islamic book illustration, cannot be ignored, though its influence on the style of Islamic painting has been rightly pointed out to be negligible.

One of the most significant aspects of the Schefer copy is that the illustrator was free to make as many inovations and developments as he wished, being responsible for both transcription and illustration

together. Thus we find radical compositional and technical developments in this manuscript. It may be a basic truth of Islamic painting from any period, that the growth and spread of new ideas depended on the illustrator being also responsible for, - or at least having a say in, - the layout of the text.

This contrasts strongly with the situation in the Christian World. There the artist of ability could work out his ideas in virtually any media, and developments in the more significant branches of the applied arts - Mosaic, frescoe, panel-painting, would automatically make themselves felt in the minor arts, of which manuscript illustration was one.

Therefore in the Islamic World where artistic activity other than illumination was limited to the decoration of utilitarian objects, the role of the painter-scribe must have been of prime importance, and the eventual acceptance of the full-page or full double-page as the medium of illustration must have been due to the experiments of such people as Al-Wāsiṭī, the illustrator of the Schefer copy. Moreover the fact that nearly two centuries elapse between Al-Wāsiṭī's experiments and the full-page miniature gaining general acceptance probably means that the chance of the illustrator himself to transcribe the entire manuscript arose only rarely. Furthermore, as we know that in

later Islamic painting each stage of book creation and illustration was undertaken by a separate artisan, the fact that an illustrator was able to transcribe the manuscript, probably means that the production of manuscripts was not yet highly organized in 13th Baghdad.

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Apart from its significance as an intermediary between the more fully illustrated "Maqamat" and the "abridged" version, the importance of the Schefer copy lies in the various technical developments which take place within the manuscript. These have a far wider interest than the aesthetic significance of the pictures alone. These technical innovations - "expansion", "inversion" and "enlargement" - give an insight into the workings of a Muslim's painter's mind, and at the same time throw some light on the organization of manuscript illustration in Baghdad.

Its importance for the history of Islamic Art lies in the fact that the creator of the manuscript was both scribe and miniaturist. This gives us some idea of how Islamic painting developed ; in its earlier stages due more probably to the efforts of the scribe-illustrator, than to those of even the most accomplished painters who were limited to column miniatures as their means of working. The expansion and enlargement of compositional schemes which appear in the Schefer

manuscript, were in the long run far more influential for the course of later painting than were the spatial experiments of the Leningrad-Istanbul painters, though the two trends did tend to combine in later Persian Painting. The essentially two dimensional character of later Islamic Painting made the large full-page compositions of early artists like Al-Wasiti, with their limited - plane construction, far more useful than the experiments of the Leningrad painter into the space beyond the picture plane.

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